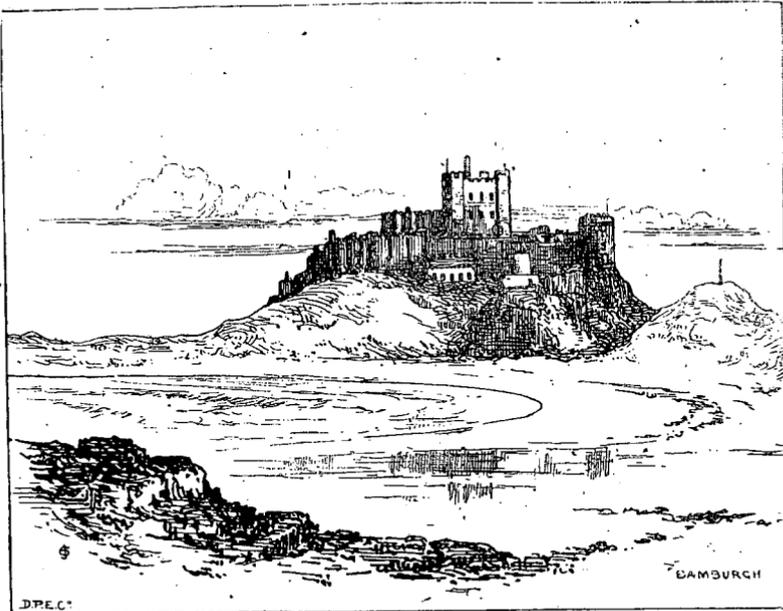


BAMBURGH CASTLE.

A NATURAL fortress from the day when it was first heaved through the earth's crust by some great volcanic convulsion, the castle-rock of Bamburgh may justly claim to be regarded as the actual birth-place of England. If it had not been for the ascendancy of the English kings, whose throne was firmly established on its basalt ramparts



BAMBURGH CASTLE FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

during the most decisive period of our early history, we should find ourselves now living in a New Saxony, or, rather perhaps, if the Church that gave first conception to the idea of our national unity had spread from Canterbury instead of from Lindisfarne, in an insular Jutland.¹

¹ An account of Bamburgh Castle, by Mr. G. T. Clark, appeared in June, 1889, in the *Archæological Journal*, xlv. p. 93. In justice to his own great reputation, Mr. Clark should cancel the historical portion, pp. 93-104.

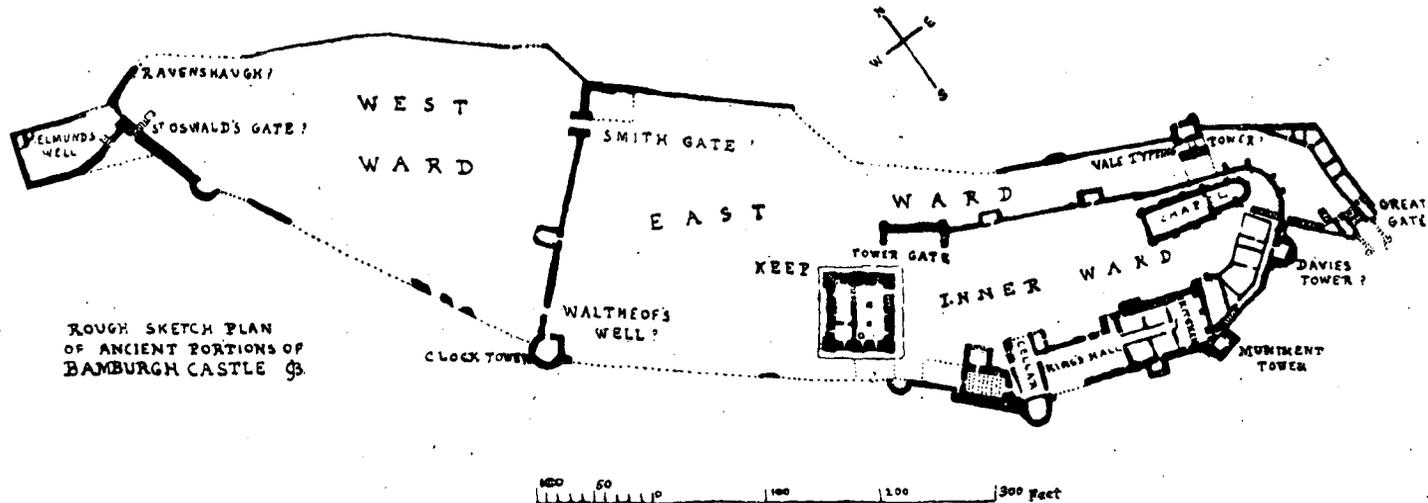
It is in connection with the rise of this English kingdom of Bernicia that Bamburgh, known to the Celts as Dinguaroy,² is first mentioned in our chronicles. The English chieftain Ida, we are told, began to reign there in 547, and he it was who 'timbered Bebbanburh that was erst with hedge betyned and thereafter with wall.'³ According to one account, Ida had in the first instance come over the sea with his father Eoppa, in sixty ships, and landed at Flamborough;⁴ but the general idea conveyed by these early traditions is that he merely united in one kingdom tribes that had previously been ruled by independent headmen. Theodric, one of his successors, was driven out into the island of Metcaut, called in English Lindisfarne, by the British prince Urien. With the accession of Ida's grandson Ethelfrith, at the end of the sixth century, the work of conquest and colonisation proceeded more rapidly. Ethelfrith is compared by Bede to a ravening wolf, and received from the Britons the surname of Flesaur or the Destroyer on account of the devastations he carried across the island as far as Chester-on-the-Dee. He gave, we are told, the stronghold of Dinguaroy to his wife Bebba, and possibly, after his death at the battle of the Idle in 607, she may have held out in her great rock-fortress against the invasion of Edwin of Deira.⁵ Be this as it may, it is from Queen Bebba that the name of Bamburgh is derived. One legend, indeed, represents her as living to receive the right hand and

² 'Eadfered Flesaur . . . dedit uxori suæ Dinguo Aroy, quæ vocatur Bebbab, et de nomine suæ uxoris suscepit nomen, id est, Bebbanburh.'—Nennius, *Historia Britonum*, App. In his History, § 61, Nennius, according to one MS. says that Ida 'unxit (sic) Dynguaroydi Guerth-berneich.'—*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 75.

³ This famous passage appears, after all, to be a mere twelfth-century interpolation of a Kentish scribe.—Earle, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, Oxford, 1865, Introd. p. xxiii.; p. 16, p. 17n. Mr. G. T. Clark is sorely perplexed about this hedge of Ida's. It could, of course, have only been a simple stockade, and Bamburgh then no doubt closely resembled what Magdala in Abyssinia was in the time of King Theodore. A Northumbrian countryman still deems it necessary to call a thorn hedge a 'whick (i.e. quick) hedge' by way of distinction.

⁴ *De Primo Saxonum Adventu* in Symeon of Durham, Rolls ed. ii. p. 374. Mr. Hodgson Hinde long ago pointed out that the 'Flamddwyn' of the Welsh bards was much more probably Hussa or Theodric than Ida.—*Hist. of Northd.* p. 69. The evidence, such as it is, seems to be in favour of Hussa being this 'Flamebearer.' Mr. Hodgson Hinde's criticism has been lost on Professor Freeman, who also falls into the old blunder of making Bebba the wife of Ida.—*English Towns and Districts*, p. 327.

⁵ The statement in the Chronicle of Thomas Rudborne, a monk of Winchester (Leland, *Collectanea*, i. p. 411), that 'Paulinus 36 diebus cum Edwino mansit in Bamburg, intentus predicandi et baptizandi officio,' is evidently a mere stupid perversion of Bede's account (lib. ii. c. 14) of the thirty-six days' mission of Paulinus at Ad Gebrium (Yevinger).





arm of her stepson King Oswald, which his brother Oswi had taken down from the stakes on which Penda of Mercia, the fierce champion of the northern gods, had displayed them after the battle of Maserfield in 642, and to treasure them up in her city in a silver shrine placed in a church dedicated to St. Peter.⁶ The right hand of Oswald, known even to the Celts as Oswald Fair-hand, had been specially blest by bishop Aidan. The king and the bishop had just sat down to dinner one Easter day, probably at Bamburgh, when the servant, to whom Oswald had entrusted the duty of distributing his alms to the poor, suddenly entered to say that the streets were full of starving beggars. The king not only immediately ordered the meat that was still untasted to be carried out to these, but also that the silver dish containing it should be broken up for their benefit. Struck by this signal act of charity, the bishop took hold of Oswald's right hand and blessed it, saying 'May this hand never perish.'⁷

Twice was Bamburgh besieged by the heathen Penda. On the first occasion, having in vain endeavoured to take it by storm or reduce it by a close investment, he collected a quantity of planks, beams, wattles, and thatch from the villages he had destroyed in the neighbourhood, and piling them round the foot of the rock on the land side, waited till the wind blew from the south-west, when he set the mass on fire in the hope of burning down the city. The flames and smoke rising high above the walls were seen by bishop Aidan in his hermitage on Farne Island, two miles away. Stretching up his hands to heaven, Aidan is said to have cried, 'See, Lord, what great evil Penda doeth!' whereupon the wind shifting right round, drove the flames back on the Mercian host, who broke up their camp in despair.⁸ Nevertheless, after Aidan's death in 651, Penda burnt down the village of Bamburgh and the wooden church which Aidan had built, probably on the site of the present parish church.⁹

⁶ 'Bebbe vero regina brachia illius sustulit, et in techa argentea una cum sacris manibus ossibus et nervis, carne integra et incorrupta et venis integerrimis in Bebburg civitate reclusit.'—*Vita S. Oswaldi*, cap. xlvii. Rolls ed. (Sym. Dun. l.) p. 373.

⁷ 'Nunquam inveterascit hæc manus.'—Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. c. 6.

⁸ 'Qui cum ventis ferentibus globos ignis, ac fumum supra muros urbis exaltari conspiceret, fertur elevatis ad cælum oculis manibusque, cum lacrymis dixisse: 'Vide Domine, quanta mala facit Penda,' &c.'—Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. c. 16. The expression 'muros urbis' deserves attention; Ida's hedge had already been superseded by the stone wall.

⁹ *Ibid.* lib. iii. c. 17.

It was to the Royal City, as Bamburgh was called *par excellence*, that St. Cuthbert, in his prophetic anxiety for the fate of King Egfrid, urged Queen Irminburga to hasten from Carlisle in 685.¹⁰ The church and village which had been rebuilt were again burnt down,¹¹ probably in February 706, when King Eadulf was besieging the powerful ealdorman Bertfrid, who, having revolted against his usurped authority, held the city for the late king Aldfrid's young son Osred. Finding himself hard pressed, Bertfrid, as he afterwards declared, vowed that in case of his resistance proving victorious he would render obedience to the Church of Rome, especially in the question of the restitution of Wilfrid to his bishopric; and Eadulf was soon afterwards defeated and slain.¹²

In 750, Offa son of Aldfrid having, it would seem, unsuccessfully claimed the Northumbrian throne, took sanctuary in Lindisfarne. In consequence of this King Eadbert laid siege to the basilica there, and dragged Kynewulf the bishop a prisoner to Bamburgh, though he released him before his own death, which happened eight years later.¹³ It seems possible that Eadbert at this time removed the head of St. Oswald from Lindisfarne to Bamburgh—possible, that is to say, if there is any foundation in fact for a curious legend related on the high authority of Aelred, Abbot of Rievaulx. According to this, many years after the burial of Oswald, St. Cuthbert appeared to a certain old man who was praying at his shrine at Lindisfarne, and said, 'Go unto Bamburgh that thou mayest bring me the head of St. Oswald which is now negligently kept in the church there, in order that it may rest in the same shrine as my body. For the successors of King Oswi un-

¹⁰ 'Et Regiam Civitatem citissime introeas ne forte occisus sit rex.'—Bede, *Vita S. Cuthberti*, c. xxvii.; ed. Stevenson, ii. p. 102.

¹¹ Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. c. 17.

¹² 'Nam quando in urbe, quæ Bebbanburg dicitur, obsessi, et undique circumcincti hostili manu in angustiaque rupis lapideæ mansimus; inito consilio inter nos, si Deus nostro regali puero Regnum patris sui concessit, quæ mandavit Sancta Apostolica auctoritas de S. Wilfrido Episcopo, adimplere Deo spondimus: et statim post vota, mutatis animis inimicorum, concito cursu omnes cum juramento in amicitiam nostram conversi sunt. Apertis januis de angustia liberati sumus, fugatis inimicis nostris Regnum accepimus.'—Eddius, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, lviii.; Gale, *Scriptores*, p. 86.

¹³ 'Anno DCCL. Eadberht rex Kyniwlfulm episcopum in urbem Bebban captivum adduxerat, basilicamque beati Petri obsidere fecit in Lindisfarne.'—Symeon Dun. *Historia Regum*, § 41; Rolls ed. ii. p. 39. 'Donec placato rege de captione relaxatus Cynewulf ad suam rediret ecclesiam.'—Sym. Dun. *Hist. Dun. Eccl.* lib. II. cap. iii.; Rolls ed. i. p. 48. A vulgar error keeps Kyniwlful a prisoner of Bamburgh for thirty years.

justly removed it to Bamburgh from this my monastery of Lindisfarne. All they who, by the theft of such a treasure, profaned my sanctuary are now dead, and that which God entrusted to be buried in a cemetery under my protection ought not to be kept from me by human violence.' For a long time the man who received these orders from St. Cuthbert found no opportunity for carrying them out. At last he proceeded to Bamburgh on St. Oswald's day, and found the king's head, wrapt in cloth, placed above the altar for the veneration of the faithful. The crowd of pilgrims, however, forced him to defer the execution of his plans till the following morning. He then lingered behind after mass till everyone had left the church except the one door-keeper of that monastery. This official kept a very diligent watch on his movements. What he did therefore was to drop his belt and gloves near the altar, and then hastened out of the church to mount the horse his servant had brought to the end of the cemetery. Despatching this servant on an errand, he turned to the door-keeper, whose curiosity had brought him out so far, saying, 'Just take hold of the horse, my good fellow, and let me get my belt and gloves which I left in the church.' Before the door-keeper could say nay, he was off to the altar, had the head of St. Oswald under his arm, and coming out with the gloves and belt ostentatiously displayed to allay suspicion, rode safely off with his sacred booty to Lindisfarne, and afterwards had the satisfaction to learn that the door-keeper carefully locked the church up without ever looking inside again.¹⁴

Bamburgh afforded a temporary refuge to Alcred king of Northumberland in 774, before his final exile in Pictland. An early chronicle, in relating this, adds by way of gloss:—'Bebba is a most strongly fortified city, not very large, being of the size of two or three fields, having one entrance hollowed out of the rock and raised in steps after a marvellous fashion. On the top of the hill it has a church of extremely beautiful workmanship, in which is a shrine rich and costly, that contains, wrapt in a pall, the right hand of St. Oswald the king still incorrupt, as is related by Bede the historian of this nation. To

¹⁴ *Ibid.* cap. xlix. p. 375. The '*solus monasterii illius ædituus*' kept following the stranger '*per angulorum basilicæ diversoria.*' The latter deposited his belt and gloves '*infra sedile ecclesiæ,*' and then '*circa cimiterii fines equum straturus longius excessit.*'

the west on the highest point of the city itself there is a spring of water, sweet to the taste and most pure to the sight, that has been excavated with astonishing labour.¹⁵

It is remarkable that Bamburgh appears to have successfully held out against the attacks of the Danes who destroyed Lindisfarne and Tynemouth in 875. It fell, however, before the arms of Athelstan in 926, when Aldred the son of Eadulf was forced to flee from his royal city.¹⁶ The kingdom of Northumberland dragged on a nominal existence for another quarter of a century, and on the sceptre finally departing, Bamburgh became the residence of a line of Earls. At last, in 993, the Danes, under Justin and Guthmund, did break into the fortress.¹⁷ They seem to have sacked but not destroyed it,¹⁸ as six years later Waltheof, the aged Earl of the Northumbrians shut himself up there during the invasion of Malcolm, son of Kenneth of Scotland.¹⁹ Again in the next century, while Malcolm Caenmor was ravaging Cleveland in 1070, Earl Gospatric led a foray into Cumber-

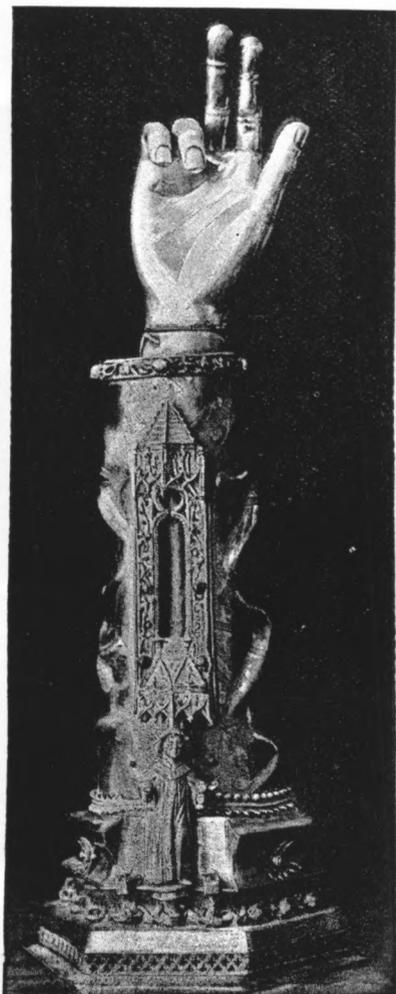
¹⁵ 'Bebba vero civitas urbs est munitissima, non admodum magna, sed quasi duorum vel trium agrorum spatium, habens unum introitum cavatum, et gradibus miro modo exaltatum. Habet in summitate montis ecclesiam præpulchre factam, in qua est scrinium speciosum et preciosum. In quo involuta pallio jacet dextera manus sancti Oswaldi regis incorrupta, sicut narrat Beda historiographus hujus gentis. Est in occidente et in summitate ipsius civitatis fons miro cavatus opere, dulcis ad potandum et purissimus ad videndum.'—Symeon Dunelm. *Historia Regum*, § 48; Rolls ed. ii. p. 45.

¹⁶ 'Aldredum quoque filium Eadulfi de regia urbe quæ lingua Anglorum Bebbanbirig nominatur, expulit.'—Flor. Wigorn. *Chronicon*, sub ann. 926. Ethelwerd's *Chronicle*, lib. iv. c. 4, has under 912, 'Obiit Athulf in Northymbriis oris, qui tum præfat actori oppidi Bebbanburgh conducti.'—*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 520. This seems to record the death of Eadulf and to imply that he held the supreme command of Bamburgh; but it perhaps will hardly bear the interpretation that this was the result of a compromise with the Danes. The son of Eadulf had chosen Edward the Elder for father and lord in 924, and 'Ealdred Eadulfing from Bebbanbyrig' was one of the princes who acknowledged the suzerainty of Athelstan at 'Eamot' (probably on the Eamont, near Dacre, see Will. Malm.) on the 12th of July, 926.—Earle, *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, pp. 110, 111.

¹⁷ 'Anno DCCCCXIII. Hoc anno prædictus exercitus Danorum Bebbanburh infregit, et omnia quæ in ea sunt reperta secum asportavit.'—Symeon Dunelm. *Hist. Regum*. § 116; Rolls ed. ii. p. 135. '993. Her on thissum gear was Bæbban burh to brocon and mycel here huthe thær ge numen.'—Earle, *Two Saxon Chronicles*, p. 133.

¹⁸ The chronicle of Marianus Scotus (Leland, *Collect.* ii. p. 246) has 'Anno D. 1015. Danorum exercitus Bebbanburg infregit, et omnia, quæ in ea sunt reperta, secum asportaverunt.' The language shows this to be the same event as the sack of 993 with a wrong date.

¹⁹ 'Waltheof qui comes fuerat Northamhybrorum sese in Bebbanburc incluserat. Fuerat enim nimis senectutis, ideoque in hostes nihil virtutis facere poterat.'—*De Obsessione Dunelmi*, Rolls ed. (Sym. Dun. i.) p. 215. The date there given is 969, but see Hodgson Hinde's account of the 'Saxon Earls of Northumberland,' *Proceedings of Archaeological Institute*, 1852, vol. ii. p. 130.



RELIQUARY, WITH BONE OF ST. OSWALD'S RIGHT ARM,
IN THE CHURCH OF ST. URSUS, SOLEURE.
(See page 228.)



land, at that time Scottish territory, and returned in triumph with great booty to Bamburgh. He continued also to harass the enemy by frequent sallies from the castle.²⁰

The right arm of St. Oswald had, however, been stolen from its shrine in the middle of the eleventh century by an enterprising monk of Peterborough named Winegot,²¹ who having made himself master of the ins and outs of the ruined church, was able to find a favourable opportunity for his purpose, owing to the little interest with which the cult of St. Oswald had come to be regarded. In alluding to this pious theft, Reginald of Durham breaks out into a pathetic lament over the fallen fortunes of Bamburgh, which he probably translated from some English poem. 'The city,' he says, 'renowned formerly for the magnificent splendour of her high estate, has in these latter days been burdened with tribute and reduced to the condition of a handmaiden. She who was once the mistress of the cities of Britain has exchanged the glories of her ancient sabbaths for shame and desolation. The crowds that flocked to her festivals are now represented by a few herds-

²⁰ 'Peracta cæde et incendio cum magna præda revertitur, seque cum sociis in munitionem Babbanburch firmissimam conclusit. Ex qua sæpius prorumpens, vires hostium debilitavit.'—Sym. Dun. *Hist. Reg.* § 156; Rolls ed. ii. p. 191.

²¹ 'Winegotus apportavit brachium sancti Oswaldi de Bebeburc.'—Hugo Candidus, *Cænob. Burg. Hist.* ed. Sparke, (*Hist. Anglic. Script. Var.*) p. 44. This was in or about the time of Abbot Leofric, during whose rule Egelric bishop of Durham returned as a monk to Peterburgh in 1056—Gunton, *History of the Church of Peterborough*, 1686, supplement, p. 251. 'Monachus quidam de Burch cenobio, quod quondam Middilhamme dicebatur, qui in partibus illis advenerat, spiritum audaciæ concipiendo in proximo parturire furtum sacrilegii non timebat. Aditus ergo et exitus viarum ecclesiæ quæ in Bebburgh fuerat diutius exploravit; sed tandem, data opportunitate, brachium dextrum de techa extrahens secum clanculo asportavit, et eam in ecclesia sua cum honore et gloria collocavit.'—*Vita S. Oswaldi* cap. xlviii.; Rolls Series (Symeon of Durham i.), 1882, edited by Thomas Arnold, M.A. p. 374. After the very clear statements that the left arm of St. Oswald was at Gloucester (p. 370) and the right arm at Peterborough, the editor in a note on p. 381 describes cap. lii. liii. liv., which he has mangled the text by leaving out, as containing a minute account of the hand and arm of St. Oswald preserved at *Durham*. The MSS. of the *Vita S. Oswaldi* used, are said, *Intro.* p. xix., to be MS. Fairfax VI. Bodl. Lib. and MS. Harl. 4853 B.M. The last and most accessible of these proves to be *les Mémoires du Mareschal de Fleurange*, the *Vita S. Oswaldi* really being in Harl. MS. 4843, but there is not a single syllable about a hand or arm of the saint being at Durham in any of the three unprinted chapters. The relic-mongers of the Middle Ages did not credit their clients with much intelligence, but it may be doubted whether any of them would have dared to ascribe three arms to one saint in the same volume. On the general history of the relics of St. Oswald, see *Acta Sanctorum*, August II. pp. 87-90. The account in the false Ingulf that already in 1018 the prior of Peterborough fled to Ely from the Danes with the arm of St. Oswald, is of course valueless, though it is difficult to understand how the Danes came to overlook the arm with its shrine in their sack of Bamburgh in 993.

men. The pleasures her dignity afforded us are past and gone.²² Swartebrand, a venerable monk of Durham, who died at the close of the century, was the last of the community who could remember having seen the right hand and arm of the royal martyr in his Bernician capital.²³

From the time of the Norman Conquest the office of porter of the castle-gate of Bamburgh was hereditary in the family of a certain Canute;²⁴ and from some time in the reign of the Conqueror the lands of Callaley and Yetlington were held by a tenure that comprised the duty of sending a cart to Bamburgh with the trunk of a tree for the king's hearth every other day between Whitsuntide and Lammas.²⁵ The English owners of Eslington, Mousen, Beadnell, and Roddam with the three Middletons, were also compelled to cart logs to the castle.²⁶ The barony of West Chevington near Warkworth, which

²² 'Civitas ista, quæ quondam præ suæ nobilitatis pompa enituit gloriosa, his diebus novissimis de ingenua et libera facta est sub tributis serviens et ancilla. Unde sicut cultus deperit illius honoris, sic et antiquæ nomen honorificum decidit dignitatis; et quæ tunc domina fuerat civitatum Britonensium, jam laudis antiquæ sabbatum in lamentabile desolationis commutavit opprobrium, dies festos cultus antiqui in raricolone tugurium, honoris vero gaudium pæne transformavit in nichilum.'—*Vita S. Oswaldi*, cap. xlviii. Rolls ed. (Sym. Dun. i.) p. 374. This description cannot be reconciled with the state of Bamburgh in 1165, the date of the compilation of this hagiography (p. 382), and was no doubt supplied from the same poetical old English book at York from which the particulars of St. Oswald's appearance are translated in cap. l. p. 378.

