NOTTINGHAM CASTLE.

By EMANUEL GREEN, F.S.A.

Standing on the castle rock on the highest point and looking northward as far as the eye can carry, on the left there is Peakland and on the extreme right the mouth of the Humber and the sea. An imaginary line drawn between these two points will fairly mark the boundary of the northern part of the early kingdom of Mercia, of which Nottingham from its situation was the chief centre. The Humber, convenient harbour for the natives, also by such convenience invited, as it were, a visit from neighbours over sea, as it does to-day. Thus it happened that from the coming of the Danes, those adventurous vikings, this whole district has now a very special historical interest. In 868 Danish forces came down from northward and attacked and took Nottingham, where they strengthened the fort and made the place their winter quarters. To account for so easy a victory, the new-comers, it must be remembered, were old warriors, sea rovers maybe, in good strength, well armed and equipped, desperate in their enterprise. They had already harassed the coast of France quite to the south and had often penetrated far inland. Their attack on England, however, resulted in conquest and settlement rather than loot. The Mercian king, with a sparse population quite unable to cope with his new neighbours, sent urgent requests for help to the western king Ethelred. Acceding readily, Ethelred, with his brother Alfred, then about twenty years of age, marched for Nottingham with a strong force eager for a fight, but on arriving he found the Danes had so strengthened their defences, and were so strong within their fort, that no entry could be gained. As they refused to come out to fight nothing could be done, so both sides "had recourse to fair words," a truce was accepted, a peace was concluded, and

the brothers who came to conquer returned with their troops defeated.[1]

By other attacks in the south, by the Thames, the Danes still further succeeded. They marched across and practically gained all England, except the west, which was now under Alfred. After trouble, doubt, and difficulty, after the events of Ethandun and Athelney, Alfred met Guthrum the Dane at Wedmore, and there, by the peace terms agreed upon, the Danes quitted all territory save the northern part of Mercia. Nottingham being within the retained boundary thus ceased to be English, and became absolutely and entirely Danish, the district being known as Danelegh or Danelaw. After this peace reigned, and the new-comers seem to have been of good metal, if we may judge by the settlements and the many homesteads with their place names bearing the familiar "thorpe," "holme," or "by."

But Alfred and Guthrum being dead, their treaty had to be revised. In 922 Edward the elder, stronger in power, and determined to settle the question of suzerainty, marched into Mercia, where he met with no opposition, as all the people submitted to him. He took possession of Nottingham, ordered it to be repaired, and—be it noted—ordered it to be occupied both by English and by Danes.[2] This little episode shows that the fusion or friendliness was already strong, that both parties—if there were two—were agreed on the wisdom of joining the predominant partner, and gives us just a little glance at the early making of England. It may account, too, for the very distinct local physiognomy of to-day.

In 924, being again with a force at Nottingham, Edward ordered the building of a new burgh or fort on the south side of the river,[3] opposite an old burgh or mound, with a bridge to connect the two.[4] This gave the usual chance of exacting toll from passing boats.

Matters rested thus for nearly a century and a half. Nottingham fort remained probably without change, until the coming of a new master in 1068. In that year William of Normandy found it necessary to march

[1] Florence of Worcester, Roger of Wendover, Ingulf, Gaimar, Asser, Henry of Huntingdon.

[2] Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

[3] Mathew of Westminster.

[4] Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

northward and so came to Nottingham, where he strengthened the "*castellum*" and then marched for York. "*Rex cum exercitu suo Nottingham venit, ubi castello firmato*," etc.[1] Another account gives this event in rather stronger words and tells that at Nottingham the King built a castle and gave its custody to William Peverell. "*Rex Nottingham castrum construxit et Guillelmo Peverello commendavit.*"[2]

Not perhaps understanding the position in England, the Danes determined to try again. In 1069 a fleet of two hundred and forty, one account says three hundred, Danish ships arrived in the Humber, bringing a strong force.[3] These ships to us would be but open boats, perhaps from 70 to 75 feet long by say 15 feet broad, and drawing from 3 to 4 feet of water, and each ship could carry a hundred or a hundred and twenty men. Daring adventurers indeed! William was obliged at once to march northward to York. Quitting York on his return, he came again to Nottingham and then passed on to Pomfret.[4]

In early translations, as perhaps elsewhere, the Latin word "*castellum*," in haste or without care, is very easily made "castle" in English. But the word "castle," conveying as it does to us a special meaning, is not applicable to these early times. "*Castellum*," being a diminutive, means rather a fort, a fortified place. It must be understood, then, that the early defensive works often spoken of as castles were forts, moated and stockaded mounds, or strong earthworks strengthened by stakes and palisades, but without masonry. There is no defensive masonry in England dating before the Norman buildings.

The word "*castrum*," on the contrary, marks a larger intention, a stronghold such as is now known as a castle. From the two quotations given above, one in which "*castellum*" is used refers to the English pre-Norman fort, whilst the other in which "*castrum*" is used comes just at the time of change, and marks a determination which clearly required time, but which was afterwards actually

[1] Florence of Worcester.
[2] Ord. Vitalis, *Historia*, etc., Lib. IV, p. 314D, *ed.* 1855.
[3] Florence of Worcester.
[4] Vitalis, Lib. IV, p. 319BC.

carried out. William himself continued the use of the old plan. At York he built two "castles"; one occupied a few months only in building, the other was finished in eight days. As soon as he was gone both were attacked and burned. Wood may be found used for this purpose long afterwards, as in 1323, when Edward II. from Nottingham ordered wooden peels to be erected about the walls of the castle and city of Carlisle, such being necessary until defects could be repaired with stone and lime.[1]

To fix the time exactly when the change took place at Nottingham is next the trouble.

Keeping this in view, the Domesday survey of 1086 comes first to hand, and herein there is no mention of a castle at Nottingham. The record only tells that the waters of Trent, and the fosse, and the road to York, are preserved, so that if anyone hinder the passage of boats or dig up the ground or make a ditch within two perches of the King's road he must pay a fine of £8.

Thus it is presumed there was as yet no castle but that the old fort remained.

The first notice to be found of a probable building of stone and lime is in our earliest record, the Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I., 1131, which tells of the payment or expenditure by the sheriff of two shillings on the chapel of Nottingham—presumably the King's chapel in the castle, and thus showing it as some time in use. Although Henry I. cannot be traced to have actually been at Nottingham, he granted the town its first charter, and was from time to time not far away, but soon after his death in 1135, the castle comes frequently into notice, and in 1139 Stephen ratified a treaty there.[2]

At the commencement of the great troubles of Stephen's time the town seems to have remained in peace, until, being attacked and found without power of defence, it was plundered and burned in 1140.[3] In 1141 the empress compelled William Peverell to surrender, and

[1] Close Roll, 17 Ed. II., m. 29.
[2] *Priory of Hexham, ed.* J. Raine, I, 106, 123.
[3] Florence of Worcester.

William Painel was put in his place.[1] This was again changed, and in 1153 the town and castle were held by Stephen. Henry, known as the Duke of Normandy, came to attack, but Stephen burned the town, and the duke drew off,[2] "*oppugnandae munitionis quae natura loci inexpugnabilis videbatur, operam inanem omittens.*[3] In another attempt, however, he took the castle, although from its situation it seemed impregnable. In 1154 Stephen died, and the duke succeeded as Henry II.

So far these references have not produced an exact date for the building, just as would be the case with other castles of the time and class. The difficulty is increased here by the entire disappearance of the early works, there being thus nothing to be seen to guide the skilled eye and judgment. As Henry I., who began his reign in 1100, is the first name associated with it, about that date, or say 1120, may well be assumed as the time when it became habitable. How the money was raised for the cost there is no record. Judging by the later events to be noticed the sheriff found it, taking what was necessary from the county taxes. Towards these the town of Nottingham paid yearly £26 13*s.* 4*d.* The Gild of the Telarii or Weavers paid 40*s.* and the Monetarii or Moneyers 43 marcs of silver.[4] Then also there was the Honour of Peverell. William granted large possessions to William Peverell, these being known afterwards as an Honour. As such all dues were paid directly and only to the King or his sheriff. The Red Book of the Exchequer, compiled about 1200 or 1204, shows a list counting the quarter-fees and half-fees of about sixty-four knights under the Honour; another gives perhaps a better list showing sixty fees and gives also the personal and place names from which they were due, all fully set out[5]; but there seems no indication that with the grant of the Honour and these knights' fees there was any reserve or enforced feudal payment for the special purposes of the castle.

