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Saxon Burghs and Norman Castles.

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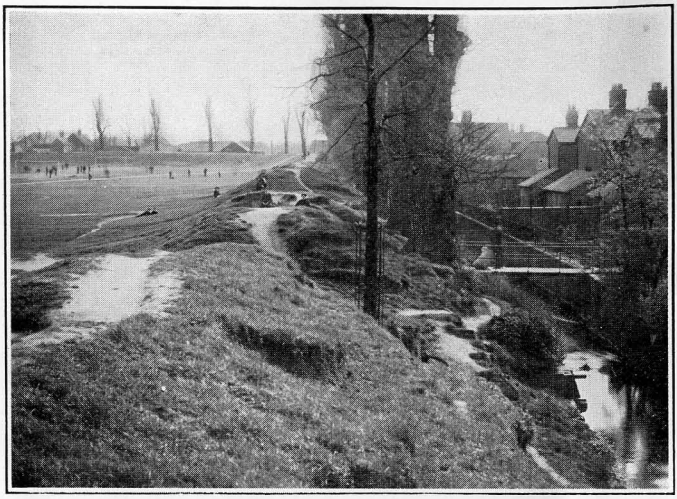
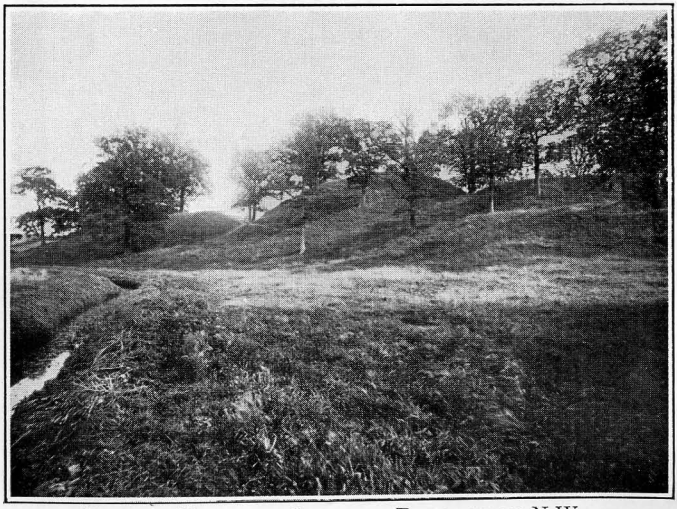
I welcome the opportunity of putting in order my thoughts on this interesting subject. We are all keen and all wish to explain to ourselves the "why" and the "how" of our surroundings, in this case the earthworks and ruins which mark where our ancestors lived. I can say that I accepted a long time ago the theory of Dr. Horace Round, which Professor Stenton, Sir W. St. John Hope, Dr. G. Neilson, and Mrs. Armitage, have done so much to support.

It is necessary, if unpleasant, to mention two others. Professor Sir Charles Oman now accepts the theory after having opposed it for years, though the evidence was always there; therefore his *ipse dixi*, as on many other points of interest to medievalists, *e.g.*, the numbers of armies and tactics, does not carry much weight, and yet it is to the good that so brilliant a writer should at long last popularise views that we have always known to be correct. Also we may welcome Mr. Arthur Weigall's articles, for he has reached people whom scholars fail to attract; but if he had known Anglo-Saxon problems more intimately, he could have instructed the *Daily Mail* readers so much better. Of course, we historians and antiquaries are "Dry-as-dusts." Therefore it is all the more important to influence the popularisers.

This is what we have to consider. Defence is a primary need in all societies, but is it a need to defend a few or many? Just a man and his family and servants, or a whole community? Then comes the next question: did a comparatively small number of fierce and skilful invaders, Romans, Danes, Normans, erect this or that defence to help them to hold down a conquered



WALLINGFORD: SAXON BURGH



NORMAN MOTTE AT CAINHOE, BEDS; FROM N.W.

but numerous population, or was it the work of the larger body resisting invasion ?

A.—The Saxon Burgh.

First we must look at the words : *Burh* is the nominative, *byrig* the locative, contracted into *bury* in course of time, and *burgh* and *borough* are now common. To-day the city that we call Edinborough is pronounced up there as Edinbry ; two English cities not far apart are pronounced Peterborough and Bury St. Edmunds. Similarly the meaning has varied. To the earliest Saxons it meant a fortified place such as they found already walled with earth or stone, pre-Roman or Roman, Canterbury and Salisbury, Cissbury and Badbury ; or a defended house to break into which made the burglar liable to a fine or *burh-bryce* according to an ascending scale regulated by the owner's rank, as Alderman-bury and Bucklers-bury in London. But in Alfred's reign there was a definite new meaning. The Danes had come, and, being in a minority as conquerors in the midst of a large population of degenerate and cowed Anglo-Saxons, they had settled fortresses in convenient positions on rivers, in particular the five confederate burghs, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Stamford, Leicester ; notice that two of these are old Roman centres and two Anglian, only one has a Danish termination and was probably a new Danish fort. Alfred stemmed the tide of invasion, and to enable the West Saxons and the Mercians, as fast as he saved them, to hold their own against new raiders, he copied his enemies and fortified burghs. At the same time he re-organised the militia or *fyrd*, and chose his royal officers or King's men with very definite new duties as the *King's Thegns ;* they were to lead the fyrd and to keep up the burghs, and in return were to be maintained by the *churls* from a proportion of the produce of the soil. To each burgh was allotted a number of *hides* of land, and one presumes that the churls residing thereon had, under the thegns, to keep up the burgh, to garrison it at need, and to come in to it with their families as a place of refuge and a rallying point when the Danes were out.

Alfred "divided his *fyrd* in two, so that they were always half at home, half out, besides the men who had to hold the *burhs*." This frequently quoted passage from the Chronicle explains itself; the manhood of Wessex does duty either in the militia by relays for field service or in the burghs. It may be that, as agriculture was then the one industry and as town-life, trade being practically non-existent, simply meant stagnation, the men chosen from the hides for garrison work were also "divided in two," one relay housed in the burghs, the rest on the land. Here I venture to anticipate. We all know how dangerous it is to argue back from Domesday Book, but we have a very clear and long statement of our own burgh, Wallingford, and we may reasonably infer that the state of affairs in 1066 was the result of a natural development from Alfred's original plan. Many holders of land[1] in Berkshire, and naturally enough, Wallingford being a frontier fortress, in east Oxfordshire also, were responsible for the upkeep of *hagæ*, *haughs* or *closes*, *i.e.*, intramural houses, 276 of them in all, but they had to pay rent for them. Moreover in an entry that Dr. Round terms "mysterious" we read that house-carles were housed on 15 acres in Wallingford. Meanwhile service in the Berkshire militia was at the rate of one *miles* for every five hides, and each hide paid 4s. for two months campaigning.

The state of affairs at Oxford was much the same; there were *mansiones murales* free of all customary service except joining the army and repairing the wall; one Berkshire village at least, Steventon, was responsible for 13; and when the King was in the field 20 *burgenses* went with him or paid £20.

Here then is a picture of garrison duty reduced to a farce, houses provided by the thegns and others for the men, but money payments allowed in lieu of service, the real work done

[1] In the Domesday Book passage we have only the names of the Norman tenants, lay and clerical, who were concerned with the *hagæ*. But before the list of the east Oxfordshire tenants we read *hi subscripti taini . . . . habuerunt terram in W.*, as if the original return gave the names of the Saxons responsible T. R. E. The actual service of the dwellers in the *hagæ* in 1086, apart from the very small rent of £11 for 276 houses, was to do the King's errands with horses or by water to Blewbury, Reading, Sutton, and Bensington.

by a handful of professional soldiers who of course at the crisis would be called off to take the field, in fact a mirror of the condition of all England in 1066 when the one defeat of the professionals left her defenceless. But from 1066 we can look back to the period of Alfred and his competent immediate successors, and can imagine the burghs manned, the walls kept in repair—though with the reminder that not even he was satisfied with what was done—the militia functioning in two shifts, and the right spirit prevailing. Various passages in the Chronicle tell how the relays were forthcoming, fought successfully, and morever were reinforced, when there was need, from the garrisons of the nearest burghs.