²³ 'Dunhelmensis ecclesiæ monachus venerandæ canitiæ et multæ simplicitatis, vocabulo Swartebrandus, qui nuper, episcopatum Willelmo administrante, defunctus est, sæpius se vidisse attestatus est.'—Symeon, *Hist. Dunelm. Eccl.* lib. i. c. 2; Rolls ed. i. p. 20. Professor Freeman has kept the hand of St. Oswald at Bamburgh till the siege of 1096, or even till after the building of the castle chapel in the following century.—*Reign of William Rufus*, ii. pp. 49, 50.

²⁴ 'Robertus Janitor de Bamburg tenet in capite de domino Rege dimidiam carucatum terre in burgo de Bamburg per servicium iij. s. viij. d. per annum et antecessores sui tenuerunt per idem servicium post conquestum Angliæ.'—*Testa de Nevill*; Hodgson's *Northumberland*, III. i. p. 236. 'Robertus le Port tenet dim. caruc. terre per serjant. custodiendi januam castri.'—*Veredicta de com. Northambrie*, 1219; *ibid.* III. i.; i. p. 228. 'Et in liberatione consueta Roberto Portario de Baemburg lxs. et xd.' *Pipe Roll*, 5 Hen. iii.; *ibid.* III. iii. p. 124. This payment first occurs as made to 'Johanni filio Canuti' in 1158 and 1159, 'and from that time to 1220 it is made regularly to John Canute, which was probably the name of a succession of persons who filled the office of porter of Bamborough; as, from this year to the end of the reign of Henry the Third, it occurs as paid to persons filling the office of *Porter*, or of the *King's Porter* there: whose wages in 21 Henry III. are mentioned as amounting to 2d. a day, which comes exactly to £3 0s. 3d. in the year.'—*Ibid.* III. iii. p. 124n.

²⁵ 'Gilbertus de Calveleya tenet in capite de dno. Rege duas villas . . . et inveniet unam caretam cum uno trunco ad castellum de Bamburgh . . . omnes vero antecessores sui tenuerunt prefatas villas post tempus Regis Willelmi Bastardi.'—*Testa de Nevill*; *ibid.* i. III. p. 236.

²⁶ *Ibid.* III. i. pp. 223, 237. The owner of Mousen had to cart fifteen logs in the year, *ibid.* p. 95. Liulf, son of Liulf, who held Roddam and the Middletons, was fined the large sum of £4 15s. 0d. in 1170 'quia non advexit ligna ad faciendum rogam Regis de Baemburg.'—*Pipe Roll*, 16 Hen. II.; *ibid.* III. iii. p. 17.

appears to have been held from the Conquest by the Morwick family, paid the annual sum of 13s. 4*d.* towards the castle-ward of Bamburgh.²⁷

In the spring of 1095 Robert of Mowbray, the third Norman Earl of Northumberland, refused to appear at the court of William Rufus to answer the charge of having, in company with his nephew Morel, violently plundered four large vessels, called *canards* that had arrived from Norway. This refusal was construed into a definite act of rebellion, which the Red King marched north to chastise. Tyne-mouth, Newcastle, and Morpeth fell before the royal arms. The Earl himself took refuge in Bamburgh, then so strongly fortified as to be pronounced impregnable. With him were his young bride Matilda de Aquila, and Morel, who was sheriff of Northumberland,²⁸ and who had slain Malcolm of Scotland on the banks of the Aln two years previously. Finding it impossible to carry the castle by assault the king built in front of it a castle of wood, to which he gave the name of *Malvoisin*, or Evil Neighbour. This he filled with soldiers, arms, and provisions for the purpose of defending the country and overawing the rebels.²⁹ He compelled the leaders of his army and his other subjects to carry on the work incessantly. Dismayed at the progress it made, Mowbray called loudly from the ramparts of Bamburgh to those among the labourers who had sworn to join his rising not to be forgetful of their oath, addressing each by name. These despairing

²⁷ *Comptus Johannis de Esselyngton*; Q.R. Misc.: Ministers' Accounts, Bamburgh, 5-6 Ed. ii. 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ P.R.O.

²⁸ 'Signum Morealis vicecomitis.'—Charter in *Hist. Dun. Script. Tres.*, Surt. Soc. Publ. 9, p. xxii. The Peterborough Chronicle (ed. Earle, p. 232) ann. 1095, calls Moreal explicitly 'steward.' This is interesting, as the sheriff (*vicecomes*) or 'scir-gerefa' was the steward of the county, the fundamental, universal, and permanent idea of the 'gerefa' being stewardship.—Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, 8vo, 1875, i. p. 113; p. 83*n*.

²⁹ 'Munitissimum castrum, quod Babbenburg dicitur, obsederunt. Et quoniam illa munitio inexpugnabilis erat, quia inaccessibleis videbatur propter paludes et aquas, et alia quædam itinerantibus contraria, quibus ambiebatur, rex novam munitionem ad defensionem provinciæ, et coartationem hostium construxit, et militibus, armis ac victualibus implevit.'—Orderici Vitalis *Hist. Eocl.* Lib. viii. cap. xxi. (Migne, *Patrologiæ Coursus*, vol. 188). At the present day, at any rate, *waters and marshes* do not constitute the principal defences of Bamburgh. It is Roger of Wendover, ii. 46, who tells us that the Malvoisin was 'castellum lignum.' A probably genuine charter of Edgar, claiming to be King of Scots, to the bishop and monks of Durham, is stated in a rider to have been confirmed in the churchyard of Norham 'eo anno quo Rex Willelmus filius magni Regis Willemi fecit novum Castellum ante Bebbanburghe super Robertum Comitem Northanhymbrorum.'—Raine, *North Durham*, App. p. 2, VII.; p. 378. According to Gaimar, ll. 6161-6162, Rufus appears to have suffered from the sallies of the garrison:—

'Li reis grant piece i demorad
E maint assaut i endurad.'

taunts and the fear and shame they naturally engendered, contributed no little to the amusement of Rufus and those really loyal to him.³⁰ Wearied out at last by the protracted siege, the king returned to the south of England, leaving Bamburgh to be watched by the garrison of Malvoisin.

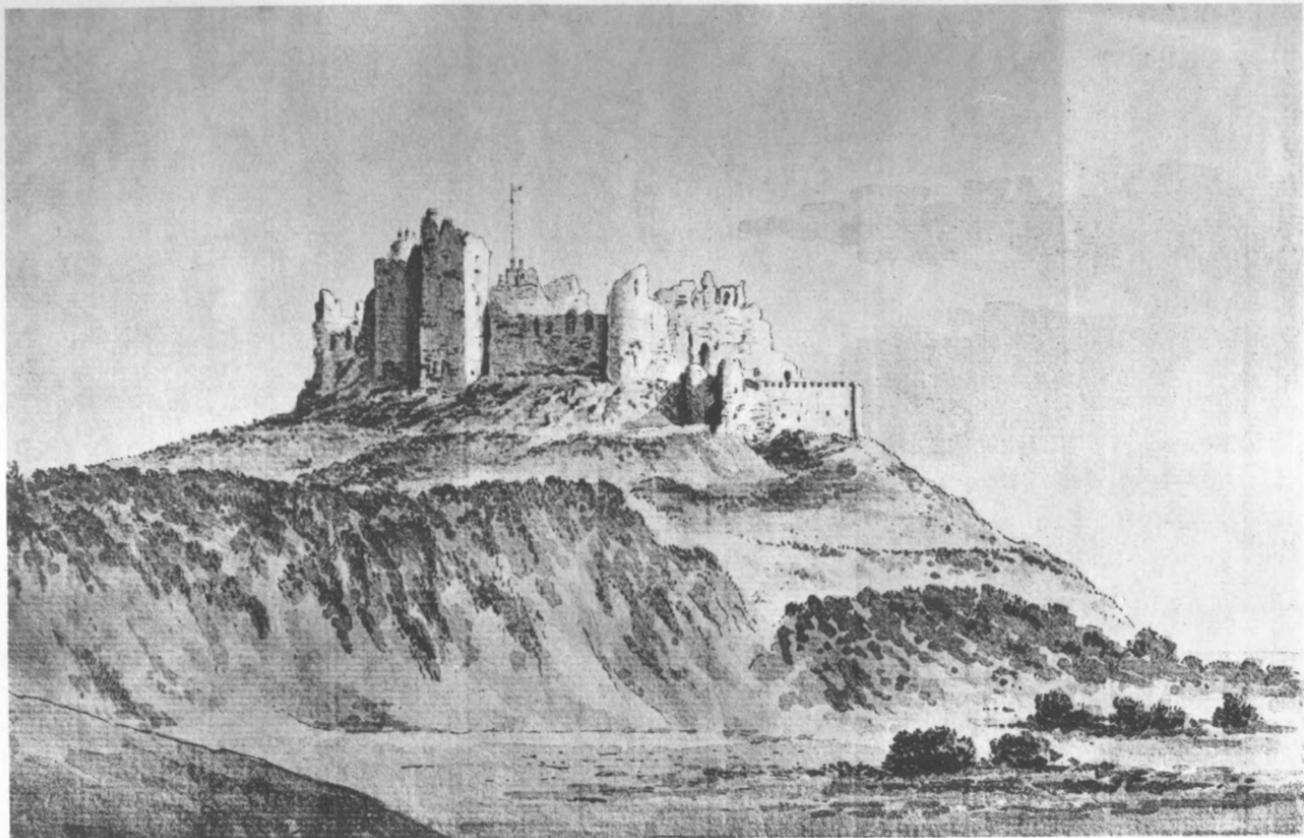
Provisions were beginning to run short in the castle, and Mowbray's spirits were being affected by the close blockade, when a secret message reached him from the warders of Newcastle promising to throw open the gates if he appeared suddenly before it.³¹ Only too delighted at this prospect of retrieving his fortunes, he slipped out of the postern one night with thirty followers, and embarking in a ship, steered by a single pilot, was carried by a favourable wind down the coast to Tynemouth,³² where the monks were no doubt still sensible

³⁰ 'Dum rex in armis cum agminibus suis ad bellum promptus constaret, et chiliarchos ac centuriones, aliosque proceres Albionis, cum subditis sibi plebibus, operi novæ munitiois indesinenter insistere compelleret, Rodbertus de propugnaculis suis contrarium sibi opus mæstus conspiciebat, et complices suos alta voce nominatim compellebat, ac ut jusjurandum de proditionis societate conservarent, palam commonebat. Rex autem, cum fidelibus suis hæc audiens, ridebat, et conscia reatus publicati mens conscios et participes timore et verecundia torquebat.'—Orderici Vitalis *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. viii. cap. xxi. This seems to prove that the Malvoisin must have been very close to the castle. Earl Robert's incriminating reproaches, however stentorian his voice, could not have reached the uneven field to the south of the village, popularly pointed out as the site of the Malvoisin because it is now called the Meisen. Sir David Smith considered 'the Moisin more like a quarry' and adds 'although Mr. Senhouse of Cumberland found there were evident marks of fortification, I could not discover them.'—*Collections relating to Castles and Camps*, Alnwick Castle MSS. Indeed it would appear in the first instance more probable that if there was any ancient building at the *Meisen*, it was the hospital or *Maison Dieu* of St. Mary Magdalen, though documentary evidence hardly tallies with this site.

³¹ 'Coniti Rotberto vigiles Novi Castelli promiserunt in id se permissuros illum intrare, si veniret occulte.'—Flor. Wigorn. Professor Freeman (*William Rufus*, ii. p. 52) says, without giving any authority, 'The garrison of the New Castle, doubtless not without the knowledge of the garrison of the *Malvoisin*, sent a false message to Robert, saying that, if he came thither privily, he would be received into the castle, and has in the margin 'Robert entrapped by a false message.' The only apparent evidence for the message being a fraud is the passage in the 14th century Scalachronica (Maitland Club, 1836, p. 22), 'Cesti Morel reioy qe ceo estoit sa couyne.' If Professor Freeman accepts this, he must fain also accept the 'pierce-eye' version of the death of Malcolm Caenmor at Alnwick, as it is derived from the self-same source. The fact is that Professor Freeman altogether fails to distinguish between the 'vigiles' of Newcastle who sent the message to the Earl and the 'custodes' who received the warning from those of the Malvoisin of his escape.

³² 'Mes el chastel out poi vitaille.
Quant li quens veit de co la faille,
Deuers la mer, par la posterne,
Vint a la nef que vns hom gouerne,
Dedenz entra od poi de gent,
Si se mist en mer, mult out bon vent,
A Tinemue en est alez.'

—Gaimar, *Lestorie des Engles*, ll. 6163-6169, Rolls ed. i. p. 263.



BAMBURGH CASTLE, FROM THE S. E.

Drawn by S. H. Grimm, circa 1786.





of the favours he had bestowed on their house. The garrison of the Malvoisin, hearing of the Earl's escape, set out in pursuit of him themselves, and warned the captains of Newcastle.³³ On the Sunday, Mowbray made his attempt to enter Newcastle, but the plot had been discovered,³⁴ and he was fortunate in being able to make his way back to Tynemouth.³⁵ After a gallant defence of that monastery for two days, he was taken³⁶ and carried a prisoner to Durham.³⁷ Nevertheless Bamburgh continued to hold out under the brave Countess of Northumberland and the sheriff until the November, when the king, having returned from Wales, ordered Mowbray to be led before the castle, with the menace that both his eyes should be gouged out unless it instantly submitted. Naturally a wife and a nephew chose the latter alternative.³⁸

From about this time, and possibly in consequence of some incident

The Peterborough Chronicle confirms this account:—'Tha sona æft' tham the se cyng wæs suth afaren. feorde se eorl anre nihte ut of Bebbaburh towards Tine muthan.' It is Florence who gives the number of the earl's followers:—'quadam nocte cum xxx. militibus . . . exivit.' Professor Freeman has altogether neglected Gaimar, whose notices of northern affairs are of the greatest value.

³³ 'Equites qui castellum custodiebant illum insequentes, ejus exitum custodibus Novi Castelli per nuntios intimaverunt.'—Flor. Wigorn. This of itself should be enough to prove that neither did Mowbray set out from Bamburgh in the direction of Newcastle, nor did the knights from the Malvoisin take that road in their pursuit of him. They probably rode down the coast.

³⁴ 'Die dominica tentavit peragere cœpta, sed nequivit deprehensus enim erat.'—Flor. Wigorn. *Chron.* English Historical Society's Publications.

³⁵ 'Comes . . . malis offenso sibi rege circumvallatus, dum circumfuso quaquaversum hoste procedendi et redeundi via obstruitur, Tinemutham pro loci firmitate ingreditur.'—Sym. Dun. Rolls ed. ii. p. 346, *De Miraculis et Translationibus*, cap. xiii. The details of the fortification and defence of Tynemouth belong rather to the history of that castle.

³⁶ 'Biduo obsidione facta.'—*Ibid.* This account was almost contemporary, being written at Durham between 1100 and 1115; see *ibid.* p. 338*n.* Florence, an inferior authority, says Mowbray was taken 'sexto die obsessionis,' probably an error for 'secundo die.' Symeon in his *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ*, cap. iv. (Rolls ed. i. p. 125), also relates how 'comes . . . in eadem ecclesia (Tinemuthe) quam sancto Cuthberto abstulit, res omnes et honorem cum sui corporis libertate amisit,' and again in his *Historia Regum*, § 201 (Rolls ed. ii. p. 262) says 'captus comes in loco quem Sancto Cuthberto abstulerat,' yet Professor Freeman declares that 'if any one chooses to move the site of Robert's resistance and capture from Tynemouth to some unknown spot, there is only the statement of Florence against him.'—*William Rufus*, ii. p. 610.

³⁷ 'Propter inflicta sibi vulnera in feretro delatus . . . Dunelmum.'—Sym. Dun. *Hist. Regum*, § 201.

³⁸ 'Tha het he niman thone eorl Rotbeard of Northhymbran and to Bæbbanburh lædan . and ægther eage ut adon . buton tha the thær inne wæron thone castel agyfan woldan . Hine heoldan his wif . and Moreal se wæs stiward and eac his mæg . Thurh this wearth se castel agyfen.'—*Peterborough Chronicle*, 1095; Earle, *Two Saxon Chronicles*, p. 232.

in the campaign, a carucate of land in Bamburgh was held by the serjeantry of making distrains for debts due to the king and for carrying his letters between the Tweed and the Coquet.³⁹

Under Henry I., who gave the church of St. Oswald that was probably in the castle, with that of St. Aidan in the village, to the Austin canons at Nostell,⁴⁰ the castle was maintained in a good state of defence. Odard, sheriff of Northumberland,⁴¹ accounts, in 1131, for 35s. paid to Osbert the master-mason of Bamburgh, and for 7d. expended in re-making the gate of the castle.⁴²

On the accession of Stephen, when David of Scotland invaded England in the interest of the Empress Matilda, Bamburgh was the only place of strength on the Border that offered a successful resistance.⁴³ The loyalty of its constable Eustace fitz John, lord of Alnwick, was open to suspicion in February, 1138, and King Stephen relieved him of the charge.⁴⁴ Eustace openly joined David the following summer. As they were passing Bamburgh on their way to the Battle

³⁹ 'Willelmus filius Odonis tenet in capite de domino Rege unam carucatum terre cum pertinentiis in Bamburgh per servicium serjantii ut faciat districtiones pro debitis domini Regis et ut portet brevia domini Regis inter Tueda et Coket. Et omnes antecessores sui tenuerunt per idem servicium post tempus Willelmi Regis Ruffi.'—Testa de Nevill, Hodgson, *Northd.* III. i. p. 236.

⁴⁰ 'Præterea confirmo donum quod feci predictæ ecclesiæ, et canonicis ejusdem loci [Nostell]; videlicet, ecclesias Sancti Oswaldi, et Aidani de Baenburch sicut Algarus presbiter unquam eas melius tenuit.'—Charter of Henry I. (1121-1129) in Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ed. Caley, vi. p. 92.

⁴¹ He appears as 'Odardus vicecomes Northymbrensiū' at the great council of notables held at Durham on 13th April, 1121.—Sym. Dun. *Hist. Regum*, § 201, Rolls ed. ii. p. 261. Mr. J. H. Round in the *Genealogist*, January, 1888, makes him 'son of Ligulf of Bebbanburch, a grandson of Eadwlf.' Henry I., in 1133, confirmed William, son of Udard of Baenburgh in all the lands his father had held.—Duchy of Lancaster, Royal Charters, No. 10; Pipe Roll Soc. Publ. 10, *Ancient Charters*, p. 33. The barony of Stamford which Henry I. granted to this family (see above p. 168) paid 40s. a year towards the castle-ward of Bamburgh; the barony of Bradford, another grant of the same king contributed 13s. 4d.—*Comptus Johannis de Esselyngton* Q.R. Misc: Ministers' Accounts, Bamburgh, 5-6 Ed. II., 12.

⁴² 'Et in liberatione Osberti cementarii de Baenburgh xxxv s. . . . Et in porta castelli de Baenburgh reficienda vij d.'—*Pipe Roll*, Hen. I.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 1. 'Osbertus cementarius' can scarcely have been the same as 'Osbertus colutarius (?)' who built the priory of Brinkburn.—MS. copy of the *Brinkburn Charters* in library of Soc. Antiq. Newcastle.

⁴³ 'Bahanburch minime habere potuit.'—Ric. Hagustald. *De Gestis Regis Stephani*, Rolls ed. (*Chron. Steph.*, §c. iii.) p. 145. 'Citius munitiones Cumberlandiæ et Northimbriciæ cum populis adjacentibus obtinuit usque Dunelmum, præter Babhanburch.'—Job. Hagustald. *Historia* § 3, Rolls ed. (Sym. Dun. ii.) p. 287.

⁴⁴ 'Notæ autem factæ sunt insidiæ regi Stephano, qui parans reditum iratus coegit Eustachium reconsignare in manu sua munitionem de Bahanburch.'—Job. Hagustald. *Historia* § 4, Rolls ed. (Sym. Dun. ii.) p. 291.

of the Standard, certain young men of the garrison began to jeer at the Scots from behind a wall they had erected in front of the castle. Their trust in this protection proved to be misplaced, since the Scots broke in and slew nearly a hundred of them.⁴⁵

By the provisions of the Treaty of Durham, concluded on the 10th of April, 1139, Bamburgh, like Newcastle,⁴⁶ seems to have been excepted from the earldom of Northumberland then granted by Stephen to David's son Henry, an equivalent for these castles being promised him in the south of England. Both castles were in the sequel made over to Earl Henry. It was at Bamburgh that he gave a charter to the monks of Tynemouth freeing the peasants of their demesnes from the obligation of assisting at the building of Newcastle or any of his other castles. There were at Bamburgh with the Earl, at this time, his constable Gilbert de Umfreville, Gervase Ridell his sewer, and Ethelwald bishop of Carlisle.⁴⁷

It is expressly recorded that in 1157 Henry II. recovered possession of Bamburgh at the same time as the rest of the northern counties,⁴⁸ and in the Pipe Roll of the following year the payment of 60s. 10d. as the accustomed wage of John, son of Canute, porter of Bamburgh, is duly entered.⁴⁹ In 1164 there is a solitary charge of £4 for the erection of the tower or keep of Bamburgh.⁵⁰ Four years later the Sheriff accounts for £30 laid out on the works of the castle.⁵¹ The

⁴⁵ 'Profecti sunt itaque per Bahanburch. Et juvenes ejusdem loci temere præsumptes de munitione valli quod extruxerant ante castrum, conviciis exagitant abant Scottos pertranseunt. Applicuerunt se illico Scotti animo concitati ad vallum diruendum, et citius intus prouentes quotquot apprehenderunt occiderunt.'—*Ibid.* § 5, p. 292. '(David) cum maxima parte exercitus ad oppidum, quod Bahanburg dicitur, profectus est. Ubi ante castrum, quodam vallo capto, fere centum homines interemit,'—Ric. Hagustald, *De Gestis Regis Stephani*, Rolls ed. (*Chron. Steph. &c.* iii.) p. 158.

⁴⁶ 'Exceptis duobus oppidis, scilicet Novo Castello et Bahanburg.'—*Ibid.* p. 177. ⁴⁷ 'Testibus Archewaldo Episcopo Carliol.; Hugone de Morevill; Gospatricio Com.; Gervasio Ridell; Gilberto de Umfravill; Wilhelmo de Somervill; Ada Vicecomiti, apud Bamburg.'—Landsdowne MS. No. 863, fo. 79 B.M.; Gibson, *Tynemouth* ii. App. p. xviii. No. XXIV. By 'Archewald' is meant Ethelwald, alias Aldulf, the first bishop of Carlisle, who had been connected with Bamburgh as prior of St. Oswald's at Nostell.

⁴⁸ 'MCLVII. Henricus rex Anglorum transfretavit in Angliam, et Melchomus rex Scotorum reddidit ei civitatem Karluil, castrum Baenburg, Novum Castrum super Tinam, et comitatum Lodonensem.'—Radulf. de Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, Rolls ed. i. p. 302.

⁴⁹ *Pipe Roll* 4 Hen. II.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 2.

⁵⁰ 'Et in operatione turris de Baenburc iiii li. per breve Regis.'—*Pipe Roll* 10 Hen. II.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 7.

⁵¹ 'Et in operatione castelli de Baenburc xxx li. de brevi Ricardi de Luci et per visum Roberti de Stutevill.'—*Pipe Roll* 14 Hen. II.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 11.

insignificance of these amounts is probably due to the fact that the labour and materials were nearly all furnished by the Crown tenants. Indeed, the thane of Hepple, William son of Waltheof, is fined five marks in 1170 for refusing to lend assistance.⁵² It was fortunate that these additions to the defences of the castle were completed by the time of the invasion of William the Lion. In 1174 he despatched in the night a number of knights from his camp before Wark-on-Tweed, with the apparent design of surprising Bamburgh; but the sun having risen by the time they reached Belford, they seem to have abandoned the enterprise.⁵³ In 1183 the castle and castlegate were repaired.⁵⁴ Certain improvements were made in the king's houses within the castle in 1197,⁵⁵ and in the castlegates the year following.⁵⁶ King John, during a court progress in 1201, stayed at Bamburgh from the 13th to the 15th of February,⁵⁷ and during this and the three following years the considerable total of more than £87 was laid out in works of construction and reparation connected with the castle.⁵⁸ John was again there on the 28th of January, 1213, while engaged in ravaging the property of his enemies in Northumberland.⁵⁹

⁵² 'Willelmus filius Waldef debet v marcas quia denegavit operacione de Baenburc Castelli Regis.'—*Pipe Roll* 16 Hen. II.; *ibid.* III. iii. p. 17. 'Willelmus filius Waldeuui debet xl s. pro respectu operacionis de castello.'—*Ibid.*

⁵³ 'Mult grant chevalerie la nuit apparailla

Al chasteil de Baueburc sempres les enveia.'—Jordan Fantosme, *Chronique* (Lincoln MS.) ll. 1157-1158; Rolls ed. (*Chron. Steph. &c.* iii.) p. 300.

