

Duffield Castle; its History, Site, and recently found Remains; with some account of the seven Earl Ferrers who held it.

By J. CHARLES COX, LL.D.

I.—THE SEVEN LORDS OF DUFFIELD CASTLE.

HENRY DE FERRERS, the son of Walkelyn de Ferrers, Lord of Ferrieres St. Hilaire, near Bernia, where he had great ironworks, accompanied the Conqueror on his triumphant expedition to England. He was one of the chief favourites of his sovereign, and his ability and integrity caused great trust to be reposed in him. The Conqueror at once made him master over a considerable section of the subdued territory, a very large share of Derbyshire falling to his lot. In the fourteenth year of his reign, Henry de Ferrers was appointed one of the Commissioners to make a general survey of the kingdom, an appointment of the greatest importance. From this survey, known as the Domesday Book, it appears that he at that time (1086-7) held 114 manors or lordships in Derbyshire, 35 in Leicestershire, 20 in Berkshire, 3 in Wiltshire, 5 in Essex, 7 in Oxfordshire, 6 in Warwickshire, 2 each in Lincolnshire, Herefordshire, and Buckinghamshire, 1 in Gloucestershire, 3 each in Hampshire and Nottinghamshire, and 7 in Staffordshire, besides the castle and borough of Tutbury. Having thus become possessed of a great territory in the Midlands, that had just previously been in the hands of a large number of semi-independent Saxon lords, it was only natural that De Ferrers should require some central residence wherein his power might be focussed, and from whence the territory, that had been won by the sword, might be retained for himself and his royal master.

Nay, it may be almost positively asserted that it was a condition of the De Ferrers' tenure from his sovereign that a strong fortress should be erected and maintained; for he was the most powerful Baron in Mercia, and the king absolutely trusted to his loyalty. It has been assumed that such a centre for his government was established at Tutbury;* but Tutbury was on the verge of his possessions rather than in the centre. Moreover, although Henry de Ferrers did rebuild the ruined Saxon fortress of Tutbury, and also founded a Priory hard by, still the remains of that which is Norman about the old castle of Tutbury, as compared with the recently uncovered remains of the castle of Duffield, show that the former was almost insignificant in defensive proportions when compared with the Derbyshire stronghold.

Duffield formed a fairly convenient centre for obtaining access to all his Derbyshire, nay all his Mercian, manors. It was but a little distance from that great main thoroughfare of England, the Rykneld Street, with which it was connected by a well-used cross-road. Duffield commanded a ford over the Derwent, whence started the road that led from the south to the invaluable lead mines of Wirksworth, and thence to the upper, or High Peak district. A knoll, partly natural and partly artificial, that had been occupied by the Romans throughout the centuries of their sojourn here, and subsequently utilised by the Saxons as a centre of colonization and as a strategically important place for an entrenched fortress, was the very site that would at once suggest itself to the practical mind of Henry de Ferrers for the erection of an imposing castle. Not only would such a site be invaluable to him and to the cause of the conquerors, both from a military and commercial point of view, but the moral effect in the neighbourhood, of the holding by one of these fierce Normans of the very spot whence, as a burh, justice had been administered, and whereon some of the last victorious struggles of the Anglo-Saxons against the Danes had taken place, cannot be over-estimated. The weighty immensity of the great square stone tower,

* *History of Tutbury*; by Sir Óswald Mosley, 1832, p. 5.

of a character hitherto undreamt of by the inhabitants, as it rose course by course, would almost by its very existence on such a spot crush out all hopes of a successful rising.

The building of the Duffield stronghold seems to have been begun very soon after the Conquest. Henry de Ferrers, by his wife Bertha, had three sons, Engenulph, William, and Robert. This great nobleman was very frequently in attendance on his sovereign, and towards the end of his life seems to have preferred to reside at Tutbury, where, in the Priory church of his founding, his remains were buried on his death in 1089. To his eldest son, Engenulph he entrusted the charge of Duffield castle,* and there Engenulph resided until his death, which almost immediately preceded that of his father. The second son, William, accompanied Robert Duke of Normandy to the Holy Land; he, too, died in the lifetime of his father.

Robert de Ferrers, the third and youngest son, succeeded to the great estates of his father, and was, like his father, a man of supreme importance in the councils of the nation. He was one of the witnesses to the laws put forth by Stephen, in the first year of his reign. In the famous battle fought against the Scotch, on August 22nd, 1138, near Northallerton, Robert de Ferrers commanded a powerful contingent of Derbyshire men, who played no small part in securing a definite victory to the English. The engagement is well known as the Battle of the Standard, from the remarkable character of the erection round which the troops rallied, and which was constructed according to the directions of Thurstan, Archbishop of York. It consisted of the great mast of a vessel strongly secured to a waggon; in the centre of the cross which

* Of absolute documentary evidence of this we have no first-hand proof, having hitherto searched in vain for it; but the secondary evidence is strong, and we know of no reason whatever to doubt it. Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt, in the introduction to the *Domesday Book of Derbyshire*, says:—"Henry de Ferrers . . . founded the church of the Holy Mary near the castle at Tutbury, and built Duffield castle." And again:—"Engenulph had Duffield castle."

That singularly accurate writer, the late Sir Oswald Mosley, says in his *History of Tutbury*, when enumerating the children of Henry de Ferrers,— "Engenulph, to whom he gave a castle at Duffield." The footnote that he gives to this statement is unfortunately very vague; it is merely—"MSS. in Duc. Lanc. Off."

rose from its summit, was placed a silver pyx, containing a portion of the Blessed Sacrament, and below waved the consecrated banners of SS. Peter, Wilfrid, and John of Beverley, the three patron saints of Yorkshire, which had been brought for this purpose from within the walls of their great Minster. The aged Archbishop, too ill to leave his city, deputed the duty of addressing the English to his chief suffragan, the Bishop of Durham, who harangued them from beneath the standard, in glowing language, to repel the barbarous invaders, promising an eternal inheritance to all who fell. At the end of his address, the whole of the army fell upon their knees whilst the Bishop delivered the words of absolution. Then, with a shout of "Amen," they rose to receive the shock of the enemy. To the religious promises made by the Bishop, Robert de Ferrers added, so far as his Derbyshire contingent were concerned, one of temporal value, for he pledged himself to make a grant of land on the most frequented side of his forest of Needwood, to that man who should most distinguish himself by valour and daring. The troops from Derbyshire played a considerable part in bringing about a complete victory over the invaders, and one Ralph secured the promised grant at Needwood from his commander.*

Robert de Ferrers, for his great services in this memorable and critical battle, was created by the king Earl of Derby, but he did not live long to enjoy his additional honours, for he died in the year 1139. By his wife, Hawyse de Vitry, he had three sons; William, the eldest, was killed at his lodgings in Lombard Street, London, during the lifetime of his father; Wakelyn, the third son, accompanied Richard I. to the Holy Land, but afterwards married and settled at Locksley; and Robert, the second son, was his father's heir, and was usually known as Robert, Earl Ferrers the younger.

This Robert, Earl Ferrers the younger also assumed the title of Earl of Nottingham, in right of his wife Margaret, who was the

* Hist: Ric: Prioris Hagustald, p. 162; Rieval de Bello Standardico; Matt: Paris; MSS. from Duchy of Lancaster, quoted in Mosley's Hist: of Tutbury, etc., etc.

eldest daughter and co-heiress of William Peverel, Earl of Nottingham and Derby, who died in 1137. He founded the Priory of Derby, afterwards translated to Darley, as well as a Cistercian Abbey at Mirevale, Warwick; at the latter of which religious houses he was buried in 1162, wrapped in an ox-hide.

He was succeeded by his son William. William Earl Ferrers joined the king's sons in a rebellion against their father, Henry II., and was deprived of his Earldoms of Derby and Nottingham. He plundered and burnt the town of Nottingham, driving out the king's garrison, but when he found that Tutbury was besieged by Welshmen, and that the king was advancing against him with considerable forces, he submitted himself to the royal clemency at Northampton. It is at this time that we get further direct mention of the castle of Duffield. Dugdale* tells us that the Earl Ferrers, in the 19th year of Henry II. manned his castles of Tutbury and Duffield against the king, and marched to Nottingham and burnt it; but that submitting himself afterwards to the king, rendering his castles of Tutbury and Duffield, and giving security, he was pardoned, though "so little did the king trust him that he forthwith demolished those forts."

Among the Wolley MSS. at the British Museum, is a small 4to. volume entitled "*Reynolds' Derbyshire Collections.*" Mr. Reynolds, a well-known Derbyshire antiquary, resident at Crich, thus writes of this event, adding a comment as to the site of the old castle:—

"(Robt.) de Ferrariis, Earl of Derby, manned his castles of Tutbury and Duffield against King Henry the Second, in favour of his son. But was quickly reduced to such straits, that he went to the king, and begging his pardon, submitted himself, and surrendered his castles to him. The king taking security for his future fidelity pardoned him and gave him his estate; but not daring to

* Dugdale's *Baronage*, vol. I., p. 259. The marginal reference is to Rad. de Diceto, 588, n. 20. Dugdale, following an error of the chronicler Roger de Hoveden, mistakes the Christian name, and calls this Earl of Ferrers Robert instead of William. Mr. Ll. Jewitt has made the same error in his introduction to the *Domesday Book of Derbyshire*, making it Robert instead of William who sacked Nottingham.

trust him any more, demolished his castles, anno regni sui 19^o, Annoque Domini 1173. Atlas Geogr., vol. v., p. 9.

“Duffield Castle stood upon an eminence of ground betwixt y^e upper end of the town of Duffield, and the River Derwent (partly over against Makeney), the scite whereof is still called *The Castle Orchard*, but no visible ruins are now left” (written in 1769).*

In Lyson's *Derbyshire*† it is stated that:—“Duffield castle is said to have been garrisoned by (Robert) Earl Ferrers, junior, when he took up arms on behalf of Prince Henry against his father, King Henry II. It is probable that it was one of those castles which were soon afterwards demolished by the king's command.” As a reference to this statement, a note at the bottom of the page says—“See J. Bromton”—a note which puzzled us not a little for some time. Eventually it was found to refer to the seldom cited chronicle of John Brampton, Abbot of Jervaulx, which extends from 588 to 1198. It is printed in the large folio edition of Twysden's *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores*. The chronicler recites that on July 25th, 1173, the king with his army proceeded to the castle of Fremyngham, which was yielded to him by Hugh Bigott, and at the same time submission was made of the castles of Leicester, Groby, and Mountsorrel; he then continues:—“et eadem die venit ad eum Rogerus de Moubray et reddidit castrum suum de Thresk, et ibidem etiam Comes de Ferrers ad eum veniens castra sua de Tutesbery et de Duffelde suæ tradidit ditioni.”‡ But it will be noticed that this statement says nothing as to the demolition of the Ferrers' castles. It is possible that some order may have been issued hastily for their destruction by the distrustful monarch, and afterwards countermanded,§ or that the order merely

* Add. MSS. 67071, f. 116. After every possible search, the reference “Atlas, etc.” cannot be identified; but the statement is clearly derived, though perhaps at second hand, from Dugdale.

† *Magna Britannia*, Vol. V., p. 136.

‡ Twysden's *Scriptores*, Vol. I., p. 1095.

§ There are many instances of the issue of orders of this nature and their subsequent repeal. Powys castle was ordered by the Commonwealth to be demolished, but a counter order was afterwards issued, which, however, provided for a sufficient breach to be made in the walls so as to make it far easier of capture.

involved their being deprived of troops. At all events, so far as Duffield castle was concerned, the order of demolition by Henry II. if ever issued, was certainly never carried out, for it stood for another century. Perhaps the most reasonable conjecture is that Dugdale and others confused this rebellion in the time of Henry II., with the rebellion in the time of Henry III., and attributed the demolition carried out at the latter date to the former event.

After this, Earl Ferrers seems to have regained the confidence of his sovereign; he was one of the witnesses, in 1177, to King Henry's decision as arbitrator in the dispute between Alphonsus, King of Castile, and Sanctius, King of Navarre.* On King Richard's arrival in England on the death of Henry, he is said to have received the powerful baron with disfavour, and he conferred the Earldom of Derby on his brother John; but soon after they were reconciled, and William Earl Ferrers accompanied the king to the Holy Land, and died at the siege of Acre, 1190. He was married to Sibilla, daughter of William de Braose, lord of Abergavenny and Brecknock. By her he had six children, the eldest being named after his father.

William Earl Ferrers was thoroughly loyal to Richard. When John Earl of Morton, during his brother's captivity, on his return from the Holy Land, spread a report of his death and laid claim to the crown, Earl Ferrers united with the Earl of Chester in raising the standard of their absent monarch, and leading the Derbyshire men against Nottingham castle, which was being held by John's confederates, successfully besieged it. On Richard's return, Earl Ferrers was, for his fidelity, appointed a member of his Great or Privy Council, and was one of the four who carried the canopy over the king's head on the occasion of his second coronation.† But on John's accession the Earl readily gave him his allegiance, and was present at the coronation in Westminster Abbey on Ascension Day. Recognising the value of retaining the aid of this sturdy baron, King John, on the 8th of June of the same year, when at North-

* Rymers' *Fœdera*, Vol. I., p. 23.

† R. Hoveden, pp. 418-420, etc., etc.

ampton, restored to the representative of the Ferrers' family the title of Earl of Derby, girding the Earl with a sword with his own hands, which was the first precedent of such an investiture.* Nor was this any mere barren honour, for it was accompanied by a charter conveying the lucrative grant of every third penny arising out of all the pleas made before the Sheriff of the county of Derby. By another charter, of July 11th, he received from the Crown the manors of Wirksworth and Ashbourn, together with the whole of that Wapentake, upon an annual payment to the Exchequer of £70. He also received many other royal favours and grants, the most singular of which was one granted by John in the 15th year of his reign. By this charter the king gave to the Earl and his heirs a house in the parish of St. Margaret, within the city of London, which had been forfeited by one Isaac, a Jew of Norwich, to be held by the service of waiting upon the king at dinner, on all festivals yearly, with head uncovered, save for a garland of the breadth of the little finger.† The Earl was very constantly with the king, and accompanied him on many of his itineraries; his name appears as a witness to upwards of one hundred and twenty of the important royal charters of this reign.

He was one of the four chief men of the realm who were bound in 1213 for the king's keeping the articles of agreement made with the Pope for all matters for which he stood excommunicated, and on the performance of which the sentence of excommunication was to be void. In the same year, he was one of the witnesses to that memorable instrument signed by King John in St. Paul's Cathedral, on October 3rd, and sealed with a golden seal, whereby he resigned to the Papal See the kingdoms of England and Ireland for pardon of his sins, agreeing to hold the same in fee of the Pope at the yearly tenure of 1000 marks. Moreover, Earl Ferrers, by his bond dated June 17th, 1214, became one of the king's securities for the due payment of this yearly tribute.

In 1214 the king granted to him the royal castle of Harestan

* Selden's *Titles of Honour*, p. 653.

† Rotuli Chartarum, 15 John, mem. 6.4; Rotuli Lit. Claus., 15 John, 1st part, memb. 5.

(Horsley), Derbyshire, reciting that it was granted to him for the purpose of placing his wife there.* The wife of William, Earl Ferrers, was Agnes de Bohun, daughter of Hugh, Earl of Chester, and sister and co-heiress of Ralph de Blundeville; she brought to her husband the manor and castle of Chartley, as well as the seigniori of all the lands between the rivers Ribble and Mersey. The reason for this assignment of his wife to the stronghold of Horsley (not noticed by any previous chronicler of the Ferrers family), seems to us to have been from his desire, in those troublous times, of leaving his wife in a place of special security during his absence in the Holy Land, for which he was then preparing in order to accompany the king. But an armed rising of the barons prevented their departure, and then William de Ferrers, putting himself at the head of the royalist forces, wrested the castles of Peak and Bolsover, by assault, from the rebels, and was thereupon (1216) made governor of both of those royal fortresses,† so that he then held every Derbyshire stronghold of any importance.

