

## VI.—THE EARLY CASTLES OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

BY C. H. HUNTER BLAIR.

[Read on 29th March 1944.]

### BIBLIOGRAPHY.

- AA *Archæologia Aeliana*. Four series.  
Arm. *Early Norman Castles of the British Isles* by Ella S. Armitage.  
Bk. of Fees *Book of Fees called Testa de Nevill*. Records series 1920.  
BNC *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists Club*.  
CP *Complete Peerage*. New edition.  
Chron. *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*. 3 vols. Rolls series.  
Fantosme *The metrical chronicle of Jordan Fantosme* (Chron. III, p. 202).  
JH *History of Northumberland* by John Hodgson. 7 vols.  
Mawer *Place Names of Northumberland* by Allen Mawer.  
NCH *A History of Northumberland*. 15 vols.  
Red Bk. *Red Book of the Exchequer*. 2 vols. Records series, ed. H. Hall.  
Sym. *Symeonis Monachii Opera Omnia*. 2 vols. Rolls series, ed. Thomas Arnold.  
SS Publications of the Surtees Society.  
TA *History of Alnwick* by George Tate. 2 vols.  
*Military Architecture in England* by A. Hamilton Thompson.  
*The English Castle* by Hugh Braun.  
*The Castles of the Conquest* by J. H. Round (*Archæologia*, vol. 58).  
*The Motes in Norman Scotland* by George Neilson.

## INTRODUCTION.

*The scores of earthworks in the heart of England which we now know to represent castles built between the battle of Hastings and the death of King Stephen are the most authentic records remaining of the age of feudalism. They stand for an organization of feudal service in which the defence of the private castle was at least as important as the provision of knights for the king's armies.*<sup>1</sup>

It is now universally recognized that moated mounds (O.F. *motte*) with attached baileys surrounded by ditches and ramparts of earth represent the fortified houses of Norman barons—the greater tenants holding in chief of the king by knight service—of the century succeeding the Conquest. These private strongholds, to which the rather vague name of *castle* was given, originated in France about the middle of the tenth century,<sup>2</sup> they passed thence to Normandy, were brought into England by the Norman friends of the Confessor, and after the introduction of feudalism spread rapidly over the country. The name *castle* was, however, also used to describe the less developed defensive works of lesser men. Some were only earthwork enclosures like that within which the lords of Bolam later built their stone tower;<sup>3</sup> others were made by cutting off by mound and ditch small promontories on the banks of streams such as that of Bothal or those which may have been at Lucker, Lowick and Shipley; or by utilizing bold precipitous headlands needing only to be defended on the landward side as at Newcastle upon Tyne and Tynemouth; others again were made by drawing rampart and ditch across the base of a triangle made by the junction of two burns each flowing in a deep ravine as at Gunnerton and Simonburn. Many of these smaller works have no recorded history and their

<sup>1</sup> *English Feudalism 1066-1166*, p. 197, by F. M. Stenton.

<sup>2</sup> *Arm.*, pp. 72ff.

<sup>3</sup> AA<sup>2</sup> XIV, 4, n. 13.

shape alone relates them to the *castle* type of earthwork; they may have been only temporary structures, hastily thrown up for a special purpose and soon thereafter deserted. Those of the developed mound and bailey type, on the contrary, bear evidence of careful siting and of forethought and deliberation in planning as if for more permanent use. The mound varied greatly in height and size, but it was always surrounded by a defensive ditch, or sometimes a wet moat, which also cut it off from the bailey, suggesting that its lord sought protection not only from foes without but also from possible attack from his retainers within (pl. iv). The castle was normally of oblong shape, forming as it were the figure 8, the mound making the smaller upper circle as at Warkworth (pl. vi)<sup>3a</sup> and Elsdon (p. 132), but sometimes the mound was part of the outer defence of a lunar or crescent shaped bailey as at Alnwick and Harbottle.<sup>4</sup> The residence of the lord, often of very elaborate construction,<sup>5</sup> was built of wood upon the summit of the mound, within a stout stockade of timber and connected with the bailey by a flying bridge over the ditch defended both at top and bottom by a fortified gateway (pl. iv). The quarters for the garrison, storehouses, stables, etc., were in the bailey which was surrounded by an earthen parapet, crowned by a palisade of wood, with an outer ditch upon whose counterscarp was a defence called by Fantosme<sup>6</sup> *le hericon*, which may have been a quickset hedge or *chevaux de frise* of pointed stakes intertwined with brambles or some such prickly shrub—the forerunner of modern barbed wire. The entrance gateway, which from early times was sometimes of stone, was normally at the side furthest from the mound.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3a</sup> Photograph by Aerofilms Ltd., published in *The English Castle* (B. T. Batsford Ltd.).

<sup>4</sup> *Post* pp. 143 and 134.

<sup>5</sup> *Arm.*, p. 89, for detailed description by Lambert of Ardres, c. 1194; also prior Lawrence of Durham for account of Durham, c. 1150 (SS xx, 11-13).

<sup>6</sup> *Chron.* III, Fantosme, pp. 304-305.

<sup>7</sup> Sometimes there is no sign of a gap in the bailey defences, suggesting that entrance was by means of a wooden bridge from counterscarp to top of rampart.

Sometimes, as at Norham, Wark, Mitford and Harbottle, an enclosure larger than the bailey was attached to it, used either for temporary protection for men and beasts in case of hostile attack or for more permanent dwellings gathered around the castle for greater safety. Naturally strong sites, easily made into a *castle*, were usually chosen and preference was given to places near river crossings or main roads; examples of these in Northumberland were at Norham, Wark, Mitford, Morpeth and Warkworth.

It was usual, though not universal, for a barony to have a *castle* for its *caput honoris*; in Northumberland the early baronies of Alnwick, Mitford, Morpeth, Wooler, Wark, Bothal, Prudhoe and Bolam each possessed one, whilst, so far as at present known, the baronies of similar date of Bolbeck, Bywell, Embleton, Ellingham (Gaugy),<sup>8</sup> Walton, Callerton (Delaval), and Hadstone (Heron) had no such head, or at least not in Northumberland. Bolam is uncertain, but if a *castle* was there in the twelfth century it cannot have been of any size or strength and apparently had not a *motte*.

Bamburgh,<sup>9</sup> Newcastle upon Tyne, Tynemouth and probably Warkworth belonged to the earls. After the deprivation of earl Robert of Mowbray, in 1095, the earldom escheated to the crown, in which it remained until 1137 or 1138 when Stephen appears to have rewarded the faithfulness of Simon of St. Liz II by granting him the earldom (see *post* p. 130). Simon cannot have held it for long as, by the treaty of Durham in 1139, it was granted by Stephen to king David I of Scotland, who conferred it upon his son Henry. It remained in the possession of the earls of the royal house of Scotland until, in 1157, Henry II took the county into his own hands. Bamburgh and Newcastle

<sup>8</sup> The head of this barony may have been at Jesmond, but no traces of an early castle have been found there.

<sup>9</sup> I have not attempted an account of Bamburgh in the following list. It is difficult to say when its fortifications ceased to be those of an Anglian *burgh* and became those of a castle. It was probably soon after the Conquest in the time of earl Gospatric *c.* 1070. (See AA<sup>2</sup> xiv, pp. 221-83, and NCH I, 17-71.)

upon Tyne then became royal castles in charge of the sheriff of the county. Tynemouth became the property of the prior and convent of that place and Warkworth was granted by Henry II to Roger son of Richard probably in the year 1157. Norham was the head of the bishop of Durham's royal franchise of the county of Norham, as Elsdon and later Hårbottle were of the Umfraville liberty of Redesdale and Wark upon Tyne of that of Tyndale held by the kings of Scotland. Nothing is known of the history or origin of the smaller castles of Fenham, Haltwhistle, and South Middleton, nor of the small promontory castles—if such they were—at Lucker, Lowick and Shipley.

The list of castles in Northumberland before or shortly after the accession of Henry II in 1154 is a scanty one and would probably be exceeded by those in many of the more southerly counties, especially during the troubles of the reign of Stephen.<sup>10</sup> This absence of defensive centres partly explains the ease with which Malcolm III (1057-93) overran the county in five different invasions before he was slain in 1093 on the north bank of Aln near Alnwick. In the campaigns of 1136 and 1138 David I besieged and captured the fortresses of Norham, Wark, Alnwick and Newcastle before his defeat at the battle of the Standard. Similar siege warfare engaged the army of William the Lion in 1174, when the castles of Warkworth and Prudhoe were added to his spoils. Peace lay upon the Borderland for more than a century after William's capture before Alnwick in 1174 until, in 1296, the high claims of Edward I upon the sovereignty of Scotland began the secular warfare between the two kingdoms, only finally ended by the fusion of the crowns in 1603. It was during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries that Northumberland became covered

<sup>10</sup> Our member Mr. Thomas Wake has sent me the following interesting reference to Northumberland castles: "John Currar of Banffshire an officer under William I of Scotland who promoted him to the government of this county, took a survey of it and drew up a account of its 78 fortified castles and their lords." (Gough's *British Topography*, vol. II, p. 53 (1780), quoting Tanner's *Bibliotheca-Hibernica*, p. 213 (1748).)

with "goodly towers" and could rightly be called a land of castles.

My thanks are due to our secretary, Mr. H. L. Honeyman, for drawing the plans of Newcastle, Warkworth, Bothal, Mitford, Prudhoe, Wark upon Tweed, Fenham, Gunnerton and South Middleton.

CASTLES : THEIR PROBABLE FOUNDERS AND APPROXIMATE DATE.

*The earldom.*

Bamburgh <sup>11</sup>	A fortified <i>burgh</i> until	1070
Newcastle upon Tyne	Robert of Normandy	1080
Tynemouth	Robert of Mowbray	1081
Warkworth	Earl Henry ?	1139

*Liberties.*

Elsdon	Robert of Umfraville I	1080
Harbottle	Odinell of Umfraville	1157
Norham	Ranulph Flambarð	1121
Wark upon Tyne	Earl Henry ?	1139

*Baronies.*

Alnwick	Ivo of Vesci,	1100
Bolam	James of Bolam	1100
Bothal	Richard Bertram	1150
Mitford	William Bertram	1100
Morpeth	William of Merlay	1090
Prudhoe	Robert of Umfraville II	1100
Wark upon Tweed	Walter L'Espeç	1100
Wooler	Robert of Muschamp	1100

*Uncertain origin and date,*

Bellingham	— of Bellingham	—
Fenham Mill	—	—
Gunnerton	Ralph of Gunnerton	1150

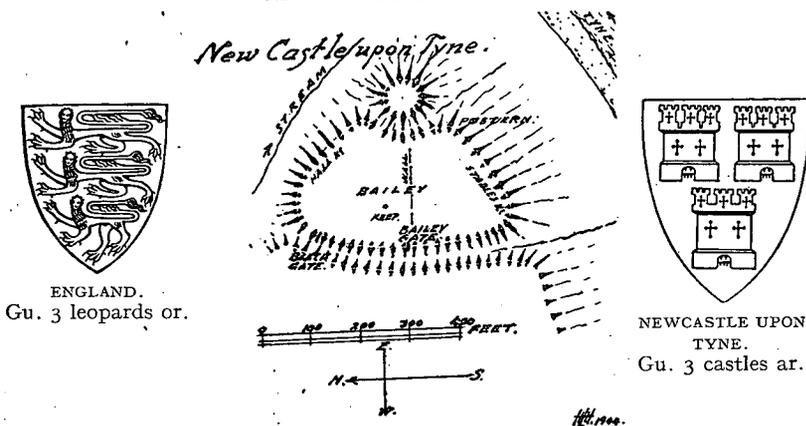
<sup>11</sup> Bamburgh is not included in the following list. It is difficult to say when it ceased to be a *burgh* and became a *castle*, probably soon after the Conquest. It never had a mound, and its ramparts, where needed, seem to have been of stone. Its early history has been told in AA<sup>2</sup> xiv, and in vol. I NCH.

Haltwhistle	---	---
Rothbury	Robert son of Roger	1204
Simonburn	Earl Henry?	1139
South Middleton	---	---

*Baronies without known castles.*<sup>12</sup>

Bolbeck, Bywell, Callerton (Delaval), Ellingham (Gaugy or Jesmond), Embleton, Hadstone (Heron), Whalton.

NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE.



ENGLAND.  
Gu. 3 leopards or.

NEWCASTLE UPON  
TYNE.  
Gu. 3 castles ar.

In the late summer of 1072 William the Conqueror (seal pl. v, no. 1) invaded Scotland by land and sea to chastise Malcolm Caennmor; king of Scots, for his repeated invasions of the north of England.

About the middle of August in that year, at Abernethy, Malcolm gave hostages and did homage to William—*homo suus devinit*.<sup>13</sup> William then returned south with his army and "pitched his tents over against the river Tyne about the place now called Newcastle (*Novum Castellum*) and once called Monecestre. It so happened that at that time the river itself was so flooded as to be nowhere fordable, nor was a crossing open by means of the bridge which is

<sup>12</sup> For account of these baronies see NCH and AA.