M. Francisque Michel, who edited Fantosme for the Surtees Society, misinterprets him in the Introduction, p. xxi., in describing the Scots as entering Bamburgh by surprise, slaying all the inmates, and then towards morning attacking the town of Belford. Fantosme says nothing of the kind; and if such a portentous event as the seizure of Bamburgh by a *coup de main* had taken place, other chroniclers would have been sure to have mentioned it. Besides Belford lies on the road from Wark to Bamburgh.

⁵⁴ 'Et in reparacione castri de Baenburc et porte castri xix li. et vjs. et viij d. per breve Regis et per visum Willelmi de Jarun et Yvonis filii Radulfi.'—*Pipe Roll* 29 Hen. II.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 5.

⁵⁵ 'In emendacione domorum in castello de Baenburc xj s. et iij d. per breve Regis.'—*Pipe Roll* 9 Ric. I.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 60.

⁵⁶ 'In emendacione portarum castelli de Baenburc x s. per breve Regis.'—*Pipe Roll* 10 Ric. I.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 62.

⁵⁷ Itinerary of King John in *Rot. Lit. Pat.* I. ed. T. D. Hardy, 1835.

⁵⁸ 'In operacione Castelli de Baenburc xv li. et xij s. per breve Regis et per visum Willelmi filii Edulfi et Ade de Baenburc.'—*Pipe Roll* 3 Joh.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 74. 'In emendacione castelli de Baenburc lx li. et ij s. et v d. per breve Regis et per visum Willelmi de S. Andreae et Willelmi filii Rogeri.'—*Pipe Roll* 3 Joh.; *ibid.* p. 82. 'In reparacione castelli de Baenburc xij li. per breve Regis et per visum Ade de Baenburc et Walteri filii Pagani.'—*Pipe Roll* 6 Joh.; *ibid.* p. 86.

⁵⁹ Instructions had been issued to Robert Fitz Roger for the delivery of the castles of Bamburgh and Newcastle to William, Earl of Warren, Emeric, archdeacon of Durham, and Philip de Ulcotes, on 20th August, 1212.—*Rot. Lit. Pat.* I. p. 94. In 1216 Philip de Ulcotes seized Philip Quiretarius (*sic*), a man of

In the spring of 1221 Hubert de Burgh, the great justiciary, proceeded to Bamburgh, accompanied by Brito the balister and his eighteen comrades.⁶⁰ The castle was visited by the youthful Henry III. on the 21st of March. While there he directed the sheriff of Northumberland to pay the constable John Wascelin, John the Carpenter, and Robert the Porter, their proper salaries, and to erect in the castle a good grange 150 feet in length and 34 feet broad.⁶¹ That same day he gave orders at Alnwick for the payment of 60s. to Roger de Hodesac for his expences in providing the castle with knights and serving-men from the death of John's trusty adviser Philip de Ulcotes to the time of Wascelin's appointment as constable.⁶² The Forester and Verderer of the forest of Northumberland were charged, a day or two later, to deliver to the sheriff the timber required for the new grange, but to carefully note down the different sorts supplied.⁶³ The constable of Newcastle received instructions to despatch to Bamburgh three horn 'balistæ' and three well-strung wooden ones, as also the 'balista' that William de Stratton had had, and four thousand quarrels.⁶⁴ Four good 'baldrei' with good crooks were to be provided by the Sheriff of Northumberland, who was also to supply the garrison with two hundred 'bacones.'⁶⁵ Soon afterwards two horse-balisters, the brothers Boniface, and Roger Quatremares, arrived with a foot-balister named Roger de Bosco at Bamburgh, and were supported there at the king's charge for the next eight years.⁶⁶ As much importance, or more, was attached at that time to a 'balista' as has ever been to a 'mitrailleuse' or a Gatling-gun in the nineteenth

the bishop of Winchester, at Bamburgh; but on the 23rd of August was orderèd to release him with his ship and merchandise.—*Ibid.* I. p. 194 b.

⁶⁰ *Cal. Rot. Claus.* i. p. 454.

⁶¹ 'Unam bonam grangiam de longitudine C et L pedum et xxxiiij^{or} pedum in latitudine.'—*Ibid.* p. 451 b.

⁶² *Ibid.* A *Comptus de Baemburg*, containing the accounts of Roger de Hodesac, as the 'custos' from, 16 Feb. 1221—29 Sept. 1224, was printed by Mr. Hartshorne in *Proc. of Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. App. p. cxxxiii. These accounts are of no particular interest. Four casks of Gascon wine were bought in 1221, and sold again in 1223. In the former year 10s. 8d. was spent in building a stone wall round the barn in the bailey—'Et pro muro lapideo circa horreum in ballivato faciendò xs. et viij^d.'

⁶³ 'Ita quod tallietis contra eum quot fustes ad unam maneriem maeremii et quot ad aliam maneriem maeremii in predicta foresta capi fecerit.'—*Cal. Rot. Claus.* i. p. 451 b.

⁶⁴ 'Tres balistas corneas et balistam quam Willelmus de Stratton habuit et quæ est in custodia tua, et tres balistas lignæ bene cordatas et ad omnia paratas.'—*Ibid.*

⁶⁵ 'iiij bonos baldreos cum bonis crokis.'—*Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p. 454. The horse-balisters received 7½d. a day, the foot-balister 3d.

century. Condemned by the church as an unchristian weapon, the 'balista,' by which we are to understand the engine of war as well as the smaller cross-bow, was brought principally into use by Richard I., who was killed by a quarrel discharged from one.⁶⁷ The cross-loops with which the walls and merlons of our castles were pierced for its employment are a special characteristic of the thirteenth century.⁶⁸

In 1222 the new grange was completed at a cost of £46 18s. 0d., and the drawbridge before the Great Gate repaired.⁶⁹ The 'planchicium' of the Great Tower and the gutters of it and the other turrets were attended to in the following year.⁷⁰

John Wascelin the constable of Bamburgh was to have received, in 1227, forty pounds by the king's orders from the burgesses of Newcastle. They paid him only £32 12s. 2d., their bailiffs alleging that after making similar remittances to the balisters at Bamburgh there was no more due to the king for the rent of the town. Wascelin accordingly wrote to Hubert de Burgh the justiciary of England, who had just been created Earl of Kent, asking him to instruct Roger de Hodesac, the steward of the demesne of Bamburgh, to make good to him the deficiency of £7 7s. 10d. In the same letter he reminded Burgh that he had had some timber that belonged to the Bishop of Durham, and was likely to be of service in keeping up the castle of Bamburgh, led thither in accordance with his orders. Hodesac also had spent 106s. on the cartage of this timber, and Wascelin trusted that the justiciary would see this put right so that there might be no dispute when the account came to be passed at the Exchequer.⁷¹

Brian fitz Alan, sheriff of Northumberland, had the castle and the

⁶⁷ Hewitt, *Ancient Armour*, 1860, i. pp. 158, 202.

⁶⁸ See above, pp. 153, 218, 221.

⁶⁹ 'In operatione j^o. grangie de longitudine c et l pedum et xxxiiij pedum in latitudine facte in castro de Bamburgh xlvj li. et xviiij s. per breve Regis et per visum Warini de Warnetham et Willelmi Ragge. . . . Et in reparacione pontis torneicii ante magnam portam castri de Bamburgh c et ij s. et ij d. per breve ejusdem.'—*Pipe Roll* 6 Hen. III.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 129. Directions were sent to the sheriff from the Tower 29 June 1222, to have the grange ready for the corn in the coming autumn.—*Cal. Rot. Claus.* i. p. 403.

⁷⁰ 'Et in operatione planchicii magne turris castri de Bamburgh guttariarum ejusdem turris et aliarum turrellarum et aule et aliarum domorum ejusdem castri xiiii li. et i. marcam per breve Regis et per visum Ade Cokesford et Nigelli Cordewanarii.'—*Pipe Roll* 7 Hen. III.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 134. The sheriff had been ordered to go in person to Bamburgh to inspect the 'planchicium' and gutters, Westminster, 12 May, 1223.—*Cal. Rot. Claus.* i. p. 545. Hodesac was to have the keep covered with lead—'turrem nostram ejusdem castri plumbo cooperiri.'—*Liberate Roll* 10 Hen. III. m. 5.

⁷¹ 'Reverendo domino H[uberto] de Burg Comiti Kancie justiciario Anglie fidelis suus J. Wascelin Constabularius de Bamburgh salutem et fidele in omnibus

demesne of Bamburgh entrusted to his charge in 1230,⁷² and built in the following year a new chamber in it, repairing also the drawbridge and a stable.⁷³ He was succeeded in 1236 by Hugh de Bolebec.⁷⁴ Soon after his appointment Bolebec wrote to the king to complain of his salary being both insufficient and in arrear. 'Thou, sire, badest me,' he says among other matters, 'both in your letters and through your knights, Richard fitz Hugh and Simon de Brumtoft, to have the buildings and turrets of your castle of Bamburgh repaired, the wall of the castle raised in one place, a new turret built, another that had been half-finished completed, and your great grange in the castle repaired lest it should fall. All this stands in great need of being attended to, on account of the violent gales that have been again prevalent in these parts. If the whole work is carried out in a proper manner, it is estimated that it will cost £200 or more.'⁷⁵

obsequium. Vestra noscat dominacio me recepisse de Burgensibus Novi Castri super Tinam de sexaginta marcis unde literas domini Regis receperunt xxxij libras et xij s ij d et sunt in areragio vij libras vij s x d ad que hidem Bailivi responderunt quod firma ville sue ad majus non extendebat pacatione facta Balistariis in castro de Bamburg. Quare ad vestram occurro dominacionem quatenus Rogero de Hodesak servienti dominici de Bamburg si placet detis in mandatis ut dictum arreraguim, scilicet, vij libras, vijs xd mihi persolvat. Ceterum, domine mi, sciatis quod ad mandatum vestrum meiremium qui fuit episcopi Dunelmensis ad sustentamentum castri de Bamburg utile apud Bamburg attraxisse. Et est custum cvjs per totum, unde servienti dominici qui hoc custum in conduccionem dicti meiremii apposuit tam per visum literarum vestrarum mihi transmissarum quam per preceptum meum literas si placet warantisacionis ne alias per me super computum suum coram baronibus de Bancho dampnum pro hac liberatione incurrat fieri jubeatis. Valet et valeat dominacio vestra.'—*Royal Letter* 5126 P.R.O. 'Homines de Novo Castro reddidit computum de C li. de firma ville sue. . . . Et Johanni Wascelino constabulario de Banburc *lxx. m.* (xxxij li. xij s. ij d.) per breve Regis in parte solucionis C et xx. marcarum quas percipit per annum ad custodiam castri de Bamburc.'—*Pipe Roll* 11 Hen. III.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 146. The timber had evidently been taken after the death of Richard de Marisco, bishop of Durham, in 1226, and during the delay in the appointment of his successor. Hodesac was to have a breach of the castle repaired—'reparari facias breccam castri nostri de Bamburgh que prostrata est.'—*Liberate Roll* 12 Hen. III. m. 6. In Sept. 1229, was to be paid 60s for the erection of a windmill in the manor of Bamburgh—'in constructione cujusdam molendini ad ventum in manerio nostro de Bamburgh'—*Ibid.* 13 Hen. III. m. 3.

⁷² *Pipe Roll*, 14 Hen. III.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 160. Hodesac is to give him seisin of the demesne.

⁷³ 'Et in reparacione pontis castri de Bamburgh et cujusdam stabuli in eodem castro. . . . Et in operacione unius nove camere quam vicecomes fieri fecit in eodem castro xxvj li. xxij d. et ob. per breve Regis.'—*Pipe Roll*, 15 Hen. III.; *ibid.* III. iii. p. 161.

⁷⁴ Bolebec's appointment to the custody of the county of Northumberland and the castles of Bamburgh and Newcastle is dated, Mortlake, 12 May, 1236.—*Originalia*, 20 Hen. III. ro. 7.

⁷⁵ 'Similiter, domine, precipistis mihi per literas vestras et per milites vestros, scilicet, Ricardum filium Hugonis et Simonem de Brumtoft ut facerem reparare in Castro vestro de Bamburgh edificia et turrella (*sic*) et in quadam parte murum

During the next year excavations were made in the rock near the barbican, and a new grange and a bake-house were erected.⁷⁶ The castle suffered severely from its exposed situation. The mills had been destroyed by a tempest in 1243.⁷⁷ A certain Master Gerard appears as the engineer engaged in repairing the 'balistae' about this time.⁷⁸ William Heron was appointed constable in 1248.⁷⁹ The tower of Elmund's Well and the barbican before St. Oswald's Gate were repaired in 1250,⁸⁰ as the Great Tower, the three gates within the castle, and the great drawbridge outside the Great Gate on the south side, were to be three years later.⁸¹ Mention is made of the King's Hall in 1256,⁸² in which year William Heron, sheriff of Northumberland, was entrusted with the castle.⁸³

The cost of the defence of Bamburgh and the maintenance of the garrison for one year, reckoned from the 3rd of May, 1266, during the

castelli exaltare et unum turrellum de novo edificare et alium turrellum semifactum perficere, et magnam grangiam vestram castelli reparare ne cadat, que scilicet grangia et predicta nunc majori indigent auxilio propter rapaces ventos qui de novo in partibus illis emerserunt. Et si omnia predicta in dicto Castello de Bamburgh debito et competenti modo perfici debeant, de necessario oportet in ipsis perficiendis imponere, ut creditur, cc. libr. vel eo amplius.—*Royal Letter* (temporarily numbered 5093) P.R.O. The date of this letter, which contains the account of the erection of a tower in Tyndale by David de Lyndesey, see above p. 56, is fixed by the passage 'Et de meo proprio de vj libr. et xj solid. et vij den. pacatis ultra receptam meam,' which tallies with the entry at the end of the *Pipe Roll*, 21 Hen. III. 'idem habet in rotulo precedenti vj li. xj s. et vij d. in proficuo comitatus.'

⁷⁶ 'Et in rupe juxta Barbicanam in castro de Banburch concavanda. Et in una grangia et pistirno ibidem faciendis et in ponte ejusdem castris reparando.'—*Pipe Roll*, 21 Hen. III.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 182.

⁷⁷ 'Et in reparatione molendinorum de Bamburgh que corruerunt per tempestatem xij li. xiiij s. ix d. et ob. per breve Regis et per visum et testimonium Petri de Streyde et Walteri de Oxonia.'—*Pipe Roll*, 21 Hen. III.; *ibid.* III. iii. p. 200.

⁷⁸ 'Pro magistro Gerardo Ingeniatori.'—*Liberate Roll*, 28 Hen. III. m. 5.

⁷⁹ At a salary of 80 marks, Windsor, 28th of April.—*Originalia*, 32 Hen. III. ro. 4. P.R.O.

⁸⁰ 'Et in reparatione turris fontis Elmundi in castro de Bamburc et barbacane ante portam S. Oswaldi ibidem xvij li. ix s. et viij d.'—*Pipe Roll*, 34 Hen. III.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 218. The sheriff was told, 20 April, 1250, to have this tower and barbican repaired.—'Rex vicecomiti Northumbrie salutem. Precipimus tibi quod Turrin fontis Elmundi, etc.'—*Liberate Roll*, 34 Hen. III., m. J. Mr. Hartshorne, *Proc. Arch. Inst.*, 1852, ii. p. 246, erroneously calls this tower that of *St. Edmund*.

⁸¹ 'Rex vicecomiti Northumbrie salutem. Precipimus tibi quod de exitibus Comitatus tui reparari facias magnam Turrin in Castro nostro de Baumburch et tres portas infra idem Castrum et eorum valvas seruras et ligaturas et magnum pontem Turnitium extra magnam pontem versus australe emendari et reparari facias reparatione qua indigent.'—*Liberate Roll*, 37 Hen. III. m. 4.

⁸² 'Et in reparatione aule Regis in castro de Bamburc vj li. et ij s. et vj d. per breve Regis et visum et testimonium Walteri de Doxeford et Johannis de Elmedone.'—*Pipe Roll*, 40 Hen. III.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 237.

⁸³ At Woodstock, 20 June, 1256.—*Originalia*, 40 Hen. III. ro. 6. P.R.O.



obstinate resistance of the northern barons to the royal authority after the defeat of Simon de Montfort at Evesham, came to the enormous sum of £1,231 Os. 9½d.⁸⁴ It was at the siege of Kenilworth that Henry III. bestowed on the friars preachers of Bamburgh seven acres for enlarging the site of their house there, which he had acquired by exchange from Henry Spring, Simon fitz Robert, and Stephen le Mareschal.⁸⁵ This was followed in the next year by his grant to them of six acres in the old mill-pond of Bamburgh, and of four of arable in the 'Grenewellflat,' worth 40s. a year, for the purpose of enabling them to erect a chapel, and the other buildings required by their rule.⁸⁶ It says much for the importance of Bamburgh that the Dominicans, whose object it was to mix as much as possible with the world, should have made this settlement there, and the position of their Friary conveys some idea of the extent of the ancient town, as they would endeavour to fix it in as central a locality as possible.

Immediately after his arrival in England in 1274, Edward I. appointed a commission of inquiry into the abuses of the administration during the previous reign. William Heron was denounced to this commission as having, when constable of Bamburgh, charged the king £9 for the erection of a granary within the castle which it was estimated could not really have cost more than £4; while Robert de Nevill, who was then in charge of the castle, was roundly accused of having obtained an order on the Exchequer for 1,200 marks on account of building operations that could have been perfectly well executed for 200 marks.⁸⁷ In consequence, no doubt, of this speculation, Robert de

⁸⁴ 'In radiis militum et servientium existentium in municione predicti castri (Bamburgh) tempore turbacionis habite in regno a festo invencionis sce crucis usque ad idem festum anno ljo et in operacionibus factis in eodem castro per predictum tempus M.cc.xxxj li. ix d. ob. per breve Regis.'—*Pipe Roll*, 51 Hen. III.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. iii. p. 276.

⁸⁵ 'Septem acras terre ad placeam suam de Bamburgh ampliandam apud Kenilleworth xxvj die Aug.'—*Rot. Pat.* 50 Hen. III. m. 6. The acres are measured by a perch of twenty feet—'per perticatam nostram viginti pedum.'

⁸⁶ 'Ad quoddam oratorium in quo divina celebrare possint et ad alia edificia ibidem construenda, et secundum morem sui ordinis inhabitanda imperpetuum . . . Datum apud Sanctum Paulum Lond.' xij die Julii.'—*Cart.* 51 Hen. III. m. 4.

⁸⁷ 'Item dicunt quod Willelmus Heron tempore quo fuit constabularius castri de Bamburgh fieri fecit unum granarium in predicto castro cujus factura computata fuit domino Regi pro ix li. et non valuit praeter quatuor li. per estimacionem fide dignorum.

Item dicunt quod Robertus de Nevill nunc custos ejusdem castri computavit se apposuisse in operacionibus dicti castri M.CC. marc. et inde habuit allocacionem ad Scaccarium que quidam operaciones bene potuissent perfici per ducentas marcas.'—*Rotuli Hundredorum*; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. i. p. 95.

Nevill was relieved of his office in 1276, and ordered to deliver the castle, with all its store of arms and provisions, except his own goods and chattels, to Thomas de Normanville, the king's steward.⁸⁸

Two Welsh princes, Cynan ap Maredudd and Rhys ap Maelgwn, the destroyer of Aberystwyth, were confined in Bamburgh by Edward I. In 1288 Walter de Cambo, the constable, was instructed to expend £4 on robes for them and 13s. 4d. on robes for their servant.⁸⁹ They remained there till 1296, when they were sent up to London in a dying state.⁹⁰ Meanwhile, on the 10th of August, 1293, an order was made for the delivery of Bamburgh by Walter de Cambo to the sheriff of Northumberland, after a due inventory had been made of its contents.⁹¹ Two years later Hugh Gubion, then sheriff, was similarly to hand over the castle to John Earl of Warren.⁹²

In 1296 Edward I. vainly summoned John Baliol to meet him at Bamburgh, and halted there himself on his triumphant return from Scotland on the 20th of September.⁹³ He was again there at the close of 1299.⁹⁴ Four Scottish prisoners 'Nichole Patenesone of Levenax, Fynny le Soul of Stirling, Thomas Clerc of Elisman, and Wauter du Larder of Inchetethe,' were committed to the custody of the constable in 1305.⁹⁵

The deliberate way in which Edward II. set at naught his father's dying counsels is well illustrated by the grant he made in 1307 to Isabel de Beaumont, widow of John de Vescy lord of Alnwick, of the custody of the castle of Bamburgh, with the truncage due to it, and the rent of the town of Warenmouth, for the term of her whole life, on payment of £110 annually into the Treasury.⁹⁶ During her

⁸⁸ At Westminster, 7 June, 1276.—*Originalia*, 4 Ed. I. ro. 8. P.R.O. The *Comptois* of Thomas de Normanville for the issues of the castle and demesnes of Bamburgh 6 Ed. I. (1277-1278) is entered on the *Pipe Roll*, 8 Ed. I. m. 28, but contains nothing of interest in relation to the castle.

⁸⁹ *Rot. Lib.* 18 Ed. I. m. 6.

⁹⁰ *Proc. Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 243.

⁹¹ *Originalia*, 21 Ed. I. ro. 18. As to Walter de Cambo, see Hodgson, *Northd.* II. i. p. 284.

⁹² Canterbury, 6 Oct. 1295.—*Originalia*, 23 Ed. I. ro. 15. On Hugh Gubion, see Hodgson, *Northd.* II. ii. p. 453.

⁹³ *Rot. Scot.* i. p. 34.

⁹⁴ *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobæ ann. 28 Ed. I.* (published by Soc. Ant. Lond. 1787). The Friars Preachers of Bamburgh paid, by the hands of Brother Henry de Endreby, 6s 8d on 12 Dec. 1299, as their *puture* to avoid having men and horses quartered on their house for two days 'in adventum Regis ibidem,' p. 26.

⁹⁵ *Chaucery Misc. Portf.* No. $\frac{41}{107}$; *Cal. Doc. rel. to Scotland*, ii. p. 449.

⁹⁶ King's Langley, 23 Nov. 1307.—*Originalia*, 1 Ed. II. m. 7.

tenancy of Bamburgh, in July, 1311, the king made a pretence of imprisoning his favourite, Piers de Gaveston, in the castle, in order to secure him from the violence of his enemies and to apparently satisfy their demands for his removal from the court.⁹⁷ In October he assented to the Ordinances drawn up by parliamentary authority, which especially provided that 'la Dame de Vescy' should be banished from court for obtaining grants of lands for her brother Sir Henry de Beaumont and others to the disherison of the Crown, and that the castle of Bamburgh should be taken from her and not let out again except during the king's pleasure.⁹⁸ Indeed Edward actually went so far as to appoint Henry de Percy custodian of Bamburgh on the 18th of December, and to order Isabel de Vescy to give up the castle to him.⁹⁹ Then suddenly, a month later, he recalled Gaveston to him at York and restored him to his estates, while Isabel de Vescy continued to hold Bamburgh, like another Queen Bebbra or Countess Matilda, in defiance of Percy, until on the 28th of May, 1312, a week or so after Gaveston's capitulation at Scarborough, she was commanded by the king to yield the fortress to John de Eslington.¹⁰⁰ There is nothing of moment in Eslington's accounts which have been preserved, except, perhaps, that the truncage due to the castle from the several townships had by that time been commuted for the annual sum of £4 19s. 4½d., which appears to have been for the most part taken out in horses and swine.¹⁰¹ Eslington was taken prisoner at Bannockburn on the 25th of June, 1314, and owing to the extreme gravity of the crisis the king three days later appointed Roger de Horsley constable of Bamburgh by word of mouth.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ 'Eodem anno (1311) rex timens invidiam et odium majorum regni erga dominum Petrum de Gavastone, posuit eum in castrum de Bamborhk pro sua securitate, asserens prælatis et magnatibus regni se misisse eum ibidem in carcerem ut placeret eisdem.—*Annales Paulini (Chronicles of Ed. I. and Ed. II. Rolls ed. i.)* p. 269. 'Rex igitur, ut eum a magnatum insidiis servarat, eum castro Bamburgi inclusit: se id fecisse asserens, ut eorum animos placeret.'—Thomas de la Moore, *Vita et Mors Ed. II. (ibid. ii.)* p. 298. See also A. Murimuth, *Chronicon* (English Historical Society's Publications) p. 14.

⁹⁸ 'Par ceo que homme entent que le Chaustel de Baunburgh est de la Corone, Nous ordeinoms aussint que cel Chaustel soit repris de lui en la meün le Roi, et que mes ne soit baillie a li ne a autre forsque a la volunte le Roi.'—*Rot. Parl. i.* p. 284a.

⁹⁹ *Originalia* 5 Ed. II. m. 11, P.R.O.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 5 Ed. II. m. 17.

¹⁰¹ *Particule compoti Johannis de Esselyngtone Constabularii Castri de Bamburgh*, Q.R. Misc. Ministers' Accounts, Bamburgh 5-6 Ed. II. ½. P.R.O.

