‘Againste the Invasion and Incourse of Scottes in tyme of warre’: An examination of motivations behind fortified building in Northumberland, 1296-1415

Olivia Blythe Goulet Paterson

BA, MA

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of History

College of Arts

University of Glasgow

Abstract

Scholarship in recent decades has characterized fortification, beginning in the fourteenth century, as declining in defensibility and erected largely for comfort and status. Most literature on the subject, however, leaves out the border counties of England or dismisses them as not fitting into their narrative, without further investigation. In Northumberland, as with the other border counties, the Anglo-Scottish Wars of Independence and subsequent period of border conflict created a culture of fortification in the north which was largely different from that in the rest of the country both in scale and style.

Frequent Scottish raiding into Northumberland created a reactive pattern of building, with fortification cropping up along invasion routes shortly after incursions took place. By analysing the patterns of raiding during the fourteenth century, this thesis argues for a concrete link between the Anglo-Scottish border conflict and the high level of fortification within Northumberland. While other typical uses for these sites, including the judicial and administrative, do apply, none of these can explain the high number of fortifications built in Northumberland between 1296 and 1415 relative to other counties in England. Nor can Northumberland's density of castles be attributed to the county's reputation for supposed lawlessness: there is little evidence that crime rates in the fourteenth century were any higher in the county, nor was the judicial system any weaker there, than anywhere else in the country for the period.

Of the sites themselves, the vast majority were free-standing tower houses, a new form of fortification within England, and one that only became prevalent in the English borders from the early fourteenth century. These towers offered a more affordable alternative for lesser members of the gentry to protect their lands against the threat of raiding, and they proved successful enough that they were used prevalently in Ireland in the fifteenth century, and similar towers were erected widely in Scotland in the sixteenth century. Both in-person investigations of the sites, and archaeological research showed that these tower houses were typically built with at least two external defences, thick walls, narrow windows, and seldom with windows on the ground floor, generally placing the need for defence above a comfortable interior space in their construction.

Both the historical and archaeological examination of these sites reveal strong links between their construction and border conflict. Significantly, nearly no obvious defensive weaknesses are present in any of the sites surveyed, portraying the image of a county still very much in need of practical fortification, and not one whose defensibility is in decline.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

Many have helped me along the route to completion on this thesis – first and foremost are those many wonderful people who welcomed me onto their property, into their homes, and often offered me research and insight into the history of their lovely buildings. This particularly applies to the lovely owners of Bywell Gatehouse, Willimoteswick Castle, and previous owners of Shilbottle Pele.

Of course, none of this work would have been possible without the constant support of my PhD supervisors, Professor Matthew Strickland and Professor Stephen Driscoll, who offered unending patience, insight and expertise, shaping this project with me from the ground up.

A heartfelt thanks is also due to my friends and my wonderful husband, who have kindly driven and accompanied me to castles, towers and piles of rocks for years – and hopefully will continue to do so.

Abbreviations

Survey 1415	1415 Survey of fortification in Northumberland, Harleian MS. 309, fols. 202b-203b, transcribed in J.C. Bates' 'Border Holds of Northumberland', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 14, no. 1 (1891): 12-19.
Survey 1541 EM	1541 survey of fortification in the East March, transcribed in J.C. Bates' 'Border Holds of Northumberland', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 14, no. 1 (1891): 29-41.
Survey 1541 MM	1541 survey of fortification in the Middle March transcribed in J.C. Bates' 'Border Holds of Northumberland', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 14, no. 1 (1891): 41-51.
AA	*Archaeologia Aeliana*
Bates, Border Holds	J.C. Bates 'Border Holds of Northumberland' *Archaeologia Aeliana* 14, no. 1 (1891): 1-465.
CCR	*Calendar of Close Rolls*
CPR	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*
Froissart	*Chroniques de Jean Froissart*, ed. Simeon Luce, 15 vols, (Paris: La Société de l'Histoire de France, 1869).
Hardyng	*The Chronicle of John Hardyng*, ed. H. Ellis (London: F. C. and J. Rivington *et al*., 1812).
HKW	*History of the Kings Works,* H.M. Colvin, 8 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1963-1982).
Knighton's Chronicle	Henry Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle: 1337-1396,* ed. and trans. G.H. Martin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).
IPM	*Calendar of Inquisitions Post-Mortem*
Lanercost:	*Chronicon de Lanercost, 1201-1346,* ed. J. Stevenson, (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1839).
Le Bel	*Chronique de Jean le Bel*, ed E. Déprez and J. Viard, 2 vols (Paris : Société de l'Histoire de France, 1904-1905) : translated by Nigel Bryant *The true chronicles of Jean Le Bel 1290*-1360 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011).
Liber Pluscardensis	*Liber Pluscardensis*., ed. J. H. F. Skene, 2 vols (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1877-1880).
NCH	*Northumberland County History,* 15 vols. (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1893-1940)

Polychronicon	*Polychronicon : facsimile of Glasgow University Library MS Hunter 223 (Book VI) : Latin text / Ranulph Higden*; ed. R. Waldron (International Research Centre for Polychronicon Studies, 2011).
Raine, *History & Antiquities*	J. Raine, *The History and Antiquities of North Durham as Subdivided Into the Shires of Norham, Island and Bedlington.* (Durham: John Bowyer Nichols and son, 1852).
Scalacronica	Sir Thomas Grey *Scalacronica: 1272-1363*, ed. and trans. A. King (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005).
Scotichronicon:	Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ed.D.E.R. Watt,. 9 vols Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987-1998.
Trokelowe	J. Trokelowe, *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani* (London: Longman, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1866).
Vita Edwardi	*Vita Edwardi Secundi: The Life of Edward the Second*, ed. and trans.W.R. Childs. (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2005).
Westminster Chronicle	*The Westminster Chronicle, 1381-1394,* ed. and trans L. C. Hector. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).

Introduction

Why Build? An Examination of Literature Surrounding Fourteenth-Century Fortification

On a research trip to Northumberland in September of 2018, I stopped between Morpeth castle and Chibburn Moated preceptory, to see the remains of Cresswell pele. Although of uncertain dating, likely sometime in the early fifteenth century, Cresswell was meant to be one of the most intact remaining examples of a pele tower, a design which once dominated fortified building in the north of England. In order to access the remains, I walked around a stone wall in search of a gate, and finding the first one locked, was able to get through the second gate, which (while not locked) was not easy to pry open. I slogged through a series of mud puddles and overgrown brush to reach a beautiful remain, then seemingly used as a storage shed with various tools and gardening implements inside its shut metal grate. Long past the worry of trespass or intrusion by this point on my trip, I walked around the small structure in wonder at how intact the tower was, including some later work which was clear on the upper level and in the outline of what was once an attached manor house. While there, I was lucky enough to run into a gentleman walking about the site, wheelbarrow in hand, who informed me that excavations had recently been undertaken to further understand the important history of the site, and with the help of various pieces of funding they had hoped to open it to the public in coming years. The importance of these works cannot be overstated, this site being one of only a handful of remaining tower houses in Northumberland, part of what was once a thriving culture of small fortifications in the north of England.[1]

Figure 1 Cresswell Pele, 2018. OB Goulet-Paterson.

[1] 'Againste the Invasion and Incourse of Scottes in tyme of warre' an excerpt from the 1541 listing for Harbottle castle, and accurately sums up the state of fortification in the earlier centuries. Survey 1541 MM.

The fourteenth century saw a number of building trends throughout England which have been discussed at length among academics over the past century. Research into the buildings of Northumberland has, until recent years, been woefully underdeveloped. From 1296, the northern counties were plunged into a state of violence with the start of the First Scottish War of Independence, and while the war ended formally in 1328 with the signing of the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton, the threat for Northumberland and the other border counties continued into the seventeenth century. With the lowest (Cumberland) and the second-lowest (Northumberland) populations per area in the country at that time, the northern borders produced more fortifications between 1272 and 1422 than the rest of England and Wales combined.[2] This unique environment led to a different style of fortification in the north, and while many recent texts argue for the decline of functional defences in fortifications in England by the end of the fourteenth century, this thesis will prove that in the north, and specifically in Northumberland, a separate culture of fortification existed, where the ever-present threat of raiding or incursion caused many individuals to fortify not for status, but for their own safety, resulting in smaller tower fortifications such as the tower at Cresswell. Often, it is possible even to see how Scottish incursion directly impacted the building of fortification in both timing and location, which will be the central focus of chapter one.

The timeframe I have put in place is a significant one, marked by the start of the First Scottish War of Independence in 1296, after England and Scotland had seen a general peace for much of the thirteenth century. If the Scottish wars were truly the cause of a great increase in fortification a start date coinciding with the start of conflict would show any fortification built as a result. This date also marks the beginning of a building trend in the north (see figures 2 and 3 for the difference in known fortification between 1296 and 1415). The end date is fixed by the production in 1415 of a crown survey of all fortified building in Northumberland, which gives a valuable *terminus ante quem* for listed sites. This timeframe allows for the analysis of over-arching trends during the fourteenth century, which is particularly significant in the debate over the primacy of defence in motives for castle building.

Chapter two will discuss the uses of these fortifications within their county and community. The chapter focuses specifically on the role of the castle within the community, and what records are available for the various forms of protection which were offered by these buildings to the surrounding area. This section will also address the role of the castle within the county, with some discussion of the general administrative uses for these sites, and more crucially looks into crime in Northumberland, and to what extent local and civil

[2] Based on a study by J. Rickard, *The Castle Community: English and Welsh Castle Personnel 1272-1422* (New York: Boydwell Press, 2002), 4. Population calculations based on a 2011 study by Broadberry, Campbell & Smith, 'English Medieval Population: Reconciling Time Series and Cross Sectional Evidence' as part of Leverhulme project: *Reconstructing the National Income of Britain and Holland, c.1270/1500 to 1850* (2011), 25.

violence could have been a factor in the colossal increase of fortification between 1296 and 1415 – the standard timeframe which will be used throughout this research.

The final two chapters look at the what is known of the layout of these structures, what we can discern of their use, and the factors that influenced their construction, from what physically remains to us. These chapters are a key piece of this study, bringing an archaeological perspective to a topic which has largely been approached from a solely historic, or solely archaeological angle.

During the Victorian era, castles and fortifications began to inspire curiosity and academic interest, establishing an early basis for castle tourism and a renewed academic line of inquiry. In 1856 J.H. Parker opened the field with his *Some Account of Domestic Architecture in England* in which he published an incomplete list of licences to crenellate existing for the medieval period.[3] Subsequently, G.T. Clark's *Medieval Military Architecture in England,* published in 1885, presented a survey of medieval English building which, as the title suggests, stressed the military primacy of castles' use above all else. Clark's work was followed shortly by MacGibbon and Ross's *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* in 1887, followed by a flurry of more local studies, the most important of which was J.C. Bates, 'The Border Holds of Northumberland' published by in 1891.[4]

Bates' work was the first serious investigation into the fortifications of Northumberland, and it created a foundation on which studies of Northumbrian architecture could build. Like Clark, Bates stressed the primarily military dimensions of these fortifications. He believed that licences to crenellate, or official permissions from the crown to fortify, were legally required for all defensive building, but that the requirement for licences in the border regions was allowed to lapse following the Battle of Nevilles Cross in 1346.[5] This longstanding interpretation of the role of licences was not challenged until 1979, when C. Coulson argued that licenses were not obligatory and instead merely a courtesy which passed between nobles and monarchs and served as a status symbol. [6] The implications for Northumbrian building (though not included in Coulson's article), were profound. Given the common assumption that the necessity for licences had been suspended after 1346, most buildings for which there were no known licences to crenellate had been attributed to the latter half of the century. If Coulson's theory proved true, however, these works could have occurred at any time, while it also undermined the notion that it was the removal of licencing that, at least in part, lay behind widespread building in the latter half of the fourteenth century.

---

[3] Incomplete and lacking according to Coulson in his C. Coulson, 'Freedom to Crenellate by License,' *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 38, (1994): 90; Referring to J.H. Parker, *Some Account of Domestic Architecture in England Vol. III* (Oxford: 1853), 401-402.
4 C.J Bates, 'The Border Holds of Northumberland,' *Archaeologia Aeliana* II, vol. XIV (1891): 1-465.
5 Ibid., 11.
6 C. Coulson, 'Structural Symbolism in Medieval Castle Architecture,' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 132, (1979): 73-90.

Unlike Coulson, D.J. Cathcart King stuck with traditional ideas on licencing in his 1983 *Castellarium Anglicanum,* in which he confirmed that licences controlled building absolutely and that they were necessary under law. Like Bates, Cathcart King believed that the necessity for licencing was withdrawn in the border region after 1346, accounting for the high level of unlicensed building in Northumberland in the fourteenth century. King also examined castles in rebellion and how dangerous they could be to the crown, noting that Dunstanburgh was the only permanent castle in Northumberland 'built in hostility to the crown' by Thomas Earl of Lancaster around 1313.[7] He argued that if only one English castle could be built in disregard for crown permission licences must have done a good job in controlling them (though he overlooked the fact that Dunstanburgh was indeed licenced by Edward II in 1315).[8] Cathcart King built on this in his 1988 book *The Castle in England and Wales,* stating that licenses may have existed in verbal form or simply gone unrecorded.[9]

In his 'Freedom to Crenellate by Licence – An Historiographical Revision' Coulson argued against Cathcart King's theory, and used Dunstanburgh, a licenced castle which was built to guard against a possible attack from a king, Edward II 1310-1322, as a prime example of a lack of crown control through licences, a far more logical use of this evidence. Beyond this, the argument has not much changed since Coulson challenged Bates' original theories in 1979. My thesis intends to analyse the patterns of building in order to help establish a dating for some of these unlicensed sites. If licences were not requested purely because of the requirement to gain crown permission to build, how far were they sought as a status symbol and project status, and how far was castle building in Northumberland in the fourteenth century a result of the desire to display wealth and social prestige?

The question of motives behind medieval fortified building has been the subject of a major and ongoing debate. The early twentieth century saw several publications on English castles which reflected what D. Stocker has deemed the 'General's Armchair' period of castle studies.[10] This generation of historians was dominated by men and women who studied and worked in a world immersed in war, and applied this aggressively military view to medieval history, resulting in the perception of the castle as a purely military institution. Founding contributions of this period included J.H. Round's 'The Castles of the Conquest' published by the Society of Antiquaries in London in 1902, E. Armitage's *Early Norman Castles of England and Wales* in 1912, and H. Braun's *The English Castle* in 1936. In regards to Northumberland, this trend was reflected in Bates' 'Border Holds of Northumberland', in which he saw castles through a very

7D.J. Cathcart King, Castellarium Anglicanum: An Index and Bibliography of Castles in England Wales and the Islands, Vol I: Anglesey-Montgomery (Milwood: Kraus International Publications, 1893), XXV.
8 B. Long, *Castles of Northumberland: The Medieval Fortifications of the County* (Gateshead: Northumberland Press Limited, 1967), 20.
9 D.J. Cathcart King, *The Castle in England and Wales: An Interpretive History* (Kent: Croom Helm Ltd., 1988), 21.
10 As laid out in D. Stocker, 'In the Shadow of the General's Armchair' *Archaeological Journal,* vol. 149 (1992): 415-420.

black-and-white military lens and assumed that that fortifications were built primarily as a result of Anglo-Scottish warfare. Bates went on to write *History of Northumberland* in 1895, which focused on the county's long-term history and its role in the border wars, reinforcing his idea that Northumbrian castles were an active consequence of the Anglo-Scottish wars.

Conservative perceptions of fortification would hold sway until the 1960s, when a new approach to castle building in England was heralded by P.A. Faulkner's article 'Castle Planning in the Fourteenth Century' published in *The Archaeological Journal* in 1963. Drawing more attention to domestic functions of castles, Faulkner described the relative significance between military and domestic functions of fourteenth century castles as a delicate balance, which swayed with both trend and necessity over time and area.[11] He argued that by the fourteenth century, domestic needs were considered of at least equal importance, a concept which was reflected in the design of the castles throughout the period. While Faulkner did not argue for a complete shift in thinking, he did demonstrate an importance of functions other than defence in castle design.