When Henry III. came to the throne, a few months after these grants, William Earl Ferrers was for a third time present at a coronation, the ceremony taking place at Gloucester, on the eve of SS. Simon and Jude. He was immediately engaged under his new monarch in suppressing rebellious barons in Leicestershire and Lincoln, and received new patents for the custody of the castles of Bolsover and the Peak, holding the government of them for six years.‡ He was again made governor of Bolsover later on in the same reign.§ Throughout the first half of Henry III.'s reign, there is not a single State document of importance for which this sturdy zealous Earl Ferrers was not either a witness or a bondsman; but his loyalty was not indiscriminating, for in the 11th year of Henry he threatened, and with success, to take up

* Rotuli Lit. Pat. 16 John, memb. 2.

† Rotuli Lit. Pat. 18 John, memb. 5. John, a Canon of Beauchief, was sent by the king with letters patent to Gerald de Furnivall, to whom he had granted a temporary tenancy of Bolsover castle for the security of his wife and children, ordering that he should at once make way for the Earl of Ferrers.

‡ Rot. Lit. Pat. 1 Henry III., m. 6 and 15.

§ Rot. Lit. Pat. 19 Henry III., m. 13.

arms unless the king abided by the charter pertaining to the Liberties of the Forest, which he had suddenly cancelled at Oxford. And ten years later, we find that the Earl was one of the three counsellors recommended by the barons to the king for reconciling their discontent with reference to the royal violation of the Magna Charta.* At length the Earl succumbed to frequent attacks of the gout, dying in 31st Henry III., 1247, and was followed to the grave in a few months by his wife Agnes.

He was succeeded by his eldest son, being the third Earl Ferrers who bore the name of William. He inherited not only the vast estates of his father and mother, but also the former's tendency to gout. This disease assumed so bad a form, that, when quite a youth, he was quite unable to use his feet, and was conveyed about, after a very unusual way for those days, in a two-wheeled chariot or horse-litter. As he was passing over the bridge of St. Neot's, Huntingdonshire, through the carelessness of the drivers, the carriage was upset and the earl thrown into the water. The accident, though not immediately fatal, bruised him considerably; he never recovered the shock, but died at Evington, near Leicester, on April 5th, 1254, and was buried on the 11th at Mirevale Abbey.† Matthew Paris speaks highly of the Count, and describes him as "vir discretus et legum terræ peritus" He was married twice; firstly to Sibilla, daughter and co-heiress of William Mareschall, Earl of Pembroke, by whom he had seven daughters; and secondly to Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of Roger de Quinci, Earl of Winchester, by whom he had two sons, Robert and William.

Robert de Ferrers was only fifteen years old when his father died. When but nine years of age, he had been betrothed at Westminster to Mary, infant daughter of Hugh le Brun, Earl of Angouleme, and hence niece to King Henry III. On the 15th of May following his father's death, we find the Queen and Peter de Savoy covenanting to pay the king 6000 marks for the custody of the lands of Robert, son and heir of William de Ferrers, Earl of

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. I., p. 373.

† Matthew Paris' *Hist. Angli.*, p. 884; and *Annals of Burton Abbey*.

Derby, until he is of legal age.* No sooner had Robert Earl Ferrers come of age, and the restraints of guardianship removed, than his strangely wayward and violent disposition asserted itself with much impetuosity, and he began a career that soon involved him in universal reprobation and distrust. Matthew Paris sums up his political character most tersely, as "fidus nec Regi nec Baronibus."† In 1263, when civil war broke out between the king and some of the discontented barons, Earl Ferrers, forgetful of the fine example of loyalty set him by his father, and oblivious of the claims of near kinship by marriage to the Crown, collected his Derbyshire men-at-arms and marched upon Worcester. He sacked the city, destroyed the Jewry, plundered both religious and private houses, and overthrew the fences of the royal parks in the neighbourhood. On the news reaching London, the king sent an army, under the command of his son Edward, into Derbyshire to lay waste his lands. His castle of Tutbury was demolished, and it is reasonable to assume, as we know the army marched over the Derbyshire manors, that Duffield castle was attacked, but was found to be too strong for any sudden capture.

We next find him acting in union with Montford, Earl of Leicester, and Clare, Earl of Gloucester and the other rebellious barons, who were in arms against the king. He took part in the battle of Lewes, when the king and his son were taken prisoners. Then came the dispute between Montfort and Clare; Earl Ferrers siding with the latter, was captured by Simon de Montfort, but speedily escaped. This was soon followed by the battle of Evesham, August 14th, 1265, when the Earl of Gloucester rescued the king from his detention by the Earl of Leicester; but, with the extraordinary fickleness that seems to have been so peculiarly his own, Earl Ferrers refused all assistance to Clare, and though not at the battle, was waging war against the royalists in another part of the kingdom.

The king seems to have acted with much clemency towards the

* Rot. Lit. Pat. 41 Henry III., memb. 9. Add. MSS. 15663, f. 152.

† Matt. Paris *Hist. Angl.*, p. 992.

rebellious lords, but two were exempted by name from the royal pardon, Simon de Montfort and the youthful Robert de Ferrers, Earl of Derby. On the 23rd of October, 1265, Earl Ferrers was formally charged with high crimes and misdemeanours, and a day fixed for his trial; but his conscience telling him of the certainty of a conviction, and having no longer courage to resist, on the 23rd of the following February, at Westminster, he threw himself upon the king's mercy, with abject terms of submission—"de vita et membris terris et tenementis suis gratiæ Regis se totaliter apposuit."* Whereupon the king, in consideration of a cup of gold set with precious stones (to obtain which he mortgaged his manor of Piry, Northamptonshire), and on his undertaking to pay a further fine of 1500 marks, to be paid within a year by four several payments, granted him a full pardon † Moreover, the king undertook to secure him against Prince Edward and all others whom he might have wronged, during the year of payment, and for the rest of his life when the payment was made. But, as though even then distrusting him, it was further expressly stated, that if the Earl again took up arms against the king, that he should be at once disinherited without any hope of favour. The Earl, apparently with the view of dispelling this distrust, voluntarily sealed a special charter for a strict adherence to the performance of the agreement, and, at his own request, took formal solemn oath that he would faithfully observe its provisions.

The infatuation and treachery of Robert de Ferrers seem almost unparalleled, for, notwithstanding the solemn character of his engagements, no sooner did he find himself back again among his own tenantry of Derbyshire, than he instantly returned to the occupation of a plotter and a rebel. He speedily armed his men, and, in conjunction with Baldwin de Wake, at the head of a contingent from Lincolnshire, and with John d'Ayville, a turbulent Yorkshire baron, laid plans for assembling a considerable force of rebels in Derbyshire. The king immediately dispatched his nephew, Prince

* Rot. Lit. Pat. 49 Henry III, memb. 22, No. 96.

† Rot. Lit. Pat. 50 Henry III., memb. 40, No. 109.

Henry, with a large body of troops to chastise the daring insurgents. On the approach of the royalists, Earl Ferrers collected his forces round his castle of Duffield,* raising forced contributions from the neighbourhood, and especially from the town of Derby, apparently hoping that he might be attacked with Duffield castle as his base. But Prince Henry proceeded first to Tutbury, and to the Earl's possessions in the south of Derbyshire; when hearing that a body of Yorkshire rebels, under d'Ayville, were on the march to join de Ferrers, he advanced across the ridges of the Lower Peak to the north of Wirksworth, thus avoiding Duffield, with the intention of intercepting the junction of the two insurgent forces. Earl Ferrers was therefore compelled to draw off his troops from the neighbourhood of Duffield, and, gaining the great road to the north, marched hurriedly for Chesterfield, where he arrived on May 15th (1266), just as the royalists were attacking the Yorkshire forces that had arrived there from Dronfield. Thereupon ensued the fiercely fought battle of Chesterfield; the conflict lasted till evening, and resulted in the complete defeat of the rebels. The remnant of the Yorkshiremen made their way across country to join Simon de Montfort the younger, at Axholm, but the Earl and others took refuge within the walls of Chesterfield. Shortly after midnight, Prince Henry, having rested and refreshed his forces, approached the gates and demanded the surrender of Robert de Ferrers, under pain of the destruction of the town. The inhabitants were mostly favourable to the royal cause, and he soon gained admittance. The soldiers quickly dispersed themselves over the borough, but the Earl could nowhere be found, when at length his hiding-place was revealed by a young woman, whose lover had been compelled to fight on the rebels' side, and who had fallen in the battle. He had concealed himself among some bags of wool in the nave of the parish church, which had been deposited there for safety, according to a not infrequent custom of

* In the historical introduction to Glover's Derbyshire, it is said that this Robert de Ferrers had rebuilt Duffield castle; but the assertion is unsupported, and the ruins prove the contrary. The historical introduction in question, though well written, is full of inaccuracies and quite untrustworthy. Glover's *History of Derbyshire*, Vol. I., p. 393.

those troublous times, by the traders at the Whitsuntide fair. The perfidious Earl was soon dragged forth from his hiding-place, and under a strong escort, was conveyed to London, and thence to Windsor Castle, where he was first imprisoned.

Within a few weeks, Earl Ferrers was formally attainted of high treason, and, though his life was spared, his lands were confiscated to the Crown, and bestowed, by two grants, bearing date June 28th and August 5th, upon Prince Edmund, afterwards created Earl of Lancaster. By the first of these, the king granted to his son Edmund all goods and chattels of which Robert de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, had been possessed on the day of the battle of Chesterfield. By the second grant he conveys to his son all castles, lands, and tenements formerly pertaining to Robert de Ferrers, and assigns them to the custody of William Bagod.*

In that splendid two-volumed chartulary, containing such beautifully written copies of all the early charters and evidences pertaining to the Duchy of Lancaster, now kept at the Public Record Office, and called the Great Cowcher, these royal grants to Edmund

* As these grants, from the Patent Roll 50 Henry III., membs. 12 and 9, have never yet been printed or quoted in full, it will be interesting to give them *verbatim* :—

Pro Edmundo filio Regis.

Rex omnibus &c. salutem. Sciatis quod de gracia nostra speciali concessimus Edmundo filio nostro karissimo omnia bona et catalla que fuerunt Roberti de Fer̄ Comitis Der̄ die conflictus apud Cestrefeud. Ita quod de eisdem nobis respondeat ad mandatum nostrum. In cuius &c. Teste ut supra (Rege apud Kenilworth xxviii die Jun̄).

Pro Edmundo filio Regis.

Rex omnibus &c. salutem. Sciatis quod concessimus Edmundo filio nostro karissimo castra et omnes terras et tenementa Roberti de Ferrar̄ cum omnibus pertinentiis suis. Habend quamdiu nobis placuerit. In cuius &c. Teste Rege apud Kenilworth v. die Auḡ.

De castris et terris Comitis de Ferrar̄ Commissis.

Rex militibus liberis tenentibus et omnibus aliis tenentibus de castris terris et tenementis Roberti de Fer̄ salutem. Sciatis quod commisimus dilecto et fideli nostro Willelmo Bagod castra et omnes terras et tenementa predicta cum omnibus pertinencis suis custodiend' quamdiu nobis placuerit. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod eidem Willelmo tanquam custodi eorumdem in omnibus que ab custodiam illam pertinent intendentes sitis et respondentes sicut predictum est. In cuius &c. Teste ut supra.

Et mandatum est Ade de Gesemuth quod castra terras et tenementa predicta prefato Willelmo liberet custod sicut predictum est. Ita quod de exitibus inde provenientibus Regi respondeat ad Scaccarium Regis. In cuius &c. Teste ut supra.

of the confiscated Ferrers' estates are given in full; the original Kenilworth charter, with a fragment of the royal seal still appended, is also preserved at the same place. The exact terms of the grant of the king are—"Castra et omnes terras et tenementa cum pertinentiis que fuerunt Roberti de Ferrariis quondam Comitis Derby, qui Simoni de Monteforte quondam Comiti Leycestrie inimico et feloni Regis et imprisiis suis adhesit tempore guerre que super in Regno mota fuit per ipsum Simonem et dictos imprisios suos ad exheredationem Regis et destructionem Corone sue," etc. From the same source, we find that there was an intermediary grant between those of June and August, not entered on the Patent Rolls; it is dated July 12, Kenilworth, and conveys to Edmund the Honor of Derby forfeited by Robert de Ferrers, and the Honor of Leicester forfeited by Simon de Montfort.*

In the second volume of the Great Cowcher there is the copy of an interesting deed whereby Robert de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, grants to Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, the castle and honor of Tutbury, the castle and honor of Chartley, the castle and honor of Duffield, the castle of Liverpool, with all the land between the Ribble and the Mersey, the Wapentake of Wirksworth and Ashbourn, and all the lands which he holds, or will descend to him after his mother's death, in the realm of England, with all franchises and free customs, as devised by King William the Bastard, and confirmed by his successors.† The charter bears no date, but it seems most probable that it was drawn up by Robert de Ferrers during the brief period that he was on friendly terms with Gilbert de Clare, shortly before the battle of Chesterfield, with some vague idea that, by thus putting his great inheritance into a kind of trust, through the operation of this sham conveyance, he might be able to evade an anticipated attainder, if the worst came to the worst. But be this as

* Great Cowcher, Vol. I., f. 3, No. 12.

† Great Cowcher, vol. ii., f. 98, No. 41. The document is in Norman-French, and speaks of "Le Chastel de Duffeld." The witnesses are—William de Mouchens de Edwardeston, Wauter de la Hyde, Henri de Boner, Henri de Humfraumule, Phelipe de Colevile, David de Offinton, and Johan de Sechevile.

it may, the grant is of much interest to us, inasmuch as it affords proof positive, if any was needed, of the existence of Duffield Castle at this period, notwithstanding its alleged demolition a century earlier.

Robert de Ferrers, did not remain long in confinement at Windsor. An old MS. thus tells us of the successive places of his custody:—"Robert Erle Ferrers was by mightie hand taken of the kyngs soldyers at Chesterfeild, and committed forthwith to straye prison, first in the castell of Wyndsores, then Chippenham, a place within two myles thereof now ruynated, and lastly from thence lede still prisoner to Wallingford Castell."*

After he had been imprisoned for nearly three years, at the intercession of several of the most powerful of the barons, Robert de Ferrers was set free on the 1st of May, 1269, and the grant of his lands to Prince Edmund repealed† on the payment of a fine of £50,000 to Edmund in lieu thereof, within 15 days of the feast of St. John the Baptist next ensuing. He obtained as sureties for the payment of this bond Prince Henry (who had defeated him at Chesterfield), the Earls of Pembroke, Surrey, and Warwick, Roger de Somery, Thomas de Clare, Robert Walraund, Roger de Clifford, Hamor le Strange, Bartholomew de Sudley, and Robert de Briwer, granting to them, as counter security, all his lands, excepting Chartley in Staffordshire, and Holbrook in Derbyshire.‡

* Lansdowne MSS. 205, f. 158. "Heraldic and Historical Collections."

† The following is a copy of the writ to Edmund, directing him to deliver to Robert de Ferrers seisin of his lands because he had found pledges to satisfy the king for his transgressions:—

PATENT ROLL 53 HENRY III., M. 16.

Pro Roberto } R. Edmundo filio suo salutem Quia Robertus de Ferar'
de Ferariis. } invenit nobis salvos plegios de satisfaciendo nobis de omnibus
transgressionibus sibi impositis tempore turbacionis nuper
habite in regno nostro per quod ei terras suas reddidimus et ipsum a prisona
liberavimus vobis mandamus quod eidem Roberto vel ejus attorney de
omnibus terris et tenementis suis in manu vestra occasione transgressionum
predictarum existentibus plenam seisinam sine dilacione habere faciatis. In
cujus &c. Teste Rege apud Windes primo die Maii.