¹⁰² Rogerus de Horslei dictum Castrum in manum Regis cepit per mandatum Regis oretenus propter ingens periculum quod tunc temporis iminebat in patria

A terrible picture of the condition of Northumberland at this period may be drawn from the complaint addressed by the poor people of Bamburgh Ward to the king in 1315. The constable of the castle, they say, refused to let them accept the truce which they had been offered till the following Easter by Bruce's lieutenant, the Earl of Moray, at the price of £270, unless they paid him as much more; and the means at their disposal did not possibly admit of this. He also charged them exorbitant fees for permission to store their *petitz biens* in the castle, and his porters and servants extorted money for letting them in and out; so that between the Scots on one side and the constable on the other, they were reduced to the bitterest straits. Moreover, John the Irishman and his fellows in the castle seized their provisions without any pretence of paying for them.¹⁰³ The same doleful story of exactions is told in the petitions to Parliament of John de Gaskrik and other merchants of Barton-on-Humber, and of Isabel de Eshet, the executrix of William le Ken of Eshet. Horsley had pounced down on the corn ships of the merchants which, bound for Berwick, had anchored through stress of weather between Bamburgh and Warenmouth,¹⁰⁴ and never dreamt of paying £10 for mutton he had bought at Eshet in order to victual the castle.¹⁰⁵

During 1315 Horsley maintained twenty men-at-arms and thirty hobelars in the castle at the king's expence, and Adenevit a Welshman in the royal household, and Roger le Attallour were also quartered there, the latter being engaged in improving the 'balistæ,' bows, and other artillery. Two hostages were also detained there, who appear to have been liberated by John the Irishman in exchange for Jordan de Stokhalgh, a Scot, and the king's enemy. On the 7th of February, 1316, Horsley had to resign the custody of Bamburgh into the hands of William de Felton, and it is to be hoped that the poor people in the neighbourhood breathed more freely for a time.¹⁰⁶

post confictum de Strevelyn ubi dictus Johannes de Esselyngtone per Scotos capiebatur: a quo quidem xxviii^o die Junii supradicte dictus Rogerus de exitibus ejusdem Castri debet Regi respondere.—*Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Cal. Doc. rel. to Scotland.*

¹⁰⁴ *Rot. Parl. i. p. 327a.*

¹⁰⁵ 'Pur Multon de ly achatez, du temps le piere notre Seigneur le Roi que ore est, par Sire Roger de Husch (Horseli) nadquers Gardeyn du Chastel de Bamburgh pur vitailier le dit Chastel.'—*Ibid. ii. p. 394a.*

¹⁰⁶ 'Roger de Horseleghe custodi Castri de Baumburgh habenti in comitiva sua xx homines ad arma et xxx hobelarios super salva et secura custodia ejusdem Castri et pertinentium adjacentium per preceptum et ordinacionem domini Regis

Horsley seems to have been re-appointed before 1319, for in a contract entered into by John de Cromwell and the Earl of Angus, apparently in that year, for the custody of the Marches, it is noted that the permanent garrison of Bamburgh, where Horsley was constable, consisted of fifteen men-at-arms and thirty foot soldiers, and that in addition to these the king was to provide fifteen men-at-arms, commanded by David de Langeton and Thomas de Hedon.¹⁰⁷

One of the first acts of Edward III. on his accession was to appoint Robert de Horncliff constable of Bamburgh, and soon afterwards he received the homage of Robert, son and heir of Robert the Porter, who was, we learn, bound among other things, by his tenure, to provide a watchman every night in peace or in war on the gate of the castle called the Smith Gate.¹⁰⁸ Horncliff found the castle in most deplorable plight—the lead with which the Great Tower was covered was so old and decayed that the rain had caused the main beams to rot, and the tower was threatened with ruin; the roof of a tower called the ‘Davytoure,’ which had been covered with stone, had been carried right off by a tempest; the ‘Belletoure’ had suffered in the same way, and its main timbers were rotten; the Hall, the Great Kitchen, the

post conflictum de Strivelyn super hoc facta pro vadiis eorundem hominum ad arma et hoberlariorum a primo die Decembri anno viij^o quo die dominus Willelmus de Melton primo recepit custodiam garderobæ domini Regis predicti usque vij diem Februarii anno ix^o quo die dictus Rogerus liberavit custodiam dicti Castri domino Willelmo de Feltono per breve sub magno sigillo et indenturam in eos factam primo die computato et non ultimo per ccccxxiij dies pro quolibet homine ad arma xiij^d et quolibet hobelario vij^d per diem dclvij^{li}. xvs. Eidem pro vadiis Ade Nevit Wallensis de hospicio Regis morantis in eodem Castro per preceptum ejusdem Regis per dictos ccccxxiij dies percipientis per diem iij^d. cviijs. iij^d. Eidem pro vadiis Rogeri le Attalour morantis in eodem Castro pro balistis arcubus et aliis instrumentis ad officium suum spectantibus emendandis per totum tempus predictum percipientis per diem iij^d. Lxxijs. iij^d. Eidem pro vadiis duorum hostagiorum liberatorum in eodem Castro per Johannem Lirreis et per preceptum Regis pro Jordano de Stokhalgh Scoto inimico Regis et in dicto Castro commorantium a ij die Februarii anno viij^o usque ij die Februarii anno ix^o. quo die dicti hostagii liberabantur dicto domino Willelmo de Feltoné ad custodiendos primo die computato et non ultimo per cclv (*sic*) dies quolibet percipienti per diem iij^d. vj^{li}. xxd. Summa totalis allocata dicto Rogero DcLxxiij^{li}. xvij^s. jd.—*Ministers' Accounts*, Bamburgh 1½ 8-9 Ed. II.

¹⁰⁷ ‘Fait a remembrer que en le Chastel de Baumburgh dount Monsieur Rogerus de Horsle est conestable, outre la certeine garnison que y est de xv hommes darmes et xxx hommes a pe deivent demorer David de Langeton et Thomas de Hedone od xv homme; darmes as custages le Roy.’—*Indentura dominorum Johannis de Crombwell et Comitiss Danegos super custodia partium Northumbrie*, Excheq. Q. R. Misc. (Army) $\frac{2}{3}$ P.R.O.

¹⁰⁸ ‘Per servicium custodiendi portam castri predicti et inveniendi unum vigilatorem qualibet nocte tempore pacis et guerre super quandam portam vocatam Smythyate in castro predicto.’—*Originalia*, 1 Ed. III. ro. 13; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. ii. p. 301.

Great Grange, the towers called 'Valetipping,' 'Dedehuse,' and 'Colelofte,' the Granary, the Horse Mill, and the Great Stable were in equal decay, the result of the fact that former constables could not make any allowance for repairs in the accounts they returned to the Exchequer.¹⁰⁹ Nor were the stores contained in this tumble-down castle of anything but the most poverty-stricken nature. Horncliff's inventory from Michaelmas, 1328, to Michaelmas, 1329, comprised four casks of wine that had turned bad; a pipe of Greek wine no better; one jar full of honey, and another with some honey in it; seven targets, broken and not repaired; one aketon, of no value;¹¹⁰ five bassinets, of no value; seven 'balistæ,' with screws, one of them made of whalebone, provided with a case of new work; a dozen 'balistæ' of one foot; four bucketfuls of bolts for 'balistæ;' one bow; five sheaves of arrows; seven baskets for bows; twelve baskets for one-foot 'balistæ,' four of them of no value; two baskets for screw 'balistæ;' ten one-foot 'balistæ,' of no value; one 'teler,' without a nut, for a screw 'balista;' thirty-five bolts for a springal of new work;¹¹¹ twenty-eight unfeathered bolts for a springal, four of them without heads; forty-six wax torches in one chest, and fifty torches and thirty-six wax tapers in another chest; fifteen baldrics, four of them without fastenings; three hundred and sixty leaves of whalebone; one old brass pot, containing five flagons; ten pairs of fetters; one copper and a mashfat in the brewery; one copper in the kitchen furnace; two tables, with four pair of trestles; one fixed table; four vats; one tun; one boulting tub; one jar for putting

¹⁰⁹ 'Die quo dominus Rex commisit dictum Castrum de Bamburgh Roberto de Horncliffe nunc constabulario Castri predicti quam plures defectus fuerunt in eodem Castro videlicet in magna turri que cooperta fuit de plumbo et quod plumbum ita vetus fu . . . et putridum fuit quod maeremium ejusdem turris pro defectu cooperture predictæ per pluvias putridum fuit ita quod turris illa ruinam minabatur. Et in turri [vocat]a Davytoure que cooperta fuit de petra et que tempore predicto per tempestatem totaliter discooperta fuit. Et in turri vocata Belletoure que cooperta fu[it] [t]abula et que per tempestatem discooperta fuit ita quod maeremium ejusdem per pluviam totaliter fuit putrida. Et iidem defectus fuerunt in aula m[agna] coquina, magna granaria in turri vocata Valetippinge et in turri vocata Dedehuse et in turri vocata Colelofte et in granaria et molendino equino et in magno stabulo &c.'—Inquisition at Bamburgh, 8 Sept. 1330, *Inq. Ad Q. D.* 4 Ed. III. No. 13, P. R. O.

¹¹⁰ An 'aketon' was a coat of plate.—Kelham, *Norman Dictionary*.

¹¹¹ A 'springal' was a military engine for casting stones, as in the old romance of 'Bevis of Hamtoun'—

'And sum thai wente to the wal
With bowes and with springal.'—Halliwell.

bread in; two barrels; two sail-yards; two windlasses; and four ship's cables. Of this valuable stock, four screw 'balistæ,' four one-foot 'balistæ,' a bucketful of bolts, the bow, and the five sheaves of arrows were expended in defending the castle from the assaults of the Scots during the months of October, November, and December, 1328.¹¹²

Horncliff set to work and laid out £25 15s. 3d. on the most pressing repairs, but an inquiry held at Bamburgh in 1330 resulted in a report that it would take £300 to put the castle in order, and that the great tower and all the other towers, the hall, the chambers, the grange, and all the other houses and gates were so roofless and decayed that unless something were done very speedily the whole place would be a heap of ruins.¹¹³ The urgent language of this report must have led at any rate to a partial restoration of the fortress, as three years later it was able to stand a famous siege. Berwick was being

¹¹² 'Instaurum Mortuum, Mich. 2 Ed. iij.—Mich. 3 Ed. iij. Item reddidit comptum de iiij doleis vini putridi, j pipa vini greci de xiiij pollicibus putridi, j doleo melle pleno, vij pollicibus mellis in j doleo, viij fortinalis plumbi, ij barrellis ascere plenis, vij targis fractis et non reparatis, j barello stanni cum soudura, j mortario novo de petra, j mortario de cera ponderis unius lb., unius aketon nullius valoris, v. bacinettis nullius valoris, vij balistis de vicibus quarum j de baleigne cum j hasepe de novo apparatu, xij balistis unius pedis de novo apparatu, j cista, iiij bukettis plenis de quarellis pro predictis vj balistis, j arcu, v garbis sagittarum, vij costis pro arcubus, xij costis pro balistis unius pedis quarum iiij nullius valoris, ij costis pro balistis de vicibus, x balistis unius pedis nullius valoris, j teler sine nuce pro balista de vicibus, xxxv quarellis pro springald de novo apparatu, xxvij quarellis pro springaldo sine pennis quarum iiij sine capite, xlvj torches cere in una cista, l tortic et xxvj broches cere in una alia cista, xv baudreis quorum iiij sine clavibus, cccx foliis de baleigne, j olla enea veteri continenti v lagenas, x paribus compedum, j plumbo in bracina, et j maskefat, j plumbo in fornace in coquina, ij mensis, iiij paribus tristellorum, j mensa dormienti, iiij cuvis, j tina, j doleo pro bultura, j doleo pro pane imponendo, ij barrellis pro servicia, ij saillayerdes, ij wyndacis, et iiij cabulis pro nave de remanenti compoti sui anni proximi precedenti.'—*Comptus of Roger de Horncliffe*, from 8 Feb. 1 Ed. III. to Mich. 4 Ed. III. in *Ministers' Accounts, Bamburgh*, 1^o 1-4 Ed. III. P.R.O.

'Idem computavit in consumpcione et defensione Castri contra insultas Scotorum mensibus Octobris Novembris et Decembris hoc anno—iiij balistas de vicibus, iiij balistas unius pedis, j buketam plenam de quarellis, j arcum et v garbas sagittarum.'—*Ibid.*

¹¹³ 'Robertus de Horncliff postquam recepit custodiam castri predicti emendavit et reparavit plures defectus in eodem Castro, videlicet in magna turri et aliis turribus domibus muris et aliis parcelis et locis in eodem Castro usque ad summam xxvli. xvs. iijd. . . . Defectus in Castro predicto adhuc existentes et qui evenerunt temporibus aliorum constabulariorum per tempestatem et aliis causis predictis possunt emendari de cccli. . . . Magna turris et omnes alie turres aula camera grangia et omnes alie domus et porte ejusdem castri . . . ita sunt putrifacta et discooperta et putrida quod nisi cicius emendantur totaliter in brevi erunt perditæ.'—*Inq. ad Q. D.* 4 Ed. III. No. 13 P.R.O. taken at the castle of Bamburgh before William de Denom and Robert de Tughale, Saturday, 8 Sept. 1330.

closely invested by the English king, and the Scots, under Archibald Douglas, in hope of forcing him to raise the blockadè, made an attack in great force on Bamburgh. The queen, Philippa of Hainault, was in the castle at the time, and no doubt helped to encourage its valiant defenders. The Scots were effectively repulsed, and Berwick fell.¹¹⁴

The Earl of Murray, after being in captivity at Bamburgh, was conveyed to York by John de Denton of Newcastle in 1335.¹¹⁵ After the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346, David Bruce, 'who called himself King of Scotland,' was brought a prisoner to Bamburgh. Masters William de Bolton, and Hugh de Kilvington, barber surgeons, came to the castle from York to extract the arrow with which he had been wounded in the battle, and to heal him with despatch. They received £6 for their services.¹¹⁶ In the following March John Darcy was sent from London to bring David Bruce to the Tower.¹¹⁷ In a later phase of the Scottish wars, Bartholomew de Preston and Adam de Cokeburn, Berwick burgesses, whose loyalty to England admitted of suspicion, were given in charge of the constable of Bamburgh in 1355.¹¹⁸ It was at Bamburgh on the 20th of January, 1356, that Edward III. completed the final convention with Edward Baliol for the latter's surrender of the Scottish crown,¹¹⁹ and he appears to have spent ten days there in February, 1357.¹²⁰

On the 14th of June, 1372, it was declared on oath before Alan del Strother, William Acton, John de Refham, and the sheriff Robert de Umframvill, the king's commissioners at Bamburgh, by two separate juries, that the executors of the late constable Ralph de Nevill had done all the repairs that they could be charged with, and that over and above these they had been compelled by certain of the

¹¹⁴ 'Interea sub dole Scoti combusserunt in partibus Northumbrianis, et obsederunt castrum de Bamburgh ubi tunc temporis regina Angliæ morabatur, ut sic fortasse possent solvere obsidionem (Berwici).—*Chronicon Angliæ, 1328-1388*, Rolls ed. p. 4. The *Chron. de Melsa* (Rolls ed. i. p. 369) says the Scots led by Archibald Douglas numbered 90,000 men in four divisions.

¹¹⁵ *Eschequer, Q.R.* 20-21 *Ed. III.*, *Misc. Army* $\frac{47}{23 \text{ \& } 24}$; De Fonblanque, *Annals of the House of Percy*, i. p. 491.

¹¹⁶ Rymer, *Fœdera*, III. i. p. 109.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* II. ii. p. 919.

¹¹⁸ *Rot. Scot.* i. p. 381b.

¹¹⁹ *Thesaur. Cur. Receipt. Seacc.*; Rymer, *Fœdera* III. i. p. 319.

¹²⁰ Protection for Menald de Insula 'clericus conjugatus' of our city of Aquen, Bamburgh, 6 Feb.—*Rot. Vascon.* 30 *Ed. iii.* m. 5; Rymer, *Fœdera* III. i. p. 322. Warrant for ship timber, Bamburgh, 10 Feb.—*Rot. Pat.* 30 *Ed. iii.* p. 1, m. 22; *ibid.* III. i. p. 323. Documents dated Bamburgh, 12-16 Feb. 30 *Ed. iii.*—*Rot. Scot.* i. p. 800.

king's lieges, of whose names the jury were ignorant, to build and repair a wall, a tower, and a turret at 'Waldehavewell,' within the castle of Bamburgh; and also a postern and great walls there in the said castle.¹²¹ Furthermore, the executors had been forced to repair a wall stretching from 'Davyestour' to the gate of the castle from the west side; a postern at the 'Gaitwell' and a great wall between the 'Smetheyet' and Ravenshaugh, and another long wall between this 'Smetheyet' and 'Vallam de Typpyng.'¹²² The extra expenditure thus extorted from them amounted in all to £266 13s. 4d.

On the 21st of August following, a similar inquiry held before the sheriff, John de Ravenser, clerk, and Robert de Gayton, the king's 'servant at arms,' confirmed grave charges brought against the constable Richard de Pembrigg. During his term of office, the well in the great tower had been choked by the offal of cattle killed in the castle, and the water in it polluted, so that it would take 40s. to purify it again. The rope and bucket had also been made off with, to the king's loss of 13s. 4d.¹²³ William Scra, the steward of the castle under Pembrigg, had taken clean away beds, chairs, tables, trestles, saddles, horse-shoes, bows, plates, dishes, leaden vessels, and other necessaries for the custody of the castle to the tune of ten marks.¹²⁴ Certainly, Sir Alan de Heton, Pembrigg's deputy, had arrested twenty-five fat animals, worth twenty marks, belonging to Scra, and sold them by way of indemnity, but then the king got none of the proceeds. Perhaps the worst character for knavery is given to John de Fenwyk,

¹²¹ 'Unum murum, unum turrem et unum (sic) turrellam apud Waldehavewell infra castrum de Bamburgh. Item in castro predicto unum postern' et magnos muros ibidem.'—*Inq. ad Quod Damnum*, 51 Ed. III. No. 32, P.R.O.

¹²² 'Item in reparacione cujusdam muri a Davyestour usque ad portam dicti castri ex parte occidentali. Item unum postern' apud le Gaitwell et unum magnum murum a le Smetheyet usque ad Ravenes Haugh. Item unum alium longum murum a dicto Smethyhet usque ad vallam de Typpyng' in dicto castro.'—*Ibid.*

¹²³ 'Fons in magna turri infra castrum de Baumburgh per inieccionem intestinorum animalium occisorum et cadaverum, tempore quo Ricardus de Pembrigg habuit custodiam castri predicti, est obstrictus, et aqua in eodem infecta et corrupta ad dampnum quadraginta solidorum. Item . . . corda pro aqua de eodem fonte haurienda et hastrum pro eodem tempore quo dictus Ricardus habuit custodiam castri predicti per ministros suos sunt elongata ad dampnum domini Regis tresdecem solidorum et quatuor denariorum.'—*Inq. ad Q. D.* 51 Ed. III. No. 22 (3) P.R.O.

¹²⁴ 'Willelmus Scra nuper prepositus in castro predicto et minister dicti Ricardi ibidem, tempore custodie dicti Ricardi de castro predicto lecta, cathedras, tabulas, tristella, sellas, ferra equina, arcus, discos, platella, plumba et alia instrumenta pro custodia castri necessaria ad valenciam decem marcarum cepit et asportavit et totaliter elongavit.'—*Ibid.*

the constable of the castle under Pembrigg. Fenwyk bared the castle of the entire stock of peats and 'hather,' valued at 82s., which Ralph de Nevyl had left behind him for its 'garniture.' Even after Umframvyll as sheriff had taken possession of the castle and its contents by the king's orders, Fenwyk had the audacity to carry off the principal table in the king's hall, with its trestles, seven stones of lead, and the iron-work of a certain mangonel, having previously filched the wood-work of an old mangonel. Twenty-four mastich trees, each worth 4d., had, we are told, been taken out of the castle by Pembrigg's officers and servants.¹²⁵

An inquiry, held before the same commissioners two days later, brought out the facts that two iron chains, an iron bolt, a lock, and a small door at the postern, as also an iron bolt for two 'barrers,' had been the worse for wear since Nevyl's time; while under Pembrigg, a drawbridge had decayed which it cost 13s. 4d. to replace.¹²⁶ Besides this, the jury certified that Thomas de Heddon held certain lands and tenements, called the Porterland, within the demesne of the castle, and had a fee of 2d. a day paid him by the constable, on condition of his finding a porter in constant attendance at the gate, and a watchman inside the castle every night, and of his maintaining the Porterhouse in the castle near the 'Vale Tyyppyng.'¹²⁷ The Porterhouse had, how-

¹²⁵ 'Johannes de Fenwyk nuper constabularius castris predicti tempore custodie dicti Ricardi de eodem petas et hather pro garnistura dicti castris per dominum Radulfum de Nevyl ibidem dimissa, ad Valenciam sex marcarum et duorum solidorum cepit et elongavit et dictum castrum de eadem garnistura vacuum dimisit. Item . . . predictus Johannes de Fenwyk postquam Robertus de Umframvyll vicecomes Northumbrie de precepto domini Regis per breve suum custodiam castris predicti receperat, bona et catella, armaturas, utensilia et instrumenta pro custodia ejusdem necessaria ibidem inventa arrestaverat, mensam principalem pro aula domini Regis ibidem et tristella, septem petras plumbi, et instrumenta ferrea cujusdam mangonelli in castro predicto existencia, cepit et asportavit contra arrestacionem predictam ad Valenciam viginti solidorum. Item . . . meremium cujusdam mangonelli veteris in dicto castro existentis tempore quo dictus Ricardus habuit custodiam castris predicti, per dictum Johannem de Fenwyk est asportatum ad Valenciam viginti solidorum. Item . . . quatuor viginti arbores lentisci, precii cujuslibet iiiij*d.* tempore quo dictus Ricardus habuit custodiam castris predicti per ministros et servientes ipsius Ricardi sunt elongati extra castrum predictum.—*Ibid.*

¹²⁶ 'Due cathene ferece cum uno bolt de ferro et una serura et una parva porta apud le Posterne, et uno bolt de ferro pro ij barrers sunt defectuose et poterunt reparari per quadraginta solidos, et predicti defectus fuerunt ibidem tempore quo dominus Radulfus de Nevyl habuit custodiam castris predicti. Item . . . quidam pons infra castrum predictum tempore quo R[icardu]s de Penbrigge habuit custodiam castris predicti perioratur ad dampnum tresdecim solidorum et quatuor denariorum.—*Inq. ad Q.D.* 51 Ed. III. No. 22 (2) P.R.O.

¹²⁷ 'Debet eciam sustentare unam domum vocatam le Porterhouse in eodem castro juxta le Vale Tyyppyng.—*Ibid.*

ever, gone to utter ruin during the time of his predecessor, William de Heddon, and could not be repaired for less than 60s. Then, too, during Pembrigg's term of office, the roofs of the four houses in the four turrets on the north side of the castle had become so decayed that 12s. would scarcely mend them.¹²⁸ Pembrigg had also allowed three stables and the 'slaughterhous' to suffer to the extent of 20s., and a 'bordour' over the 'Tourgate,' valued at 12d., to decay.¹²⁹ Forty marks would hardly cover the further consequences of his neglect, while it would take quite 10s. to carry out the repairs that had become necessary during the time the castle was in the hands of the king.

In 1393 the burgesses and community of Bamburgh presented a petition to Richard II., from which it appears that there were three wells in the town, known by the names of 'Wydnewell, Edynwell, and Maudeleynwell.'¹³⁰ The two former often went dry in summer, when not only the burgesses but also the constables of the castle had recourse for their water supply to the last named spring, which was situated within the boundaries of the hospital called the 'Maudeleys,' and was the principal source of the stream which turned one of the king's mills.¹³¹ No impediment had been placed in the way of anyone using the well until recently certain Friars Preachers of Bamburgh in a

¹²⁸ 'Quatuor domus infra quatuor turellas ex parte aquilonari in castro predicto, sunt in coopertura adeo pejorate ut vix per duodecim solidos poterunt reparari.'—*Ibid.*

¹²⁹ 'Quatuor domus infra castrum predictum videlicet tres stabule et una domus vocata le Slaughterhous peiorantur tempore quo predictus Ricardus habuit custodiam castri predicti ad dampnum viginti solidorum. Item . . . unum bordour super portam vocatam le Tourgate peioratur ad dampnum duodecim denariorum.'—*Ibid.*

¹³⁰ *Rot. Pat.* 17 Ric. II. pars I. m. 35, a tergo.—The 'Wydnewell' was no doubt at the Wynding a little to the north-west of the castle, nor is there any difficulty in allocating the 'Edynwell,' that of St. Aidan, in the 'Church Quarter.' It appears from *Inq. p.m.* 50 Ed. III. Ed. 71, taken at Bamburgh on 27 March, 1376, that the Hospital or Chantry of the Blessed Mary Magdalene there, founded by the king's ancestors and in his patronage, consisted of a chapel, hall, pantry, kitchen, and other chambers in an enclosed site, which with other lands and tenements of the chantry was worth five marks a year. The object of the foundation was to provide a chaplain to celebrate mass and do other works of piety for the souls of the king and his ancestors. The 'custos' John de Barnoldby had neglected to provide a chaplain for the ten years previous, the chapel was most in ruin and could not be repaired for less than twenty marks, while it would take twenty-six marks to put the other buildings right. The chantry had possessed vestments, books and other ornaments, but they had all disappeared.