Henry II., reigning without opposition, soon favoured Nottingham. He afforested Sherwood and must have

[1] *Priory of Hexham*, I, 136.
[2] Henry of Huntingdon, 294.
[3] Wm. of Newburgh, *ed.* Howlett, 89.
[4] Pipe Rolls, 2 Hen. II., Roll 8, m. 1; 4 Hen. II., Roll 6, m. 1.
[5] Liber Ruber, I, 180, 181; II, 583.

been often in the castle. In 1155 he dated a charter there.[1] In 1157 Malcolm, King of Scots, was there.[2] In 1165 Henry was there again, and there is recorded the carriage of wine from London, and also a sturgeon at a cost of 12*s.* 6*d.*[3] In the same year the burgh of Nottingham paid its dues, £26 13*s.* 4*d.* In 1167 there is a charge for bacon or hogs delivered.[4]

So far these notices have referred to the Norman castle—the *castrum*—which William ordered to be built, and a stay may be made here for a glance at the plan and the elevation of this building (Plates I and II). The ground plan was made by Simpson in 1617, when all was perfect. The drawing or elevation shows a strong wall or curtain following the edge or shape of the high rock, the angles being protected and strengthened by square towers flush or even with the wall, without projections. The keep, too, on the highest point is also built flush with the wall, not, as might be expected, standing alone a few feet within. "The donjon or keep standeth by south and west and is exceding strong."[5] Around within are the houses or lodgings as usual. The main entrance is seen next the tower. Although perhaps not large, it must have been very secure and strong. In the wall on the front, as shown on the drawing, are seen some steps from a postern door communicating by a passage within through the rock. There are other excavations, cellars, or stores beneath clearly for the use of the castle. Leland, coming about 1540, says, "There be great caves where many stones have been digged out and these caves be partly for cellars and store houses."[6] But it happens that Nottingham is associated with other caves, others, too, of great interest. Our earliest chronicles tell that in the language of the Britons, Nottingham was called Tinguobauc,[7] or, as another chronicle says, Tigguocobauc,[8] meaning the house or dwelling of caves. Later the name became Snotingham with the same meaning—the

[1] Ancient Charters.
[2] Pipe Roll, 3 Hen. II.
[3] Pipe Roll, roll 2, m. 2.
[4] Roll 9, m. 2 dors.
[5] Leland, fol. 112.
[6] Leland, Vol. I, fol. 111.
[7] Roger of Wendover.
[8] Asser.

PLATE I.

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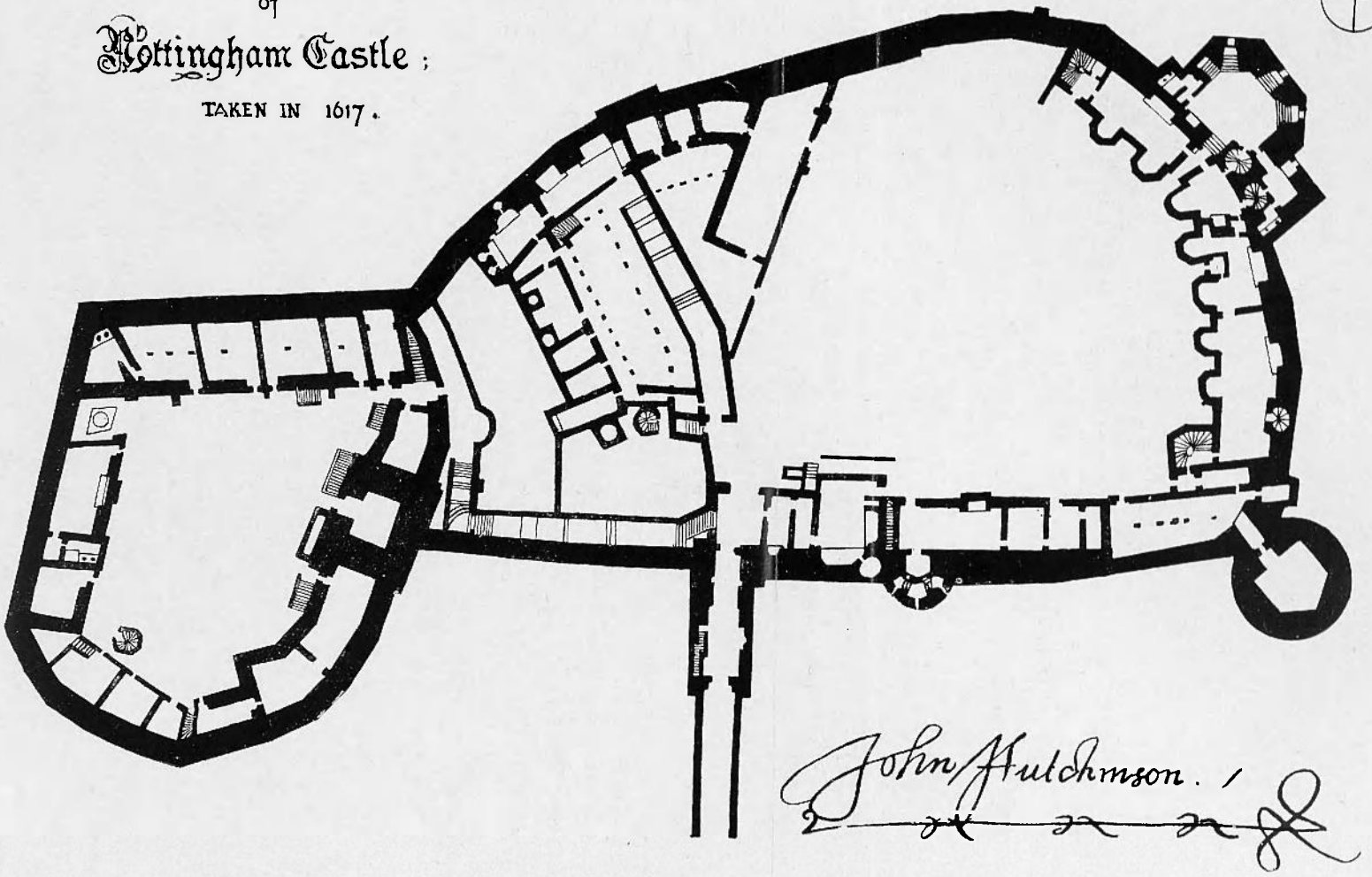
Plan of Nottingham Castle;

TAKEN IN 1617.



cave meadow dwelling, the place of cave dwellers.[1] The cave dwellings here referred to were on the hill slope and are now and long since covered and lost under the town buildings. They had nothing to do with the castle and must in no way be associated with it or any cave work near it. It was a fashion or craze in the sixteenth century in laying out a garden to have in it at least a grotto and if possible a cave or caves. Garden cave work may be therefore with fair probability of that time.

This Norman castle, strong enough as a military post, as with all others of its class, must have been hardly fit for a long residence even in those times, especially with the frequent visits and the growing interest in Sherwood. Henry, apparently fond of building, and especially castle building, soon started a new castle at Nottingham, adjoining the old one, as seen on the plan, and eventually forming and known as the lower ward. The records now show and give particulars of the new activity. In 1171 four entries appear for works done at the castle, totalling this year £364 10*s.* 11*d.*,[2] a large sum in those days. In 1172, again, the sheriff enters payment for "works" at the castle, £229 3*s.* 10*d.*[3] In 1173 works at the castle and the houses in the castle and the gaol cost £140. Forty hogs this year cost £4 15*s.* 6*d.*, salt £2 10*s.* 7*d.*, cheese £2 1*s.* 6*d.*[4] In 1174 building and works on the castle cost £17 18*s.* 8*d.* There is also a charge for knights and servants resident, £24 13*s.* 7*d.* Twenty quarters of flour cost £3 10*s.* 3*d.*, and twelve quarters and a half of malt (*brasio*) cost 12*s.* 3*d.*[5] In 1175 the works on the King's bedchamber cost £46.[6] In 1176 the King was there, and in 1180 he kept Christmas there.[7] In 1181 the expenditure on the hall of the King was £36 1*s.* 10*d.*, and on the gaol £10 10*s.* 11*d.*[8] In 1182 works at the hall cost £69 4*s.* 6*d.*,[9] and besides this the sum of £61 11*s.* 4*d.* was taken from the Honour of Peverell. The total expenditure this year was

[1] Camden.
[2] Pipe Roll, 17 Hen. II.; Roll 4, m. 1–2.
Pipe, 18 Hen. II., Roll 2, m. 1.
[3] Pipe Roll 11, 19 Hen. II., m. 1 dors.
[4] Pipe Roll 5, 20 Hen. II., m. 1–2.
[5] Pipe Roll, m. 1.
[6] Hoveden.
[7] Pipe, 27 Hen. II., m. 1, dors.
[8] Pipe, 28 Hen. II., m. 2.