What then were the burghs? How can we picture them to ourselves? Now the late Mr. George Clark, author of *Medieval Military Architecture,* imagined that they were the mounds and courts which are quite common in many parts of England, and it is this theory that Dr. Round attacked with some bitterness and Mrs. Armitage afterwards with sarcasm; their manner is to be regretted because Clark was a pioneer,—he was manager of the big steel works at Merthyr and took up the antiquities and castles of South Wales as a hobby, then went on to English castles—and pioneers never can know everything, but he was enthusiastic and did really good work in a slack age. Half a century ago people guessed the answers to archæological problems, or else blindly accepted Freeman's views, and Dr. Round justified himself for his bitterness because without it he could not obtain a hearing; it was not so much the memory of Freeman and Clark that he attacked as the obstinacy of those, such as Oman, who refused to accept the new evidence and yet posed as historians. This is why Oman's change of front, while he still writes as if he is the authority, is rather comic.

The first evidence is general; a stockaded mound would not have been large enough to receive all the refugees of the countryside when the Danes were out. Next we have the literary evidence; *burh* or *ceaster* is the equivalent of *civitas, urbs, oppidum,* that is a considerable walled enclosure, both

in the Chronicle and Asser and in Alfred's own works; while *geweorc* (work) or *fæsten* (fastness) is *arx*, a high place;[2] we can take an instance near Athelney, where the present village of Lyng was designed to be a burgh according to the list which will be discussed shortly—but not a trace of fortification can now be seen, and we conclude that it was designed and not completed, as happened elsewhere to Alfred's sorrow, as his chaplain Asser tells us—while on the other side of the Parret more than a mile away was the *arx munitissima*, a small high outlook post. But here I would enter a caution. Words may be used in a strict or in a general sense; *e.g.*, is "tithe" a "tax"? to which the answer is strictly "no," but vaguely "yes" if tax means any compulsory payment. So *burh*, *castellum*, *arx*, *work*, may be used strictly or inter-changeably. Thus we see the value of our next piece of evidence which is absolutely strict, namely the Burghal Hidage document.

I am afraid that I do not know when this document was first accepted. It appears in Maitland's and Chadwick's books, but it was not known to Clark, nor to Mr. Hadrian Allcroft who thus lost a great chance of explaining Saxon earthworks. It is not dated and is generally attributed to the earlier years of Edward the Elder, but personally I should prefer to say the later years of Alfred; firstly because the burghs given were all in Wessex except only four, Oxford, Buckingham, Warwick, Worcester, and this just suits Alfred's reign when he was in the act of organising Mercia south of Watling Street; and secondly because some, *e.g.*, Lyng, as mentioned above, were neglected in spite of Alfred's intentions, and some were afterwards given up and superseded by others near them in better positions, *e.g.*, Halwell by Totnes, Eashing by Guildford, and Burpham by Arundel; both these facts point to an early period of burgh-founding. Another argument for Alfred's reign is that Hereford and Gloucester, which were burghs when Ethelfleda began her conquering career, are not in the list, but Bath

[2] There is a very clear explanation by Miss Beatrice Lees in her "Alfred the Great" (Heroes of the Nation series).

with 3200 hides attached seems to serve all the land of the lower Wye and Severn.

The following, which is given here as Maitland's and Chadwick's books are not always ready to hand, is the list of burghs with the number of hides apportioned to each :—" Heorepeburan " 324,[3] Hastings 500 ?, Lewes 1300, Burpham 726, Chichester 1500, Portchester 650, Southampton and Winchester 2400 (jointly ?), Wilton 1400, Tisbury 700, Shaftesbury 700, Twyneham (Christchurch) 470, Wareham 1600, Bridport (or Bredy ?) 1760, Exeter 734, Halwell 300, Lidford 140, Pilton with Barnstaple 360, Watchet 513, Axbridge 400, Lyng 100, Langport 600, Bath 3200, Malmesbury 1500, Cricklade 1300 (or 1003 ?), Oxford and Wallingford 2400 (each ?), Buckingham and " Sceaftelege " 600 (or 1500), Southwark and Eashing 1800 (jointly ?) ; gross total 27,070 hides, which does not quite agree with the details ; then in a sort of postscript, Essex (?) 30, Worcester 1200, Warwick 2404.

It would be out of place to discuss the hides ; suffice it to say that mostly round numbers are used, that the burghs of Devon and Somerset—Bath excepted, which probably then served at least a large part of Herefordshire and Gloucestershire—are centres of thinly populated areas, and that, if Domesday Book figures be taken to guide us, Southampton and Winchester were served by 2400 jointly, Southwark and Eashing by 1800 jointly, but Oxford and Wallingford by 2400 each.

But what one does wish to emphasise is the choice of situations. The burghs are given in strict order from east to west, and then back again on a more northerly line from west to east, regardless of shires. Each is on the coast, or on a river at a convenient site near the coast, or in an inland valley or on a road to command internal communications along lines where Danes might penetrate, *e.g.*, Wilton and Tisbury and Shaftesbury along the lateral

[3] I have always believed that " Heorepeburan " is Bramber, " Hreopedun " has become Repton ; therefore why not " Heorepeburan " =Rember=Brembre in Domesday Book with an intrusive B coming quite naturally=Bramber to-day ? Then Bramber plus Burpham have jointly 1,050 hides, a round number. The counter-argument is that the list is absolutely accurate in order, and Bramber is between Lewes and Burpham.

route where now the Southern Railway runs from Salisbury westwards. Wilton on the Wyly was once the centre of the shire to which it gives a name; and Langport would seem to have been then the centre of Somerset as more suitable, because commanding a wider stretch of country and of water, than Somerton, and to have been afterwards thought less suitable than Taunton.

We all know how successfully Alfred's son and daughter and grandson carried on his work, reconquering up to his frontier line, then beyond it, and everywhere taking the Danish burghs to be centres of a new Saxon influence or "timbering" new ones. It is to this period that we must refer the shiring of the Midlands and east Midlands. South of the Thames the shires of Wessex had been already fixed, but we know nothing of the grouping in Mercia under Offa and his dynasty. Now it was essential to sub-divide the newly united Kingdom for purposes of administration. A general policy can be traced. A burgh, a military centre, usually it would seem one that the Danes had made their local centre, was chosen, and round it a certain number of hundreds of hides were grouped. It was chosen for its good position on water; so the group of hundreds, the area sheared off from its neighbours, the shire, was a section of river valley and of one or more tributary valleys, together with the slopes running up on either side to the water-partings. The exact line of the boundary was often arbitrary, but as a general rule it ran along the parting; most of our uplands are plateaus and not strongly marked ridges, so that the exact line had to be drawn at haphazard. The general rule is clear. Warwickshire is middle Avonshire. Northamptonshire is Neneshire, except for the accident that makes the lower Nene the boundary between it and Huntingdonshire. Nottinghamshire is mostly middle Trentshire, but the Trent divides it for some miles from Lincolnshire, so that its northern section is Idleshire. But the Dove for some miles is boundary between Derbyshire and Staffordshire. My old home was in Bedfordshire, middle Ouseshire with the area drained by the tributary Ivel; another tributary, the Ousel, is mostly in Buckinghamshire, but for

a short distance is the shire boundary; one corner projects beyond the water-parting into Northamptonshire, another into Huntingdonshire, and a third into Hertfordshire, for reasons, either political or manorial, which are fairly clear to careful students. It is more than a little remarkable that one of the chief Danish burghs was never a shire-centre, *viz.*, Stamford, and that the Welland partly is the northern boundary of Northamptonshire, and partly flows through Lincolnshire; it may be that there was a conscious wish to group Lincolnshire round Lincoln to correspond to the older Kingdom of Lindesey, and so there is no Stamfordshire.