¹³¹ 'A quo quidem fonte, melior et maxima pars cursus aque, que uni molendinorum nostrorum juxta villam predictam ad molendinum blada dicatorum ville et Castri et patric adjacentis deseruit, currere solebat, pro quo quidem molendino nobis de quatuor marcis annuatim responditur.'—*Rot. Pat.* 17 Ric. II. pars I m. 35, a tergo.

fit of passionate spite killed a cur called Jolyff—so the burgesses alleged and the king was inclined to believe—and threw it secretly into the well with stones round its neck.¹³² Jane Boys, a matron of Bamburgh, not knowing that the well was thus contaminated, came, one vigil of the Blessed Virgin, and drank of the water, and was so poisoned that she gave birth to a dead child. Afterwards William West, one of the friars, so it was said, completely stopped up the well, to the great injury of the town, the castle, and the mill.¹³³

The office of constable of Bamburgh was one of the rewards that Hotspur received from Henry IV. for his share in the dethronement of Richard II. He was himself at the castle on the 23rd of February, 1403.¹³⁴ After his death in battle at Shrewsbury, the castle was entrusted by the king to the Earl of Westmoreland, at that time the mortal enemy of the Percy family. It remained loyal while the other castles in the north were making a show of resistance to the royal authority, and we have a letter from John Coppyll, the constable, dated there the 13th of January, 1404, in which he assures the king of the safety of the castle and lordship.¹³⁵ Westmoreland appears to have subsequently purchased the office of constable. He bestowed it on Sir Thomas Gray of Heaton, who thereupon, on the 6th of August, promised to spend his life in peace or war with the Earl on receiving from him in time of war the same wages as others of his own degree.¹³⁶

In 1419 Sir William Elmeden was appointed constable of the castle by Henry V. War broke out almost immediately afterwards between England and Scotland. The Scots were well informed of the extremely weak state the castle was in owing to its not having been kept in repair, and to the insufficient number of men-at-arms and bowmen in the garrison.¹³⁷ Sir William therefore, acting on his own responsibility,

¹³² 'Set jam tarde, certi fratres predicatores dicte ville de Baumburgh, fervore malicie erumpentes, quandam brachetam Jolyfe interfecerunt et eam in dictum fontem vocatum Maudeleynwelle, cum petris circa collum ejusdem brachete ligatis, private projecerunt.'—*Ibid.*

¹³³ 'Ac postmodum quidam frater Willelmus West fontem predictum totaliter obturavit.'—*Ibid.*

¹³⁴ 'To William Lloyt the lord's esquire, by the lord's letter of warrant on 23rd February at Baumburgh in Northumberland and indenture with William of Dynbigh on 1st April 1403 'ad conferendo domino usque Berwick, £133 6s 8d.'—*Eschequer Q.R. Misc.* (Army No. 46); *Cal. Doc. rel. to Scotland*, iv. p. 136.

¹³⁵ *Royal and Historical Letters temp. Henry IV.* Rolls Series, i. p. 206.

¹³⁶ *Ancient Deeds*, Series B. 3515. P.R.O.

¹³⁷ 'Statimque post ingressum ipsius Willelmi in officia predicta guerra inter regnum Anglie et illos de Scocia subito inchoaverit ac inimici de regno Scocie

engaged on the 8th of September six men-at-arms, John Elmeden, Thomas Forster, two John Lermouths, John Chatour, and Thomas Blakwoode, at a shilling a day each, together with twelve bowmen, John Bare, John Taillour, William Roche, Thomas Coke, Thomas Wilkinson, Thomas Bour, Thomas Rosse, Edward Todd, John Elwyke, Peter Wade, Thomas Bell and John Clerkson, at sixpence, for the defence of the castle. He maintained them, in addition to his own messmates,¹³⁸ for two years and more, till peace was made with Scotland. Moreover, he laid out £66 8s. 8d. in repairing the castle, particularly the north wall near the gate of the tower and the drawbridge and well there, two ovens in the baker's house, two coppers in the brewery, the north wall near the postern, the chamber called Neville Chamber, the 'rakkys' for defending the walls, and the walls of the Valetippyng, the Reed, and the Maiden Towers, which were in no condition to resist the attacks of the enemy.¹³⁹ Elmeden had the singular good fortune to be ultimately allowed the expences he thus incurred.

Bamburgh played an important part in the Wars of the Roses. The castle, which had been surrendered to Edward IV. some time after the battle of Towton, was recovered by Margaret of Anjou, aided by French vessels and Scottish troops, in October, 1462. Writing to his father from Holt Castle, in Denbighshire, on the 1st of November, John Paston the younger remarks, 'Syr Wylliam Tunstale is tak with the garyson of Bamborowth, and is lyke to be hedyd, and by the menys of Sir Richard Tunstale, his owne brodyr.'¹⁴⁰ Bamburgh was entrusted by Margaret to the charge of Henry Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Pembroke, and Sir Ralph Percy.¹⁴¹ Soon afterwards the queen

tunc bene informati extiterant de gravi debilitate Castri predicti occasione non reparacionis ejusdem necnon de debilitate stuffure hominum armatorum et sagittariorum ejusdem, &c.—*Ministers' Accounts*, Bamburgh, ½ 7 Hen. V.—8 Hen. VI. (*Comptus Willelmi Elmedene*) P.R.O.

¹³⁸ 'Ultra suos proprios commensales.'—*Ibid.*

¹³⁹ 'Videlicet, in reparacione muri borealis juxta portam Turris ibidem, in reparacione pontis ibidem, in reparacione fontis ibidem, in reparacione domus pistoris in duabus fornacibus in eadem domo, in reparacione duorum plumborum braccine ibidem, in reparacione muri borealis juxta le posterne, in reparacione Camere vocate Neville Chambre, in reparacione de rakkys pro muris ibidem defendendis, in reparacione murorum cujusdam Turris vocate Valetippyng, in reparacione murorum cujusdam Turris vocate le Reede Tour, in reparacione murorum cujusdam Turris vocate le Maiden Tour.'—*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, ii. p. 120.

¹⁴¹ William Wyrcestre's *Chronicle in Liber Niger Scaccarii*, ed. Hearne, 1771, ii. p. 494; C. L. Perceval, *Inaccuracies in the Accounts of the early years of Edward IV.*, in *Archæologia*, xlvii. p. 269.

was herself besieged in the castle. Hearing of the advance of King Edward with a large army, she went on board a 'carvyll' with the intention of sailing to France. A violent storm arose, and Margaret, abandoning the 'carvyll' and the treasure it contained, was glad to reach Berwick in a small boat. That same day four hundred of her French troops were driven on shore near Bamburgh, and being cut off from the Lancastrian garrison in the castle by the Yorkist lines, burnt their ships to prevent these being taken, and sought safety for themselves on Holy Island. A party of two hundred Yorkists, under the Bastard Ogle and John Manners, who had already occupied the island, allowed themselves to be surprised by the unexpected arrival of the French fugitives. In the end, however, more than two hundred of the foreigners, some of whom fled for protection to the church, were either slain or made prisoners.¹⁴²

On the 10th of December the siege of Bamburgh, as well as that of Alnwick and Dunstanburgh, was begun in good earnest by the great Earl of Warwick, who, fixing his head-quarters at Warkworth, rode round every day to direct the operations.¹⁴³ There were no more than three hundred men left with the Duke of Somerset, Lord de Ros, Sir Ralph Percy, and the Earl of Pembroke, to man the walls of Bamburgh against the great army collected there by Lords Montagu,

¹⁴² 'Regina Margareta cepit castrum de Anwyk et obsessa erat in castro de Banburw. Et cum cc. Anglici intrassent quandam parvam insulam in illis partibus ad succurrendum se si necesse fuisset, ipsis nescientibus, advenerunt cccc. de Francigenis ad eos includendos et capiendos, et subito in Anglicos irruerunt; sed capti et interfecti erant ex Francigenis cc. et plures, et alii fugerunt ut dicitur.'—*Lambeth MS.* 448, in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, Camden Soc. Publ. (133) 1880, p. 156. Fabyan says:—'(Queen Margaret) brake her array and fled, and took a carvyll, and therein intended to have sailed into France. But such a tempest fell upon the sea that she was constrained to take a fisher's boat, and by means thereof landed at Berwick, and so drew her to the Scottish king. And shortly after her landing tidings came to her that her said carvyll was drowned, within the which she had great treasure and other riches. And the same day upon four hundred Frenchmen were driven upon land near unto Bamburgh, where they for so much as they might not have away their ships they fired them, and after for their safeguard took an island within Northumberland, where they were assailed by one called Manners with others in his company, and of them slain and taken as many as there were. Halle and Grafton corroborate this, naming Holy Island as the seat of the adventure, and mentioning 'the Bastard Ogle and John Manners' as the assailants.'—Perceval, *Archæologia*, xviii. p. 270. Dr. Perceval, however, failed to understand the ins and outs of this complicated incident. That Yorkists were quartered on Holy Island is shown by the entry in the Priory accounts, 1463-4, of 60s. from Robert and Henry Haggerston and their men, for their dinner for a year.—Raine, *North Durham*, p. 122.

¹⁴³ *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, ii. p. 121.

Strange, Say, Gray of Wilton, Lumley, and Ogle.¹⁴⁴ The Earl of Worcester appears to have come on from the camp before Dunstanburgh in order to assume the chief command, and a few days later to have been joined by the Earl of Arundel.¹⁴⁵ The besieging force was then estimated at 10,000 men, and in the face of these overwhelming odds the castle surrendered conditionally on Christmas Eve.¹⁴⁶ The conditions were that life and limb should be spared, that the leaders of the garrison should be restored to their estates on swearing allegiance to Edward, and that Sir Ralph Percy should have the custody of the castles of Dunstanburgh and Bamburgh.¹⁴⁷ All the same, about the following Lent, Sir Ralph 'by false collusion and treason he let the French men take the castle of Bamburgh from him *volens volo*.'¹⁴⁸

The Lancastrians, though they had regained possession of the most important fortresses in the North, still failed to make any substantial progress, and in April, 1463, Queen Margaret set sail from Bamburgh for Flanders in company with the Duke of Exeter, Sir John Fortescue, Sir Pierre de Brezé, and two hundred others, on board four 'balyngarrys.'¹⁴⁹ Her husband King Henry was left behind at

¹⁴⁴ *Cotton Charter*, xvii. 10 (see above p. 179n).

¹⁴⁵ 'The Wednesday by fore Cristmasse, Anno Domini M^o. cccc. lxi^o. In castello de Banburw sunt dux de Somerset, comes de Penbrok, dominus de Roos et Radulfus Percy, cum ccc. hominibus. At the seege of Hem (them) sunt comes de Wyceter, comes de Arundel, dominus de Ogyl et dominus de Muntegew cum XMⁱ.'—*Lambeth MS.* 448; Camden Soc. Publ. (133), 1880, pp. 158, 159.

¹⁴⁶ Stow, *Annales*, ed. 1614, p. 417.

¹⁴⁷ Gregory, *Chronicle*; Camden Soc. Publ. (122), 1876, p. 219. Among those who yielded on these conditions appears to have been Sir Nicholas Latimer. He had been attainted 4 Nov. 1 Ed. IV. 'aftre which,' he states in a petition to that king, 12 May, 8 Ed. IV., 'at your Castell of Baumburgh, in your Shire of Northumbr', by the right noble Lordes th' Erles of Warrewyk and Worcester', with other there havynge sufficient auctorite by your Highnes, appoyntment was taken that the said Nicholas shuld come and submitte hym to youre goode grace, and therupon to have your Pardon.'—*Rot. Parl.* vi. p. 230b.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p. 220. A Yorkist writer would naturally style the partisans of Margaret 'Fraynysche men,' whether they were all French or not. The time of this surrender is fixed by Fabyan, *Chron.* ed. Ellis, 1811, p. 653.

¹⁴⁹ Wyrcestre, *Chron.* p. 496; *Arch.* xvii. p. 275. 'Quene Margarete whythe alle hir consayle, and Syr Perys de Brasey whythe the Fraynysche men, fiedde a-wey by water with iij balyngarrys; and they londyd at the Scluse in Flaundrys, and lefte Kyng Harry that was be hynde hem, and alle hyr hors and hyr barneys, they were so hastyd.'—Gregory, *Chron.* p. 220. The 'balyngarrys' were probably 'whalers.' Dr. Perceval, *Arch.* xvii. 1883, pp. 275, 286-294, has shown that, in all probability, this was the final departure of Margaret of Anjou from Northumberland; but his criticisms on Miss Strickland are hardly fair, as they are directed against statements in the 2nd edition of her *Lives of the Queens*, which had then already been considerably modified in the several later editions of that most popular work. In the edition of 1877 (Bohn), vol. i. p. 598n, Miss Strickland triumphantly refers to the *Chronique des Derniers Ducs de Bourgogne*, by the contemporary George Chastellain (b. 1404, d. 1474), in support of the story of

Bamburgh. He appears to have remained a whole year or more in the castle, issuing letters of protection there for William Burgh on the 8th of December, 1463,¹⁵⁰ and granting a charter to the burgesses of Alnwick on the 9th of April, 1464.¹⁵¹ In all probability he fled back to Bamburgh from the fatal battle fought near Hexham on the 8th of May. At any rate, on the last day of that month, Sir Henry Bellingham and Sir Thomas Philip, knights, and William Lermouth and Thomas Elwyk of Bamburgh and John Retford of Lincolnshire, gentlemen, John Purcas of London, yeoman, Philip Castelle of Pembroke in South Wales, Archibald and Gilbert Ridley of Langley in Northumberland, and Gawen Lamplough of Warkworth, gentlemen, John a Whynefell of Naworth in Cumberland, yeoman, and Alexander Bellingham of Burneside in Westmoreland, gentleman, 'adhered unto Henry, called late king,' at Bamburgh, and 'him assisted, succoured, and helped.'¹⁵²

Whatever became of Henry VI., and these his immediate adherents, Sir Ralph Grey, who had fled from the field of Hexham before the battle began, remained in command of Bamburgh castle.¹⁵³ On the

Queen Margaret's presence at the battle of Hexham in 1464 and her subsequent adventure with the robber. But on referring to Chastellain's account (i.e. Part. chapitre xx.), it turns out that it was two years previously, in 1462, that Margaret related the story of this adventure to the Duchess of Bourbon in Chastellain's presence at St. Pol, and that therefore 'the last unhappy discomfiture, when she was taken prisoner and robbed of all her wealth, including her crown jewels and plate, and the treasures that she was endeavouring to carry with her to Scotland' ('la derrenière mal-éurée desconfiture où elle fut prinse et saisie, elle fut robbée et pillée de tout son vaillant, de ses royaulx joyaulx etabis, de ses grosses vasselles, et des trésors les quels cuidoit aller sauver en Escoce'), must have been during her retreat from Towton towards Scotland in 1461. There are circumstances that make it possible that, after all, the adventure did take place in the woods of Hexhamshire, and so the tradition of the Queen's Cave, if a genuine tradition, may have some foundation in fact, although it can have absolutely no connection with the battle of Hexham. Bishop Stubbs, whose knowledge of the period has much improved since the publication of the 1st edition of his *Constitutional History*, now says 'it appears almost certain that Margaret, after her departure from England in 1463, remained abroad until 1470'—4th ed. crown 8vo, Oxford, 1890, p. 205n, but he cautiously refers to Plummer's notes on Fortescue, p. 62. For a very interesting letter of the chivalrous young Edward Prince of Wales, probably written soon after Margaret's arrival in Lorraine, see *Archæological Journal*, vii. p. 170.

¹⁵⁰ Perceval, *Notes on Documents belonging to Sir John Lawson, Bart.*, in *Archæologia*, xlvii. p. 190.

¹⁵¹ Tate, *History of Alnwick*, ii. App. VI.

¹⁵² *Rot. Parl.* v. p. 511, b.

¹⁵³ 'Radulfus Gray fugit de Hexham ante bellum inceptum ad castrum Bamburgh, et post bellum de Hexham multi ex parte Regis Henrici fugerunt in eodem castro. Et non longò postea comes Warwick cum maximis bumbardis obsedit idem castrum.'—Wyrcestre, *Chron.* p. 499; *Arch.* xlvii. p. 280n.

25th of June the Earl of Warwick and his brother, the newly created Earl of Northumberland, having kept the feast of St. John Baptist at Dunstanburgh, proceeded to lay formal siege to the castle. They despatched the king's Chester herald, with their own Warwick herald, to say unto Sir Ralph Grey and 'other that kept his rebellious opinion,' that they were immediately to deliver up the place, when all the garrison would be accorded a royal pardon, from which, however, Sir Humphrey Neville and Sir Ralph Grey were specially excepted, 'as out of the king's grace without any redemption.' To this summons Sir Ralph replied that he had 'clearly determined within himself to live or die in the castle.' Thereupon the heralds declared that all the guilt of bloodshed would be laid to his charge, and one of them delivered this final message:—'My lords ensureth you, upon their honour, to sustain siege before you these seven years or else to win you. My said Lord Lieutenant and my said Lord Warden hath also given us further commandment to say unto you, if ye deliver not this Jewel, the which the king our most dread sovereign Lord hath so greatly in favour, seeing it marcheth so nigh his ancient enemies of Scotland, he specially desireth to have it, whole, unbroken with ordinance; if ye suffer one great gun laid unto the wall and be shot, and prejudice the wall, it shall cost you the chieftain's head; and so proceeding for every gun shot, to the last head of any person within the place.'¹⁵⁴

Notwithstanding this terrible warning, Sir Ralph Grey left the herald and 'put him in devoir to make defence.' Warwick then ordered all the king's great guns to be charged at once, and 'to shoot unto the castle.' 'Newe-Castel,' the king's great gun, and 'London,' the second gun of iron so 'betyde' the place that stones of the walls flew unto the sea, while 'Dysyon,' a brazen gun of the king's,¹⁵⁵ smote through Sir Ralph Grey's chamber oftentimes. The cannonade seems

¹⁵⁴ *Coll. Armor. MS.* l. 9, printed in the notes to Warkworth's *Chronicle*, Camden Soc. Publ. p. 36.

¹⁵⁵ It has been suggested that as the two iron guns 'Newe-Castel' and 'London' derived their names from towns where they were probably cast, the name of the brazen gun 'Dysyon' may be a corruption of 'Dijon.' There are several curious examples of cannon with their names cast on them in the Zeughaus Museum at Berlin, and it seems a pity that a practice that gave a certain personality to them and their performances has been discontinued. Locomotive engines have similarly been deprived of their names in recent years on the principal English railways, and neither travellers nor drivers can take that interest in them that they did, while makers say that mistakes are of much more frequent occurrence in refitting them when there is no name but only a number to refer to.

to have been directed by Edward and Richard Bombartell, and other of the king's ordinance; and assisted by men-at-arms and archers they won the castle of Bamburgh, and taking Sir Ralph prisoner, led him to Edward IV., at Doncaster, where he was executed, one of the chief articles in the judgment pronounced on him by the Earl of Worcester, as constable of England, being that he 'had withstood and made fences against the king's majesty, and his lieutenant, the worthy Lord of Warwick, as appeareth by the strokes of the great guns in the king's walls of his castle of Bamburgh.'¹⁵⁶

Edward IV. granted, under his great seal, an annuity of £100 to Sir Richard Ogle for 'the office and keypyng of oure Castell of Bamburgh.' Sir Richard subsequently surrendered this in Chancery, and received in recompense a grant of £40 a year for his life, which was saved to him by the Act of Resumption of 1473.¹⁵⁷ Henry Percy, the fourth Earl of Northumberland, was made constable of the castle; but it appears to have been in the actual keeping of his cousin, Sir Henry Percy, who, like his father, Sir Ralph, played a very important part in the history of the North.¹⁵⁸

The report of Richard Bellysys and his fellow-commissioners in 1538 on the repairs requisite for the 'sure holding and keeping of Bamburgh' runs as follows:—

'The view of the castell of bawmborgh wich is of thre grett wardes and in grett reuyn & decay albeit the scytuacyon & standyng of the said castell is of the strongest and imprinaby[ll] ground that may be, And theis thynges folloyng is most nedfull ther to be doyn.

'Fyrste the Draw brydge at the enterrye of the est warde must be all new mayd and all thynges ther to will cost xls.

'Item ther must be a new gaytt mayd of wode with seym and royve for the gaythowse at the enterre of the said draw bryge of foure yerdes and a half hye and thre yerdes and a half broyde wich will cost by estimacion all mayner of thynges *vli*.

'Item the walles of the two utterwardes is veray mych in rouyne

¹⁵⁶ *Coll. Armor. MS.* l. 9; Warkworth, *Chron.* (Camden Soc. Publ. 10) p. 38.

¹⁵⁷ *Rot. Parl.* vi. p. 96a. This Sir Richard does not figure in the pedigrees of the Ogle family. He was possibly the 'Bastard Ogle' of the Holy Island affair.

¹⁵⁸ Sir Henry Percy received a grant of the office of porter of Bamburgh, 3rd May, 1486, with the same wages as Thomas Marshall had.—*Materials Illustrative of the Reign of Henry VII.*, Rolls Series, i. p. 423. On his death the offices of receiver and porter were granted for life to Sir William Tyler, 22nd Jan. 1487.—*Ibid.* ii. p. 112.

and decay albeyt the gronde and the situacion of theym is marvellus stronge so that yf ther were but xl*li* be stowyd in dyvers places of the said walles wher most ned were wolde do mych gude.

‘Item ther must be an yron gaytt mayd for the innere warde of foure yerdes & a quarter hyght and thre yerdes & a quarter of breyde wich will tayke two tonne of yron xl*li*.

‘Item to the smyth for maykyng of the said yron gayt vj*li*.

‘Item ther is a gret chambere within the innerwarde that will serve very well for the hall wherof the leydes of the royf must be new cast, and a fother of leyde more towarde the mendyng of the said leydes, And the castyng & the layng of the said leydes & the warkmanschype therof iij*li*.

‘Item ther muste be for the said hall two doysr & two wyndowes wich will cost xxs.

‘Item half a roye of sarkkyng bord for the sayd hall vjs.

‘Item ther is a nothere fayre chambere Jonyng of the north syde of the said hall that must have a new balke of vj yerdes and a half longe, wich balke most be hade frome chopwell wodes be west new castell wich wodes pertenyng to the layt monestery of new mynster and the balke must be carryd by watter & all charges therof xijs.

‘Item ther must be for the said chambere half a royd of sarkyng borde vjs.

‘Item the leydes of the royff of the said chambere must be new cast and a fother of new leyde more towards the mendyng of theym. And for gutters spowttes and fylletes & the charges of the castyng & laynge xlvijs.

‘Item ther is thre fayre vawtes undere the said hall and chambere convenyent for a buttre a sellere & a store howse wich must have thre new Doyres xxs.

‘Item ther must be a new royf mayde for an howsse at the est end of the hall wich must serve for the kychnge & for larders, And undere the said howsse ther is a fayre vawte wich will serve for a stabyll for xxiiij horsse. And for maykyng of the said royff there must be vj balkes of viij yerdes longe and for wyvers (*sic*) wallplayttes spars & other tymbere for the said royff xvj tonne of tymbere wich tymbere must be had in chopwell wodes appertenying to the layt abbay of new mynster and for the caryage & maykyng of the said royf vij*li*.

‘Item ther must be for coveryng of the said royf fyve royde of scattes with lattes broddes & lym all thynges by estimacion will cost *vj* *li*.

‘Item for the said kychynge & layrdere for wyndoys Dores and particyons by estimacion *liij* *iiij* *l*.

‘Item ther must be for the stabyll a bove said of *xxiiij* horsstes bays mayngers & rakes and a doyre the charges ther of for caryage of the tymbere & warkmanschype *iiij* *li*.

‘Item there is a narrow towre of a convenient lenth at the est syd of the said kychynge wych will be two chambers for lodgynges and must have *xij* geystes of *iiij* yerdes longe and half a royd of florynge borde and *xij* spars of thre yerdes longe and a royde of sarkynge borde the charges ther of *xls*.

‘Item the royf of the said howse must be new theykyd with leyd and must have two fudders and a half of leyd more then is of it. And for the castynge and laynge of the said leyd *xxiiij* *s*.

‘Item ther is a lyttyll towre at the sowth end of the sayd kychynge, wherof the leydes of the said towre must be new cast & half a fother of leyde putt to it the castynge and the laynge of the said leyd *xij* *s*.

‘Item for the saym towre a royde of sarkynge borde *xij* *s*.

‘Item for the floyres of the said towre a royde of floyrynge borde *xiiij* *s*.

‘Item for the said towre for Dores and wyndowes lockes and bandes for Dores *xxs*.

‘Item ther is two fayre Chambers well wallyd Jonynges boith to getheres standynge at the est ende of the olde walles callyde the Kynges hall & under the said two Chambers ther is foure fayr vawttes & the said two chamberys must have two newe royffes of *v* balkes of *viiij* yerdes longe for ather of the said two chamberys. And the ryst of all mayner of tymbere for the royffes of boith the said chamerys will be *xxx* tonne of tymbere the said tymbere to be hade at chopwell woddes a for said, and at bykere wodes a lyttyll from new castell, wich bykere wodes was layt the erle of northumberlandes. And this said tymbere must be caryid by watter. And all mayner of charges as well for caryage as warkmanschype of the said royffes *xiiij* *li*.

‘Item ther must be for coverynge of the said two chamers royffes *x* royd of sclaytt wich will cost with lyme lattes broides & other necessarys by estimacion *xiiij* *li*.