Faulkner's study, however, did not extend to the northern borders: his most northly example is Bolton Castle in North Yorkshire. He nevertheless suggested examples of other frontier/marcher castles which appeared to be split their use, and provide an interesting comparison. He interprets Bodiam in Sussex and Goodrich in Herefordshire as being thoroughly symbolic and largely indefensible, while Beaumaris, Chepstow and Caerphilly prioritised defence over the domestic, demonstrating that every castle needs to be looked into individually, as opposed to forcing all castles into a rigid pattern. This new method of thinking applies well to Northumbrian castles.

In contrast, 1963 also saw the publication of *A History of the King's Works*, a multi-volume series on royal building throughout England, Scotland and Wales. The first volume, covering building across the medieval period, included an analysis of castle construction by kings of England during their campaigns in Scotland from 1296. Examining Edward I's building campaigns north of the border, much of which was of timber, H. M. Colvin stressed the importance of their military functions relating primarily to the process of conquest. Records of expenditure collated in the History of the King's works certainly implies military priority for those castles in northern England held by the crown and thus for which building accounts survive, including Bamburgh, Berwick, Dunstanburgh, Newcastle, Norham and Wark.

Colvin touched on the issue of the relationship between work on fortifications and Scottish invasion routes, pointing out that those castles which were strategically placed warranted more spending.

---

11 P.A. Faulkner, 'Castle Planning in the Fourteenth Century,' *Archaeological Journal,* vol. 120 (1963): 215-235, 215.

Additionally, the argument that the primary function of any given castle was new, while Colvin also provided the first comparison of northern border castles to their southern neighbours.[12]

The next significant contribution to the argument came in 1979 with Coulson's previously mentioned 'Structural Symbolism in Medieval Castle Architecture', in which he became one of the first scholars to draw attention to the symbolic importance of castle building. Like Faulkner, he did not attempt to deny the defensive aspects of medieval castle design, but argued that these buildings should be studied both through the eye of the military archaeologist and the art historian. Accordingly, he sought to demonstrate how features typically seen as military, such as high walls, the shape and placement of towers, gatehouses and wide ditches, all might have an important symbolic function. In a subsequent study based mainly around the use of crenelation in ecclesiastical building, Coulson developed these ideas further, describing the use of such military motifs as an element of psychological, as much as physical warfare, a constant reminder of the power of the institutions and of the Church itself.[13] In his 1979 article Coulson ascribes these elements to castles as early as the eleventh century and as late as Tudor times. All examples Coulson provided for functional fortification were pre 14th century, with Dover as his main example, and yet all of the indefensible structures mentioned, Oxburgh Hall being the only one examined in any depth, was from the late fifteenth century. This indicates that Coulson can only defend the decline of defensibility by the fifteenth century, though he states that the decline began two hundred years earlier.[14] As Coulson noted: 'The condition of public order in England, apart from the marches of Scotland and Wales, and brief interludes of more widespread lawlessness elsewhere, tends strongly to the conclusion that military purpose should not uncritically be ascribed on the ground alone of some architectural semblance of fortification,'[15] Although he here briefly acknowledged the defensive exceptionalism of fortifications on the frontiers of the kingdom, he did not develop this further.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Faulkner and Coulson had opened a new line of inquiry, and the 1980s saw further contributions. In 1983, D.J. Cathcart King's major two-volume survey, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, was published, which was organized by county and greatly facilitated the study of the differences in building between regions. Cathcart King placed emphasis on the castle as a residence, while acknowledging a range of possible uses for the castle. These, he noted, 'could be in the first place aesthetic and symbolic, in the second practical, but still peaceful; finally, they could be warlike, whether in defence, in attack, or in the course of

12 HKW I, 409-412
13 C. Coulson, 'Hierarchism in Conventual Crenellation: An Essay in the Sociology and Metaphysics of Medieval Fortification,' *Medieval Archaeology 26*, (1982): 84.
14 Coulson, 'Structural Symbolism,' 74.
15 Ibid., 77.

criminal activities.'[16] He nevertheless categorized royal castles as the 'backbone of [national] defence' in the medieval period, while he also conducted a brief study of the siting of castles, noting that many were built on top of old more strategic sites and put in the way of invasion routes in order to stop them. [17] He went on to note that smaller fortifications sprang up commonly in Northumberland for the protection of individual landowners, though as I will argue, most Northumbrian fortifications were not sited to interfere with invasion, King's work did raise the issue of a wider building strategy in Northumberland. [18]

Cathcart King's *The Castles of England and Wales* (1988) similarly stressed the role of the castle as a lordly dwelling, but was more assertive in its defence of the practical military aspects. Reacting to the work of scholars such as Coulson, he asserted that the purpose of medieval defensive architecture could not be reduced to symbolism alone. *The Castles of England and Wales* proved an interesting bridge between new and old schools of thought in fortification. Cathcart King investigated the increasing stress on residential comfort in castle building, especially from the thirteenth century and detailed the advances in military technology which developed at the same time. As a further note to his earlier side-by-side comparison of counties, King stated that a number of fourteenth-century castles, such as Bodiam, Cooling, Shilburn, Hemyock and Maxstoke may have not necessarily been built to withstand warfare and used these examples – all from southern England - to identify a decline in the defensibility of castles built in this period. He did not, however, discuss this theory in relation to castle building in Northumberland or other northern counties, though he considered these areas to have been lawless in the later Middle Ages, accusing the inhabitants of the Borders of having 'lapsed back into barbarism'.[19] Nevertheless, Cathcart King added an important element to the argument by exploring the concept of garrisoning as proving the defensible nature of fourteenth century building, and included a brief study of castle guard service in England, which was owed to many Northumbrian castles, including at least, Alnwick, Bamburgh, Farnham, Mitford, Newcastle and Prudhoe on behalf of their estates.[20]

Subsequently, M.W. Thompson's two books, *The Decline of The Castle* (1987) and *The Rise of The Castle* (1991) continued to shed new light on the difference between northern and southern fortification. Thompson argued for a general decline in the practical defensibility of many castles by the start of the fifteenth century, as the needs of the aristocracy became more domestic and less military, and castles designed with only a false 'martial face' began to crop up.[21] Nevertheless, he argues for the defensibility of

16 King, *Castellarium Anglicanum I*, XVI.
17 Ibid., XXII.
18 Ibid., XLVI.
19Ibid., 16-17.
20 D.J. Cathcart King, *The Castle in England and Wales: An Interpretive History* (Kent: Croom Helm Ltd., 1988), 16-17.
21 M.W. Thompson, *The Decline of the Castle* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 71.

smaller fortifications such as tower houses, in the north throughout the 1400s.[22] To further the comparison between regions, he stated that as late as the period 1535-45, of 258 castles existing in England and only 91 were in everyday use, just over one-third, but that in 'the north' over half were still in everyday use, pointing to their continued defensive value there, not least in a period of increased border tension under Henry VIII.[23]

In *The Rise of the Castle* he took these implications a step further. While discussing a fourteenth-century trend towards single-tower living, or a 'retrogression to a fortified dwelling, to a keep-like tower recalling twelfth-century structures', Thompson stated that these towers in the border towns, or in Ireland, were 'clearly defensible' while similar buildings in the south were constructed merely to mimic the appearance of a castle, and practically appearance and comfort prevailed over defence.[24] Thompson also studied architectural changes throughout the fourteenth century and differences in style between regions, attributing the square towers of the north to the influence of Scottish culture, possibly due to the frequent raids by the Scots.[25] Additionally, he noted that a simpler gatehouse, like the one built by John of Gaunt on the west side of Dunstanburgh castle in the 1380's, may have been more prevalent later in the century than the ornate gatehouses prevalent earlier in the century, such as that on the south side of the castle, built by Thomas of Lancaster between 1310 and 1322.[26] This assertion, if correct, would be a helpful stylistic detail in dating other gentry castles.

In 1990, P. Ryder published the first in-depth study of the purpose and role of northern fortification in the late Middle Ages in his 'Fortified Medieval and Sub-Medieval buildings in the North-East of England,' which sought to present an overview of the gaps in 'what may seem a well-studied and researched field.'[27] Focusing on fortifications in Yorkshire, Durham and Northumberland, Ryder suggested a new definition of 'defensible', categorizing sites by those with known defensible perimeters, such as outer curtain walls and moats, and those without. Ryder placed the true defensibility of a site on its outworks and therefore dissected their defensibility differently.[28] Using archaeological evidence, he argued that many towers in the north were not, in fact, independent, free-standing structures but were 'solar towers', or towers built onto larger houses, though this would not have hindered their defensibility. He also stated that this type of fortification was more popular in the southern and less dangerous areas of Northumberland, and at the start of the century, an argument that largely overlooks the actual location of Scottish riads.[29] Ryder openly evaluated both sides of

22 Ibid., 22.
23 Thompson based this study on Leland's 16th century study, M.W. Thompson, *The Decline of the Castle* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 104.
24 M.W. Thompson, *The Rise of the Castle* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 159.
25 Ibid.,165.
26 Ibid., 169.
27 P. Ryder, 'Fortified Medieval and Sub-Medieval buildings in the North-East of England,' in *Medieval Rural Settlement in North-East England,* ed. B.E. Vyner (Durham: Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland, 1990), 127.
28 Ibid., 129.
29 P. Ryder, 'Fortified Medieval and Sub-Medieval buildings in the North-East of England,' 135.

the defensibility argument and highlighted the symbolic nature of medieval defences, implying that most were constructed for social advancement rather than physical protection. Except those built in the sixteenth century and beyond, none of his examples came further north than Durham.

In 1994 Thompson published a short article entitled 'The Military Interpretation of Castles' in *The Archaeological Journal* intending to set out the current state of the question but in fact overlooking the contributions by Ryder, Coulson, Faulkner and much of Cathcart King's work. He noted that a non-military approach to castle-studies was desperately needed and called for the consideration of each castle individually and an end to sweeping generalizations of symbolism or defensibility.[30] This idea was reminiscent of Faulkner's work from the 1960s, and was a clear indication of where the field was headed.

The following year, A. Goodman's article 'The Defence of Northumberland,' picked up where David Cathcart King's argument left off, and is of particular relevance for being the first to focus on fortification in Northumberland as a network.[31] It looked into the distribution of siting, noting the concentration of fortification in the northeast and extending down the banks of the Tweed, in the Aln and Coquet valleys and the Tyne estuary, as well as the lack of fortification in the 'more barren and less populated inward parts, where the terrain grew rugged and the inhabitants had a reputation for lawlessness – the liberties of Tynedale and Redesdale.'[32] Goodman, however, offered little explanation for this pattern of concentration. He made the important observation that that the crown had a general lack of interest in northern fortification from to the fourteenth century, explaining that the responsibility of much of the defence was left to northern lords and officers, even though the crown stepped in when necessary, as in 1371 when Edward III attempted to ensure the sufficient garrisoning of all castles within 12 miles of the border.[33]

A significant new approach to castle studies was heralded by P. Dixon's 'Design in Castle-Building: The Controlling of Access to the Lord' (1996), presenting the idea of studying the castle as a form of visual theatre.[34] Dixon analysed the approaches to and entrances into castles as a means of projecting lordly presence and grandeur. He interpreted gatehouses and other such 'military' elements in this context, though he acknowledged that they might still perform defensive functions. Following a similar theme, O. Creighton's 2002 book *Castles and Landscapes* stands out in the field as coming from a strictly archaeological background. In his book, questions of castles' use in warfare and siege are perhaps less

30 M.W. Thompson, 'The Military Interpretation of Castles,' *The Archaeological Journal,* vol. 151 (1994): 444.
31 Anthony Goodman, 'The Defence of Northumberland: A Preliminary Survey,' in *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France: Proceedings of the 1995 Harlaxton Symposium,* ed. Matthew Strickland (Lincolnshire: Paul Watkins, 1998), 161-172.
32 A. Goodman, 'The Defence of Northumberland: A Preliminary Survey,' in *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France: Proceedings of the 1995 Harlaxton Symposium,* ed. Matthew Strickland (Lincolnshire: Paul Watkins, 1998), 161-172.
33 A. Goodman, 'The Defence of Northumberland: A Preliminary Survey,' in *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France: Proceedings of the 1995 Harlaxton Symposium,* ed. Matthew Strickland (Lincolnshire: Paul Watkins, 1998), 163.
34 P. Dixon, 'Design in Castle-Building: The Controlling of Access to the Lord,' *Château Gaillard: Études de Castellologie Médiévale XVIII* (1996), 47-56.

important than the interpretation of the physical buildings and the landscapes they create. Like Dixon, Creighton recognized the many different interpretations for medieval castles, and cites Cathcart King for their military efficiency. Much of his book is spent detailing how the landscape, features such as moats and gardens, and even views of the castle and from the castle, would have been interpreted by those within and without the structure in its contemporary setting. Creighton also investigated patterns of siting and distribution and while he found no large national defence pattern or strategy within baronial castles, it was clear to him that royal castles were sited after the Conquest to form a layer of national defence.[35] He also noted that there were comparatively few mottes in Northumberland, however were extremely dense along the Welsh border, which he attributed to the motte and bailey design, most popular in the late 11th and early 12th centuries, as possibly not standing up well to full scale warfare, and rather being a reaction to small-scale raiding – somewhat like the tower houses of Northumberland, three centuries later, though this conclusion received no further investigation on his part.[36] He was also the first to imply that the crown may have been responsible for bouts of private building by encouraging or discouraging building at particular times, such as along the Welsh border, forming an alternative to what might be interpreted as a national defence strategy through the crown's own building, though he argued it was not intended as one.[37] While Creighton's book focused mainly on the eleventh through to the thirteenth century, his ideas on building and the questions he raised on crown involvement in building, are central to my research.

J. Rickard's 2002 *The Castle Community: English and Welsh Castle Personnel 1272-1422* presented another major step in castle studies. Rickard listed all known records of ownership and constableships of major castles in England and Wales, in addition to this invaluable set of information, his extensive introduction examined the role of castles, garrisons, the crown and the gentry in the 'castle community' i.e. those who owned the castles, but also key positions within them such as constable or keeper. While much had been written on northern castles, little at this point had been produced on the hierarchy in place within encastellated society, and the differences in trends of fortification depending on their size and the status of their owners. For Rickard, the fourteenth century saw the zenith of defensibility in castle-building and he responded to evidence of fourteenth-century decline by arguing that this applied only to royal castles not private ones.[38] Rickard used raw figures to examine the building and use of castles over the century, stating that the northern border saw an increase of 142 active castles (or more broadly, fortifications in total) in the period, more than the rest of England and Wales combined, meaning that far more fortifications were

36 O. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes* (New York: Continuum, 2002), 46.
37 Ibid., 50.
38 J. Rickard, *The Castle Community: English and Welsh Castle Personnel 1272-1422* (New York: Boydwell Press, 2002), 1.

constructed and mentioned historically in Northumberland in this period than elsewhere in England or Wales.[39] He pointed out that the majority of castles were held by families of lower rank, though he goes no further to explore this class of castle owners.

The furthest swing of the argument over the primary function of castles came in 2005, with R. Liddiard's *Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism and Landscape 1066 to 1500,* which argued that all medieval fortification, as early as the Norman Conquest, could be interpreted as symbols of lordly power and not as truly defensible fortifications. The book as a whole was a lengthy attack on the emphasis of previous scholars on the defensive aspects of medieval English fortification. The closest parallel is found in his treatment of the castles of the Welsh marches, where Liddiard's reasoning is generally flimsy; he cites only Beaumaris, which he regards as too lacking in domestic space to have been perceived as a castle, and Caernarvon, whose defences clearly surpassed military necessity and therefore could not have been created with defence as primary concern.[40] Among his more general arguments is that Vegetius' *De Re Militari*, a late Roman manual on warfare widely disseminated throughout the medieval period, stated that in order to be defensible a fortification had to be on the highest possible site, and thus the fact that most castles are not so situated proves lack of defensibility as a

Figure 2 Map indicating attacks on castles in England and Wales 1066-1652.' First figure new castles built in that county over the period, second figure, number of attacks. From R. Liddiard, Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066 to 1500, 71.