I submit that this theory is mainly correct when allowance is made for freakish irregularities, due partly to the difficulty of drawing accurate boundaries, partly to special reasons. It applies to the great block of midland shires, the old Kingdom of Mercia and the lands up to the Thames and to East Anglia which Offa conquered, and to Yorkshire,[4] but not to East Anglia and Essex. There is a unity of design in the shiring which argues a fairly short period, and the period of Alfred's descendants alone suits our requirements. Readjustment of boundaries here and there need not delay us. My purpose has been to show what the chief Alfredian and post-Alfredian burghs were: military, and of course administrative, centres of definite areas.

There were other burghs that Ethelfleda and Edward the Elder fortified, not only those which became shire-centres. The Chronicle attributes to Ethelfleda in the years 910 to 918,

[4] The Mersey now divides Lancashire from Cheshire, but south Lancashire was surveyed for Domesday Book as part of Cheshire. Durham has the Tyne for part of its northern and the Tees for all its southern boundary, but its history even before it was a county palatine is unique. I suggest that the great size of Yorkshire is due partly to the difficulty of sub-division according to geography, for the basin of the Ouse and its tributaries is one large but compact area, and partly to the existence of a Danish Kingdom of York which was nominally conquered but practically independent. Professor Stenton has told us that a law of Edgar the Peaceful, supposed to have been the most powerful King of united England, was compulsory for Anglo-Saxons, but Danes were requested to obey it. The further north from Wessex, the weaker the control of the West Saxon Kings over the but incompletely conquered Danes. The Danish land-unit, the carucate, was not ousted by the Saxon hide, and Danish Yorkshire remained one large area.

not only Chester and Shrewsbury[5] and Stafford, but also Bridgnorth and Cherbury (or it may be Chirk just over the border in Wales) in Shropshire, Bromborough and Runcorn and Warburton on the Cheshire side of the Mersey, Eddisbury south of these near Watling Street, and Tamworth in east Staffordshire on the Tame. It was she who from the Danes won Derby by an assault which cost her dear, and Leicester by surrender. Moreover, either she or Alfred must have founded minor burghs around the lower Severn and Wye, for in the campaign of 915 men came to fight not only from Hereford and Gloucester—the exact dates of the fortification of these are lacking—but also "from all the nearest burghs."

Meanwhile her brother is recorded to have occupied in various campaigns, not only Buckingham, Bedford, Hertford, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Northampton, and Nottingham, but also Maldon and Witham and Colchester in Essex, Towcester in Northamptonshire, Stamford, and, coming westwards after her death, Thelwall in Cheshire, Manchester "in Northumbria," and Bakewell "in Peakland." At Towcester he built a stone wall; this may mean that he repaired the Roman wall. Otherwise the words used of both Ethelfleda and Edward are "timbered," "manned," "set," and "bettered," *i. e.*, repaired. Obviously they threw up earthworks and stockaded them with wood.

But a feature of Edward's policy which is not recorded as hers is that he fortified a second burgh on the bank of the river opposite to the older Danish burgh, at Buckingham, Hertford, Bedford, Stamford, and Nottingham. At Bedford the earth rampart and ditch, still called "the King's ditch," remains for some considerable length, and the whole is marked in Speed's 17th century map. Now we are not told that he made Cambridge a burgh, only that he occupied it; but we are quite justified in inferring that it was his burgh, being the shire-centre. To this day the inhabitants of "the borough," originally the Romano-British town[6] climbing the slope up from the left

[5] "Sceargate" in the Chronicle.

[6] This has been made clear by Dr. Cyril Fox.

bank of the Cam, including Magdalene College and the castle area, are known as "borough boys." Part of the enceinte is still very clearly marked. On the other side, where now are all the other colleges, was a "King's Ditch," usually attributed to King John. But certainly there was a Saxon settlement on that bank; the well-known tower of St. Benet's is proof positive. The Master of Jesus has written an article on the "Dual Origin of Cambridge," chiefly based on the fact that there were two sets of common fields and therefore two boroughs. I submit that, arguing justifiably from analogy, we can picture Edward the Elder conquering the Danish, erstwhile Romano-British, burgh, and proceeding himself to form the new one with earthwork and ditch, which John did no more than repair or, it may be, extend.

The importance of controlling access to both banks so as to command both the river traffic up and down stream and the land traffic by ford or bridge is obvious. Southwark we saw above to be in the Burghal Hidage list, and always has it been the *tête de pont* to London. Similarly the larger and older Stamford on the left bank of the Welland is to the new and smaller second burgh opposite it in the same relation as London to Southwark. To cross a river you must come by a good firm spit or spur of land where you will not be bogged, and on the other bank you need equally firm land. This simple fact explains the choice of most old towns, London, Stamford, Cambridge, Bedford, and geological conditions control traffic everywhere. I would qualify this statement by adding that for *tête de pont* we must in history often read *tête de gué*.[7]

[7] We have a fine instance in our own county. Sinodun Hill is not only conspicuous for miles but has played its part in various periods of history, pre-Roman, Roman, Saxon. Opposite to it are two ramparts with ditches to the north which cut off an area from the Thame to the Isis. Obviously the Britons of the Sinodun Hill camp wanted to fortify a landing-place on the north bank.

Stamford repays study. Roman Ermin Street, having crossed the Nene at Caistor, was engineered to come to the Welland by a causeway over shallow ground liable to flood. The early Anglian settlers, or it may be the Danes after them, preferred a site lower down where the water is deeper but the banks closer to each other and firm and dry. Consequently a new track had to be made branching off from and then rejoining Ermin Street; but, as Stamford was laid out all those centuries ago without regard to future traffic, the present Great North Road has now to cross by a narrow bridge and make two right-angled turns—and motorists know it!

I trust that this digression on the Ethelfledian and Edwardian campaigns is to the point as helping to show how unique are our home shires. Here the Thames divides, elsewhere rivers mainly connect. The legacy of the powerful King Offa is the river boundary; early Wessex stretched considerably to the north as the result of the campaigns described under the years 571 and 577 in the Chronicle, and Dorchester was the first bishop's seat because it was central; Offa brought Mercia to the Thames. Lower down similarly it divides shires which were once Kingdoms or sections of Kingdoms. Consequently Oxford and Wallingford, being founded necessarily on the great waterway to check Danish water-raids, were frontier and not central burghs. Four tributary valleys, those of the Windrush, Evenlode, Cherwell, and lower Thame, form Oxfordshire, the inner slopes of the Cotswolds and Edge Hill being one boundary; but the Buckinghamshire frontier is purely arbitrary, and Oxfordshire poaches across the Chilterns down to Henley. Buckinghamshire is in three sections, the upper Ouse valley, the district traversed by the middle Icknield Way under the outer face of the Chilterns, and the reverse slopes of the Chilterns down to the Thames, a most awkward arrangement. And Berkshire is also awkward, as the valleys of the Ock and the Kennet are strongly separated. Thus, Oxfordshire is, roughly, a semi-circle centred on Oxford, where one tributary falls into the main river and three are not far off, so that the lines of communication are marked out by nature; students, when once the teaching friars had made their mark, could come with comparative ease to the new seat of learning[8] from both the west and the midlands. On the contrary the shire-centre has in the case of the other two been shifted from Buckingham and Wallingford to Aylesbury and Reading[9] respectively.