PER IPSUM REGEM EDWARDUM.

R. WALERAUND ET TOTUM CONSILIUM.

‡ Full transcripts of all the documents relative to this transfer of property, and of the security given by the bondsmen, are printed in Mosley's *History of Tutbury*, pp. 20-27.

The raising of so enormous a sum within the given time was not, however, accomplished, and the sureties, therefore, in consequence of such default, conveyed the estates once more to Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, and his heirs for ever.

Notwithstanding this forfeiture, Robert de Ferrers exhibited his bill in the Court of King's Bench, in the year of his release, and again at the beginning of the reign of Edward I., complaining that his estates were unjustly withheld from him. He could not get behind the various bonds that he had signed before so many witnesses at the time of his release, but his chief argument was that he had signed them through fear when in custody at Chippenham, "in quadam camera ubi jacuit sub stricta custodia," and that therefore they were not binding. He seemed to forget that if it had not been for his signatures and assurances, the question of restoring to him his lands forfeited for repeated rebellion would never have been even entertained. The judges dismissed the suit, and amerced the complainant for a false claim.*

In the year of his release, 1269, Robert de Ferrers married, for his second wife, Eleanor, daughter of Ralph Lord Bassett, by whom he had a son, John. Robert died in 1278, whereupon his widow instituted a futile suit for a third part of the forfeited lands of her late husband as dowry. But as he was not possessed of them at the time of his second marriage, the Court did not entertain the question.†

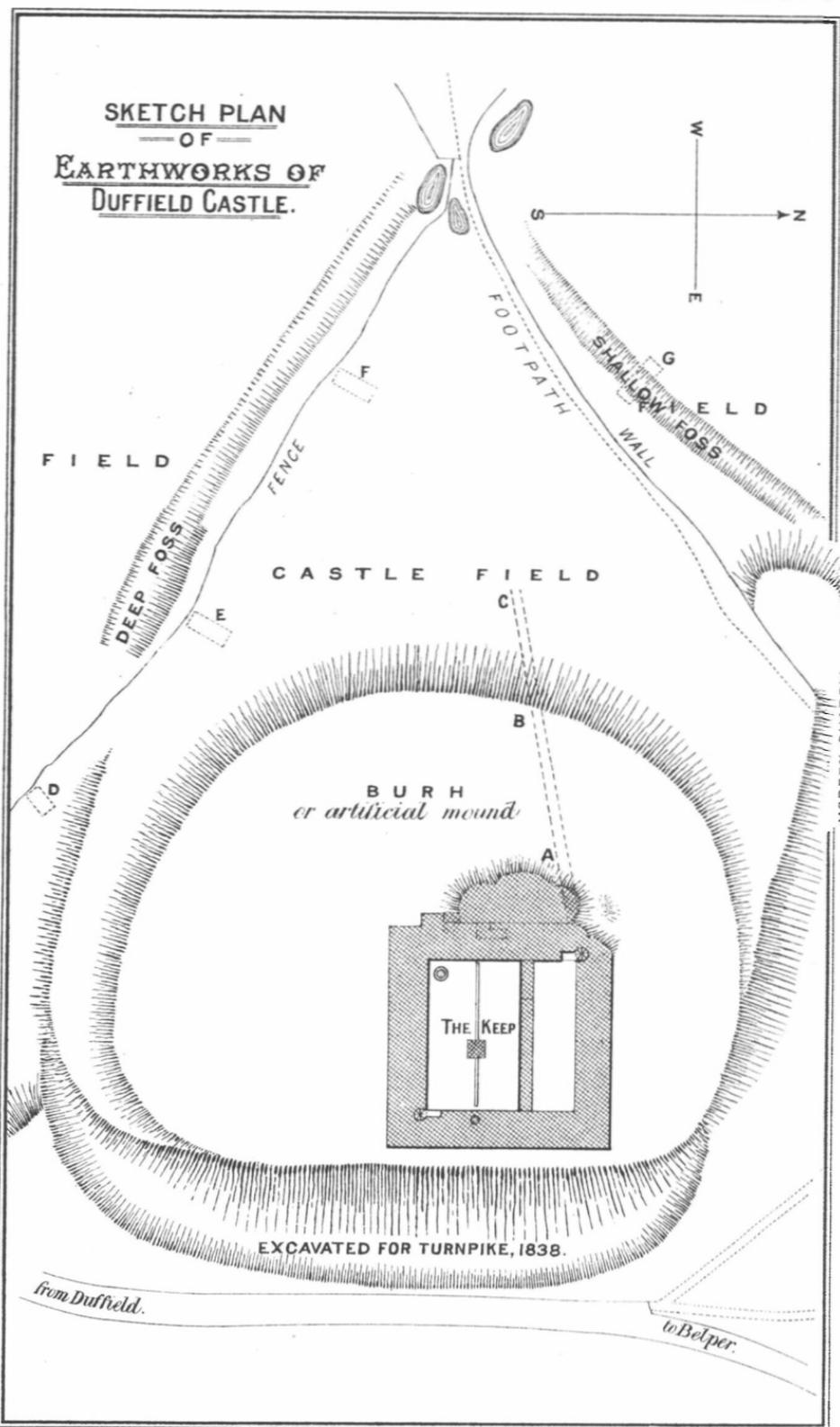
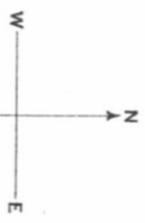
John de Ferrers eventually received again from the king the castle and honor of Chartley. He was summoned to Parliament in 1299 as Baron Ferrers of Chartley. From him were descended the Ferrers of Chartley, who became extinct in the time of Henry VI.‡

* Placita coram Rege, 53 Henry III., and $\frac{2}{3}$ Edw. I., rot. 6.

† Placita coram Rege, 7 Edw. I., rot. 49.

‡ In putting together these notes. Dugdale's *Baronage*, the first edition of Collins' *Peerage*, Mosley's *History of Turbury*, and the chronicles of Matthew Paris, Hoveden, Brompton, Knighton, etc., have been freely consulted, but no statement that could possibly be tested by consulting the original documentary authority has been accepted without going to the original source. Every roll or document mentioned in the previous notes has been consulted at first hand.

SKETCH PLAN
OF
EARTHWORKS OF
DUFFIELD CASTLE.



CASTLE FIELD

BURH
or artificial mound

THE KEEP

EXCAVATED FOR TURNPIKE, 1838.

from Duffield.

to Belper.

MODERN QUARRY

DEEP FOSSE

FOOT PATH

SHALLOW FOSSE

FIELD

FENCE

FIELD

D

E

F

G

C

B

A

II.—SUBSEQUENT HISTORY ; THE RUINS DISCOVERED.

Meanwhile, what became of Duffield Castle on the forfeiture of the last Earl Ferrers? Tradition says that it was demolished, and though as yet we have failed to find any order for its demolition, there is little or no doubt that tradition is in this respect accurate. We believe that the work of demolition was carried out by the royal forces immediately after the battle of Chesterfield, so as to leave no strong centre for future disaffection in the county. The troops set out on their march back to London immediately after their victory. They would proceed by the great road to the south that passed so near to Duffield, and whilst a portion of them hurried on with their important prisoner, the bulk of the forces would turn aside to lay siege to the powerful stronghold of Duffield. The garrison that Robert de Ferrers had left behind him would most likely immediately yield when they knew the fate of their lord, and the troops would simply have the work of demolition to accomplish.

At all events there is plenty of negative evidence to prove that the castle of Duffield was non-existent shortly after the time of Robert de Ferrers. Among the possessions of Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, at the time of his death, 1297, were the manor, forest, and advowson of Duffield, but there is no record of the castle; and it is impossible but that it would have been specifically mentioned if it had been existent.* Again, on the 21st of June following, the king grants to Blanche, Queen of Navarre, widow of Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, Duffield manor, and its members as assignment of dower, but no mention is made of the castle.

There are several rent rolls of the Duchy of Lancaster at the Public Record Office that include Duffield of the 14th and 15th centuries; they prove that there was in those times only the site of the castle remaining. For instance, in the year 1401, among the Duffield tenants for that year in a list of rentals

* *Inquisitio post mortem*, 25 Edw. I., No. 51.

and knights' fees, in the Cowcher of the Honor of Tutbury, occurs the following :—

“Nicholas Jakson 1 acre in Castelfeld ad finem ville 1^d”

In the year 1588, Anthony Bradshawe, of Duffield, wrote a most interesting local poem, entitled—“A Friends due Comendacon of Duffeld Frith.”* It opens thus—

“O auintient prety Duffeld frith my love & commendacon
Of due defect I yeld to thee for pleasant habitation
The stately hono^r of Tutbury includeth thee as part
And of the Duchy of Lancast^r a member fine thou art.”

The eighth stanza runs as follows, and shows how entirely, in Elizabeth's days, the castle was a thing of the past :—

“At Duffeld Placehead, placed was a statlye Castly & Cortyard
Whereof the seyte yet beareth name now called Castly Orchard.
The Duke there had great royalties of fforest p'ks of warren
And wards and pleines of waters store, of grounds not very barren.”

In 1769, as has been already stated, the careful eye of Mr. Reynolds, so used to antiquarian observation, could detect no visible ruins of the castle above the sod. But there, beneath the ground, where cattle had grazed for more than six centuries, lay silently concealed the massive remnants of this great Norman fortress.

On Easter Monday, 1886, Mr. H. J. Harvey, son of the owner of the Castle Field, being desirous of repairing one of the stone fences, sought for stone where it seemed to be near the surface. In so doing some old masonry was uncovered, which proved to be part of the east wall of the keep. The hole thus made would probably have been filled up again, and this ancient stronghold might have again slumbered in oblivion, had it not been for the wakeful zeal and energy of Mr. Bland, of Duffield, who, recognising the importance of the discovery, obtained the necessary permission from the owner for systematic excavation. A local committee was soon formed, and, with the extended support gained by the assistance of the Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society, funds were raised to carry out the work of exploration to a successful issue, under the painstaking supervision of Mr. Bland.

* Printed in the *Reliquary*, vol. xxiii., pp. 69-74.

Second only in interest to the uncovering of the Norman masonry, and the proof thereby afforded of the magnitude and importance of the work, is the evidence (that has accumulated in connection with the excavations) of the successive occupations of this commanding knoll by different waves of the conquerors or colonists of Britain. Although more interesting and more perfect records of various nationalities of the past have been uncovered in many other parts of our country, we doubt if there is any other plot of ground throughout Great Britain that has yielded so varied a return of all that contributes to the "making of the English" as has been the case with the few acres at Duffield, termed castle field.

We now ask that attention should be given to the sketch-plan of the earthworks round Duffield Castle (Plate VII.) The castle field is immediately to the left of the present turnpike road from Duffield to Belper, to the north of the village, and separated on the east from the river Derwent by the road, a single small field, and the railway. It rises boldly on the east, and also on the south and north; but on the west, after a slight depression, is connected with the ground that gradually rises towards Hazelwood and the Chevin ridge. The exact height of the highest part of the Castle field above the turnpike is 46.09 feet, and of the same above the level of the Derwent 76.72 feet.* The earthworks contain within them an area of upwards of five acres. The measurements of the deep foss on the south-west side, in its widest and deepest part, is 35 feet at the top, 18½ feet at the bottom, and 7 feet in depth. The foss on the north-west side is far shallower as it now remains, and is clearly of a different date and construction to the deeper one. Modern quarrying has interfered with the earthworks on the north side. The eastern end, too, of the deep foss, has also been obliterated by the lawn-tennis ground of a modern villa residence. On the east side the configuration of the ground has been much altered, and the slope rendered much steeper by the construction of a new turnpike in 1838, some

* For these levels, and for the carefully measured ground plan (Plate VIII.), we are indebted to the kindness of Mr. G. C. Greenwell, civil engineer, of Duffield.

hundred yards further west than it had hitherto run, which was necessitated by the making of the North Midland line from Derby to Leeds.* The declivity then formed was planted with trees. The partly artificial circular mound, on which the Castle stood, is, in its present condition, from 10 to 12 feet above the level of the western part of the field.

III.—CELTIC OCCUPATION OF THE SITE.

The explorations, recently conducted on the castle hill at Duffield, have yielded small but sufficient proof that this site was originally occupied by some Celtic settlement. Here they had one of their communistic camps, and near by they interred their dead. Further trench-cutting would, in all probability, bring more of interest pertaining to this period to light. A few small pieces of cinerary urns or other pottery have been found in different parts, of the peculiar and almost unmistakable hue and texture of this date, and the fragment with the dotted and thumb-nail patterns (fig. 1) here drawn, was found by us in the trench marked G on the plan; the other pieces found there were Romano-British, but this seems to us to be Celtic in design. It is represented half the size of the original. If this is the case, the Romans when making their camp probably disturbed a Celtic interment, for we believe the shallow foss to be unmistakably their (Roman) work.

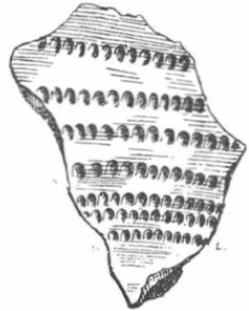


Fig. 1.

Six stone implements, often known by the generic term of "celts," have been found on the site. Three of these are drawn on Plate IX., at a scale of half the original size.

Number one has an axe head shape, but it is of light weight, and of nearly natural formation. However, it has been sufficiently shaped and improved artificially to come under the category of stone implements, for whatever purpose it may have served. Its size is four inches long, and tapers nearly to a point

* See Williams' *The Midland Railway; Its Rise and Progress*, 1877.

from a breadth of two inches. We do not know the exact spot where this was found by the workmen.

Number two is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch wide; the thin side has been chipped and cut away to a comparatively fine edge, though it can scarcely be called a cutting instrument. It is of a dark slaty stone, and has been used, we think, for the scraping of hides. Mr. Franks, of the British Museum, who most kindly interested himself in several of these Duffield "finds," and gave us most valuable information, thought that this and two other stone implements, of somewhat similar though rather wider form, might have been used in the shaping of pottery, and showed us some similar-sized pieces of hard wood now used by the natives of Madagascar for this object. This stone was found by us 5 feet 3 inches below the surface, in the long trench, near the place marked B on the plan.

Number three measures four inches by two in the broadest part. It is a whitish, rather porous, but hard stone, with a sharpened though dull edge. Its use has probably been the same as that last described. This we saw dug up by the workmen, together with a small whetstone, a little more than two feet below the surface, at one end of the short trench marked D on the plan.

Though not so interesting or so early as many of the highly polished stones of the neolithic age, or the paleolithic flints found in other parts of the county, these stones all pertain, we believe, to the latter days of Celtic inhabitants, when stone implements were more sparingly used. Such poor tools as these would have been scorned by the Romans, and by those also in Britain who came under their immediate influence; nor do we think that they are of a character that could possibly have recommended them to Anglo-Saxon settlers on this site.

IV.—THE ROMANS AT DUFFIELD.

After various attacks and withdrawals, the island of Britain finally passed into Roman subjection about fifty years after the beginning of the Christian era. When the Emperor Hadrian visited England, A.D. 120, the marvellous system of roads,

radiating from London over the surface of the island, was completed in its main features. Some of the cross roads were made at a later date; but there can be no doubt that a road leading from Wirksworth and its lead mines (which were long before then in the hands of the conquering forces) to that great artery, the Rykneld Street, for the Southern ports, was at that time constructed.