<sup>13</sup> Sym. II, 196.

seen there. Because of the occurrence of this necessity the king had made some stay there."<sup>14</sup> Eventually, having procured food and succour from Tynemouth, William was enabled to continue his journey. He was hastening southwards to prepare his expedition against the communal movement in Maine and therefore probably had not time either to rebuild the bridge or to construct a castle to guard it.

In the autumn of 1080 the Conqueror sent his eldest son Robert, called Curthose, afterwards duke of Normandy, in command of an army to subdue the restless and aggressive Malcolm who had again invaded England and devastated the country as far south as Tyne.<sup>15</sup> Robert's expedition failed; we are told that he went as far north as "Egglesberth (Falkirk) and returned without accomplishing anything and built a new castle upon the river Tyne."<sup>16</sup> There must have been a bridge over the river by this time, possibly a wooden roadway had been built upon the repaired piers of the Roman bridge and the castle was needed both for a protection to it and to make secure the bridgehead upon the northern bank. Just as the bridge was built on the lowest place on the river that afforded firm abutments at each end, so the site of fort and castle was the natural one for both Roman and Norman to choose, and Robert's new castle was built on part of the site of Hadrian's fort (*Pons Aelius*). A promontory precipitous on all sides but the west, cut off from the surrounding plateau, on the north by a tributary of the Lort Burn which flowed in a deep ravine down the present Side, by the Lort itself in a deep gorge on the east, whilst on the south the land fell steeply to the river;<sup>17</sup> both the burns and the river would then flow deeper and wider than in modern times, and in all probability washed the base of the castle hill upon all three sides. The word *castellum* in the eleventh century usually connoted the presence of a *motte* with its attached bailey de-

<sup>14</sup> Vita Oswini, SS 8, pp. 20-21. Trans. I. A., Richmond.

<sup>15</sup> Sym. II, 36.

<sup>16</sup> *Castellum Novum super flumen Tyne condidit*, Sym. II, 211.

<sup>17</sup> See AA<sup>4</sup> II, p. 3 and plan p. 4, also *ibid.*, 2nd ser., IV, 133.

fended by palisade and ditch: such was Robert's castle.

Stockaded ditch or ditches, probably with *chevaux de frise* on the counterscarps, defended the level ground on the west where the gateway was. There is no direct evidence now remaining to show the position of the mound, the dominating feature of an eleventh century castle, but judging by analogy there can be little doubt that it occupied the site of the later Half Moon battery overlooking, at only a short remove, the northern approaches to the bridge; the place from which it could best fulfil its chief function of guarding both the bridge and the bridgehead. The *Mount*, mentioned by the historian Brand, cannot be considered as the site of the original *motte*; it would have been quite misplaced in such a position. It seems that this so-called *Mount* was merely an accumulation of rubbish gradually collected there during the centuries that the castle was in use. In 1811 when Castle Street was projected one of the conditions of the sale of house sites in it was that this "bank" must be cleared away, and it was then said that it was "supposed to consist chiefly of ashes and may probably be disposed of as manure."<sup>18</sup> Nothing is known of the history of the castle for some fifteen years after 1080. Robert of Mowbray had been created earl of Northumberland<sup>19</sup> c. 1080-81, the castle was therefore in his charge during these years and kept in good repair as when, in 1095, earl Robert rebelled against Rufus he garrisoned Newcastle with some of his best knights, who were captured there when the castle surrendered to the strong army Rufus had brought north.<sup>20</sup> The earl was shortly thereafter taken prisoner at Tyne-mouth and his earldom forfeited. The county remained in the Crown and was governed by a succession of royal sheriffs who, though Bamburgh appears to have been considered their chief charge, had also the custody of Newcastle, which was kept secure against attack.

<sup>18</sup> AA<sup>2</sup> IV, 74, and see plan p. 138 *ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> CP IX, 705.

<sup>20</sup> Two charters of Rufus are dated at the siege of Newcastle (NCH VIII, p. 53n.).

Immediately after the siege, the castle was considerably strengthened, by order of Rufus (seal pl. v, no. 2), possibly the earth and timber fortifications were then replaced by walls of stone with a gateway likewise of stone in the place where the late Norman gateway was afterwards built. Perhaps "portions of Rufus's fortress may yet be distinguished in some square ashlar in the outer walls . . . which differ materially from the facing of longitudinal stones in the keep."<sup>21</sup> This is, however, conjectural as we have no certain knowledge of the structure of the castle until the reign of Henry II (1154-89) (seal pl. v, no. 3), and a great deal might have been done before that date; presumably it was kept in repair, but its strength was not tested until 1136, when David I of Scotland invaded England with a large army, ostensibly to help his niece the empress Maud against the usurper Stephen, but probably hoping to secure, during such troublous times, the coveted earldom of Northumberland to which he laid claim by hereditary right. Bamburgh alone of the northern castles withstood David's heavy assaults, but upon the approach of Stephen with a strong force a partial peace was patched up at Durham which did not, however, give David the earldom.

The Scottish king again ravaged the north as far south as Tees in the years 1137 and 1138; in this latter year on 22nd August he was heavily defeated at the battle of the Standard fought on Cowton Moor near Northallerton. Peace was finally made at Durham in the following year when David received the earldom of Northumberland, which he conferred upon his second son Henry (seal pl. v, no. 5), and the royal castles of Bamburgh and Newcastle upon Tyne passed into the earl's custody. Richard of Hexham<sup>22</sup> says that these castles were excepted from the earldom, but it seems probable that this is a mistake, no such exemption is mentioned by his fellow chronicler John of Hexham, and it is certain that various charters and grants

<sup>21</sup> AA<sup>2</sup> IV, 61.

<sup>22</sup> *Exceptis duobus oppidis scilicet Novo Castello et Babanberg.*

both of king David and of earl Henry were dated from both castles. David, by a charter dated at Bamburgh *c.* 1147, exempted the church and monks of Tynemouth from work upon the New Castle and upon all other castles in Northumberland.<sup>23</sup>

It was also to Newcastle that, after the death of earl Henry in 1152, David summoned his barons to do homage to Henry's infant son Malcolm as earl. Malcolm succeeded to the Scottish throne 24th May 1153, when the earldom passed to his younger brother William, afterwards the Lion king of Scots (seal pl. v, no. 4). It has been suggested<sup>24</sup> that the fortifications of the New Castle were destroyed when Henry received the earldom; however this may be, the strength of the castle was not tested, for under the Scottish earls peace and prosperity endured in Northumberland for many years.

The castle was in a dilapidated condition<sup>25</sup> when, in 1157, Henry II (seal pl. v, no. 3) dispossessed William of the earldom. Soon thereafter it was greatly strengthened;<sup>26</sup> probably the site was entirely surrounded by a stone wall with posterns, bailey-gate and a new great gate and the foundations of the present keep marked out. In 1174 William the Lion ravaged Northumberland as far as Newcastle, of which Roger son of Richard, a valiant knight and lord of Warkworth, was then in charge as sheriff, but the castle was too strong to be taken except by a regular siege and a train of artillery.

Jordan Fantosme's metrical chronicle tells the story:<sup>27</sup>

And Roger fitz Richard a valiant knight  
 . . . . .

He was lord and master of Newcastle upon Tyne.  
 . . . . .

Thither came the king of Scotland with armed men and naked.  
 The hills and the valleys dread his approach.  
 . . . . .

<sup>23</sup> NCH VIII, 59, note 2, and p. 60, notes.

<sup>24</sup> JH I, i, 216.

<sup>25</sup> JH III, iii, p. xii.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. II.

<sup>27</sup> Fantosme III, p. 202.

Well sees the king of Scotland that he will never complete  
The conquest of Newcastle upon Tyne without military engine.<sup>28</sup>

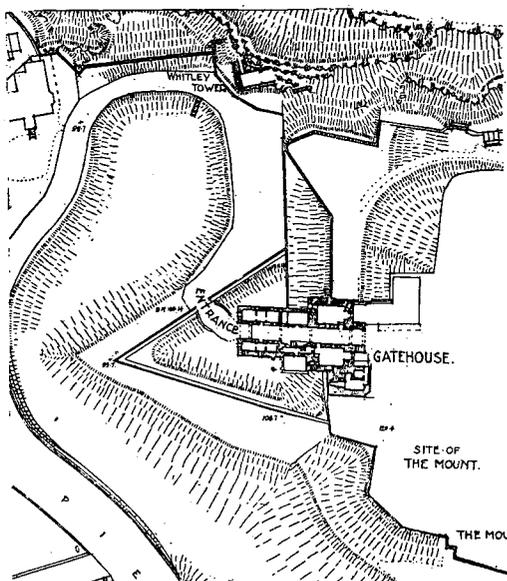
So following the advice of his barons he left Newcastle and went to Prudhoe and Carlisle and thence to his capture before Alnwick castle. William was at Newcastle again, when, captured by Ranulph of Glanville and his company of northern knights, he came as a prisoner—

On a palfrey this king of Albany mounted;  
They lead him away gently whatever anyone may say to you,  
At Newcastle upon Tyne they take lodging.<sup>29</sup>

Within a few years the stone keep was built and a late Norman fortress, complete with its walls, posterns, gates and tower, had by 1178 taken the place of duke Robert's mound and bailey castle.

TYNEMOUTH.<sup>30</sup>

Monastery—gules  
three crowns or—  
St. Oswin.



<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 253.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 355.

<sup>30</sup> Plan part of that in NCH VIII, p. 146.

The promontory, which juts boldly seawards north of the mouth of Tyne, where the ruins of priory and castle now stand, may have been fortified in Anglian times.

When William the Conqueror (seal pl. v, no. 1) returned to the Tyne in 1072 after chastising Malcolm III, king of Scots, the inhabitants of the district stored their goods at Tynemouth for greater safety.<sup>31</sup> A "castle" was then a fortification unknown in the north,<sup>32</sup> and it is very improbable that there was one at Tynemouth until after Robert of Mowbray<sup>33</sup> became earl of Northumberland about the year 1080. As Dr. Craster says, "he may be regarded as its founder as he was of the priory within it."<sup>34</sup> The castle is first mentioned in 1095, when it endured a siege of two months<sup>35</sup> before surrendering. The campaign was ended by Mowbray's capture, deprivation and imprisonment. The place was of great defensive strength, inaccessible on all sides except the west, where it was cut off from the land beyond by a deep moat doubtless defended on the scarp by a strong stockade and its counterscarp crowned by *chevaux de frise*. Inside this moat was a high earthen rampart with a palisade upon its top. Part of this line of defence can still be seen in "a sloping bank of earth some fifteen feet in height which lines the interior of the western wall"<sup>36</sup> (plan). It is not possible now to say whether or not a moated mound lay within this rampart; probably there was one if only for a place of defence for the earl against possible attacks from his own retainers. Its suggested site is marked on the plan which is part of that of a larger plan facing page 146 in volume VIII of *A History of Northumberland*.

<sup>31</sup> *Vita Oswini*, SS 8, p. 21.

<sup>32</sup> Durham was founded in 1072.

<sup>33</sup> In due time the county of Northumberland was given by the king's munificence to Robert of Mowbray, a man of good lineage with a long chain of ancestry, tall too in stature and renowned for splendour of military prowess. (Trans. I. A. Richmond from *Vita Oswini*, p. 15.)

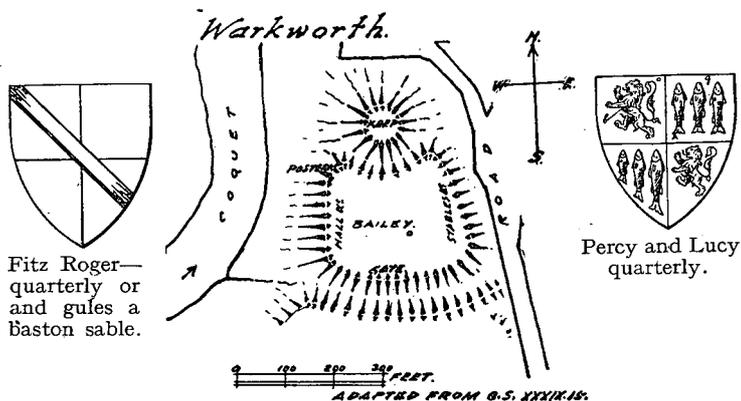
<sup>34</sup> NCH VIII, 155 and SS 8, p. 15.

<sup>35</sup> . . . castellum praedicti comitis Rodberti ad ostium Tinae fluminis situm, per duos menses obsedit (Sym. II, 225).

<sup>36</sup> NCH VIII, 155.

This early castle was strengthened and provided with a gatehouse of donjon type in 1296 when Edward I granted a licence to the prior and convent to surround their monastery with a stone wall.<sup>37</sup>

## WARKWORTH.



Percy—a lion azure.

