and 1161 he laid out large sums on Wark.23 The keep of Bamburgh, which resembles in many ways that of Carlisle, is first mentioned in The square ashlars of the keep of Prudhoe look almost older. 1164.24

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 900l. 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 800l.²⁵ 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 1217.26 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.²⁷ 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,

²² 'In operacione castelli de Werch xxil. viijs. xid.'—Pipe Roll, 4 Hen. II., &c. 'Anno 1159. Iterum firmatum est castellum de Werc, præcipiente rege Angliæ.'—Chron. de Mailros, p. 76.

²⁴ 'In operacione turris de Baenburc 4l.'—Pipe Roll, 10 Hen. II.

²⁵ In operacione turris de Baenourc 4t.— Pipe Roll, 10 Hen. 11.
25 Longstaffe in Arch. Ael., N.S., IV., pp. 63-67.
26 '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.
27 'Rex Angliæ pro villa Berwici destruenda castrum firmare cœpit apud Tweidmothe, quod rex Scociæ non passus, bis illud funditus evertit, ejus fundateither president en propria e

toribus, operariis et custodibus universis captis, fugatis et interemptis. . . . Castrum quoque, quod erigeretur apud Tuedmouth ad destructum Berwici, diruptum est, et nullo deinceps tempore erigetur. — Fordun, Gesta Annalia, xxv. (ed. Historians of Scotland, 1871, I., p. 277).

where no castle had previously existed, to the injury of his castle and lands of Prudhoe, a writ was addressed to Ulcotes in the name of Henry III. commanding him to proceed no further with the work.28 The series of licences formally granted for fortifying houses with walls . of stone and lime, and crenellating and holding them without the interference of the Crown or its officers, begins a little later. To crenellate a house was to place battlements upon it, crenelles or embrasures, being the square openings between the merlons. The generally peaceful relations with Scotland in the reigns of the last two Alexanders—a temporary disturbance of which may have led to the erection of the Black Gate at Newcastle, a noble example of the Early English style, about 124629—afforded no pretexts for building castles on the Border, a course of proceeding which was sure to have been made the subject of diplomatic remonstrances. Gesemuth (Jesmond), sheriff of Northumberland in 1261-1263, appears to have been allowed to fortify to some extent his camera at Heaton, near Newcastle; but the first licence to crenellate in Northumberland which has been preserved is one granted by Henry III. to John Cumyn, a Scottish noble, who had aided in defeating the rebellious barons at Evesham, for the purpose of building a camera in his manor of Tarset, 30 which was situated in Tyndale, then held of the English Crown by the King of Scotland.

²⁸ Rot. Claus., 2 Hen. III., m. 4.—Proc. Arch. Inst., 1852, II., p. 237 n. In 6 Hen. III. the sheriff appears to have cast down the bretesches at Nafferton—'Et in prostracione cujusdam breceschie magne et aliarum breceschiarum apud Naffertone ii marcas per breve Regis.'—Pipe Roll. See Note (A) on 'Bretesche,' p. 54; also Note (B) on 'Sir David Lyndesey's Tower in Tyndale,' p. 55.
²⁹ Harl. MS., 624 (Brand's Newcastle, I., p. 148; Arch. Ael., N.S., IV., p. 122). The Long Peace which continued through the latter half of the 13th century,

²⁹ Harl. MS., 624 (Brand's Newcastle, I., p. 148; Arch. Acl., N.S., IV., p. 122). The Long Peace which continued through the latter half of the 13th century, greatly to the prosperity of the districts on each side of the Border, was secured by the curious Laws of the Marches, framed on 14th April, 1249, by a joint commission of twelve English and twelve Scottish knights. These Laws are printed in Bp. Nicholson's Leges Marchiarum, 1705, pp. 1-9, and more correctly in Acts of Parliament of Scotland, vol. i., p. 83* (consecutive p. 413). Their authenticity has been most needlessly impugned by Nicolson and Burn (Hist. of Westm. & Cumb. I. ix.), and their antiquity by Hodgson Hinde (Hist. of Northd., p. 244) and Hartshorne (Proc. Arch. Instit., 1852, ii., p. 7 n.), on account of Robert de Clifford being one of the English knights. The writers in question allege, or admit, that the Cliffords had no connection with the Border before one of them married the heiress of Vipont in about 1265, and that the first Clifford who bore the name of Robert was the son of this marriage, born in 1274. One and all have overlooked the simple fact that a Robert de Clifford undoubtedly held Hetton, in Chatton parish, of the barony of Alnwick, at the time of the Testa de Nevill, circ. 1240.