The bed of a river, especially one so near to high ranges, and so subject to sudden floods as the Derwent, is liable to many and remarkable changes when utilised for various commercial purposes. Dams and weirs at varying places materially affect its flow, and bring about complete changes in fords. Thus, before the cotton mills of Milford were erected, there was a ford at the upper side of Milford, now altogether indistinguishable. Some eighteen centuries ago, the Romans first forded the Derwent on their way to Wirksworth, and finding a fordable place (already perhaps discovered and used by the Celtic tribe settled on the brow above it) determined to make this their permanent passage. The great lapse of time, the formation of new weirs at Milford and Little Eaton, the removal of old fishing dams in other places, the embanking against floods, and the prevalence of systematic drainage, have all combined to obliterate many of the traces of the Roman ford, and to destroy the possibility of crossing at the place where the Roman legionaries, and the slaves of the Roman lead merchants were at one time so constantly passing.

We have invented no plausible theory of a Roman ford at the spot immediately opposite the castle, in order to fit in with the now proved Roman settlement of such long duration above it; for, ten years before the unearthing of the castle, when resident in the neighbourhood, we had marked this site as a Roman ford, for the simple reason that the Roman cross-road to the Rykneld Street seemed to run straight for it. Place-names, and other indications, had pointed out that this road ran on high ground from Wirksworth, dipped down from Knaves Cross into Blackbrook, and thence ascended to the ridge of the Chevin. An unusually dry summer showed us, in what seemed then an unmis-

takable way, that the road thence led off somewhat to the south, crossing the Derwent a few hundred yards north of the present railway station. The fact that the 1791 Enclosure Map of Duffield shows a ford then used, with lanes to it on each bank, lower than this Roman ford, and almost opposite the railway station, does not in any way disprove our former supposition.

Since attention was drawn to the Duffield discoveries, careful examination has been made of the west bank of the river, and almost at the exact place where we thought the road crossed, some long stones, like rough shallow steps, are to be noticed close to the water. These may have been placed here for the convenience of cattle watering in comparatively modern days, or they may have been bedded there for centuries; but on digging with a mere scraper close to them and between the joints, we found two pieces of Roman tile or brick, and seven pieces of pottery, including one perfect base of a small vessel. All of these were at once pronounced to be Roman by that very careful and most eminent antiquary, Mr. Franks, of the British Museum.* With the route of the road on the other bank, we have now but little concern. It had seemed to us most likely that it passed at right angles into Rykneld Street, near Horsley Castle; but Mr. Ward's suggestion that it passed into that main artery obliquely at Breadsall, following the course of the present road from Duffield Bank to Little Eaton, where it would be connected with Camp Hill at that village, seems well worthy of investigation.

The Romans in defence of this ford would naturally establish a camp, and subsequently, in times of peace, the nature of the settlement might to some extent change, though we expect that it would be always garrisoned. The shallow foss of the plan is the only certain trace, we think, of their rectangular earthworks, which were subsequently so much altered. This site has yielded many pieces of Roman tile.

In order to test the composition of the mound on the castle hill, and to see how far it was artificial, a trench a yard wide was driven,

* We are quite ready to admit that these by themselves might only be indications of a much used Roman watering-place.

last July, from the keep almost due west out into the field for a length of 179 feet, when the ordinary level of the ground was reached. The natural rock was found $3\frac{1}{4}$ feet deep at A. Throughout this section pot fragments were found, some at a depth of $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet. They were most numerous some two feet below the surface, for two or three yards, about midway between the points marked A and B on the plan. Smaller trenches were cut in other parts, at D, E, and F, when searching for remains of an outer or curtain wall of Norman date: in each of these fragments of pottery were found. Immediately to the north of the keep, the workmen, when digging holes for the supports of the iron fence that now encircles the castle, found a variety of pieces. In all some two or three pecks of potsherds must have been gathered together, but nothing approximating to a perfect vessel. The very best authorities have examined these pots, with the result that nine-tenths of the fragments were pronounced to be Romano-British; and they represent a great variety of styles of pottery brought from

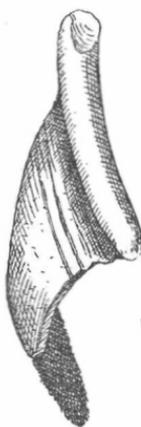


Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

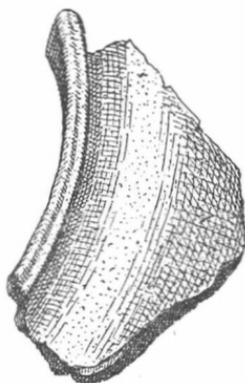
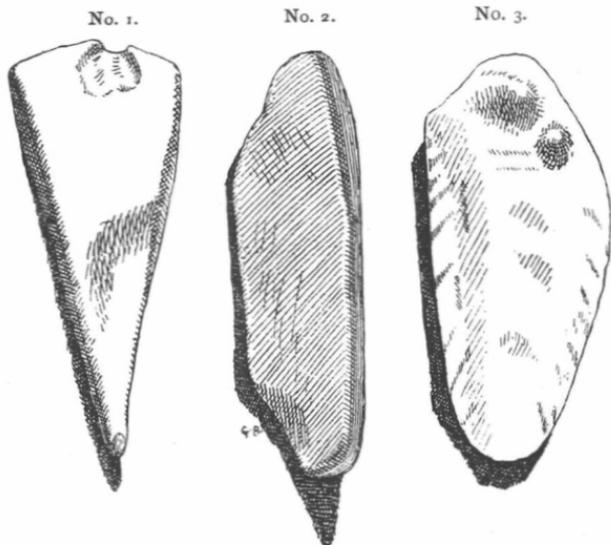
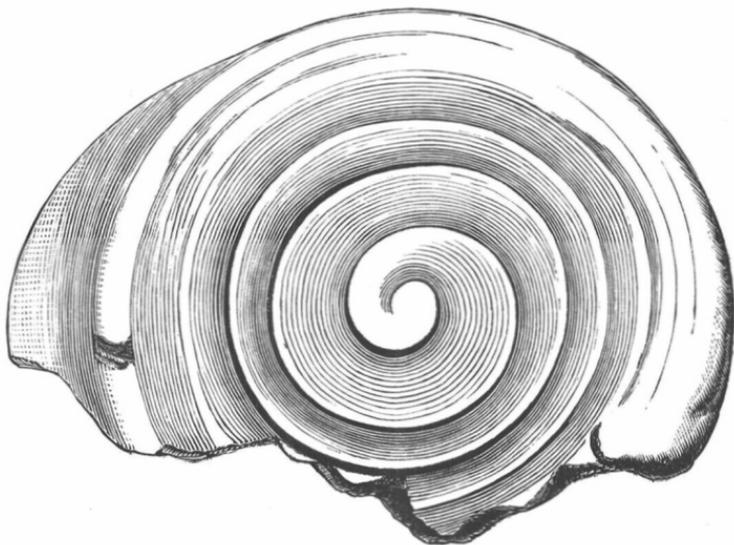


Fig. 4.

many different localities, and extending very probably in time over the three-and-a-half centuries that the spot seems to have been held by the Romans. Figs. 2, 3, 4, are drawings of three



"CELTS," FROM CASTLE FIELD, DUFFIELD.



No. 4. BASE OF ROMANO-BRITISH POT, FROM ROMAN FORD AT DUFFIELD.

specimens of this Romano-British ware, showing different rims of the vessels, the scale being half of the full size. This drawing (fig. 5) shows the upper side of the rim of one of the larger vessels or pans, with the handle broken off.



Fig. 5.

Several of the fragments of the bottoms of the pots show interesting spiral curves, worked by the rapid revolution of the potter's wheel. Of the most perfect of these bases, a sketch is given, exact size of original (No. 4, Plate IX.), and it possesses special interest, as it is the one found by the margin of the ford over the Derwent.

Only a few of the pieces have any ornamental pattern. Two of the most effective, showing a good result produced by nebuly or waving lines, are here given (figs. 6, 7), on the same scale. Another piece, also drawn of half size, shows double incised lines encircling the vessel (fig. 8); whilst others of early date, and of dark texture, have lighter marked lines, with still fainter diagonal crossings.

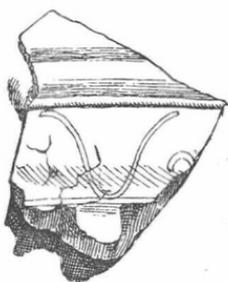


Fig. 6.

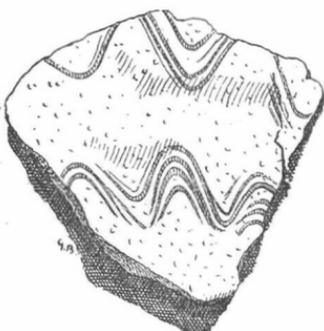


Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.

Another interesting piece is the handle of a jug or pitcher in reddish ware, with punctured ornaments (fig. 9). It is said to be Romano-British, but we think that there is a later look about it, and very probably Anglo-Saxon. It is drawn on half scale.

But perhaps the most interesting of the pot "finds," small as they are in bulk, were those turned up in the trench G, which was dug across the shallow foss, ten yards long by one yard wide. Here were discovered the only two pieces of Samian ware yet found on the castle

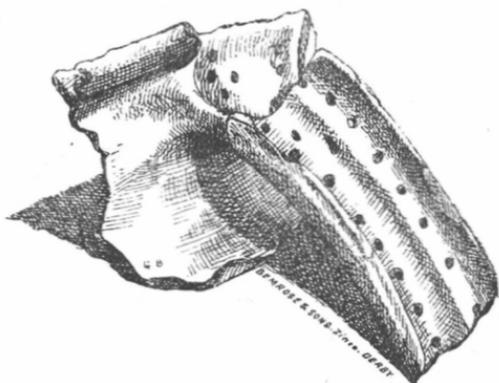


Fig. 9.

hill. It would indeed have been strange if this invariable memento of Roman legionary occupation had not been brought to light somewhere in the area. The so-called "Samian" has now

been proved to have been chiefly made at Auvergne, and brought with them from Gaul by the Romans. This beautiful ware is mostly of a bright, deep red colour, and is glazed or polished on the surface. It is found bearing a great variety of designs, animated nature as well as foliage, fruit, and conventional treatment.

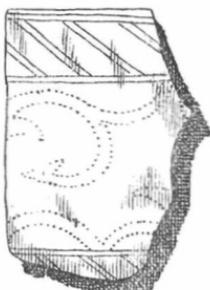


Fig. 10.

One of the two fragments found here was quite plain, and about two inches by one; of the other, bearing a handsome design, a full size drawing is given (fig. 10).

From the same trench whence this Samian came, was also upturned that which at first sight appeared to be only a nodule of whitish clay. After being cleared from the earth, it proved to be the tip of a vessel of cream-coloured dull ware. It is here drawn at half size (fig. 11). It is the tip or mouthpiece of a remarkable culinary vessel of the Romans, often found at their camps and villas in this country, termed a mortarium. Mortaria resemble in shape modern milk pans, being shallow circular

vessels, with overlapping edges, and a grooved spout in front.

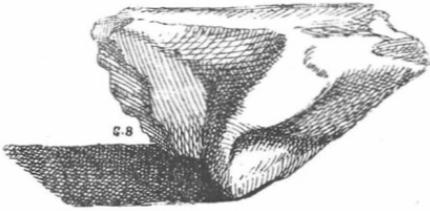


Fig. 11.

At the bottom of perfect specimens are sharp, angular pebbles sticking up, embedded in the ware, and placed there by design, probably for the purpose of triturating vegetable substances. They

are generally of a pale yellow or creamy white paste, resembling modern stone-ware. In size they are about four inches deep, and vary in diameter from seven inches to twenty-three. Some of the best specimens found in England came from Lyons, several bearing the stamp of that city. The paste of this fragment seems to be precisely similar to Gaul examples that we have examined, and we have no doubt that it came from there. They were sometimes made of white Broseley clay in England, and quite recently a considerable number of these mortaria, whole and in pieces, have been found at a Roman kiln in Colchester.

The chief sites where the Romans made pottery in this country, or taught the trade under their supervision to the conquered inhabitants, were at Castor, Northamptonshire, on the Nen; at Broseley, Salop, on the Severn; and at Upchurch, Kent, on the Medway. But further investigation proves that there were other localities suitable for the trade, which were thus used by the Romans, those masters of the fictile art. Specimen pieces that experts assign to all the varying known Roman centres of the pot trade, have been identified in the debris from Duffield castle hill. *

* On the subject of Roman British Pottery, and early pottery in general, see Llewellynn Jewitt's *Ceramic Art*; also a good introductory chapter to Chaffer's *Marks and Monograms on Pottery and Porcelain*; 7th Edition, 1886. But the best book is Birch's *History of Ancient Pottery*.

V.—THE ANGLO-SAXON BURH.

To comprehend the altered character of this site after the Romans had left our shores, and after those tribes which for convenience sake we term Anglo-Saxon had permanently settled down in the land they had invaded, we must remember the social changes and different habits of the new comers. Accustomed to life in the open air, in a climate on the whole similar to our own, they disdained to use Roman towns or Roman buildings, which they mostly burnt or destroyed; and even when occupying sites previously used, cared not to restore broken walls or ramparts, but covered them with great banks of earth. Nor had they the same communistic principles that animated the Celtic inhabitants. Though accustomed to hold most of their fields in common, and though possessed of strong family and clannish instincts, the house and the homestead were strictly regarded as private property. On this subject, and on the nature of the later English earthworks and their connection with previous encampments, we cannot do better than quote from the very able chapter on "Post Roman and English Earthworks," in the great work of Mr. Clark on *Mediæval Architecture* * :—

"The British encampments, intended for the residence of a tribe, having all things in common, were, both in position and arrangements, utterly unsuited to the new inhabitants. The Roman stations, intended for garrisons, save where they formed part of an existing city, were scarcely less so, nor were the earlier works of the Northmen suited to their later wants. These were mostly of a hasty character, thrown up to cover a landing or to hold at bay a superior force. No sooner had the strangers gained a permanent footing in a district than their operations assumed a different character. Their ideas were not, like those of the Romans, of an imperial character; they laid out no great lines of road, took at first no precautions for the general defence or administration of the country. Self-government prevailed. Each

* *Mediæval Military Architecture in England*, vol. i., pp. 16-19, by G. T. Clark; a work to which we are also much indebted for subsequent references to Norman Castles, and their comparative size.

family held and gave name to its special allotment. This is the key to the plan of the later and greater majority of purely English earthworks. They were not intended for the defence of a tribe or territory, nor for the accommodation of fighting men, but for the centre and defence of a private estate, for the accommodation of the lord and his household, for the protection of his tenants generally, should they be attacked, and for the safe housing, in time of war, of their flocks and herds.

