

remaining of any except ecclesiastical buildings that can be attributed, with any degree of certainty, to these early times, when many castles must have been mere earthworks with wooden superstructures.<sup>13</sup>

### I.—CASTLES OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

In 1121, Ralph Flambard, bishop of Durham, built a castle at Norham.<sup>14</sup> The almost square ashlar of the masonry of the keep make it probable that much of this is his work. The Pipe Roll of 1131 mentions Osbert, the master-mason (*cementarius*), as having then been employed at Bamburgh.<sup>15</sup> In 1138, Alnwick, then in the possession of Eustace Fitz John, is styled a most strongly fortified castle (*munitissimum castellum*),<sup>16</sup> and much of the masonry of the curtain-wall, similar to that of the keep of Norham, agrees with this date. About this time, too, Walter Espec founded at Carham on the Tweed the castle which received the name of Wark.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The Umfrevilles of Redesdale, before they received a grant of Prudhoe from Henry I., had no doubt a stronghold of this description at Elsdon, possibly on the Mote Hills. The lords of Bolam appear to have occupied an oval camp, within which a tower, measuring externally 30 × 40 ft., was subsequently built (Hodgs. *Northd.* II., i. p. 337). The fortress of the Muschamps, which stood on the high mound at Wooler, is returned as waste, and of no value, by an Inq. taken in 1254 (Berw. F. Club *Transactions*, IV., p. 161). Several of the baronies of Northumberland appear to have had no castles at their capital seats—e.g., Callerton, Beanly, Styford, Embleton, Ellingham, and Whalton. Of course, there was no necessary connection between a barony and a castle, and the grants to Normans of land in Northumberland appear to have been made on principles that were applied equally to the rest of England. Professor Creighton's account of the origin of the Northumberland baronies, especially in the valley of the Tyne (*Archæol. Journal*, vol. XLII., p. 45), rests on no historical foundation, and the statements made in it are quite at variance with the *Testa de Nevill*, &c. (e.g., Heddon-on-the-Wall formed part of the barony of Bolbeck, not of Merlay, &c. &c.)

<sup>14</sup> 'Anno MCXXI. . . Rannulfus Dunelmensis episcopus castellum apud Norham incept super ripam Thwedæ.'—*Chron. Rogeri de Hoveden*, Rolls Ser., I., p. 179.

<sup>15</sup> 'In liberatione Osberti cementarii de Baenburg xxxv.'

<sup>16</sup> 'Habuit idem (Eustachius filius Johannis) in Northymbria castrum munitissimum Alnewich.'—*Hist. Joh. Hagustald* § 5 (Rolls Ser. Sym. Dun. II. p. 290).

<sup>17</sup> 'Carrum quod ab Anglis Werch dicitur.'—Ric. Hagustald. (*Chron. Stephen. Hen. II.*, &c., Rolls Ser., III. p. 145). 'Walteri Espec, cujus illud oppidum (Carrum) erat.'—*Ibid.* p. 171. This use of the term *oppidum*, to describe the castle of Wark, makes it probable that the castle of Mitford was in existence in 1138, when Richard of Hexham describing the advance of David of Scotland says, 'circa Milford (*sic*), oppidum Willelmi Bertram, et in pluribus locis per Northumbriam segetibus vastatis &c.'—*Ibid.* p. 158. *Oppidum* conveys the idea of a fortified town; and Caesar applies it to the stronghold of Cassibelan, 'locum egregie naturâ, atque opere munitum,' adding, 'oppidum, Britanni vocant, quum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossâ munierunt, quo, incursionis hostium vitandæ causâ, convenire consueverunt.'—*De Bell. Gall.*, V., § xvii.

Norham, Alnwick, and Wark fell into the hands of David, King of Scotland, when he crossed the Border to oppose the accession of Stephen. Bamburgh made a successful defence. In 1138, Norham, though the defences were still perfect and the castle well provisioned, again surrendered to David, by whom it was dismantled. Wark, on the other hand, stood a long and famous siege, and was only reduced by famine. The castle of Morpeth is distinctly mentioned at this time in connection with the foundation of the Abbey of Newminster.<sup>18</sup>

In 1147, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, the son of David of Scotland, expressly exempted the monks of Tynemouth from contributing to the works on Newcastle and other castles in his Earldom,<sup>19</sup> but the strange absence of any example of the civil architecture of the twelfth century in the south of Scotland<sup>20</sup> seems fatal to the idea that much of the Norman castles of Northumberland can have been constructed during the eighteen years it was possessed by Earl Henry and his son William. A castle of some sort may possibly have risen at Warkworth.<sup>21</sup>

It was the resumption of the northern counties by Henry II. in 1157 that gave the great impulse to castle-building in Northumberland. This often took the form of erecting a massive rectangular keep (*turris*) in an area that had already been enclosed by a strong outer wall and gateway. With the assistance of the whole county of Northumberland and of the bishopric of Durham, Henry II. founded the castle of Harbottle in the wilds of Coquetdale.<sup>22</sup> Between 1158

<sup>18</sup> 'Eodem anno (MCXXXVIII) quidam vir potens in Northymbria receipt in sua possessione, apud castrum quod dicitur Morthpath, monachos de Fontibus octo, nonis Januarii, qui construxerunt cœnobium, scilicet Novum-monasterium vocatum.'—Joh. Hagustald, *Hist.*, (Surt. Soc. Publ.; Raine's *Hexham*, II., p. 122-3).