To-day the shire boundary at Wallingford takes in a small semi-circular bit of what ought to be Oxfordshire and thus

[8] I cannot refrain from pointing out that when the northern students, worsted in medieval rags and serious fights at Oxford, tried to found their own university, they chose Stamford on the Welland and the Great North road.

[9] As we have been recently reminded, Abingdon has a shire hall where assizes were held till the early part of the 19th century.

gives to Berkshire a *tête-de-pont* on the north bank. One wonders if Alfred or Edward did this deliberately. Mr. Hedges quotes from a Dr. Brady who wrote in 1771 that there were "great ditches and trenches to be seen before the place where the great castle was," and himself adds that "the ground still exhibits traces of trenches," also that there is "a close in the parish of Crowmarsh then and now called Barbican." By "then" he means Stephen's reign when siege was laid to the castle. But it would be quite in keeping with what we know of the earlier date if we assume a bridgehead fortified when Wallingford was first made a burgh, so that it falls in line with Stamford and Bedford and others. However, the bridgehead extension of Stamford is in the soke of Peterborough, *i. e.*, in Northamptonshire, whereas the main burgh is in Lincolnshire; here the peculiarity is that Berkshire poaches into Oxfordshire.[10]

I would repeat here that at Wallingford and Oxford were *hagæ* or *mansiones murales*, surveyed for Domesday Book and obviously dating from Alfred's original policy of housing therein "the men who had to hold the *burhs*"; that in all probability these men, like the men of the *fyrd*, were brought up from the land in relays; and that several thegns in charge of east Oxfordshire villages "had land in Wallingford," *i.e.*, were responsible for garrisoning from them the Berkshire burgh, while at least one west Berkshire village, Steventon, did similar service for Oxford, a natural and sensible policy when the shire "centres"

[10] I had written so far when our Wallingford member, Mr. R. R. Hutchinson, sent me most kindly the following information. "The area of land on the Oxfordshire bank of the river, which includes all the land-arches of the bridge on that side, is in the borough of Wallingford. The borough boundary for the most part runs along a winding ditch both north and south of the bridge . . . It almost exactly coincides with the boundary of St. Peter's parish and is marked on my copy of St. Peter's tithe-map of 1850. I also have a copy of an account in our local paper (*Berks & Oxon Advertiser*) for 1862 of beating the bounds of the parish under the heading 'whipping the Clerk'; a boat had to be employed twice to cross the river, and the route followed the ditch above mentioned. In times of high water, before the meadow is completely covered, the ditch becomes a stream, as I suppose it was originally." Now probably this bridge-head area had only a ditch and no rampart because of the floods, but it remains that Wallingford is to be bracketed with various burghs, as having a *tête de gué*, and Alfred or Edward is suggested as the King responsible.

were on the river boundary. One cannot avoid the thought that there was another development between Alfred's reign and the Confessor's. For Reading, Domesday Book, Dr. Round points out, has two entries, one recording the arable land, the other telling us that there were 30 *hagæ in burgo*. At Windsor, *i.e.*, Old Windsor and not Clewer, were 95 *hagæ*, but the word *burgus* is not used. At Faringdon were 9 *hagæ*. At "Ulvritone" were 51 *hagæ*, and it is proved that in early Norman times the name of this village was changed to Newbury. Were Reading, Windsor, Faringdon, and Newbury, supplementary burghs for parts of the shire which were not within easy reach of Wallingford, garrisoned, as part of a developed scheme of military defence, by men from their immediate neighbourhood? And may one also infer that, when the *fyrd* was called out, the men due for service in their relays came to the rendezvous at Wallingford from the major part of Berkshire and east Oxfordshire, at Newbury[11] from the Kennet valley, at Reading and Windsor from the eastern parts? In fact was the organisation the same for the militia as for the garrisons, effectively carried out by the thegns for Alfred and his successors, but farcical in 1066? The housing of house-carles at Wallingford, it was suggested previously, is momentous; no nation can rely with success on a few professional soldiers alone.

I suggest that to understand this section of Thames-land we should go to the top of Sinodun Hill. As we come up the river it is the first place where we get a perfect all-round view, and a very fascinating view too; from Greenwich Park on a clear day—during a coal strike—we can see over two counties in a semi-circle, from Richmond Hill over a quadrant, and afterwards come the dreary flats of Middlesex and the densely wooded inner slopes of the Chilterns which do not invite exploration, but a full circle of downs and lowlands and river call to us to explore from Sinodun Hill. Here was a pre-Roman

[11] If the name Ulvritone had to be changed, why should a Saxon name be chosen in the Norman period and under the control of the Norman Ernulf of Hesdin unless it had been already recognised as a burgh, the "new burgh" in relief of Wallingford? One thinks similarly of Newark-on-Trent as a "new work" supplementary to Nottingham.

settlement with its *tête-de-pont* on the Dorchester side strongly fortified. Here the Roman road from Silchester crossed to run on and strike Watling Street at Towcester. Here very early Saxons settled, and their large cemetery down by Long Wittenham shows that they were in considerable force. Hence they struck up the Thame in 571 with Bensington on the Oxfordshire bank as their river base, made other settlements where their cemeteries have been discovered on a low ridge west of and parallel to the Chilterns, and finally penetrated by the Icknield Way to the upper Lea at Ligeanbury ;[12] and in 571 or soon afterwards they struck westwards and north-westwards to Eynsham, Fairford, Cirencester, and Bath. Thus when Birinus came to convert the West Saxons he fixed the first bishop's seat at Dorchester as being central. There were settlements also at Shillingford, Wallingford, Moulsford, and North and South Stoke. Now the main Icknield Way crossed from Goring to Streatley. But I suggest that all these places were settled so that from the fords there might be access to it by branch tracks, even if these cannot now be traced.

As the Romans used the Dorchester crossing, as Ceawlin founded Bensington in 571—where Mrs. Armitage quotes from *The Beauties of England and Wales* that " about 100 years ago a bank and trench, which seem to have been of a square form, were to be seen "—as Dorchester was the religious centre, and as Wealh[13] who gave his name to the early settlement was not a big man, we ask who was responsible for the great earthworks of Wallingford. The Danes in 871 coming by the Icknield Way fortified their base at Reading inside the Goring-Streatley gap, whence they issued to fight and whither they twice retreated to recuperate. Remains Alfred as the warrior who first made Wallingford important, not the struggling Alfred of 871, a year when we have no mention of the place, but the victorious

[12] Now Limbury, near Luton which was originally Ligeatun=Leaton. Yet reputed historians still slavishly accept the guess that it is Lenbury near Buckingham.

[13] " Wealh . . . a name meaning literally a Welshman " ; Stenton, *P lace-names of Berkshire*, p. 40. " Wealingaford . . . ' the ford of Wealh's people ' " ; not necessarily patronymic, Wealh's family ; *ibid*, p. 10.

Alfred of 878 onwards who developed a programme of fortress-building and looked for a site on the river for a shire-burgh. Either he himself or one of his line developed his policy by settling men in garrison in mural houses, and it became a military rendezvous for east Oxfordshire as well as Berkshire.

Perhaps it is necessary to emphasize the non-Roman origin of the earthworks. They are very conspicuous in one corner where they have been preserved, bounding the public playground. They are rectangular, but not all rectangular forts are Roman; Wareham is a striking instance. Roman coins have been found in great numbers, but that is true of many places where there was no Roman fort, and throughout the whole district finds are so plentiful as to argue a large Romano-British population through several peaceful centuries when no need for a military settlement arose. The great road-centre at Silchester was walled with stone, and had Wallingford been such a centre—but it was not, and the experts simply reject without discussion the guesses made by Mr. Hedges—it would have had a stone wall. No Roman road comes straight to Wallingford. Finally I cannot conceive how the Saxons could have failed to use the earthworks had they existed in 871.