Warkworth is first mentioned in history when, in the year 737, Ceolwulf, that "most Glorious" king of Northumbria to whom the Venerable Bede dedicated his *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, gave it, with the church of St. Lawrence, to the monks of Holy Island.<sup>38</sup> Its history during the dark ninth century is unknown, but it is recorded that king Osbert (c. 849-63) revoked<sup>39</sup> the gift to Holy Island made by his predecessor. Thenceforward the place remained in the possession of the earls of North-

<sup>37</sup> AA<sup>2</sup> XIV, p. 8.<sup>38</sup> Sym. I, 47.<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* I, 201.

umberland, but for more than two centuries, nothing is known about it. In the late eleventh century earl Robert of Mowbray (c. 1080-95) gave its tithes to the monks of Tynemouth priory. In 1095 earl Robert rebelled against Rufus and, being captured at Tynemouth,<sup>40</sup> after the surrender of his fortress of Newcastle, was deprived of the earldom which reverted to the crown and so remained until after the death of Henry I in 1135.<sup>41</sup> About 1138 Simon of St. Liz II (seal pl. v, no. 7), as earl of Northumberland, granted a salt pan at Warkworth to the monks of Newminster Abbey.<sup>42</sup> This grant was confirmed by Henry of Scotland<sup>43</sup> (seal pl. v, no. 5) half brother to Simon, after he had granted the earldom in 1139. It seems very probable that a castle of the mound and bailey type had by this time replaced the Anglian homestead named after Werce,<sup>44</sup> but of this we have no certain knowledge. A castle is first mentioned when in 1157 Henry II granted the castle and manor<sup>45</sup> of Warkworth to Roger son of Richard for his services, as freely as Henry's grandfather (Henry I, 1100-1135) had held the manor. This Roger was the son of Richard son of Eustace, constable of Chester, and of his wife Aubrey daughter and heiress of Robert de Lizures; he was therefore the grandson of Eustace son of John, lord of Alnwick.

The lofty moated mound was built at the top of the hill which rises steeply southwards from the fortified bridge over Coquet. The site slopes quickly to the river on the west and more gradually to the coastal plain on the east; on the

<sup>40</sup> AA<sup>2</sup> xiv, 83.

<sup>41</sup> NCH v, 21 and n.

<sup>42</sup> Ego Simon comes Northumbriae monachis Novi. Mon. etc. (SS 66, 212).

<sup>43</sup> Quam comes Simon frater meus illis dedit et concessit . . . (*Ibid.*, p. 212.) See *post*, p. 167.

<sup>44</sup> Mawer, s.v.

<sup>45</sup> Castellum de Werkweda et manerium (NCH v, 211). In 1166 Roger son of Richard certified Henry II—Ego Rogerus filius Ricardo terreo in capite de Rege Wrkwrtham per servitium i militis (Red Bk. I, 442). Robert his son held it by the same service at the inquest of 1212 (Bk. of Fees, I, 200).

south the land is level and affords a natural approach to the gateway. The bailey extended south from the mound, from which it was cut off by a stockaded ditch, being itself surrounded on the east and south by similar ditches. The later fortifications followed the lines of the original bailey except that, on the east, a strip was cut off from it when a stone curtain with tower and gateway was built in the thirteenth century (pl. vi).

There is no evidence as to the date when stone walls were first built around the bailey nor when the timber tower house was replaced by a stone keep. This might have been done in the later years of earl Henry or by his successor, but even in 1174 the castle was not strongly defended as, when William the Lion appeared before it during the campaign of that year, it was too weak to offer any resistance.

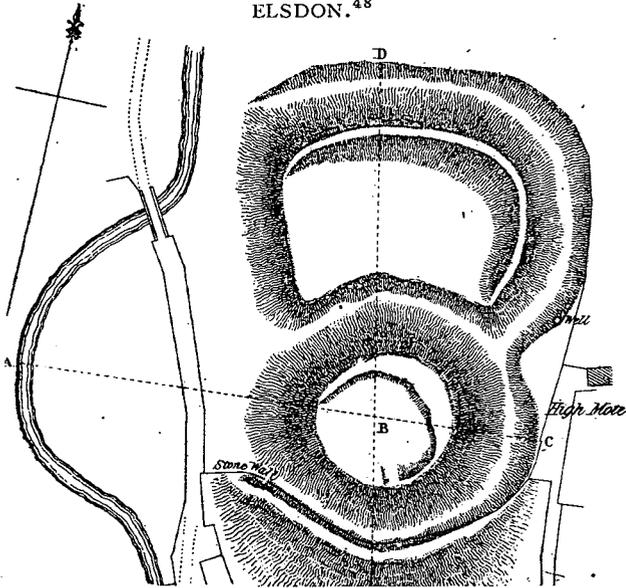
They come to Warkworth, nor deign to stay there  
For the castle was weak, the wall and the trench,  
And Roger son of Richard, a valiant knight,  
Had had it in charge; but he could not defend it.<sup>46</sup>

Roger died in 1178 and was succeeded by his son Robert (seal pl. v, no. 6), to whom the castle and manor was confirmed by John in 1199.<sup>47</sup> It was he who, early in the thirteenth century, built a second stone keep upon the top of the lowered mound, the massive gateway still seen on the south, and either rebuilt entirely or greatly strengthened the surrounding curtain walls.

Warkworth came to the Percy lords of Alnwick in 1332; during the centuries of their rule many and great alterations were made in its structure. It eventually became the favourite northern residence of the earls of Northumberland and only fell into ruin after the death, in 1670, of Joscelin the eleventh and last earl of the second house of Percy.

<sup>46</sup> Fantosme III, 251-52.

<sup>47</sup> Inquest of 1212. *Robertus filius Rogeri tenet in capite de domino Rege manerium de Werewrth . . . per servitium i militis . . .* (AA<sup>2</sup> xxv, 153).

ELSDON.<sup>48</sup>

Sir Robert Umfraville, 1421-36. (Armorial panel on tower.)

The first castle built by Robert of Umfraville as the head of his Liberty of Redesdale and as a place of defence for himself and his men, was at Elsdon.<sup>49</sup> It must have been erected shortly after he received the district to hold by the serjeanty of guarding the valley from robbers<sup>50</sup> towards the end of the eleventh century and before he was granted the barony of Prudhoe by Henry I (1100-35). It

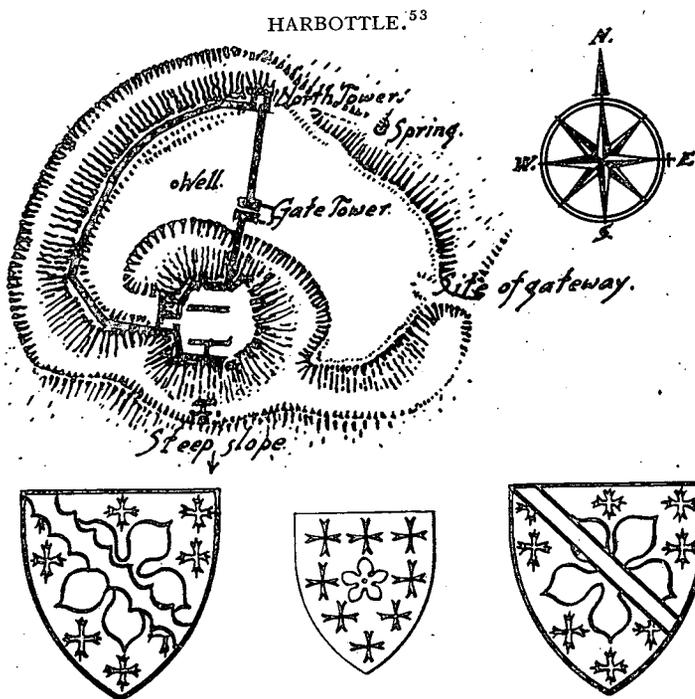
<sup>48</sup> Plan reduced from BNC ix, p. 538. <sup>49</sup> Aelf's-valley (Mawer, s.v.).

<sup>50</sup> In 1212 Ricardus (de Umfraville) tenet vallem de Redesdale per servitium ut custodiat vallem a latronibus de antiquo feffamento (Bk. of Fees, i, 201).

is situated on the left or east bank of Elsdon burn at the point where the high moorlands of the stream's upper course fall gradually southwards to the spacious village green of Elsdon. The castle is an excellent example of the early mound and bailey type; no later work has been added to it so that the original earthworks can be better seen than at similar castles to which stone fortifications have been added. The circular mound, partly artificial and with steeply scarped sides, rises some 90 feet above the burn; its summit contains within the surrounding earthen rampart an area of about 900 square yards.<sup>51</sup> It has been originally almost level, but has been much disturbed in medieval or modern times by exploratory excavations. The mound is cut off from the adjoining bailey by a broad, deep ditch, a similar ditch on the east and south separates it from the adjacent land. The steep gradient of the ground on the west there makes this defence unnecessary. The bailey, which is about 60 feet above the level of the burn, lies to the north of the mound. Its surface is nearly level and was apparently made on the natural surface of the land and contains, within very broad and high ramparts, an area of about half an acre. These ramparts of earth surround the bailey on all sides except the west, where again the steep fall of the ground make them superfluous. Like the mound, the bailey is also surrounded on the outside, except on the west, by a ditch. With a little imagination and some knowledge of the many similar castles elsewhere one can reconstruct the fortress as it appeared before the destruction of its timber defences. The counterscarp of the outer ditch would be defended by *chevaux de frise* or possibly by a quickset hedge, and the top of the rampart of the bailey crowned with a stout wooden stockade; the fortified entry being probably on the south west side. The deep ditch dividing mound and bailey would be crossed by a steep wooden stairway giving access to the top and defended at both top and bottom by a strong entrance gate. The top of the mound would also be enclosed in a stout palisade adding

<sup>51</sup> BNC ix, 538.

to the rampart's strength and enclosing within it the donjon or tower-house, also made of wood, where the lord and his household could dwell secure both from assaults from his own retainers or from the enemies without his gate. This early castle was probably dismantled shortly after 1157,<sup>52</sup> when Prudhoe was arising and Odinel of Umfraville's castle at Harbottle was being built. The change from Elsdon to Harbottle was probably made for strategic reasons, the latter being better situated to guard the fertile valley of Coquet from the wild men of Redesdale, or from Scottish raiders whose routes lay through the hills of Upper Coquetdale.



Sir Thomas Umfraville—Umfraville—gules crus- Sir Robert Umfraville  
 a baston engrailed argent. ily and a five foil or. —a baston azure.

<sup>52</sup> The later tower was built on another site in the late fourteenth century.

<sup>53</sup> Plan from NCH xv, p. 481.

The Liberty of Redesdale was one of several between Tyne and Tweed, whose separate jurisdiction dates back beyond the Conquest. Such were the shires of Norham, Island and Bedlington which were under the palatine rule of the bishops of Durham, Hexhamshire belonging to the archbishops of York, Tyndale a possession of the Scottish kings and Tynmouthshire held by the priors of Tynemouth.

Redesdale was granted to Robert of Umfraville, styled Robert with the Beard (*cum barba*), towards the end of the eleventh century either by the Conqueror or by Rufus.<sup>54</sup> It was of great extent, including within its bounds the large parishes of Elsdon and Corsenside, comprising the valley of Rede water from its source on the Scottish border to its junction with North Tyne at Redesmouth and those parts of Alwinton and Holystone which lay to the south and east of Coquet between Windyhaugh and Hepple. The Liberty was held at the inquest of 1212, by grand serjeanty of the ancient feoffment by the service of guarding the valley from thieves.<sup>55</sup> The Liberty descended to a younger branch of the family, with whom it remained until the death, in 1436, of Sir Robert Umfraville, K.G. (1409), vice-admiral of England.<sup>56</sup>

The first castle, built to guard it, was at Elsdon in Redesdale, an earthwork<sup>57</sup> of the usual mound and bailey form which still stands untouched by later building (see p. 132). When, in 1157, Henry II resumed possession of Northumberland, the necessity of guarding the "passages" through the Cheviot Hills into Coquetdale became urgent, and by the king's direct orders, with the help of the whole company of Northumberland and of the bishopric of Dur-

<sup>54</sup> The picturesque charter of William I, so often quoted, has been shown to be a late forgery (*Peerage and Pedigree*, I, 297).

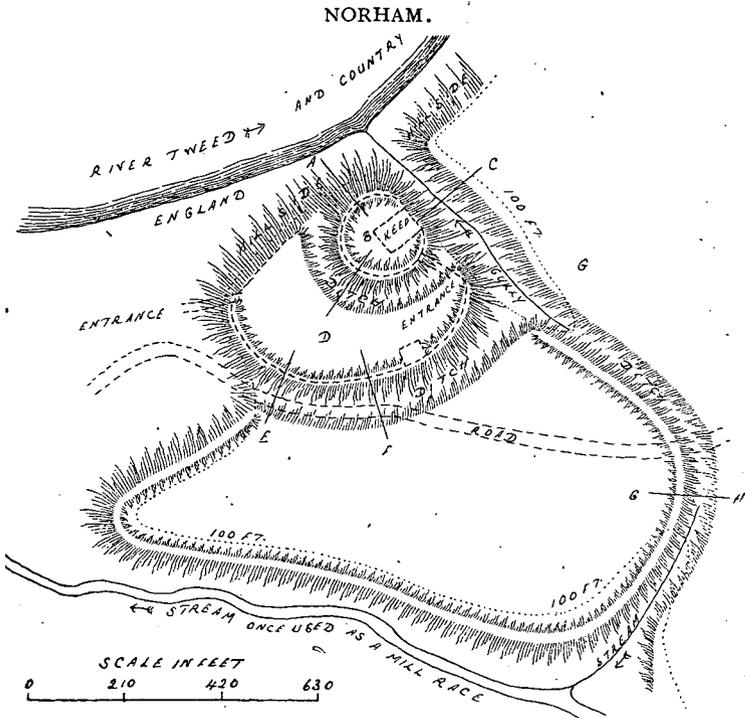
<sup>55</sup> Ricardus (Umfraville) tenet vallem de Redesdale per servitium ut custodiat vallem a latronibus, de antiquo feffamento. (Bk. of Fees, I, 201.)