<sup>19</sup> 'Præcipio quod ecclesia et monachi de Tinemutha et totam terram et homines prædictæ ecclesiæ sint liberi et quieti de opere Novi Castelli et de opere aliorum castellorum de tota Northumberland quia mea propria est elesimonia. Apud Bamburgh, &c.'—Gibson's *Tynemouth*, II., xviii., No. XXIV.

<sup>20</sup> Macgibbon & Ross, *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, I., p. 63. The *Chron. de Mailros* mentions the *turris*, i.e., keep of Roxburgh, in 1134.

<sup>21</sup> One of the earliest acts of Henry II., after recovering Northumberland, was to grant the *castle* and manor of Warkworth to Roger Fitz Richard, with the same privileges as his grandfather, Henry I., had enjoyed with the manor.

<sup>22</sup> 'Dudum constructum (castrum de Hirbottle) per dominum Henricum regem Angliæ avum domini nostri regis et, per auxilium totius comitatus Northumbriæ et episcopatus Dunelmensis ex precepto dicti Henrici regis.' Royal Letters Hen. III. No. 856 (Rolls ed. i., p. 141). Hartshorne, after printing this letter in his notes (Proc. Arch. Inst., 1852, II., p. 55), erroneously states in the text that Harbottle was built 'as an aid for the whole country of Northumberland and the bishopric of Durham.'

and 1161 he laid out large sums on Wark.<sup>23</sup> The keep of Bamburgh, which resembles in many ways that of Carlisle, is first mentioned in 1164.<sup>24</sup> The square ashlars of the keep of Prudhoe look almost older.

In his invasions of Northumberland in 1173 and 1174, William the Lion took Warkworth and Harbottle, but failed to master Wark, Alnwick, Newcastle, and Prudhoe. The erection of the keep of Newcastle had already been begun in 1172. It seems to have been completed in 1177 at a total cost of about 900*l.* There is every reason to suppose that the architect employed was the same Maurice who built the very similar keep of Dover in 1183 and the three following years for about 800*l.*<sup>25</sup> It is difficult to fix the probable date of the keep of Mitford, one side of which is so projected as to make it a pentagon. The castle there is first mentioned as such in 1217.<sup>26</sup> The foundations of the keeps of Wark, Morpeth, and Harbottle are buried in the ground. In 1204, King John attempted to build a castle at Tweedmouth, but this was immediately demolished by William of Scotland, and the Treaty of Norham concluded in 1209, expressly provided that no castle should again be erected at Tweedmouth.<sup>27</sup> Possibly none of the existing masonry at Warkworth is earlier than the beginning of the reign of John.

## II.—CASTLES AND TOWERS CRENELLATED BY LICENCE.

In point of law it had long been considered necessary to obtain the sanction of the Crown before proceeding to erect a castle. Henry II. began his reign by destroying the 'adulterine castles' which, during Stephen's wars, had been built without licences. In 1218, Richard de Umfreville having complained that Philip de Ulcotes, who had been a powerful favourite of King John, was building a castle at Nafferton,

<sup>23</sup> 'In operatione castelli de Werch xxii. viijs. xii.'—Pipe Roll, 4 Hen. II., &c. 'Anno 1159. Iterum firmatum est castellum de Werc, præcipiente rege Angliæ.'—*Chron. de Mailros*, p. 76.

<sup>24</sup> 'In operatione turris de Baenburc 4*l.*'—Pipe Roll, 10 Hen. II.

<sup>25</sup> Longstaffe in *Arch. Ael.*, N.S., IV., pp. 63-67.

<sup>26</sup> 'Mense Maio Alexander, Dei gratia rex Scottorum, congregato universo exercitu suo, obsedit castellum de Midford, quod cum septimanam obsedisset ad propria reversus est.'—*Chron. de Mailros*, p. 130.

<sup>27</sup> 'Rex Angliæ pro villa Berwici destruenda castrum firmare cœpit apud Tweidmothe, quod rex Scociæ non passus, bis illud funditus evertit, ejus fundamentibus, operariis et custodiibus universis captis, fugatis et interemptis. . . . Castrum quoque, quod erigeretur apud Tuedmouth ad destructum Berwici, dirutum est, et nullo deinceps tempore erigetur.'—Fordun, *Gesta Annalia*, xxv. (ed. *Historians of Scotland*, 1871, I., p. 277).