A commentary on Alfred's choice of the site is the tale of 1066. I believe that Mr. Baring was quite right in tracing William's march from Sussex to Hertfordshire via Wallingford, for a line of devastation is revealed in Domesday Book; the value of the land T. R. E. had fallen considerably when William apportioned it to his followers. The Normans did not pillage recklessly, for they had come to occupy and not to destroy, but they had to eat and helped themselves to the plough-oxen and seed-corn, and so the value fell. Dr. Herbert Fowler has worked out more minutely the Norman line of march from Wallingford onwards; the main army moved by the Icknield Way with flanking parties to the west or north, and all were finally concentrated around Little Berkhamsted where the surrender of London was settled. The point of interest for us is that William crossed at Wallingford to reach the Icknield Way and to sweep round the Chilterns. Wigod, the great

Saxon thegn, did not contest the crossing, and doubtless to some of his race he appeared to be a traitor, while to William his neglect to defend the burgh was highly serviceable.

The obvious conclusion is that if we wish to picture to ourselves an Anglo-Saxon burgh, we must go to sites where the fortifications can yet be seen. At Portchester, Colchester, Exeter,[14] we can trace, entirely or partly, the old Roman walls, probably also at Cambridge; and we may take it for granted that Venta Belgarum was walled, though Saxon Winchester is said to have had only a hedge. At Langport there is a gateway, also a part of a wall, medieval, but doubtless on Saxon foundation. The best earthworks that I know are at Sandwich, Wallingford, Wareham, and Bedford south of the Ouse; although there are no Kentish burghs in our list, certainly the original Cinque Ports were pre-Norman, and Sandwich reminds one forcibly of Wallingford. Thus a burgh was a considerable closed area, and, where not previously walled by the Romans, was girt by moat and timbered rampart of earth. Granted that in the middle ages or during the civil war these ramparts were improved and heightened, it remains that we can trace the Saxon enceinte. The plan is not always rectangular on the Roman model. Mrs. Armitage refers to Witham in Essex as "the only instance we have of an Anglo-Saxon earthwork which has a double enclosure," a square of $9\frac{1}{2}$ acres with no ditch inside a square of $26\frac{1}{4}$ acres with a wide ditch, each with rounded corners. She is particularly keen on Eddisbury "in which the work of Ethelfleda is preserved in a practically unaltered form," approximately oval in plan. To me, Burpham is of great interest; a tongue of land alongside the Arun, with a swamp originally on the other side and round the tip, needed only a single rampart and ditch across; the present village and church are outside this rampart. Mr. Allcroft was puzzled and suggested a Danish origin. Possibly some pirates first settled there, but the Burghal Hidage document, which was

[14] At Exeter, as at Towcester, we are specifically told that the Saxons built a stone wall. As each was a Roman town, "built" seems to mean "mended."

not known to him, proves that Burpham was a Saxon burgh, afterwards deserted in favour of Arundel, and we can see it now "in a practically unaltered form."

But now we come to the crucial point. Very many of the burghs of our list have at one corner, almost always where the enceinte strikes the river, a great mound with an appended court, otherwise styled a motte and a bailey. Both at Oxford and at Wallingford is a very fine and high mound, there was once one at Newbury and at Wareham, and so on. But "very many" is not "all." Few of the Roman sites have them; Lincoln has, but not Colchester nor Portchester; Maldon, Witham, Eddisbury,[15] Burpham, and each of the new *tête-de-pont* burghs of Edward the Elder, are moundless. Therefore if in many cases it may seem that the argument in favour of a mound being a burgh is plausible, there is yet a considerable residue of the moundless to which it cannot be applied. On the other hand it is far more plausible to argue that some Norman, William himself or one of his barons, finding that the number of his men was limited threw up in a corner of some burgh a mound which could be held much more easily than the whole area.

A space may be allowed for a word on the subsequent development of burghs, in fact the last word on the subject, which has been written by M. Pirenne, and underlined by Mr. Carl Stephenson in the *American Historical Review* (October, 1926). Each of them shows how our historians, intent on the study of one period, have neglected development. An Alfredian burgh, they say, was a fortress in an essentially agricultural age; usually before 1066 a market and a mint—Domesday Book gives evidence of this at Wallingford—were added, "and a court co-ordinate with the hundred and from which the earl received the third penny"; thus it became, yet not everywhere, an administrative centre. In the 12th century we have the borough as a mercantile centre, where "the burgess could not be forced to serve except

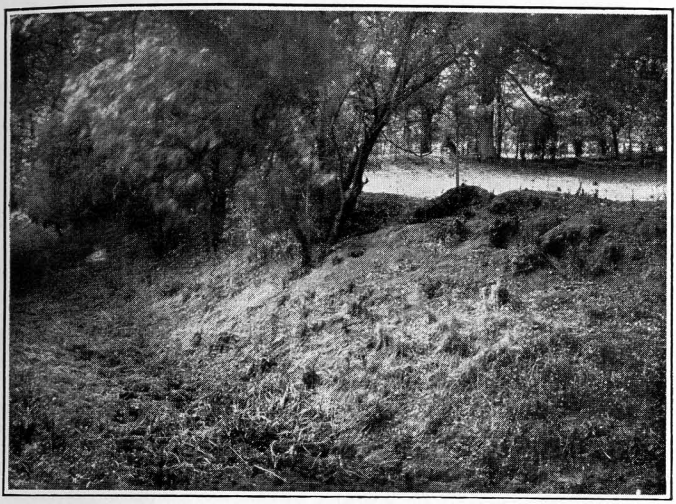
[15] Mr. D. H. Montgomerie, who had previously excavated at Pevensey, surveyed Eddisbury for Mrs. Armitage and reported "not the slightest appearance of a motte."

in defence of his own home . . . . and held by burgage tenure, acquitting all obligations towards his lord by payment of a money rent and enjoying the rights of free sale and devise," and before John's death over a hundred towns had received charters. So a borough was a self-governed community, and the next step was representation in Parliament. Between Alfred and John had come about an essential change, but by degrees We have already discussed the change between Alfred and the Confessor, and then came the epoch-making Norman Conquest, bringing with it commerce. The medieval borough was commercial: "the middle class has definitely appeared in history." During the evolution several Alfredian *burhs* and several Domesday *burgi* dropped out and relapsed into mere villages; Domesday Book shows[16] clearly that there was already a change between 900 and 1066 from the burgh which was an active military centre to one which was military only in appearance, and commerce made the essential change after 1066. As in modern Italy a townsman loves to have his *proprieta* outside but is really a townsman, so the medieval burgess had his bit of land but was a trader. Therefore I have ventured to write "burgh" for the Alfredian period, for "burh" is not so expressive and sounds almost foreign, and "borough" for the middle ages which produced the middle class or "bourgeois," for they were essentially different.

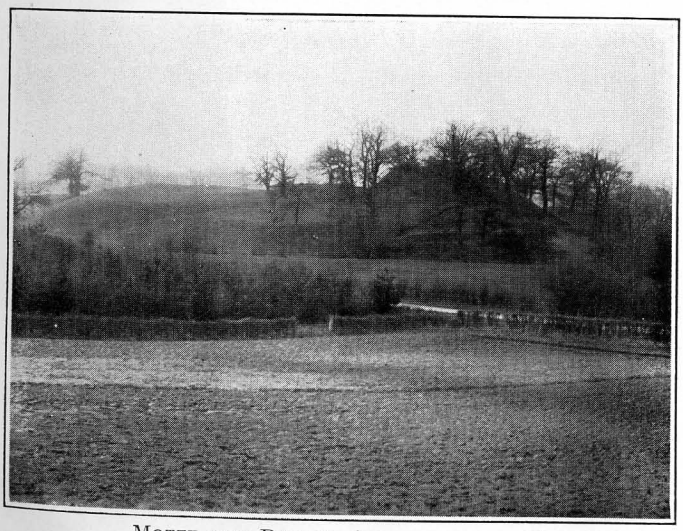
B.—The Norman Motte.