£216 12*s.* 8*d.*[1] In 1183 work at the hall cost £13 14*s.* In 1184 the houses cost £20 5*s.* From the Honour of Peverell for work at the King's houses and enclosing the King's wardrobe £47 12*s.* 8*d.*[2] In 1185 works in the King's chamber and raising the walls of the castle, and enclosing the bailey, which must have included the gates and bridges, cost £140, and the houses cost £35 4*s.* The sheriff records his expenditure on this work this year as £327 17*s.* 1*d.* In 1186 for works at the castle, in the clerk's chamber and the houses £47 16*s.* 2*d.*, the total paid by the sheriff being £105 19*s.* 6*d.*[3] A strange entry occurs this year, a charge for carrying to Stutebury the money of the Archbishop of York and Aaron which the King gave to John his son to go to Ireland from Nottingham.[4] The association of the Archbishop and the Jew as money-lenders is very curious; also the entry introduces Prince John, soon to be another actor in this castle's history. The works charges now dwindle, and attention perhaps was drawn off to other events. In 1187 there is a charge for works in the castle and again for raising the walls of the same. In 1188 the charge is for repairs to the town gaol.[5] By this time, then, the new buildings must have been fully planned and fairly finished, and here a glance may be given to the plate and ground plan showing the additions. The new ward had its own ditch and its own curtain or enclosing wall, which is seen well strengthened by round towers. The entrance was through a strong square tower or gate-house just at the weakest point of the older building. At one side or end of the drawing is seen the great new tower, the hall and chamber of the King, and the houses around it. Outside all, again, there is another wall with bastions enclosing the outer bailey and having its own gate and drawbridge. All round on every side the place is very strong and well towered. Leland writes, "But the most beautifullest part and gallant building for lodging is the north side where is a right sumptuous piece of stone

[1] Pipe, 28 Hen. II., m. 2, dors.
[2] Pipe, 29 Hen. II., m. 8; 30 Hen. II., m. 7, dors.
[3] Pipe, 32 Hen. II., m. 8.
[4] Pipe, 32 Hen. II., m. 8.
[5] Pipe, 33 Hen. II., m. 12; 34 Hen. II., m. 15, dors.

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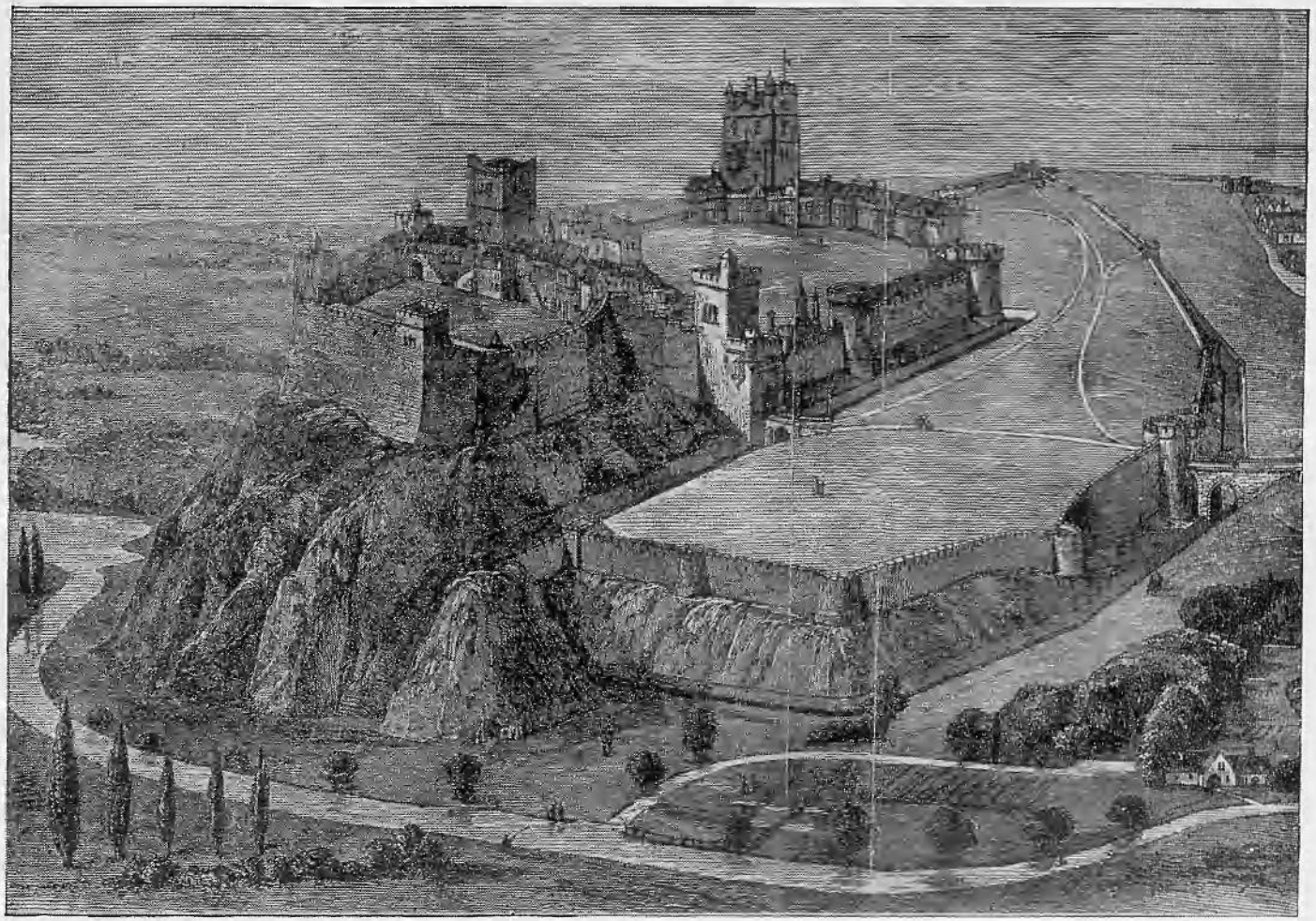

NOTTINGHAM CASTLE.—A RESTORATION.

BASED ON THE GROUND PLAN OF 1617.

work, one excellently goodly tower of three heights with marvelous fair compaced windows. So that surely this north part is an exceeding fair piece of work."[1]

By the death of Henry II., a new struggle for the Crown brought the castle again into notice. Henry II. was succeeded by his son Richard, who soon left England on his crusade. Differences and discord had already arisen between Richard and his brother John, and Richard being so soon far away, John gathered a force —such seemed to be always at hand—and besieged Richard's castles. Coming before Nottingham, by the help of traitors within, he took the castle in 1191.[2] Three years later, in 1194, Richard on his return hastened to Nottingham[3] ("*Rex iratus venit*"), and with a strong force laid siege to and after three days' resistance recovered the castle and quickly hanged those who had previously betrayed it.[4] He came with a great multitude of men and such a clamour of trumpets and clarions ("*cum tanta hominum multitudine, et sonitu tubarum et buccinum*") that those within the castle on hearing and seeing it were astonished and alarmed and "trembling came upon them." Yet, not knowing that King Richard had returned, and supposing this all done to deceive them, it was determined within to resist any attack. This further incensed the King, who, after getting so near the walls that the archers within could "pierce his men at his very feet," ordered an assault. In this many on both sides fell, the King himself slew one knight with an arrow, and presently so far prevailed that he had taken some outworks thrown up outside the gates and burned the outer gates. On the 26th March he ordered his stone engines to be ready, being determined to make another assault. He also ordered gibbets to be erected within sight, and on these he hanged some prisoners taken. On 27th March the constables of the castle sent out two messengers to the King, and these, after an interview, returned and told what they had seen. Then William de Wendeval and Roger de Mountbegum went out with twelve others and threw themselves on the King's mercy, but they returned to the castle no more.

[1] *Itinerary*, Vol. I, fol. 112.
[2] Wm. of Newburgh, *ed.* Howlett, 338.
[3] *Itinerary of Richard I.*, 446.
[4] Roger Hoveden, 238.

On the 28th the castle surrendered on mercy for life and limb and worldly honour.[1] Next day the King viewed Sherwood and Clipstone, seeing them for the first time, and was greatly pleased and returned to Nottingham the same day. On the 2nd April he went again to Clipstone to meet the King of Scots and remained there, the 3rd being Palm Sunday. On the 4th he left for the south.[2]

In spite of all his troubles and the judgment passed against him for his work at Nottingham, John was crowned King 27th May, 1199.[3] In A.D. 1200 he was at Nottingham and Clipstone, and at Clipstone on the 19th March regranted and confirmed by charter to Nottingham all the customs and liberties as granted by Henry his grandfather (Henry I.) and by Henry his father (Henry II.) to hold in peace and quiet fully and wholly, with augmentations made by himself. He confirmed also the Merchant Gild. The charter was further confirmed in 39 Henry III. (1255) and again in 56 Henry III. (1272). The day of the fair was changed in 1 Richard II. (1377–8) and the charter again confirmed in 1 Henry IV. (1399–1400).[4] The grant of Henry I. (1100–1135) must be especially noticed as it helps to connect him as the first to inhabit the castle of stone and lime.

The accounts and records now change somewhat, as instead of "works" or building, "reparations" begin, with occasional additions. In A.D. 1203 works in the gaol in the castle cost 15*s.* 3*d.* and the gaol of Nottingham 40*s.*,[5] and £10 were remitted to Nottingham for necessaries for the Queen and family. In 1204 John was at Nottingham.[6] In 1205, 1207, and 1214 reparations are noted and food supplies, especially pork, recorded.[7] In 1212 John, desisting from an attack on the Welsh, shut himself in the castle.[8] In 1214 and in 1215 he sent men and horse and arms to the castle and did some necessary building.[9] In 1216 Reginald Marc

[1] Roger de Hoveden, Vol. III. *Annales Monastici* (Burton), I, 192.

[2] Hoveden.
Annales Monastici (Morgan), I, 24.
Charter Rolls.
Chancellor's Roll, m. 17.
Liberate Roll.

[5] Close Rolls, 6 John, m. 4; 7 John, m. 25; 9 John, m. 12.