<sup>56</sup> NCH xv, 474.

<sup>57</sup> See *ante* p. 133.

ham, a castle was built<sup>58</sup> shortly after that date at Harbottle. The place was of strategic importance, as it is thence that the narrow defile of the higher reaches of Coquet opens into a broad cultivated valley stretching eastwards to the sea at Warkworth and northwards to the fertile vale of Whittingham. The fortress therefore stood on guard both against raids from Scottish invaders and against the hardly less menace of thieves from the bleak, inhospitable land of upper Redesdale. The site is at the eastern end of a high ridge surrounded, except on the south, by the water of Coquet which curves sharply round the ridge on the west and then sweeps around its northern and eastern sides. The earthworks, which yet remain almost complete, and though of such a late date, yet indicate clearly that the castle was originally of the mound and bailey type. The mound stands at the highest point of the ridge and forms part of the southern defences of the enclosure; it is largely artificial, being built with material obtained from its surrounding ditch, which, on the south, is cut deeply into the side of the ridge. The bailey is crescentic in shape and surrounds the mound on all sides but the south; it also is defended by a deep ditch with a stout inner parapet—the gateway was on its east side. Before the middle of the thirteenth century a strong stone castle had arisen. Its curtain wall followed the lines of the earthen rampart, except on the east where it ran in a straight line northwards from the keep with the new main gate near its south end. It thus made a smaller outer bailey by cutting off, to form a barmkin or outer yard, the eastern half of the original enclosure. Thus Harbottle became the chief and strongest of the many castles and towers which guarded the Middle Marches towards Scotland.

<sup>58</sup> . . . dudum constructum (castrum meum de Hirbottle) per dominum Henricum regem Angliæ avum domini nostri regis et, per auxilium totius comitatus Northumbriæ et episcopatus Denelmensis ex precepto dicti Henrici (*Letters*, Henry III, etc. Rolls ed. I, 131).



SEE OF DURHAM.  
Azure a cross or between  
four lions argent.



Grey.  
Gules a lion and a border  
engrailed argent.

Norham is situated on the south bank of Tweed about midway between Wark and Berwick. It was the head of the shires of Norham and Holy Island which, together with Bedlington, formed the detached northern part of the

bishopric of Durham in which the bishops as lords palatine enjoyed the rights and privileges exercised by the Crown elsewhere in the kingdom. The governor or constable of the castle was appointed by the bishop in council and usually combined with that office the duties of sheriff, coroner, escheator and justice in the two shires.

In 1121 Ranulph Flambard (1099-1128) (seal pl. v, no. 14) caused a castle to be built upon the steep cliff which there overhangs the water of Tweed. The natural strength of the site no doubt influenced his choice, and in addition it guarded an important ford over the river<sup>59</sup> which had previously been undefended: it was built also that he might thereby curb the incursions of the Scots, for until his time the place which was situated upon the borders of the kingdom of the English and Scots was entirely exposed to the continuous harrying of these thieves, nor had any garrison been placed there to prevent their attacks.<sup>60</sup>

On the north and west the site fell steeply to the water of Tweed, on the east it was separated from the adjoining plateau by a burn flowing in a deep ravine, whilst an artificially deepened depression guarded its south and west sides to the river bank. There was also an outer enclosure marked off by bank and ditch, used doubtless as a refuge for cattle and the inhabitants of the surrounding county during raids (plan). Flambard's castle consisted of a high mound, partly natural but heightened and scarped by art, upon which was a wooden tower defended by a stockade and the whole surrounded by a deep ditch palisaded on the counter-scarp; this formed the inner bailey. The outer bailey, of segmental shape, lay to the south and was also defended by ditch and palisade with probably *chevaux de frise* on the outer edge. The mound itself formed the eastward defence

<sup>59</sup> Tunc et castellum apud Northam inceptum super ripam Twedae in loco qui Ethamesforda dicitur (Sym. II, 260).

<sup>60</sup> Condidit in excelso praeruptae rupis super Twedam flumen ut inde latronum incursus inhiheret et Scottorum irruptiones. Ibi enim utpote in confinio regni Anglorum et Scottorum ereber praedantibus ante patebat excursus nullo ibidem quo hujusmodi impetus repelleretur praesidio locato (Sym. I, 140).

of the castle. Nothing is known of its history until 1136, when David king of Scots, during his invasion of that year, captured all the castles in Northumberland except the rock fortress of Bamburgh. Peace was soon arranged, but the chief cause of enmity remained, for David did not receive the coveted earldom of Northumberland. His son Henry succeeded to the earldom of Huntingdon and received in addition the lordship of Doncaster and Carlisle.<sup>61</sup>

This unsatisfactory peace did not last long; in 1138 the Scots again devastated the north of England, and Norham again fell. Its defence was weak, there being only nine knights to lead the men of the garrison. They fought well at first, but having suffered losses they lost heart and surrendered, though the fortifications were in good condition and provisions plentiful;<sup>62</sup> the castle was then totally destroyed—"King David of Scotland, turning to Norham, a castle of the bishop of Durham, besieged it and compelled the garrison to surrender and ordered the castle to be destroyed."<sup>63</sup> The peace signed at Durham on 9th April 1139 gave the earldom of Northumberland to prince Henry. Norham and Island shires were excepted from the grant and Norham castle was restored to Geoffrey Rufus bishop of Durham.<sup>64</sup> Peace reigned for many years thereafter and it is probable that, like Newcastle and Wark,<sup>65</sup> Norham's fortifications were not restored.

The year 1157 began a new era in Northumberland. Henry II dispossessed the Scottish earl of the county and ordered its castles to be rebuilt. Hugh de Puiset (1153-95) was then bishop of Durham; he was among the greatest of the many great men who have occupied the palatine see, and a few words may perhaps be said here about his name and family, as the mistaken and misleading translation of

<sup>61</sup> CP VI and IX under Huntingdon and Northumberland.

<sup>62</sup> JH I, i, 211.

<sup>63</sup> Rex David Scotiae . . . divertens ad Norhaam castrum episcopi Dunelmensis quod obsideri fecit et citius oppidans ad deditonem compulit ipsumque oppidum subruï praecipit (Sym. II, 291).

<sup>64</sup> *Richard of Hexham*, trans. J. Stevenson, p. 58.

<sup>65</sup> JH III, iii, 2-6.

Puiset into Pudsey<sup>66</sup> still persists in the north. This apparently owes its origin to a genealogical fraud made to claim Hugh as a scion of the otherwise undistinguished Yorkshire family of Pudsey. The historian Stubbs<sup>67</sup> gives his proper ancestry and continues, "a great-grandson of William the Conqueror, nephew of Stephen, of Henry of Winchester and Theobald of Champagne, cousin to both Richard I and Philip II . . . he had every opportunity and many qualifications for becoming a very great man and in spite of his failures he left a mark upon the North of England which is not effaced. He was a man of grand stature and singularly noble face, eloquent, energetic, a mighty hunter, a great shipmaster, a magnificent builder,<sup>68</sup> an able defender and besieger, a consummate intriguer and a very wary politician." It was this great builder who, by order of Henry II, shortly after 1157, rebuilt the fortifications of Norham. The continuator of Symeon says, "having obtained the bishopric, he built, by order of the king, a castle upon the river Tweed as a protection for himself and his people against the invasions of the Scots; that which had been built long ago by Ranulph (Flambard), formerly bishop of Durham, having been destroyed by the army of the Scots."<sup>69</sup> He found the castle very weakly defended and made it secure by building there a very strong tower.<sup>70</sup> The work was done under the direction of the bishop's master mason, Richard of Wolviston, whose name and skill were famous throughout the bishopric.<sup>71</sup>

The restored castle was not attacked when, in 1174,

<sup>66</sup> SD I, 24n., Plan. Har. *Yorks.* I, 482. It is unfortunate that both the DNB and the new edition of CP IX, 707, give Pudsey as an alternative name.

<sup>67</sup> *Intro. Rolls Series*, ed. Hassall, pp. 212-13.

<sup>68</sup> *Sym.* I, 168.

<sup>69</sup> Nactus episcopatam ad munitionem sui suorumque castellum super Twedam fluvium contra Scottorum irruptiones praecepto regis aedificavit quod pridem a Ranulpho quondam Dunelmensi episcopo aedificatum a Scottorum exercitu destructum fuerat (*Sym.* I, 168).

<sup>70</sup> Castellum de Northam quod munitionibus infirmum reperit, turre validissima forte redidit (SS IX, p. 12).

<sup>71</sup> SS I, 111-12.

William the Lion invaded the north, either because it was too strong to be taken by sudden assault or because the bishop had secretly made treaty with the Scots; it was at the time held by a royal garrison under Roger of Conyers. It remained in the king's hands until returned in 1197 to bishop Philip of Poitou.<sup>72</sup> Puiset's "very strong tower" was added to and altered in later years, both the baileys were surrounded by stone walls, towers and gateways with a hall, kitchens and lodgings within them, but the general plain remained substantially that of Flambard's mound and bailey castle. Norham's long eventful history, as the "chiefest strength of the Borders" and the "most dangerous"<sup>73</sup> place in England, is that of the wars between English and Scots, ended only when, in 1603, James I came to the throne of the United Kingdom and the Borders ceased to be.

WARK UPON TYNE.



Or a lion rampant in a double tressure gules—Scotland.

The lordship of Tyndale comprised the valleys of North and South Tyne, including within it the parishes of Alston, Kirkhaugh, Knaresdale, Whitfield, Simonburn and a large part of Haltwhistle; the castle at Wark was its head. Henry II (seal pl. v, no. 3), in 1157, forced William the Lion (seal pl. v, no. 4) to resign his earldom of Northumberland and granted him as some little compensation the lordship of these remote and solitary valleys to be held by homage only from the kings of Scotland to those of Eng-

<sup>72</sup> CDS I, 38.

<sup>73</sup> Leland's *Collect.* II, 548.

land. Tyndale therefore did not thereby become part of Scotland, but remained a fief of the crown of England. It so remained until after the death, in 1286, of Alexander III, when Edward I confiscated all the English possessions of the Scottish kings.<sup>74</sup> The justices itinerant of Scotland held their courts at Wark possibly within the bounds of the castle.<sup>75</sup> The fortification was of such importance that, like Wark on Tweed, it gave its name to the adjacent township (O.E. *weorce*). It was raised upon a flat-topped natural hill a little to the south of the village and close to the right bank of North Tyne. The mound was in the north-west corner, where the hill slopes steeply to the high-road to Simonburn; traces of the ditch which separated it from the bailey can still be faintly seen though the mound has been levelled and its site occupied by a modern farmhouse and its yard. Traces of the stockaded mound which surrounded the bailey can be seen around the edge of the precipitous scarped sides of the plateau, which vary from 25 to 40 feet above ground level. It is probable that this castle was built, like Wark upon Tweed,<sup>76</sup> in the earlier half of the twelfth century when Henry of Scotland was earl. A stone tower would probably have arisen some time in the following century, but it is not mentioned until the first year of Henry IV (1399), when he granted the manor with its tower to Edmund duke of York as part of the lordship of Tyndale.<sup>77</sup> In 1415 the *Turris de Werke in Tyndall* belonged to Sir Thomas Grey of Heton<sup>78</sup> to whom the duke of York had granted it. Further details of it are given in the Survey of 1541<sup>79</sup>—“There is also an olde mansion and apparence of a fortress that hath beene in tyme passed at a place in Tyndall called Warke . . . of the Kinge’s majesties Inheryt-

<sup>74</sup> For further account see NCH xv, pp. 156 and 281ff.

<sup>75</sup> *Iter* of 31 Alexander III (1279) held at Wark is printed in Harts-horne’s *Antiquities of Northumberland*, II, appendix ix.

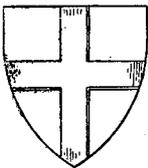
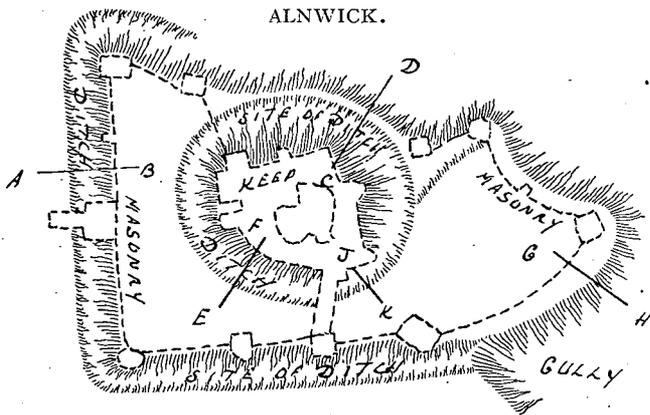
<sup>76</sup> p. 156 below.