39 Ibid., 4.
40 R. Liddiard, *Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066 to 1500* (Cheshire: Windgather Press, 2005), 58.

building motive.[41] Liddiard also states that if a military threat was truly imminent, all nobles would have lived in castles, and manor houses would not have existed.[42] These sweeping generalisations make it difficult to accept the validity of Liddiard's argument. Northumberland, moreover, is only treated at any length in a section on castles in war, where Liddiard describes the lack of action castles actually saw. There he states that Northumbrian castles saw 223 attacks in his period, for 119 new castles built between 1066 and 1652 Based on Cathcart King's research from *Castellarium Anglicanum*, and only concedes that northern castles were 'more likely to witness armed force than their southern counterparts.'[43] He also attempted to discredit their military capability by arguing that they were not placed to stop invasions and were often passed by, accepting that only Wark, Norham and Newcastle held strategic value for the north, but taking the analysis no further.

The culmination of the argument, at least where Northumberland is concerned, came in 2007 in an article by Andy King entitled 'Fortresses and Fashion Statements: Gentry Castles in Fourteenth-Century Northumberland'. In this, King, who has produced the first large body of work focusing on warfare and castles in Northumberland, attempted to answer the question of why building occurred in Northumberland in this period and why it did not. He begins by briefly examining periods of raiding and peace over the century, arguing that Scottish raiding was only a minor consideration for building, forcing residents to build to create some sense of security for themselves. As an alternative, he calls into question other possible motives such as local infighting (with Dunstanburgh again used as an example) and the use of the fortifications as status symbols.[44] The majority of his article focuses on the premise that the castles were not meant to be defensible at all. One of his central arguments is that certain design features of northern building rendered these buildings as all but indefensible. He is, however, able to give only a handful of examples, such as Thirlwall with its window on the ground floor, Etal with a window on the gatehouse facing front, and Edlingham with two window embrasures in the barbican.[45] Another of his arguments is that the many of the tower houses we now regard as free-standing were once attached to a larger wooden hall or house, thereby compromising their defensibility. Yet as P. Ryder demonstrated in his 1990 article, these towers would have functioned as their own units for protection by being sealed off from less defensible buildings.[46]

Like Liddiard, King argued that the yielding up of castles to the Scots during invasions indicates their lack of defensibility against even a small force. He uses the examples of Aydon in 1346 (though admitting

41 Ibid., 24.
42 N.P. Milner ed., *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool: 1993), 22. – as cited in: Robert Liddiard, *Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066 to 1500* (Cheshire: Windgather Press, 2005), 42.
43 Ibid., 76.
44A. King, 'Fortresses and Fashion Statements: Gentry Castles in Fourteenth Century Northumberland,' *Journal of Medieval History* 33, no. 4 (2007): 383.
45 Ibid., 385, 379, 382.
46 P. Ryder, 'Fortified Medieval and Sub-Medieval buildings in the North-East of England,' 135.

that that was after Liddel Peel held out for several days), Ford, Cornhill and Wark in 1385, and the taking of Ford by fellow Northumbrians in 1378-9.[47] He fails to mention here the occasions on which fortifications withstood a siege, with some obvious examples being at Bamburgh in 1333, Berwick 1355 and 1381, (both royal) and Norham 1327. Following Cathcart King, King regards the ability to garrison a fortresses as a sign of its defensibility. In order to withstand a siege and reach its full potential as a fortification, it had to be protected, but many landowners could not afford to garrison their fortress year-round. On one occasion, in 1316, Edward II saw fit to garrison six private castles in the north, but this was not common practice.[48] While landed tenants could be called upon to serve as a castle garrison, or pay to be relieved of service, this could not have furnished adequate numbers for all-year round service, therefore, families without the money to pay for a permanent castle garrison must have assumed that the castle would have operated with only a skeleton staff, at least part of the time. In these cases, though, one can argue that even an ungarrisoned castle or tower would have been safer than a wooden house given an attack, as will be discussed in chapters two and four.

In general, King's article fails to make a strong case for the indefensibility of castles in Northumberland. In his conclusion, he admits that these theories cannot be applied outside of Northumberland, and that his intention had been only to prove that Scottish raiding was not the sole consideration for building in Northumberland. While he occasionally mentions the placement of individual fortifications on hilltops or by water, he did not look in-depth at the placement of fortifications in the landscape or examine patterns of siting or the impact the routes of invasion had on defensive building Nor, given that this was purely a study of gentry castles, does it attempt to ask how gentry motivations for building differed from those of the crown and religious organizations, who together held some of the most important fortifications in the county. His discussion touches briefly on tower houses, but largely focuses on only a few castles and omits the majority of gentry fortification.

There thus remain unanswered a number of key questions, on which my thesis will focus. Why exactly did Northumbrians build when and where they did? What external forces impacted this decision? Was there royal or seigneurial pressure to fortify, danger from the Scots or from neighbours, or was it simply the fashionable thing to do? How did patterns and motives behind fortification differ between social classes? While the field of 'military' architecture has come far in the last century, little has been done to assess in depth the political climate of Northumberland in regards to defensive building works. A particular gap has been the lack of research on smaller fortifications, given the bulk of fortifications in fourteenth century

47 King, 'Fortresses and Fashion Statements,' 376.
48 Ibid., 380.

Northumberland were not classed as castles but were smaller towers, whether free-standing or with some form of outer enclosure. To fully understand building motivations in the period involves an in-depth study of the history of the region and archaeology of the sites, at every level of society, side-by-side to find out which pressures led the Northumbrians to build fortifications.

Investigative Methodology

The question of defensibility vs. symbolism lies at the very heart of my thesis. I intend to break down the castellation of Northumberland over the course of the fourteenth century to find out why fortification was built exactly when and where it was, and what forms it took. The possible answers to these queries are numerous. The most obvious is that fortification was built for defence against the Scots in a century which saw a rapid intensification of Anglo-Scottish conflict, sustained hostilities and cross-border raiding. Within this broad context of Scottish threat, though, what specific circumstances caused Northumbrians to fortify? Some were motivated to build defences by mandates from the crown, or from leading regional lords such as the Percies, Umfravilles or Greys.

My approach to answering these questions required a cross-disciplinary approach which will examine both the history of these sites and what we know of their physical remains to piece together the most complete picture of how they would have been used, and where possible, why they were built in the first instance.

Site Exploration

Much of the evidence for this thesis comes from the on-site investigation and recording of nearly fifty of these fortifications. In order to facilitate effective investigation of these sites, a recording sheet was created in conjunction with my Archaeology supervisor, Professor Stephen Driscoll. This sheet ensured that I recorded key details at each site, including basic name, location and dating, as well as details of approach, visibility of and from the site in different directions, number of visible defences, and of course site and keep size.

Much of the information gathered on these site visits was not available elsewhere, and helped to paint a crucial picture of the use structure of these sites, varying in size from Shilbottle Pele to Bamburgh Castle. These visits also allowed for the creation of a set of site plans and drawings which did not exist prior, including scaled layout sketches for Langley, Belsay, Morpeth, Bywell Gatehouse, and West Lilburn.

Active on-site research also provided valuable information into the placement of these fortifications within the landscape and local areas, giving a strong picture of the importance of defence in site placement

both before the start of the war, and during the conflict itself. On these visits, information was collected regarding any dips or slopes in the landscape surrounding the site, any geographical advantages or disadvantages including cliffs, waterways and marshy areas, and on the outlook or visibility from the site in every direction, and of the site in every direction, which could be indicative of defensibility and status/symbolism. In the end, this extensive amount of on-site work was instrumental for my own understanding of how these sites worked within the landscape, in the creation of several site plans and the site database, and in providing visual evidence for placement in the thesis.

Mapping

I initially developed a collection of maps which showed the development of fortification in Northumberland over the period 1150 through 1350, set at 25-year intervals and showing dots for all fortification, with no further classification. These maps, however, were hand-drawn and based on a hybrid of the map of Northumberland in Brown's *Castellarium Anglicanum* and Brian Long's *Castles of Northumberland*[49] . It was clear that a much more sophisticated methodology would be required, so I began mapping in QGIS, a Geographical Information Software, which allowed me to display a movable view of the OS Maps to place and trace the points that I needed and ensure that they are in the correct location. With QGIS I am able to use the OS layer to plot the locations of the fortifications and then hide the OS in the finished version in lieu of a simplified a map of Northumberland with all major streams and rivers in the county. All other layers are broken down by fortification type - royal, ecclesiastical, or seigneurial, each of which has its own unique symbol - and by years. The current set of layers represents every year from 1296 to 1415 with breaks only when there is a change. The software allows the reader to choose which layer they wish to view at any given time so the map can be made to show only fortifications for a certain year, all fortifications from all years, only a given fortification type, and so forth. I have also been able to use this base set of maps to overlay Scottish routes of incursion, where known, to establish patterns of building in

49 Long, *Castles of Northumberland,* Front Cover; King, *Castellarium Anglicanum II*,, 325.

response to raiding, where they exist, which is examined in Chapter 1. Several sources went into the creation of these maps. The maps from King's Castellarium Anglicanum and Long's Castles of Northumberland served as a guide for my original hand-drawn maps, and went on to serve as inspiration in my series of digital maps. Where possible I use the Google Maps location of fortification, though this is generally only available for larger sites such as Newcastle, Tynemouth, Norham, and Dunstanburgh. Several other sources have been consulted. Cathcart King, Long, Hugill, Dodds and Salter have all published gazetteers on the fortifications of Northumberland, each of which includes some limited discussion on the possible location of a site.[50] The

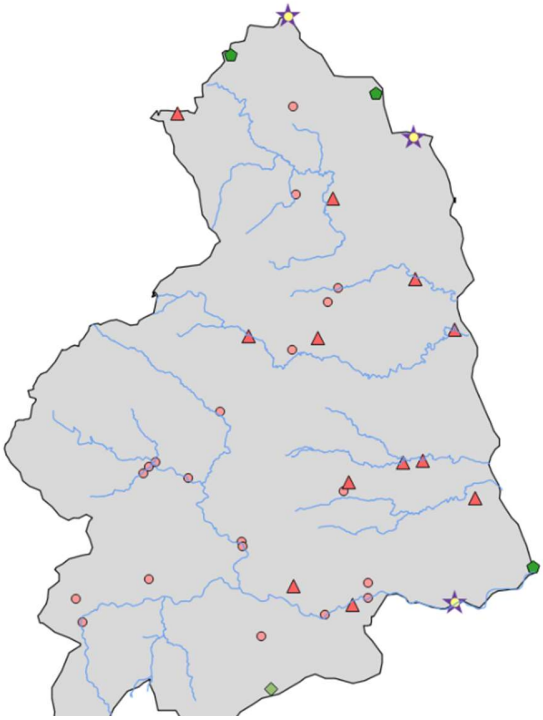


Figure 3 Known fortification in Northumberland, 1296. O.B. Goulet-Paterson

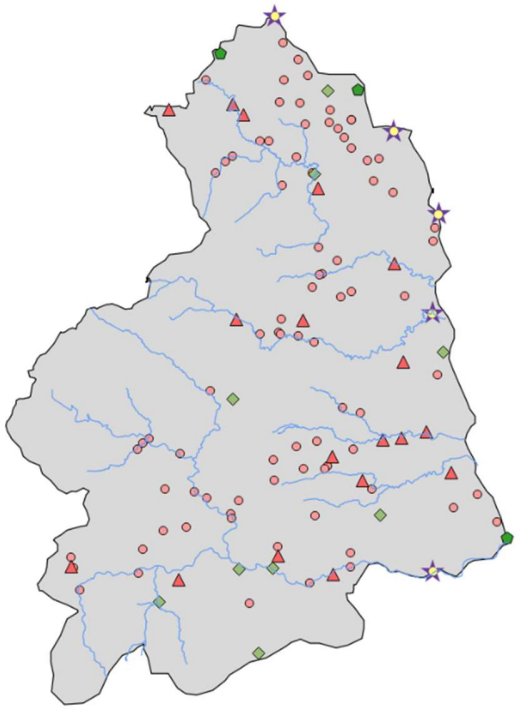


Figure 4 Known fortification in Northumberland 1415, O.B. Goulet-Paterson.

website Gatehouse Gazetteer created by P. Davis to serve as a database for the castles of the United Kingdom, provides a geographical location for nearly all of the sites on the 1415 survey. This typically served as a helpful starting point for locating sites on the OS map, particularly where remains were still extant. Where they were not, I used the location listed on Gatehouse Gazeteer if it lines up with other experts, if not I attempted to reconcile all of the information and decide which location makes the most sense

50A good source for this – his Charles Coulson, 'Freedom to Crenellate by License,' *Nottingham Medieval Studies,* vol. 38 (1994): 86-137; D.J. Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum: An Index and Bibliography of Castles in England Wales and the Islands, Vol I-II* (Milwood: Kraus International Publications, 1893); and Andy King, 'Fortresses and Fashion Statements: Gentry Castles in Fourteenth Century Northumberland,, *Journal of Medieval History* 33, no. 4 (2007): 372-397.

(a situation which only occurred a handful of times in the mapping process). Google Maps will then allow me to put in my desired coordinates and I can use that location to place the fortification on the map.

Dating and classing the fortifications can prove more difficult. For any given fortification, I have used the earliest given date I find, often in the form of land grants, Licences to Crenellate, or Inquisitions Post Mortem, unless the given date is clearly wrong, or a licence exists which provides a more exact date. Licences to crenellate, or official permissions from the crown to build a fortification or fortify an existing home, have commonly been seen as the best and most accurate means of dating fortifications, as they were created (theoretically) at the time of building. We know now that at least some were obtained after building had started, such as Dunstanburgh, where building began in 1313 but the license was not obtained until 1315.[51] Some licences were obtained but never used, though this does not seem to be the case in Northumberland as every licence listed has a corresponding building from the period.[52] At least 19 licenses exist for fourteenth century Northumberland, 18 of which are dated before 1346, among these are Shortflat and Aydon in 1305, Newlands and Eshot in 1310, Dunstanburgh in 1315, Eslington in 1335, Ford in 1338, Blenkinsop in 1340, Etal, Ogle, Barmoor and Widdrington in 1341, Bothal and Crawley in 1343, Chillingham in 1344, Whitley and Haggerston in 1345, West Swinburne in 1346 and Fenwick in 1378.[53] Where a licence exists with no other dated evidence, I have used the date of licence.