[8] *Annals of Waverley*, p. 268; Wm. of Newburgh, *ed.* Howlett, 513, 514.

[9] Close, 16 Jno., m. 6. 11, 16; 17 Jno., 5–6; 18 Jno., m. 7.

was given all the lands of Robert de Chaurc (Cadurcis), for which he gave the services of three knights, in the castle of Nottingham.

In 1217, his first year, Henry III. was at Nottingham and continued the reparations. There is a charge for making a *garita* in the castle and repairing the walls, and £21 18*s.* 6*d.* were spent on the mills under the rock of the castle and £44 10*s.* 2½*d.* for soldiers and servants.[1] In 1218 was made a perambulation of the forest—"afforested" by Henry, grandfather of Henry son of John.[2] In 1220 Gilbert Hawill received £4 13*s.* 1*d.* for himself and three "varlettes" and falcons and a robe for his work.[3] In 1222 eight girfalcons were sent to Nottingham.[4] In 1221 reparations continued and orders were made for the *armaster* (? guard room), and bailey, and to provide two good *petrarias* (machines for throwing stones) and two *mangonellos* (similar machines) and *picos* and cords and *fundas*, *querrelles*, *balistas* with ropes and *targias* (? barges), also carpenters, engineers, *balistarios*, and *mineatores*.[5] Again in 1223 it was ordered that without delay the bretasch and palings of the garden and roads should be repaired.[6] In 1264, by reason of a revolt, Henry surrendered the castle and went away to Rochester.[7] As the troubles ceased he got his own again and soon began to enjoy himself at Nottingham.

In 1265 the sheriff was ordered "in his own proper person" to go to Blye to see twenty-five *dolia* (casks) of wine which Hubert de Burgh had there and if it were good to bring it to the castle. He was to choose also twenty-five other *dolia* from merchants' wine, good and durable, and place the same in the castle.[8] Hubert was paid £46 13*s.* 4*d.* for twenty *dolia*, so presumably the other five in his lot did not suit the sheriff. Beef, mutton, and pork were also provided. Seventeen carcases of oxen cost £16 9*s.*, seventy-four pigs cost £6 11*s.*, one hundred sheep cost £2 5*s.* 10*d.*, and

[1] Close, 1 Hen. III., m. 24; 3 Hen. III., m. 3; 4 Hen. III., m. 13; 5 Hen. III., m. 20.
Close, 2 Hen. III.. m. 19 dors.
[3] Close, 5 Hen. III., m. 20.
[4] Close, 6 Hen. III., m. 6.
[5] Close, 5 Hen. III., m. 15.
[6] Close, 7 Hen. III., m. 20.
[7] *Annals of Osney*, p. 146; *Annals of Dunstable*, p. 231.
[8] Close, 9 Hen. III.

three *braonis* cost 5*s*. In 1266 the expenses of Sir Roger de Leyburn, the governor, included the salaries of two knights, seven serving men, porters, carpenters, millers, macebearers, bakers, and cooks, crossbow men and archers, the total garrison expenses for the year being £445 17*s*. 8*d*.[1] Archbishop Gifford was governor in 1270 and tried a little game for his own benefit. In some way a life interest in the mills and meadows seems to have become vested in another, as the archbishop wrote, "We have charge of the castle of Nottingham and understand that the mills and meadows belonging to it appertain to us as its keeper. Procure for us a letter from the King granting them to us."[2]

Edward I. succeeded to the throne in 1272, and but little seems to have been done or recorded at Nottingham for some years. The buildings in time again required attention, so that in 1299 (27 Edward I.) an inquisition was ordered, as to the state of the castle and the mills, and to restore, repair, and amend.[3] The following return was made, with an estimate of the probable cost :—

	£	*s*.	*d*.
Covering the White Tower and repairing	1	0	0
A chamber under the tower—masonry and covering with lead	5	0	0
Bakehouse and brewhouse in the same Tower ..	4	0	0
The chamber of the chaplain between the said brewhouse and the bridge	14	0	0
Chamber at the bridge	3	0	0
Repair of the bridge towards the tower	16	0	0
Walls towards the park and ditch	5	0	0
The chapel, and the chamber of the Seneschal, covering and masonry	4	0	0
Another chamber	4	10	0
The hall and chamber of the King and Queen and wardrobe	2	0	0
The tower by the chamber of the King	2	0	0
Wardrobe of the King, carpenters, etc.	3	6	8
Walls, kitchen, etc.	12	0	0
Houses, stables, hospital, walls, and ditches	10	0	0
Mills, and mending three	6	0	0
Pools and weirs	20	0	0
	[4]£111	16	8

[1] Add. MSS., Brit. Mus., 34, 153.
[2] Chronicles, Vol. LXI; *Northern Letters*, p. 62, *ed*. Raine.
[3] *Inquis. ad quod dam*., No. 120.
[4] Accts., etc. Exchequ. Q. R., Bundle 477, No. 18.

No immediate attention was given to this report, not until 1307 (1–2 Edward II.) in the reign of a new king,[1] when the expenses in the castle are duly recorded, "from the day next after the feast of St. Leodgar to the 25th April in the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist," and will be found of some interest. The great cost in this account is for building two chambers in the new works in the tower, £100 13*s.* 4*d.*[2]

In the labour list there is a charge for the stipends of four women, Elen Scot, Maye Scot, Elene Shep, and Jowet Shep, carrying mortar and serving the masons for six days at 1*d.* a day, 2*s.* Jowet here is the phonetic for Juetta, and Maye is probably a distinct name, not as now the diminutive of Mary. There is also a charge in this account for *carbo maritimus* (sea coal) ten loads, 5*s.* 4*d.* This is a strange item seeing the district to-day, and seems entirely contrary to the proverb which says :—

> "Bear not to yon famed city on the Tyne,
> The carbonaceous product of the mine."

Whilst coal had been worked at Newcastle long before this date and being carried southward by sea became known and is still known as sea coal, or in full, sea-borne coal, inland coal was not worked until later, and the question would be, Was it worked locally at this date, and if so was all pit coal as it came into use known by the old name of sea coal as distinguishing it from charcoal? Charcoal was in general use long after this date, and at this time, in 1330, Edward III. after inquiry granted to Richard Strelly, his yeoman, all dry stovens ("*omnes zucheos aridos, qui anglice vocantur stoven*") of Beskwode in Shirwode Forest, estimated to be of the value of one hundred shillings, with licence for him to make charcoal for his profit.[3] Again, in 1336 the Abbot of Rufford had licence to grant to Henry de Edenstowe, the King's clerk, trees out of the forest of Shirewode sufficient to make a hundred quarters of charcoal.[4] But going back in date to a yet earlier time, we learn that in 1257 Henry III., going to Chester, left the Queen at Nottingham, but she

[1] Index List, Foreign Accts., p. 117. Pipe Roll, 15 Edwd. II., 28 dors.
[2] Accts. Exchcq. Q. R., Bundle 477, No. 19.
[3] Patents, Pt. 1, m. 42.
[4] Patents, 10 Edwd. III., Pt. 2, m. 23.

found it impossible to stay there by reason of the smoke from the sea coal ("*quia apud Nottingham . . . propter fumum carbonum maris nullo modo potuit demorari*"[1]). So the Queen left for Tutbury. Except to suggest that the chimney arrangements must have been defective, it is difficult to understand this record, especially without local manorial knowledge. If this coal were not local then it would be in fact sea coal brought from Newcastle to the Humber and then up by the Trent.

Edward II. continued his reparations and building in 1312 ; the windows of the Queen's chamber, the windows and roof of the tower, and the bakehouse and the mills were repaired. There were provided "shingul" nails, "spykyngnails," "souwyngnails," and new rods in the ditch between the mill and the rock of the castle.[2]

In 1315 repairs were still in hand. In the week in which was the feast of St. Blaises (*sic*) there were "divers works" in the houses, mills, and pools, and in the great hall, boards for the chekerhouse and the bakehouse in the tower, iron for the door of the chekerhouse and two new doors for the bakehouse, and covering the great stable and other houses. Then there were new windows in the great hall, seven locks for the great hall and guest chambers, the Queen's chamber, buttery, pantry, and the constable, and hooks for the windows in the chamber next the parochial chapel ("*juxta capellam parochialem*"). Outside there were charged a hundred hurdles, and piles driven in repairs to the weirs, and "howatrys" and "sherys" on the weirs. The mills were named Sparrow mill, Swallow mill, Doune mill, Dosse mill, and Gloff mill. There is, again, a charge for eight women carrying turf and mortar four days and a half at $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ a day, and two men at $2d.$ a day.[3]

In 1321–22 there was another considerable outlay, an account of which may be given more fully as showing the wages and customs of the time. In the charges for expenses and payments on the work of two new chambers in the tower, the master carpenter was paid for nine weeks and two days at $3s.$ $6d.$ per week, and four other

[1] *Annales de Dunstable*, p. 203.
[2] Accts. Excheq. Q. R., Bundle 477, m. 20, 6 Edwd. II.
[3] Accts., etc. Excheq. Q. R., Bundle 478, No. 1.