We know very little of Danish construction. In many places the Danes were but successors to Romans or Anglo-Saxons, and in turn Anglo-Saxons and Normans succeeded them, so that it may not be certain whose fortifications are visible to-day. Therefore when we find an undoubted Danish fort we ought to congratulate ourselves, and such a one there is at Tempsford in Bedfordshire. In 921—but probably in 916, for the "annals" in this part of the Chronicle are muddled—the settled Danes of Huntingdon made a counter-attack on Bedford which Edward

[16] "Domesday Book is filled with hints that a transitional stage . . . had been reached by 1086." All the quotations are from Stephenson's article.



DANISH CAMP AT TEMPSFORD, BEDS.



MOTTE AND BAILEY, CAINHOE; FROM E.

had recently occupied and enlarged. They rowed up the Ouse as far as "Tamiseford"; there they wrought a "work," and thence they proceeded to fight and incur defeat outside Bedford a few miles higher up; the Anglo-Saxons, retaliating, came and stormed the "burgh" and slew the survivors. Precisely at Tempsford, a little distance up the Ivel above its fall into the Ouse, is a small compact fort on good soil above flood-line.[17] It is rectangular and measures 120 feet by 84 within its rampart. Small for an army? Certainly, but armies then were very small, and this was merely a fort in which to store the baggage and leave a rear-guard, while the main force pushed on. At one corner is a little mound which is of interest. Let us say that it was the headquarters of the "King" and two "jarls" who headed the expedition, whence they could survey and keep order over their men below. Now increase the mound in size, and decrease the camp correspondingly; and at once you get a mound-and-court or motte-and-bailey castle of the Norman type of which we have now to speak. In fact this Danish camp is a link between a Saxon burgh and a Norman castle.

Mrs. Armitage and Dr. Cyril Fox write in a somewhat slighting manner of the Tempsford camp, and it is a little difficult to understand why. The Chronicle says that here was a work; an intact work is here to be seen by any who may wish; the inference is obvious. Certainly Professor Stenton accepts it as a first-class document in earthwork, and him I follow as an expert, honoured by recognition in Scandinavia and at home.

The Chronicle calls it both a "work" and a "burgh." I beg to refer to what I said before; strictly it was a "work," vaguely it was a "burgh" as a defensive area; of course it was not a burgh in the strict Alfredian sense.

The mound-and-court or motte-and-bailey castle is of one general type. There is a more or less lofty mound, stockaded originally with timber and carrying a wooden tower, for the lord and his family, and there is an appended area with lower earthworks, also stockaded, for the retainers, soldiers and servants.

[17] The water in the moat is always at exactly the level of that of the upper reach of the Ivel before it falls over a weir 200 yards away.

Of course there are varieties ; the motte may be round or oval, flat-topped or hog-backed ; there may be one or more baileys, semi-circular or horseshoe or oblong or quite irregular in shape. But practically always the motte is to the side of the bailey or baileys,[18] sometimes on the stronger side next to swamp or river bank, sometimes on the weaker side where attack would be easier ; the concentric stone castle is of a later day. When the earth of the motte had settled down and could carry heavy work a stone tower was added, sometimes occupying all the top as at Lincoln and at Clare in Suffolk and many other places ; but sometimes only on part of the top, as at Guildford and Bedford—as shown by a sketch on the margin of the MS. of Matthew of Paris in the Corpus Christi library at Cambridge—so that the rest of the motte becomes a sort of innermost bailey. We must moreover distinguish between a motte-and-bailey thrown up in a village where some Norman lord had his chief residence, his *caput baronie*, and one thrown up by the King in a town already walled whether by the Romans or by the Saxons. In a village you may find the motte-and-bailey alongside the church with the cottages of the villeins on the other side, or separated from both church and cottages by a stream, or at some little distance away on a height ; or sometimes it is in a very thinly populated area, in a mere hamlet, as if the lord desired to live apart from his people. In a town it is almost always to be found on a river breaking the pre-Norman enceinte, as at Wallingford, and therefore facing on one side the town and on the other side the open country.

Strictly, Dr. Round and Mrs. Armitage urge, *castrum* or *castellum* is used of the outer enclosure and *turris* of the building, of wood or stone, on the motte. But there is often a confusion of terms. In the accounts of payments made for Edward I.'s new castle at Builth, to which I refer below, we read : *ad operationes castri de novo constructi . . . . magne turris in eodem castro*

[18] The motte at Bramber in Sussex, unique as far as I know, is entirely surrounded by a rectangular bailey. At Lewes are two mottes, one at either end of a very large bailey ; at Lincoln two fairly near to each other ; at Eaton Socon in Bedfordshire two close together, one hollow-topped, one round-topped, and no bailey. These are all exceptional cases.

unius muri lapidei cum sex turriclis circumcingentibus castrum predictum;[19] here *castrum* is first the whole castle and then the keep, and the keep is first *turris* and then *castrum*.

As the motte was to one side, the ditch surrounding the whole, the ditch separating motte from bailey, and the ditch separating the baileys if there were more than one, ran into each other. Access across was by a wooden staircase, removable one would suppose, and this feature is seen in the Bayeux tapestry. In some castles, a stone-lined well was constructed as the motte was being thrown up, the start being from low ground close to a river; a good instance can be seen at Oxford, where to-day the water can be hauled up quite clean and good and the air at the bottom is pure; also a finely vaulted well-house was added at some post-Norman date and the motte raised higher above it.

The general arguments in favour of Norman origin are numerous. The analogy of a chain the strength of which is the strength of its weakest link does not apply. Better is the analogy of the faggot; this or that stick may seem weak, but the combined whole is irresistible. The general type is very common in Normandy, in Brittany, all over England, the marches of Wales, the lowlands of Scotland, and those parts of Ireland where Normans conquered or settled. Five are depicted in the Bayeux tapestry, of which three in Brittany near to the Norman border, one at Bayeux itself, and one at Hastings where men are shown at work with shovels throwing it up immediately after the landing. Ordericus Vitalis, in the generation after the conquest, wrote that the Saxons had very few works "which the Normans call castles." The Peterborough continuator of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle groans over the number of "castles." Mounds, quickly erected and stockaded with timber, suit such passages. William is recorded to have had one ready in eight days at York, obviously the "Baile Hill" on the right bank of the Ouse down-stream from Roman Eboracum, and he got up others with similar rapidity elsewhere, *e.g.*, at

[19] Pipe Roll, 8 Edward I. In the K. R. copy *circumsingentibus* is written unmistakeably with a long S; in the L. T. R. duplicate there is a *c*. I do not know when first the letter was pronounced soft.

Cambridge as his base against Hereward. All the barons entering on their new possessions would find such a pattern most suitable; they would set the churls and boors, whom they called villeins and bordars, guarded by mailed milites, sulky and desirous to rebel, it may be, to dig out a ditch and throw up the earth inwards, and soon the mound would be ready for timbering, and then, with but a small garrison, they would be safe enough against a sudden rising of the sulky ones. Moreover the King would be satisfied, for such castles, safe enough against unarmed or badly armed Saxons, would not be strong enough if any barons should try to rebel against him. Tenants-in-chief, or even their sub-tenants, might have such defences, but stone castles were another matter. He wanted the stone for his own castles, though he occasionally allowed a loyal baron to build in stone, *e. g.*, Robert of Mortain at Pevensey.

