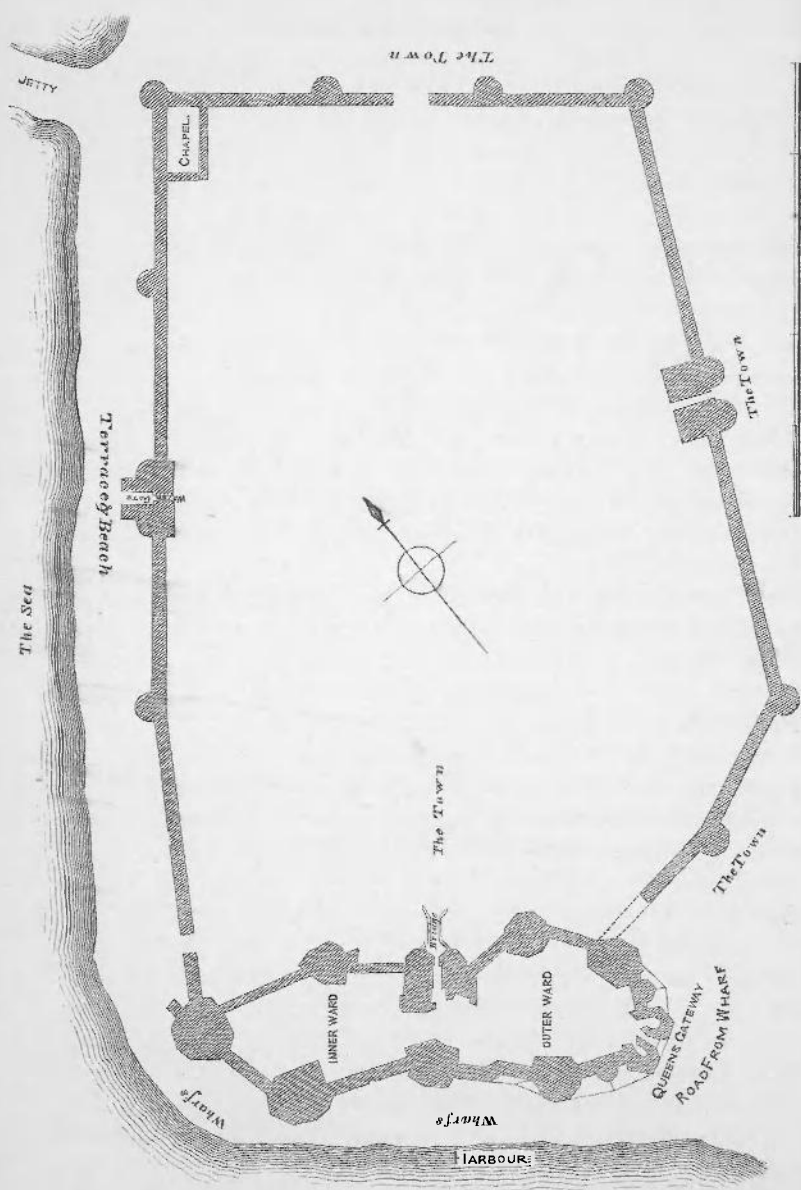


CAERNARVON CASTLE.



Plan of Castle and Town Walls.

CAERNARVON CASTLE.

IMMEDIATELY after the execution of Prince David at Shrewsbury in 1283, Edward I. began to take active measures for securing the entire possession of the kingdom of Wales; and amongst the different objects to which his attention was directed, the erection of fortresses claimed his first consideration. Without these, indeed, he could retain but a very slight and uncertain footing in his newly acquired territory. Within six weeks, therefore, after the death of this last Welsh Prince, he commenced building the Castle of Caernarvon. An entry on the Liberate Roll of this year authorises the allowance of fifty-four shillings and eightpence to Roger Sprengel, Sheriff of Salop, for the expenses of 40 carpenters sent to Caernarvon, and also of nine pounds five shillings for 200 footmen, sent from the county of Shropshire to the same place, for their protection.¹ The Sheriff of Nottingham was also allowed three pounds two shillings and sixpence for an equal number of this class of workmen sent for their assistance from Nottingham.² The Sheriff of Rutland had previously received his expenses for twenty masons and their foreman whom he had sent by the King's command to Conway, whilst the monarch was there, in the 11th year of his reign; thus showing that Conway Castle preceded Caernarvon, though but a few months, in the date of its commencement.³

At the same time that Edward was carrying on these plans for their coercion, he was not inattentive to the civil rights of the inhabitants; for having in the 11th year of his reign granted a charter to the people of Caernarvon, in now confirming it, he decreed that the Constable of his Castle, for the time being, should also be Mayor of the borough.⁴

It is quite impossible, in the absence of any specific evidences, to ascertain what portion of the buildings was

¹ Liberate Roll, 12 Edw. I., m. 1. Teste Rege apud Lampader, x. die Novembris. Ibid. Teste Rege apud Bere, i. die Novembris.

² Liberate Roll, 12 Edw. I., m. 4. Teste Rege apud Kaeren Arvan, xxviii. die

Aprilis.

³ Liberate Roll, 11 Edw. I., m. 2. Teste Rege apud Acton Burnel, xxviii. die Octobris.

⁴ Welsh Roll, 12 Edw. I., m. 3. No. 14. Teste Rege apud Flynt, viii. die Septembris.

first erected; if, indeed, any part of the existing fabric is really assignable to the period when Edward first began his operations. As we proceed in chronological order, it will be perceived that the work was in a state of progress for several years. The notion, therefore, that the Castle was constructed in the short space of twelve months, which has hitherto been the general opinion, is too incredible to engage belief. The extent and magnificence of so vast an edifice could only be the work of a lengthened period. The grandeur of the general design, the stateliness of its lofty polygonal towers, rivalling each other in massiveness and dignity, its long vista of carefully finished corridors, its structures sunk and imbedded in rocky foundations, the ample width and strength of its curtain walls, perforated with every variety of loop-hole and oilet, and the deep fosse which formerly encircled the northern side, declare at once the utter improbability of such extraordinary works being executed within so limited a period; perfected, too, at a time when the natives of the country were scarcely vanquished, and when the expenses of the Welsh and Scottish wars had impoverished the Exchequer. All this carries sufficient unlikelihood on the face of it, did we not further know from official documents, which will be shortly quoted, that the present buildings were the labour of several years, and even extended into two reigns.

It is by the aid of these records, which are stored up in four different depositories of the Public Evidences, that I shall endeavour to illustrate the history of Caernarvon Castle, and if the extracts adduced are not sufficiently close to indicate the exact period when the earliest parts were built, and to point out which they were, there will still be several clues afforded from whence reasonable inferences may be drawn as to their relative antiquity, whilst in some instances they will furnish a precise date for what is actually standing.

After the subjugation of the country, the Crown appointed officers to administer justice and attend to the collection or disbursement of the royal revenues in the provinces of North and South Wales. Thus the different pleas were heard before the Chief Justiciary, who held his Court of Chancery and Court of Exchequer within the Castle, whilst the Chamberlain was responsible for the collection and payment of the various aids and rents contributed by this portion of the

king's subjects. Such accounts were then returned to the English Exchequer, and writs issued to the Chamberlain, from time to time, as occasion arose, for the discharge of incidental or regular expenses.

The earliest mention of this functionary in connexion with the building of Caernarvon Castle occurs on the Great Roll of the Pipe in the 14th year of Edward I. (1285-1286), when we find Richard de Abyndon as Chamberlain, accounting for the cost of works at Caernarvon, Conway, Criccaeth, and Hardelagh, from the Feast of St. Hillary, in the 11th (October 1, 1283) to March 25th, the 12th (1284) of Edward's reign, in which year the king appointed him to this important office; Richard de Pulesdon, who was afterwards hung in Madoc's insurrection, being sheriff of the county.

It appears from the entry on the Pipe Roll of this 14th year, that, Thomas de Maydenhacche being Constable of the Castle and Mayor of Caernarvon, the works were carried on during the above interval at considerable cost, and their nature shows them to be preparatory to others of greater magnitude. The Liberate Roll also proves that some part of the building was covered in in the preceding year, the Constable of Bristol Castle being allowed the value of 18 carrates of lead, sent to Crukith, and 14 to Caernarvon, for their respective roofs.⁵

The entry upon the Sheriff's Roll of the English Exchequer, or, as it is more commonly called, the Great Roll of the Pipe, will sufficiently explain itself, and convey at this incipient stage of the inquiry the mode in which, when they appear fully, these accounts are usually written.

“ In wages of one carpenter making wheelbarrows (*hottos*) for the carriers of earth, dug out of the Castle to the Quay, 18s. 6d. ; each taking, per day, 3d. For one vintemar, or waller, for the same carriers, 3d. ; and for the carriers, 2½d.

“ In wages to divers men digging and wheeling (*fossatores et hottarii*) in the fosse round the Castle of Kaernarvan, together with vintemars attendant upon the same, taking 3d., 2d., and 1½d. per day ; expended on the Quay and Castle, 319l. 13s. 3½d.

“ For plumbers' work, carpenters, charcoal burners, with payments for a clerk, and carrying charcoal from various places to the Castle, 26l. 2s. 8d.

“ In payments to one door-keeper and two watchmen in the Castle, each taking, per day, 3d., 13s. 9d.