⁸⁰ 'I'ro Johanne Cumyn. De firmacione et kernellacione domus sue: Rex

⁸⁰ Pro Johanne Cumyn. De firmacione et kernellacione domus sue: Rex omnibus &c. salutem. Sciatis quod concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris

The following is a list of all the known licences to crenellate in Northumberland:—

- TARSET. 5 Dec. 1267. Hen. III. at Westminster, to John Cumyn for 'quandam cameram quam infra manerium suum de Tyrset construere proponit.'
- HORTON. 28 Dec. 1292. Ed. I. at Newcastle, to Gwyschard de Charrun for 'mansum suum apud Horton.' 31
- TYNEMOUTH. 5 Sept. 1296. Ed. I. at Berwick, to the Prior and Convent for 'prioratum suum de Tynemuthe.'32
- Shortflat. 5 Apr. 1305. Ed. I. at Westminster, to Robert de Reymes for 'mansum suum de Shortflat.' 33
- 5 Apr. 1305. Ed. I. at Westminster, to Robert de AYDON. Reymes for 'mansum suum de Eydon.' 34
- NEWLANDS. 22 July 1310. Ed. II. at Westminster to John de Middelton for 'mansum suum de Neulond.' 35
- ESHOT. . 22 July 1310. Ed. II. at Westminster, to Roger Maudut for 'mansum suum de Esshete.' 36

dilecto et fideli nostro Johanni Cumyn quod quandam cameram quam infra manerium suum de Tyrsete in comitatu Northumbr' construere proponit, fossato et muro de petra et calce includere, firmare et kernellare possit ad voluntatem ipsius Johannis, et cameram illam taliter firmatam et kernellatam tenere sibi et heredibus suis imperpetuum, sine occasione vel impedimento nostro vel heredum nostrorum. Ita tamen quod idem Johannes cameram illam eodem modo includat firmet et kernellet quo camera dilecti et fidelis nostri Ade de Gesemuth apud Heton in comitatu predicto est inclusa, firmata et kernellata. In cujus, &c. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium v. die Dec.'—Pat. Roll, 52 Hen. III. m. 31.

In the middle of the thirteenth century the 'chamber' came to be almost a

more important part of the house than the ancient 'hall;' and its name was not unusually given to the whole house, e.g., the camera built in 1285 for Edward I. and his queen at Woolmer in Hampshire, the account of the expenses of which are preserved in the Pipe Roll, was seventy-two feet long and twenty-eight feet wide, and, in addition to the actual chamber, which seems to have had two chimneys, contained a chapel and a hall.—Thos. Wright, Homes of other Days, p. 152.

The camera of Adam de Gesemuth was no doubt the ruin in Heaton Park, at

the east end of Newcastle, popularly called King John's Palace.

A general, but imperfect, list of licences to crenellate will be found in Turner's Domestic Architecture in England, Part II. (vol. iii.), p. 402.

1 Pat. Roll, 21 Ed. I. m. 23, i.e. Horton near Bedlington.

2 Pat. Roll, 24 Ed. I. m. 8. This licence appears to have escaped the notice

of Mr. Sydney Gibson in his History of Tynemouth.

33 Pat. Roll, 33 Ed. I. Pt. I. m. 9.

si Ibidem, in the same licence. The erection of Aydon Castle is popularly ascribed, on no evidence whatever, to Peter de Vaux, in circ. 1280. The similarity of its architecture with Shortflat amply bears out the testimony of the licences to its having been built by Robert de Reymes.