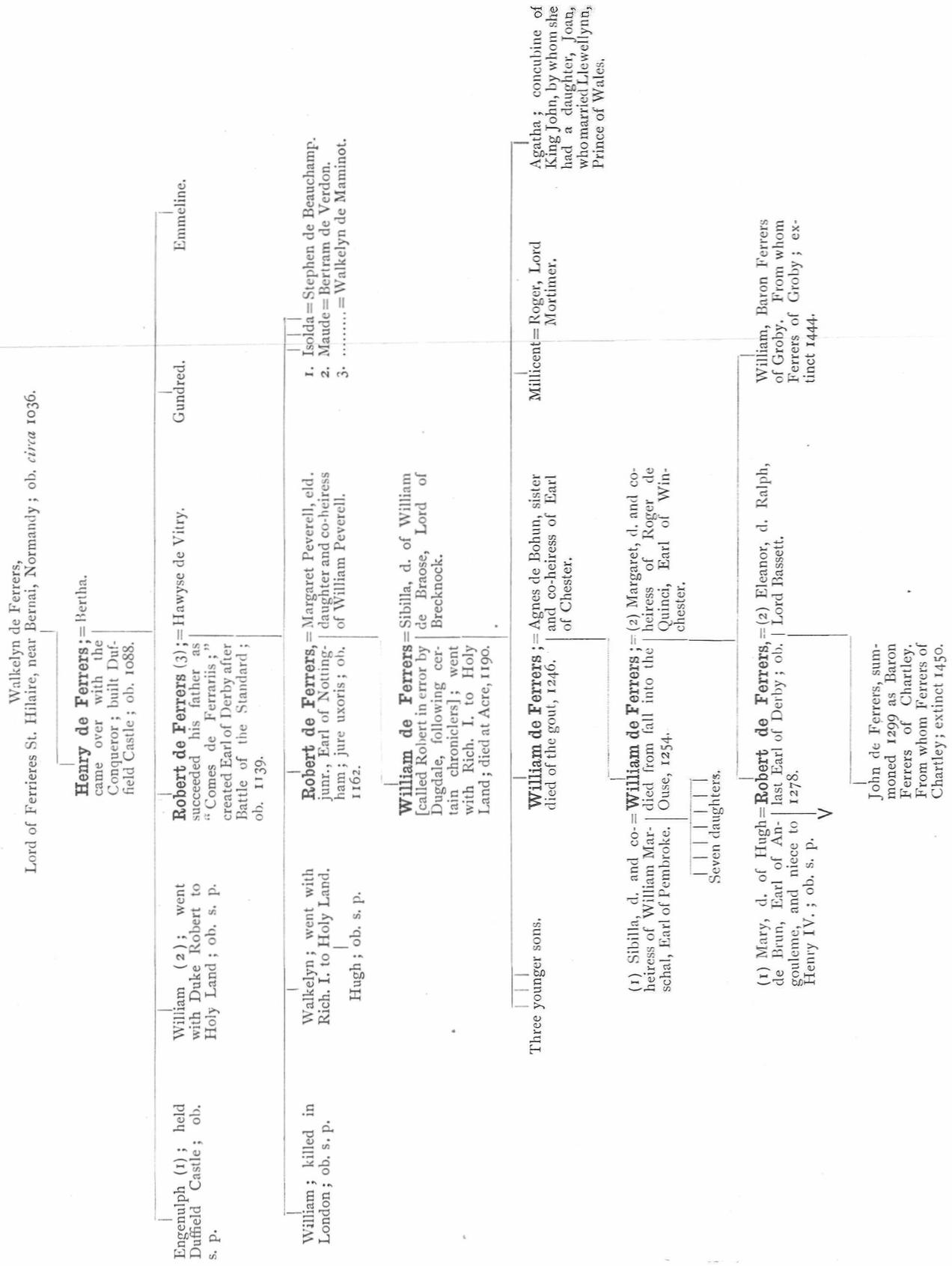
“These works, thrown up in England in the ninth and tenth centuries, are seldom, if ever, rectangular, nor are they governed to any great extent by the character of the ground. First was cast up a truncated cone of earth, standing at its natural slope, from twelve to even fifty or sixty feet in height. This “mound,” “motte,” or “burh,” the “mota” of our records, was formed from the contents of a broad and deep circumscribing ditch. This ditch, proper to the mound, is now sometimes wholly or partially filled up, but it seems always to have been present, being in fact the parent of the mound. Berkhamstead is a fine example of such a mound, with the original ditch. At Caerleon, Tickhill, and Lincoln it has been in part filled up; at Cardiff it was wholly so, but has recently been most carefully cleared out, and its original depth and breadth are seen to have been very formidable. Though usually artificial, these mounds are not always so. Durham, Launceston, Montacute, Dunster, Kestormel, Nant Cribba, are natural hills; Windsor, Tickhill, Lewes, Norwich, Ely, and Devizes are partly so; at Sherborne and Hedingham the mound is a natural platform scarped by art; at Tutbury, Pontefract, and Bramber, where the natural platform was also large, it has been scarped, and a mound thrown up upon it.

“Connected with the mound is usually a base court, or enclosure, sometimes oval or horseshoe-shaped, but if of the age of the mound always more or less rounded. This enclosure had also its bank and ditch on its outward faces, its rear resting on the ditch of the mound, and the area was often further strengthened by a bank along the crest of the scarp of the ditch. Now and then, as at Old Sarum, there is an additional but slighter bank placed out-

side the outer ditch, that is, upon the crest of the counterscarp. This was evidently intended to carry a palisade, and to fulfil the conditions of the covered-way along the crest of one of Vauban's counterscarps. Where the enclosure is circular, the mound is either central, as at Pickering or Mileham, or at Old Sarum, where it is possibly an addition to an older work, such as Badbury, or it stands on one side, as at Tutbury. Where the area is oblong or oval, the mound may be placed near one end, as at Bramber. At Windsor and Arundel it is on one side of an oblong enclosure, producing a sort of hour-glass construction, and where this is the case a part of its ditch coincides with the ditch of the place. Where the court is only part of a circle it rests upon a part of the ditch of the mound. At Sarum there are two ditches concentrically arranged. At Berkhamstead the mound is outside the court. On the whole, as at Tickhill, Castle Acre, and Lincoln, it is most usual to see the mound on the edge of the court, so that it forms a part of the general enceinte of the place. Where the base court is of moderate area, as at Builth and Kilpeck, its platform is often slightly elevated by the addition of a part of the contents of the ditch, which is rarely the case in British camps. At Wigmore and Builth, where the mound stands on the edge of a natural steep, the ditch is there discontinued. The base court is usually two or three times the area of the mound, and sometimes, as at Wallingford or Warwick, much more. No doubt the reason for placing the mound on one side rather than in the centre of the court was to allow of the concentration of the lodgings, stables, etc., on one spot, and to make the mound form a part of the exterior defence of the places.

“The mound and base court, though the principal parts, were not always the whole work. Often there was on the outside of the court and applied to it, as at Brinklow and Rockingham, a second enclosure, also with its bank and ditch, frequently of larger area than the main court, though not as strongly defended. It was intended to shelter the flocks and herds of the tenants in case of an attack. At Norham the castle ditch was used for this purpose as late as the reign of Henry VIII. There are several

OUTLINE PEDIGREE OF FERRERS,
Showing the seven successive Earl Ferrers, who, in direct descent, held Duffield Castle.



cases in which the mound is placed within a rectangular enclosure, which has given rise to a notion that the whole was Roman. Tamworth is such a case, and there, fortunately, the mound is known historically to have been the work of Athelflaed, as is that of Leicester, similarly placed. From this, and from the evidence of the earthworks themselves, a like conclusion may be drawn as to the superadded mounds at Wareham, Wallingford, and Cardiff. At Helmsley, as at Castle Acre, Brougham, and Brough, the earthworks stand upon part of a Roman camp, and at Kilpeck and Moat Lane, near Llanidloes, part of the area may possibly be British.

“East Anglia contains some fine examples of these moated mounds, combined with rectangular encampments. Castle Acre is an excellent example, as are, in a less degree, Mileham and Buckenham.

“When the English lord took up his abode within a Roman camp or station, he often turned the Roman works, whether of earth or masonry, to account, and threw up his bank in one corner, altering the contiguous banks and ditches to suit his new arrangements. Thus at Pevensey, Leicester, Cambridge, Lincoln, Southampton, Winchester, Chichester, Caerleon, and Chester, English mounds and base courts are placed within Roman enclosures, which either are or were walled. At Auldchester, near Bicester, the Roman Alauna, is a mound of later date than the camp. At Plessy, Tamworth, Wallingford, Wareham, and Cardiff, are found mounds decidedly of later date than the enclosing works. There are also cases where the mound is placed within an earthwork with something of a tendency to the rectangular, though scarcely to be pronounced either Roman or Romano-British. Such as Clare, Hereford, Eaton-Socon, where the mound is very small indeed, and Lilbourne. Tempsford is very peculiar; it is a small rectangular enclosure close to the Ouse, and in one corner, upon the bank, is a small mound.

“The group of works, of which the mound was the principal feature, constituted a burh. The burh was always fortified, and each inhabitant of the surrounding township was bound to aid in

repair of the works, almost always of timber, a material which the Saxons, like other German nations, appear usually to have preferred for building purposes to stone, though some of their towns were walled, as Colchester and Exeter, and Domesday records the custom of repairing the walls of Oxford, Cambridge, and Chester.

“In these English, as before them in the British works, the ditches were sometimes used to contain and protect the approaches. This is well seen at Clun and Kilpeck. At Tutbury the main approach enters between two exterior platforms, and skirts the outer edge of the ditch, until it reaches the inner entrance. The object was to place the approach under the eyes and command of the garrison.”

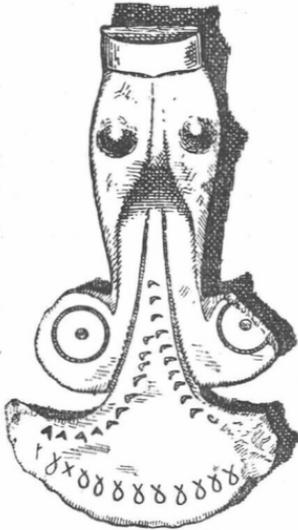
The chroniclers of the ninth and tenth centuries afford abundant proof of the number and extent of the earthworks that were then thrown up during the fiercest part of the Danish incursions. We doubt not that this Duffield hillock was held for some time in comparative peace by successive Duffield lords in earlier Anglo-Saxon days, and that they altered and combined the previous earthworks and Roman ramparts to suit their convenience and needs. Leaving the now shallow foss of Roman origin on the north west much as it was, they seem to have deepened materially the foss on the south west. Modern interferences with the surroundings of the site on other sides prevent us tracing their work all round, but it would certainly appear that they raised a circular mound at the eastern side of the enclosure, which nature had already partly constructed for them, for the rock juts out on the northern side of the Norman keep, as will be noticed later on. The mound would also at that time be many feet higher. The small trenches cut at D, E, and F, as marked on the plan, in each instance exposed, some two feet below the surface, charred wood and black ash. This seems to point to the fact of a stockade having been burnt on that line. The more domestic nature of the burh and its defences on this site, of the earlier days, would probably be much changed in the later period, as the conflicts with the Danes in this district thickened in frequency and

fierceness. Fresh stockades would probably be erected, backed by new earthworks, and the configuration of the deep foss changed more than once as seems to have been the case. Some outlying earthworks on the north side seem to be of this date.

From little known field-names, as well as from a few of the better known place-names, the degree of settlement that the Danes obtained about here can be readily gauged. They can be more readily traced right up the valley of the Ecclesbourn, leading from Duffield to the lead mines of Wirksworth, than in any other part of the county, and this is just what we should have expected. That the Danes for a time held this site, and that it was the scene of more than one fierce encounter between them and the English there can, we think, be no manner of doubt. In 868-9 the Danish army was at Nottingham, where it was besieged by the West Saxons. When Alfred died in 901, and was succeeded by his son Edward, there was again much warfare in this district. Ethelfleda, sister to Edward, and a kind of Queen of the Mercians, was most energetic in her operations, in throwing up fresh earthworks, and in strengthening old ones, as bases for her troops in their operations against the Danes. In 913 she built the military burhs of Tamworth and of Stafford, and in 914 that of Warwick. In 917 Derby, which was held by the Danes, fell before the onslaught of Ethelfleda's soldiers, the gates of the town being burnt. In the following year she obtained from the Danes the town of Leicester by capitulation. There can then, we think, be no doubt that Duffield, too, was held at this period by the Danes, and that they were driven out about the year 917, when the Mercian troops were so successful in the immediate neighbourhood.

The excavations that have been already undertaken on this site have yielded several interesting details of Anglo-Saxon occupation.

In the north-west angle of the keep a few human bones were unearthed; they were the only human remains discovered during the excavations. They were pronounced by two doctors to whom they were submitted to be parts of the skeleton of



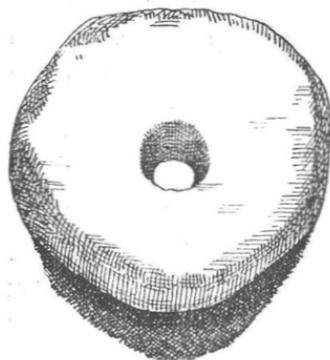
a young woman. In confirmation of this a good-sized amber bead* was found close at hand, and also the lower portion of a large bronze Anglo-Saxon brooch. Of this portion of a brooch a full-sized drawing is here given. When perfect, it would be about 7 inches in length, and would spread out into side wings so as to assume somewhat the shape of a cross. In fact these brooches are known as cruciform fibulæ, to distinguish them from the smaller and commoner circular fibulæ. They have been found varying in dimension from four to ten inches in length. They denote the burial of women of wealth and position, and are usually found in pairs, in undisturbed interments. It appears that these brooches were worn on each shoulder, and were used to fasten up the drapery of the outer gown or mantle.† There can be little doubt that in levelling the summit of the mound for the purpose of erecting the keep, the Norman workmen dug down to and somewhat disturbed the interment of an Anglo-Saxon lady of position, probably the wife or daughter of the lord of this burh, who had been buried there two or three centuries before the Conquest.

Another incidental "find," which also tends to prove that this hill was the centre of a settlement and not merely held for offensive or defensive purposes, is the discovery of one of those interesting mementoes of early textile art, a spindle whorl. When the

* This bead was unfortunately crushed to powder in its transit through the Post.

† Several of these cruciform fibulæ were found in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire. See *Saxon Obsequies*, by Hon. R. Neville, 1850, and the excellent plates I., II., and IV. to X. There are several good and varied examples of these fibulæ in the cases of the British Museum, but not one exactly corresponding to the pattern of the Duffield example.

distaff was in use, and before the introduction of the spinning wheel, the spindle and its accompanying whorl (or wirl) were common domestic appliances. In the process of spinning the thread was inserted in a nick on the top or side of the spindle, so as to keep the part that had been spun firm in its position, while



the newly-drawn portion of the wool was being twisted. The thread was then released from the slit, an additional portion wound on the spindle, and a new portion spun or whirled round as before. In order to give the necessary impetus or spin to the yarn in the revolutions that twined it into thread, a heavy perforated disc was used, and it is this that is termed the "spindle

whorl." Through the central hole of the disc was fastened the sharpened end of the wooden or bone spindle, the part below the whorl tapering to a point, so as to be readily twirled between the finger and thumb. They have been found of bone, glass, crystal, lead, stone, and ware. Their appearance has given rise to various whimsical suggestions from those unacquainted with their real use. In some parts of Ireland, where they have been often found, they are known as "fairy mill stones," and in Cornwall as "Pixy's grindstones," and an able modern antiquary seems to have thought that some of them were great-coat buttons!

Spindle whorls vary much in size and weight, as well as in material, being usually from an inch to an inch and a half in diameter, though occasionally as thick as even three inches. The Duffield example, here drawn in full size, is one and a half inches in diameter, and of red ware. The whorls of ware are either of Roman or Saxon origin, and from the roughness and general character of this one, there is no hesitation in assigning it to the latter race. Spindle whorls are now in use among some of the South American tribes.*

* On the general subject of Spindle Whorls, see Hume's "*Ancient Meols*," pp. 151-7, and Evans' *Ancient Stone Implements*, pp. 390-4. A Roman whorl of red ware was found at Caerwent in 1855. *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi., p. 430.

At the short trench dug at D on the plan, a certain quantity of iron refuse and dross, such as might be the rubbish of a smithy, was found, together with a rough and much corroded horse-shoe, apparently flung away as of bad make ; at the trench at F a still larger supply was found, and several barrows full could doubtless have been obtained if desired. In each instance the upper part of the dross was from two to three feet below the surface. We do not ourselves believe that these remains had anything to do with the subsequent Norman settlement here, but were traces of the later period of the Anglo-Saxon occupation of this site, and that they betoken that here, within the stockade, worked the smiths of the settlement under the direction and protection of the lord. If we are right in this conjecture, the horse-shoe now broken in two, may be added to the few Anglo-Saxon relics at present discovered.‡

Anglo-Saxon pottery is usually dark coloured, a deep brown or dull slate, and sometimes nearly black. There has not been very much found that can be positively identified as pertaining to that nationality, but the pottery which is indubitably of that period is, for the most part, coarse in texture and poor in design. Some coarse, almost black, pieces of pot, slightly flecked with red, that we personally dug up three feet three inches below the surface, at the end of the long trench, marked C on the plan, are said to be Anglo-Saxon, and there seems no reason to doubt the surmise. We account for their presence there at this depth, by the opinion, already expressed, that the Normans threw off the upper part of the burh when seeking foundations for their keep, spreading out the earth thus removed to some little distance, and carrying with it and burying amidst it debris which had previously been on the surface or very near to it.