“ In iron and steel, charcoal, cord, bellows, wheelbarrows, cart-horses, and tools (*falcombus*), bought for the mortar in making the walls about the

⁵ Liberate Roll, 14 Edw. I.

town of Caernarvon, 92*l.* 8*s.* 6½*d.* : and divers masons, quarryers, smiths, and small workmen, working with overlookers about the works of the wall, from 9th Oct. anno 12th (1284), to the 18th Nov. anno 13th (1285), 1574*l.* 11*s.* 1½*d.* ; and making the wall by task work, 151*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* ; and delivery of stone by sea to Caernarvon from divers places, from 15th Jan. anno XIII. (1285) to 14th Oct. the same year, 440*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.* ; and in stone, brush-wood, and sand for the same works brought to the Castle, 140*l.* 5*s.* 4½*d.* ; and for payment of divers workmen (*hottarii*) in the King's pond at Caernarvon, with their overlookers, from the 6th of May, XIII., to Nov. 11th. (XIII.), 121*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.* ; and in boards, rafters, nails, and glass windows, bought for the works of the Castle, 6*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*," making, with other entries, a sum total of expenditure upon the building and the walls, during this first year of the King's possession of Wales, of 3036*l.* 19*s.* 5½*d.*

During the same period Master Richard the engineer, and Henry de Oxford, carpenter, received 100*l.* for carpentry in the Royal Hall at Conway ; part of the wall in that town was built by task-work, at a cost of 472*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.*, and altogether the expense amounted to 3313*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.* for works carried on simultaneously with those at Caernarvon.⁶

It was also in the same year that the Castle of Harlech was commenced, and a charge of 18*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* occurs betwixt the 27th of May and the 4th of November for operations on the fosse in the rock of that castle, besides other sums expended on the works there, to the amount of 205*l.* 1*s.* 5½*d.*

Criccaeth Castle was likewise repaired at the same time, and 48*l.* 8*s.* 9½*d.* expended in its restoration. The works gradually proceeded from the 13th year of Edward I. till the 18th, when we find an entry on the Liberate Roll of an allowance to Richard de Abbindon, late Chamberlain of Carnarvan, of 5*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*, which he had paid to William de Seymes, William de Moeke, and Ernald, brother of the said William de Seymes, who were sick at Carnarvan in the 12th year, and 8*s.* paid to Alice de Derby for the care of them. Also 10*s.* expended in the purchase of a cloth-of-gold to cover the body of the said William deceased ; 14*s.* 1*d.* paid to the Friars of Bangor for oblations, &c. at his funeral : also 4*l.* 19*s.* paid to Philip ab Howel, and twenty Welshmen stopping with him at Carnarvan, and awaiting their passage to Ireland in the 13th year, and 15*s.* paid for freight of the vessel taking them to that kingdom.

⁶ The Corpus Comitatus, an official record of the sheriff's accounts of the 12th Edward I., and the only one of the nature that has hitherto been discovered, states that John de Aundover clerk, and master

James de St. George, owe 5319*l.* 14*s.*, received by them from Master William de Luda for the works of the Castle of Conway.

This shows us that the works at Caernarvon were no longer under the charge of Richard de Abingdon, and we accordingly find mention of his successor, Robert de Belvero, in the office of Chamberlain, who was to be allowed in his accounts 69*l.* 12*s.* 10½*d.*, which he had delivered to Queen Eleanor, the king's wife, as a gift from the monarch. The following entries throw further light upon the condition of the town and Castle during the term of this second Chamberlainship.

Otho de Grandison was appointed warden of the Castle in 1286, and there is an allowance to him of 5*l.* for 50 quarters of salt for victualling it in the 14th year of Edward I., and of 17*l.* 3*s.* 6½*d.* which he had expended in the purchase of 300 staves for cross-bows, wax, skins, varnish, cord, and other things delivered to William, the King's Attiliator in Caernarvon Castle ("ad attiliariam suam inde faciendam"). Also 50*l.* 14*s.* paid to the said William for his wages at 8*d.* a-day for 1521 days, ending at Pentecost in the 18th year, also 1*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* paid to two preparers ("apparatores") of bows and arrows in Caernarvon Castle, for their wages for 11 weeks, ending Aug. 4th, the 14th year.

It appears from the Liberate Roll (18 Edward I.) that the wall round the town was built in the 14th year of this reign (1286), as 6*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* was paid to some burgesses as a recompense for the loss they had sustained by their houses being pulled down to allow its erection. Simon Corbet and John de Dallington also took 37*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* for keeping the gates of the town, and for divers men occupied in the fortification of the town, from the 15th to the 18th year, at 14*d.* a-week each.

There is no mention made on the Rolls of any particular person to whom the planning or direction of the works at these several fortresses was confided. A few years later, Edmund Crouchback was authorised to direct what works should be executed, but the only individual now named who seems likely to have had any control over the architectural part is William de Britan, who is spoken of as the artilleryman (*attiliator*) in the castles of Wales, and who took for his wages from the 1st of June (13th), 1285, to the 9th of November the same year, 5*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*, or at the rate of 8*d.* a-day. These unusually high wages, at all events, show that he was above a common workman, though whether

he was the architect and designer of the various towers and fortifications, or had merely to do with the engines of war and methods of defence, can only be a matter of supposition.

Without doubt considerable portions of Caernarvon Castle were constructed during the years 1284 and 1285; much could not have been raised in 1283, though it is equally certain that it was commenced in that year. It was however as yet only in course of progress, as I find an entry on the Great Roll of the Pipe in the 19th of Edward I. (1291) of further sums expended on labour and materials, without the various items of each being particularly specified, amounting to 3528*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*, equivalent to about fifteen times that outlay in the present century, or something like 50,000*l.*⁷

The returns of William de Luda for the 10th of Edward I. are placed upon the Roll where the foregoing expense is written, and they furnish a curious insight into the enormous outlay for the Welsh wars, or at least present an idea of the vast sums raised by fines, aids, or subsidies for its prosecution. As much as 122,113*l.* 9*s.* is set down as received by the treasurer to sustain the contest against Llewellyn and David, sons of Griffin, Prince of Wales.

From the preceding accounts it will have been observed that, although military works were commenced at Caernarvon very shortly after the death of the last Welsh Prince, these operations were in fact extended through a series of years. No particular part of the building is specified at this early period, and when therefore the king himself visited the place in the 12th year of his reign and entered Caernarvon for the first time, on the 1st day of April, 1284, the accommodation it afforded for himself and Queen Eleanor, then about to give birth to a future Prince of Wales, must have been ill suited for the reception of royalty. The heir to the English throne was undoubtedly born in the town on the 25th of the same month. Whether in the precincts of the Castle, or in any particular part of it, it would be hazardous to determine, but as we shall shortly find sufficient reasons for stating, not in the Eagle Tower, where this event is by concurrent report asserted to have happened.

The king came from Aberconway on the last day of March and till the 6th of May constantly remained at Caernarvon.

⁷ The entire outlay upon Caernarvon, Criccaeth, and Harlech amounted to 16,422*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$. (Magn. Rot. Pip. 19 Edw. 1.)

The queen being then in a state of convalescence, he went to Neuadarthlan and Hardelagh till the 24th. His time was spent betwixt these places and Criccaeth. He made a sojourn at Caernarvon from the 27th of May until the 8th of June. He then passed to Baladeuthlyn, where he stayed nearly a month, returning from it to Caernarvon on the 5th of July, when he made another rest in the town for three weeks. On the 27th of the same month he left it for Nevyn, (where he held a great tournament,) Bardsey, Criccaeth, Porthelyn, and Penvaghan. He was again here from the 14th to the 21st of August, when he quitted Wales by way of Aber, Aberconway, Rhuddlan and Flint, for Chester.

On the 13th of October, Edward I. came to Caernarvon for the fifth time within the same year, and remained ten days, and finally left it the last week in the month, taking Criccaeth and Harlech on his route to Castel y Berio, which he reached on the 1st of November, and proceeded on the 8th of the same month to Lampadarnvaur or Aberystwith.

This outline of his movements during the present year of his reign has been derived from the royal attestation of writs or other official documents issued during the period, and it shows that he was continually in attendance upon his beloved consort, both previously to her confinement with Prince Edward, in the month of April, 1284, and for several days afterwards.⁸ We also learn that, during the latter half of this twelfth year, he visited the various places where his castles were built, so that, if he did not actually behold them in a state of advancement, which is more than probable, he must then have fixed upon the spots where these superb fortresses were to be raised.⁹

Pursuing their history, as we find it noticed on the Pipe Rolls, it appears that between the years 1291 and 1293 (the 19th and 21st of Edward I.) little was expended upon the Welsh castles, the only entry on the subject being placed on a record of the latter year, in which 20*l.* 11*s.* 11³/₄*d.* occurs for operations at Caernarvon and Harlech. In the 21st year, Adam de Whetenhale received 100 marcs for his yearly fee as Constable, being the same sum that had previously been granted to the commander of the other castle in the adjacent county.

⁸ I quote from my own MS. Itinerary of the reign.

⁹ Edward was in South Wales in the 13th year of his reign, but did not proceed into the Northern Principality.