'Item ther must be for the said two chamers and for the said foure vawttes for Doyrs wyndows lockes and kays and other necessarys ther to appertenyng by estimacion *iiij*li**.

'Item ther must be half a fother of leyde for a gutter to the said two chambers for the plumere wages *iij*s**.

'Item ther is a brewhowsse and a bakhowse both under one royff wich is Decayd, wherfor ther must be a new royff of balkes *vj* yerdes longe. and for all other tymbere appertenyng to the said royffes *xiiij* tonne of tymbere, wich tymbere may be had at chopwell and bykare wodes aforsaid And framyd and wrought in the said wodes and caryd by watter all mayner of charges ther of by estimacion *vj*li**.

'Item ther must be for coverynge of the said howse of sclattes foure royde wich wyll cost with lyme lattes broddes and othere necessarys by estimacion *vi*li**.

'Item for Dors wyndowes partycyons & lookes to the said howsses *xx*s**.

'Item for maykynge ovynnes rayngyes fornesses & brewynge vessell meyt for a brewhowse by estimacion *viiij*li**.

'Item ther must be a fother & a half of leyde for makynge of the brewynge leydes.

'Item ther must be a horse milne wych wyll cost all thynges meyte for the saym purpos *x*li**.

'Item there is two draw welles wherof one in the Dongyone wich Dongyone the royff ther of is all decayd & the said well is of a marvellus grett dypnes.

'Item the other well is in the west end of the west warde and the wall that inclosys the said well to the castell must be amendyt, for the mendynge ther of and clensynge of the said well by estimacion *iiij*li**.

'Item ther must be for reparellynge & a mendynge both of dyvers fayre towres and for the walles of the innere warde that is to say for battylmenttes and for putynge in of archelare stones and for pynynge with ston where the walles is rent and rowgh castynge of the said walles with lym by estimacion *x*li**.

'Item there is foure towres within the said innere warde wherof the walles ar veray god and the tymbere of the royffes fresche and the leyde of the said foure royffes must be new castyn and there must be thre fother of leyde more for mendynge of the said royffes And for

the castynge of the leyde of new of all the foure forsaid royffes with gutters spowttes and fyllettes iiijl*li*.

‘Item dyvers of theis howses a for said must be dyght and clenysyd for ther is a grett substans and quantyte of sand within theym wich in mayner has fyllyd full dyvers of the said howsses. And for the labore and carrynge owte ther of iiiij*li*.

‘Summa totalis cex*li* xs iiiij*d*.

‘And over and above the said Summa } x fother of leyd.¹⁵⁹
ther must be for the said castell }

Neither the cannonade of 1464 nor the utter absence of any attempt to keep the castle in regular repair could, however, destroy the basalt ramparts of Queen Bebbas fortress. Leland calls Bamburgh ‘some-time a huge and great castle, one of the strongest in those parts.’¹⁶⁰ William Patten, Londoner, who accompanied the Duke of Somerset on his expedition to Scotland in 1547, thus writes enthusiastically of the place:—‘Tuesday, xxx of August. This day his Grace having journeyed in the morning a x mile (from Alnwick) dined at Bamborow Castle whereof one Sir John Horsley Knight is captain. The plot of this castle standeth so naturally strong, that hardly can any where (in my opinion) be found the like: inaccessible on all sides, as well for the great height of the crag whereon it standeth, as also for the outward form of the stone whereof the crag is, which (not much amiss perchance) I may liken to the shape of long bavens,¹⁶¹ standing on end with their sharper and smaller ends upwards. Thus is it fenced round about, and hath hereto on the east side the sea, at flood coming up to the hard walls. This castle is very ancient, and called in Arthur’s days (as I have heard) Joyous Garde: hither came my Lord Clinton from shipboard to my Lord. In the afternoon his Grace rode to Berwick xiiii mile further.’¹⁶²

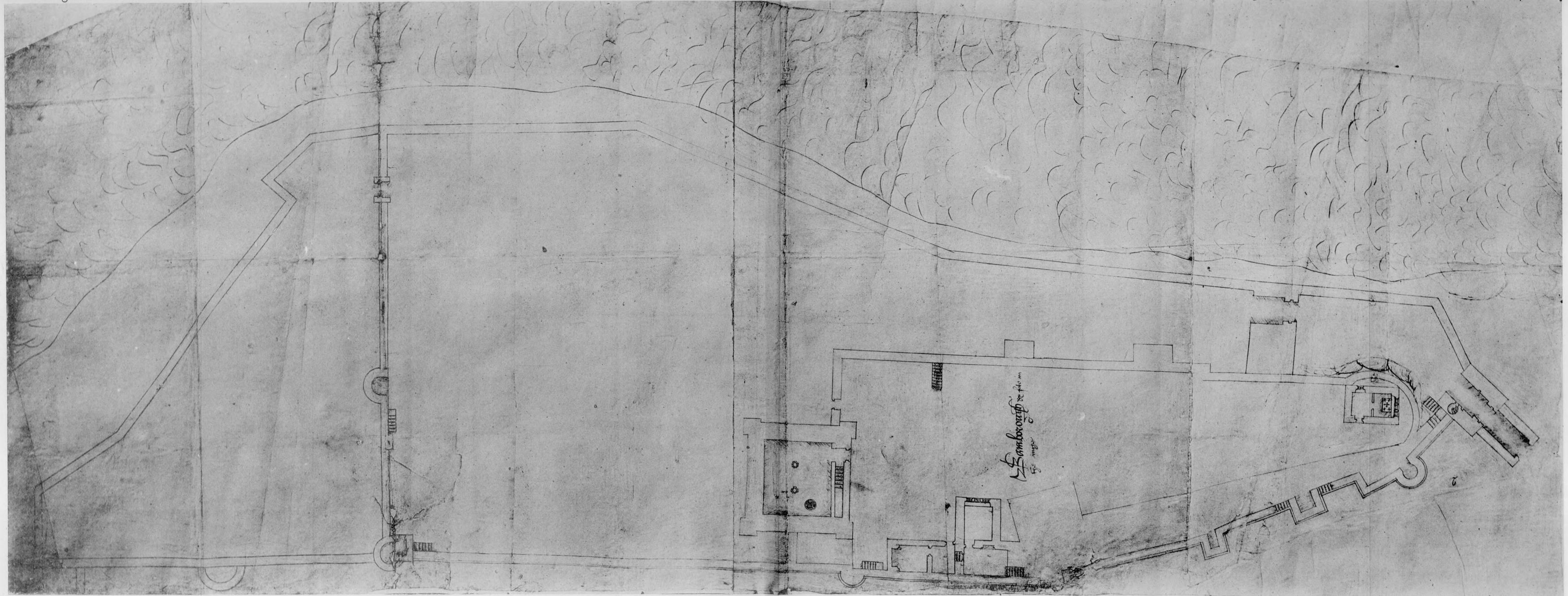
In 1550 Sir Robert Bowes advised that Bamburgh Castle should be surveyed and kept in proper repair ‘for the scyte therof is wonder-

¹⁵⁹ *Chapter House Book*, B₅^A, p. 53, P.R.O. This Survey was printed with comparatively great accuracy by Mr. Hartshorne in *Proc. of Arch. Inst.* 1852, ii. p. 244n.; but the place assigned to it, among the notes to the chapter on the Barony of Prudhoe, was not well chosen.

¹⁶⁰ See *ante*, p. 27.

¹⁶¹ *i.e.* faggots of brushwood.

¹⁶² Dalzell, *Fragments of Scottish History*, p. 28. John Horsley appears to have followed Somerset to Scotland, and to have been made a knight banneret at the battle of Musselburgh.—Hodgson, *Northd.* II. ii. p. 104, quoting Holingshed, *Chron.* ii. 991.

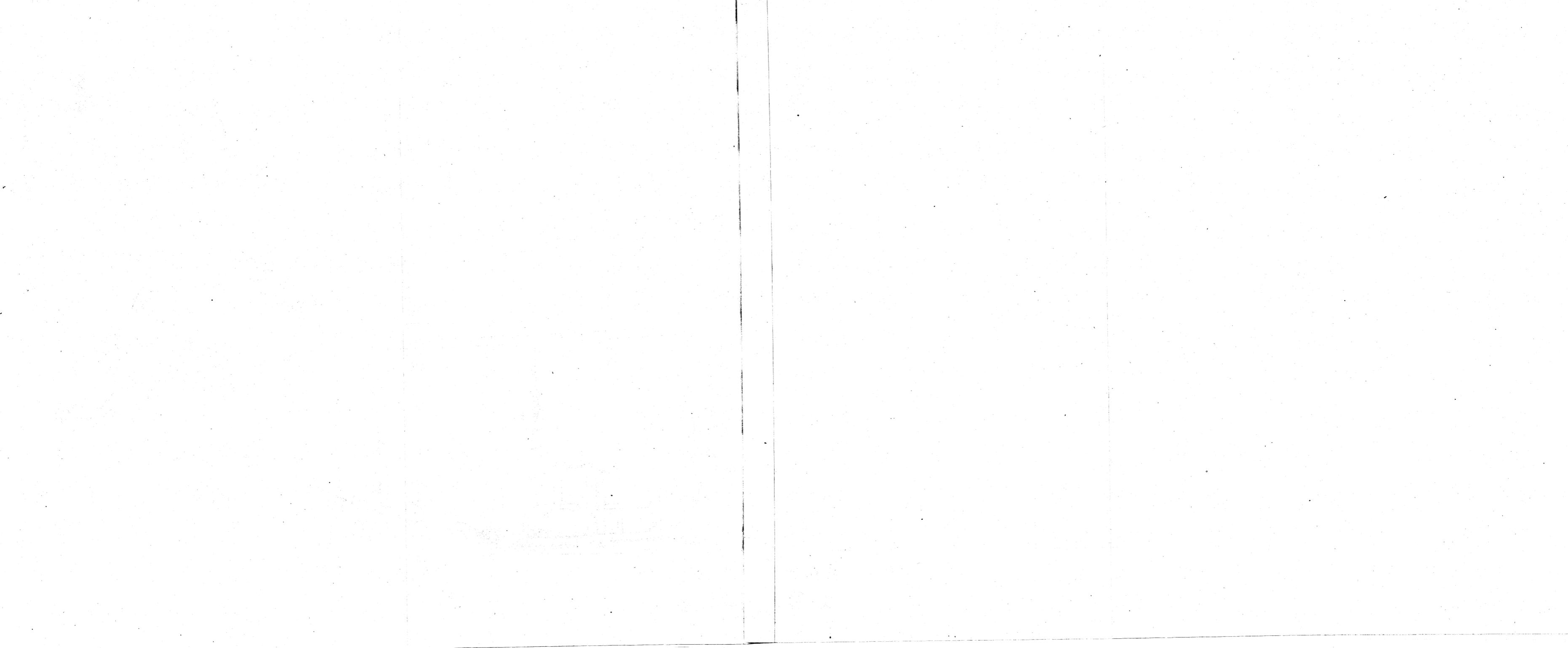


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BAMBOROUGH

XX Fete to the Inch,

(Facsimile of a sixteenth century Plan in Cotton M.S. Aug. 1, ii, 2. Brit. Mus.)



full strong, and the keping of the same castle is the best office that the Kinge's matie gevethe, within the east marches of England.¹⁶³

As usual, little or nothing seems to have come of Sir Robert's representations.

In June, 1575, a special commission was directed by Queen Elizabeth to Thomas Bates, supervisor of crown lands in Northumberland, Sir Cuthbert Collingwood, John Selby, porter of Berwick, William Reade, captain of Holy Island, and Robert Raynes, bidding them repair to the castle of Bamburgh and execute six articles of inquiry on the Queen's behalf.¹⁶⁴ It is to them and their panel of twelve jurors that we owe:—

'THE SURVEY [and view taken of]¹⁶⁵ the Castell of Bambrough in the County of Northumberland the [four] and twentieth Day [of October in the 17th year]¹⁶⁶ of the reigne of our sovereigne lady the Quenes matie that now ys by the Comissioners and Jury above named as foloweth: [To the first article, the said castle is scituate upon a may]ne Rocke [on] the sea banke, a very stronge scituatyon, and hath on the Coast Northward from yt the Holy Iland distant [by estimacion four miles and from thence the] Quenes Maties towne of Barwick distant from Iland six miles And towards the Sowth from Bamburgh, on [the sea coast ys scytuate the castle of Dunstan]borough parcell of hir maties Possessions of the Duchy of Lankester distant five myles or thereabowtes w^{ch} sayd Ca[stell of Bamburgh, in] the said [Commission named is] in utter ruine and Decaye, the Draw Bridge and gates ys so broken that [there is] no usuall entry on the [fore part save at a breach in the wall, that hath been] well walled and yett hath walles much decayed standing, and ys of thre wardes in the two utterwards w[hereof nothing is but walls much] decayed; [in the

¹⁶³ *State Papers, Dom. Add. Ed. VI.* vol. iv. No. 30, P.R.O.; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. ii. p. 206.

¹⁶⁴ *Special Commissions*, Northumberland, 17 Eliz. No. 1729, P.R.O. Dated 'apud Westm. xvj^o die Junii anno regni nostrj xvij^o.' The Survey 'in lingua Anglicana scripta' was confirmed by an 'inquisitio indentata' taken at Bamburgh before Selby, Reade, and Bates, 16 Apr. 1576.—*Ibid.* m. 3.

¹⁶⁵ The words between the parentheses are mostly supplied from a copy of this survey printed in Hutchinson's *View of Northumberland*, ii. p. 168n, as the original is in an extremely bad state of preservation. Hutchinson was indebted for this copy to Ralph Spearman of Eachwick, and in spite of its many inaccuracies it now proves most valuable.

¹⁶⁶ This survey was originally dated '16 Eliz.' The date of the writ for the Commission, and the subsequent mention of the day of the week, 'the *monday* the xxiiijth of October,' conclusively prove this to be an error for '17 Eliz.'

innermost] ward ys one tower of xxv yeardes sqare, by estimatyon standing upon the top of [the rocke an]d in the same a w[ell of fresh water, the walls] whereof are upright [but] much Ruyned and decayed with wether The rooffe wherof which hath bene tymber and some tyme co[vered] with [lead as it seemeth is utterly decayed and gone; within the] said ward [al]so have bene the principall Lodginges of the howse, and as yt may appeare [al]l the offyces belonging th[ereunto which for the more part, as it seems, have] bene l[ong in] decay and the ruinouse walls do in the most part therof stand And yet in one p[art of the same lodgings hath] been of [late a lodging for the] Cap[tain, the par]ts whereof called the halle and great chamber have bene Covered wth Leade and yet [have] some Leade upon [them, and in some parts revin and the lea]d ta[ken away.] Th[e hall in] the Captaines Lodging conteaneth in length xj yeardes and in bredth vij yeardes by estimatyon, [hath lead upon it yet, by estimation . . . fothers; the] great Chamber conteanyng in length x yeardes and in bredth v yeardes by estimation hath lead [yet remaini]ng [to the value of . . . fothers by] est[imation the] reast of the lead of both howses decayed and taken away. The timber [of both the said houses is peri]shed and in much dec[ay; within the said ward] hath bene of Late a chappell and other littell Turrettes Covered, all which be now utterly decayed [saving the . . .] walles [of the most part thereof, mu]ch worn with wether standeth.

* * * * *
 ‘[There is belonging to] the said [castle the demayne lan]ds of Bambrough, the demayne lands at Sunderland, The townes or hamletts of Bedenhall [Shorston and] Sunderland, [all which be reputed as] the proper Lordshipp belonging to the said Castelle and besydes the payment of ther rents in mony and [grains mentioned in the] next [article following they or] some of theme (perfectly there knowen) do owe by there tenures and by Custome certain services [to the said castle] as the casting [away of sand and cleansing] the said Castell thereof. Certaine day works of husband labor for the occupation and [enjoying] of the [said demayne lands, and alsoe that every two tenan]ts shoode bring every yere one cart lode of wood from Rochewood and one Lode of [turves from the Kings Moore to the said castle to be spent with certaine] other accustom-

able services To the said Castell also belongeth a certaine pece of ground w[hich as it] semeth h[hath bene inclosed; because there remaineth] yet about yt the mēcyē (*sic* memory ?) wher the Dyche hath bene, called by the name of Roche wood [where great] woods [hath be]ene but now [utterly decayed] and no wood at all remayneth theron. Ther ys also certaine other townes as Bewick, Dychburn [Calvēle, Eslingtone,] Yetlington, [Midleton Midle,] Midleton north and Midleton sowth, Mulfen, and Bedenhall; which pay yerely severall [rents] unto the said [Castell, whic]h rents [be commonly called Dring]age.

* * * * *
 ‘For the decay of the said Castell of Late tyme, the deposicyons of certaine persones who were servants [to Sir J]ohn horseley Late Capitane there, ys by vertew of the said Comissyon taken, as foloweth at Bambrough the monday the xxiiijth of October [in the] xvjth yere of the reigne of the Quenes ma^{tie} that now ys: Willm Hunter of Thornihalwhe¹⁶⁷ in the county of Northumberland of [the age] of liij yeres or therabowts sworne and examined, to the first, second third fowerth fiveth and Sixth, sayeth that in the tyme of S^r John [hor]seley Late Capitane of the said Castell and at his death ther was in the said Castell, one hall, one great Chamber, and one other Chamber [on the] Eest syde of the hall all covered with lead, and furnyshed in other reparatyons, at that tyme convenient, to be dwelled in, and that there [was] at that tyme two other Chambers in the said Castell likewise covered with leade and in like reparacyons, And that ther was in the said [Castell] a kitching covered with Flagge and a Chappell covered with sclate, and that under the said hall and great Chamber were sellers for offices [with] doores and all such other furnitures as wer Convenient, and being examined how he knowth the same to be trew he sayeth that Sir John horsley [who] was the last Capitane ther, before Sir John fostar, did dwell and kepe his howse continually in the said Castell, and that this Deponent was his servant and [di]d for the most part attend on him ther.

‘Henry Muschants of the grenes¹⁶⁸ in the County of Northumberland of the age of Liiij yeres or ther about sworne and Examined to

¹⁶⁷ Thornyhaugh on the right bank of the Coquet, just above Brinkburn priory.

¹⁶⁸ Apparently in Felton parish, a litle to the north of Swarland.

the first Second third Fowarth, fiveth and sixt articles sayeth in all things as his cotestyne Willm hunter [hath] said saving that he sayeth the tymber of the chapell was in some decay at that tyme, as he doth remember.

‘(T)h(omas?) Ersden of the Feild head¹⁶⁹ in the County of Northumberland, of the Age of Lx yeres, or ther abowts sworne and Examined to the first [second] third fowerth fiveth and syxt sayeth in all things as his precotesties have said.

‘WHICH Lodgings are now in utter decay, the Chappell [tim]ber and stones cleane taken away and all thother buildings before mencioned, save onely the hall and great Chamber which have yett some [lead] upon them as appeareth in the answer of the first article, the Tymber by reason of the leade taken away, is much perished [but] by whome the same spoile ys done they know not.

* * * * *
 ‘The decay of the Decay (*sic*) of the Castell ys before declared and [what] the repayre therof will cost they know not, but yf yt shalbe to any purpose, to restore the former strength and Bewty therof, the [charges will] be great. And they say that to ther knowledg, the Quenes ma^{tie} ys to repare and maneteane the same, bycause yt ys the auncyent Inheritance [of the] Crowne.’

When we remember the scandalous way in which Sir John Forster, who had succeeded Horsley as captain of Bamburgh, set to work to ruin Alnwick and Warkworth for his own purposes,¹⁷⁰ there can be little doubt that ‘the spoil’ of Bamburgh was the consequence of his rapacity, and that the jury, for fear of offending him, had recourse to the convenient plea of ignorance. The serving men of Horsley, who had long before earned the character of ‘a true man, a wise borderer, and well minded to justice,’¹⁷¹ in vain bore witness to the very different state of things that prevailed at Bamburgh in their master’s time. In 1584, however, Forster was directly charged with having laid waste the castle, together with a gentleman’s house and six tenements in the village.¹⁷² His family had received a grant of the possessions of the cell of Austin canons at Bamburgh in about 1545,¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ Fieldhead, a mile east of Long Horsley Church.

¹⁷⁰ See *ante*, p. 127.

¹⁷¹ *Cotton MS.* Calig. B. vi. 244, fo. 432; Hodgson, *Northd.* II. i. p. 68.

¹⁷² See *ante*, p. 80.

¹⁷³ *Originalia*, 37 Hen. VIII. pars iv. ro. lxxx.

and on the 15th of March, 1610, James I. bestowed the castle and lordship on Claudius Forster, the son of one of Sir John's illegitimate progeny.¹⁷⁴ The estates of the Forsters of Bamburgh were sold to pay their debts in 1704, and were purchased by Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, who had married one of their co-heiresses. On his death in 1720, Lord Crewe left the greater part of his property to trustees for charitable purposes. The restoration of the castle was commenced by the Crewe Trustees in 1757. On Sunday the 10th of August, 1766, Dr. Sharp, Archdeacon of Northumberland, the trustee by whose zeal the work was carried out, had the satisfaction of entertaining at dinner in the court room of the keep, Dr. Trevor, Bishop of Durham, who had been holding a confirmation in the village.¹⁷⁵ 'Dr. Sharp,' says Pennant, writing in 1769, 'has repaired and rendered habitable the great Norman square tower: the part reserved for himself and family, is a large hall and a few smaller apartments; but the rest of the spacious edifice is allotted for purposes which make the heart to glow with joy when thought of. The upper part is an ample granary; from whence corn is dispensed to the poor without distinction, even in the dearest time, at the rate of four shillings a bushel; and the distressed for many miles round, often experience the conveniency of this benefaction. Other apartments are fitted up for shipwrecked sailors, and bedding is provided for thirty, should such a number happen to be cast on shore at the same time.'¹⁷⁶

Grose, whose remarks are entitled to more attention than those of most writers who have treated of Bamburgh, tells us in 1776:— 'The stones with which the keep or great tower is built, are (some lintels excepted) remarkably small, and were taken from a quarry at Sunderland (next the) sea three miles distant. From their smallness,

¹⁷⁴ *Writ of Privy Seal*, 7 James I. Camden's account of Bamburgh is only curious from its ascribing the destruction of the castle to the Lancastrians:— 'Nostra . . . ætate castrum potius quam ciuitas habetur, sed adeò amplium vt ciuitatis sit æmulum. . . . Decoris maximam partem longo pòst tempore, intestino bello amisit, cum Bressius Normannus vir militaris qui Lancastrensi familiæ studuit inclementiùs in illud sæuiret. Iam inde verò cum tempore, et ventis conflictatus est, qui incredibilem vim sabuli ex oceano in eius munitiones per fenestras patentes conuerterunt.—*Britannia*, ed. 1587, p. 545.

¹⁷⁵ Hutchinson, *View of Northumberland*, ii. p. 174, quoting Randal's MS.

¹⁷⁶ Pennant, *Tour in Scotland*, 5th ed. i. p. 44. A cannon, belonging to a Dutch frigate of 40 guns, lost with all the crew opposite the castle in about 1709, was fixed on the top of the keep to be fired in case of a ship being seen in distress.—*Ibid.* p. 45n. This appears to be the cannon now 'traditionally' called the Armada Gun.

it has been conjectured they were brought hither on the backs of men, or horses. . . . The walls to the front are eleven feet thick; but the other three sides are only nine. They appear to have been built with regular scaffolding to the first story; and so high the fillings in the inside are mixed with whin-stone, which was probably what came off the rock in levelling the foundations; but there are no whin-stone fillings higher up, the walls above having been carried up without scaffolding, in a manner called by the masons over-hand work; the consequence of which is, that they all overhang a little, each side of the tower being a few inches broader at the top than at the bottom.

‘The original roof was placed no higher than the top of the second story. The reason for the side walls being carried so much higher than the roof, might be for the sake of defence, or to command a more extensive look-out, both towards the sea and land. The tower was, however, afterwards covered at the very top.

‘Here were no chimneys. The only fire-place in it was a grate in the middle of a large room, supposed to have been the guard room, where some stones in the middle of the floor are burned red. This floor was all of stone, supported by arches. This room had a window in it near the top, three feet square, intended to let out the smoke: all the other rooms were lighted by slits or chinks in the walls, six inches broad, except in the gables of the roof, each of which had a window one foot broad. The rock on which this tower stands rises about 150 feet above low water mark.

‘The outworks are built of a very different stone from that of the keep, being a coarse free-stone of an inferior quality, ill abiding the injuries of the weather. This stone was taken from the rock itself; a large seam of it lying immediately under the whin-stone.

‘In all the principal rooms in the outworks there are large chimneys; particularly in the kitchen, which measures forty feet by thirty; where there are three very large ones, and four windows: over each window is a stone funnel, like a chimney, open at the top; intended, as it is supposed, to carry off the steam.

‘In a narrow passage, near the top of the keep, was found upwards of fifty iron heads of arrows, rusted together into one mass; the longest of them about seven inches and a half. It is likely they were originally all of the same length. There was likewise found some painted

glass, supposed to have formerly belonged to the windows of the chapel. It was not stained; but had the colours coarsely laid upon it.

'In December 1770, in sinking the floor of the cellar, a curious draw well was accidentally found. Its depth is 145 feet, cut through the solid rock; of which 75 feet is a hard whin-stone.