<sup>77</sup> *Manerium de Werke cum pilo ejusdem . . . ac integrum dominium de Tyndale* (JH III, ii, 281).

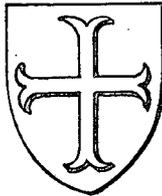
<sup>78</sup> AA<sup>2</sup> XIV, 18, and NCH xv, 284.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

ance, which Warke ys the chefe sygnoury and Manor whereof as well all the said county of Tyndall as almost all the townes standinge between the said rivers of North Tyne and South Tyne and at the said Warke ys there a courte and lawe day kepte at suche tymes as the keeper of Tyndale doth appoynte the same.” Whether or not this tower was on the same site as the castle is doubtful; this could only be determined by excavation not now possible.



Vesci—or a cross sable.



Vesci—gules a cross patonce argent.



Percy—or a lion azure.

No mention is made of a castle at Alnwick when, upon St. Brice’s day (13 November) 1093, Malcolm Caennmor,<sup>80</sup> returning from his fifth invasion of Northumberland, was cut off near the river Aln<sup>81</sup> by the army of earl Robert of Mowbray. This battle, in which Malcolm was slain by the

<sup>80</sup> Sym. II, 221.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 222.

sheriff Morell,<sup>82</sup> a relative of the earl, was fought on the north bank of the river opposite where the castle now stands. The chapel and hospital of St. Leonard was founded on the place where he fell; the well a little to the north-west was called "in the English tongue Malcolm's well."

A castle of the mound and bailey type was, however, in existence before 1138. In that year Eustace son of John, one of the greater barons, joined king David in his campaign against Stephen. Eustace was lord of Alnwick and of many manors in Northumberland and Yorkshire; in 1130 he was, with Walter l'Espece, a justice itinerant in the north.<sup>83</sup> His wife was Beatrice daughter and heiress of Ivo of Vesci lord of Alnwick whose castle was, in 1138, described as very strong.<sup>84</sup> His second wife was Agnes daughter of the constable of Chester, of which place he was himself constable when killed in an ambush in Wales in 1157.<sup>85</sup>



Eustace was one of the distinguished men of his day; "a great man and a grandée shining among the first outstanding men of England by virtue of his titles of wealth and wisdom."<sup>86</sup> It seems probable that Alnwick castle, described as very strong in 1138, was built by Ivo of Vesci at the beginning of the twelfth century. In 1157 Henry II (seal pl. v, no. 3) confirmed to William of Vesci (seal pl. v, no. 8), son and heir of Eustace son of John and his wife Beatrice of Vesci, the *castle* and honour of Alnwick which had belonged to his grandfather Ivo of Vesci.<sup>87</sup> This

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 222n.—a Morello milite strenuissimus. He had the custody of Bamburgh, for many years an appanage of the shrievalty (AA<sup>4</sup> xx, 25).

<sup>83</sup> JH III, iii, 2.

<sup>84</sup> *Eustachius quoque filius Johannis unus de baronibus regis Angliae quoddam munitissimum castellum quod Alnewic dicitur in Northumbriae habens* (Chron. III, 158.)

<sup>85</sup> TA I, 402.

<sup>86</sup> Chron. I, 108, trans. I. A. Richmond.

<sup>87</sup> TA I, 102. At the inquest of 1212, Eustachius de Vesci tenet in capite de domino Rege Baroniam de Alnewic per servitium xij militum . . . quas dominus Rex Henricus primus dedit Eustachio filii Johannis . . . (Bk. of Fees I, 200; Red Bk. II, 562).

castle was placed at the top of the slope on the south bank of Aln. The mound divided the bailey into an east and west ward, filling up most of the space between them and forming part of the outer defences of the north side of the enclosure, elsewhere defended by ditch, mound and palisade (plan). The base of the mound and part of its surrounding ditch yet remain visible. "It is probable that about the middle of the twelfth century Eustace son of John surrounded the whole of the enclosure with stone walls and, levelling the mount to its present height, built in stone the earliest domestic buildings of the castle upon the enlarged site of the earlier wooden jonjon and palisade . . . he defended the summit of the levelled mount by a thick curtain against which his hall and other domestic apartments were placed."<sup>88</sup> Remains of this work of Eustace can still be seen in the inner arch of the gateway to the keep and in parts of the masonry of the walls of both wards. Such was the castle which William the Lion (seal pl. v, no. 4) besieged in 1174 and before which he was captured by a band of northern knights led by Randolph of Glanville the Justiciar on a misty morning in July of that year. Jordan Fantosme was an eyewitness of the skirmish and thus describes it:<sup>89</sup>

The king of Scotland was brave, haughty and bold,  
 Before Alnwick he stood unarmed.  
 I do not relate a fable as one who has heard it,  
 But as one who was there; I myself saw it.  
 When these had already shouted the war-cry of Vesci,  
 And "Glanvile Knights" and "Baliol" besides,  
 Odinel of Umfranvile raised his own cry,  
 And that of Estuteville the bold knight.

.....  
 He was immediately taken with my two eyes I saw it,  
 By Randulf of Glanvile to whom he then surrendered.<sup>90</sup>

The twelfth century castle was largely rebuilt in the

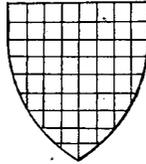
<sup>88</sup> *Military Architecture in England*, 116, by A. Hamilton Thompson.

<sup>89</sup> Chron. III, pp. 352/55.

<sup>90</sup> Fantosme, III, as above.

middle of the fourteenth century by Henry (seal pl. v, no. 15) the second lord Percy of Alnwick.<sup>91</sup> The later lords and the Percy earls preferred Warkworth as a residence and Alnwick gradually became ruinous. The present castle is a reconstruction built in the late eighteenth century by the first duke of Northumberland.

## BOLAM.

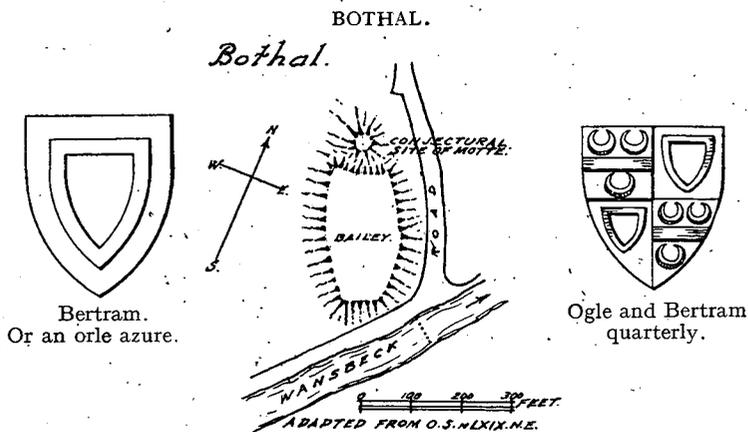


Sir Thomas Bekering.  
Checky argent and gules.

The oval enclosure, defended by ditch and rampart, upon the top of Bolam hill, may have contained the residence of the early lords of the barony; if so there is no sign now visible that it ever was a castle of the mound and bailey type. It was situated at the west end of the old village, now entirely gone, with the ancient church and vicarage at the east end. The later stone tower, built within this enclosure, has completely disappeared, its ruins being used as a quarry for stones to build the present Bolam House. The barony was held in 1168 by Gilbert of Bolam by three knights' fees of the old feoffment as his father James had held it in the time of Henry I. It was carried to the family of Caux by an heiress in the time of king John, and from them, in 1248, to Sir Thomas Bekering, whose successors held it until the early fifteenth century.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>91</sup> TA I, 96, plan.

<sup>92</sup> JH II, ii, 333.



Bothal is first mentioned in history when earl Robert of Mowbray (c. 1080-95) granted its tithes to the prior and convent of Tynemouth. After the earl's confiscation it formed a portion of the northern part of the barony of Bywell, granted by Rufus to Guy of Baliol.<sup>93</sup>

Hawise, daughter of Guy, brought it by marriage to William Bertram baron of Mitford. In the time of Henry II it was held by Richard,<sup>94</sup> youngest son of William and Hawise and brother of Roger of Mitford. At the inquest of 1212 Robert Bertram son of Richard certified that he held the barony in chief of the king by the service of three knights of the old feoffment as all his ancestors had held it by the same service.<sup>95</sup> In the year 1243 Robert Bertram was licensed by Edward III to make a castle of *mansum suum de Bothale*.<sup>96</sup> The barony and castle remained in the Bertram family until carried to the Ogles by the marriage, late in the fourteenth century, of Helen, daughter and heiress of Robert Bertram v, to Sir Robert Ogle.

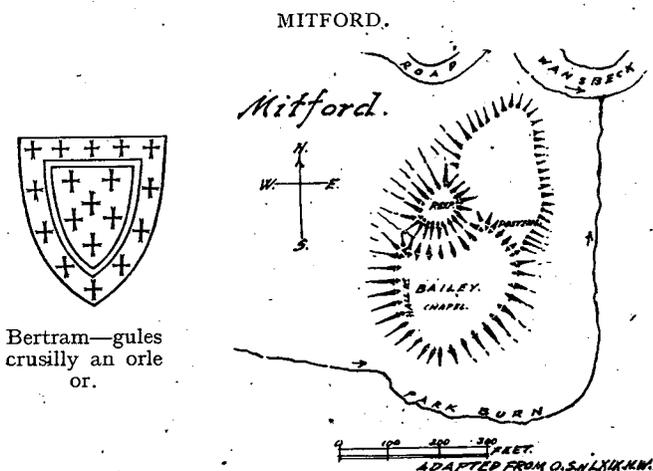
<sup>93</sup> AA<sup>2</sup> xiv, 284.

<sup>94</sup> Sciatis quod ego habeo feodum iij militum de antiquo feffamento quod ego ipse teneo (Red Bk. I, 442).

<sup>95</sup> Robertus Bertram tenet in capite domino rege baroniam de Bothale per servicium iij militum (Bk. of Fees I, 202).

<sup>96</sup> AA<sup>2</sup> xiv, 9.

The castle is situated upon a small nab of land on the north bank of Wansbeck. The land is level towards the village on the north, but the other sides are protected by steep slopes to the river and a ravine on the east. There is no sign of a mound and there may never have been one, but only an enclosure protected by stockaded ramparts of earth and with a fortified gateway on the north protected by ditch and mound. There is no masonry now visible earlier than the thirteenth century..



Bertram—gules  
crusilly an orle  
or.

Roger Bertram certified Henry II. in 1166 that he held the barony of Mitford by the service of six and a half knights' fees, as his father and grandfather had held it in the time of Henry I<sup>97</sup> (1100-35). At the inquest of 1212 it was held by five knights' fees.<sup>98</sup> The name of Roger's grandfather is unknown, but his father's was William whose wife was Hawise daughter of Guy of Baliol lord of Bywell. Mitford was therefore in the possession of Roger's grandfather early in the twelfth century. There was a castle there before

<sup>97</sup> Red Bk. I, 437.

<sup>98</sup> Roger Bertram tenet in capite domino Rege baroniam de Midford per servitium v militum . . . (Bk. of Fees I, 201).

1138,<sup>99</sup> and it may be assumed that it was built when the barony was granted. It remained in the Bertram family until the death of Roger Bertram III *c.* 1273 (seal pl. v, no. 11).

The castle was placed upon a natural hill of sandstone, rising on the right or west bank of the well-wooded valley of Wansbeck, here flowing southwards before turning north and east on its way to the sea.

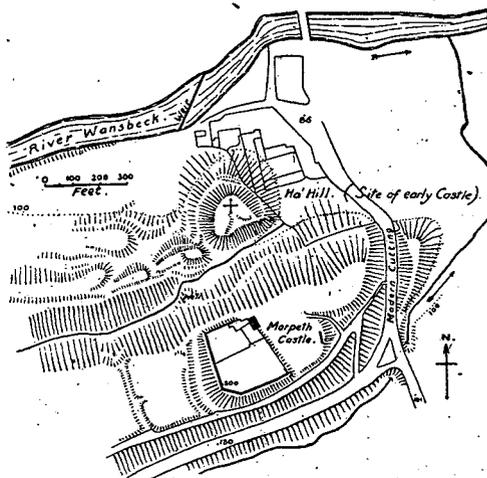
The mound, heightened and its sides steeply scarped by material from its surrounding ditch, is on the north side of the enclosure. The bailey slopes gently southward towards the Park burn, which separates it from the higher ground on the south. The plan makes it clear that this early twelfth century castle was of the mound and bailey type of earth-work fortress. The mound formed the outer defence on the north and was cut off by a deep, wide ditch from the adjoining bailey which was itself defended by palisaded mound, ditch and counterscarp. The line of the later stone walls followed the lines of the earlier rampart, except on the east where the straight line of the wall appears to have cut off part of the original bailey. The timber defences on the top of the mound were replaced, before 1138, by a stone curtain which surrounded the outer edge of the summit and contained within it the tower-house or donjon. The abundance of local stone would account for this early stone fortification. The present keep, towers, gateways and walls are mostly of early thirteenth century date. The later history of the castle need only be very briefly told here.<sup>100</sup> It was occupied by William the Lion in 1175 and by John and his mercenaries when they laid Northumberland waste in the winter of 1215-16; besieged unsuccessfully in May 1217 by Alexander II, and finally taken by treachery in 1317 by the famous rebel Sir Gilbert Middleton. Its fortifications suffered severely in the attacks made upon it dur-

<sup>99</sup> Deinde circa illud et circa Milford (Mitford) oppidum Willelmi Bertram . . . (Chron. III, 158).