In the 23rd year of Edward's reign (1295) the affairs of Scotland were so nearly settled, that the English monarch had less cause for anxiety in that quarter. He was about to embark on an expedition on the Continent, being involved in a dispute with Phillip IV. of France. His English subjects had readily granted him a fifteenth of their moveables, and in his endeavours to enforce a similar tribute from the Welsh, so formidable a revolt broke out simultaneously, in three different parts of the Principality, that he was obliged to suspend the intended embarkation of his forces, and hasten to suppress the outbreak. The leaders do not seem to have acted together by any preconcerted plan. The rising at Caernarvon happened on a fair-day, when a large concourse of the people were assembled from the surrounding districts, and a great number of Englishmen were collected in the town. Under the command of Madoc, one of Prince David's illegitimate sons, the natives slew all the foreigners; hanging Roger de Pulesdon, the Constable, they plundered and burnt the town, and took the Castle. The fastnesses of Snowdon were speedily recaptured, and the unprotected plains of Anglesey fell an easy prey before the arms of the insurgents. The king had now been absent from Wales for eleven years, and during the interval large sums had been expended on the Castle; but the temporary success of the native chieftains placed the monarch in unforeseen difficulties, and compelled him to visit the country immediately. He had first to regain the power that had so suddenly been wrested from his grasp, and to recommence building the great fortress at Caernarvon, which, if not razed entirely to the ground, must have been rendered useless as a garrison. His tenure of Anglesey, too, would require some protection for the future. These transactions will immediately explain the cause of the royal writ on the Clause Rolls of this year addressed to the Justice of Chester, ordering him to select a hundred masons and send them immediately to the king's works at Caernarvon, evidently to repair the injuries they had recently sustained; there to do what Edmund, the king's brother, shall direct;¹ whilst undoubtedly the Castle of Beaumaris owes its origin to the same temporary overthrow of the English power.

A little later than this, we have a report from Hugh de Leominster and William de Hereford, in answer to a royal

¹ Close Roll, 23 Edw. I., m. 10. Teste Rege apud Luwell xi. die Junii.

writ, wherein they were directed to certify as to the state of the works at Caernarvon. This document, which is preserved amongst the records of the Chapter-house at Westminster, sets forth "that the walls of the town of Caernarvon were completely finished by the 10th of September; and that from that day until the 27th of November the works were carried on round the Castle; and that from the 26th of November until the time of despatching the report there were various persons employed,—such as masons, men cutting freestone, carpenters, smiths, quarrymen, and inferior labourers and boatmen carrying stone, sometimes more and sometimes less, against the next season." They then complain of want of money, which had caused them to defer beginning the walls of the aforesaid Castle with all their workmen till the 26th of February. At the same time, they appended a memorandum to the effect that, "on a wall begun round the moat of the Castle, there were four towers commenced, which wall contained in length 18 perches (*perticatas*), and of those perches, eight contain, in height, 12 feet, and ten perches contain in height 24 feet, and that wall contains, in thickness, fifteen feet." Unfortunately this document does not carry on its face the particular year when it was written; but from concurrent evidence it must be assigned to one betwixt the 23rd and 29th of Edward I., and most probably the former.²

There need, however, be no scruple in applying its substance to that portion of the Castle on the side next the town, since the first length of 8 perches is about the length of wall from the Eagle Tower or Well Tower to the first tower eastward, whilst this latter tower and the curtain wall up to the right hand tower of entrance complete the length of wall mentioned. The four towers which were in a state

- There is also an account of the same H. de Leominster, 23—29 Edw. I., which has a few entries mentioning the names of particular parts of the Castle, and the expenses incurred in their erection. Amongst others, occur the following:—

"A°. 23. 4 Sept. pro virgis emptis pro Aula Domini Regis ibidem 3s. 9½d.—pro foragio empto ad eandem Aulam inde co-operiendam 7s. 4d.—Pro gabule ejusdem Aule facienda de petra ad tascham 5s.

"30 Oct. pro grosso meremio empto de diversis personis pro Camera Militum inde facienda 7s. 10d., &c.

"A°. 24. 6 Nov. Pro grosso meremio empto de diversis personis pro eadem

Coquina facienda 9s. 8d.—pro minuto meremio et virgis emptis ad eandem *Coquinam* 4s. 6d.—pro foragio ad eandem co-operiendam 9s. 8d.

"13 Nov. Johannis de Pek pro quadam *Pistrina* co-operiendam ad tascham 9s. eidem pro parietibus ejusdem faciendis 8s.

"4 Decr. Henrico de Ryhull pro quodam molendino manuali faciundo ad tascham 11s. 8d.

"18 Decr. Henrico de Cestr. pro meremio ab eo empto pro domibus *Porte Scaccarii* de Carn. 17s. 4d." There are also payments for making a stable, a granary, (with boards, nails, &c.), and for enclosing the King's garden with a ditch and hedge.

of erection will, therefore, be the two chief ones of entrance, and those two to their east and west. The change observable in the construction fully accords with the language of the document, and offers most satisfactory testimony to the value of architectural induction, strengthened as it is here by the contents of the records themselves.

Thus, then, we find a portion of the northern side of the Castle in process of erection during the 23rd year of Edward I. ; part of it had reached the height of ten feet, and another portion had risen to twenty-four. It was in this gradual manner that the present noble pile was constructed, whilst the thick and solid walls, and its many-sided towers, grew by degrees, as the funds could be procured for their prosecution ; which, as we ascertain from another document helping to fix the assignment of the foregoing date, must have been very heavy, since 429 men were employed weekly during the months of June and July.³

On the 26th of December, in the 23rd year of his reign, Edward visited Conway, and staid there until the 6th of January, when he went to Bangor till the 19th. He then returned to the former place, where he made a lengthened visit until the 7th of April : passed the 9th and 10th again at Bangor. From the 12th of April to the 6th of May he was at Llamays in Anglesey. He then proceeded to Dolgelly, Towyn, Cardigan, Merthyr, Brecon, Pool, and Chirk, to Conway again, which he reached after this pleasant tour on the 30th of June. He remained at Conway till the 5th of July, was at Bangor on the 6th, and finally reached Caernarvon on the 7th. Having spent four days here, and having inspected the various military erections completed since his former visit, he took his last survey of this important key to his recently acquired dominions, and left the country by way of Denbigh, Worcester, &c., reaching Westminster at the end of the month.

This was the latest period he had an opportunity of beholding the Castle of Caernarvon. With its plan he was no doubt fully acquainted, but he did not reign long enough to witness the completion of his grand undertaking, nor to see that glorious tower, capped with its imperial eagle, rise to its present height, which lifts its hoary battlements

³ Compotus 23 Edw. I., Carlton Ride.

as a sea mark, and the most dignified portion of the structure.

Operations were continued under the Chamberlainship of Hugh de Leominster at the different Castles of Caernarvon, Criccaeth, Conway, and Harlech simultaneously, from the 27th to the 29th years of Edward I., at an expense conjointly of 5896*l.* 1*s.* 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*;⁴ there occurs also a sum of 44*l.* 4*s.* 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* for the expense of a new barrier (*Novi Gerioli*) round the Castle of Caernarvon. Other charges appear on the Pipe Roll of the 29th of Edward I., such as payment of 4*d.* a day for the maintenance of hostages at Conway, a subject to be reverted to, and for victualling the aforesaid castles during the 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, and the first portion of the 29th years of this reign, amounting to 878*l.* 9*s.* 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, and in wages of soldiers 6895*l.* 5*s.* 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, making, with all other expenses of building, &c., a sum total of 13,763*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.*

Nor need we be surprised at so large an amount, for it will include the expenses incidental to Madoc's recent insurrection, as well as of employing a large number of men at Caernarvon in the months of June and July. In the latter month, as we have previously seen, more than 400 persons were at work, 160 of whom were masons. Besides this, there are the charges incidental to a writ entered on the Clause Roll, 26 Edward I., in which the Treasurer of Dublin is ordered to provide 400 quarters of corn in Ireland, and to send them to Hugh de Leominstre, Chamberlain of Caernarvon, to furnish the royal Castles of Beaumaris, Kaernarvon, Crukyn, and Hardelagh, the corn to be equally divided among the four. And again, during the 25th of Edward I., 100*l.* was allowed for the support of the Quay, and 400*l.* for the works of the Castle.⁵

Mention has just been made, for the first time, of the Castle of Beaumaris; and it is remarkable that, whilst the four other North Welsh castles are constantly mentioned conjointly, this, which is only second in point of magnitude and strength to the one under immediate consideration, is never alluded to until the present moment. There are two ways of explaining this omission. One, that it is reasonable to suppose it was a later erection, and consequently would not be returned on the official documents; the other, that the

⁴ Magn. Rot. Pip., 29 Edward I.