VI.—THE NORMAN CASTLE.

At the time of the Norman Conquest, as Mr. Clark remarks, it may be too much to say there were no castles of masonry work in England ; but it is reasonable to suppose so, and at all events it

‡ Meyrick laid it down as an axiom that the Normans introduced the art of horse-shoeing into England ; but later knowledge has modified this opinion. Horse-shoes, pierced for nailing, have been found in ancient barrows in Germany.

may be safely asserted that, with the exception of a fragment of a wall at Corfe, no military masonry of English work older than the Conquest has yet been discovered. It was only within the century in which they embarked on their conquest, that the Norman nobles began to erect more durable castles, substituting stone, especially in the central work or keep, for the timber and earthwork defences. When William had gained his footing in England, and had speedily overrun so large a portion of the island, his next great care was to make permanent the conquest he had achieved. Accordingly he set about seeing to the defence of each capital city or town, or of each division and district that he had secured, in order that there might be a stronghold to aid in its retention, and to be the nucleus of his forces or of those of his great territorial barons. In the great majority of cases, the sites selected for these castles were naturally the same that, for geographical and other reasons, had been previously chosen for a like purpose by the defeated English or their predecessors. To this rule Duffield was no exception. A great number of the castles were placed on the old demesne lands of the Crown, and the custodians of them were mere officers of the sovereign and removable at will. But others were in private hands, for every baron or great tenant-in-chief was expected by the Conqueror to construct or to repair castles for the security of the lands allotted to them. Henry de Ferrers, the great Mercian landowner under William, selected Duffield, as we have already seen, as the central fortress of his conquered lands. The moral effect on the cowed inhabitants would be considerable, when they saw a gigantic pile being slowly reared upon the knoll that had so long been held for defensive purposes by their own lords. Several of the castles first erected by the Conqueror and his barons were undoubtedly of timber strengthened by earth ramparts, and were merely a slight improvement on the forts they found in such abundance in the conquered land. But in other instances, the newly-acquired art of stone castle building was speedily utilised by the Normans to overawe the island—such were the castles of London, Malling, Guildford, Carlisle, Bramber, Chester, Goderich, Walden, and Wolvesey. We take it that the great baron of Derby-

shire soon made his plans for the erection of an imposing fortress at Duffield. It would not only be a costly but a tedious work, for the architect, overlookers, and probably most of the masons would have to be brought there from Normandy. Probably the great work of the keep was finished towards the end of the Conqueror's days, though its completion may possibly not have been thoroughly accomplished till the next reign.

The Norman castles, whether erected in England or in Normandy, were of two types; the one had a rectangular, and the other a circular or shell keep. The rule seems to have been that where the site selected was a new one, the keep should be rectangular, for so massive and heavy a tower could only with safety be founded upon substantial ground or rock; but that when it was proposed to build upon a spot already used for a like purpose, the shell or circular keep was adopted as the lighter style, and having a more evenly distributed weight, and therefore better suited for erection on a burh or artificial mound. The latter style was much the commoner of the two, though, as the former was more durable, many rectangular examples remain to the present time. But there are exceptions to the first half of this rule, and Mr. Clark gives six instances—Christchurch, Guildford, Clun, Saffron Walden, Mileham, Bungay, and Bramber, in each of which rectangular keeps have been erected on old sites. To these Duffield may now be added; and the reason why it was safe to do so in this instance is readily explained. The English burh was only partially artificial; and on the north side the rock cropped up, and was only covered to the depth of a few feet. This the Norman workmen cleared off, and exposing the rock, built about one-half of their great keep on the rock itself, most of the remainder being founded on shale, and in one part, near the well angle, on firmly "made" ground.

"The rectangular keep," says Mr. Clark, "is of all military structures the simplest in form, the grandest in outline and dimensions, the sternest in passive strength, the most durable in its design and workmanship, and in most cases, by some years the earliest in date." These keeps differ in dimensions from 25 feet

to even 100 feet square, and vary in height from about 50 to 125 feet.

Let us now look at the scale upon which Henry de Ferrers determined to erect his great Derbyshire stronghold. When the excavations of the summer of 1886 were complete, and the sods, soil, and loose rubble removed, for a depth of several feet, from the surface of the permanent masonry or foundations, a ground plan became exposed, which is carefully depicted in Mr. Greenwell's plan (Plate VIII.). The only fault that can possibly be found with this plan is, that it gives us a little too regular idea of the whole as now extant. For instance, the outer ashlar has in many places been removed right down to the foundation; especially is this the case on the east side, where a considerable inroad was made into the outer surface of the massive wall at the time when the course of the turnpike to Belper was moved in the year 1838. The outline of the inner front of the walls is better preserved than the outer; in several parts more than a single course of stones runs for several yards clear above the set-off of the foundations; whilst in two places there are no less than five courses of very regularly laid masonry, the stones averaging seven inches in depth, so that they give, with the intervening mortar, a height exceeding three feet.

The outer measurements of the rectangular keep show that it was almost a perfect square, being 95 feet by 93 feet, exclusive of certain irregularities on the west or "forebuilding" side. The outer walls are of surprising massiveness, and are formed in the centre of a singularly well-set and substantial concrete, made of rubble stones, with a plentiful admixture of mortar. The east wall is fifteen feet thick; the south wall fifteen feet four inches; the north wall varies from fourteen feet ten inches to fourteen feet six inches; and the irregular west wall is about twenty-one feet in thickness.

Before proceeding with any further details of the ground plan, let us see how these measurements compare with those of other Norman rectangular keeps, so far as they are known, of about the same date, that is of the eleventh century. The Tower is 107 feet by 118; Bramber, 40 feet square; Carlisle, 66 feet by 61; Guild-

ford, 52 feet by 46. Colchester keep exceeds even the Tower in size, but then it cannot fitly be compared with others, as its structure and arrangements are different to those of other rectangular keeps, and the uncertainty as to its date does not seem to have been yet cleared up. Or compare it with the largest of the rectangular Norman keeps of the next century. The well-known noble instance of Rochester is 70 feet square; Castle Rising is 75 feet by 64; Kenilworth is 87 feet by 58 feet; Bowes, 82 feet by 60; Middleham, 100 feet by 80; Scarborough, 56 feet square; Northam, 86 feet by 64; Corfe, 60 feet square; Porchester, 65 feet by 52; and Dover, 98 feet by 96. These measurements show that Duffield castle very far exceeded in magnitude any other defensive masonry throughout the kingdom in the eleventh century, save only the Tower of London, at the centre of government. And of all the numerous castles built in the twelfth century, both royal and baronial, it still held a decided lead over them all, with the single exception of Dover, planted, as Matthew Paris says, to be "the very front door of England," and even in that instance the excess in size over Duffield is merely trifling.

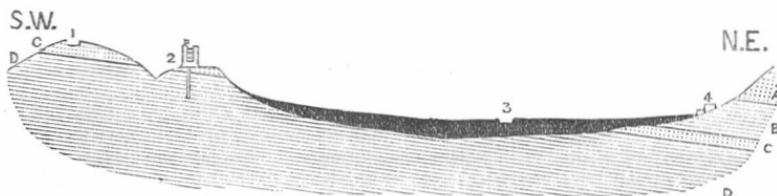
With regard to solidity of the outer walls, those of Duffield are by far the thickest of any Norman walls of any date throughout the kingdom, Dover only excepted.

Duffield keep, as was usually the case with the large ones, is divided into two great apartments by a cross wall, and this wall probably ascended to the summit, being pierced in each floor, and with wide arches on the State floor. The Duffield cross-wall is 4 feet 4 inches thick, and divided the inner area into two great apartments, measuring respectively 63 feet 2 inches by 41 feet 6 inches, and 63 feet 2 inches by 17 feet 4 inches. The position of one small doorway in this wall is shown on the plan, and there was no doubt another at about equal distance from the east wall. About the centre of the great apartment is the base of a central pillar six feet square, the upper angles are chamfered off, and from the marks on the present surface it is clear that a great circular shaft sprang from it. There was no groining of places of this size in those days, and the object of the shaft or pillar was obviously to

receive the ends of the great oak beams that supported the floor, for the span would have been too wide without such intervention.

There was some little difficulty in finding the well when the labourers were at work, as there was no sign on the surface when the area was first cleared, but a proffered reward quickened their perceptions, and by the aid of an iron bar a spot was found where the ground seemed to be loosely "made." This was in the south-west angle, and a few hours digging proved it to be the right spot. The well had evidently had a square top for about some ten feet down, probably built round with masonry, and at this distance below the area the circular opening was found. The opening is four feet six inches in diameter, and is sunk with singular truth plumb down for eighty feet, or two or three feet below the level of the Derwent. The remarkable point about this well, is that it is not in any way lined. At first it was thought that it had been lined with stone, and that the stone had been carefully removed elsewhere at the time of the demolition, but a personal examination that we have made of the sides of the well right down to the bottom proved that they had never been lined in any way. Another remarkable feature is the nature of the soil or strata through which it is sunk, which makes the tenacity of the sides all the more extraordinary. A few feet to the north of the well, the solid rock juts out. Almost the whole of the narrower of the two keep apartments is built upon the rock, and its floor is of the natural stone. And yet the well is sunk, after the first few feet of the square opening are passed, right through a continuous bed of dark slate-coloured shale.

Mr. John Ward, of St. Peter's Bridge, Derby, has most kindly explained this geological peculiarity, and made it clear by the accompanying section from his pen.



“The section is N.E. and S.W., that is in the direction of the dip, which in this district ranges from 10° to 15° N.E.

1 is the road to Hazelwood ; 2 the castle hill, with keep and well indicated ; 3 the Derwent ; and 4 Milford House.

The rocks are :—

- A. Millstone grit.
- B. Yoredale Shales.
- C. Yoredale grit, a very variable rock.
- D. Yoredale Shales, again.

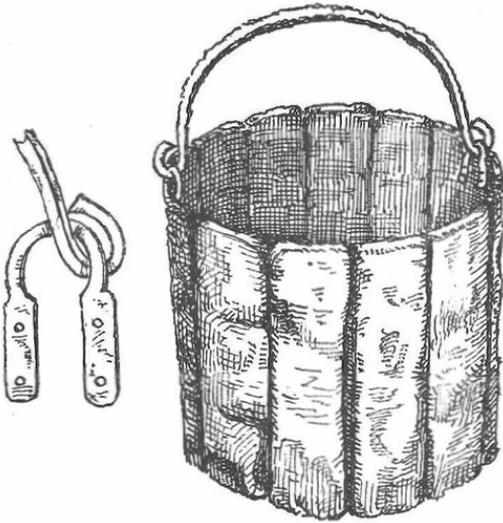
The black is alluvium. The castle hill, it will be noticed, is capped by the Yoredale grit, but very unequally so, on account of the dip ; the south end being entirely free from this grit, while the north end is almost wholly of it. Hence there must be a line across the top of the hill where the grit thins out altogether. As to the position of the keep, the larger part of the foundation rests upon this grit, and the only part likely to escape it is the south wall ; but in all probability this rock thins out beyond this wall, so that the keep is wholly on the grit. Taking this latter supposition for granted, since the well is towards the S.W. angle of the keep, its first few feet, at least, must be sunk through this grit, but ere the well takes its circular form, it has passed into the black Yoredale shale, into which it is sunk for the rest of its depth.”*

The well was completely choked up with stones, and nearer the bottom the masonry was intermingled with numerous charred pieces of wood. One great beam of oak was brought up, several feet in length, that had evidently been one of the floor joists. Every piece of wood, without exception, showed strong traces of the action of fire. The best chiselled and cleanest cut dressed stones were those recovered from the well, as well as several bearing interesting mouldings, which will presently be noticed. The slow, costly, and dangerous work of clearing out this old well

* We do not quite hold with Mr. Ward's surmise as to the grit thinning out beyond the south wall of the keep, for we helped to dig, and saw a hole dug in the south-east angle of the keep, as well as one about six yards nearer north, where the trough ends, in each case some four or five feet down, and found no grit. We think that the line where it thins out must be but a little to the south of the partition wall.

was at last finished, and the reward of the labour, beyond the good stones that were recovered on the way down, seemed but to be small, for beyond a few pieces of small pottery and one very large fragment, and the wooden blade of a once iron-tipped spade, nothing was found at the bottom, save the disjointed and crushed staves of the well bucket and its iron handle.

However, even a bucket that has lain buried eighty feet deep in the ground ever since the Battle of Chesterfield, more than six centuries ago, possesses some interest of its own, and is here represented after having been carefully restored to its former shape by a local cooper, who has fitted it round a new light inner case. It will be noticed that the two thin iron bands round the circumference are missing;



only a few small bits of those were found. The outside depth of the bucket is 11 inches, and the diameter $12\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

The well was a most important and essential accessory of a Norman keep; the fortress being specially designed to withstand a siege. Sometimes the mouth is on the ground level; more frequently, for additional security, the well pipe is contained within the wall and opens into a small special well chamber. At Rochester it is in the cross wall, the pipe ascending to the summit, with an opening at each floor. At Arques, in Normandy, where the well is near one angle, a pipe has been built over it, raising the mouth to the first floor. This is what, we feel sure, was done at Duffield, judging from the condition of the upper sides of the

well, namely that a square piece of masonry, enclosing in its centre the well pipe, was built up in the south west angle of the keep, which was carried up to the first floor.

We now come to the special *crux* of this keep, a shallow trench (shown by dotted lines on the plan) which runs from west to east across the floor of the great apartment, dipping slightly to the east. This trench or trough is made of stone, and is $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide inside, by 8 inches deep. The most remarkable thing about it is that it runs right through and under the base of the central pillar. It ends a little distance from the east wall, as shown on the plan; at least so we were assured by the workmen, who had moved some of the stones composing it at a time when no member of the committee happened to be present.

Various conjectures have been offered as to its meaning and use, but almost each one has been disproved (such as the idea that it was a trough for cattle penned here for safety), when the construction of the building was remembered, and that there was no access to the basement, save down screw stairways. The best idea that we can offer, and one to which at present we see no sound objection, is this—the water being taken up from the well through solid masonry to the first floor, it was requisite that there should be some special means of supplying the basement (part of which may have been used as a kitchen, and most of it, probably, as a guard room by the garrison,) where it would be the most required. It was also necessary that there should be some means of discharging any overplus water that might be drawn, and this without attracting the attention of besiegers to the position of the well by an outward discharge. Had the west wall been perfect, we expect we should have found a narrow down cast pipe, either in the wall or affixed to it, with a wide mouthed aperture at the top near to the opening of the well, down which bucketsfull could be poured; those below being able either to receive it at the beginning of the long trench or trough, or to allow the trench to be filled or partly filled according to their requirements. There would be some exit at the east end of the trough, though we are bound to say that digging did not discover it. The circle marked in the masonry on the

plan, near to this end of the trough, is a round hole going a little distance into the rubble work. It has been suggested that it is the base of a *garde-robe* shaft. If this is so, could it have been intended occasionally to flush it from the well? But we scarcely think that sanitary engineering had arrived at that point in the days of the Normans.