51 Rickard, *Castle Community,* 27.
52 Ibid., 27
53 Long, *Castles of Northumberland,* 20.

The next piece of evidence is the survey of fortified building conducted by the crown in Northumberland in 1415.[54] This survey not only lists any standing fortification but has a few short notes such as 'ruinous' or 'under construction' which can indicate building dates for a few of its sites. For the rest,

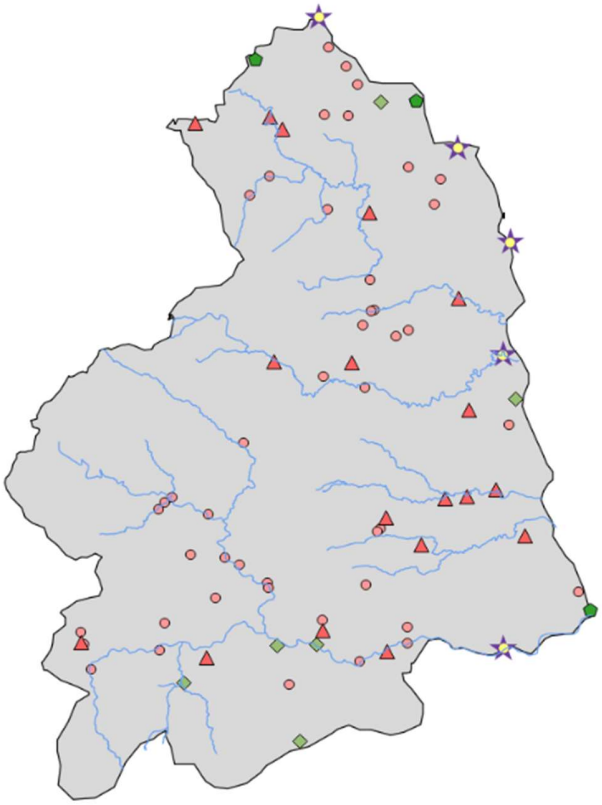


Figure 5 All known fortification in Northumberland in 1415, not including the 1415 survey. O.B. Goulet-Paterson

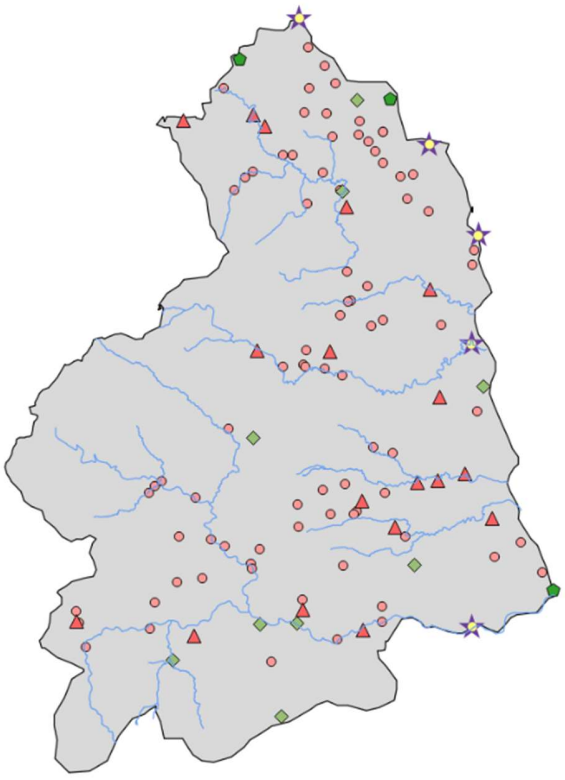


Figure 6 All known fortification in Northumberland in 1415, including the 1415 survey.

it provides concrete evidence that they were built before 1415. Some scholars, such as Richard Lomas and John Rickard believe that fortifications on the 1415 survey without corresponding licences to crenellate must have been built after 1346, when the crown allegedly withdrew the need for licencing, meaning that most of the building would have taken place in the latter half of the century.[55] As there is no evidence for such a change in practice at the time, however, other scholars like Andy King believe licences were obtained as status symbols, were never prescriptive at all, and simply fell out of use.[56]

Other important sources include charter evidence and chronicles from the period. Wherever there is mention of a tower or castle in a local charter or in a chronicle, fortification is clearly known to have existed on the site from before the date the chronicle was written. The *Lanercost Chronicle 1272-1346,* and the *Vita*

54 1415 survey of fortification in Northumberland, Harleian MS. 309, fols. 202b-203b, transcribed in J.C. Bates' 'Border Holds of Northumberland', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 14, no. 1 (1891): 12-19.
55 Rickard, *Castle Community,* 19; Richard Lomas, *County of Conflict: Northumberland from Conquest to Civil War* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 1996), 55.
56 King 'Fortresses and Fashion Statements,' 374.

Edwardi Secundi, detailing most of the reign of Edward II and the first quarter of the century, are particularly helpful as they spend time detailing the war and several sites are mentioned, giving building dates earlier than 1415. Other chronicles include *The Anonimalle Chronicle* (to 1381), and *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti, Regum Anglie* for the end of the century.[57]

The classification of these sites calls for its own set of sources. While all of the above were used to help determine ownership, John Rickard's book *The Castle Community: The Personnel of English and Welsh Castles 1272-1422*, provides valuable insight into the ownership paths of most large fortifications in both England and Wales. Rickard lists all 'known' dates of ownership and provides the location of the transfer, sale, and confiscation where this happened, generally either in the *Calendar of Close Rolls* or the *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* for the period. Owners that were found in Rickard's book were validated using the cited roll series (excepting the few instances in which only Cathcart King, Bates, or Colvin were cited) and then placed on the map. To classify sites that were not included by Rickard and could not otherwise be classed through the Close Rolls and Inquisitions, I used a system like the one I used for finding location, namely consulting all gazetteers, key texts and wherever occasionally the property's guidebook to find owners. Where various different classifications were given, the most common one was used.

For the placement of invasion routes, a few secondary sources proved particularly helpful including C. McNamee's *Wars of the Bruces,* and P. Dixon's 'Border Towers: A Cartographic Approach'.[58] Helpful sources for the paths of English campaigns are *Vita Edwardi Secundi* and *Froissart's Chronicle*. Helpful chronicles for Scottish invasions are, again, *Lanercost Chronicle 1272-1346,* a chronicle focused on the north and generally more reliable than the others, as well as *Froissart's Chronicle,* covering most of the century after Edward II's reign.[59] I am also using several secondary sources as reference, mainly monographs relating to the Anglo-Scottish war and the history of Northumberland.[60]

The maps have been able to indicate when fortifications were built and modified, side by side with the path of the war and the natural landscape, and the data was bused to explore the motivations behind fortification in this period. My contention is that the influence of natural features such as height and water became less prevalent over the course of the century, as many began to fortify not to protect key areas, but to

---

58 C. MacNamee, *Wars of the Bruces: Scotland, England and Ireland 1306-1328* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 1997); (P. Dixon, 'Border Towers: A Cartographic Approach,' in *Newcastle and Northumberland: Roman and Medieval Architecture and Art,* ed. J. Ashbee & J. Luxford (Leeds: Maney publishing for the British Archaeological Association, 2013).

59Jean Froissart, The Chronicles of Jean de Froissart, Translated by John Bourchier (London: Macmillan, 1895).; The Chronicle of Lanercost 1272-1346, trans. Sir Herbert Maxwell (Glasgow: The Grimsay Press, 2010).; Wendy Childs, (tr.), *Vita Edwardi Secundi*: The life of Edward the Second (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

60 Lomas, *County of Conflict* by Richard Lomas played an important role as did *Border Fury: England and Scotland at War 1296-1568* by John Sadler, *Bannockburn: The Triumph of Robert the Bruce* by Dr. David Cornell, *War Cruel and Sharp: English Strategy Under Edward III* by Professor Clifford Rogers, *Disunited Kingdoms* by Michael Brown, and *Wars of the Bruces* by Colm McNamee.

protect themselves or their own holdings. Hopefully the visualization of the shift in location of these sites over time will also help to show why certain areas, such as Tynedale and Redesdale, were left so 'helplessly' unfortified.

The most common explanation for the boost in fortification was the war. The maps have put invasion routes next to the fortifications and battle sites, showing clear patterns of building along areas impacted by Scottish raiding in short periods of peace directly following the raiding, as is discussed in Chapter 1.

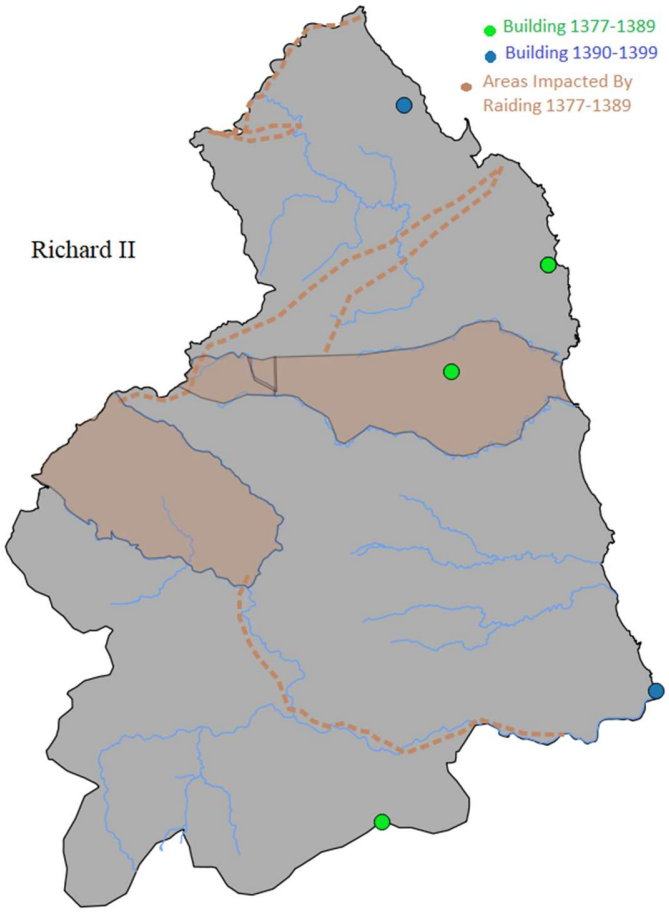


Figure 7 shows the routes and areas impacted by invasions under Richard II in brown, and building completed in subsequent years in blue and green. (As discussed in Chapter 1, p.42-45.

The maps also serve as a powerful visual aid, in both presentations and my dissertation. For easier use, they can be condensed into chosen intervals, such as every ten or twenty years, to show long-term patterns without needing to show one hundred individual maps.

Issues in the mapping arise from the lack of concrete building dates. While the 1415 survey is extremely helpful in identifying which fortifications existed at that time, we know little about the dating of many of the fortifications on the list. As previously mentioned, crenellation licenses help, but only 19 licenses remain for Northumberland in the fourteenth century. Crenellation licences, moreover, may not have been prescriptive, meaning that unlicensed fortifications were being erected at the same time. This means that at about half of the smaller fortifications on the maps are not securely placed until 1415 even though they were most likely built sometime in the fourteenth century. Without these unknown dates patterns could exist that will be missed altogether, or the patterns we find could be misleading (see figures 5 and 6).

For placement, the specific location of some of the sites is now unknown, but can be placed at least in the correct towns, but for a comparison of where they were built in relation to older fortification sites, the data may not be as accurate as desirable.

This issue also arises while placing invasion routes. While many of the impacted locations are known, most of the available information consists of vast impacted areas, making it impossible to place an exact route. In 1311, for example, at least two invasions occurred. The first impacted Gilsland, Haltwhistle and Tynedale and the other Harbottle, Holystone, Redesdale, Corbridge, and both North and South Tyne. To display these invasions, I have placed a line which shows my best guess of the path which would have been travelled, given the terrain of the area and the sites they visited (see figure 7).

In addition, to be able to accurately present Northumberland in the period I would need a clearer picture of the physical landscape of the time. A mountainous or swampy region may have been considered its own set of defence or an unsuitable place for fortification, and explain empty areas in the landscape. While rivers and mountainous regions have not changed greatly in the time since 1400, patterns of forestation, farmland and swamps/marshland could have been very different, and without any detailed maps from the time information like that was not possible piece together.

The Database

Likely the most important piece of my research, my database of fortifications in Northumberland includes all fortifications which were in use in the fourteenth century, and any information I have collected on them, including their layout, outlook, defences, recorded owners, first mentions, and key pieces of historical evidence. Apart from historical research, extensive field research went into the creation of this database. The field research, and the visiting of 42 of these sites in person, allowed for a better understanding of how they interacted with the landscape around them. The field work also gave me the opportunity to observe and photograph any areas of the sites where it was clear changes or works had taken place, which enhanced my understanding of how these buildings evolved, I was also able to speak with people often living of working in these sites to get a closer insight into the heritage and legends surrounding each in their local areas.

For the writing of this thesis, this wealth of information, collected in one place on the 139 sites on the database has proved invaluable to all aspects of this research. For the purposes of presentation, some of the information from the database is presented in the form of a site gazetteer in Appendix 1. A few other collections have also been established in order to aid with research, these include a list of chronicle mentions of all sites in key fourteenth-century chronicles (as will be discussed in Chapter 1), a compilation of all tower houses in Scotland from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, and a list of suspected fourteenth-century tower houses constructed outside of Northumberland, both of which are discussed at length in Chapter 5.

These methods have aided me in the creation of this piece of research in which, using old and new methods of historical and archaeological exploration, I have attempted to establish the motivations which caused Northumbrians to fortify between 1296 and 1415. The following chapters will discuss physical and chronological proximity of building to Scottish incursion, the stylistic ways in which these fortifications were impacted by the Scottish conflict, and thus differed from those in the rest of England, and why Northumberland, often perceived as a wild and lawless region in the late medieval period, was perhaps no more lawless than elsewhere in England, meaning that this was unlikely to have been a factor in the major boom in fortification which occurred there, unparalleled, in this period.

Chapter One: Responding to Raids: fortification in Northumberland and the reaction to Scottish incursions during the fourteenth century

Introduction

Among the many roles of Northumbrian castles, their importance in the Anglo-Scottish conflicts of the fourteenth century is the most clear. Over the course of the century, Scottish incursions and their English counterparts created what has often been perceived as a military state of existence in the border region, causing many Northumbrians to fortify in a desperate bid to protect themselves. While recent historiography has tended to see the fourteenth century as a period in which the military functions of castles were in decline in much of the kingdom, this chapter will examine the importance of the wars in the creation of a fortified Northumberland pre-1415. In this study, the examination of both the frequency and timing of Scottish raids are important, as periods of increased raiding were generally followed by increases in evidenced building. Equally important are the routes taken by the English army on their path to Scotland, often mustering in the walled cities of York, Newcastle and Berwick on their way up the east coast and rendering this chain of large walled towns to the English system of defence, and causing them to see significantly more work on fortification over the century than private fortifications, or even other royal sites, such as Bamburgh.

Chronicle material makes up the bulk of evidence available for the dates and routes of Scottish incursions. As chronicles often do, the accounts vary as to which routes were taken and when, but by studying a variety of sources it is possible to indicate which years witnessed large-scale raiding, and which sites received most attention from both the Scottish and English forces. There is a plain division between those written by Scots, such as *Scotichronicon* and *Liber Pluscardensis*, and most larger English chronicles such as the *Westminster Chronicle* and Higden's *Polychronicon.*[61] Many of the English chronicles of the period tend only to briefly mention what are perceived as the most important events on the border, while the Scottish chronicles, regardless of where they are based, seem far more occupied with border activity and give more detailed accounts of raiding, though this can be interpreted as an exaggeration of their own military dominance, with the notable exceptions of *Lanercost* and *Scalacronica.*[62] Works written on the continent, such as the chronicles of Jean le Bel and Froissart generally only include the briefest of mentions of the events on the border, often when it related to their alliance with France, though Le Bel's detailed account of the Weardale campaign of 1327, in which he took part, is an important exception.[63] The most important English narrative sources for

61 *Liber Pluscardensis*; *Westminster Chronicle; Polychronicon.*
62 *Lanercost*; *Scalacronica*
63 *Le Bel*, 45.

the period are the *Lanercost Chronicle* and *Scalacronica*. While authorship of *Lanercost* has lately been scrutinized, it was clearly written in the north, and though the accuracy of the *Scalacronica* has often been criticized and *Lanercost* covers only a portion of the century, with coverage ending at the Battle of Nevilles Cross in 1346, they remain the most detailed in regards to the Anglo-Scottish conflict.[64] Most sources seem to be reliable in the delivery of dates and locations for English campaigns into Scotland, detailed with equal vigor in both the English and Scottish sources, though the chronicles generally neglect to provide dates and times of the less major Scottish incursions.[65]

The chronicles can be supplemented by record evidence to help determine when raiding was taking place. Pleas to the crown, for aid and for the waiving of taxes, help to piece together a picture of when periods of dense raiding might have occurred. [66] While one or two pleas can be overlooked, larger concentrations of them in a short period can serve as an indicator of previous raiding activity, and help to corroborate the narratives of the chronicles. Records for garrisoning can be valuable indicators of conflict periods, although these are only available for a few sites in Northumberland.[67] Finally, there are accounts of building works and repairs, most commonly for crown works, and a large number of licences to crenellate and other references which help date private works as well.[68] Failing this, the survey completed in 1415 concludes the period and lists all remaining works left undated up to this point, just over two thirds of the total number of known existing fortifications (See Appendix 2). This last piece of evidence is clearly of high importance to this study, as the dating and location of evidenced building, as far as it is tracible, in relation to conflict periods can help to uncover motivations behind building.

The near-complete drop-off of crenellation licences in Northumberland after 1346 has led to much controversy.[69] To summarize the arguments discussed more fully in the introduction, this decline in licences has been explained either by Edward III's suspension of the requirement for a licence in order to encourage northerners to build; or that, given the lack of licences to crenellate relating to the overall number of fortifications we know were built in the first half of the fourteenth century, they were never prescriptive at all; or that the paucity of licences reflects an actual dropping off of building after 1346.

---

64 *Lanercost,* 342.