35 Pat. Roll, 4 Ed. II. Pt. I. m. 21, i.e. Newlands near Belford.

55 Pat. Roll, 4 Ed. II. Pt. I. m. 21.

- Dunstanburgh. 21 Aug. 1315. Ed. II. at Lincoln, to Thomas Earl of Lancaster for 'mansum suum de Dunstanburgh.' 37
- Eslington 20 Feb. 1335. Ed. III. at Newcastle, to Robert de Eslington for 'mansum suum apud Esselyngton.' 38
- FORD. 16 July 1338. Ed. III. at Ipswich, to William, Heron for 'mansum suum apud manerium suum de Ford.' 39
- BLENKINSOP. 6 May 1340. Ed. III. at Westm. to Thomas de Blenkensop for 'mansum suum de Blenkensope.' 40
- ETAL. 3 May 1341. Ed. III. at Westm. to Robert de Maners for 'mansum suum de Ethale.' 41
- OGLE. 11 May. 1341. Ed. III. at Westm. to Robert de Ogle for 'mansum suum de Oggle.' 42
- BARMOOR. 17 May. 1341. Ed. III. at Westm. to Thomas de Muschamps for 'mansum suum de Bairmore.' 43
- WIDDRINGTON. 10 Sept. 1341. Ed. III. at Tower of London to Gerard Widdrington 'mansum suum de Wodryngton.' 44
- BOTHAL. 15 May 1343. Ed. III. at Westm. to Robert Bertram 'mansum suum de Bothale.' 45
- CRAWLEY. 20 Nov. 1343. Ed. III. at Westm. to John Heron for 'mansum suum de Crawelawe.' 46
- CHILLINGHAM. 27 Jan. 1344. Ed. III. at Westm. to Thomas de Heton for 'mansum suum de Chevelyngham '. . . et castrum seu fortalicium inde facere.' 47
- ³⁷ Pat. Roll. 9 Ed. II. m. 25. The stone for Dunstanburgh was begun to be quarried on 7th May, 1313, and much of the castle was built in that and the following year, so that the licence was a post factum one, or at most legalised the finishing touches to the battlements.
 - 38 Pat. Roll, 9 Ed. III. Pt. I. m. 35.
- ³⁹ Pat. Roll, 12 Ed. III. Pt. II. m. 10. 'Teste Edwardo duce Cornubiæ et Cestriæ filio nostro carissimo custode Angliæ, apud Gippewicum xvj die Jul. per ipsum Regem.'
- ⁴⁰ Pat. Roll, 14 Ed. III. Pt. II. m. 26. The 'Custos Angliæ' had issued in the King's name at Kennington, 4th February, 1340, a licence for Thomas de Blemansoppe to crenellate 'mansum suum de Blemansoppe in marchia Scocie.'—Pat. Roll. 14 Ed. III. Pt. I. m 43.
 - ⁴¹ Pat. Roll, 15 Ed. III. Pt. I. m. 15.
 - ⁴² Rot. Chart. 15 Ed. III. pars unica, No. 16.
 - 43 Pat. Roll, 15 Ed. III. Pt. II. m. 48.
 - 44 Ibid., Pt. II. m. 9.
 - ⁴⁵ Pat. Roll, 17 Ed. III. Pt. I. m. 23.
 - 46 Ibid., Pt. II. m. 14.
 - 47 Pat. Roll, 18 Ed. III. Pt. I. m. 46.

- WHITLEY. 9 Apr. 1345. Ed. III. at Westm. to Gilbert de Whitley for 'mansum suum de Whitleye.' 48
- Haggerston. 4 June 1345. Ed. III. at Westm. to Robert de Haggerston for 'mansum suum de Hagerstone.' 49
- West Swinburne. 16 Mar. 1346. Ed. III. at Westm. to Roger de Widdrington for 'mansum suum de West Swynborn.' 50
- FENWICK. 26 Nov. 1378. Ric. II. at Westm. to John de Fenwyke for 'mansum sive manerium suum de Fenwyke.' 51

Of the strongholds thus licensed Shortflat, Horton, Blenkinsop, and Swinburne, appear to have been 'fortalices' or strong manorhouses. Aydon⁵³, though the main building bears a remarkable resemblance to Shortflat, became a castle of considerable extent. The most important features of Dunstanburgh and Bothal were their great gatehouses. Ford and Chillingham each enclosed a quadrangle with towers of various proportions at the corners. Newlands, Eslington, Barmoor, Widdrington, Crawley, Whitley, Haggerston, and Fenwick appear to have been originally strong single towers. It is now the fashion to indiscriminately apply to towers of this kind the name of 'pele,' which is nothing more than a survival of the mediæval Latin pilum.⁵⁴ Staward Pele (pilum sive manerium de Staworth) was purchased by Queen Philippa of

⁴⁸ Pat. Roll, 19 Ed. III. Pt. I. m. 24. The sham tower near the reservoir at New Whitley has nothing ancient about it. It was built for an office in the early part of the 19th century. (Mackenzie's Northumberland, ii. p. 459.) This, however, has not prevented it being honoured with traditions of underground passages, &c. Worthless pseudo-legends of this sort are still too often regarded with intense interest, while the true history of an ancient building is altogether despised. It need hardly be said that the idea of subterranean passages and dungeons was entirely foreign to the builders of the castles and towers of the Border. They scorned even deep foundations, and planted their massive walls on great boulders scarcely below the surface of the ground. Veritable dungeons, like those of Alnwick and Warkworth, are, it is believed, altogether exceptional in English castles.