Six or seven of the shaped stones that had evidently formed part of the casing of a well or screw staircase were found, a little outside the area of the keep, at the south-east angle. The circle of which they formed a part was seven-and-a-half feet in diameter, a size somewhat under the average of Norman well-stairs. Subsequent examination of the exposed surface of the ground plan proves that there were two of these well-stairs down to the basement, one at the south east angle, and one at the north east, as shown on the plan.

The basement chambers would be used for stores, for kitchen purposes, and probably for a guard-room, dimly lighted high up by a few very narrow loops. In a keep of this size the basement would probably be at least fifteen feet high. The next floor would have small mural or wall chambers, and the window apertures would be a little wider than those below; its chief use would be as a barrack for the soldiers, and its height rather greater than the basement. The second floor would comprise the chief or state apartments. Here there would be sure to be a wealth of interior mouldings, and chiefly on the window jambs and arches, and also on the archways that would probably pierce the cross wall on this story, so as to permit of the whole forming one immense hall on special occasions. But at Duffield the largest apartment would, if undivided, be of such noble proportions that arches in the cross wall might be a superfluity. There would be subdivisions by brattices and hangings on the various storeys. The height of these state rooms, in a keep this size, would probably be thirty feet. Above this would be a third, or upper floor, divided for private occupation by wooden partitions into various chambers. The roof would be inclined at a very slight pitch, just sufficient to carry off the water from the wooden shingles, of which at that

early date it would be constructed, the gables not rising above the parapet walls. If the keep was strengthened or reconstructed in any way during the reign of Henry II., as seems not improbable, a flat lead roof, that permitted the use of military engines from the summit, would be substituted. This use of lead for castle roofs came in rather suddenly towards the end of the Norman period. The great keep of Windsor castle was roofed with lead from the Derbyshire mines in the year 1176. This lead would be carried on pack horses close by the foot of Duffield castle hill, and across the ford that it commanded. Would not the sight of this traffic be sure to suggest this newer and better way of roofing-in his great keep to the powerful Ferrers, even if the method had not already been adopted. The height of Duffield keep to the top of the parapets could not have been under one hundred feet, and probably somewhat exceeded it.

Perhaps the most interesting and cunningly contrived feature of these rectangular keeps is the fore-building, wherein one side of the keep was materially increased in width, in order to provide a well protected entrance. There never was any outer entrance to the basement, which was only gained by coming down a well staircase, a single one usually sufficing, and not two, as at Duffield. Nor in the larger keeps was there any outer entrance to the first floor, but admission was gained on the second or chief floor. The fore-building was an extended structural part of one wall, sometimes only a third of the breadth of the side of the keep, though sometimes extending the whole length, and about two-thirds of the height of the main building. At one end, on the ground level, a straight stairway began, which ascended on a slope to the other end, terminating in a landing or platform, which was the vestibule of the actual entrance into the tower. Over the beginning of this stairway were a low arch and a strong door; half way up the stairs was often a second doorway, and sometimes in this situation, and sometimes just in front of the final platform, was a considerable gulf or break crossed by a drawbridge, which would, as a rule, be kept drawn up to form a screen to another doorway behind it. The vestibule at the head of the stairs was

usually a fair-sized chamber, and was often vaulted. The basement below it would contain a small cell or cells, used, perhaps, as a prison; for, contrary to general opinion, the Norman keeps were always destitute of underground dungeons. In several of the large keeps, such as Dover, Newcastle, and Middleham, the upper part of the forebuilding contained the chapel. Perhaps this was the case at Duffield; that it possessed a chapel is a matter of absolute certainty, but its situation is conjecture. There is very little to be added about the Duffield fore-building, beyond what the plan shows, namely, that it was on the west side of the tower. The whole of the ashlar has been removed from this part, only the rubble and concrete foundations remaining. It is obvious, however, that there has been a small cell or mural chamber in the lower part of it, probably under the stairs. The piece marked on the plan "irregular concrete" is apparently beyond the regular foundations, and may have been only a kind of paved approach for the firm standing of horses.

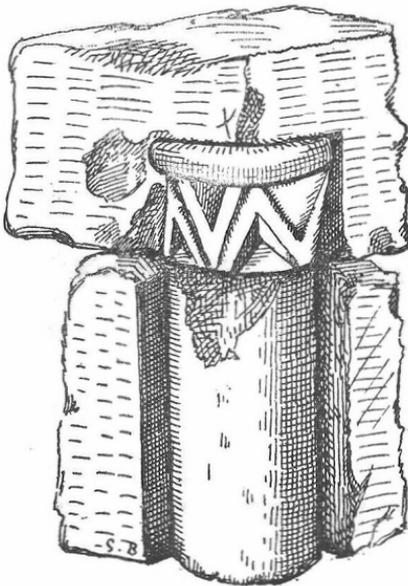


Fig. 1.

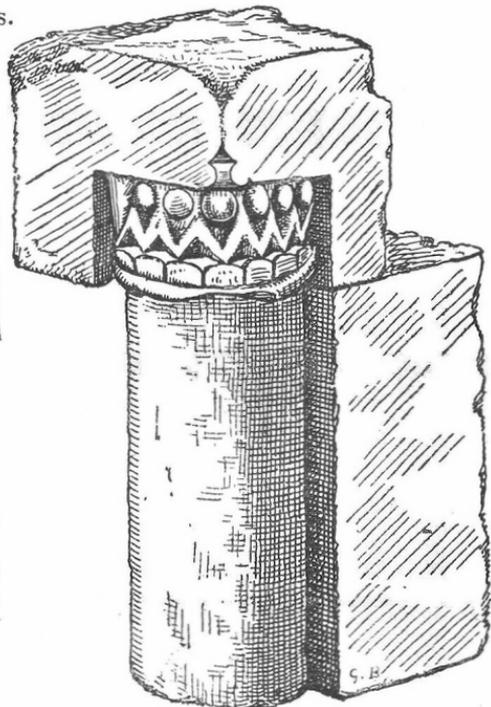
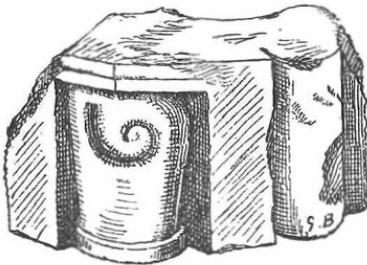


Fig. 2.

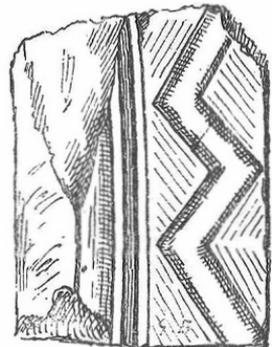
The few sculptured stones that remain were all obtained, as has been stated, from the debris wherewith the well was choked. Of the more important of these we give drawings.

The two stones here represented (fig. 1) were found apart, and have only been placed together for effect. But it is quite possible that the engaged shaft of the lower one may have been originally below the carved impost of the capital, though not immediately beneath. These stones seem to have come from a window jamb of the State rooms, and those of fig. 2 from a doorway on the same floor. It may here be noticed, as is roughly shown in the drawings, that whilst a good many of the dressed stones show the diagonal marking known as "Norman axeing," others, apparently for interior use, are most regularly and effectively chisel-dressed in parallel interrupted lines. This latter dressing is, we believe, very exceptional, but it does not denote any different period or date to those of the usual diagonal axeing, for we noticed two or three stones upon whose different faces both treatments might be observed.



The next piece of moulding seems to be from the side of a wide doorway, possibly the entrance from the vestibule of the fore building.

Then we have a plain piece of chevron moulding, which has been part of a wide arch, and has most likely run above two double lights of the State floor, of course in the interior.



The last small portion here drawn is a fragment of good and unusual moulding formed by a series of small elliptic arches. It resembles some of the late Norman



moulding of this character, though not so highly finished, at Oxford cathedral.*

This last example of moulding has undoubtedly a late look about it, and probably pertains to some later repairs or embellishments. The other mouldings are not of the character that one would expect to find previous to 1100, but they are somewhat rudely treated, and, for our own part, we think it quite possible that they may be of that date.† But supposing that these mouldings are all of the next century, it merely proves that certain additions and improvements, such as we have already indicated as taking place with the roof, were brought about after the castle had been standing for many years. There is not a single known instance of an early rectangular Norman keep, still standing, that was not repaired and altered, sometimes most materially, later on, but yet within the Norman period.

One or two critics have thought that the masonry was too closely jointed for early Norman days, but they seem to have been only guided by the well-known and often-drawn example of the widely-jointed masonry of the White Tower, London. The baronial architect and masons employed at Duffield would not be at all likely to be the same as the royal ones in London; and it is not well to criticise (nor to theorise) until more than one example of a particular date has come under observation. Masonry joints depended then, as now, very much upon the nature of the stone and the nature of the mortar. A comparative study of eleventh century masonry at Malling, Guildford, Carlisle, Chepstow, etc., establishes beyond all doubt the possibility, at all events, of the Duffield masonry being of the date that on historical evidence we are inclined to assign to it.

VII.—MASON'S' MARKS.

On several of the best dressed stones, chiefly those obtained from the well, a variety of well-preserved Masons' Marks have

* Parker's *Glossary of Architecture*, vol. iii., plate 80.

† One out of three experts in early architectural mouldings whom we have consulted confirms our own view; the other two believe them to be of the time of Stephen or Henry II.

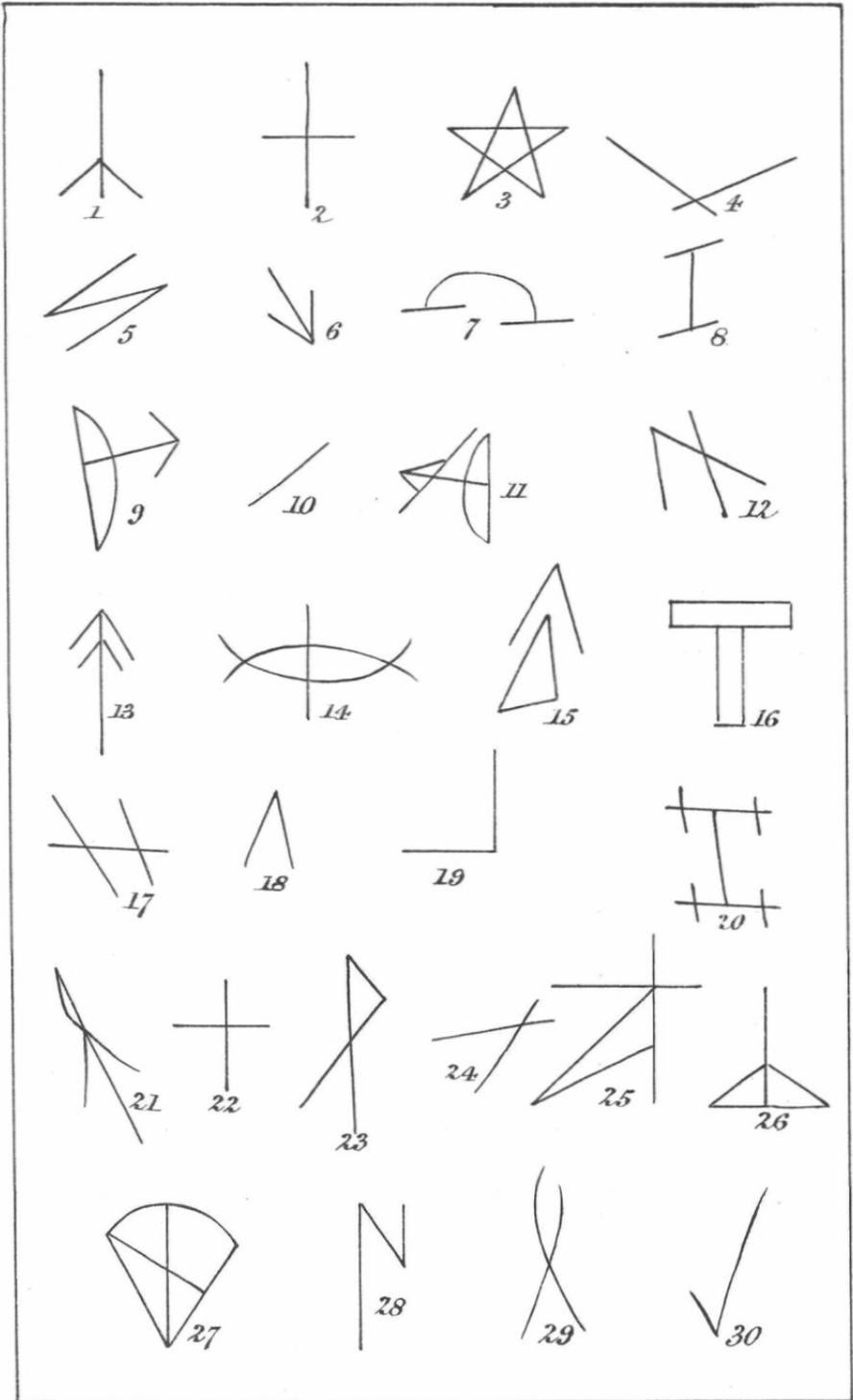
been noted. To Mr. Bland, who has taken much interest in these marks, and who first suggested special attention being given to them, we are indebted for the thirty drawings of these marks figured on Plate X.

A variety of books that deal incidentally with the question of Masons' Marks,* most of them giving illustrations, have been consulted, and to these have been added a few marks that we have collected, or have been given us by Mr. St. John Hope, from the Peak Castle, Scarborough Castle, Dale Abbey, Hartington Church, and Lichfield Cathedral,† Rochester Cathedral, etc., with the result that the following table has been compiled of places where the same marks as those at Duffield have been noted:—

1. Lichfield Cath. ; Strasbourg Cath.
- 2 and 22. Lichfield Cath. ; Dale Abbey ; Baalbec ; the Temple ; and *passim*.
3. Kilwining Abbey ; Lichfield Cath. ; Crusading churches and castles of Syria ; many parts of India ; Westminster Abbey ; St. Nicholas (Great Yarmouth) ; the Temple ; Canterbury Cath.
4. Lichfield Cath. ; Carlisle Cath. ; Scarboro' Castle.
5. Hartington Ch. ; Peak Castle ; Strasbourg Cath. ; Sea Castle, Sidon ; the Temple ; Canterbury Cath. ; Rochester Cath. ; Dale Abbey (High Altar).
6. Rose Castle (Carlisle) ; Dale Abbey ; Sea Castle, Sidon ; the Temple.
8. Rose Castle ; Peak Castle.
10. *Passim*.
12. St. Giles' Cath. (Edinburgh) ; Mount Grace Priory ; Rochester Cath.
14. Hartington Ch. ; Lichfield Cath.
17. Lichfield Cath. ; Dale Abbey ; Damascus.
18. Lichfield Cath. ; Westminster Abbey.
19. Scarbro' Castle ; St. Nicholas (Great Yarmouth) ; Burkush (Lebanon) ; Baalbec.
20. Peak Castle ; Damascus.
23. Scarboro' Castle.

* *Freemasonry in Scotland*, by Murray Lyon (4 plates) ; *Archæologia*, vol. xxx. ; a Paper by Mr. George Godwin in the *Builder*, March 27th, 1869 ; *Reliquary*, vol. xi., p. 189 ; *Notes and Queries*, 3rd series, vol. xii., 431, 415 ; 4th series, vol. v., 202 ; vol. vi., 26, 152 ; Palmer's *Great Yarmouth*, vol. ii., p. 281 ; *Proceedings of Soc. of Antiq., Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, vol. ii. (1886), pp. 246-7 ; publications of the *Palestine Exploration Fund*, especially quarterly statement, No. vi., March to June, 1870 ; King's *Recent Discoveries on the Temple Hill*, pp. 44-52 ; and Conder's *Syrian Stone Lore* (1886), pp. 209, 439.

† Mr. Yend, the late head verger, once showed me a note-book of his, in which he had upwards of 170 of these marks from the Cathedral.