65 For more information on Scottish incursion in the fourteenth century, see: Michael Brown, *Disunited Kingdoms: Peoples and Politics in the British Isles 1280-1460*, (Edinburgh: Pearson Education Limited, 2013). And John Sadler, *Border fury: England and Scotland at war* 1296-1568, (Edinburgh: Pearson Education Limited, 2005). For more on raiding under Edward II see: a.David Cornell, Bannockburn: The Triumph of Robert the Bruce, (Filey: Yale University Press, 2009). and Michael Prestwich, 'The Wars of Independence, 1296-1328,' in *A Military history of Scotland*, ed. Edward M. Spiers, Jeremy A. Crang and Matthew J. Strickland (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 133-157.

66 The SC8 series from the National Archives, all available online: https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/browse/r/h/C13526

67 Several included in the E101 and E 199 category of the National Archives. E 101 – National Archives, King's Remembrancer: Accounts Various: https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C6548 ; E 199 – National Archives, Exchequer: King's Remembrancer and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer: Sheriffs' Accounts, Petitions, etc

68 In the case of royal castles, this can often be found in the E101 category, otherwise, crenellations licenses and other local documentation provide first mentions of sites, found in *Calendar of Press Rolls*, or see Appendices for transcription.

69 They continue as normal in the south, though post-1346, only one is granted on Northumberland in the fourteenth century, and that was for Fenwick by Richard II in 1378, another was granted by Henry VI 1434 for the town walls of Alnwick. *CPR 1429-1436*, 345.

There is no simple explanation here. The lack of licences to crenellate for large and important sites such as Alnwick and Warkworth, which were built by the wealthy and powerful Percies (and who kept famously meticulous records) seems to point to the concept that licences were not entirely prescriptive. Additionally, there is no evidence of a monarch attempting to take down any adulterine castle in Northumberland since the near dismantling of Harbottle under Henry III in 1220.[70] That said, it seems likely that these licences would have been seen as important status symbols, reflecting royal favour and patronage, which could explain why they flourished under Edward III, and even if they were not prescriptive, they would still have been an impressive addition to the status of the owner's establishment. As licensing clearly continued as a practice in other

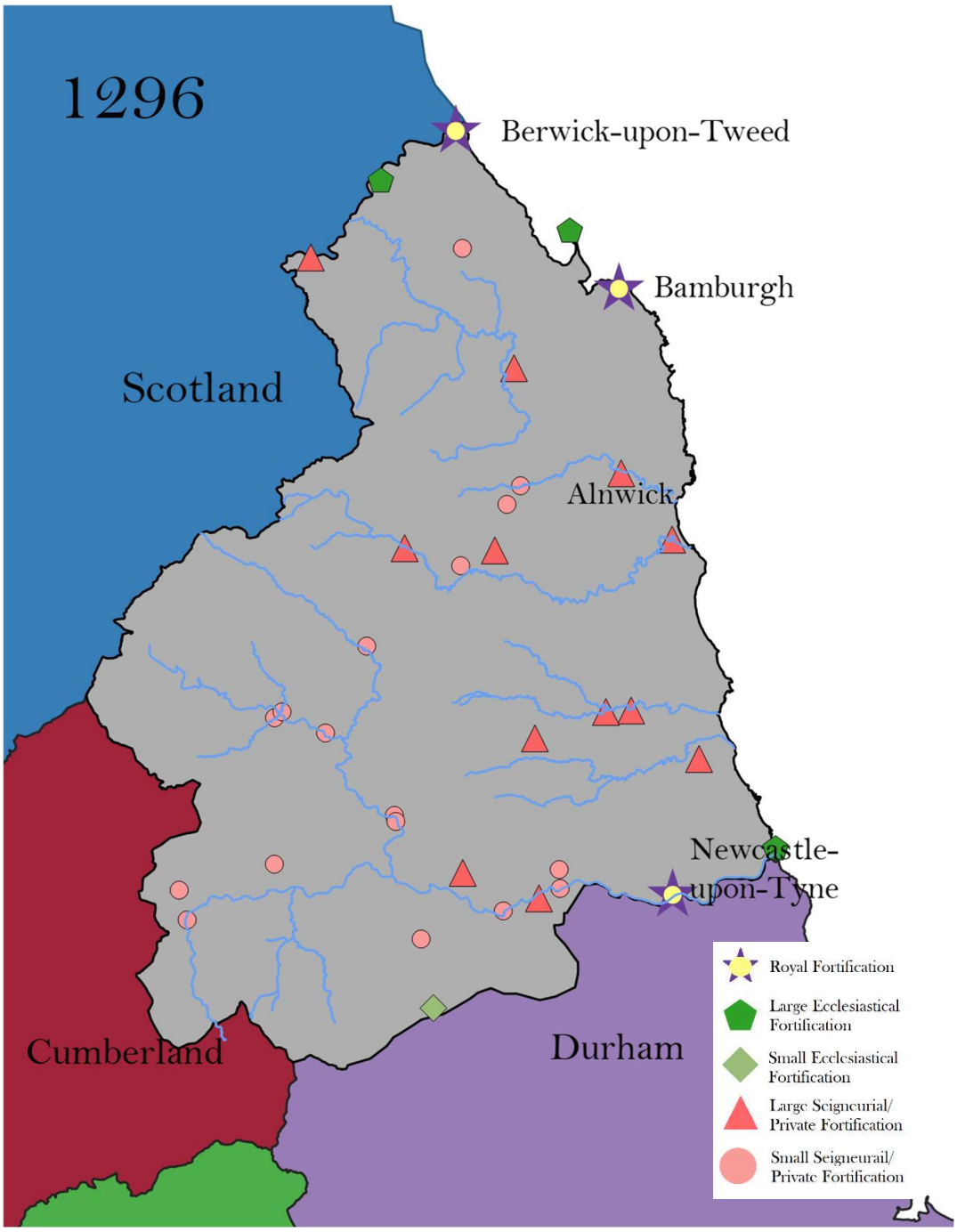


Figure 8 Map of all known fortifications in Northumberland, 1296

70 SC 1/2/16 (Harbottle); SC 1/1/204; SC 1/2/10; SC 1/2/17

more southern counties, it is difficult to conclude that merely suspending the necessity for the licences (if it was still enforced in the north by 1346) would have kept northern nobility from desiring them. Instead, it would seem that licences were not technically prescriptive in the north by this point, as we can see in the case of the Percies, who perhaps had some other agreement with the king, perhaps linked to their increasing responsibilities in the role of defending the northern counties. While there are many fortifications on the 1415 survey which are not accounted for in surviving licences: most are small and possibly would not have qualified for a licence or the owners would not have been able to afford one, or were not well-connected enough to obtain one. Additionally, as licences were theoretically only necessary for men wishing to turn an unfortified building into a fortified one, licences would not have been necessary for these sites.

That said, when compared side by side, the largest clusters of evidenced building clearly fall in short periods directly following periods of conflict. This would suggest that whatever the trends in more southern counties, considerations of defence clearly remained important in Northumberland. Periods of heavy Anglo-Scottish conflict took place from 1311-1322, 1327-1329, late 1346, and 1377 to 1399, each of which was followed directly by a period of increased building. Since the dates of increased tension often correlate with the beginning of a new reign, and as each English monarch had his own manner of dealing with Scottish incursions and northern defense, this chapter has been broken up by reigns of English kings, starting with Edward II.

Edward II

When Edward II came to the throne he inherited a war in full swing, with his father dying just outside of Carlisle in 1307, en-route to Scotland. While Edward I had been perceived as winning the war, Edward II quickly abandoned his father's pursuits and turned south. Throughout his reign he has often been criticized for his lack of efficiency in dealing with the Scottish conflict and in protecting his northern counties.[71] While several of the years of his reign were consumed by ill-conceived and ill-observed truces, the period from 1311 to 1322 were perhaps the most treacherous for those living in the marches towards Scotland, and it was in this period that the custom of paying the Scots for periods of truce began.[72] Only in the last few years of his reign was Edward able to achieve a relative peace on the border, through an embarrassing and disadvantageous truce which was concluded, possibly at Newcastle in 1323.[73]

---

71 For more information on the conflict in the period of Edward II, see Seymour Phillips, *Edward II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Michael Brown, *Bannockburn* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University press, 2008); and McNamee, *Wars of the Bruces*.

72 The concept of paying the Scots for truce is covered extensively by Colm McNamee, most recently in *Wars of the Bruces,* and also in Colm McNamee, 'Buying off Robert Bruce: an account of monies paid to the Scots by Cumberland Communities in 1313-1314,' *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 92, (1992): 77-90; and Colm McNamee 'The effects of the Scottish war on Northern England, 1296-1328 McNamee' (PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 1988).

73 While many chronicles outline a peace treaty at this point, only *Lanercost*, 246, states that it was concluded at Newcastle. L. Stones *Anglo-Scottish Relations 1174-1328: Some Selected Documents,* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 308; transcribes a peace treaty between Harcla and Robert Bruce, though presumably this was a different truce for which he did not have permission of the crown.

Importantly, Edward II's reign also brought an element of civil conflict to the northern counties. In 1311-1312 Edward took refuge in Newcastle then in Tynemouth with his favourite Piers Gaveston when pursued by the Earl of Lancaster, and the Earl of Lancasters' rivalry with the king was a major reason for his construction of Dunstanburgh castle. Edward's neglect of the borders contributed to the rebellion of Gilbert de Middleton circa 1315-1317, and further unrest accompanied the revolt of Lancaster in 1322.[74] While chapter two will touch on with the impact of civil conflict on building, it is very difficult to disentangle the two under Edward II, especially as the Scots often used this chaos to their own advantage, and years of increased raiding overlap years of civil conflict.

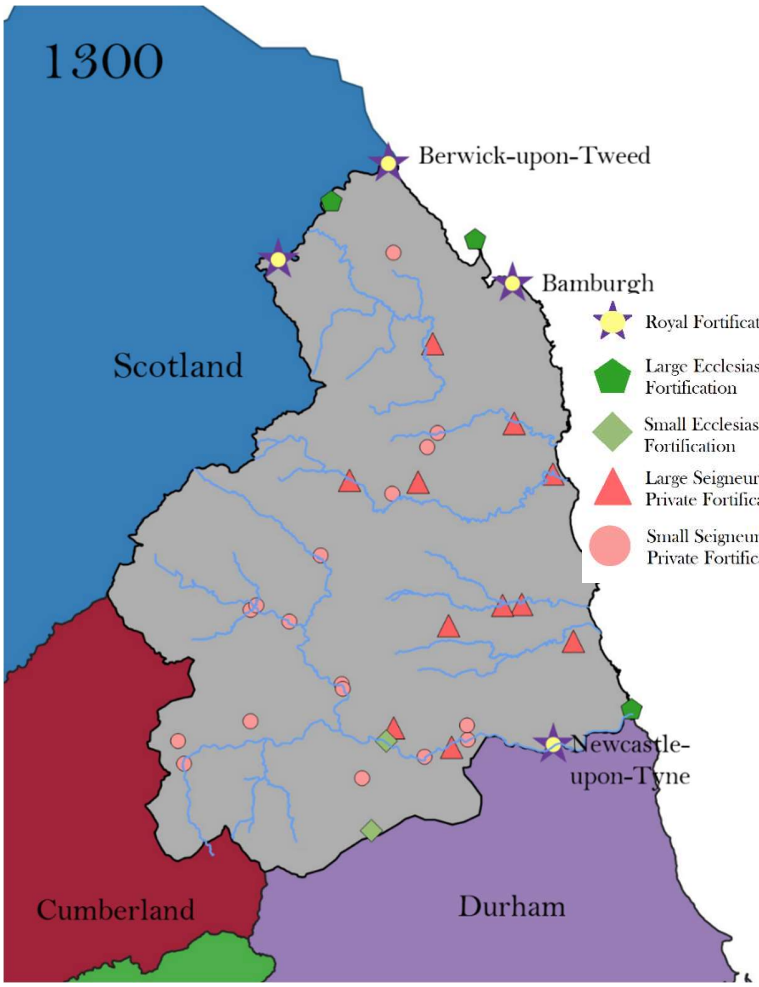


Figure 10 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1300

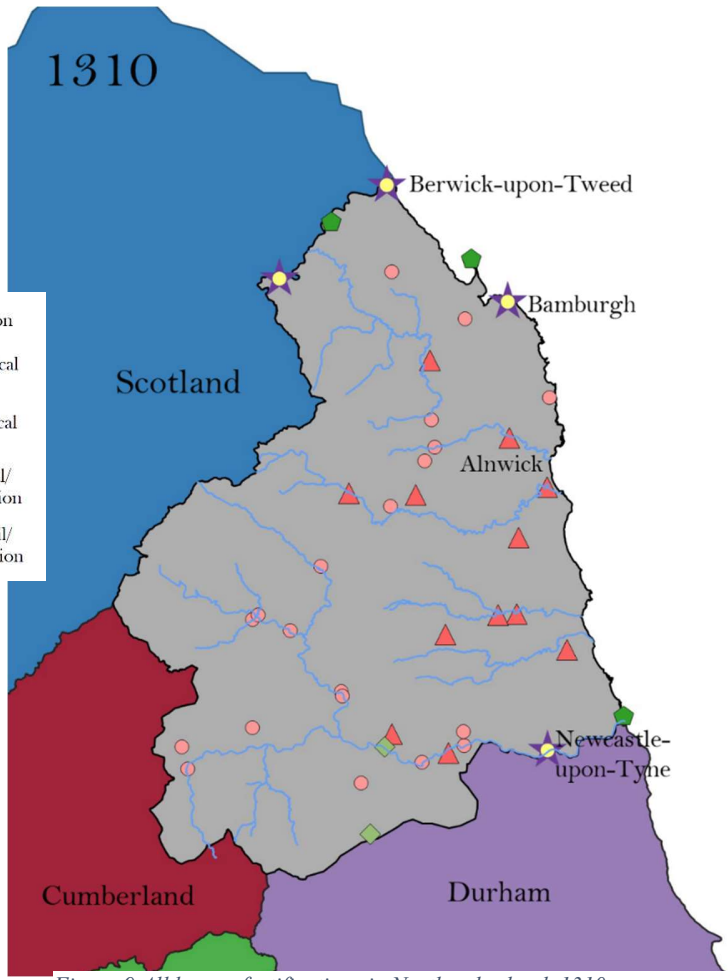


Figure 9 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1310

74 For more information on Gilbert de Middleton, see paper 'Gilbert de Middleton and the attack on the cardinals 1317' in *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Karl Leyser,* Ed. Timothy Reuter, Bloomsbury Publishing, 1992; and for more on civil and domestic conflict in the north under Edward II see Seymour Phillips, *Edward II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); and J.R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-1322: A Study in the reign of Edward II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).