As for the royal castles we can take as instances Shrewsbury, Lincoln, Warwick, Windsor. Domesday Book very definitely informs us that a certain number of houses were laid waste to give a site for a castle, and we can hardly imagine that the extant motte in any one of these cases was Saxon and that the destruction was for a new Norman castle on another site; the motte simply must be Norman. At Shrewsbury the keep was still of wood in the reign of Edward I., and Dr. Round takes this as his most certain instance of Norman origin. Windsor castle was in the manor of Clewer, and old Windsor where was the Saxon palace is two miles distant. At Wallingford eight *hagæ* were destroyed *pro castello*.

At Bedford we have the interesting fact that the powerful Beauchamps were hereditary castellans so that they were known as "of Bedford," but the castle was always royal and King John turned out the Beauchamp of his day; there is no mention of a castle there in Domesday Book, but it was not a register of castles and this silence is no argument. The Beauchamp barony also was "of Bedford," though the *caput baronie* was this royal castle. The same thing is true of Wallingford. I take it that the family pedigree is accurately established, that Wigod's daughter married Robert d'Oyly and that their daughter

married Miles Crispin. The combined d'Oyly-Crispin lands formed the honour or barony "of Wallingford," though I take it that the new castle—a mighty motte and exceptionally strongly fortified bailey—was royal and held by Robert and Miles in turn as castellan only. It is always considered that Robert threw it up, as also the mighty motte at Oxford; Wigod, the pro-Norman Saxon, was not likely to have done so. But, whereas the Bedford barony on the extinction of the family after 200 years was divided among several Beauchamp co-heirs, the Wallingford barony came to the crown and had the distinction of being specially mentioned in Magna Carta, as also those of Boulogne and Lancaster, to be held by the King as baronial land in his hands and not as his private property. In the *Testa de Nevill* it is rated at about 100 knights and the barony of Boulogne at 120; compare the 455 knights of the combined Gloucester and Clare earldoms.

There are a very large number of mottes, in villages or outside villages, where on Domesday evidence we know that the new Norman baron ousted an important Saxon thegn. If I mention Bedfordshire again it is because I know the county fairly well. Odell, Thurleigh, Segenhoe (now called Ridgmont), and Tottern-hoe, were all held T. R. E. by Leofnoth, the King's thegn, lord of over a hundred hides in Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire; in 1086 they were under Walter, Hugh, and another Walter, each styled "the Fleming," and a sub-tenant; there is or was a mound at each. Did Leofnoth or one of his ancestors, or did one of the Flemings, erect each? The evidence so far is impartial; and yet the balance of probability is in favour of the intruders, for one can hardly imagine that a thegn of average importance would have four strongholds, but it is credible that three members of the same family[20] of newcomers and one sub-tenant each had one. The motte and bailey at Cainhoe, Niel d'Aubigny held

[20] One has only to know the Bedfordshire Domesday Book and the subsequent history of the manors to be certain that it is all one family, Walter and Hugh brothers, and the other Walter their uncle. It was all one barony, and it owed to the crown the service of 30 knights for 114 hides. The *caput baronie* was at Odell (Wadehelle or Wahulle, still pronounced locally Wuddle). Hugh and his descendants at Thurleigh were responsible for ten of the thirty.

where T. R. E. was the King's thegn Aluric; the twin mottes at Eaton Socon, Eudo held—later on a cadet branch of the Beauchamps—where T. R. E. was Ulmar "of Eaton." The evidence is still impartial. This last entry shows that a thegn usually had a chief residence, a sort of forerunner of the Norman *caput baronie*, from which he was known; but this does not imply that he had a castle there.

As we have just seen, occasionally an important sub-tenant is found in possession. I take Yelden in the extreme north of Bedfordshire, for a reason which will appear. The manor was part of the wide lands which William conferred on the Bishop of Coutances, and the sub-tenant was Geoffrey of Trelly (or Trailly), a place a few miles away from Coutances in Normandy. There is a mound and a very large court at Yelden. The Domesday Book entry tells us that the villeins had eleven plough-teams, and that there were 17 villeins, one *miles*, 12 bordars, and a slave (poor devil!) I have often tried to divide the ploughs in some village among the villeins and the bordars who were peasants of inferior status; in this case, one can work out thus, $8\frac{1}{2}$ teams to the 17 villeins,[21] $1\frac{1}{2}$ teams to the 12 bordars, one team to the soldier. The bishop of course could not found a family, and his lands passed to Henry I.'s son, the Earl of Gloucester. By various marriages other lands were added, and finally the earldom came to the Clares whose total obligation to the crown amounted to the enormous number of 455 knights in the 13th century. After Bannockburn, where the last earl fell, the lands were divided among his three sisters. Through all the centuries, before and after 1314, both when the feudal system was alive as a method of raising cavalry for war and when it merely survived as a method of raising money by an occasional scutage or aid, the Trailly lord of the manor of Yelden, whether reckoned as a sub-tenant of the honour of Gloucester or entered in the taxation list as if he were tenant-in-chief, was always assessed at one "knight." But just look at the Domesday entry again. The nameless man who is sandwiched between

[21] Half a plough-team, *i.e.*, four oxen to each villein, is a very high average, especially if compared with the one ox to each bordar.

the villeins and the bordars cannot be a *miles* or *knight* in the later sense of the word, a *chevalier*, dubbed and distinguished by gilt spurs, addressed as *dominus* or *sir*. He is but a trooper of heavy cavalry, a man-at-arms, in the 11th century styled *miles*, a retainer of the Trailly lord, put on the land for his maintenance with a full team of eight oxen and a slave to do the work for him, ready to arm and mount and ride to the rendezvous as the Yelden representative in the Coutances or Gloucester contingent of horse. The mound-and-court in this peaceful old-world rustic village speaks to us in no uncertain voice of the feudal system as conceived by William the Conqueror. Thegn Borred once held the land, Geoffrey of Trailly held under the bishop under the King; which of them threw up the earthworks? So far once more the evidence is impartial, but the balance of plausibility and possibility suggests the Norman.

Here it would be suitable to take the few instances of undoubted pre-Conquest mottes, *e.g.*, at Laughton-en-le-Morthen near Doncaster, where Earl Edwin had his "hall,"[22] at Richard's Castle near Ludlow, and at Clavering in Essex. No one need be surprised when a great earl is found to have his private castle; Canute's institution of earls was a deadly blow to national unity, for he pushed to the front a few proud and jealous nobles who weakened the monarchy more than a hundred thegns of medium status. Richard fitz Scrob and Robert fitz Wymarc,[23] who had the other two, were aliens of that preliminary Norman invasion during the Confessor's reign which roused Godwin and Harold to anger, and therefore were the very men that we should expect to find erecting castles of a Norman pattern, of a type new to England. From such few instances, which are exceptional and can be explained, it would be rash to infer that in all cases where a motte is extant on land once held by a thegn and later by a baron it was the thegn who erected it.

[22] *Aula*, hall, is not necessarily a motte. It would seem to have been a Saxon's chief residence; *e.g.*, we mentioned previously "Ulmar of Eaton." The Bayeux tapestry shows that Harold's residence at Bosham was a house and not on a motte.

[23] Wymarca was a Breton lady.

A motte that requires special notice is at Earl's Barton, lying close under the celebrated belfry which is figured in every text-book of architecture, so celebrated indeed that few people know of the fine Norman work in the church itself. However, it is the motte that concerns us, quite a small one and much mutilated, with a short piece of its outer ditch still remaining. If we restore it in our mind's eye and imagine it to have been circular, the curve of the ditch would run round and strike the belfry; but if oval, just clear of the belfry. In either case, the motte must be older than the belfry, unless possibly they are contemporary. The only explanation that we can adopt is that the churchyard was the bailey, and therefore that the belfry, though built primarily to hold bells as a glance at the decoration and window-slits shows, was inside the defence and indeed could be considered part of the defence. If the curve of the ditch be prolonged to surround both motte and bailey, it can be traced through a farmyard to the village street which is deeply sunk beneath the churchyard; we saw previously that the inner ditch between motte and bailey normally runs into the outer ditch round both. At Laughton-en-le-Morthen it seems that the church was in a faintly marked second bailey.