MASONS' MARKS, DUFFIELD CASTLE.

24. Lichfield Cath. ; Scarboro' Castle ; Kalats-ab-Shukif (Lebanon).
26. Lichfield Cath. ; Peak Castle.
27. The Temple.
28. Lichfield Cath. ; Peak Castle ; Dale Abbey ; Baalbec ; the Temple.
29. Canterbury Cath.
30. Strasbourg Cath.

The subject of Masons' Marks is an intricate one, and has sometimes been made the vehicle of much wild talk and random writing. Though much of it may be rightly explained in a satisfactory and rational way, other sides of the subject evade elucidation, the difficulties being increased by the widespread use of these marks, as is to some extent illustrated by the foregoing table of the places where the Duffield marks are found.* The fact is, that no one or two theories will explain it, for their use has arisen from a variety of causes, and represents a variety of original intentions.

Freemasons, at a very early period, were unions or guilds of masons, who, having possessed themselves of a knowledge of the leading principles of architecture and building, sought to retain this knowledge as an impenetrable secret, so as to perpetuate a monopoly in building, to the exclusion of all others who were not of their society. To check this, so far as England was concerned, an Act was passed in 1424 making such combinations penal, and forbidding their congregations and chapters. But they still met at their lodges for improving themselves in liberal arts pertaining to building. The Reformation put a summary check to their chief occupation, which had been to so great an extent connected with the Church, and from that period it seems that the fraternity began to cease to be practical masons. Henceforth the society was composed in the main of mere nominal masons, but, to justify their title, they retained, in their allegorical proceedings the tools and marks of real masons, as distinguishing figures of various degrees.

* The Rev. Canon Taylor, LL.D., the learned author of the great work on the Alphabet, and better acquainted with all known letters and characters than any living Englishman, writing to us on this subject, says :—" You will not make much out of the Masons' Marks, or, if you do, you will have earned a title to indelible fame."

The best account of Masons' Marks with which we are acquainted, occurs in Lyon Murray's *History of Freemasonry in Scotland* (Blackwood, 1873), which has justly been spoken of as "the only historical history of Freemasonry." It is there shown that the possession of marks or devices were common alike to all apprentices, fellows, or masters who chose to pay for having them enrolled. "They were also adopted by the theoretical part of the fraternity, in imitation of their operative brethren." "Whatever," says Mr. Murray, "may have been their original signification as exponents of a secret language, there is no ground for believing that the 16th century mason was guided in the choice of a mark by any consideration of their mystic or symbolical quality, or of their relation to the propositions of Euclid." A large proportion of the earliest registered Scotch marks were rough initials, or an initial of the owner's name, or some sign typical of his name. They were all of a sufficiently simple character to admit of their being cut upon the tools of operative masons, and upon the productions of their handicraft, or used as signatures by such as had not been taught to write. That which Mr. Murray conclusively proves to be true of the Scotch masons of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by their registered marks, we believe to have been in the main true of the masons working in England in the eleventh or twelfth centuries, when the marks on Plate X. were produced.

Mr. Murray mentions an interesting mark, booked in the records of St. Mary's Chapel, Edinburgh, on St. John's Day, 1667, to one David Salmond. It is composed of lines so arranged as to form the outline of a fish (*salmon*), and the christian name is represented by the *delta* shaped head of the fish. May it not be, in the same fashion, that fig. 9 of our Plate X. simply represents a Norman mason of the name of Archer? And this, although a similar sign, may have been used elsewhere to betoken something else.

It would seem, however, that some of these marks originated with signs or characters of numerical signification, denoting the size, or indicating the situation of the stone, and that afterwards

these signs, as effective and simple ones, were continued and adopted by others, after their original signification had been forgotten.

Nor should it be denied that some ideas of luck or superstition may have blended, now and again, with the use of these marks, even by Christian masons. Captain Conder, in writing just recently (*Syrian Stone Lore*), on the masons' marks to be observed on different churches and castles of crusading origin in Syria, several of which resemble those of Duffield, says that "They are sometimes letters of the alphabet of Gothic form, and sometimes signs like the pentacle, the scutum David, the fish, the arrow, etc., which appear to have been used as luck marks. They are not apparently the signs of individual masons in all cases, and they certainly do not indicate the position of the stone in the wall."

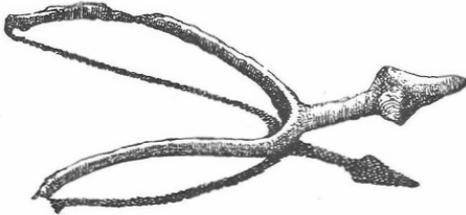
No. 3, Plate X., is the well-known pentacle or Solomon's seal, and is the most likely one of any of this collection to have a possibly mystical or symbolical signification. But if once the region of magical mysticism be entered, we might soon find ourselves in cloudy space infinitely remote from Duffield Castle stones or anything tangible. The last book that has been published on this subject, excellently got up, and apparently gravely intended throughout by an undoubted scholar, tells us of this sign, that it "expresses the mind's domination over the elements, and by it we bind the demons of the air, the spirits of fire, the spectres of water, and the ghosts of the earth. It is the star of the Magi, the burning star of the Gnostic scholar, the sign of intellectual omnipotence and autocracy. It is the symbol of the Word made Flesh, and, according to the direction of its rays, it represents good or evil, order or disorder, the sacred lamb of Ormuz and St. John, or the accursed goat of Mendes. It is initiation or profanation, Lucifer or Vesper, Mary or Lilith, victory or death, light or darkness. With two horns in the ascendant, it represents Satan, or the goat of the Sabbath, and with the single horn in the ascendant it is the sign of the Saviour. It is the

figure of a human body, with the four members and a point representing the head ; a human figure head downwards naturally represents the demon, that is, intellectual subversion and folly, etc.*

Surely when the Norman mason placed the stone bearing this mark in the foundations of Duffield Castle, he must have blundered and reversed it ; hence the upheaval of the Castle, and the ruin of the Ferrers !

VIII.—TRACES OF THE CASTLE OCCUPANTS.

The iron details of Norman date found within the keep, or in its



immediate vicinity, are numerous and varied. There is a considerable supply of nails of varying kinds, from the short, square-headed clout nails used for the

strengthening the stout oak of outer doors or gates for defensive purposes, to the ordinary spike nail of different sizes. There are also several hinges, some from doors, and others that have been used for the shutters to windows or window openings. One of the most interesting iron relics is a Norman spur, of which an illustration is here given, about a third of the true size. The rowel spur did not come in till a later date. The Anglo-Saxon spur was a goad or prick spur like this, but the goad was closer to the spur itself, and not separated, as in this example, by a long neck. In the Norman spur the point is like a spear head, though thick and pyramidal ; the Roman spur was also somewhat of this character, but more like an obtuse spike or nail. The Duffield spur closely resembles those shown on the Bayeux tapestry as worn by the Norman Knights.

* *The Mysteries of Magic*, by Arthur Edward Waite (1886), pp. 136-7.

Three knives have been found. The largest of these is fifteen



inches long, and its horn handle, though separate, was found close by; the second is eight inches in length; and the smallest is five and a half inches. There have been several jests about



these knives from visitors since their discovery, owing to their somewhat modern look; one gentleman gravely contending that they were the upset from some comparatively modern picnic-basket. But they were found several feet below the surface, mingled with the masonry of the keep, and there is not really the slightest doubt but that they are Norman. Round the haft of each is tightly and closely twisted, so as to be almost welded together, many twists of bright brass wire. This is a specially Norman treatment; an iron spur of that period has been found with similar wire wound tightly round it, as a kind of ornament, as well as for strengthening purposes. The second of these four instruments in the drawing is the head of a spear, not of one used in warfare, or it would have been curved or shaped in some way, but of a boar or hunting spear of a small description.



Our next illustration also reminds us of the Norman Knight or horseman, for it represents (half size) a horse's bridle-bit. It is five inches long, and is twisted or convoluted. It is of a simple

kind, though hinged snaffle-bits, as well as elaborate curbs, were occasionally used in those days.

Several potsherds found near the surface are of Norman date, and chiefly bear a thin yellowish-brown glaze. Others of a dull slate colour and unglazed may be of the same date. No fragments were found of any special size or pattern, save that in the well was a very large piece of a big pan, used for salting or some other culinary purpose, but it had become discoloured, and of a dullish grey, from its centuries of sojourn in the water. Some of the Norman pieces were very similar to those found in 1861 at Burley Hill, in Duffield parish, about a mile and a half to the south of the castle, when a medieval pottery kiln was uncovered.*

A considerable supply of bones were found when clearing the site of the keep, chiefly at parts adjacent to the well. With one or two exceptions, they are merely kitchen refuse. Rev. J. Magens Mello was kind enough to draw up a brief report on these bones, and described them as belonging to the following species:— (1) Common short-horned ox (*bos longifrons*), (2) sheep (*ovis aries*), (3) red deer (*cervus elephas*), (4) roe deer (*cervus capreolus*), (5) hare or rabbit (*lepus timidus* or *cuniculus*), (6) domestic hog or wild boar (*sus scrofa*), (7) dog (*canis familiaris*), (6) domestic fowl (*gallus domesticus*), (9) a larger bird, goose or swan, and (10) man.

For the presence of the last of these we have accounted when dealing with Anglo-Saxon interment. Red deer abounded in the forest of Duffield, and in many other parts of the county to a far later period than the demolition of Duffield Castle; they are represented in these remains by a variety of bones, as well as by fragments of antlers, and also by a few teeth. The roe deer were also once common throughout the mountain ranges extending from Derbyshire into Scotland; and we know that there was an abundant supply in Derbyshire in the reigns of John, Henry III., and the first three Edwards. With regard to the ox bones, which were in considerable abundance, and consisted chiefly of the long

* *Reliquary*, vol. ii., pp. 16-18.

bones of the limbs and ribs, Mr. Mello noticed that the leg bones (*femora, tibiæ, and humeri*) have been invariably artificially split open for the purpose of extracting the marrow, and that some of the ribs show knife cuts on their surface.

IX.—EXTENT OF THE CASTLE, AND ITS DEMOLITION.

When the foundations of the great keep were being exposed, it was not unnaturally expected that some traces of the *enceinte*, or curtain walls of the ballium, together with the bastion entrance, would be capable of discovery. But so far, though neither time nor money were spared, all trace of them in masonry has escaped observation. Not only were the most likely places tested immediately in and around the castle field, but in one place, at some little distance to the south-east, where persistent late tradition affirmed that massive foundations had existed, several men were at work for two or three days cutting a long trench down to the natural soil. But no masonry was anywhere found. A current idea that the buildings of the castle extended over the top of the next knoll to the south, and that some old paving found when digging the foundations of the new Duffield Vicarage was connected therewith, cannot for a moment be accepted by anyone who has studied Norman military architecture. The keep was emphatically, not only the centre, but the chief consideration in castle building of that period, and though it is true that for the most part they had walls (against which would be low lean-to buildings) enclosing an outer and inner court, with strong defensive work at the gateway, still it must always be remembered that the ordinary notion of a castle with towers at frequent intervals round a considerable circuit, almost rivalling in strength the tower or towers, and other defences of the central block of buildings, was a much later development, and never prevailed until Edwardian days.

With regard to Duffield, so far as explorations have at present been carried out, we are forced to the conclusion that nothing further of note was attempted in stone, save the immense central keep. A mere question of cubic area shows that a powerful gari-

son could with ease be maintained within its walls in time of siege. Although there seems to have been no outer defence of stonework, there would no doubt have been a ballium enclosed within a stockaded rampart, and round it sheds and buildings of timber. Duffield, though much stronger than Tutbury, does not seem to have been acceptable to the Ferrers' as a place of residence for the family after the times of Engenulph, so that the State chambers of the keep would be free for the occupation of the castellan and officers of the garrison, and less barrack room in the base-court would in consequence be required.

It seems highly probable, as has already been stated, that the king's army, under Prince Henry, was employed in the demolition of the castle in 1266. What would be impossible to a small body of men can often be effected by great numbers. But even an army in those days, when explosives were unknown, would find the pulling down of this mass of masonry a great and serious undertaking. Fire was obviously one of the chief agents employed. A thick deposit of charcoal was found on all sides of the keep; every piece of wood and timber rescued from the well were partially burnt; and in many places the stones and masonry showed unmistakable traces of having been exposed to intense heat. It would almost seem as if the forests hard by had supplied stacks of fuel to make a great conflagration in the midst of and around the keep. When the great joists of the floors had blazed up, and when many of the poorer stones had crumbled away from the intensity of the heat, the overthrow of the walls would be far easier. On the north side of the keep, close to the foundations, are several tons of overthrown masonry which had been dislodged in a single piece. Ten or twelve men, during the excavations of last summer, were kept constantly employed for many weeks in wheeling away, and throwing down the steep bank on the north, the rubble of concrete and masonry found on and around the site. Yet some surprise has been expressed by one or two at the smallness of the debris left on the site; and a strange conjecture has been offered by another, that Duffield castle was never completed, and only carried a little way up. But instead of sharing in their surprise,

our surprise, on the contrary, has been that so much waste material still remained. It should be remembered that an army most likely achieved its destruction; and to thoroughly remove the greater part of the material, in order to offer no temptation for the rebuilding of the castle, and still more to impress the Ferrers' tenantry with the complete subversion of their rebel lord, would be a material part of the scheme. That careful observer and well-known Derbyshire antiquary, Rev. Charles Kerry, believes that the old half of Duffield Bridge is of Henry III.'s time, and that much of the castle stone was used therein. Stone bearing undoubtedly Norman axeing can still be found in various fences and old cottages of the neighbourhood. Moreover, when the lofty bridge over the railway, hard by, was constructed in 1838, those living, who can recollect it, assure us that a good deal of ashlar was uncovered on the east-side of the foundations, and was used in the bridge building.

Though unfortunately the order for the demolition of Duffield Castle is not extant or not forthcoming, it is well-known how completely the work of castle demolishing was carried out by Henry III., when it was resolved upon, and when he had got forces sufficient for the purpose. The expression, *funditus prosternendo*, used in more than one Letter Patent of this reign, to sheriffs when it was desired to level a stronghold, evidently indicates the mode in which Duffield was treated. Not long before the overthrow of the Ferrers, Henry III. resolved on the capture and destruction of the Norman Castles of Bedford and Biham, both described as "very strong places." Both were stiffly defended, but were taken. "Of Biham, no trace remains; of Bedford, a fragment of wall and a mound, reduced almost to a mole-hill, still shows that Henry's work was not done negligently." Instead, therefore, of wondering at the little that is left, we are thankful, for the sake of archæology and history, that Henry's forces, when in Derbyshire, left us so much of Duffield Castle.

A very hard stone bullet, about two inches in diameter, was found a few years ago close to Duffield Vicarage, on ground commanding the castle. When Henry III. issued orders to the

Sheriffs of the Midlands to provide and forward material of war for the attack on the castles of Bedford and Biham, part of his directions were to place quarrymen under requisition for the dressing of stone bullets.

Here must end our notes on Duffield Castle, and on the site so rich in interest. The absolute historical facts respecting the castle are very meagre, but that is a matter that will surprise none who have ever tried to search for documentary evidence prior to the time of Henry III. ; and it must also be remembered that it was a baronial and not a royal castle, and hence obtained little or no notice in the Public Records. The contemporary Derbyshire castles of Horsley, Bolsover, and the Peak, were far smaller and of much less importance than Duffield, but they find a place, brief though it be, in not a few of the earliest National Records, for they were repaired at the nation's expense, and were governed by castellans appointed by the Crown.

If, however, there is but little hope of further discoveries pertaining to Duffield from parchment rolls or charters, there surely is yet lying concealed within the castle-field much of yet older interest, which the generous enthusiasm of Derbyshire men can hardly suffer to remain dormant, when so much has already been gained by partial investigation.