⁴⁹ Ibid., Pt. I. m. 6.

⁵⁰ Pat. Roll, 20 Ed. III. Pt. I. m. 5.

⁵¹ Pat. Roll, 2 Ric. II. Pt. I. m. 16.

⁵² Each of them, it will be seen, is dignified with the title of 'castrum' in the text of the List of 1415, but 'fortalicium' is written against this as a marginal criticism.

⁵³ 'Fortalitium quod vocatur Haydenhall, juxta Corbrig.'—Letter of Prior Fossor, 1346. Cotton. MS. Faust. A. vi, 47.

⁵⁴ See Note (C) on the word 'Pele,' p. 57.

NEWCASTLE Exterior JUCAPITE, Chapel 17; Sallyport MATMX 1; Magazine + + + + Toll | /; DUNSTANBURGH (316) Gateway M+ + Lilburn X A ETAL(1341) 図 N + △ L | → * # 〒1 N → AYDON (1305) + FORD (1339) X X CHIPCHASE C+ BOTHAL (1343) T A A SW & A PRUDHOE Barbican + 1 X W ** * # A LANGLEY (circ 1360) Entrance: Archway Y V P 1 N; 1st Floor XWX; 2nd Floor XA JYZ \ \ X \ X; 3rd Floor H+X*; Tower TNFJ+AD PRESTON FY+ DX BELSAY W -x 5 MORPETH House X 5 × X 7 FENWICK (1379) ← EDLINGHAM X X CARTINGTON Y ←>+1 HEXHAM Gateway X V V + X DILSTON + WHITTINGHAM + A)] A WHITTON M + F LILBURN ~ DV COCKLEPARK 4 X1 BYWELL X X BITCHFIELD M → 18 ₿85

MASONS MARKS ON CASTLES AND TOWERS IN NORTHUMBERLAND.



Hainault in 1337,55 and in 1399-1400 Henry IV. confirmed this and the pele of Wark-on-Tyne to Edmund Duke of York as part of the franchise of Tyndale.56

Alterations and additions were being continually made to the older castles. The second Henry Percy of Alnwick, entirely remodelled the Norman castle of the Vescis there (1318-1352).57 The only satisfactory lesson that seems capable of being derived from a study of the numerous mason-marks still preserved on the walls of most of these strongholds, is that the barbican of Prudhoe was probably built by the same workmen who were employed on the gatehouse of Bothal.

Hitherto there has been nothing exceptional in the number of castles and towers in Northumberland; as many or more might be met with in the beginning of the 14th century in an equal area in the midland shires. But after the devastation caused by the army of David of Scotland before the battle of Neville's Cross⁵⁸ (17th October, 1346), there can be but little doubt that the Crown, instead of regarding the erection of fortified houses on the Scottish Marches with jealousy, did all in its power to forward it. The castle of Langley is first mentioned in 1365,59 that of Thirlwall in 1369.60 Whatever opinion may be formed of the antiquity of Haughton Castle, its name first appears in 1373.61 In 1385, Cornhill is related to have

ss Inq. ad Quod Damnum, 10 Ed. III. num. 33. Queen Philippa purchases 10 marcates of land of John Darcy le Cosyn—Hodgson's Northd., III. ii. p. 401. In 1373 it was found by Inq. at Newbrough that she had purchased the pele of Staworth, &c. In 1386 Edmund Duke of York granted Staward Pele to the Friars Eremite of Hexham (Wallis's Northd., II. p. 32), which accounts for its not appearing as a fortress in the list of 1415. The pila of Whittingham and Bolton were taken from partizans of Gilbert de Middleton in 1317.—Cal. of Doc. rel. to Scotland. III 628 Scotland, III. 623.

⁵⁶ Pat. Roll 1 Hen. IV. pt. v. m. 10; Hodgson's Northd., III. ii. p. 381. As to the 14th century towers at Morpeth—a turriolum mentioned in 1310, a turellus in 1343, and the turris de Morpath built by William de Greystock 1342-135!, see

in 1343, and the turris de Morpath built by William de Greystock 1342-135!, see Ibid. II. ii. pp. 455, 474.

57 'Iste Henricus excellentissime tempore suo reparavit castellum de Alnewyk.'—Chron. Mon. de Alnewyke, Proc. Arch. Inst., 1852, II., App. vi.