Who then threw up this motte? Those who argue for Edgar's reign for the belfry make no allowance for the motte; moreover it is the last word in Saxon architecture, or as an architect once said to me it is "it," therefore of as late a date as possible. Let us remember that Domesday Book shows that at Lincoln the "Saxon" church of St. Peter is post-Conquest. The same informant argued to me that William gave the land to his niece Judith, and can we not imagine that her husband, the Saxon Waltheof, set Saxon workmen to build the belfry, while she used imported Normans to build the church, and that thus belfry and church and motte are contemporary? The only other possible theory is that the T. R. E. holder, Bondi,[24] a Dane, who held three other villages "pertaining" to Barton

[24] "Bondi" is not a personal name. It means "yeoman," inferior in rank to a "jarl" and a "hold." We see here a Dane rising above the status of his ancestors.

with *sac* and *soc*, *i.e.*, who had jurisdiction over all four and had his chief seat at Barton, was a powerful and pushing man and set up his little private castle of a Norman pattern in the Confessor's reign, even as fitz Scrob and fitz Wymarc had their large ones, and that he also, like Canute, built a belfry and possibly a wooden church[25] alongside, satisfying both his love of power and his conscience.

Mr. T. Davies Pryce wrote an interesting article some years ago allowing that the majority of mottes are Norman, but holding out for a very large number of exceptions. He shows plans of mounds in places where Normans never trod, in America and in Hungary and so on; but these are *concentric*, and our argument is that a motte *at the side of* bailey or baileys is characteristically Norman. Also, following Dr. J. C. Cox, he mentions the discovery of Saxon articles in some mottes beneath their Norman keeps as proof of Saxon origin, *e.g.*, at Duffield in Derbyshire; but the Saxons who threw up such mounds and left their debris there were unwilling toilers under their new Norman lords. In various places every archæologist would admit that there are pre-historic mounds, *e.g.*, Silbury Hill near Avebury which is either a landmark or a gigantic sun-dial, and others which may be platforms for fire-beacons, or war-memorials over slain warriors, or pointers alongside fords, *e.g.*, at Goldington a few miles downstream from Bedford and Clifford's Hill near the Nene below Northampton. One cannot be accused of "hedging" if one acknowledges that here and there a Norman may have used for his castle an existing mound that he found to be suitable.

Now having fairly put the impartial evidence and the few exceptions which confirm rather than weaken the general theory, I contend that the other evidence is overwhelming. Domesday Book and passages in the Chronicles show, as we saw above, that William's early castles must have been mottes. Not being a military register Domesday Book does not often mention baronial castles; therefore when it does tell us that at Rayleigh in Essex, Suen or Swein, son of Robert fitz Wymarc, *in hoc manerio*

[25] Judith pulling it down later and building a Norman church.

fecit suum castellum,[26] the statement is invaluable. Then there is the argument as to type; if we have many mottes and baileys of one general pattern, and if some of them must be early Norman, we conclude that all are Norman, even in those instances where the evidence at first sight seems to be impartial; to attribute some to thegns and some to barons is illogical, but a general type of buildings implies a general type of builders. The castles at Clare in Suffolk and Tonbridge in Kent, similar in plan *mutatis mutandis*, must have been the work of Richard fitz Gilbert who had both, and the four Bedfordshire castles mentioned above of the Fleming family.

In Stephen's reign everybody knows that many "adulterine" castles were erected, palpably mottes-and-baileys; during civil war transport of stone would be difficult, and speed in building would be essential. Morever, Henry II. speedily dismantled many, and even if he had gunpowder he would have had trouble in destroying stone castles, but the wooden work on the mottes was easily levelled. Many mottes in out-of-the-way places, not at a *caput baronie*, may be ruins of adulterines. Mr. Philip Williams has called my attention to a motte at West Woodhay under Inkpen Beacon, where there is but a faint, if any, trace of a bailey; a Domesday Book student cannot imagine that there was a feudal castle here in 1086, and the civil war period is certainly suggested.

In Scotland, mounds show where Normans drifted over the border to marry *more suo* Scottish heiresses. In Wales and Ireland they were conquerors as Lords Marchers, for their Kings let them have there the fighting for which they hungered, but which could not be allowed in England. I instance in particular Rhuddlan and Builth. At Rhuddlan, three miles up the Clwyd from where is now Rhyl, was an outpost of the Earl of Chester, mentioned in Domesday Book, with a little town as a colony of Norman culture attached; there, about quarter of a

[26] Presumably the father's castle at Clavering had been dismantled by Godwin and the son preferred to build a new one.

mile from Edward I.'s new castle of the years 1277-1278,[27] is a motte formed by a semi-circular ditch cut in the lofty river-bank, similar to one at Castle Bytham[28] in south-west Lincolnshire; each of these is slightly raised artificially, but the main work is done by nature. Builth on the upper Wye came from the Braose to the Mortimer family, was seized by Llewelyn, and re-occupied by royal troops for Edward I., and it is clear that the custom of the marches was that if a lord marcher's land was reconquered by or for the King it became *ipso facto* crown land. A typical motte and bailey can be seen occupying a rather low hill; Edward's officials built on the motte a great tower and a stone wall round it with six little towers; half of the bailey was girt with a stone wall, and the other half, separated from it by a ditch, with a wooden palisade; a chapel, great hall, kitchen, stables, a gateway with two great towers and a turn-table bridge, were in the first half or inner bailey; a curious fact is that the other or outer bailey, which was left empty and had only a wooden defence, is recorded to have been 49 perches in area, and this is accurately true. The great interest here is that we have a detailed account of an Edwardian stone castle built on on old Norman site, whereas at Rhuddlan the Norman site was deserted and the Edwardian castle was of an entirely new, *i.e.*, concentric, design.

I should like to add a curious experience. I was several years ago on a visit to Denbigh, and was taken to see some earthworks said to have been the headquarters of the Parliamentarian army besieging Denbigh in 1646. Though overgrown with brushwood and difficult to trace these earthworks are, however, decidedly of the motte-and-bailey plan. One may be sure that in many a place where there is no record of Norman occupation, especially in the marches, some temporary fortress of this kind was erected. Here we have an early and deserted

[27] Edward I. made his Rhuddlan castle his base against Llewelyn, naval as well as military. He constructed a little harbour whose outlines are visible to-day: *magnum fossatum in quo nunc est portus qui ducit a mari usque castrum predictum.*

[28] Cut on a very steep slope but not overhanging a river.

castle three miles distant from the mighty stone fortress of the Earl of Lincoln at Denbigh which dates from 1278.

We may sum up in a few words; many recorded Saxon burghs have mounds, but many have not; many mounds may seem to be pre-Norman, but many must be Norman; therefore, as there is plenty of other evidence, we may fairly argue that the general type of Saxon burgh was a moundless walled military town, and the general type of an early Norman castle was a stockaded mound with a wooden tower on top and an appended court; moreover, the Saxons needed a considerable defensible area as rallying point for a wide district, a Norman needed a small fortress in which to house a limited garrison of alien invaders. The general type being settled, doubtful instances, or instances where the evidence seems to be impartial, are brought into line. The same argument was used when the grouping of hundreds round a suitable burgh to form a shire in the Mercian midlands and east midlands was discussed. And, the general type established, we get a date, the age of Alfred-Ethelfleda-Edward (adding Athelstan-Edgar if we choose) for the walled burgh, the age of William (on to Stephen if we choose) for the motte-and-bailey, because the existence of a general type before development has begun shows unity of purpose in a limited period.