⁵ Liberate Roll, 25 Edward I.

various outlays upon its erection might have been returned on documents of a different nature to those we have consulted. For instance, the Sheriff of Anglesey might have accounted for the expense of operations at Beaumaris in documents which no longer exist. However, all we are now justified in doing in the absence of such documentary proof, is to consider the Castle of Beaumaris dating its foundation from the earliest record that relates to it. This will be, then, on the return made upon the Great Roll of the Pipe of the 29th of Edward I., where William de Felton is spoken of as Constable, and Walter de Wynton as Clerk of the Works of the Castle in the 24th and 25th years, so that it must have been commenced, as Walsingham states, in 1295 (23 Edward I.) In the two former years there is an allowance of 300*l.* for the works, and at the latter time a smaller sum to the official of the county for the same purpose. In the 27th of Edward I. the custody of this fortress was granted, during royal pleasure, to John de Havering, with the annual fee of 40*l.*, and William de Felton was commanded to give up to his keeping all the armour, victuals, and stores. He, however, only retained the keeping for a year, as the king conferred upon him the more important office of Constableship of all the Castles in North Wales, excepting Beaumaris, and appointed him Justiciary of this portion of his dominions. A record bearing no date, but from internal evidence to be assigned to some year betwixt the 23rd and 29th of Edward I., sets forth a complaint of this same functionary to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, stating that the wardens of the works at Beaumaris had detained the money designed for the prosecution of those at Caernarvon to the value of 650 marcs, and he prays, therefore, that the money so assigned be not henceforth sent to Beaumaris. This may probably account for the representation made by Hugh de Leominster, that he could not expedite the buildings under his care through want of sufficient funds, which money might have been appropriated to the equally urgent wants of the workmen at Beaumaris.

To return to the history of Caernarvon, it appears that Hugh de Leominster ceased to hold the office of Chamberlain in the 29th of Edward I. ; since a writ occurs on the Clause Roll of this year, authorising the Treasurer and Barons of

the Exchequer to audit his accounts, and to allow him all he had expended on the works of the Castle, and in repairing the walls of the town. Amongst the petitions set forth before the king, in his Parliament at Westminster, in the 33rd year of his reign, are several from different persons employed on this great undertaking, demanding payment for labour during the period Hugh de Leominster was Chamberlain.⁶

This is the last year during the reign of Edward I., that I have been able to gather any information respecting the castles he built in North Wales. Thomas de Esthall was now Chamberlain, and an account presented by him for the expenses incurred during this year is contained on a Roll, preserved at the Chapter-house, Westminster. It chiefly relates to the weekly wages of the people employed, and details the cost of solid industry rather than the price of materials. Thus, for instance, there were 30 masons employed during an average week, 26 layers, 1 lime-burner, 4 carpenters, 5 smiths, 15 boatmen, 35 quarry-men, 3 vintenars, 56 inferior workmen, 11 mariners, and sundry carters, varying from 50 to 186 persons weekly, and at an expense of from two to twelve pounds a-week, or taking for the year's wages, 582*l.* 12*s.* 7½*d.*

Thus then the Castle was still in the course of erection at the close of Edward's reign, and, as we shall shortly see, was left by this monarch far from completion. Certain towers and walls were no doubt finished by him; the general design was carried out to a fair height and extent, the fosse was excavated on the north side, and the whole of the town enclosed with walls. We will now endeavour to ascertain what was left for his son Edward of Caernarvon to accomplish.

The Great Roll of the Pipe no longer furnishes illustration of this subject, and we must turn to a class of documents commonly called the Minister's Accounts, or the Operation Rolls, made up according as the expenses of building or repairs were incurred. Only a few of these exist, but they are full and conclusive as long as we have them, and throw most important light upon the subject under our notice. There are no architectural documents in existence so copious or so close in their application to the different buildings to which they refer; and, impressed with this belief, I shall

⁶ Rot. Parl., v. i., p. 164. b., p. 167. b.

quote rather freely from the earliest record of this description, because it is not only a valuable statistical memorial of the period, but gives a very clear insight into the method of erecting these great military strongholds.

In the 10th year of Edward II. (1316—1317) there is an Account Roll of payments, made for works at the Castle of Caernarvon, from Sunday the 10th day of October, 1316, to the 1st of May, 1317.⁷ It is written very fairly on thirty rotulets, each rotulet comprising the outlay of a week, and the various entries usually taking the same respective places on the document. From this it appears, that in the month of October, and, in fact, during the whole of these thirty weeks, there were about 10 masons kept at work; Master Henry de Elreton standing at the head of the list, and being dignified with the title of "Magister," or master of the company. He took for his week's labour a larger sum than the others, receiving 13s., whilst theirs varied from 21*d.* to 27*d.* for the same time. William de Shaldeford, as clerk, took 2s. 7½*d.* for his services. Eleven bricklayers had their wages varying from 14*d.* to 2s. 4*d.* each. Three smiths, a carpenter, at 1s. 6*d.* One vintenaar, 10 carters (*bayardi*), 24 excavators (*hottarii*), and 13 quarrymen, being altogether 74 individuals. Seldom less, and as often more, were employed weekly, at a cost during the first week of 5*l.* 13s. 9½*d.*, and during the whole period of 266*l.* 14s. 1½*d.*⁸

In this manner the Castle kept increasing in size and magnificence, and as we come to analyse the Roll of expenditure, we shall glean fresh facts regarding its condition during this particular period. They will tend to dispel

⁷ This Record is preserved at the Chapter House.

⁸ In the 9th & 10th years, 35*l.* 16s. 2½*d.* was expended in removing a *Hall*, called Lewelin's Hall, in Conway, and carrying the same to Karnarvan and re-erecting it there. It was the work of Henry de Oxford, see p. 240.—*Liberat.* 16 Edward II.

There are receipts for mason's work at Harlech in several small sums, in the 1st of Edward II.; and several accounts relating to Crukith (*Criccaeth*) in 7th Edward II., 1313; amongst them the following:—

"Paid for making a well in the kitchen, 7s. 9*d.*; carpenter's work for it, 4s. 9*d.*; nails, 2s.; mending the door of the Hall and kitchen, 17*d.*; mending the furnace,

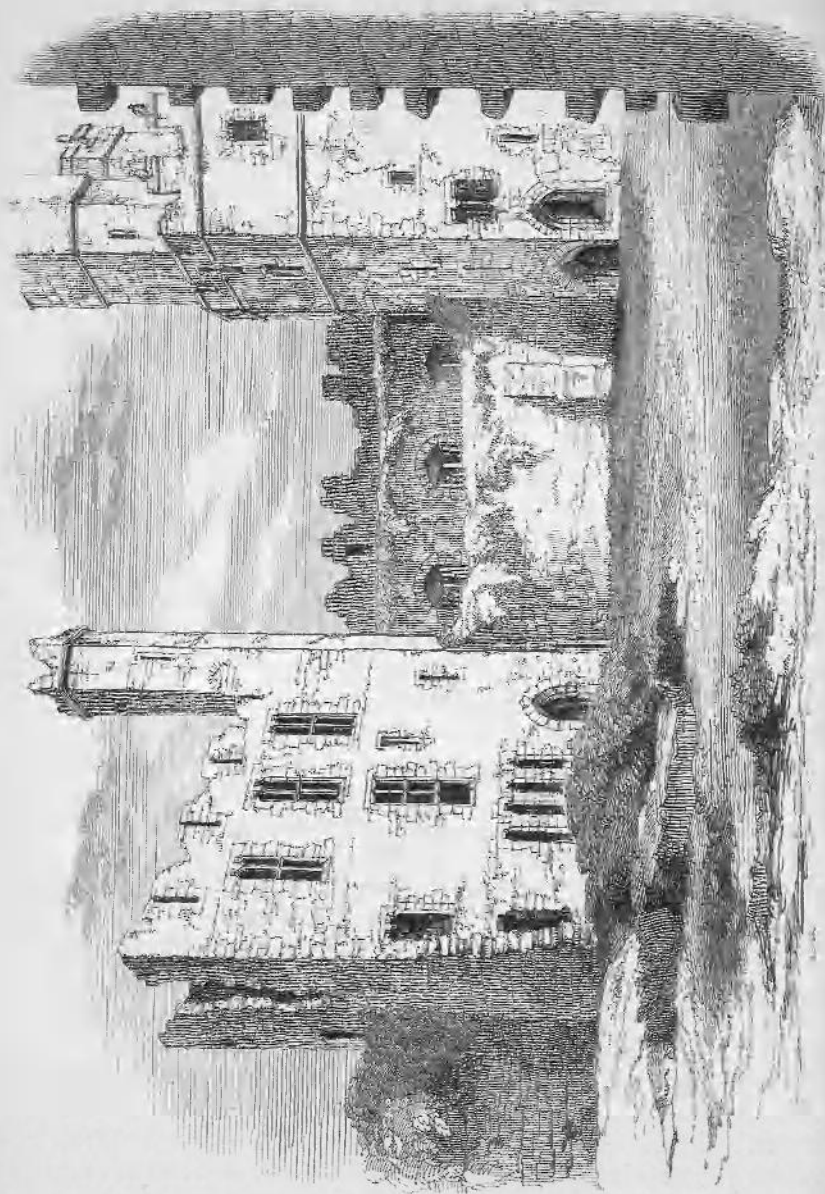
8*d.*; for six locks, 3s. 1*d.*; also repairing the furnace in the kitchen, and the wall near the gate of the Hall; four courses for the furnace, 7*d.*; carriage, 4*d.*; a carpenter for three days taking, per day, 4*d.*; two masons assisting the said work, three days, 2s.; two serving men assisting the carpenter and masons for the same time, 14*d.*."

Amongst a bundle of receipts, 8th Edward III., there are those of—

"The Forester of Snawdon, at 7*d.* a-day; Richard de Coghall, garritor of Caernarvon Castle, 2*d.* a-day; William, Attiliator, at 3*d.* a-day; John, Ingeniator, at 6*d.* a-day."