Incursions

1311-1322

In 1311 the *Liber Pluscardensis* records the payment of £2000 from the Northumbrians to Robert the Bruce for peace from near the end of 1311 until 2nd of February 1312, the first of many disadvantageous truces of its kind under Edward II.[75] According to the *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, in 1312 Bruce forced possibly another truce out of the Northumbrians, saving them from incursions in that year, however it was also in 1311-12 that Edward II used the fortifications of Newcastle and Tynemouth to shelter himself and his favourite, Piers Gaveston, from pursuing forces of the Earl of Lancaster, bringing conflict from the south into the border counties.[76] In 1313 the *Vita* again recounts a Scottish attack on Northumberland, along with resistance in Scotland, and *Lanercost* tells of Scottish attacks on Carlisle and Berwick, and the forcing of yet another paid truce on the Northumbrians until September of 1314.[77] In the period 1311-1314, tensions continued to build with multiple incursions every year and failed English campaigns into Scotland.[78] 1314

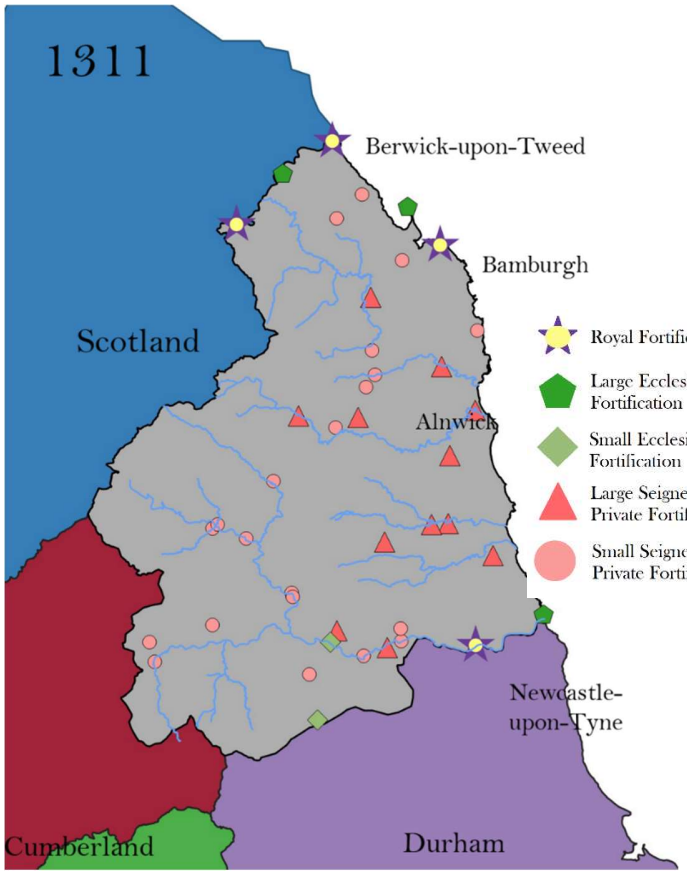


Figure 11All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1311

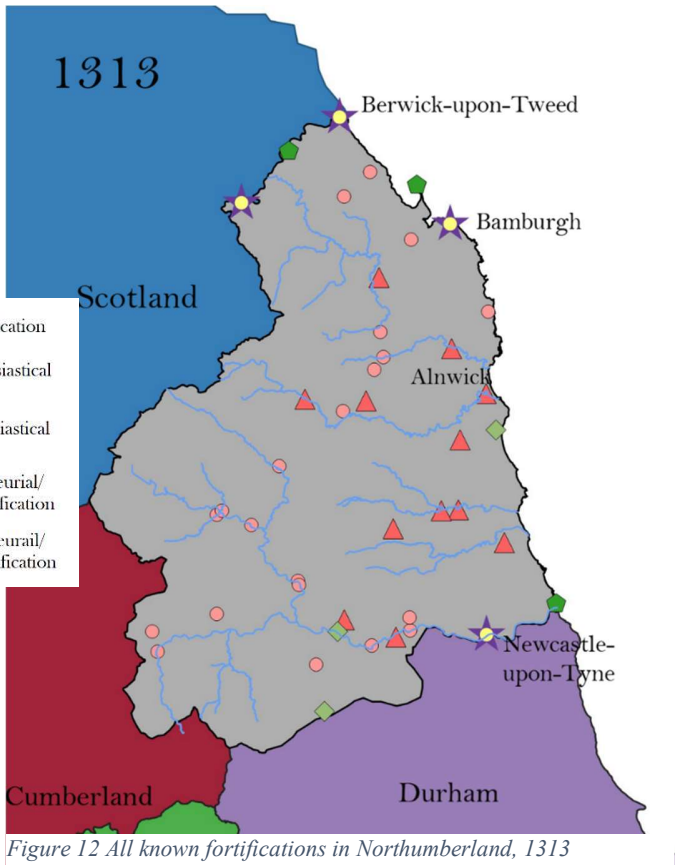


Figure 12 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1313

75 *Liber Pluscardensis,* 195. Two chronicles detail multiple Scottish incursions into Northumberland, *Liber Pluscardensis,* 182, and *Lanercost,* 195.
76 *Vita Edw,* 55; 1312: *Lanercost,* 218; 1311; 1311 *Polychronicon,* 303; 1312: *Vita Edwardi,* 56.
77 *Vita Edwardi,* 83-5; Lanercost 219
78 Five different chronicles relate the failed expeditions of Edward II into Scotland, of the loss of men and castles, and of the lost battle at Stirling (Bannockburn), *Liber Pluscardensis*, 184; *Polychronicon,* 317; Scalachronica 1313 (51-56); Vita, 1314 (99) & 1314 (553);

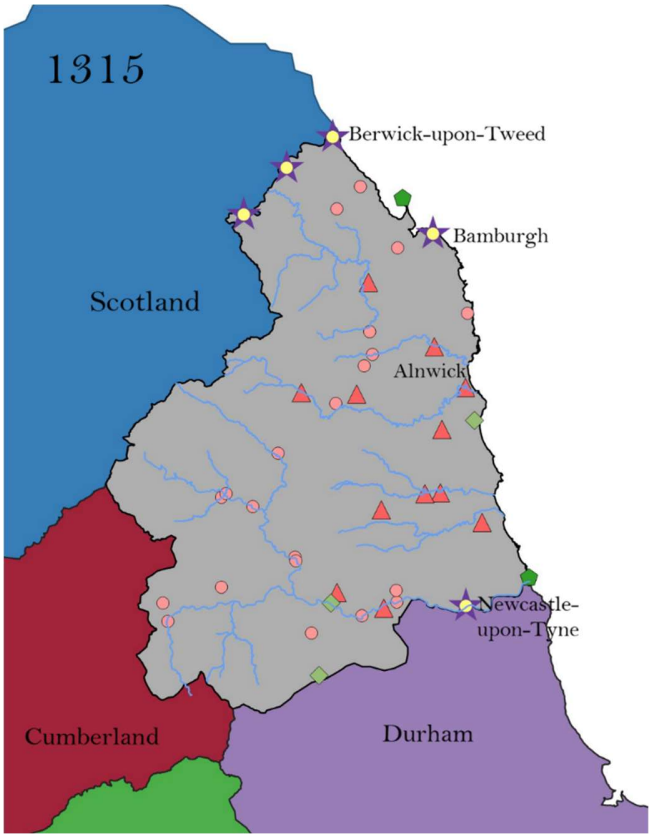


Figure 13 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1315

also saw invasion of Northumberland in August and again in September, and a Scottish raid through Cumberland, past Carlisle and then eastward to York.[79]

The period from 1315 to 1318 only saw tensions rise in the north. No chronicle recounts English forces moving any further north than Berwick in these four years, and each year is heavy with accounts of Scottish incursions into England, while campaigns culminating in the capture of Berwick were undertaken by the Scots in 1318. 1319 saw a failed English siege of Berwick, a Scottish attack on Norham, and then a start of a truce of two years.[80] *Vita* writes of an English incursion into Scotland in 1321, which failed to catch the Scottish forces, and then a Scottish invasion to Durham in 1322.[81] The culmination of Anglo-Scottish tensions under Edward II came in 1322, when an English invasion into Scotland failed to engage the enemy and obtained no gains.[82] Bruce harried the retreating English army, winning a sizeable engagement near Byland and nearly capturing Edward himself, while his forces raided as far as York and Richmond.[83] In total, this period of conflict in Edward's reign amounted to two failed invasions of Scotland, the loss of Berwick, a humiliating loss at Bannockburn, and more than annual Scottish raiding of the Northumberland before the truce was concluded in 1323. The impact of such extended periods of conflict during Edward II's reign is further indicated by the overwhelming amount of documentary evidence detailing both the dire financial situation existing in Northumberland at this point, and the widespread garrisoning in both royal and non-royal fortifications. For all of the reigns in fourteenth century, the period from 1311 to 1322 holds the widest collection of surviving garrisoning and defence records, detailing the state processes of defending and/or victualing for Alnwick, Prudhoe, Mitford, Norham, Berwick, Dunstanburgh, Warkworth and Bamburgh.[84] The information for Berwick here is especially telling,

79 *Lanercost,* 222.
80 *Scalachronica*, 66; *Vita Edwardi,* 152.
81 *Vita Edwardi,* 165-175; *Liber Pluscardensis,* 189, *Scotichronicon*, 11.
82 *Liber Pluscardensis,*190; *Scotichronicon,* 11; *Lanercost,* 246-47. For more information on the 1322 campaign, see M. Prestwich 'Military Logistics: the Case of 1322,' in *Armies, chivalry and warefare in medieval Britain and France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 276-288; and S. Phillips *Edward II.*
83 *Scalachronica*, 69; *Scotichronicon,* 11; *Liber Pluscardensis,* 189-90; *Scalachronica*, 69; *Scotichronicon,* 11; *Lanercost,* 246-247.
84 Tynemouth, According to the Tynemouth guidebook, in 1318 a garrison of 80 men sat at Tynemouth (Tynemouth GB p.29), though this cannot be substantiasted Alnwick: SC 1/35/142A details the results of a meeting held in 1314 discussing the defensive state of Alnwick, E 42/253 details John de Felton's accounts as keeper of the castle in 1316, and E 101/68/2/42E is an indenture for the guarding of Alnwick castle by Sir Anthony Piscagne and Sir John de Felton in 1316 and 1317; Sc

as just before it is captured by the Scots in 1318, a plea was sent to Edward II regarding the neglected state of this key fortress and requesting aid, suggesting why Bruce chose this moment to strike.[85]

Widespread pleas came in 1321, when the entirety of the north, including Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland, requested that their pardon of debts was extended a further three years.[86] Another general plea came in 1322 when the people of Northumberland begged the king for the relief from the ill-treatment of the sheriff who was at the time running the county as it would have been in times of peace.[87] In the same year the people of Cleveland wrote to the King to state that they had at no point agreed to take part in nor pay for 'this truce', a seeming local truce which had been paid to repulse the Scots, and would like to be exempt from the payment thereof.[88] In 1320 the prioress at Holystone made a plea to the

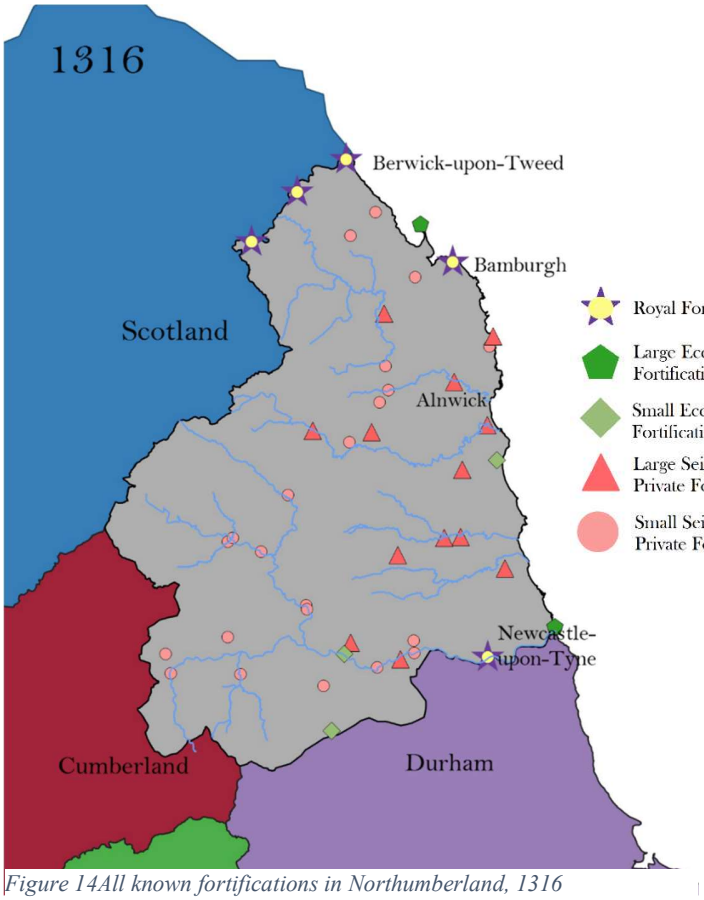


Figure 14All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1316

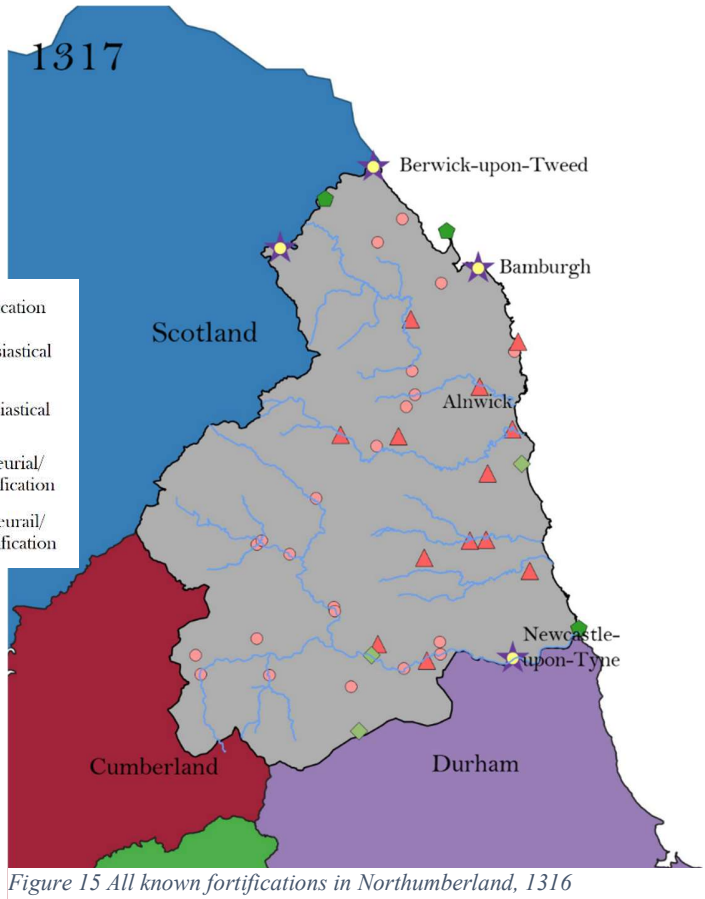


Figure 15 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1316

8/317/E282, 1318 mentions of traitors to the crown by the garrisons of Alnwick, Bamburgh and Warkworth SC 8/319/E389; munitioning of Prudhoe 1314-1322; E 101/68/2/36, an indenture for the guard of Mitford Castle by John de Eure in 1316 and 1317; DL 25/3392, an indenture for the guard of Dunstanburgh Castle between the Earl of Lancaster and Sir Robert Bincestre for 1319. Berwick: SC 8/62/3089 details a request to speak with the king regarding the neglect of Berwick and wages of garrisoning; and SC 8/4/199 details a request for the payment of backed wages for services in the Berwick garrison for John Cosyn, dated 1321-1322. Finally, C 47/22/10/39 is an agreement of Sir Thomas Grey, keeper of Norham Castle, to find and employ twenty men at arms for the defence of the castle; Bamburgh, 1312, constable's reinforcement of the garrison, SC 1/61/44.