58 The track of the Scottish army is marked in the Inq. ad Quod Damnum, 21 Ed. III. num. 32. Thomas de Lucy petitions for relief from taxation in consequence of the wasted state of his barony of Langley. An Inq. held at Corbridge on Monday, 19th March (St. Gregory's Day), 1347, states that the houses, corn, and cattle of William de Greystoke and his tenants in Broomhaugh and its members the Lee and the Riding, in Newbiggen, and in Styford, were all either burnt or carried off by the Scots on Friday, 13th October, 1346.

59 Cal. Inq. p. m. ii. p. 270.

60 Lansd. MS. 1448, fo. 55.—Hodgson's Northd., II. iii. p. 147 n.

61 Originalia Ro. 18, 47 Ed. iii. 'Preceptum est Alano del Strother ballivo libertatis Regis de Tyndale quod castrum et manerium de Halghton,' etc.—Hodgson's Northumberland, III. ii. p. 334; II. ii. p. 542.

been taken and demolished by the Scots.⁶² The castle of Sir Aymer de Athol at Ponteland, and that of Otterburn, play a part in the romantic incursion of the Douglas⁶³ in 1386. Edlingham Castle had belonged to Sir John de Felton who died in 1396. The towers of Alnham and Newstead were held by the Earl of Northumberland's adherents in the reign of Henry IV.64

III.—CASTLES AND FORTALICES IN 1415.

A most valuable list of the names of the castles and fortalices in Northumberland, together with those of their owners or occupiers early in the 15th century has been preserved among the Harleian manuscripts.65 Hodgson printed this in his History from a not altogether reliable copy supplied by Surtees.66 He rightly saw that the list was drawn up at a time after the castles of Alnwick, Warkworth, and Langley had, with the tower of Alnham, been restored to the 2nd Earl of Northumberland, while the castle of Prudhoe and tower of Shilbottle were still in the hands of John Duke of Bedford, the brother of

62 Ridpath's Border History, 1810, p. 355.
65 'Les Écossois . . . vinrent à un châtel et une ville qui s'appelle Pontlan dont messire Aymon Alphel est sire . . . et s'en vinrent jusques en la ville et le châtel d' Octebourg, à huit lieues Angloises du Neuf-châtel.'—Froissart, Chroniques, liv. III., chap. cxvi. (Buchon, Coll. des Chron. Nation. Franç., XXI., p. 1770

378.)

64 Inq. p. m. 19 Ric. ii. num. 26, held at Felton on Thursday next after Holy

65 Inq. p. m. 19 Ric. ii. num. 26, held at Felton on Thursday next after Holy

66 Felton) obiit seisitus in Cross Day (3rd May), 1396:—'Prædictus Johannes (de Felton) obiit seisitus in dominico suo ut de feodo de manerio de Edlyngham cum pertinentiis, et est ibidem quoddam castrum quod nichil valet per annum.' 'Alnham and Newsted deliuered were anone.'—Hardyng's Chron. chap. ccv., Ellis's ed., p. 364.

S Harl. MS. 309, fo. 202 b.—203 b. There is a similar list, probably a copy, in Cotton, MS, 101, Fr. 46, 185, 26

Cotton. MS. Jul. F. x , fo. 155-6. 66 Hodgson's Northumberland, III. i. p. 26:—'A List of the Names of all the Castles and Towers in the County of Northumberland, with the Names of their Proprietors, made about the year 1460. From a MS. in the possession of Robert Surtees of Mainsforth, Esq., F.S.A.' The persons whose names, in the nomi-Surtees of Mainsforth, Esq., F.S.A.' The persons whose names, in the nominative, genitive, or dative case, follow those of the castles, etc., appear to have had the custody of them whether they were the actual 'proprietors' or not. 1460 (fourteen hundred and sixty) is an evident misprint for 1416 (fourteen hundred and sixteen), the date assigned to this list by Hodgson in the 2nd Part of his History (e.g., Vol. I. p. 355; II. p. 264; III. p. 367). This, nevertheless, has not prevented several writers of local repute—who are content to accept history at second-hand without testing its sources for themselves—from adhering to the date of 1460, even after the error has been carefully pointed out to them. Error naturally begets error; and 1416 having by one misprint been changed into 1460, 1460 by another has, with equal ease, been made into 1468—e.g., Murray's Handbook for Durham and Northumberland, p. 167, and Canon Raine's Opening Address to the Section of Architecture at the Newcastle Meeting (1884) of the Royal Archaeological Institute (Archaeological Journal, vol. xlii., p. 3.) Journal, vol. xlii., p. 3.)