<sup>100</sup> See account in AA<sup>4</sup> xiv, p. 74 *et seq.*

ing and after that rebellion. They were never restored, and in 1327 it was described as only the site of a castle "wholly burned."

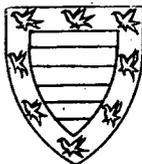
MORPETH.<sup>101</sup>



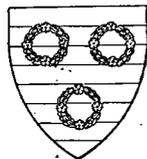
MORPETH, NORTHUMBERLAND.



Merlay — [azure] three merles [or].



Merlay—Barry argent and gules a border azure with merles or.



Greystock—Barry argent and azure three chaplets gules.

The barony of Morpeth was granted to William of Merlay before the end of the eleventh century,<sup>102</sup> and there

<sup>101</sup> Plan from *Early Norman Castles*, Armitage, p. 168.



<sup>102</sup> In 1166 Roger of Merlay certified Henry II that he held the barony of the old feoffment (Red Bk. i, 444). At the inquest of 1212 it was held by the service of four knights (Bk. of Fees i, 201).

Seal of Roger.

was a castle there in 1095. In the time of Henry I (1100-35), before 1129, William granted Morwick to St. Cuthbert and the monks of Durham for the souls of himself, his wife Menialde and of his sons Ranulph, Geoffrey and Morel.<sup>103</sup> After the death of his father in 1129 Ranulph confirmed this grant.<sup>104</sup> In the year 1137-38 Ranulph founded and generously endowed the Cistercian abbey of Newminster upon a site on the banks of Wansbeck a few miles above Morpeth. On January 5th of that year (1138) he received eight monks into his castle at Morpeth whilst the monastic buildings were being built.<sup>105</sup> The barony and castle remained in the family of Merlay until 1271 when Mary, daughter and co-heiress of Roger Merlay III (seal pl. v, no. 13), carried them as her share of the inheritance, to her husband William lord Greystock.<sup>106</sup>

Morpeth castle is first mentioned in the poem-chronicle of Geffrei Gaimar, written c. 1135-40, which tells how it was captured by Rufus during his campaign of 1095 against Robert of Mowbray, the rebel earl of Northumberland.

Then he (Rufus) took Morpeth a strong castle,  
Which stood on a hill,  
Above Wansbeck it stood,  
William of Morlei held it.<sup>107</sup>

This early castle, of the mound and bailey type, was upon the hill now called the Ha' Hill,<sup>108</sup> which rises about 120 yards north of Wansbeck and about the same distance south of the hill where the gatehouse and ruins of the later castle now stand. The hill formed the eastern end of a diluvial ridge which here, at a short remove, runs along the south

<sup>103</sup> JH II, ii, 469, Misc. I.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> Eodem anno (1138) quidam vir potens in Northymbria receipt in sua possessione, apud castrum quod dicitur Morthpath, monachos de Fontibus VIII, non Jan. qui construxerunt coenobium scilicet Novum monasterium vocatum (Sym. II, 299).

<sup>106</sup> Pedigree JH II, ii, 376.

<sup>107</sup> *Lestoriè des Engles* by Geffrei Gaimar; Rolls ed. I. 6151-54.

<sup>108</sup> It was called the High Hill in 1758 (JH II, ii, 389, note q).

bank of the river like that at Wark upon Tweed, but on a smaller scale. This was cut off from its west part by a deep ditch, the material from which was used to steepen and heighten the natural hill; the west part thus separated formed the bailey, surrounded by the usual stockaded ditch. The castle was well sited as a guard to the nearby bridge or ford. Hodgson gives a small diagram of the mound and ditch and part of the bailey as seen by William Woodman in 1830,<sup>109</sup> who at the same time dug up, at its east end, some Norman capitals and voussoirs carved with Norman billet moulding; of these Hodgson gives small plans and sections.<sup>110</sup> These stones show that before the middle of the twelfth century a stone tower had been built on part of the site, probably upon the "Ha' Hill" itself.

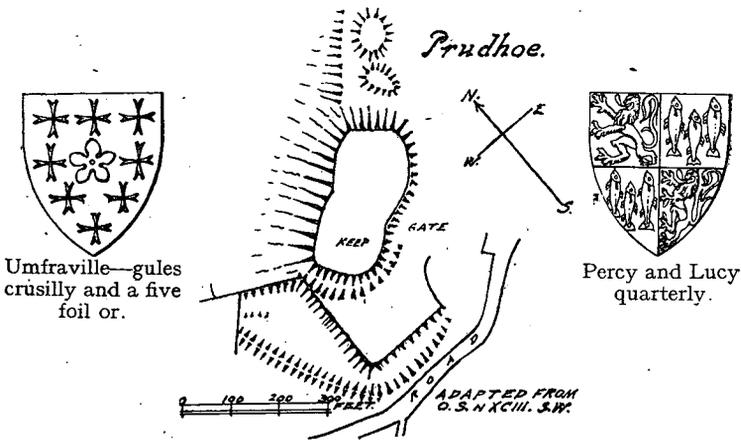
This was the castle destroyed by John during his savage campaign of 1215/16, and Leland is probably right when he says that John "bet downe Morpeth Castle . . . whiche standythe by Morpeth Towne." Indications of destruction by fire were noticed in 1830.<sup>111</sup> It was not rebuilt. In the fourteenth century another castle was built on the hill to the south where its gatehouse and ruined curtain walls still remain.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.* Since 1830 most of the remains have been destroyed.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 384.

<sup>111</sup> JH II, ii, 390.

## PRUDHOE.



The barony of Prudhoe<sup>112</sup> was granted to Robert of Umfraville II by Henry I to be held in chief of the king by the service of two and a half knights.<sup>113</sup> The castle was the head of the barony. It remained in the family of Umfraville, who in 1243 became earls of Angus by the marriage of Gilbert I with Maud, daughter and heiress of Malcolm earl of Angus, until after the death, in 1398, of Maud widow of Gilbert III and wife of Henry Percy, first earl of Northumberland. In accordance with a settlement of 1375 the barony and her other lands and manors then passed to the earl, with whose descendants it still remains.<sup>114</sup>

The castle stands upon a hill which rises abruptly above the alluvial plain that here forms the south bank of Tyne. The hill falls precipitously to the plain on the north and west, on the south a strip of land joins it to the higher ground beyond, whilst on the east it is cut off by the deep ravine of a burn flowing to the plain below. It was on this dominating site that Robert of Umfraville II, early in the

<sup>112</sup> For the place-name see Mawer, p. 161.

<sup>113</sup> Inquest of 1212—Ricardus de Umfraville tenet in capite de domino Regis Baroniam de Prudehou per servitium ii militum et dimidii (Bk. of Fees I, 201).

<sup>114</sup> NCH XII, pp. 79ff.; CP IX, 712.

twelfth century, built his castle of earthwork and timber after the manner of castles of that period. The mound was at the west end of the hill, protected by an outer ditch or ditches, and formed part of the outer defences of the castle. The south side of the hill was defended by a deep moat which joined the ravine on the east; to east and north the steepness of the slope was a sufficient defence. The bailey lay to the east of the mound, separated by its surrounding ditch and palisade; the whole top of the hill was fortified by a stockaded mound. The gateway was on the level approach on the south; the lower part of the present stone gatehouse may well have been built by Robert's son Odel of Umfraville when he strengthened the fortifications in anticipation of a Scottish attack. This gatehouse would almost certainly be defended by some form of barbican, probably by an outer ditch having *chevaux de frise* on the counterscarp.

Such, in all likelihood, was the castle which William the Lion (pl. v, no. 4) twice attacked during his campaigns of 1173-74. The king of Scots had a personal grudge against Odel, the lord of Prudhoe, who had been brought up with him in his father's household—"earl Henry my father loved and cherished him"<sup>115</sup>—and bitterly resented Odel's opposition to his attempt to regain the earldom of Northumberland. He swore that he would grant no terms to Odel—

" Thus said king William : Then may I be accursed,  
Excommunicated by priest, put to shame and discomfited,  
If I give the castle of Odel a fixed time or respite  
But I will cause him wholly to lose his joy and delight."<sup>116</sup>

So he marched his army to Prudhoe and caused his earls and barons to pitch there his pavilions, his tents and marquees.<sup>117</sup> He found the castle too strong to be taken by assault, and his barons refused to lay a set siege to it and forced William to go westward to attack the fortress of

<sup>115</sup> Fantosme III, 596.

<sup>116</sup> Fantosme, lines 592-95.

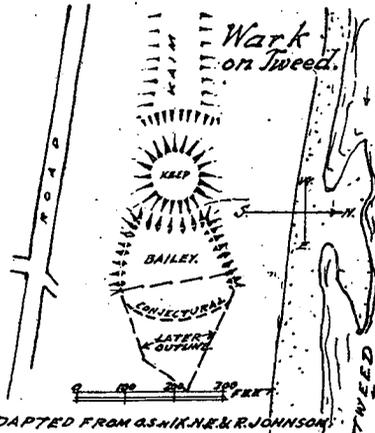
<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, lines 600-601.

Carlisle. The next year William again tried, hoping by a sudden attack to take Odel by surprise, but the castle had been strengthened and provisioned and, after three days of furious assaults which completely failed, William perforce raised the siege<sup>118</sup> and went off to be himself surprised and captured before Alnwick. It is to the years immediately following this siege that the building of the present stone tower upon the levelled site of the early mound may be attributed, at the same time part of the curtain wall being built in stone. In the thirteenth century the walls were again rebuilt and extended westwards to enclose the keep within their circuit.<sup>119</sup>

WARK UPON TWEED.



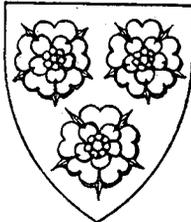
Ros—*or* three bougets *sable*.



ADAPTED FROM OS. H. N. E. & R. JOHNSON.



Montagu—*argent* three fusils in *fess* *gules*.



Walter l'Espece.  
*Gules* three roses *argent*.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, lines 1650-89.

<sup>119</sup> For the later history of the castle see AA<sup>2</sup> xiv, pp. 201ff., and NCH xii, pp. 123ff.

The Honour of Carham was in the far north-west of Northumberland, bounded on the west and north-west by the Scottish March and on the north by the water of Tweed.

It was granted early in the twelfth century by Henry I (1100-35) to Walter l'Espec (the Woodpecker) lord of Ham-lake (Helmsley). He was one of the greater barons of the kingdom, a justice itinerant and one of the chief commanders at the battle of the Standard (1138); he is described by a contemporary writer as "a man great and powerful in the sight of the king and of the whole kingdom";<sup>120</sup> he founded the abbey of Rievaulx and died a monk there in 1153. Shortly after the grant Walter l'Espec built a castle (*weorce*), situated about two miles eastward from where Tweed first forms the border between England and Scotland, for a defence of the Honour and as guard over a nearby ford. Thenceforward the Celtic<sup>121</sup> Carham became the English Wark and the Honour of Carham became the Barony of Wark.<sup>122</sup> The castle and its possessions were in the Crown from the death of Walter l'Espec (1153) until about the end of the century, when king John confirmed the barony and castle to Sir Robert Ros of Hamlake,<sup>123</sup> a great-grandson of Peter Ros and his wife Adeline daughter and coheir of Walter l'Espec; they remained in the possession of a younger branch of that family until the fourteenth century.<sup>124</sup>

The castle of Wark was built at the east end of a high ridge of gravel and cut off from the ridge by a deep ditch on the west; from the material thus obtained a lofty mound was raised, separated from the adjoining bailey by another deep and probably palisaded ditch. The bailey lay to the north-east, the river forming its northern boundary; it also

<sup>120</sup> John of Hexham, trans. Jos. Stevenson, p. 3.

<sup>121</sup> Mawer, s.v.

<sup>122</sup> Carrum quod ab Anglis Werch dicitur (Chron. III, 145).

<sup>123</sup> Robertus de Ros tenet in capite de domino Rege Baronium de Werke per servitium ii militum et omnes antecessores sui tenuerunt per idem servitium post tempus domini primi Regi H. qui eos feoffavit (Bk. of Fees I, 200).