The same officers also occur at Harlech, Crukith, Beaumaris, and Conway.

CAERNARVON CASTLE.



View showing Round Tower and principal gateway.

opinions which have long prevailed, but however unacceptable they may be in correcting generally established notions respecting the age of the chief feature of the building, it is better at once to combat the erroneous conjectures that have been received, than suffer ourselves to remain longer under their agreeable delusion.

The tradition of Edward II. having been born in the Eagle Tower has obtained such universal credit, that the assertion has usurped the value of historical truth. Though, when we examine the small and highly inconvenient chamber where this event is said to have happened, it will appear perplexing why so incommodious a room should have been selected, when there were others also in the same tower, and on the same level, more suitable for the Queen's reception. This chamber, both shapeless and low, is a passage to the Vawmer, and is also a thoroughfare to two others of a better kind, as well as contiguous to one of the grand central rooms of the tower. These circumstances certainly bespeak improbability of themselves, but the matter is placed out of controversy by the entries on the present account, strengthened too, as they are, by some upon a later document, which are preserved in a different depository of the national archives; these indisputably prove that, though the Eagle Tower might have been commenced by Edward I., it was far from being completed when he died; and there is evidence to show, that that portion of the building where his son is reputed to have been born was actually not built until the present or the following year, when he was thirty-three years of age, and had sat ten upon the throne.

In the present record we have, in corroboration of these remarks, the following notices of the Eagle Tower. Amongst the items of the smith's weekly bill of particulars, there is a charge for "one lock bought for the Eagle Tower (*pro turre aquile*) and in the repair of one lock for a certain postern, 1s. 3d." On the fifth rotulet occurs a charge of 32s. 5d. for cutting down, barking, and sawing 6 oaks, and for making 30 planks out of the same for covering the Eagle Tower. Also 14s. 6d. for 160 boards bought for the said tower. On the eighteenth rotulet Robert, the smith, charges 2s. 4d. for working "spykyngnayles" for the flooring of the Eagle Tower (*turris aquile*) and other necessary iron works of six dozen of the king's iron; and for 18,000 of "spykyngs"

for the same work at 3s. 4d. a thousand; and for 25,000 "stonnayles" at 2s. 11d. On the nineteenth rotulet is a similar entry of John Murry's charge for 126 great "spykyngs" for flooring the Eagle Tower. On the twentieth rotulet there is another item of the same kind, besides others afterwards, which all go to prove that the Eagle Tower was roofed in in the month of November, 1316, and floored in the course of February in the succeeding year. And amongst four indentures in the Chapter-house is one between Roger de Mortimer, of Chirk, Justice of Wales, and Edmund de Dynyeton, the King's Chamberlain, in the parts of North Wales, witnessing an expenditure between May 1 anno 10, and June 24 anno 12, of ten carrates of lead and sixty-three lbs. of tin, "in co-opertura turris aquile *de novo facte* et co-opertæ et diversarum aliarum turrium."

An inventory of the dead stock, purchased in the 9th of Edward II. for the use of the Castle, mentions the receipt of four-score and nine pieces of lead, used in covering the Eagle Tower, as well as a banner for the same.⁹

The preceding Roll of the 10th Edward II., and a subsequent one supplying important measures omitted in it, is equally conclusive as to the actual building of some portion of the Eagle Tower, since it mentions the carriage of 400 stones from the quarry of Pont Meney to the sea, and of 200 from the quarry of Map-bon to the sea; the sizes, unfortunately left blank in the Operation Roll of the 10th of Edward II., are, however, specified in an agreement with Walter de Kank (13th Edward II.) in the second Roll,¹ by which it appears that he covenanted to supply 175 stones (*de libera quarrrera*) each to contain, in length $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, in thickness 1 foot, and in breadth $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot. These sizes, so unusual for common building purposes, will be found to agree with the sizes of the large blocks over the head of the corridors of the interior of the Eagle Tower, which, with the additional evidence deducible from the geological character of the stone itself, leave no reasonable doubt as to the Eagle Tower being the work of Edward II., from the 10th to the 12th years of his reign.

The Ferry at Moel-y-don, where this stone was discharged into vessels to await the advantage of the tide, was formerly called Bôn-y-don, signifying the end of the tidal wave,

⁹ In the Chapter-house, Bag, No 4. Bundle 2.

¹ At Carlton Ride.

because here the western tidal wave which flows over Caernarvon Bar from the Irish Sea, meets the flood tide coming from the east end of the Menai Straits by Beaumaris ; and where they both meet, the western tidal wave ends ; hence the name in Welsh, *Bôn-y-don*, the end of the wave, and it might have been called, in the time of Edward I., *Map-bon Quarry*, and the ferry itself *Pont Meney*, because here Edward I. constructed that celebrated bridge of boats for his army to cross over into Anglesey, a bridge so wide that 60 horsemen are said to have been able to pass over abreast. The place has other historical association, for here was fought that severe battle which proved so disastrous to the flower of the English army. Some of the bones of the slain have recently been dug up, in great quantities, on the Caernarvonshire side of the river. The Welsh for bridge is *Pont*, and this was the only bridge ever existing over the Straits until the more skilful, but not more daring, conceptions of modern times have given the channel so much higher a celebrity. The ring-bolts to which Edward's bridge was fastened are still to be seen on the Caernarvonshire side, about two yards under water at low water mark, which is considered a proof of the water of the Menai having risen about 6 feet since Edward built his bridge.

The number of flat stones forming the head of the passage round the Eagle Tower is 48, but the number counted in all the corridors, including these, is 785 ; but, as some of the corridors are inaccessible, the whole must be considerably greater. The heading stones in the lower corridors measure some 4 feet, and 4 feet 1 inch, and others 4 feet 4 inches in width, and those on the first floor 3 feet 1 inch, and 3 feet 3 inches in width : those of the corridor generally 1 foot 9 inches by 1 foot 10 inches, which, allowing for the corbels they rest upon, would accord with the sizes of the contract.

There are some general entries on the former document (10 Edward II.) deserving notice. Mention is made of the king's iron ; thus showing that the Crown had royal stores of this valuable metal ; for instance, Robert, the smith, charges 2s. 4d. for mending and repairing one great martel, for 12 wedges, 6 picks, and other iron-work of the king's iron ; also for working, from the same stores, upon the springhald and other engines ; for 7 hinges for the doors and windows of the towers of the Castle ; for divers bindings of

iron for "wyndaces" and engines, and other necessities, and for working four pairs of "gyves" of iron for the prison of the Castle (Rot. xx.).² Again, the same craftsman charges for making iron stays, ties, and various other work necessary for the trebuchets, springhalds, and other military engines; and, lastly, showing how completely this record relates to the Eagle Tower, we have, on the twenty-second rotulet his expenses for working cramps (*cramponos*) of iron, in the first week of March, for holding the eagle upon the great tower; and, during the last week of this month, a similar charge for three cramps for holding a certain eagle of stone upon the great tower. On the two last rotulets of this important document the expenses of the plumbers occur, all conspiring to show that the various expenditure entered upon it relates to the construction and finishing of this grand portion of the fortress, since the entries occur just as the different kinds of labour and materials would be required. Beginning with excavators, layers, masons, few carpenters at first, till we have the introduction of free-stone, then flooring, roofing, plumbers' work, and fixing the stone eagle upon the battlements, which lend to it so imposing an air, and help to perpetuate its name.³

Amongst incidental items on the Roll the following seem entitled to notice:—

"For 13 lbs. of grease for the cords of the engines, 2s.

"For straw bought for covering a certain chamber in the king's court, assigned for the Justices, 3s.

"For one little boat, called Cavene, bought for the works of the Castle of Caernarvon, 3s. 4d.

"For 20½ tons of sea-coal (*carbon. maris*) for the works, at 23d. per ton.

"For 2 spochers, bought at Conway, for the king's long-boat, and for one spoch bought at Roffeyr, 2d. each.

"For lyne corde bought for measuring the stones, 6d.

"For 40 boards, bought of John Bunt for covering *Pennetour*, 20 at 6d. each, 10 at 4d., and 10 at 3d."⁴

There are also expenses paid to Adam of Cadog carrying

² On my last visit to Caernarvon, I picked up one of these in a building I imagine to have been the Prison Tower; and at the same time found some of the carrates of lead, early guns, and a great variety of small drinking vessels, probably used by the workmen.

³ All the other representations on the Merlons are demi-figures, with the characteristic bacinet and jupon of Edw. II., like

those at Chepstow Castle.

⁴ This tower is at the east end of the upper baly and was the usual post of the garritor. A provision was made for his protection by a shutter in the embrasures, the hole for the support of it may still be seen here, and similarly near the Constable's Tower at Alnwick, which was nearly coeval, having been erected 5—8 Edw. II.

stones from the free quarry to the Castle, in one of the king's ships, 12 tons per tide, taking per ton per tide $1\frac{1}{2}d.$; and for one cart and three horses, taking 40 cart-loads of stone from the quarry at the end of the town to within the Castle at $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ per cart-load.

This and the following document are moreover curious for giving the names of all the workmen during each successive week, from which it appears that two-thirds of their number were Englishmen.

The second document of the reign of Edward II. is preserved amongst those in the custody of the Queen's Remembrancer. It relates to the outlay made in the 13th year, and runs much the same in its general character as the last, showing a disbursement during the whole year of 258*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.*

A few extracts from this will suitably follow those just adduced.