85 SC 8/62/3089
86 SC 8/82/4086
87 SC 8/65/3204
88 SC 8/99/4919

crown, stating that if the nuns did not receive financial help they would have to disperse.[89] Equally revealing are smaller, personal petitions, such as those made between 1318 and 1320 by Robert Deleval, Robert de Eslington, William de Beanley, and Nicholas de Swynburne, who all petitioned the crown for aid due to losses incurred at the hands of the Scots.[90] Another plea came from the people of Newcastle in 1318 and stated that the artisans had spent all that they had on building town defences, and asking for repayment.[91] Tenants from Beadnell, and a tenant Samson de Mulssen applied for their debts to Bamburgh castle be waived due to the complete ruining of their lands by the Scots.[92] Tenants at Shoreston and North Sunderland also applied for fees to be waived regarding their rents and entrance to the castle as they were dependent on the castle in times of crisis.[93] The burgesses of Bamburgh submitted a similar request in the same year, asking to be waived of debts to the crown and that the collection of an entrance fee into the castle cease.[94]

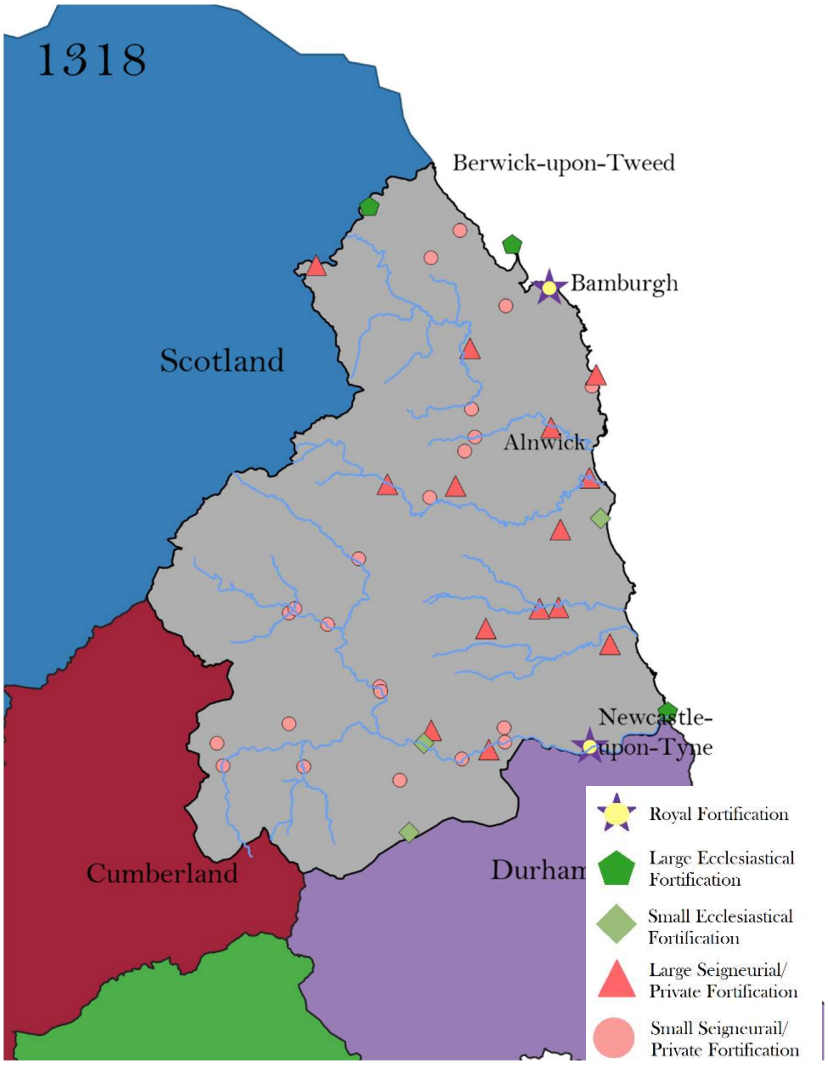


Figure 16 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1318

In the eleven years of conflict between 1311 and 1322 only three known sites are recorded as having building works. Berwick saw extensive works by the Scots after its capture, including finishing the gatehouse begun under Edward I and heightening the walls strengthened under Edward II, likely to keep it from falling back into English hands.[95] Before its loss, smaller works had continued inside the castle, with the garrison

89 SC 8/83/4107
90 Robert Deleval, 1318, Sc 8/80/3994; Robert de Eslington, 1318, SC 8/319/E365; William de Beanley, 1319, SC 8/319/E370; Nicholas de Swynburne, 1320, SC 8/87/4337.
91 SC 8/171/8520.
92 Beadnell SC 8/112/5581, Mulssen SC 8/62/3053 (1318)
93 Shoreston and N Sunderland SC 8/74/3681
94 SC 8/34/1652
95 HKW, ii, 564-566.

requesting aid to construct their own lodgings in 1316, and sometime previous to 1319 works on the town were conducted as James de Broughton requested repayment of the money he lent for these works.[96] Extensive works were carried out at Dunstanburgh between 1313 until 1325, including the initial construction of the outer walls, the gatehouse and the barbican.[97] Both of these sites directly represent Edward II's failure as a monarch as much as they do the conflict with the Scots. All evidenced works at Berwick carried out in the latter half of his reign were conducted by the Scots due to his failure and neglect of the site, and the very existence of Dunstanburgh stands as a testament to Edward II's unpopularity and political divisions within England itself.

Improvements at Aydon are the only evidenced works at this time that can be seen solely as attributed to Scottish raiding, and seemingly followed Aydon's capture and damage by the Scots in 1315.[98]

1323-1326

This level of tension and the clear, if temporary, Scottish military superiority over the English made way for a truce which would hold for the duration of the reign of Edward II. Both *Scalacronica* and *Lanercost* recorded a truce of thirteen years agreed in 1323.[99] The *Vita* regarded the peace negotiations as working towards a permanent peace, but goes on to discuss the disadvantage of the truce to the English.[100]

From 1323 to 1326, only one record for garrisoning survives regarding Norham Castle from 1322 to 1323, very similar to that of the previous year.[101] From that point, a relative peace seems to have prevailed. Five pleas for financial aid were made to the crown in these years, the last of which specifically refers to the conditions of the truce and the inability of the people of the county to pay rents.[102] Furthermore, in 1324 John de Fenwick wrote to the chancellor asking to be released from the duty of selecting hobelars in Northumberland.[103] As we do not see pleas of this kind in times of conflict, this could indicate that this action would not have been seen as necessary at his point.

The peace, which in the end lasted only three years before the overthrow of Edward II in 1326, saw a remarkable amount of building relative to that in the previous period of conflict, with two known new builds

96 SC 8/318/E320; SC 8/36/1780B
97 J. Ashbee, 'Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and theGreat Gatehouse of Dunstanburgh Castle' in *The English Historical Review* 2006, p.29-35; Duchy of Lancaster papers show the start of construction of the castle with the digging of ditch on the castle's west side in 1313, (NA DL 29/1/3), based onn accounts (according to Ashbee) the form of the castle was finished within roughly 8 years.
98 *Coram Rege Roll*, 245, memorandum 89; 222 memorandum 133 – as noted in Craster, *NCH X,* 44.
99 *Scalachronica*, 69, *Lanercost,* 252.
100 *Vita Edwardi,* 223-227.
101 C 148/128
102 John de Lilburn asks for relief, 1322, SC 8/58/288; Thomas de Bekering asks for land, 1323, SC 8/97/4802B;The prior of Hexham asks for land for their maintenance, 1323, SC 8/311/15562; the people of Bamburgh ask for a pardon 1324, SC 8/95/4752; The people of Northumberland ask for waiving of rents and other debts as many areas are deserted, 1324, SC 8/165/8209
103 SC 1/41/76

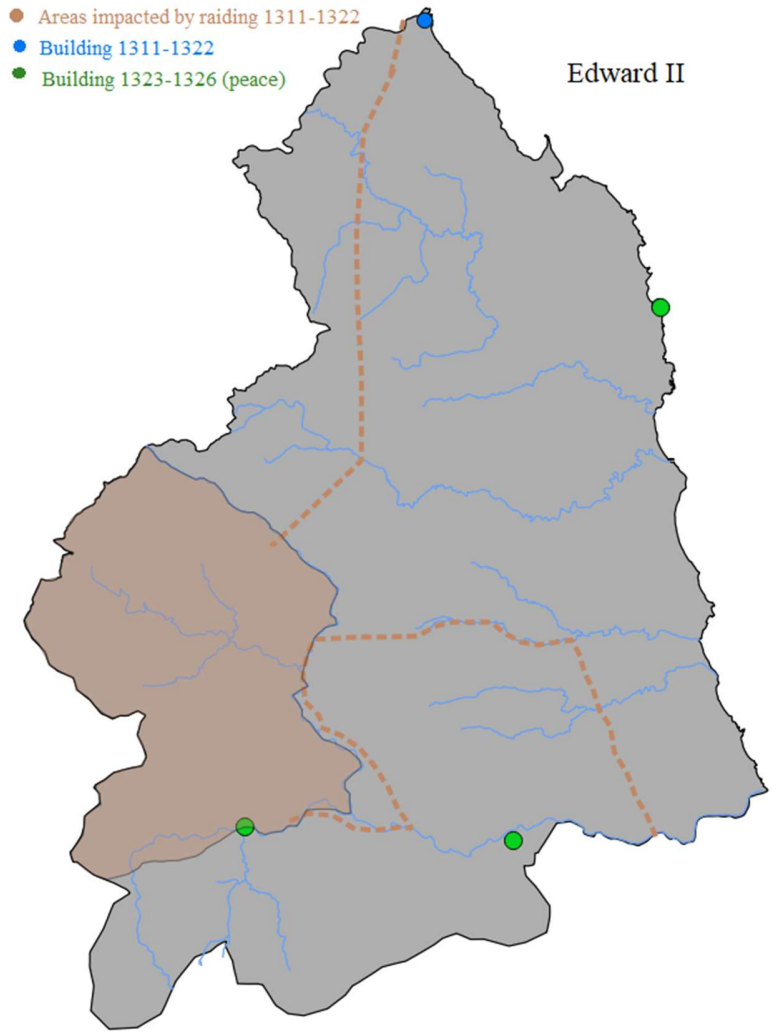


Figure 17 Shows the routes and areas impacted by invasions under Edward II in brown, and building completed in subsequent years in blue and green.

occurring, where the previous decade only saw one, and continued works at Dunstanburgh under Edward II, likely on the outer walls, gatehouse and the start of a new tower.[104] The new builds included a pele at Staward under Edward II's supervision (as evidenced by a request to the king for more money for continued construction in 1326), and a small pele standing just outside Prudhoe castle constructed by the powerful Umfreville family.[105] A series of images throughout Chapter one show the evolution of building throughout the fourteenth century in snapshots reflecting each known change in each discussed period. The extent of known fortified building from the 1415 survey and from the earliest snapshot, from 1311, provides a striking contrast. This massive increase in fortification is made up of mainly small towers, and as will be shown in chapter four, was owned by mainly gentry and lesser nobility, and mostly to people who owned only one fortification, implying that these towers were the owners main residence and fortification, and, given patterns in where they were built and when, were built as defence against Scottish raiding parties. While the 1311 snapshot shows a county beginning to develop fortification against its northern neighbours, the map of 1415 shows a clearer picture of a county which has seen near constant threat along their borders.

104 NA SC 8/58/2888 details a request made by John de Lileburne, likely while constable of Dunstanburgh c.1323 (*CPR 1321-1324,* 233; *CFR 1319-1327,* 219), for repairs made to Dunstanburgh Castle. The castle was occupied by crown constables from 1322 to at least 1325 (above citations for Lileburne as well as *CPR 1321-1324,* 205, 233 & *CCR 1323-1327,* 12, 269), meaning some maintenance work at the very least would have been likely, and studies by English heritage show that the other walls and Lileburne tower (named after Lileburne, who was constable at the time) date from this period. Dunstanburgh: Alastair Oswald and Jeremy Ashbee, Dunstanburgh Castle (London: English Heritage, 2007), 41.

105 SC 8/218/10882, requesting more money as the original £100 was not enough for the construction of Staward Peel; Long, *Castles of Northumberland* 148; *NCH XII,* 113; *Rotulorum Originalium Abbreviatio, vol. 1,* p.299.

The location of building works in relation to Scottish raids is somewhat harder to analyse. While the chronicles are often quite explicit in the giving of dates for raids, locations are usually left out. During Edward II's reign a route from Berwick and then likely down the western side of the county, past Harbottle and into Redesdale and Tynedale seems to have been used more than once, with the raiding of Tynedale occuring three times between 1311 and 1322. Raiding also impacted Hexham and Corbridge, which were often targets throughout the century, as well as Newcastle and Mitford. The only known non-royal building which took place during the conflict period was at Dunstanburgh, in opposition to the king (at least until the fall of its original builder in 1322), and away the most commonly taken Scottish route down the west side of the county. The limited building work which took place in the short peace concluding Edward II's reign falls almost directly in line with raiding, with the construction of Staward Peel and Prudhoe Peel, both in near direct line of conflict as shown in Figure 16.

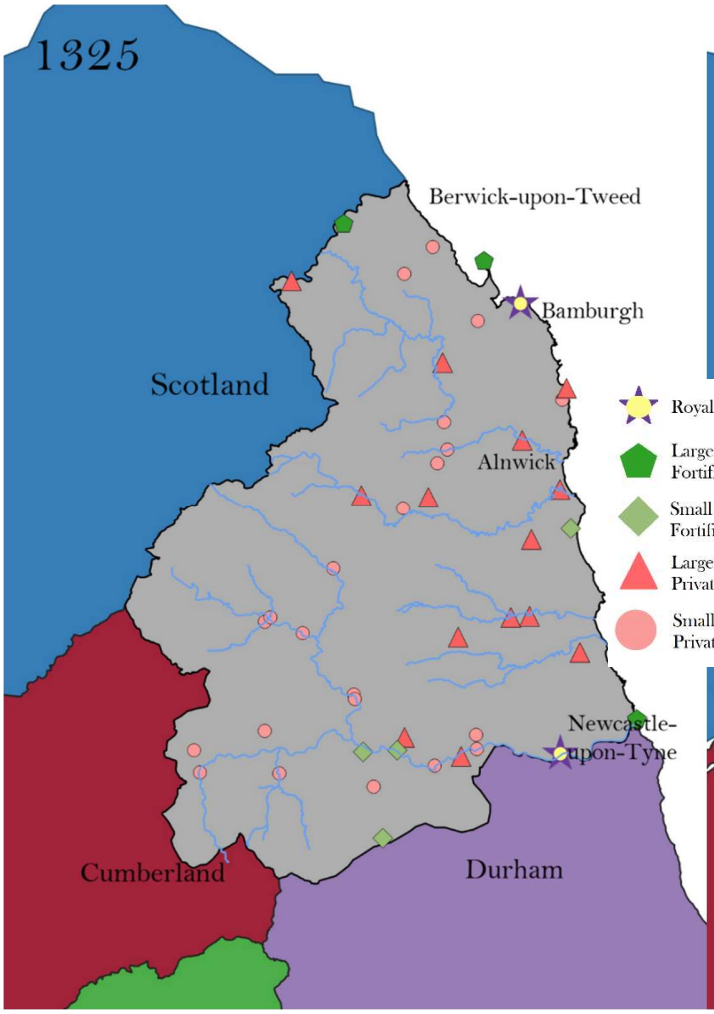


Figure 19 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1325

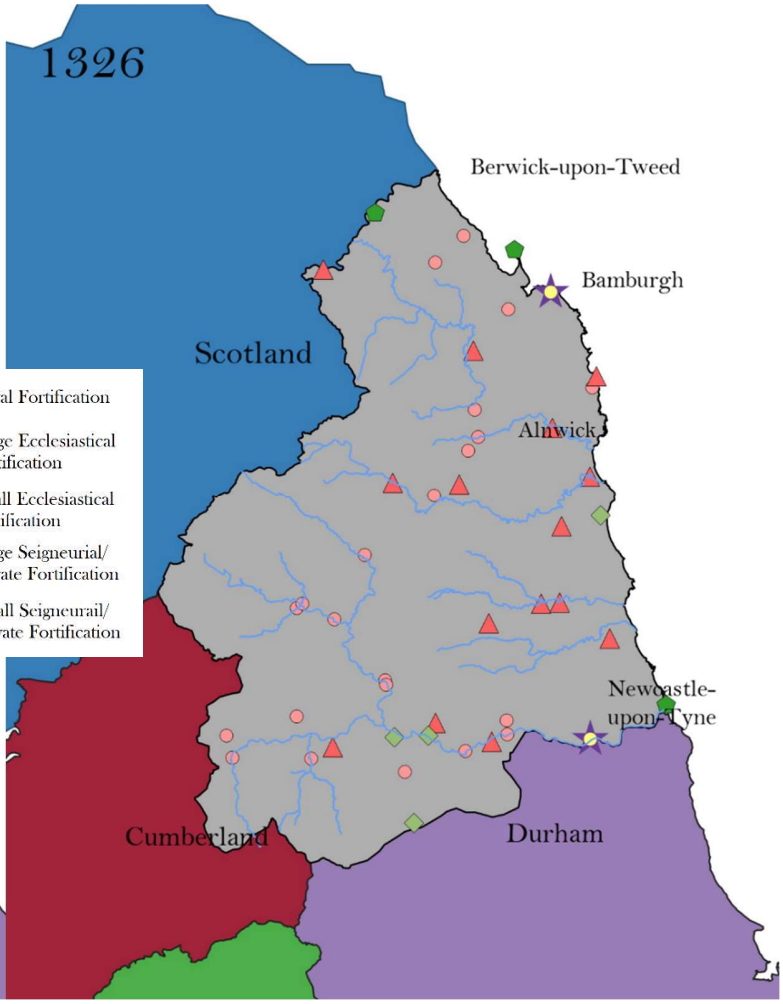


Figure 18 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1326

Edward III

Unlike his predecessor, Edward III was a generally popular monarch and a successful military leader. While the Scots broke the truce put in place by his father on the very night of his coronation, Edward's forces quickly got hold of the situation, and for much of his reign Edward brought the war to Scotland, and the north of England saw a relative calm.[106]