<sup>124</sup> BNC XXIX, 77.

was defended by a ditch with palisade and probably also by *chevaux de frise* (*le hericon*). The gateway was on the south-east on the site occupied later by a stone gatehouse. The castle cannot have been of unusual strength; it was one of the five similar fortresses captured by David I during his campaign of 1136. The rock stronghold of Bamburgh alone made a successful resistance.<sup>125</sup> They were restored to Stephen when peace was made at Durham in the same year. Another sudden assault made by night, during the campaign of January 1138, by a detachment from the main army under the command of William son of Duncan, nephew of king David, also completely failed.<sup>126</sup> A siege of three weeks' duration which followed was equally futile; it is thus described by Richard of Hexham—

“ afterwards the king himself (David) and his son Henry (afterwards earl) arrived with more reinforcements . . . and attempted to carry the fortress (*oppidum*) by many assaults with *ballistae* and other artillery and then laid siege to it for three weeks. But he gained nothing . . . for the knights and others in the castle (*castellum*) defending themselves and the fortress most bravely, killed his standard bearer and many of his men under his own eyes and many more were wounded. The king therefore seeing that his efforts were useless and seeing the daily increasing losses to himself and his army, with indignation and rage, at length raised the siege and hastened with all his forces to lay waste Northumberland.”<sup>127</sup>

The constable of the castle, whose example inspired its spirited and successful defence, was Jordan de Bussy, a nephew of Walter l'Espec.<sup>128</sup> About Rogation time (8 May), in this “raging and tempestuous” year of 1138, David besieged and captured the neighbouring castle of Norham; whilst engaged in this work some of his supply

<sup>125</sup> David rex Scottiae . . . in provincia Northamynbrorum V oppida scilicet Lugubalium quod Anglice Carlel dicitur et Carrum quod ab Anglis Werch dicitur et Alnawic et Norham et Novum Castellum mox circa Natale Domini cum magno exercitu praeoccupavit ac tenuit. Sed Babanburch minimi habere potuit (Chron. III, 145).

<sup>126</sup> Chron. III, 151.

<sup>127</sup> Chron. III, 151.

<sup>128</sup> Sym. II, 289 (John of Hexham).

waggons with their attendants were captured by the garrison of Wark.<sup>129</sup> This so enraged David that he again laid siege to the fortress, but again the attempt was fruitless, so, leaving a small containing force, he marched his army into Yorkshire, where he was heavily defeated at the battle of the Standard; after this he returned with the remnants of his army and resumed the attack upon Wark. The garrison were now at the last extremity of famine<sup>130</sup> and had eaten all their horses, but still refused to surrender until they received direct orders to do so from their lord Walter l'Espec. The mediation of Walter's envoy William abbot of Rievaulx induced David to treat the garrison chivalrously. He gave them twenty-four horses and allowed them to march out with their arms and the honours of war, about Martinmas 1138.<sup>131</sup> David then completely destroyed the castle.<sup>132</sup> Such was the end of Walter l'Espec's castle; it remained a waste fortress for twenty years until, in 1158, it was fortified a second time by command of the king (Henry II).<sup>133</sup> Between the years 1158-61 William of Vesci the royal sheriff spent the large amount of £377 upon its fortifications.<sup>134</sup> It is difficult to say what this extensive rebuilding comprised or what its nature, as nothing of that date now remains visible. If or when the site is excavated it may be possible to identify the work. Meanwhile it may be conjectured that probably a shell keep of stone was built upon the top of the original mound which may itself have been surrounded by a stone wall (see plan), but judging from the account of the siege of 1174, it would seem that the outer defences and those of the bailey remained of earth

<sup>129</sup> Chron. III, 157. Circa Rogationes haec illi agerentur milites de oppido Carrum exeuntes, quae juxta illos advehebantur et revehebantur victualia regis David una cum vehiculis et ministris infra oppidum suum rapuerunt.

<sup>130</sup> Illi qui in oppido (Carrum) erant gravissima ciborum penuria jam angustiabantur (*ibid.*, p. 171).

<sup>131</sup> Rex igitur interveniente abbate, XXIII equos eis dedit ac illos cum armis suis abire permisit (*ibid.*, p. 172).

<sup>132</sup> Oppidumque receptum mox destrui fecit (*ibid.*).

<sup>133</sup> *Chronicle of Melrose*, trans. Stevenson, p. 128.

<sup>134</sup> Pipe Roll (JH III, iii, 2-6).

and wood. Nothing is recorded of its history for many years; it remained a possession of the Crown; was kept in good repair<sup>135</sup> and held by a sufficient garrison, as indeed its great strategic value required. When it comes again into the light of history, in 1173, it was in the charge of Roger d'Estuteville, the sheriff of Northumberland, who, expecting an attack by the Scots, had prepared for a siege.<sup>136</sup> Under his command were ten knights and forty esquires as well as some knights of the king's household. It was therefore well found when, in 1174, William the Lion again invaded Northumberland. He passed by Wark on his way south, but being obliged to retreat before the advancing levies from Yorkshire and Lancashire<sup>137</sup> he came to Wark again, and this time laid a set siege to it. The lively metrical chronicle of Jordan Fantosme, who seems to have been present in person throughout the campaign of 1174, gives a most vivid picture of the attack.

Roger d'Estuteville has garrisoned his house,  
He fears not their siege to the value of a berry:

Those who will assault the castle; Flemings were called.  
Then might you see targes seized and bucklers,  
The cheval-de-frise assaulted, as soon you may hear,  
By wonderful boldness they reached the ditches;

I never saw a better defence within these two kingdoms.  
The Flemings were bold and very full of courage,  
And the others very much enraged within their stronghold,  
Already you might see sergeants and Flemings thus mingled,  
Bucklers and shields broken, pennons displayed,  
Wounded Flemings turning back from the chevaux-de-frise;  
Some were carried from the chevaux-de-frise by others.  
Never will they cry " Arras! " dead they are and buried.<sup>138</sup>

So the fierce assault of the Flemish mercenaries having effected nothing, William brought up artillery and tried to break in the gate, but neither that nor an attempt to burn

<sup>135</sup> Pipe Roll, 1159-60 (JH III, iii, p. 3).

<sup>136</sup> Pipe Roll, 1174 (JH III, iii, 22).

<sup>137</sup> NCH XI, 47.

<sup>138</sup> Fantosme, III, 304-305.

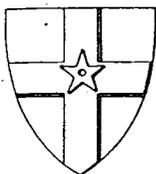
the castle were any more successful; after passing an anxious night and learning of the approach of an English army he raised the siege and retreated to Roxburgh.

“ Rogier d’Estuteville mus ad trovez al triege.”<sup>139</sup>

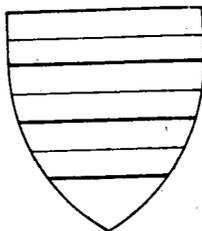
It would appear from this account that the castle was not yet defended by stone walls but still by ditches and palisades with an outer defence here called *le hericon* and translated *chevaux de frisé*, that is something sharp and bristling (like a hedgehog *herisson*), possibly even a quickset hedge. The attempt to set fire to the castle also indicates wooden defences. The attack did not get beyond the ditches of the bailey, there is therefore no information as to the defence of the mound.

Peace reigned between England and Scotland for many years after William’s capture at Alnwick (July 1174) and there is no recorded history of Wark. Robert of Ros possessed the castle and barony by the end of the century, and it would seem probable that by the early thirteenth century<sup>140</sup> he had built a stone shell keep upon the mound and fortified both it and the bailey by stone curtains, towers, and gateways.

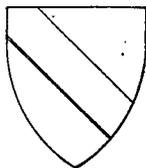
WOOLER.



Sir John Coupland.  
Argent on a cross  
sable a molet ar.



Muschamp.  
Or three bars gules.



Sir Piets Mauley.  
Or a bend sable.

<sup>139</sup> “ Rogier d’Estuteville has proved our match ” (*ibid.*, pp. 310-311).

<sup>140</sup> A portion of the curtain wall of the keep is visible and it is of early thirteenth century date.

The barony of Muschamp or Wooler was held in chief by Robert of Muschamp in 1212, by the service of four knights of the old feoffment as his ancestors had held it from the time of Henry I.<sup>141</sup> Robert of Muschamp held it before the year 1107; in that year, or the next, Henry I (1100-35) addressed a writ to Aluric and Liulf, sheriffs of Northumberland, commanding them to do justice to Ranulph bishop of Durham (1099-1128) concerning land in Ross, which Robert of Muschamp had occupied to the prejudice of St. Cuthbert and the church.<sup>142</sup> The barony remained in the possession of the Muschamp family (seal of Thomas, pl. v, no. 10) until the death, in July 1250, of Robert Muschamp, "a man of great repute in the northern parts of England," when his lands were divided between Malise earl of Strathern, William of Huntercombe and Adam of Wigton, the husbands of his coheiresses.<sup>143</sup> The castle of Wooler was the head of the barony and was probably built early in the twelfth century. Its high mound only remains, all traces of its bailey having disappeared. It is situated in the middle of the town, below and to the east of the church; the hill upon which it stands slopes steeply on its north and east sides to the banks of Wooler water. The castle had fallen into ruin, probably because of the absence of its lords, by the middle of the thirteenth century; at an inquisition taken in the year 1254, it was found to be of no value, being only a waste motte.<sup>144</sup> In 1360 the barony was held by Sir John Coupland and Sir Peter Mauley (*Cal. Feu. Aids*, iv, 64). Whether or not stone had taken the place of the earth and timber fortifications before this date is unknown and only excavation could determine this. The ruins now to be seen belong to the tower built about the end of the fifteenth century by Sir Thomas Grey of Chillingham. In 1509 it was found to be

<sup>141</sup> Robertus de Muscampis tenet in capite de domino Rege Baroniam de Wollouer per servitium iiii militum . . . (Bk. of Fees, I, 200).

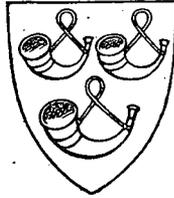
<sup>142</sup> AA<sup>4</sup>, vii, 54.

<sup>143</sup> AA<sup>4</sup> xiv, 257.

<sup>144</sup> *Mota vasta* (NCH xi, 329, quoting I.P.M., 39 Henry III, no. 40).

fit to accommodate a garrison of twenty horsemen. In 1526 it was referred to as "the new castle at Wooller,"<sup>145</sup> but by 1541 half of it had fallen down for want of repairs,<sup>146</sup> by the end of the century it was in great decay, and never being repaired gradually fell into ruin.<sup>147</sup>

BELLINGHAM.



Argent three bugle horns sable.—Bellingham.

The artificial mound, at the east end of the village on the left bank of Hareshaw burn nearly opposite to the railway station, is all that is left of the mound and bailey castle built in all probability by the local family of Bellingham in the early twelfth century.

This family was of considerable standing and influence in North Tyndale from early times. In 1263 Sir Richard Bellingham<sup>148</sup> held the manor and castle by grand serjeanty, by the service namely of being forester in North Tyndale to the kings of Scotland. In 1279 Sir William Bellingham claimed the manor and castle held by the same service.<sup>149</sup> Their shields of arms, three stringed bugle horns, refers to that service. All traces of a stone castle, which must have existed by the later thirteenth century, have disappeared, the mound alone remains to mark its position.

<sup>145</sup> NCH, xi, 329.

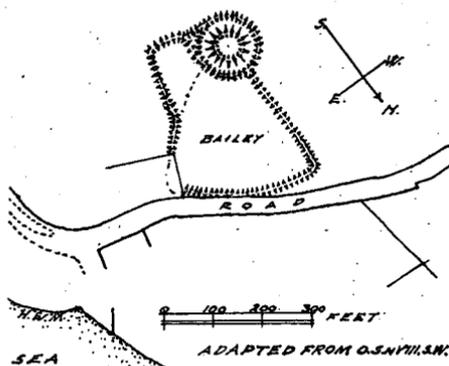
<sup>146</sup> AA<sup>2</sup> xiv, 33.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>148</sup> Newcastle *Proceedings*, 3rd ser., II, 149.

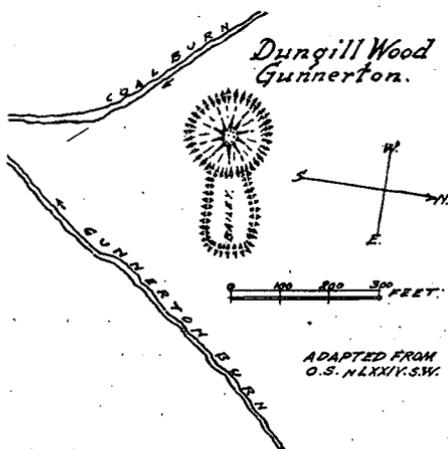
<sup>149</sup> NCH xv, 234; AA<sup>2</sup> III, 150/51.

## FENHAM MILL.

*Fenham.*

Remains of a small earthwork castle are situated on the south side of the road leading from the hamlet of Fenham to the mill; it is skirted by the Mill burn on the south. Nothing is known of its history.