The most remarkable entries on this and the previous Roll occur amongst the particulars of the smith's bill. We have now charges for a great cable, called a "Hauceour," weighing six stone, bought from Aman ap Jevan for the great engine of the works, called wyndys, at 2*s.* a stone—12*s.*; also, 16 lbs. of grease for it, 20*d.*; wedges and staples of iron for the same, one great bar for the windows in the Castle; 30 gross of spikes for the great bridge of the town of Caernarvon; 3 bars beyond the gate of the new hall of the Castle,⁵ which is conclusive as to the erection of this portion of the building during the reign of the second Edward; 2 hooks of iron for the windows of the residence of the King's Chamberlain; and lastly, the items of Hova, the blacksmith, for working 2 gross of iron somers for a certain springhald, and 12 pikes of iron for the defence of the head of the image of the king, lest the birds should sit upon it, made out of 13 pieces of the king's iron, 2*s.* 6*d.*⁶ This last memorandum, therefore, shows that the royal effigy over the grand gateway of entrance was placed there the last week of April, in the 13th year of Edward II. (1320.)

All this looks very like drawing towards a completion of the Castle, though sundry expenses would still remain to be brought forward in the next year's accounts. Amongst those

⁵ The roofing for it was removed from Llewellyn's Hall at Conway.

⁶ "pro defensione capitis ymaginis Regis ne aves supersedeant."

in the 14th year is the cost of a man blowing a horn for nine weeks, at 1*d.* per week, to call the men to their work ; an entry of a similar kind occurs two years previously ; there is also an entry of 2*s.* 6*d.* for straw to cover the lodging of the masons ; and upon another document, preserved elsewhere, there is a memorandum of payment to Thomas, the smith, for working one iron cramp for the large stones, beyond the gate of the Castle, for holding up the sculptured image of the king.⁷

The Chamberlain's returns of the 15th of Edward II. are the last we meet with on the subject of building, and they are by no means the least important, as they prove that by this year the Castle was entirely finished, and that four carrates of lead (carratas) were used in covering the great gate of the Castle and the two towers on either side of the same entrance, and in mending the defective roof of the Exchequer and other towers, at different times within the same period. (15-16 Edward II.)⁸

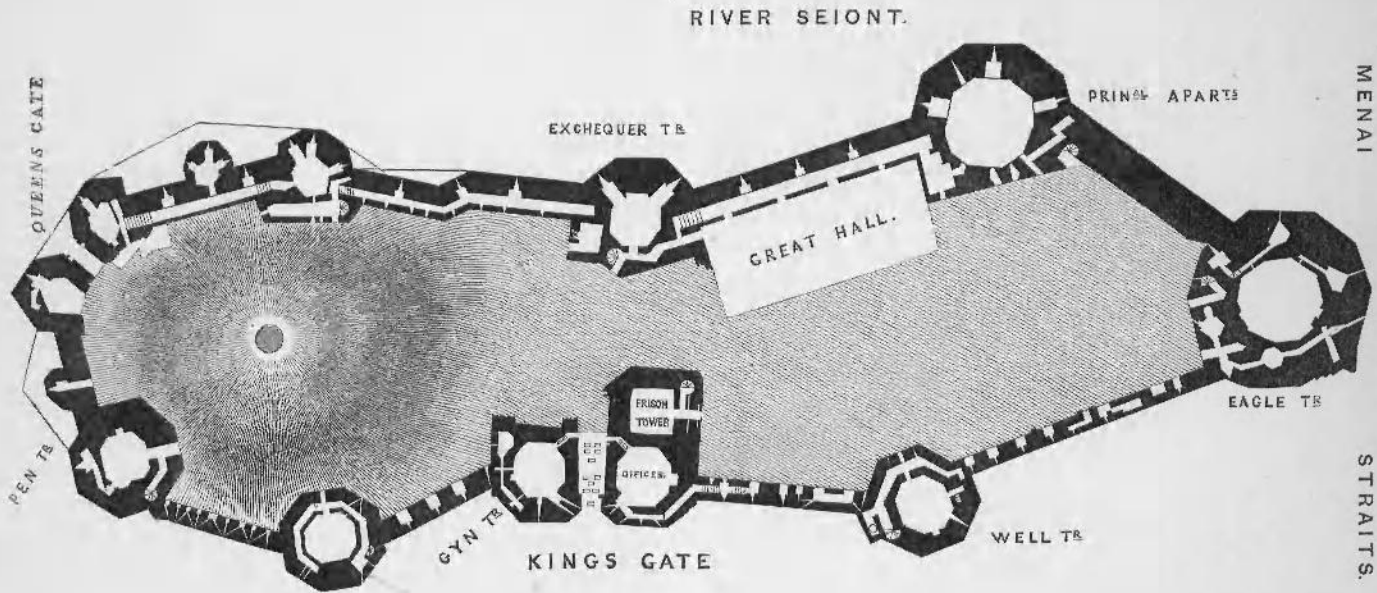
The Castle was commenced at the north-east corner, and gradually went on to the south-west, the masonry between these points being apparently the same. Edward I. proceeded with the works till we reach the lofty curtain-wall to the south-east of the Eagle Tower, where a stringcourse indicates the beginning of fresh operations, whilst the mouldings and masonry henceforward show a different style. So that the erection of this grand fabric was commenced in the 11th year of Edward I. (1283), and carried on at different intervals till it was advanced to probably its greatest height of perfection in the 15th of Edward II. (1322) ; thus extending over a term of thirty-eight years.

There remains another misapprehension respecting its erection, to be noticed ; namely, that the see of York was kept vacant seven years, and its issues applied to meet the expenses of building this noble fabric. It is sufficient refutation of this idea simply to state that the see of York was never void for any greater length of time than was officially necessary for the appointment of a new metropolitan ; and so far from Edward I. having seized upon the revenues of the Church to raise money for building his Welsh castles, it is more than probable the cost of their erection was

⁷ "Thome fabro operanti 1 crampon ferri pro magnis petris ultra portam castri ad ymaginem Regis talliatam simul tenendum."

⁸ In the Chapter-house.

CAERNARVON CASTLE.



supplied by the revenue paid into the Welsh Exchequer by the natives themselves.

Here we will leave the history of its erection, and descend to the next reign; in the 17th year of which (1343), or rather more than twenty years later than the Castle was finished, we have a royal commission, addressed to William de Emeldon, to inquire into the castles, manors, and other property of the Crown in North and South Wales. By virtue of this authority he commenced his tour of inquiry at the Castle of Conway on the 1st day of August, when, assisted by a jury, summoned together for the purpose, the investigation was commenced by looking through the armoury, which contained bacinets, aketons, and haubergions, 4039 lance-heads, 29 ribs for the crossbows, 12 colerets of plate, 5 pair of rerebraces, 2 great martells, &c.

“The Jury found that the great Hall, together with the cellar under it, were ruinous, on account of the age of the materials and through defect of lead, and could not be repaired under 160*l.*; namely, in mason’s work, 100*l.*; in materials, wood, and carpentry, 20*l.*; and in lead and other requisites, 40*l.* That the kitchen, bakehouse, and brewhouse, under the same roof, were ruinous and nearly destroyed, and could not be repaired under 60*l.* That the drawbridge of the lower baly (*pons tractabilis de ballio inferiore*) was weak and ruinous, and could not be repaired under 30*s.*; and that the tower beyond the postern of the Castle, which stands as a great safeguard for the rest of the Castle, was in a precarious state, and could not be perfected under 60*l.*; and a certain house called ‘le Gerner’ was ruinous and could not be repaired under 100*s.*; also that the dwellings (*tecta*), and ten floors and eight chambers, in the six-sided tower, were weak, and could not be repaired under 131*l.*; in mason’s work and materials, 70*l.*; carpenter’s work, 30*l.*; and lead, 31*l.* Also, that the drawbridge of the Castle would cost 40*s.* That the wall of a certain gate near the postern was ruinous, and could not be repaired under the same sum; and that the stables were weak and ruinous, and could not be repaired under 4*l.* The whole decay being estimated at 425*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.*”

On the 3rd of August, William de Emeldon proceeded to Beaumaris, where the same method of inspection was followed. Amongst the stock, mention is made of three moulds of brass for the hand-mills, three notes of brass for the springhalds, and three bows of brass. The inventory also speaks of garbs of steel, seven stone axes for the masons, four somers of iron for the springhalds, &c.

“Here the jury reported that a certain chamber beyond the gate near the sea was ruinous, and would cost to repair 7*l.*, and that the dwelling and areas (*aree*) of two chambers in ‘le Gemell Tour’ would cost 35*l.* The

covering of the hall and the chamber of the hall with lead, 13s. 4d., and the tower called 'Rustycoker' was ruinous, and would cost 8l., and the tower called 'le Chapel Tour' could not be repaired under 128l., and a tower called 'Pilardesbathe' would cost 10l., and a tower called 'le Gyne Tour' would cost 100l.; also three towers called 'Gemewes' would cost 15l., and a tower called 'le Midel Tour' would cost 100s.; also a tower which stands in the angle of the Castle towards the meadow, 10l.; also 30 rood of walls, which were very ruinous, would cost 30l.; also the kitchen was ruinous and would cost 40s.; and to complete two towers above the hall would take 100l. In short, the whole that was necessary would cost 684l. 6s. 8d."