carpenters fifty-four days at 3*d.* per day, two days being deducted for festivals. Godfrey de Wynton, carpenter, and two mates were paid for a hundred and thirty-five days, 4th October to 25th April, three days' feasts deducted, at 5*d.* a day, and five other carpenters, 4th October to 16th December, fifty-two days at 5*d.* per day, two days' feasts being deducted. William de Lincoln and twelve mates, carpenters, were paid for fifty-two days at 4*d.* per day. John de Norfolk and four others received 4*d.* a day for bringing oaks from Bestwood and Schirwood. The masons come next. William de Bramcote for twenty-four weeks was paid 3*s.* per week. Robert de Ocle and two others, masons, received 4*d.* a day for a hundred and forty-one days, three days' feasts being deducted. Robert de Pillesgate and four mates for forty-one days received 4*d.* a day; Richard de Leyk and twenty others received 3½*d.* a day; and Walter Sutton and seven others were paid for forty-six days at 3½*d.*, two days being deducted for absence at festivals. Simon de Pecco and fifteen others getting stone on the old tower and making mortar and serving, forty days at 1½*d.* a day. Thomas Knave and three others, masons in the said work, were paid 1½*d.* a day for ninety-five days, and Elene Shep, the same already found at the same work in 1315, with three other women, not now named, received 1*d.* per day for ninety-five days for serving the said masons. Finally there was the getting stone in the quarry of Odelinge at 2*d.* a day, and the carriage of lead at 1½*d.* a day; plumbers received 6*d.* a day, smiths 5*d.*, a decorator 3*d.* There is a charge for a hundred and eighty quarters of chalk, stone from Baseford and Stanton, and for "spykyngs" and other nails and necessaries.[1] In 1323, by order made at Nottingham, the sheriff was to pay William de Embleby, carpenter, and William de Bramcote, mason, three hundred marcs by instalments, to complete well and truly the chimneys, doors, windows and ironwork in the tower, the timber coming from Bestwood and Shirwood.[2] It can be seen here how our place names preceded by "de" imply origin only and not ownership.

[1] 15 Edwd. II., m. 28, No. 167.

[2] Close, 17 Edwd. II., m. 39.

In 1325 (19 Edward II.) there were further reparations to the houses, weirs, and mills, and to the tower, the "tabulment" and gables of the new chamber and of the old chamber, the hall of the King and his chamber, and the alure. Also the outer bridge and wall next the ditch; and the alure in the middle bailey, the stone of the bridge, the lead on the towers and the doors and windows.[1] All this building and adding of this time of Edward II. may draw attention to Leland,[2] who describes "the stately bridge with pillars being beasts and giants over the ditch into the second ward, this ward being exceeding strong with towers and portcullos," and then notices "the most gallant lodging where Richard brother of Edward IV. built of stone a goodly tower of three heights, the other part also, and compassed with fair windows." Richard "as I have heard" added another loft of timber with round windows also of timber.[3] What Leland saw may well be taken as fairly exact, but what he heard only may very well be passed; but by substituting Edward II. for Richard what he heard would be fairly true.

In 1327, his first year, Edward III. was at Nottingham,[4] and with him it seems to have been a favourite abode. In 1330 the defects in the castle were again examined, and it certainly seems curious how often this was necessary. But it will be remarked that now, save, as may be expected, in the King's chamber, the chief expenditure is for the outside and garrison purposes. The report required the covering the great and high tower, new casting and replacing the old lead, mending the bridge towards the entrance to the great tower, which ought to be newly made, and making two new doors before the said tower. Mending the little chamber beyond the entrance to the said tower and the granaries there, which ought to be pulled down and rebuilt. Making a new kitchen and mending and covering the great hall with windows, and the chamber of the seneschal, the treasurer, and others in the bailey. The bridge in the said bailey to be newly made. The way

[1] *Inquis. ad quod dam.*, No. 165, p. 284.
[2] Leland, fol. 111.
[3] *Itinerary*, Vol. I, fol. 112.
[4] *Chronicles and Memorials*, Vol. LXI, Northern Letters.

from the chamber of the King to the chapel of the King and repairing the walls of the great chapel and the *interclausura* (screen) of the said chapel and for new boards and a table.[1] In 1334 there were further charges for timber from Beskwode—"a mighty great park[2]"—and stone for the castle, carpenters and masons working on the Black Tower, a plumber in the chamber of the King and the chamber *juxta* the Black Tower and on the wardrobe and the chapel of the Queen, and again six women carrying turf at $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ a day.[3] But this did not suffice, as in this year, it "being brought to the knowledge of the King that the houses in the castle and the walls and towers, and the mills in the suburbs required repair," he ordered the sheriff to survey and repair to the cost of £40. The previous cost for this year was £30, and there was an order for £40 for the year 1335.[4] In 1340 the King enclosed a park by the castle called Larkdale, between the hill called Wyndeserse and land late of William de Crophull opposite the castle.[5] Additions were made to this from time to time.[6]

In 1345 the account is, for the first time, in English.[7]

In 1353 (27 Edward III.) Stephen Romylowe is constable and returns his account for expenses for divers defects in the houses and chapel in the castle, duly vouched for by Robert de Norwode, then mayor of Nottingham, and John de Tumby, burgess,[8] and some other charges which the said Robert and John could not testify. Paid for stone, iron, lead, and glass, bowls, "ladels, rydels, kyttes and vattes," and for two ladders of 28 feet, and two others of 22 feet, a cable of 35 fathoms, and making one "ferne." Four hundred glasses of divers colours were received from Westminster from Robert Campsale, clerk of the works, and five hundred and one "quarters" of white glass; all used in the windows of the chapel in the castle. Then the return shows us how

[1] Accts., etc. Exchequ. Q. R., Bundle 478, No. 2.
[2] Leland.
[3] Accts. Exchequ. Q. R., Bundle 478, No. 3.
[4] Originalia, Rolls 26, 28, 35.
[5] Ancient Deeds, Vol. II, p. 162, A 3174.
[6] Close Rolls, 17 Edwd. IV., 14 Edwd. IV.
[7] Accts. Exchequ. Q. R., Bundle 478, No. 17.
[8] Pipe, 27 Edwd. III., m. 43.

exactly these accounts were kept. At the end the materials used up and worn out are accounted for, the others being returned to store. Thus there were "consumed" six bowls, five "syner'," four "ladels," four "ridels," two "cribor'," two "kittes," three "tribul'," and three "vattes"; and so there remained four ladders, one cable, and one "ferne." In 1357 there were repairs to the outer gate on the south, to the bridge of the upper gate towards the tower drawbridge, to the chamber next the other tower in the upper bailey called the Morrys-chamber, and to the house on the outer gate called Fetherand.[1] For the corbels of the Morryschamber the stone was brought from Mawnsfeld. A cord of 21 fathoms was provided for the well, and there is a charge for carpenters making an engine called a "ferne."

The week's work was until nine o'clock ("*post horam nonam*") on Saturday, which was thus reckoned half a day; the wages were consequently for five days and a half.

In 1357 Stephen Romylowe charged for reparations to the houses, walls, and windows, and for ropes, ladders, stone, and lime used.[2] In 1360 the hall of the Queen was repaired, a new hall built for the constable, and repairs made to the middle and the outer gates.[3] In 1362 Romylowe repaired the hall of the King and the chamber annexed to the eastward, mended the walls of the upper bailey towards the south, covered the bake-house, made a buttress next the middle gate, and mended the bridge next the outer gate.[4] In 1362, with the hall, a chapel and mills had their turn, the expenditure being fully set out for making a chapel and a kitchen in the castle and four mills outside the same and mending and repairing defects, the charges amounting to £276 3*s.* 1*d.*[5]

At this time a return tells us that the men of Nottingham paid the King £52, if paid (*blancus*) blanche, or white,

[1] Accts. Excheq. Q. R., Bundle 478, No. 4.
[2] Pipe Roll, 31 Edwd. III., m. 37 dors.
[3] Accts. Excheq. Q. R., Bundle 478, No. 5.
[4] Originalia, p. 273, Pipe Roll, 36 Edwd. III., m. 41.
[5] Accts. Excheq. Q. R., Bundle 478, No. 6; Pipe Roll, 36 Edwd. III., m. 52 dors. (xiii).

which sum was extended to £54 12*s.* (*numero*), counted, current, or ready money, as contained in Roll XVI (Edward III.) and Roll III of King John. Presumably the "white" payment implied sterling silver, against the inferior money passing at the time. One reason given for summoning the Parliament this year was the feebleness of the coins.[1] Further the men of Nottingham owed £8 for increment of the town, as in Roll XVI (Edward III.) and in Roll XII of Edward son of Henry. Also the men of Nottingham owed 32*s.* 6*d.* for two farms, *viz.* for rent of houses and for the toft of the Moneyers (Monetarii), as per Roll XVI (Edward III.), and Roll I of King John. The Telarii or Weavers paid 40*s.* for their gild, as per Roll XVI (Edward III.), and Roll II of King Henry II., and they owed £21 10*s.* for past years. The 40*s.* were duly paid, and the account ends with the note, "Owing £21 10*s.*"[2]

In 1366 Stephen Romylowe, still constable, accounts for new building a tower towards the west called Romylowe's tower and for mending and supporting the walls of the castle towards the west, and for two chambers of stage, *i.e.* of timber frame work, next the said tower to the north newly built, and for another chamber of stage next the said tower on the south newly built, also for a new wall built extending from the west wall to the chamber on the middle gate containing in length 180 feet; there was further a charge for the front of the common chapel, for gutters for rain water, and for repairing and mending the mills and weirs, and other minor defects. The time occupied was a hundred and four weeks, the total cost £384 4*s.* 0½*d.*[3] The stone used was from Baseford and Sedlyng, the timber from Shirwode and Lyndhurst. Again, there is a payment for *carbo marinorum* (sea coal) for the lime burning, and two hundred loads of water carried to the masons cost 5*s.* The working week was five days and a half. An interesting roll for local purposes. The Romylowe tower mentioned here does not show clearly either in the ground plan or the restoration drawing, but the

[1] Rolls of Parlt., II, 271.
[2] Pipe Roll, 36 Edwd. III., m. 22.
[3] Accts. Exchequ. Q. R., Bundle 478, No. 7.

wall across the court is seen. Two rectangular projections are seen on the west side; one may be the Romylowe, the larger perhaps, as it is so near the wall crossing to the middle gate and the houses. Both, however, are towards the west and well placed to support the wall.