'In the summer of the year 1773, on throwing over the bank a prodigious quantity of sand, the remains of the chapel was discovered; in length 100 feet. The chancel is now quite cleared. It is 36 feet long, and 20 feet broad; the east end, according to the Saxon fashion, semicircular. The altar, which has been likewise found, did not stand close to the east end, but in the centre of the semicircle, with a walk about it, three feet broad, left for the priest to carry the host in procession. The front (font), richly carved, is also remaining.'¹⁷⁷

Before proceeding with his restoration of the keep, Dr. Sharp appears to have been careful to make sketches and notes of the exact condition he found it in, and these, sometime previous to his death in 1792, he communicated to Edward King, an antiquary of great erudition but little common sense. 'From his account,' says King, speaking of Dr. Sharp and Bamburgh keep, 'which I received with several most curious drawings, it appears, that very strong vestiges of its real antiquity, actually *remained visible*, before Bishop Crew's charity was applied to make that great change in the whole appearance, which now deceives the eye of the antiquary. . . . Instead of there having been magnificent State rooms in the *upper stories*, at a great height, as in *Gundulph's Towers*,¹⁷⁸ there appeared to have been a roof let in low, beneath the top of the building, as at *Porchester*, and at *Castleton*,¹⁷⁹—and even to have been placed no higher than the top of the second story, from the ground;—insomuch that the middle old small window of what is now the third story, must have been a mere large

¹⁷⁷ Grose, *Antiquities*, 1785, iv. pp. 56-58. The two plates there given represent the north-west and the south aspects of the castle, and were drawn respectively in 1773 and 1771, when the keep was all that had been restored. It is curious to note how Grose's phrases have been copied and recopied *non mutatis mutandis* in every description of Bamburgh from Hutchinson and Mackenzie down to the very latest guide-books. Scissors and paste are two of the most formidable enemies of true provincial history.

¹⁷⁸ *I.e.*, Rochester Castle and St. Leonard's Tower, West Malling; but the former is probably really later than Bishop Gundulf's time.

¹⁷⁹ King shows this 'inverted pointed roof' in fig. 6 pl. xxvii., and in sections of the keeps of Castleton (Derbyshire) and Porchester in vol. ii. figs. 2, 3, pl. xxi. The roof of Porchester resembled a double V.

loop for shooting arrows, or used as a sort of *look-out*, between the slopings of the roof, to which the walls carried up so much higher all round, were a defence. In subsequent ages, indeed, the Tower was covered at the very top of the third floor: but the vestiges in the side walls of the stone mouldings, in the form of a V, remained to Doctor Sharp's time. It clearly appeared also, that *originally* all the rooms beneath were lighted only by very narrow loops, or small slits in the wall: and even the chief room on the first story, only by a window, near its top, three feet square, far unlike any Norman windows;—whilst, in each of the deep gable ends of the old roof, was a window only one foot broad. . . . To all these observations, (from the peculiar representations in the drawings, sent to me by Dr. Sharp,) it may be added, that it seems as if there originally was an antient entrance to this Castle (keep), up a flight of steps up the outside to a door where the large window now is on the south-west side.¹⁸⁰

The rebuilding of the outer wall of the castle towards the sea in the beginning of the century was followed by the conversion of the ruins of the Great Hall and Kitchen into buildings for the schools which were established under the direction of Dr. Bowyer, Archdeacon of Northumberland, in 1810.¹⁸¹ The strong westerly winds that prevailed in 1817 removed a great mass of sand and laid bare a burial-ground, the existence of which had been entirely forgotten, about three hundred yards to the south-east of the Great Gate.¹⁸² Before 1825 the chapel 'that crowned the south-east point of the castle's area, and which had long remained unfinished,' was taken down, and the wall that stretched from that point towards the keep, together with two flanking towers, were 'completely repaired.'¹⁸³ The Crewe Trustees had already procured plans for improving the mean appearance of the Great Gate, and for erecting a lodge in the most approved style of

¹⁸⁰ King, *Monimenta Antiqua*, 1804, iii. pp. 220-224. The large plan of Bamburgh there given, as supplied by Dr. Sharp, is now peculiarly valuable.

¹⁸¹ Mackenzie, *View of Northumberland*, 1825, i. p. 410.

¹⁸² *Ibid.* p. 409n. 'The graves had been formed with flag stones set on edge.' Mackenzie gives the distance as 'about 200 yards.' The Ordnance Survey, with its usual sapience, has denominated this cemetery 'old Danish Burying Ground.' Was this the 'cimiterium' towards which the pious thief of St. Oswald's head went out afar in order to mount his horse? See above, p. 207.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.* According to the traditions of Bamburgh, this comparatively modern chapel had been actually finished and services had at one time been held in it.

villa Gothic near the postern at Elmund's Well, when the idea of any further restoration of the castle appears to have been abruptly abandoned.

The earliest description of Bamburgh¹⁸⁴ continues to be, in a great measure, the most accurate. The surface of the rock rises in a south-easterly direction from about 100 feet to 150 feet above low water mark. The castle is nearly a quarter of a mile in length, and comprises within its walls 4·770 acres, divided into three wards.¹⁸⁵ The slopes of the west or lower ward, and of the east or middle ward, appear to have been covered with the buildings of the ancient city, at the highest point of which, as our old chronicler tells us, was the celebrated draw-well,¹⁸⁶ now enclosed in the keep. The plateau forming the inner, innermost, or upper ward still gradually rises some feet to the eastern extremity of the rock which was once occupied by the basilica of St. Peter.¹⁸⁷ The original entrance of the castle, scooped out of the rock and possessed of a flight of steps that excited no less wonder than the excavation of the draw-well, appears to have been at the north-west and lowest corner of the area.¹⁸⁸ Evident traces are left of the rock having been here worked away; but the postern itself has been refaced by Lord Crewe's Trustees, and the steps also are modern. A further flight of steps leads from this postern through a round-headed and very weather-worn doorway down into an outwork among the sandhills that has been surrounded by a strong wall of archaic masonry. In the north-west angle of this outwork stood the Tower

¹⁸⁴ See above, p. 228n. 15.

¹⁸⁵ 'Quasi duorum vel trium agrorum spatium.'—*Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ 'In summitate ipsius civitatis.'—*Ibid.* The church was on the highest point of the whole rock—'in summitate montis'; and the well to the west of it—'in occidente.'

¹⁸⁷ It is impossible not to believe that this 'ecclesia præpulchre facta' (see above, p. 228n. 15), this 'basilica,' through the holes and corners of which the guardian of St. Oswald's head kept following the suspicious stranger (see above, p. 227n. 14), this church whose 'aditus' and 'exitus' it took Winegot so long to explore (see above, p. 229n. 21), was not something very much superior to the little twelfth century chapel that has succeeded it.

¹⁸⁸ 'Unum introitum cavatum, et gradibus miro modo exaltatum' (see above, p. 228n. 15). Professor Freeman appears to have also adopted this most natural view of the position of the primeval entrance to the castle, since, after describing the steps in his *Reign of William Rufus*, ii. p. 49, l. 22, as being at the south-western corner of the castle, he has deliberately altered this in the errata, p. xxiii., to 'north-western,' without, however, vouchsafing any reason for the change. This exercise of 'the wand of the enchanter' has been lost on Mr. G. T. Clark, who continues to describe the steps leading up from within the Great Gate as the ancient entry.

of Elmund's Well, repaired in 1250, at the same time as the Barbican before the Gate of St. Oswald,¹⁸⁹ by which possibly the whole of this outwork before the ancient gate of the castle was meant. Probably this outwork was the wall built in front of the castle that collapsed with such fatal consequences to the young men engaged in mocking the Scottish host in 1138.¹⁹⁰ The well, no doubt the same as the 'Gaitwell' at the postern of 1372,¹⁹¹ is approached by steep steps of no special interest, while the base of the tower above it is used as a powder magazine.

Towards the sea the curtain-wall of the castle has been for the most part rebuilt on the ancient foundations which are now buried in the sandhills. On the land side, the curtain of the west ward extending from the postern to the Clock Tower has been replaced by a rough rubble wall considerably in rear of the original, of which several huge fragments are left. The base of the Clock Tower itself, a half-round bastion, is genuine, but beyond it the great range of stables and granaries, seventy yards long with a dozen round-headed windows, which forms the curtain of the east ward, is, with a trifling exception, the work of Dr. Sharp, or his successors. The monotonous appearance of this range, the first portion of the castle to meet the eye of a stranger approaching it from the village, is to a certain extent relieved by the warm colouring of the stone. It conveys, however, the impression of some Indian hill-fort rather than a castle on our northern Border, and may best be compared in Europe with the batteries of Ehrenbreitstein. The turrets in front of the keep are also impostures, the first being *ab ovo* a work of this century, and the other having been entirely reconstructed. The west wall of the Captain's Lodging, with two window openings, has mercifully escaped the indiscriminating renovation applied to most of the castle. This ruined wall probably represents Sir Ralph Grey's chamber through which the fourth Edward's brazen gun 'Dysion' smote oftentimes during the great siege of 1464. East of this is a fine base of a bastion similar in character to the Clock Tower. Beyond this again the King's Hall stretched nearly to a small rectangular tower the basement of which

¹⁸⁹ See above, p. 240.

¹⁹⁰ See above, p. 235.

¹⁹¹ 'Unum postere apud le Gaitwell,' see above, p. 249. This well, and not that in the keep, is the 'traditional' haunt of the toad into which the wicked queen is transformed in the 'Laidley Worm of Spindleston,' a spurious ballad composed in the last century.



DIRECT PHOTO-ENGRAVING OF LT. G. BARNSBURY PARK, N.

BAMBURGH CASTLE
from the South East, 1896.



is connected with the vaults between the hall and the kitchen. A larger rectangular tower, containing the Muniment Room on its second floor, caps the south-east corner of the Great Kitchen.¹⁹² A third semi-circular bastion, probably that known as the 'Davy Tower,'¹⁹³ remains in a truncated condition between the Muniment Tower and the Great Gate of the Castle on the south side.¹⁹⁴

The sixteenth-century plan of Bamburgh¹⁹⁵ represents the Great Gatehouse as a rectangle, with a wheel-stair on the left-hand side of the passage. The present gateway is flanked by two bald half-cylinder turrets, with very little sign of old work about them; though they figure in many drawings of the castle before its restoration; and their rubble-vaulted basements appear genuine. The foundations of the walls of the barbican, between which the drawbridge worked, were, until recently, visible in the roadway in front of the gate. The cutting in the rock to the west of the barbican was probably that excavated in 1237.¹⁹⁶ The gateway itself has been fatally 'Normanised,' but a portion of rubble vaulting, slightly pointed, remains above the passage, and looks like work of the end of the twelfth century. This possibly formed part of the improvements effected in the castle gates in 1197.¹⁹⁷ A flight of steps which ascends to the summit of the rock, immediately to the left after passing through the gateway, have been very generally mistaken for the original entrance of the castle. There is, however, no appearance of the rock ever having been excavated here, and the steps really form part of the curtain connecting the Great Gatehouse with the wall of the inner ward. The foundations of this wall near the gatehouse appear to be of the same age as the keep. This was probably the wall between 'Davyestour' and the west side of the castle gate that in 1372 Ralph Neville's executors proved they had repaired;¹⁹⁸ and it was only through a breach in this wall that

¹⁹² These two rectangular towers may have been the 'turrella,' one of which was to be built and the other finished by Hugh de Bolebec in 1237, see above, p. 239.

¹⁹³ See above, pp. 245, 249.

¹⁹⁴ 'Magna porta versus australe' see above, p. 240n. 81.

¹⁹⁵ *Cotton MS. Aug. II. 1. 2*. Brit. Mus. Judging from the five consecutive crosses shown on the altar of the chapel, this plan must have been made before the reign of Elizabeth. The scale is given as 'xx fete in the inch,' but there can have been small intention of adhering to it, except with reference to the keep and the buildings to the west of the King's Hall.

¹⁹⁶ 'Et in rupe juxta Barbicanam concavanda,' see above, p. 240n. 76.

¹⁹⁷ See above, p. 236n. 56.

¹⁹⁸ See above, p. 249.

the castle could be entered 'on the fore part' in Queen Elizabeth's time after the drawbridge and gates had gone to ruin.¹⁹⁹ The entry by this breach continued till the restoration of the gatehouse, and has not been forgotten by old Bamburgh people.

The roadway proceeds, covered on the left by the steep crag surmounted by the buttressed wall of the inner ward, for another fifty yards to a second gateway, under what seems to have been the Vale Tipping Tower.²⁰⁰ As in the Great Gate, the original vaulting of the passage of this second gate is in rubble, and slightly pointed; but we have here a plain chamfered Norman string-course. On the seaward side of the passage is a porter's lodge with a similar string-course and high pointed vault. This interesting lodge is known as the 'Barracks,' from having been occupied by soldiery at the time of the threatened descent of Napoleon on the English coast. It is about 20 feet long by 9 feet 6 inches wide, and 14 feet in height to the centre of the steep pointed vault. Plain chamfered string-courses run along the north and south sides. An original fire-place seems to have been broken away at the west end of this lodge,²⁰¹ and a large opening to have been made in the wall towards the sea, probably as a casemate for a gun. At the east end of the north wall is a fine straight buttress. The road continues for another eighty or ninety yards along the *enceinte* towards the sea, while on the left it is commanded by two turrets connected with the north wall of the inner ward. This wall formerly terminated in the Tower Gate²⁰² attached to the keep, which serves to separate the east and inner ward. An iron gate $4\frac{1}{4}$ yards high and $3\frac{1}{4}$ yards broad was recommended to be made for this gate by the commissioners of 1538.

The east and west wards are divided by a cross wall running on the top of a low basaltic cliff from the Clock Tower to the gateway between the two wards, which was probably that known as the Smith Gate.²⁰³ Half way between the tower and gate a small half round turret with prolonged sides is thrown out from the cross wall. This

¹⁹⁹ See above, p. 263.

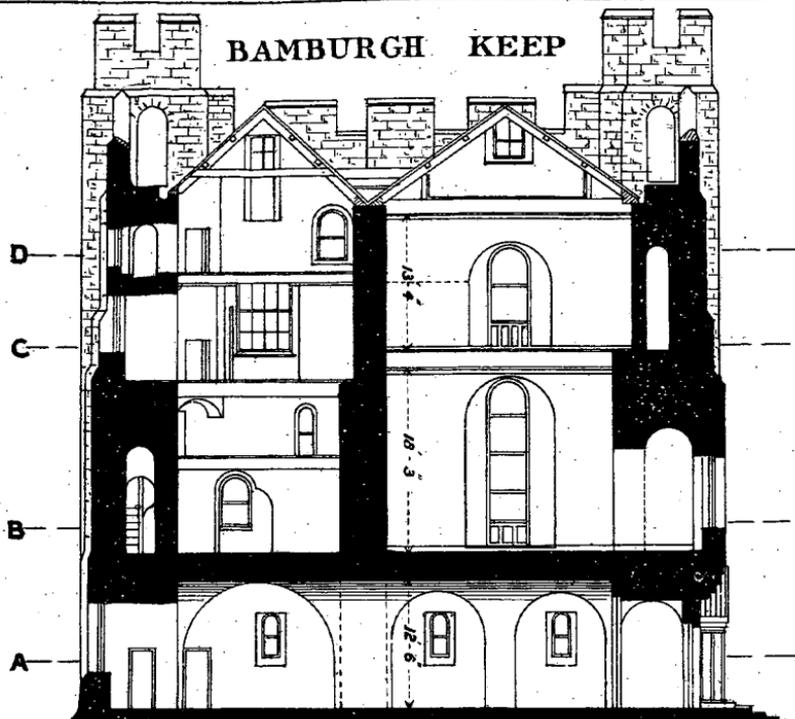
²⁰⁰ See above, pp. 246, 249, 250, 253.

²⁰¹ It will be remembered that Thomas de Heddon was bound, as porter, to maintain the 'Porterhouse' near the Vale Typing.—See above, p. 250.

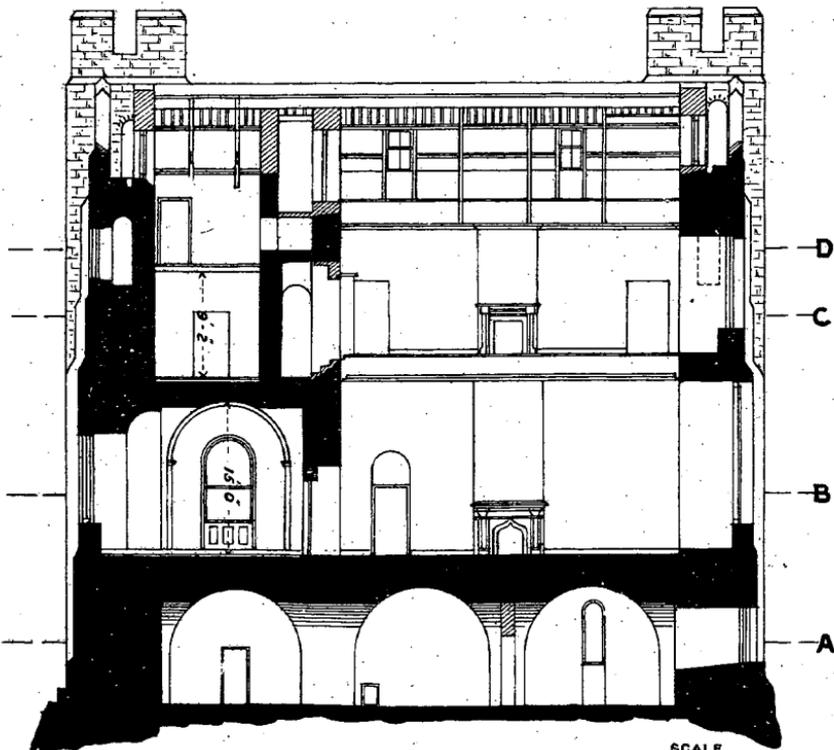
²⁰² Pembridge had suffered a 'bordour' over the 'Tourgate' to be in decay in 1372.—See above, p. 251. Elmedon repaired the north wall 'juxta portam Turris' soon after 1419.—See above, p. 253.

²⁰³ See above, pp. 245, 249.

BAMBURGH KEEP



Section Through E.F.



Section Through G.H.



turret, one of the few characteristic pieces of masonry left at Bamburgh, has unfortunately been restored internally. There are grounds for apprehending that this turret and the Clock Tower were the tower and turret at 'Waldehavewell' mentioned in 1372.²⁰⁴ From the time of Henry I. a family of smiths held half a carucate of land in the borough of Bamburgh by the serjeantry of making the iron-work for the castle carts.²⁰⁵ The porter of Bamburgh was by his tenure obliged to provide a watchman on the Smith Gate every night both in peace and war.²⁰⁶ A considerable portion of old walling is left in the corner between the Smith Gate and the north curtain, and, judging from marks on the grass, a large rectangular building once stood there.

Unless the drawings presented to King by Dr. Sharp can be some day discovered,²⁰⁷ the task of describing the Great Tower or keep of Bamburgh in a manner that shall serve any good purpose in architectural history, must necessarily remain one of most considerable difficulty, since King bears witness that the result of Dr. Sharp's operations was to remove or conceal many vestiges of its antiquity. We are here concerned with the donjon of our first-Plantagenet and not with the furnished apartments of Lord Crewe's Trustees.²⁰⁸ As it is, the only representation we have of the keep before it was remodelled appears to be that shown in the highly imaginative Prospect of the castle drawn by S. and N. Buck in 1728.²⁰⁹

The base of the keep has a noble plinth projecting about 4 feet, the mouldings being more Roman than Norman in their character.²¹⁰

²⁰⁴ See above, p. 249. There is a tradition among the old workpeople at the castle that there was a third well in the corner of the east ward near the Clock Tower. This well was quite distinct from the water-tank now there.

²⁰⁵ 'Galfridus Faber tenet dimidiam carucate terre in capite de domino Rege in burgo de Bamburgh per servitium serjantie scilicet fabricare ferramenta de carucis castelli de Bamburgh et omnes antecessores sui tenerunt per idem servitium de antiquo feoffamento.'—*Testa de Neville*; Hodgson, *Northd.* III. i. p. 236.

²⁰⁶ See above, p. 250.

²⁰⁷ See above, p. 269.

²⁰⁸ Detailed particulars of the present arrangement of the interior of the keep are given by Mr. G. T. Clark in his 'Bamburgh Castle,' *Archæological Journal*, vol. xvi. pp. 107-113.

²⁰⁹ As the Bucks' Views in Northumberland and Durham were reprinted in 1883 by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, it has not been thought necessary to insert them in the present work. The Prospect of Bamburgh shows a window with two cusped lights in the north wall of the first floor of the inner gatehouse. With that artistic licence they so constantly indulged in, the Bucks have shifted the bastion near the west end of the King's Hall to the west side of the keep.

²¹⁰ Mr. G. T. Clark suggests that the mouldings were re-cut when the building was restored.—*Archæological Journal*, vol. xvi. p. 107.

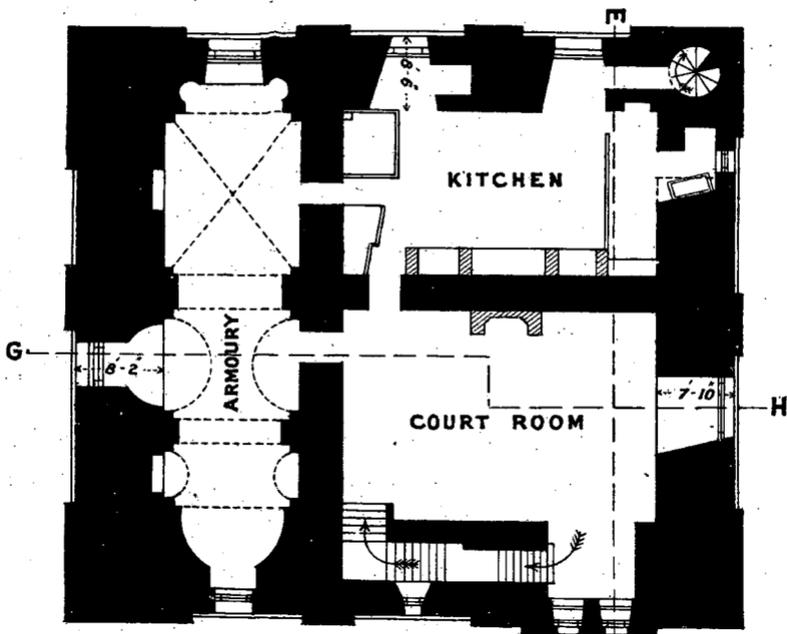
Above the plinth the tower measures 69 feet 1 inch north and south, by 61 feet 7 inches east and west. It does not stand true to the points of the compass, but it seems more natural to describe a wall fronting W.N.W. as the west rather than as the north face.²¹¹ The angles are covered by pairs of pilasters 12 feet broad, which are continued vertically above the parapet as the outer walls of four square turrets. The north and south walls have single pilasters near their centres; the east and west walls two pilasters; all rising in set-offs till they die away in the respective faces. Near the north end of the east wall is a further projection with the entrance in the base, and two loops formerly over it. Like the plinth, the pairs of detached shafts that support the double Norman arch of the doorway belong to a rather uncertain style of architecture.²¹² Immediately on the left on entering the keep a mural stair ascends in the thickness of the east wall. This stair has been known all through this century as 'the new stair'; but probably this appellation refers merely to an enlargement of the original stair which is shown on the sixteenth century plan of the castle, just as the small window that lights it represents the original loop in the Bucks' Prospect. The entrance passage led to a large hall about 51 feet in length by 23 feet in width, the vaulting being supported on a series of arches springing at right angles from two absolutely plain rectangular piers. In the south-west of the six bays thus formed is the celebrated draw-well.²¹³ There were two round-headed loops in each of the three external walls, and of these those in the north and south walls have been left more or less in their original condition. Facing the entrance was a door in a four feet cross wall giving access to a compartment of two bays with a groined roof, measuring about 16 feet by 32 feet. In the north-west corner of this

²¹¹ Mr. Clark is of the contrary opinion, and further confuses the subject by the statement that 'the north face fronts about E.N.E.'—*Ibid.*

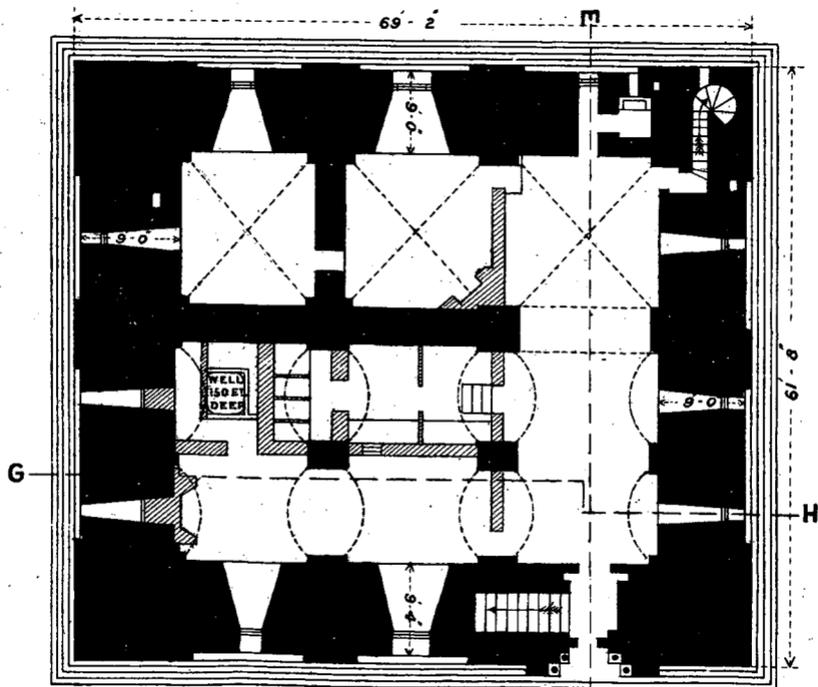
²¹² The astragal rings seem to be unusually far down. There is a tradition of an old man having declared that he made these shafts 'just out of his own head' at the time of the restoration of the keep. The perishing nature of much of the stone and the way in which it is affected by the high winds are elements of great uncertainty in the architectural history of Bamburgh.