On the 5th of August, William de Emeldon came to Caernarvon, when with the jury he looked over the armoury, reported as to its condition, and examined the state of the Castle. From this survey it appeared, that in a certain tower, called the "Well Tower," in which were disposed four cisterns, of which three were made, and on account of the default of the fourth cistern, which had not been made, the whole of the material had become worthless, so that it was needful to perfect and rebuild with stone arches that part, which would cost 214l. Also a tower called "Tour de Ganer" was ruinous, and would cost 6l., and the repair of a certain kaye for the said tower, which it was desirable to do shortly against the sea, would take 40l.; and that five chambers in a certain tower called "Tour de Egle," which were not finished, and other necessary repairs, would cost 15l.; and two chambers in the tower called the "Gyn Tour" greatly needed repairing, and would cost 10l., namely, in corbels and other mason's work, 6l., and covering with lead the "Blake Tour," 6l., and the tower called the "Prison Tour," 6l.

Also that the gate of the aforesaid Castle, and a certain tower joined to the same gate, and a certain hall above the afore-mentioned gate, which were begun and not finished, the completion of which they knew not how to estimate, and that a certain gate towards the Prince's garden (*versus ortum principis*) was begun and not completed, and the cost of this they could not declare. The sum total of all the requisite reparations and defects they set down at 295l. 10s.

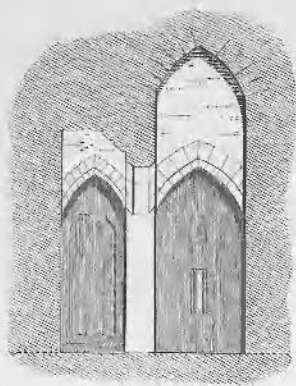
The report of the present Inquisition gives us the names of six towers, namely, the Eagle Tower, the Well Tower, "Tour le Ganer," the "Gyn Tour," where the engines were kept, the Black Tower, and the Prison Tower. Besides



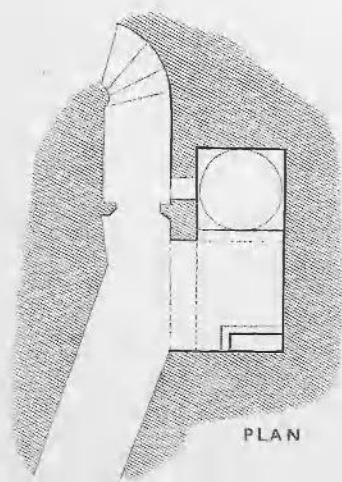
Two Doorways, in the Eagle Tower.



Caernarvon Castle.—View in Well Tower.

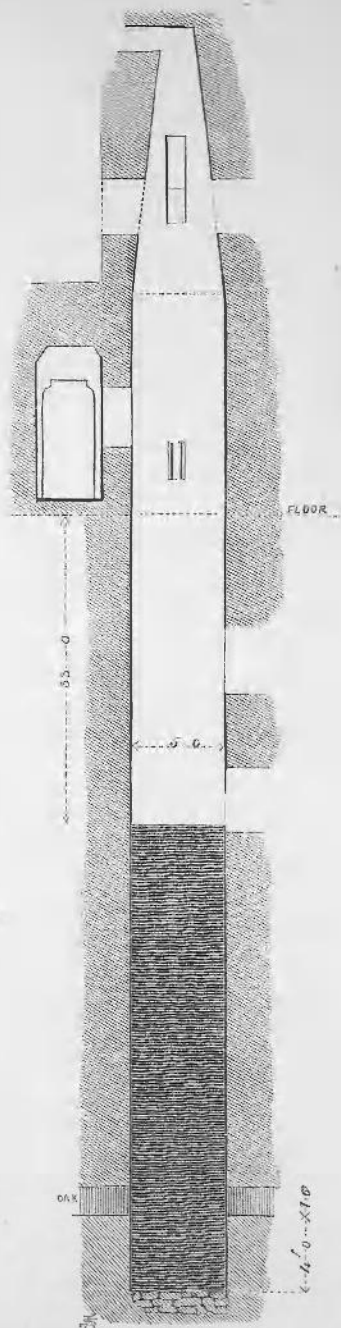


SECTION
In front of the Arches.



PLAN

SECTION



Caernarvon Castle.—Well, showing Plan and Sections.

these we have already heard of Penne Tower ; we know that the chamberlain resided within the walls of the Castle, that the Exchequer was kept here, that there was a great hall, and also another hall over the chief entrance, that there was a guard chamber (*Camera Militum*), a kitchen, a bake-house, &c.⁹ To assign each of these to their appropriate position in the present existing remains is a work of some difficulty, and we can only do so on the grounds of supposition, as we have no clue to determine them accurately. As far however as present appearances and probability go, these respective towers appear to have been distributed as they are marked on the plan.

Having completed his survey of Caernarvon, William de Emeldon proceeded on the 7th August to Criccaeth, where the same mode of examination was pursued. Very little remains of this dreary and nearly unapproachable stronghold. It is a place that has suffered more than any of the North Welsh castles, but will always be memorable in the annals of the country, as the place where Griffith, with his son, were confined by their unnatural kinsman. Here, too, we find mentioned the "Gynne Tour," as well as others, which can no longer be identified, as Leybourn Tower, and two chambers in the Sister Tower, all needing repair.

The primary object of this survey was to ascertain the value of the grant made by Edward III. to his son the Black Prince, in the 7th year of his reign, which grant included all these castles with their manors. The amount of the revenue belonging to him, as appears by inquisition, from North and South Wales, was 4681*l.* 12*s.* 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*

On the 8th he went to Harlêch, where he reported the chapel as ruinous ; at a former survey (14 Edward II., 1320-1321), this was the only building belonging to the Crown in which a chapel was mentioned, and here there was still preserved one vestment, one missal, and one cup of silver-gilt, most likely a chalice. William de Emeldon also stated that two chambers in the "Gemel Tower," over the gate of the Castle, and the tower towards the garden, and the "Wedercok Tour," and two floors in the same, also a hall

⁹ The whole of Caernarvon Castle has recently been extremely judiciously repaired under the care of Anthony Salvin,

Esq. ; and it is desirable the other castles belonging to the Crown should be attended to under the same experience and ability.

called "Styngwernehalle," with the pentice (*penticio*) and four watch-towers (*garretonis*) were dilapidated.¹

On the 10th of August he went to Lampadarnvaur ; on the 12th to Emlyn ; on the 14th to Cardigan ; on the 16th to Haverfordwest ; on the 18th to Caermarthen ; on the 20th to Rossleyn and Dynevor ; on the 21st to Builth ; and terminated his tour of inspection at Montgomery on the 23rd, — having visited the thirteen royal castles in North and South Wales within these three weeks. These buildings appear to have been very scantily victualled, as the whole value of stores of this description is returned as only worth 14*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Much of the honey, both native and Spanish, which was a most important necessary of life in those days, was reported as spoiled ; for instance, 110 gallons laid up at Caernarvon, through bad keeping, were set down as worth nothing. Nor was the armour in the royal castles of Conway, Beaumaris, Caernarvon, Criccaeth, and Harlech of much value,—being estimated altogether at no more than 75*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* A great outlay was now rendered necessary to preserve all the aforementioned fabrics, the sum required being computed at 4317*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*,—nearly half of which was essential for the castles of North Wales.

The often recurring mention of the Prison Tower in the North Welsh castles leads me to say a few words concerning these abodes of wretched and not unfrequently of innocent captives. However great in some of its characteristics might have been the refinement of the age when the Plantagenets flourished, it must be confessed, that amid all the architectural splendour their prowess or devotion called into existence, they have left memorials behind them betraying an implacable vengeance to their enemies, and relentless cruelty to the conquered. They were gifted with energy, courage, fortitude ; but failed in the virtues of magnanimity, clemency, and forgiveness. The fate attendant upon a Welsh captive in the reign of John was usually beheading. Henry III. dealt out to his victims much the same kind of summary punishment. But under the rule of Edward I. long imprisonment succeeded to these sanguinary practices of his ancestors.

¹ At a later Survey, in the time of Elizabeth, the names of these Towers were merged into the Debtors', the Armourers', Mortimer's, and Bronwyn Tower. Mar-

garet of Anjou found an asylum here after Henry VIth's defeat at Northampton. It was the last in North Wales that held out for Charles I.

And hence we frequently find on the Great Roll of the Pipe the expenses of maintaining his hapless prisoners. There is an allowance of 1*d.* per day for the support of eight of these unfortunate individuals in the Castle of Conway for a term of 1177 days. Robert le Poer and Peter his brother were allowed 2*d.* a day for the 1627 of their restraint ; and Howel ap Rees was granted a similar sum for his sustenance during his long confinement of 2034 days, or more than five years and a-half. The time seems even to ourselves long to read of, and the punishment disproportionately heavy ; but when contrasted with that endured by the last direct descendants of Prince David, the sufferings of the prisoners at Conway appear light and supportable by drawing the comparison.²

Prince David, it will be recollected, left behind him a family of sons and daughters. The latter ended their days in the cloistered seclusion of the monastery of Sempringham ; whilst his two male descendants were given into the custody of Reginald de Grey, Justice of Chester. In a recent memoir that has been written on the Councils and Parliaments of Shrewsbury, wherein the author endeavoured to trace the decay and fall of the ancient Welsh sovereignty, it was intimated that these last scions of the royal race of Gwynedd disappeared under circumstances of suspicion, and not honourable to the reputation of the English monarch. But later researches have enabled me to shield the memory of Edward I. from the imputation of an act so unworthy of his general character. By entries on a contemporaneous official document,³ it appears that the Chief Justice of Chester was allowed 8*l.* 2*s.* for the expenses of Prince David and eight esquires keeping him safely in Chester Castle, from Friday the Feast of St. Giles, Sept. 1st, to Thursday the morrow of St. Michael, in the 11th year, and 2*l.* for the expenses of 120 footmen conducting him from Chester to Shrewsbury for two days, "in our Parliament of St. Michael at Acton Burnell."