In 1367 (41 Edward III.) Romylowe provided a font with a cover in the chapel, and paved and whitewashed the said chapel, and paid for a bell with a clapper, as also for two chests for the vestments and ornaments.

In 1368 the Damoisel chamber was repaired, and other houses. There were provided four stone balls, five catapults, one spear, two sieves, a cart rope of 16 fathoms, and one tub or vat. Of these there were expended or used up two balls, three catapults, one spear; and so there remained two balls, two catapults, one cart rope, and one vat to return into store. Sixty-four oaks were brought this year from Lyndhurst in Shirwode.[1] A mantel-stone from Baseford for the Damoisel chamber cost 21*d*. There was added also a dividing wall 46 feet long, 8 feet high, with battlements, 3 feet thick, covered with lead and with a porch outside. There was also a charge for windows and for a door with "slote" and "sneke," *i.e.* a latch raised by a string through the door. A load of "maillion" was provided, and gates for the great bridge of the castle called the Drabridge. The materials came from Lyndhurst.[2] In 1372 and 1375 repairs continued, as in 1377, when the chief charge is for stone, iron, lime, wood, and *carbo maritimus* (sea coal), for making a new tower over the gate of the castle.[3] In 1378 and 1379 small expenditure continues, a boat and other necessaries being provided; and in 1389 the old timber of the chapel in the castle was sold for 50*s*.[4] In 1395 the kitchen was repaired and the doors and windows of two chambers, the gates on the bridge and the doors and windows to the "wryghthouse," and glazing two windows in the King's chapel. There seem to have been guests at this time, as the account paid for a lock for the old door of the King's chamber, 6*d*. The same for the door of the

[1] Foreign Rolls, 42 Edwd. III., F.
[2] Accts. Excheq. Q. R., Bundle 478, Nos. 8, 9.
[3] Foreign Rolls, 51 Edwd. III., m. D.
[4] Foreign Accts., 2 Ric. II., m. B; 3 Ric. II., m. K; 12 Ric. II., m. E.

great hall, for the chamber of the Duke of York, for the chamber on the south part of the chapel, for the door of the chamber in which the lord of Darbe lies, for the Hobart chamber, for the Queen's chamber, and for others, all at 6*d.* per lock.[1] The account of William Peverell, knight, defunct, for 1400 (2 Henry IV.) shows a receipt of £160 and an expenditure of £161 4*s.* 7½*d.*[2]

During this reign, in 1407, a quarrel arose which resulted in a duel between two foreigners, fought at Nottingham, a strange proceeding to us, but common at the time. In the preparations, the account of Oliver Maleverer, chivaler, duly charged expenditure for timber, ropes, and cords for making the bars and lists. The timber was bought in the park of Ilkestone, and the cutting and carting cost £8 3*s.* 3*d.*[3] This was not the first case at Nottingham, as in 1179 (24 Henry II.) Robert de Trusselea paid half a marc for duello and in the next year the same.[4] This plan or custom was introduced by the Normans and was in fact a single combat as an appeal to Providence, the innocence of right being with the winner. In this case the quarrel was between John Bolemere and Bertran Usana, both of Bordeaux. Bolemere tells his story that one day Usana said to him—

"Mestre John Bolemere, je vous vuille monstrer une chose grand et marvellouse par ma foy."

Bolemere answered, "Il me plaist bien, monstrez moi ceo que il vous plerra."

"Certes," dit Bertran, "les Engleys sount mauvais gentz et pleins de grandes outrages, et sachez Bolomere qu'il faut que nous departons hors de lour Seignuries."

Bolemere answered, "Seynte Marie, sire! comme cest chose ceo poet faire? que la ville, q'ad este tant loiale a la corone d'Engleterre, par touz jours du temps passé et ferra a la grace de dieu desore en avant; ne comment pourrioient vivre les poures laborers et les subgitz du roy nostre dit Seignur quant eux ne purroient

[1] Accts. Exchequ. Q. R., Bundle 478, No. 14.
[2] Foreign Accts., m. D.
[3] Foreign Accts., 8 Hen. IV., m. C.
[4] Pipe Rolls, m. 6 dors., m. 7 dors.

vendre lour vins, ne avoir autres merchandises d'Engleterre ainssy comme eux ount acustume?"

"Il dist—lessez estre Bolamer, qar bien vivrons sonz eux, qare nous taillerons la moyte de nostres vignes et si ferrons duble dedeinz."

"Jeo repondi—sire, ne me parles plus de telle matiere, qar je voudroie mielx murrer que me tenir a vestre opinion."

So after more conversation they quarrelled, and the matter coming before the King, he appointed the 12th of August, before him at Nottingham, for the fight. The parties appeared and fought well but without great result, until the King cried, "Ho! Ho! Ho!" the signal for closing the combat. The event was duly certified by the King under the great seal dated at Westminster, 20th June, 1408.[1]

In 1423, the account being on paper for the first time, three carpenters called "mylnewryghtys" working on three mills making three "mylnehyrstes," three "drawewhelys" and "les haxeltres" for the same, three "coggewheles," three "meylearkys," "les waterallys," and mending the groundwork, cost 100*s*.[2] In 1478 Gervaise Clyfton, squier, receyvour of the King's diverse lordships, manors, and fee ferme within the shires of Nottingham and Derby, charged for buildings and reparations in the castle and making ponds in the park. The smith for ironwork, and for candle and paper bought, stone from Wollaston, Baseford, Trowell, and Hasilbarowe, and baring and digging the same stone, and divers persons for carriage of the same, some hired by the day, some by "grette." Board for "durras" windows and the floors, glass for the windows, and painting the King's arms. Timber for the battlement of the great chamber, "tyle" and "breeke," "hirdells" and "fleykys" for making the scaffold, straw, ropes and cables, sand, stone, tubs and sows, bearing barrows, wheel barrows, shovels, "bolles," dishes, "syves," gloves for the masons, poles of brass, tin and sawder, chalk and "cooles," "thalbord" for covering, wainscot, and other necessaries, and

[1] Rymer, *Fœdera*, Vol. VIII, p. 539, *ed*. 1709.

[2] Accts. Excheq. Q. R., m. 13, Bundle 478.

carriage of lead from Haddon in the Peake.[1] Gervase had to ride to the King to get his money, but in the end the total receipt was £825 19*s.* 4½*d.*, and the expenditure £22 19*s.* 11*d.* more. But the expenditure included repairs at Clypstone and payments for annuities to foresters, and other things. The keeper of the herd and deer at Langton harbour in Shirwood had 4*d.* a day. As showing the duties attaching to the office of constable there may here be noticed the grant in 23 Henry VI. (1444–45), to Ralph, lord Cromwell, of the office of constable of the castle of Nottingham and the office of seneschal and the custody of the forest of Shirwood and of the parks of Beskwood and Clipston and the woods of Billowe, Birkland, Rumwood, Ouselande, and Fulwood in the same, and the herbage and agistments of the parks and woods aforesaid, also the mills of Nottingham called Castle milnes, the waters of the Trent and Lene in Nottingham and liberty of fishing in the same, and all meadow under the said castle called King's meadow and Constable Holme, with the pasturage called Conyngarth otherwise Castell Apelton and Nuldham, with three other parcels of meadow and other meadows and also the goods and chattels of felons and fines and other full liberties.[2]

Changes in domestic habits about this time produced changes in house accommodation, and those castles not providing the necessary requirements became gradually neglected.

In 1525 (16 Henry VIII.) a survey of Nottingham was ordered and made. The report says "that the ablements of war in the castle were seventy-five billes, thirteen gunnes called faucons, sixteen chambers for the same gunnes, four wegges, three cofers with arrows, four score shef of arrows that stande over brode, oon barrelle of gonne powder, sixteen pellets of lede and stone, and oon molde to caste pellets. As to the dekay and ruyne, first a part of the roff of the great hall is fallen doune both tymber and lede. Also the new buyldyng there is in dekay of tymber, lede, and glass. The Kynges chapell, the lodgynges over the wardroppe,

[1] Accts. Exchcq. Q. R., Bundle 478, No. 16.