## GUNNERTON.



This small but interesting mound and bailey castle is in the parish of Chollerton, about two miles north west of

Barrasford; it is now called Gunnerton Money Hill.<sup>150</sup> Its origin and history are both unknown, but it is presumably of about mid-twelfth century date and it may have been the work of Ralph of Gunnerton<sup>151</sup> (or Gunwarton, the original form of the name), the first known member of a family of some importance in the district. This is, of course, conjectural, but the date and standing of this local family make it at least possible. The earthwork lies on a steep promontory across the base of a triangle formed by the ravines in which the Coal and Gunnerton burns flow, a little above their junction. The mound, now some 30 feet in height and with a base circumference of about 300 feet, is at the west side and is entirely surrounded by a deep ditch. The bailey lies eastwards and is cut off from the land to the north by another ditch with a mound on both the scarp and counter-scarp. After Elsdon it is the most typical example of an original mound and bailey castle in Northumberland. There is now no sign of any masonry, though possibly modern excavation might reveal something of its later history. The mound was partially explored in 1865,<sup>152</sup> but after two days' digging to a depth of several feet nothing was found but a shard of medieval pottery, nor were the treasure hunters of the eighteenth century any more successful.

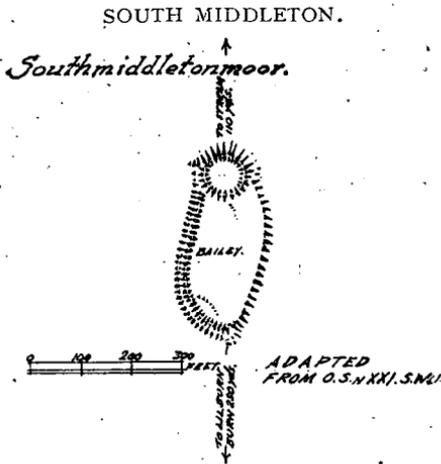
#### HALTWHISTLE.

The Castle Hill at the east end of the town probably marks the site of a mound and bailey castle. The site is cut off from the land to the north-east by the ravine of Haltwhistle burn and the west side has been made more precipitous by scarping the natural surface, whilst the top was surrounded by an earthen mound still visible in part. There is now no trace of an artificial mound within the ramparts. The castle may have been the head of the district of South Tyndale as Wark was of North. The stone tower mentioned in 1415 was not built upon this site.

<sup>150</sup> See Mawer, p. 144.

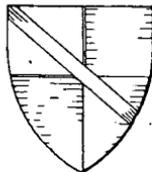
<sup>151</sup> Pedigree, NCH iv, 325.

<sup>152</sup> AA<sup>2</sup> vii, 12 and note.



Distinct traces of a mound and bailey castle are to be seen, placed at right angles between the Lilburn and a small tributary in the triangle formed before they join. The mound is at the north-west corner with the bailey lying to the north-east. Nothing is known of its history.

ROTHBURY.



Fitz Roger—quarterly or and gules a baston sable.

This early castle was on the north bank of Coquet, with its mound on the south close to the river's bank, a little to the west of the church. Its site was levelled and the mound destroyed when the new churchyard was made a few years ago. There is no history of it known. After the capture and forfeiture of earl Robert of Mowbray, in 1095, the manor of Rothbury escheated to the crown and remained

in the king's hands, governed by a reeve, until granted by John in 1204 to Robert<sup>153</sup> son of Roger lord of Warkworth (seal pl. v, no. 6). It is not likely that a castle was there in the eleventh century, and it would seem probable that it was built in the early twelfth by the orders of the new lord of the manor when he enclosed his great park on the slopes of the Simonside Hills.

## SIMONBURN.



Heron—gules three herons argent.

This tower, first mentioned in 1415,<sup>154</sup> was built upon the site of a mound and bailey castle which was probably never completed and whose builder is unknown. It has been conjectured that the first part of the name represents Simon of St. Liz. II (c. 1103-53) (seal pl. v, no. 7), that he founded the early castle and thereupon gave his name to it and to the adjacent village.<sup>155</sup> It is true that the place-name does not occur before the early thirteenth century (1229), but the scarcity of twelfth century documents for this remote district probably accounts for that. It is most unlikely that a name of this type should not have been given before earl Simon's time, and indeed Anglian remains<sup>156</sup> found in the church show that it and therefore the village were of pre-Norman date. The very large extent of the parish of which Simonburn was the mother church also leads to the same conclusion. It should also be noted that until comparatively

<sup>153</sup> NCH xv, 344.

<sup>154</sup> AA<sup>2</sup> XIV, 18.

<sup>155</sup> NCH xv, 155, 191.

<sup>156</sup> AA<sup>4</sup> I, 179.

modern times the name was not Simonburn but Symundeburn, Symondeburn, or Simundesburn, the first element representing an Anglian name such as Sigemund; it is similar in origin to Simonside in Rothbury, whose early form was Simundessete.<sup>157</sup> Simon of St. Liz ii in a grant to the monks of Newminster,<sup>158</sup> which does not date before January 1138 when the building of that abbey began,<sup>159</sup> styles himself *Simon comes Northumbriae*. Henry of Scotland (seal pl. v, no. 5) confirmed this grant, made by *Comes Simon frater meus*<sup>160</sup> (i.e. half-brother), after he had himself become earl in 1139. There seems no reason to doubt the genuineness of these complementary documents; it would therefore appear that Simon did possess the earldom of Northumberland<sup>161</sup> about the year 1138; he has been omitted by the *Complete*<sup>162</sup> and earlier peerages. A short account of earl Simon may not be out of place here. He was the son of Simon of St. Liz earl of Northampton and Huntingdon by his wife Maud daughter and heiress of earl Waltheof. He was born about the year 1103, and after his father's death (c. 1111) he became the ward of his stepfather David of Scotland who, about the year 1113, married earl Waltheof's widow and in her right became earl of Huntingdon. When, in April 1124, David succeeded to the Scottish throne Simon became the ward of his great uncle Stephen count of Aumale. He was afterwards a strong supporter of king Stephen and remained faithful to him and his queen in the darkest hours of that troubled reign.<sup>163</sup> At Stephen's Easter Court, held at Oxford in 1136, he witnessed two charters as *Simon de Silvanecta* and as *Simon de Saint-liz*;<sup>164</sup> he was therefore not an earl at that time. Later in the same year he was recognized as earl of Northampton and,

<sup>157</sup> Mawer, 180, and JH III, ii, p. 4.

<sup>158</sup> SS 66, p. 212.

<sup>159</sup> Sym. II, 299.

<sup>160</sup> *Op. cit.* 212.

<sup>161</sup> NCH xv, 155.

<sup>162</sup> CP LX, 706.

<sup>163</sup> *Geoffrey de Mandeville* by J. H. Round, p. 192.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 262-63.

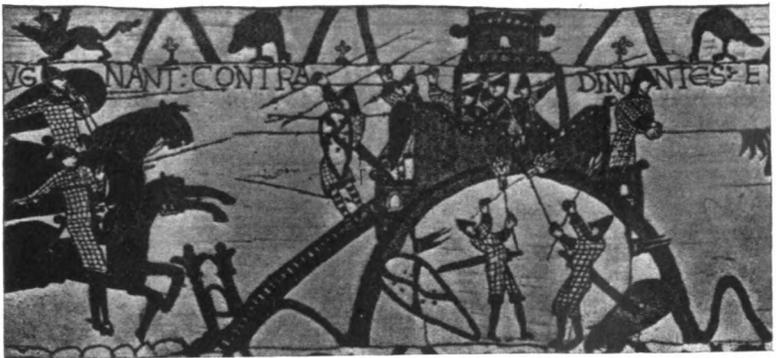
probably about the year 1139, when Henry of Scotland became earl of Northumberland, received the earldom of Huntingdon, thus regaining both his father's earldoms. He married Elizabeth daughter of Robert Beaumont earl of Leicester and died in 1153 leaving a son and heir Simon III.<sup>165</sup>

The site of the ruins of the tower, built on that of the earlier mound, is at the highest point of a steep promontory which juts out above two burns, one on either side, which flow in deep ravines and join some distance below it. Part of the ditch of the bailey can still be seen, but it was possibly never completed. Nothing is known of its history, but the earliest masonry is of thirteenth century date; at the end of that century the tower belonged to Henry Graham, and in the list of castles of 1415 it belonged to Sir William Heron.<sup>166</sup>

<sup>165</sup> CP vi, 643 and ix, 663.

<sup>166</sup> NCH xv, 191-93.





MOUND AND BAILEY CASTLES (BAYEUX TAPESTRY).

## KEY TO PLATE IV.

1. Duke William and Harold come to Dol and Conan flees.

[VENERVNT]AD DOL:ET CONAN FVGA V[ERTIT].

Stairway over inner ditch and gateway at top, tower on top of mound, two cocks on mound, earl Conan escaping by a rope, Normans attacking up stairway.

2. William comes to Bayeux.

[HIC W]ILLELM VENIT:BAGIAS.

Duke William on horseback holding shield and spear about to enter the castle; stairway over inner ditch with gateway at top, tower with cupola on top of mound, surrounded by stockade of wood, conventional birds on front of mound.

3. The knights of duke William fight against Dinan and Cunan.

[HIC MILITES WILLELMI DVCIS P]VGNANT:CONTRA:DINANTES ET [CUNAN].

Knights attacking; stairway over ditch with outer gateway; defenders at top of stair and inside stockade; tower on mound surrounded by a stockade; two knights trying to set fire to it; on right Conan surrenders keys on end of his spear. Inner ditch with outer mound surrounds the castle.

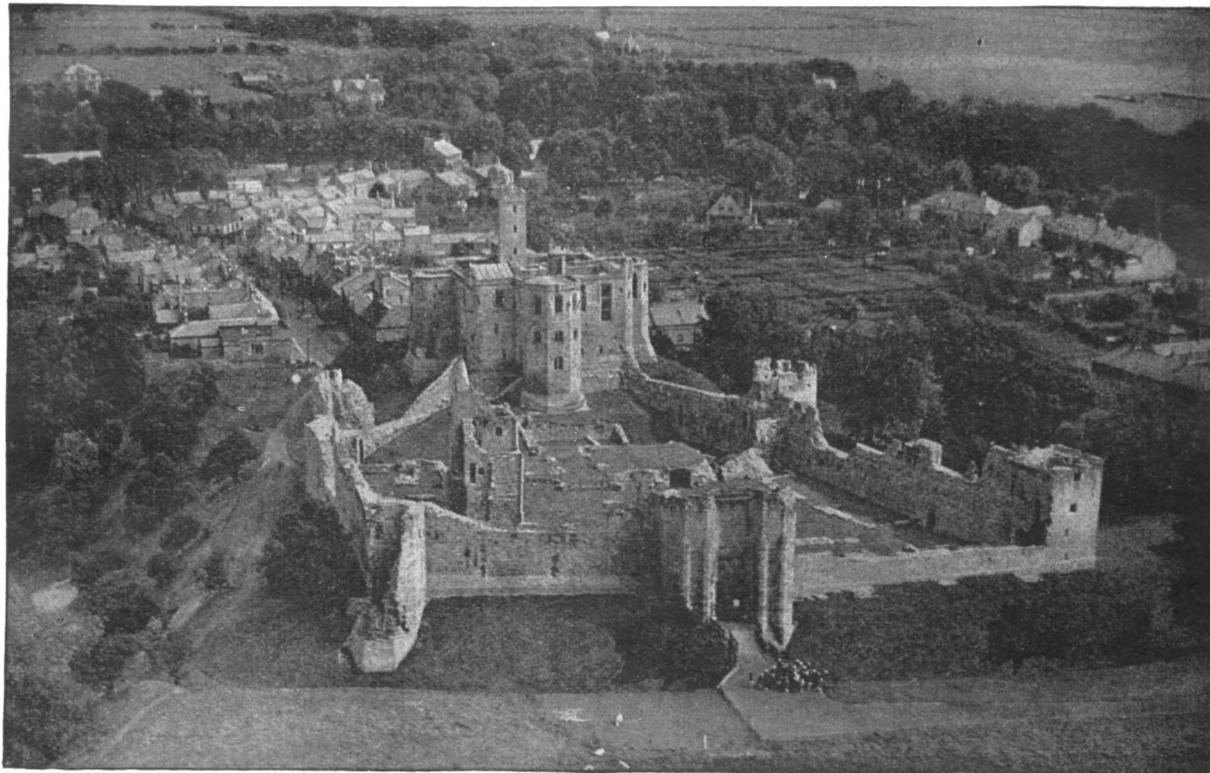
## KEY TO PLATE V.

1. William the Conqueror, 1066-87.
2. William Rufus, 1087-1100.
3. Henry II, 1154-89.
4. William the Lion of Scotland, 1165-1214; earl of Northumberland, 1152-57.
5. Henry of Scotland, earl of Northumberland, 1139-52.
6. Robert son of Roger of Warkworth, d. 1214.
7. Simon of St. Liz II, earl of Northumberland, *c.* 1138.
8. William of Vesci of Alnwick, d. 1184.
9. William of Vesci of Alnwick, *c.* 1240.
10. Thomas of Muscamp of Wooler, *c.* 1150.
11. Roger Bertram of Mitford, *c.* 1262.
12. Sir Thomas Grey of Norham, 1346.
13. Roger of Merlay III, Morpeth, *c.* 1240.
14. Ranulph Flambard, bishop of Durham (1099), Norham.
15. Henry lord Percy of Alnwick, *c.* 1300.



SEALS OF EARLY CASTLE BUILDERS AND CASTELLANS.





WARKWORTH CASTLE FROM THE AIR.