The captive prince, therefore, must have taken his farewell of the princess and his guiltless children at the Castle of Rhuddlan ; and after his barbarous execution, his unoffending sons, Llewellyn and Owen, were transferred from the custody of the Justiciary to the care of Peter de la Mare, Constable

² Magn. Rot. Pip., 24 Edw. I.

³ Liberate Roll, 13 Edw. I.

of Bristol Castle. There is an account, on the same record, of this (their guardian's) charge for their joint maintenance at 3*d.* a day each from the Feast of St. James, in the 12th year, to that of St. Michael the year following, being 10*l.* 15*s.*, together with 2*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* which he had expended for them in robes, linen, shoes, and other necessities; besides 10*l.* 15*s.* paid for the wages of three servants guarding them at 2*d.* per day each.⁴

In the two following years there are similar entries for their maintenance; but on the Liberate Roll of the 16th of Edward I. the tenor of the contents is changed, and we are informed that, on the Feast of St. Gregory the Pope, Llewellyn died in his confinement. The notices thenceforward continue, in the former manner, relative to the weekly expenses of the surviving brother's incarceration. We have the cost of his maintenance given with the same regularity, and that of his clothing, even down to 1*s.* paid for a pair of shoes.⁵ He outlived in prison his first keeper, and was still detained in solitary restraint, probably till death itself ended a state of misery even less supportable than this final termination of his sufferings. It is certain, indeed, that he languished in his dungeon for one and twenty years, as a memorandum on the Clause Rolls, after this lapse of time (33 Edward I.), orders the Constable of Bristol Castle "to keep Owen, son of David ap Griffin, more secure for the future, and to cause a wooden cage, bound with iron, to be made, to put him in at night."

These are plain and expressive facts, proclaiming a social condition of brutality and barbarism, from which higher notions of justice have exempted modern political offenders, whilst they suggest abundant reasons for thankfulness that in our own day the maxims of political wisdom, and the dignity of offended legislation, can be blended together without offering such outrages to the natural claims presented by the unfortunate for mercy and compassion. There was, it is true, nothing unusual in the infliction of these judicial modes of punishment; they almost seem to be sanctioned by the institutions of the age, and to be the spontaneous consequences of personal hatred or fear, and so far the inhumanity appears to be less reprehensible. Yet we

⁴ Liberate Roll., 13 Edw. I.

⁵ Liberate Roll, 20 Edw. I.

cannot conceal the inferences deducible from Edward's general treatment of his vanquished enemies, or help thinking that his disposition was naturally harsh and severe. His treatment of the first Prince of Wales justifies this view of his character, and shows that the nearest ties of kindred had no security against smarting under royal displeasure. For the king having heard that his son, who had already attained his twenty-first year, had had some angry words with the Bishop of Chester, he became so enraged, that he forbade him or any of his suite from entering his house at Midhurst, where the Court then resided, and issued an order to the Exchequer that it should neither provide sustenance for the youthful prince, nor for any of his followers. The afflicted son poured out his sorrow to the Earl of Lincoln in one of those interesting epistles which have recently been discovered, and said that he awaited his father's pleasure, and was determined to follow him at a distance, until his anger was appeased, and he had become reinstated in that good will and affection, which he so earnestly desired.

These letters of the first Prince of Wales, amounting to nearly 700, are perhaps the most remarkable epistolary compositions that are connected with the history of a prince of any country. They are highly illustrative of the personal character of Edward II., and place it before us in a much more favourable light than it has generally been regarded, since several of them evince his readiness of disposition to assist those who stood in need of his interference and bounty. Nor are they less remarkable for the illustration they afford of his private life and habits. His letter to the Abbot of Shrewsbury shows this in the following way. Richard, the prince's rhymmer, was very anxious to learn the minstrelsy of the Crwth, and Edward, having heard that the abbot had a good fiddler in his monastery, he besought the mitred ecclesiastic to direct this skilful practitioner to teach the royal servant, and that the abbot would provide for his support until he became an accomplished performer. In like manner, when the prince had sent a present to Louis, Count d'Evreux, of a grey trotting palfrey, with some Welsh harriers who could well discover a hare if they found it sleeping, and of running dogs who could swiftly pursue it, he told him that if he should want anything else from Wales he would send it, or attend to his wishes if he desired some

wild men ("gentz sauvages"), who well knew how to teach their management to the young sons of great lords.⁶

Besides the inquisitions into the actual state of the castles, documents upon which the amount and nature of their dead stock is registered, there are also still remaining separate inventories of armour and military weapons, containing several curious entries illustrative of warlike costume, and various methods of domestic and personal defence, as well as minor evidences of the care with which the buildings and their contents were preserved.⁷ It is to these records and to the various Expense Rolls of the period, written in bad Latin, or occasionally in Anglo-Norman French, with all the repulsive aspect of contractions, and in a character, when legible, confusing from the similarity of several of its letters, that we must refer for all information on military architecture. They not only detail, with laborious accuracy and minuteness, all the charges incurred in erecting and in sustaining, for a series of years, these noble structures, but as being the official evidences of the time, they are the most authentic and certain testimony that can be consulted. There is no class of documents so full, so fresh and satisfactory, nor any bearing upon architectural history at all comparable for the precise way in which they exhibit the industrial economy of the time, the rate of wages, the price of materials, the method of carrying on large works, and the various means by which labour was organised, and the weekly accounts drawn up.

For this reason I have, in the preceding inquiry, drawn copiously from these pure sources of history, and endeavoured

⁶ This letter is here given in its quaint original language, as a specimen of the collection. The Count was brother to Philip IV., then King of France :—

"(Langley, 26th May, 1305.)

"Au noble home son trescher cosyn Monsieur Lowyz de France Counte Devreux, Edward, &c., saluz e cheres amistez. Nous vous enveoms un gres palefrei trotant que a peyne poet porter sa charge demeigne, e vous enveoms de noz crocuz levrers de Gales que bien atcindroient un levre sil le trovassent endormmaunt, e de noz chiens corantz que suefe vont lamblure. Pur ceo que nous savom bien que vous amez bien le deduit des chiens perezons. E cher cosin si vous

volez dautres choses que sont en nostre pais de Gales, uncore vous envorriom bien des gentz sauvages, si vous volez, qui bien sauroient aprendre norture as joefnes einfens des grauntz seignurs. Tres cher cosin, nous vous fesom savoir que au partir de ces lettres nous fuimes sainz e heitez e en bon estat, dieu merci, ceo que nous desirom molt de vous touz jours oir e savoir ; e vous prioms que vostre estat que dieu par sa grace face toutz jours bon, nous voillez sovent maunder, kar nous sumes a ese de quer totes les foiz que nous envoioms bones noveles. Nostre seigneur vous gard."

⁷ See Bag, No. 4, bundle 2, in the Chapter House.

to show how their perusal might be rendered subservient to a nearer approach to a correct account of Caernarvon and the other royal castles in North Wales, than has hitherto appeared. Though the attempt to set forward new views, especially when they tend to deprive established ones of their influence and reality, may appear at first to be distasteful, and even abhorrent, to our long cherished predilections, as earnestly yearning after truth, we shall not hesitate to prefer the acquisition of that, to the maintenance of opinions whose only merit consists in their ingenuity, their speciousness, or association with early impressions. A reference to the various records that have been consulted will furnish others with additional means of pursuing this species of investigation ; the facts will still remain the same, but others may more skilfully elicit inductions ; extricating from these forbidding and faint memorials of the Middle Ages fresh inferences, and placing those, now for the first time brought out of obscurity, in a fuller and brighter light. As these uncorrupt fountains of information are rendered more accessible to the literary public, we shall go on gathering increased knowledge of the history and habits of past ages ; accepted errors will gradually vanish, and men will cease to repose their confidence in narratives grounded on no producible evidence, but whose greatest value consists in the air of mystery and romance by which they are disguised, or in the magic colours of fancy that form their popular attraction.

CHARLES HENRY HARTSHORNE.

NOTICES OF SEPULCHRAL MEMORIALS AT ETCHINGHAM,
SUSSEX, AND OF THE CHURCH AT THAT PLACE.

THE following observations relate to the series of monumental portraitures and memorials of a family, formerly of influence and distinction in the county of Sussex, whose history I have recently endeavoured to bring before the notice of antiquaries.

The first is an inscription from the tomb of William de Echyngham, son of Sir James de Echyngham, who died about midnight (*entour my noet*), 18 Jan. 1388, and not 1387, as has been stated. I took an accurate impression, and found