[2] Patent Roll, Pt. 1, 23 Hen. VI., m. 10.

the lord stewards lodginge over the buttre and other dekays of the kechyn and the houses of office longinge thereto in tymber, lede, tyle, and other necessaries. Also the brydge goynge up to the dongeon, the bridge at the inner gate, and the bridge at the utter gate be in great ruyne and dekay, with divers other dekays ther in stonework, tymber, lede, and glasse. Also the lodginge in the parke called the Roche is in dekay and ruyne in tymber, lede, tile, and glasse." Clipstone was returned as also "dekayed."[1] Leland, who visited the castle a few years later, says he saw three chapels and three wells, one well being of great depth. "Much of the west side of the inner ward, as also the hall and other things, be in ruins."[2]

Reparations continued in the time of Elizabeth. For the ten years 1560 to 1570 a report and account show the expenditure as for—

	£	s.	d.
Tynne and soulder	11	2	0
Nails, ironwork, and wages	40	4	3
Tyle, bricke, lyme, and lathes	52	2	8
Glasse wroughte and sette uppe in the castle—four chests containing forty-six shefe	16	0	0
Wages	50	8	0
Masons' work and wages	127	5	8
Tilers' and plasterers' work	40	10	7
Leade	86	0	0
Wages	73	12	8
Soulder	0	14	0
Stonework	12	17	5
Allowed the surveyor	13	6	8
Plummers, glazeors, carpenters, tylours, masons, and labourers	398	13	6

There were consumed or used also "nine foder of lead, seventy-eight tonne of tymber, and sixty-eight tonne of tymber and twenty-eight trees."[3]

Next the story of the last eventful history must be told. After long trouble and bickering between the King, Charles I., and the Parliament, a civil war broke out. Foreseeing this event, the King left London and went to York in March 1642. From there in July he

[1] Rentals and Surveys, Roll 12.
[2] Leland, *Itinerary*, fol. 111.
[3] Harl. MSS., 368, fols. 130–133.

made a tour round about to test the feelings of the population towards him, and so on the 21st July he came to Nottingham[1] and then returned to York. On the 12th August was issued a Proclamation dated and printed at York, requiring the aid and assistance of all his subjects on the north side of Trent and all within twenty miles southward thereof (for the suppressing the rebels now marching against him), "that according to their allegiance they attend our person upon munday the two and twentieth day of this instant August at our town of Nottingham where and when we intend to erect our standard royall in our just and necessary defence."[2] Accordingly on the date named his Majesty arrived at Nottingham, and at once raised his "standard royall," his flag of defiance, his ensign of war against the Parliament. From Nottingham, dated nine o'clock at night, a letter says:— "This day about six at night his majesty came weary, out of Warwickshire to Nottingham and after half an hour's repose commanded the standard to be brought forth, his majesty, the Prince, the duke of York and divers lords and gentlemen accompanying the same. As soon as it was set up his majesty called for the printed proclamation, mended with pen and ink some words misprinted or not approved of, and caused the herald to read it three times and so departed."[3] Another pamphlet gives "the credible information from Nottingham that his majesty hath set up his standard there, and hath been under it himself three several days and made proclamation, etc."[4] This was all confirmed in a few days by the issue of "a true and exact relation of the manner of his majesties setting up of his standard at Nottingham on munday the 22 of August, 1642, etc.," with "the form of the standard as it is here figured and who were present at the advancing of it."[5]

The title page of this rare and very interesting pamphlet, with the woodcut thereon, is here reproduced (Fig. 1).

[1] *Annals of Nottingham*, Bailey.

[2] "The Proclamation of His Majesty, etc." folio.

[3] "Speciall Passages," No. 3.

[4] "Certain Special and Remarkable Passages, etc."

[5] King's Pamphlets, Brit. Mus., Vol. LXXI.

The writer tells that "Munday, being the 22 of August in the morning his majesty left his forces before

A true and exact Relation of the manner of his Maiesties setting up of His Standard at *Nottingham*, on Munday the 22. of August 1642.

First, The forme of the Standard, as it is here figured, and who were present at the advancing of it

Secondly, The danger of setting up of former Standards, and the damage which ensued thereon.

Thirdly, A relation of all the Standards that ever were set up by any King.

Fourthly, the names of those Knights who are appointed to be the Kings Standard-bearers With the forces that are appoynted to guard it.

Fifthly, The manner of the Kings comming first to *Coventry*.

Sixtly, The *Cavaliers* resolution and dangerous threats which they have uttered, if the King concludes a peace without them or hearkens unto his great Councell the Parliament: Moreover how they have shared and divided *London* amongst themselves already.

London, printed for *P. Coles*. 1642.

FIG. 1. TITLE PAGE OF PAMPHLET, WITH THE SETTING UP OF THE STANDARD OF CHARLES I.

Coventry and with some lords and others in company rode to Leicester where he dined that day at the Abbey

House the Countess of Devonshire's house. Presently after dinner the King again took horse and with his company rode to Nottingham where was great preparation for the setting up the standard that day as appointed. Not long after the King's coming to the town the standard was taken out of the castle and carried into the field a little on the back side of the castle wall. So soon as the standard was set up and his majesty and other lords placed about it, the herald made ready a proclamation declaring the ground and cause of the act. But before the trumpeters could sound, his majesty read it over to himself and disliking some passages corrected or altered them with pen and ink making it difficult for the herald to read. After the reading the multitude, estimated at two thousand who came only to see the manner of the thing, threw up their hats and with other such expressions, cried—God save the King. Not long after it being toward night the standard was taken down and again carried into the castle with the like state it was brought into the field. The next day it was set up again, and his majesty came with it and made proclamation as the day before. The like also on wednesday, his majesty being also present. Each day it was carried out in great state, besides the lords and others of the court, three troops of horse and about six hundred foot were appointed to attend the taking it backwards and forwards. But since that it hath been set up with less ceremony, there not being a hundred persons that have offered themselves to his majesty." It seemed that only thirty actually offered, and these the King refused. The above daily setting up with less ceremony seems to have been continued until the 30th August, when by petition from the town it was discontinued.[1] "The likeness of the standard," says the writer in the first pamphlet (see the plate), "is much of the fashion of the city streamers used at the lord mayor's show, having about twenty supporters and is to be carried after the same way. On the top of it hangs a bloody flag bearing the King's arms quartered, with a hand pointing to the crown which stands above with the motto—Give Cæsar his due." The knights baronets

[1] "Nottinghamshire's Petition to the King."

appointed to bear the standard were Sir Thomas Brookes, Sir Arthur Hopton, Sir Francis Wortley, and Sir Robert Dodington. It was carried by Sir Edmund Verney as knight mareschal.

The above is a clear and minute account and description, evidently by an eye-witness. The woodcut shows the standard clearly, a fuller description being unnecessary. Here is seen a streamer with, next the pole, a square bearing the royal arms, then following, as the streamer narrows off, a portrait of the King, then a crowned rose, fleur-de-lys, and harp, finally the point properly bifurcated. The hand pointing to a crown and the motto are not seen in the cut, probably from want of space.

Of late there has been printed the copy of a letter[1] as from a gentleman near Nottingham to a friend in London, relating to this event. Unfortunately it is only a fragment, is undated and unsigned, and no reference is given as to its origin or whereabouts. The letter, in describing the standard scene, says:—"I came on wednesday night last from Nottingham where I saw the King set up his standard on munday night before. The manner whereof was this. His majesty came into the castle yard with the Prince, duke, Princes Robert (Rupert) and Maurice, the duke of Richmond and others and finding out the highest pointed hill in the yard from whence it might be perspicuous, the standard was brought in and there erected. At what time all the courtiers and spectators flung up their caps and whooped God save the King and hang up the Roundheads. After which the standard was thence removed to the highest tower of the Castle where it hangs blowing. It is a long pole like a may pole painted red on the upper end whereof hangs a large silk flag in form of an escutcheon with a red cross and two lions passant upon two crowns."

This letter evidently refers to and describes a different scene from the three others. The others tell of the great ceremony and parade of taking the standard out of the castle into the field; the letter evidently tells of a scene later in the castle yard after the standard was brought in and the special official act closed. Then there is a

[1] Hutchinson's *Memoirs*, Vol. I, appendix.

difference in the "whoop." The three accounts must be taken to refer to the standard royal, a special ensign of war, customary and used at that date; the letter must refer to a personal standard more like that of to-day and used on the castle on this occasion for the same purpose—to signify the royal presence. The second writer says that the one he describes was removed to the highest tower of the castle, where it was left to blow in the wind. The war standard would not be used for this purpose. It would, then, be the other as shown in the plate, which was carried out of the castle on the first day and daily, although with less ceremony after the third day.