²¹³ This 'fons miro cavatus opere, dulcis ad potandum et purissimus ad videndum' of the old chronicler (see above, p. 228n. 1 s.) was choked and polluted during the time that Richard de Pembrigg was constable, in the reign of Edward III. (see above, p. 249). It is mentioned as being 'of a marvellus grett dypnes' in 1538 (see above, p. 261), and again in 1575 (see above, p. 264). Nevertheless its existence was absolutely forgotten till it was accidentally found in 1770 (see above, p. 269).

BAMBURGH KEEP



1st Floor Plan at B.



R.G.A.H.

Ground Plan at A.

SCALE.

20 FEET.



vault a narrow wheel-stair rises to the top of the keep, while in the opposite angle is a door communicating with a vault about 16 feet square that occupies the south-west corner of the basement. On the first floor there appears to have been originally four rooms. The largest of these, about 32 feet by 23 feet, is approached directly from the entrance by the mural stair in the south wall. This, the present Court Room, was supposed by Grose to have been a guard-room, the fire of which was in the middle of the floor, where some of the stones had been burnt red. The smoke, he thought, had escaped through a window three feet square near the top of the room.²¹⁴ This window, by far the largest in the whole building, was probably in the upper part of the enormous plate-glass window that now looks out upon the sea. From the recess over the entrance that contained a pair of loops, a further mural stair ascends to the second floor in the thickness of the east wall.

The south side of the first floor is now occupied by one long room called the Armoury. There is reason to suppose that the western end of this originally formed a separate room like that in the basement beneath it. It has a groined vault and angle shafts. The eastern end of the room, divided by a cross arch into two barrel-vaulted bays, has a sort of apsidal termination, and may possibly, though not very probably, have been a chapel.²¹⁵ A large window in the south wall was, according to King, formerly an outer door; but perhaps it merely communicated with a block of buildings that appears built in here between the keep and the curtain on the sixteenth-century plan. In the opposite wall is a door into the Court Room. Two other doors connect the Court Room and the western end of the Armoury with the present kitchen, a room 17 feet by 22 feet, from the northern loop-recess of which a short passage led to the wheel-stair in the north-west angle of the keep.

²¹⁴ See above, p. 268.

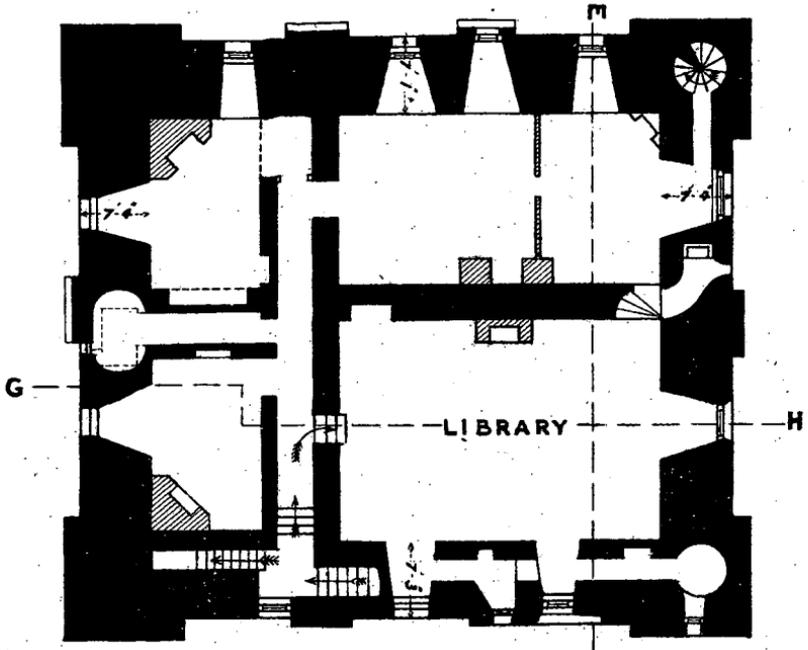
²¹⁵ Mr. Clark (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xlv. p. 110) says:—'Had not this chamber lain north and south it would certainly be taken for the chapel which, even as it is, one-half of it may have been. As at the Tower and at Colchester, it is the only vaulted chamber above the basement level.' As a matter of fact, however, this chamber does not lie north and south, but W.N.W. and E.S.E., and no argument against its having been a chapel can be founded on its orientation. A weightier objection lies in the ecclesiastical rule not to place an altar beneath any secular building, as it is not easy to see how this could have been got over in the present instance.

The stair coming up from the Court Room in the east wall of the keep ends in a landing from which a narrower stair is continued in the same direction round the south-east angle of the keep to a mural gallery in the south, west, and north walls, while on the left four steps lead up into a vaulted passage in the cross wall²¹⁶ between two small rooms over the Armoury on the south, and the larger rooms over the kitchen and Court Room respectively on the north side. The last of these is now the Library. It has been raised a few steps above the original level in order to give additional height to the Court Room below. It had one loop in the north and two in its east wall, from the ingoing of one of which a mural passage leads to the wall of a newel-stair in the north-east angle of the building. There is a similar passage from the northern window recess in the room over the kitchen to the newel-stair in the north-west angle. It is impossible to decide how much, if any, of the other mural passages and chambers on this floor are original. This second floor was, no doubt, the principal floor of the keep, and included what has now been made into a third floor, the low and narrow mural gallery running round the three outer walls like the triforium of a church,²¹⁷ but the subject is one of extreme

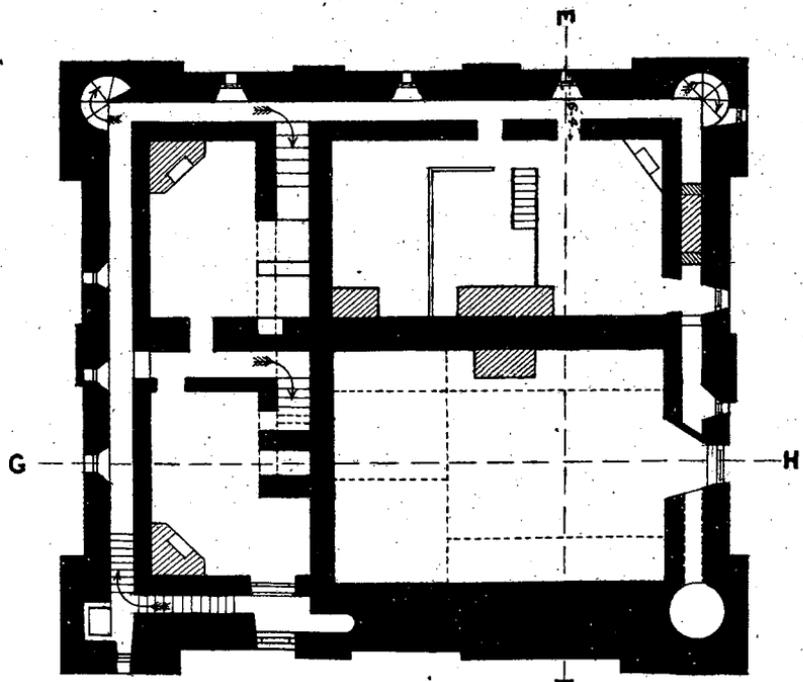
²¹⁶ Mr. Clark describes this arrangement as exceedingly rare in a Norman keep, being found elsewhere only at Dover.—*Arch. Journal*, vol. xlv. p. iii.

²¹⁷ In his *Medieval Military Architecture*, vol. i. p. 125, Mr. Clark, writing of the rectangular keeps of Norman castles, says:—'Usually, in the larger castles, the wall of the main floor is pierced, high up, by a sort of triforium gallery, into which the outer windows open, and which opens into the chamber by lofty and larger arches of 3 feet to 4 feet opening. Possibly these galleries and their windows were intended to give another line of defence; but they must have destroyed the privacy of the hall and made it very cold.' Again, in the same work, vol. ii. p. 19, in treating of the keep of Dover, which has a cross wall like that at Bamburgh, he tells us:—'The second floor is the main or state floor of the building. . . . As in the keeps of London, Rochester, and Hedingham, it had two tiers of windows, the upper passing through a mural gallery.' At Newcastle, too, in 1884 (*Arch. Journal*, vol. xli. p. 421), he reminded his audience in the keep that 'almost invariably, where there is a hall, the wall high up is perforated all round by a triforium gallery, from which windows open outwards, and corresponding arches inwards.' Yet, when it comes to Bamburgh, Mr. Clark has not one word of explanation as to why he should take for granted that the mural gallery there did not bear the same relation to the floor below as in the other keeps where mural galleries occur. It is, of course, open to any one to say that instead of being galleries these mural passages were in every case arcades round a floor at their own level. At Rochester, however, this is clearly impossible, and apparently at Dover there is no sign of any such upper floor. As to Newcastle, the joist-holes of what was probably at one time an upper floor over the hall, look very much like insertions; while this floor must have been 3 feet or so below the level of the mural passage, and there is no trace of any steps communicating between them. Dr. Bruce, it seems, was of the opinion that there was originally no upper floor over the hall, while Mr. Longstaffe, in *Arch. Æl.* N.S. vol. iv. p. 87, adopted the contrary view.

BAMBURGH KEEP



2nd Floor Plan at C.



3rd Floor Plan at D.

R.G.A.H.

SCALE.
 10 20 FEET



intricacy, made all the more obscure by the confused statements of Grose and King.²¹⁸ There is a third wheel-stair from the mural gallery to the roof in the south-west turret of the keep. The entire height from the basement line to the roof is only about 55 feet as compared with the 75 feet of the keep of Newcastle. It is instructive to compare the keeps of Bamburgh and Carlisle with the later ones of Newcastle and Dover. Each of the former has the entrance at the ground level with a straight mural stair just inside it, and a wheel-stair in the opposite corner of the building. Newcastle dating from 1172, and Dover from 1183, have, on the other hand, their main entrances in connection with elaborate forebuildings at the second floor level. Bamburgh, Newcastle, and Dover have various developments of mural galleries round their upper floors, while in Bamburgh and Dover the cross walls rise to the roof and are perforated, as already mentioned, by mural passages leading off the triforial galleries.

A Norman keep, relying principally on its passive strength, was intended to serve as a refuge in case the rest of the castle should be carried by storm, or the fidelity of the garrison be called in question. Dr. Sharp was probably the first person who thought of making the keep of Bamburgh a permanent abode. The domestic buildings of the castle were grouped along the southern and landward curtain of the inner ward. The buildings at the west end of this range shown on the ancient plan of the castle have now entirely disappeared, and the portion nearest the keep are the ruins of what was possibly Sir Ralph Grey's chamber at the time of the siege of 1464, and in all probability the Great Chamber that the commissioners of 1538 recommended to be used as a Hall,²¹⁹ and which the Survey of 1575 calls the Hall in the Captain's Lodging, giving its length as 11 and its width as 7 yards.²²⁰ On the north side of this was the 'fair chamber'

²¹⁸ King distinctly states that the original roof, to judge from the weather-mouldings on the north and south walls, was in the form of a single V, like that of Castleton (see above, pp. 269, 270), yet Mr. Clark, without any explanation, assures us that it was 'ridge and furrow,' or a double V like that of Porchester. — *Arch. Journal*, xlv. p. 112. Considering how purblind antiquaries were in the days of Grose and King, it may easily happen that they mistook comparatively modern weather-mouldings, like those on the west wall of the keep of Prudhoe, for the ancient roof-lines.

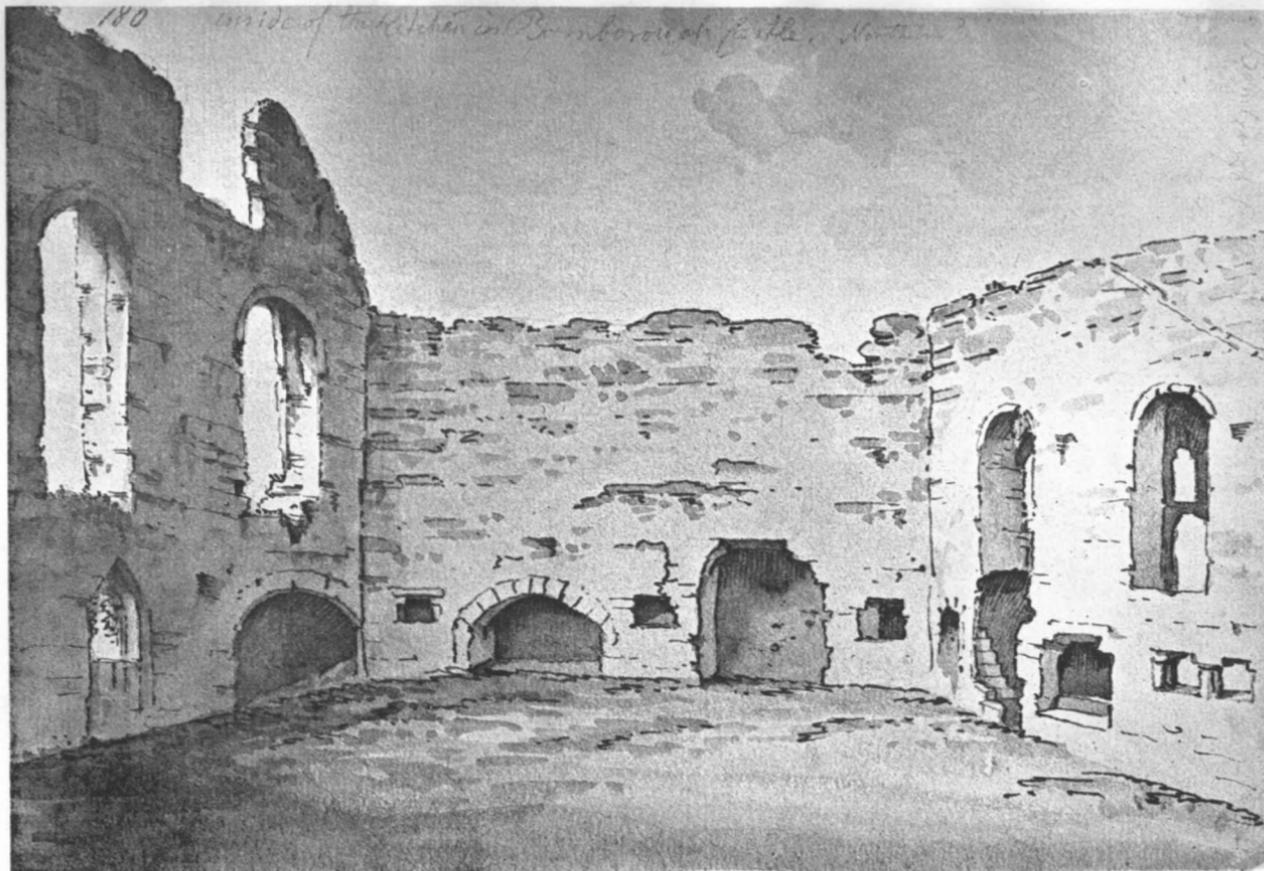
²¹⁹ See above, p. 259.

²²⁰ See above, p. 264.

of 1538, which became the Captain's Great Chamber; 10 yards long and 5 yards broad, of 1575. Under the Captain's Hall is a magnificent vault measuring about 32 feet by 18 feet, and 10 feet high to the crown, with ten massive chamfered ribs—quite the finest masonry left in the castle—but now divided, and partly used as a coal-hole. This with a small triangular vault on the east side of it, and the probably shortened vault under the Captain's Chamber, were the three vaults that Bellsys and his comrades thought would do for a buttery, cellar, and storehouse. The kitchen and larders were to be at the east end of the Captain's Hall above a great vault, which, having no doubt formerly been the cellar attached to the King's Hall, was now to be turned into a stable for no less than twenty-four horses. On the east side of this vault was a narrow tower, apparently 9 feet broad, with two storeys, and at the south end a little tower springing probably from the semi-circular bastion there. The King's Hall itself was about 70 feet long by 30 feet broad, and was entered from the courtyard by a porch near the east end.²²¹ As was usually the case, there were three doorways at the lower end of the hall, the two side ones opening respectively into the pantry and the buttery, both vaulted, the middle doorway into a passage leading between two similar vaults, probably larders, to the Great Kitchen. This last, as stated by Grose, measures about 40 feet by 30 feet. It has three large fire-places like those in the kitchen of Warkworth donjon, and some original aumbries. Joined diagonally to its south-east corner is the rectangular Muniment Tower. The basement, not vaulted, is approached by a long narrow stair descending from a door in the east wall of the kitchen. Two doors in the south wall of the kitchen communicate with the first and second floors, both of which are vaulted, the latter, used as the Muniment Room, having a latrine chamber in its south-west corner. The third floor can only be entered from a very curious flight of steps that leads up from the ramparts on the ground level to the battlements of the kitchen roof.

Above the four vaults—the pantry, buttery, and two larders—at the east end of the King's Hall, were, in 1538, two fair chambers adjoining each other, but required balks 8 yards long. The eastern

²²¹ The Hall is mentioned in 1223, see above p. 238 n 70. It is called the King's Hall in 1256. see above p. 240. John de Fenwyk was accused in 1372 of having carried off the principal table in the King's Hall, see above p. 250.



S. H. Grimm del. c. 1785.

B. M. Add. MS. 15.543.

KITCHEN OF BAMBURGH CASTLE.

BAMBURGH CASTLE.



one, about 40 feet long by 20 feet broad, is now the Library, the western, together with the rectangular turret thrown out over the crag, being given up to the use of the school. The Library is approached by a straight stair in a projection that, adorned with the armorials of Lord Crewe and many of his trustees, carved in poor taste, forms the most prominent feature in the façade. There is a curious sort of mural passage across the south window of the Library, approached by a stair in the south-east corner. Preserved in this room are what look like two Norman piscinas and the fragment of a column, possibly of earlier date.

The buildings to the east of the kitchen, which now form the house and offices of the resident agent, were probably the bakehouse and brewery, but the walls have been refaced and the internal divisions greatly altered. North of these stood the little late Norman chapel of St. Oswald, with a long narrow nave and apsidal chancel. The present walls are for the most part modern, having been built on the foundations laid bare in 1770.

Along the north wall of the inner ward, between the chapel and the keep, the foundations of a range of buildings, about 100 feet long and 24 feet broad, and of excellent masonry, were excavated in 1889.

Considering the great historical associations of Bamburgh, the capital of the ravening Ethelfrid and the fair-handed Oswald, rejoicing in the proud title of *domina civitatum Britonensium*; the great mediæval fortress, successively defended by the three heroines, Matilda of Laigle, Philippa of Hainault, and Margaret of Anjou; the last stay of the Red Rose in the North, sanctified for more than a year by the solitary agony of Henry VI. : considering too, the interest of what is left of her ancient architecture and the munificence of the endowments that were intended to raise again her fallen dignity in the noblest of causes, it cannot honestly be said that the present state of the castle is satisfactory. There can, indeed, be no better illustration of the blighting results of a sophistical system of centralisation than the way in which this noble pile has been of late years degraded into a five-pound-a-year boarding school for thirty girls, with the keep let as a lodging-house at so much a week during the summer months. The school, the presence of which prevents many visitors from seeing the most interesting portion of the castle, would in every way be far

better situated near the village, while the array of smoke-cowls that ruin the sky-line of the keep, and the numerous sanitary contrivances that disfigure its walls show how ill-fitted it is for a residence, and how expensive must be its maintenance as such. A great improvement might be effected at a small cost by knocking off the paste-board battlements of the castle, especially those on the old wall dividing the east and west wards, and a very little excavation would be certain to lead to very valuable discoveries. The keep should be relieved of its modern fittings, and be preserved, like that of Newcastle, as a historical monument. The Great Hall and the buildings connected with it require on the other hand to be plainly restored; and the whole castle, instead of experiencing perhaps some worse fate in store for it, should be made use of for purposes in harmony with the wishes of Lord Crewe, and consonant with its being the pride and glory of the people of Northumberland.

ADDENDA.

P. 229, n. 21.—According to Roger Hoveden, William de WALTERVILE, abbot of Peterborough, was deposed in 1175, 'pro eo quod ipse violenta manu et armata claustrum suum infregerat, et reliquias Sanctorum una cum brachio S. Oswaldi, regis et martyris, asportare volebat.' The right hand of St. Oswald was exposed at Peterborough in the presence of Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, in 1487.—Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ed. Caley, i. p. 347n. Mr. J. V. Gregory exhibited a photograph of a silver reliquary, in the church of St. Ursus at Soleure, alleged to contain an arm-bone of St. Oswald, at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on the 25th November, 1885, but said he could obtain no information as to its origin.—*Proceedings of Soc. Ant. Newcastle*, vol. ii. p. 125.

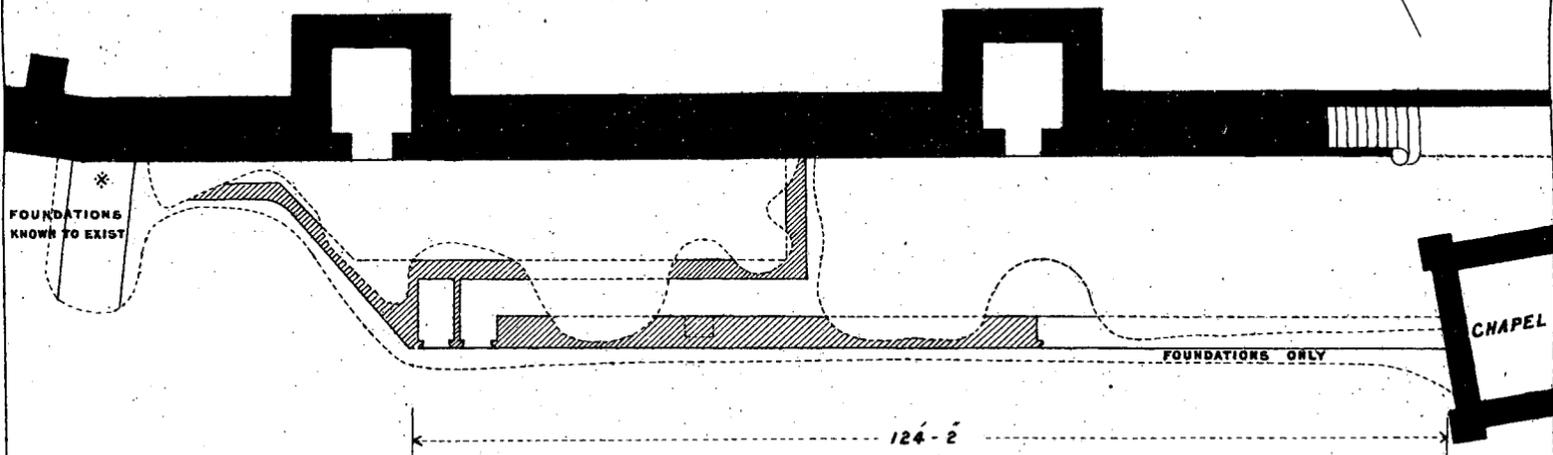
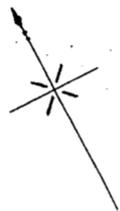
P. 255, n. 149.—'Eodem mense Aprili regina Margareta cum Edwardo filio suo venit per mare de Bamburgh in Flandriam ad Slusam, habueratque in societate sua ducem Exoniæ, Johannem Fortescu, Edmundum Montforde, E. Hamden, Henricum Roos, Thomam Ormonde, Robertum Whytyngnam milites; Johannem Morton, Robertum Makerel doctores; et multos alios, ad numerum cc. personarum.'—Willelmi Wyrcester, *Annales; Wars of the English in France, temp. Hen. VI.* (Rolls Series), vol. ii. part ii. p. [781].

BAMBURGH CASTLE

REMAINS OF WALLS DISCOVERED IN THE INNER WARD

August 1889.

SCALE
0 5 10 20 FEET



Judging from the absence of holes for crooks and fastenings for doors, and the excellent state of preservation of the stone, together with the tops of the walls being left in level courses, also no traces of floors being found, it is probable that these walls have been designed for some building, which, after being partially erected (the founds being on the rock), has been abandoned, and the courtyard soon afterwards levelled with sand, stones, &c., from the beach.

From the immense quantities of oyster shells, cockle shells, bones of all descriptions, boars' or pigs' tusks, ashes, &c., &c., which were cut through during the course of the excavations, it is evident that the different garrisons disposed of their refuse by simply throwing it into the courtyard.

R. G. A. H.