The custom of raising a special ensign of war was early in use. At the Battle of Hastings the banner of Harold was sumptuously embroidered, and bore the form of a man in gold and precious stones representing an armed warrior going out to battle.[1] At the Battle of the Standard, so called, at Northallerton in 1138, the English standard bore on the top a silver pyx with a consecrated wafer therein and representations of St. Peter, St. John, and St. Wilfrid. Henry III. showed a war flag of red silk which bore a dragon sparkling with gold, his tongue of fire and eyes of sapphire. On other occasions such a flag will be found in use. It was not, however, what we call a standard; the name was gonfanon, large, long, and tapering, the point being slit or divided, thus forming two points. Its length was determined by the rank of the owner—the higher the rank the longer the flag—and it showed not his armorials but a badge and motto and had nearest the staff the English red cross of St. George. Trades and companies also bore such streamers, often very long, and usually swallow-tailed. No longer in military use, the name standard by custom now applies to the personal flag of the sovereign, but again, this being rectangular—escutcheon-shaped—is heraldically a banner, not a standard. Whilst at Nottingham the King, under date 25th August, sent a message to the Parliament suggesting the possibility of some arrangement. But matters had now gone too far. The Parliament replied, "Having received your message of the 25th August, as

[1] William of Malmesbury.

your majesty hath set up your standard against the Houses of Parliament and the whole kingdom, until the standard be taken down and your proclamations recalled, no answer can be given."[1] This message accounts somewhat for an error and for the consequent long doubt as to the date of the raising the standard. Clarendon in his history[2] writes, "The King came to Nottingham two or three days before the day appointed to set up his standard. Next day he went to Coventry." Then under date 22nd August he continues, "His majesty returned to Nottingham very melancholy the very day the standard was appointed to be set up." So far good, but in the next paragraph he writes, "According to proclamation upon the 25th day of August the standard was erected about six of the clock in the evening, a very stormy and tempestuous day. The King with a small train rode to the top of the castle hill, Varney the knight marshall carrying the standard, which was erected in that place with little more ceremony than the sound of drums and trumpets." This account refers clearly to the short proceedings within the castle, but contemporary writers saw no omens, make no mention of tempestuous weather. It is easy to prophesy after the event. The misfortune has been that Clarendon seems to have mixed up two dates and two events—the 22nd and 25th August. The 25th August was the date of the King's message to the Parliament and was not the standard day. Clarendon overlooked this in his own work, as he begins his next chapter, "When the King set up his standard at Nottingham which was on the 22nd August," etc. Yet the 25th has been officially taken as the day in the Parliament Journals, thus increasing confusion and causing doubt.

Leland[3] in his notes says, "The towne hath been meately well wallid with stone and hath dyvers gates, much of the wall is now down and the gates saving two or three." Beyond this notice nothing seems to be known of these walls, and perhaps the only drawing in which they have been shown is that in the woodcut seen in the plate. Here, whilst the troopers are marching

[1] "His Majesties Message from Nottingham."

[2] Edit. 1888, Vol. II, pp. 289, 290, 291.

[3] *Itinerary*, Vol. I, fol. 111.

out to the field behind the castle, the walled town of Nottingham—duly labelled—is seen in the distance. As already noticed, the town was burned in 1140 and again in 1153, and these events may have drawn attention to the necessity of protection. The first walling seems to have been in 1266–67 (51 Henry III.). when a patent for murage was granted for three years. By this patent nearly everything brought into the market paid toll or duty—for an ox or cow $\frac{1}{2}d.$, each salmon $\frac{1}{4}d.$, skins $\frac{1}{2}d.$, and cloth, horses, pigs, and iron were also taxed, each article and the amount to be paid being named. In 1269–70 the patent was renewed, and enlarged and continued from time to time until presumably the work was done. In 7 Edward I. (1279), Robert de Tiptoft was ordered to audit the accounts for the murage. In 1288 the money collected for murage was taken and assigned for the repair of the outer bailey of the castle. In 1293 something wrong occurred, as a commission was issued to inquire into and audit the murage accounts, the money having been diverted to wrong uses. There were also patents granted for pavage and for pontage for the repair of the bridge; as with the walling, these were continued or extended from time to time.[1]

The King stayed at Nottingham until about the 13th September, when he left, his environment not being suitable. And here may be mentioned an episode which may be of local interest to many and which has also a general interest. When the King left London in March, 1642, soon after his arrival at York he had a travelling printing press sent him from London for official use under his official printer, R. Barker. On the 4th September, 1642, the King sent orders to York for the press to be brought to him at Nottingham,[2] but as he left so soon afterwards it was never set up; no

[1] Patent Rolls, 51 Hen. III., m. 20 (64); 54 Hen. III., m. 8; 3 Edwd. I., m. 22; 7 Edwd. I., m. 14; 8 Edwd. I., m. 7; 13 Edwd. I., m. 2; 16 Edwd. I., m. 5; 18 Edwd. I., m. 2; 21 Edwd. I., m. 12d; 35 Edwd. I., m. 18; 5 Edwd. II., Pt. 1, m. 19; 14 Edwd. II., Pt. 2, m. 2; 15 Edwd. II., Pt. 1., m. 2; 1 Edwd. III., Pt. 2, m. 26; 2 Edwd. III., m. 23 (42); 6 Edwd. III., m. 6; 8 Edwd. III. (5-21); 9 Edwd. III., Pt. 1, m. 24; 9 Edwd. III., Pt. 2, m. 21; 14 Edwd. III., Pt. 3, m. 20; 19 Edwd. III., Pt. 2, m. 3; 20 Edwd. III., Pt. 2, m. 8; 21 Edwd. III., Pt. 1, m. 20; 37 Edwd. III., Pt. 2, m. 18; 6 Ric. II., Pt. 2, 12, 18 dors.

[2] "The last true Newes from Yorke, Nottingham, etc."

printing at this time was done there. Nottingham thus just lost the distinction of having this early provincial press, which fell soon afterwards to Shrewsbury.

The King being gone, the castle fell into the hands of the Parliament. On the 20th November, 1643, the House resolved that Mr. John Hutchinson, afterwards known as Colonel—whose autograph is given on Plate I—be governor of the castle there.[1] Taking office accordingly, he found the place much neglected—the strong tower called the Old Tower on the top of the rock, and the towers of the walls, mostly down ; the outer walls all down ; an old pair of gates with turrets on each side in ruins, and no outworks save a breastwork at the outermost gate.[2] All this he set about to remedy. A pamphlet of the time, December, 1643, entitled, *A Discovery of the Treacherous Attempts to betray Nottingham Castle to the Cavaliers*, tells how the governor was tempted three times to betray his trust. He was promised £10,000 ; the command of the castle to be confirmed to him and his heirs ; and to be made the best lord in Nottinghamshire. To all he returned scornful answers. His brother George also was tempted to deliver the Trent bridges for £3,000, but he too replied with scorn to a thing so wicked and base, that his spotless name should not be tainted with the foul blot of treason, he would not for a little gaudy dirt sell his soul.

The further events of the war must be considered a separate story distinct from the present purpose.

Fighting being over, in 1646 the Parliament began to order castles to be slighted and made useless. Besides that they represented long years of tyranny and oppression, they had during the war given more trouble than aid. Nottingham was spared in the first lot, and it was resolved, 1st March, 1647, that the castle be kept as a garrison with a hundred foot in it, but at the same time it was also resolved that the town of Nottingham be disgarrisoned and all new works slighted.[3] On the 17th March, 1647, Captain Thomas Poulton was

[1] *Commons Journals*, III, 315.
[2] Hutchinson, *Memoirs*.
[3] *Commons Journals*, V, 102.

appointed governor in the place of Colonel Hutchinson. All remained thus until 1651, when on the 19th March the Council of State considered "what castles and garrisons are fit to be demolished and disgarrisoned and how and when, and what walled towns are fit to be dismantled." On the 9th May, after further consideration on these points, it was ordered that a troop of dragoons be sent to attend the demolishing of Nottingham Castle, the two companies of foot now there to march to Major-General Hutchinson. On the 9th June the demolishing of Nottingham Castle was again approved and the previous order confirmed accordingly.[1] These proceedings would seem to have been influenced by the mayor and others, as the same day the following letter was sent to Major Thomas Poulton, governor of the castle, Thomas Comble, mayor, and Robert Reynes, John Martin, William Drury, William Richards, and John Mason:—"We have had your letter as to demolishing Nottingham Castle and leave it you to see it done effectually within fourteen days, so that the castle and all the outworks and fortifications be altogether demolished before 10th November. We are content that Major Poulton have all the materials for his own use, he paying Daniel Judd £12 for his charges in sending some persons to view the castle in behalf of the Commonwealth, and for whatever any of you do herein you shall be indemnified against all men." The next day, 10th June, another letter addressed to the same informed them "that having given order for the demolishing Nottingham Castle and being informed that there is a great quantity of brass and iron ordnance, arms, ammunition, etc., belonging to the Commonwealth which will likely be embezzled if care be not taken, let them be sent by water to Hull and thence to the Tower of London, also let other provisions not mentioned which may be serviceable to the State be sent with an inventory so that the officers of the Tower may know what they are to receive."

Mr. Mayor and his neighbours did their work willingly and thoroughly, and Nottingham Castle disappeared.

[1] State Papers, Domestic.