Incursions

1327

The Scots descended upon Norham castle on the night of Edward III's coronation.[107] Not long thereafter, they tested the waters by launching a large-scale incursion, taking the route down into county Durham. The English response, known as the 'Weardale campaign', saw the Scots chased from York to Durham, then a three-day stake out of the Scottish position along the river Weir, which ended in a Scottish attack on the English camp, and then their retreat, leaving young Edward III's forces empty-handed and frustrated.[108] In 1328 a peace treaty was agreed at the behest of Roger Mortimer, de facto ruler and lover of the King's mother, but it was widely regarded as shameful and once Edward had taken full control on the overthrow of Mortimer, it was unlikely that he would long abide by it. The short period of conflict at the start of Edward III's reign saw numerous pleas to the king, many of which are likely to have been residual from the attacks suffered during Edward II's reign. Between 1327 and 1328 eight surviving pleas came to the crown for aid, two from religious institutions and three regarding the people of Bamburgh.[109] In 1328 a claim came from Norhamshire that nothing could be collected from the mills on account of the war, and tithes in Islandshire were still extremely low – with many areas not paying at all - evidencing the continued recuperation of the bishopric of Durham's northern territories.[110] While there is some evidence regarding garrisoning and victualling of castles, principally from, there is no evidence for building works in these early

106 For more information on raiding under Edward III, see Ranald Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots: the formative years of a military career 1327-1335*, (London: Oxford university press, 1965). and Alastair MacDonald, 'The Kingdom of Scotland at War, 1332-1488,' in A Military history of Scotland, ed. Edward M. Spiers, Jeremy A. Crang and Matthew J. Strickland (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 158-181.
107 *Lanercost,* 258.
108 *Lanercost,* 259-260; *Scalachronica*, 81, Le Bel, 45, *Scotichronicon*, 35; Froissart 1,147-8 For detailed studies of the Weardale campaign, see: Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, p46-47; Ormrod *Edward III*, 64-66; and C. Rogers, War Cruel and Sharp, 10-26
109 1327, the prior of asks for aid to pay men for protection, SC 8/76/3800; 1327, abbot of Blanchland beg for aid so they do not have to disperse SC 8/34/1682; 1327 to 1332, Bamburgh Castle cannot levy full taxes due to the war, SC 8/53/2602; 1327 to 1334, Bishop of Durham seeks the same pardon of debts given to the men of Northumberland SC 8/105/5230; c 1327 to 1334, Roger de Horsley payment of wages for the time he was keeper of Bamburgh, SC 8/201/10039; 1328, Michael de Presfen requests an extension for debts until he is able to sue for a remedy in Scotland, SC 8/68/336; 1328, The people of Bamburgh request to be debts to the castle SC 8/11/506; 1328, The people of Bamburgh ask to be pardoned taxes for Easter term, SC 8/32/1565.
110 Norhamshire: Raine, *History & Antiquities,* 270, Norham 1328; Islandshire – tithes from Fenwick, Buckton, Beal, Goswick, Haggerston, Scremerston, Cheswick, Lowlinn and Howburn totaled .69l 4s 0d, no land rents coming from Tweedmouth, Holburn, Lowick, Barmoor, Bowsden, Ancroft, Cheswick, Scremerston of Kyloe Raine, *History & Antiquities,* 84.

years. [111] It seems likely, instead, that Edward and the nobles waited for tensions to settle from the civil war and from Scottish attacks before building.

1328 to 1346

From 1328 to 1336 the northern counties again saw relative peace. In this time Balliol sailed into Scotland with the Disinherited, and according to *Scalacronica*, Edward III lent his support to the cause in return for the promise of large parts of southern Scotland.[112] By 1333 the English cause was strong enough to win back Berwick. The Scots attempt to force Edward to raise the siege had resulted in their first large-scale raid into England since the Weardale campaign, with the Scots pushing into Northumberland to Bamburgh, in an attempt to draw the English away from Berwick. When the distraction tactic failed, the Scots met the English forces in battle at Halidon Hill, just outside of Berwick, and their crushing defeat led to the surrender of Berwick back to the English. From 1333 until 1336 no chronicles record Scottish incursions into Northumberland, but rather a short series of truces and English campaigns, and what seems to have been Edward III's preparation To move north into Scotland. [113] In mentions of this period, only three records survive detailing the garrisoning of Northumbrian fortification, fittingly two of them refer specifically to Berwick and the third to

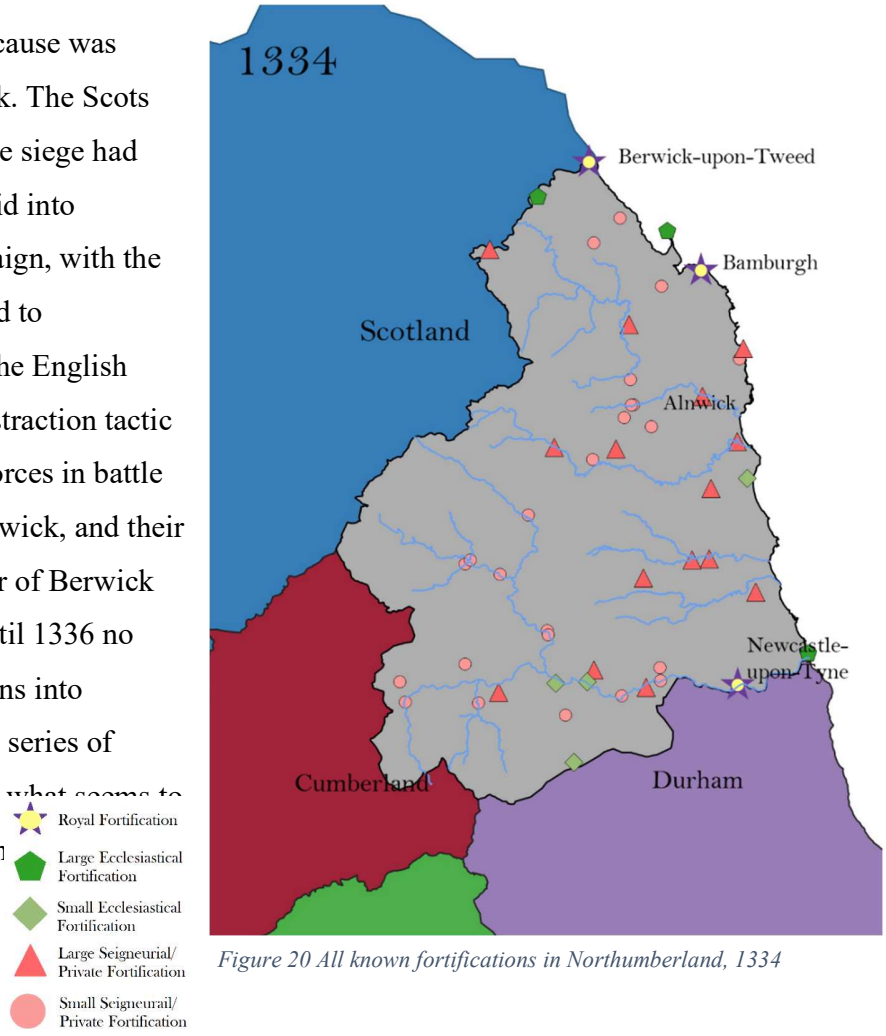


Figure 20 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1334

111 1327, Indenture for the guarding of Bamburgh, SC 8/53/2605B; The prior of St Oswald requests an extension on debts, SC 8/170/8451; Richard de Moseleye asks that money he sent for victuals of Bamburgh be counted against his debts to the crown, SC 8/280/13972; 1327, The prior of Nostell asks that money he sent for victuals of Bamburgh be counted against his debts to the crown, SC 8/63/3139; c 1327, ken le Eshott requests what is owed him for the victualling of Bamburgh under Edward II SC 8/15/740

112 *Scalachronica*, 94.

113 For this period, see Ormrod *Edward III* p.147-174; and Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 105-236

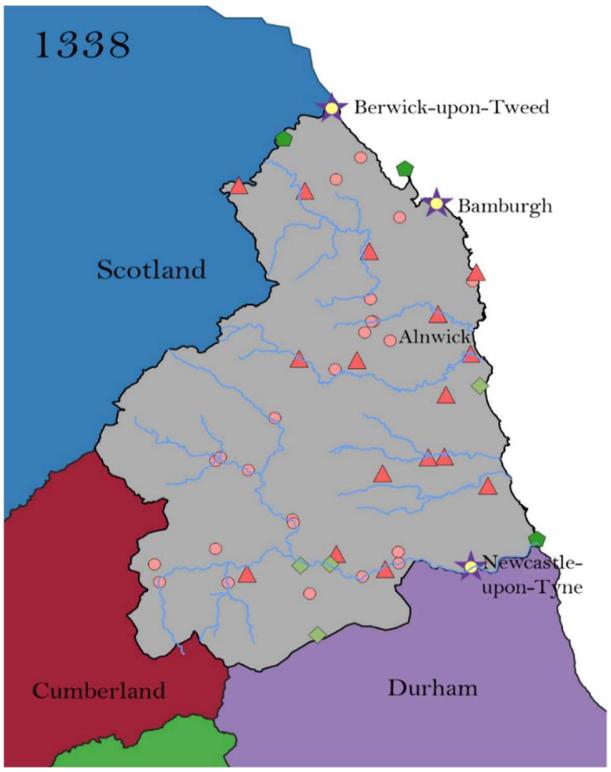


Figure 23 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1338

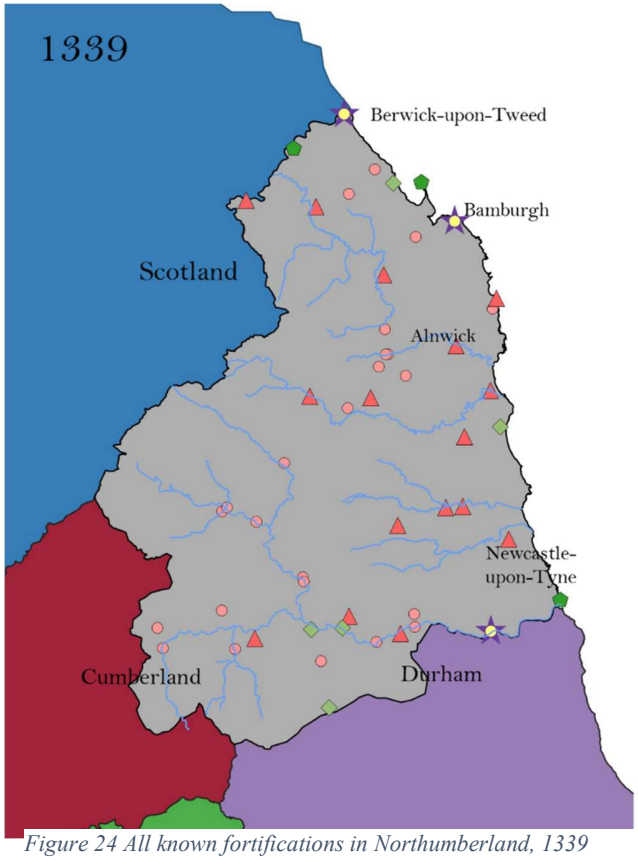


Figure 24 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1339

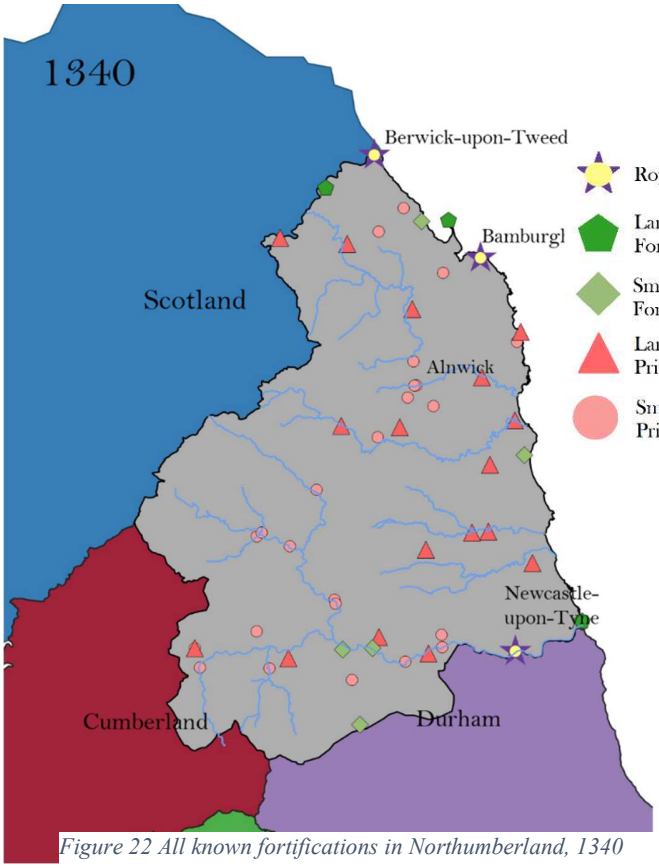


Figure 22 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1340

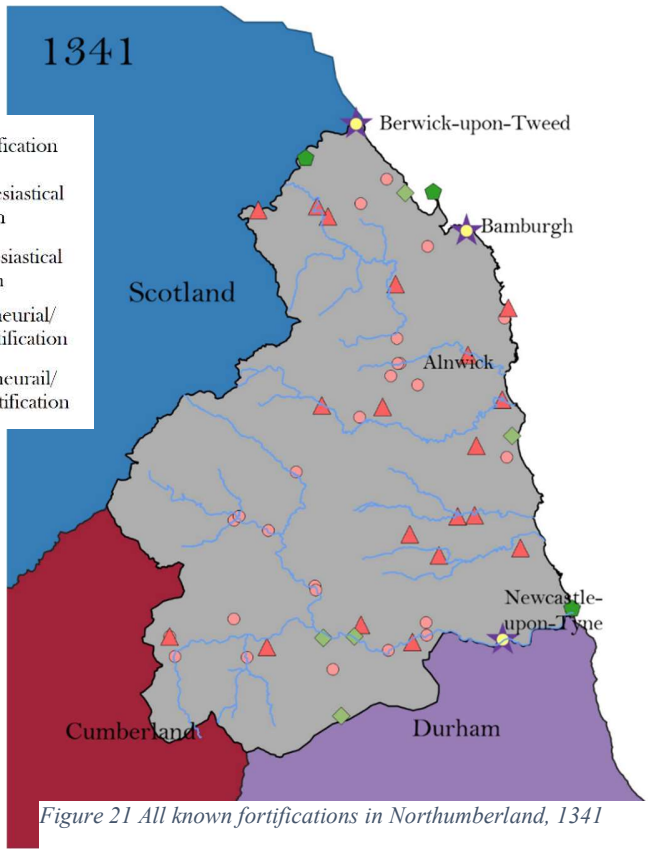


Figure 21 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1341

Harbottle. Unsurprisingly, the county seems to have been still recuperating from the decades of turbulence which preceded this relative peace, as between 1329 and 1336, sixteen known pleas for aid were made, seven from religious institutions, four from the wider community of Northumberland (none of which came between 1330-1332), two from the people of Bamburgh, which had been hit hardest by the raid of 1333, one from the burgesses of Corbridge, one from Robert de Tughale, and the last from William de Tynedale, once sheriff of Northumberland.[114] One of these pleas from Bamburgh seems to accurately sum up the situation by calling for aid in 1333 and stating that they had been ruined by the wars for twenty years and were 'now completely ruined again'.[115] They asked again for aid the following year in the name of arrears for destruction during the time when the queen was in residence at Bamburgh, very likely at the time of the incursion in 1333.[116]

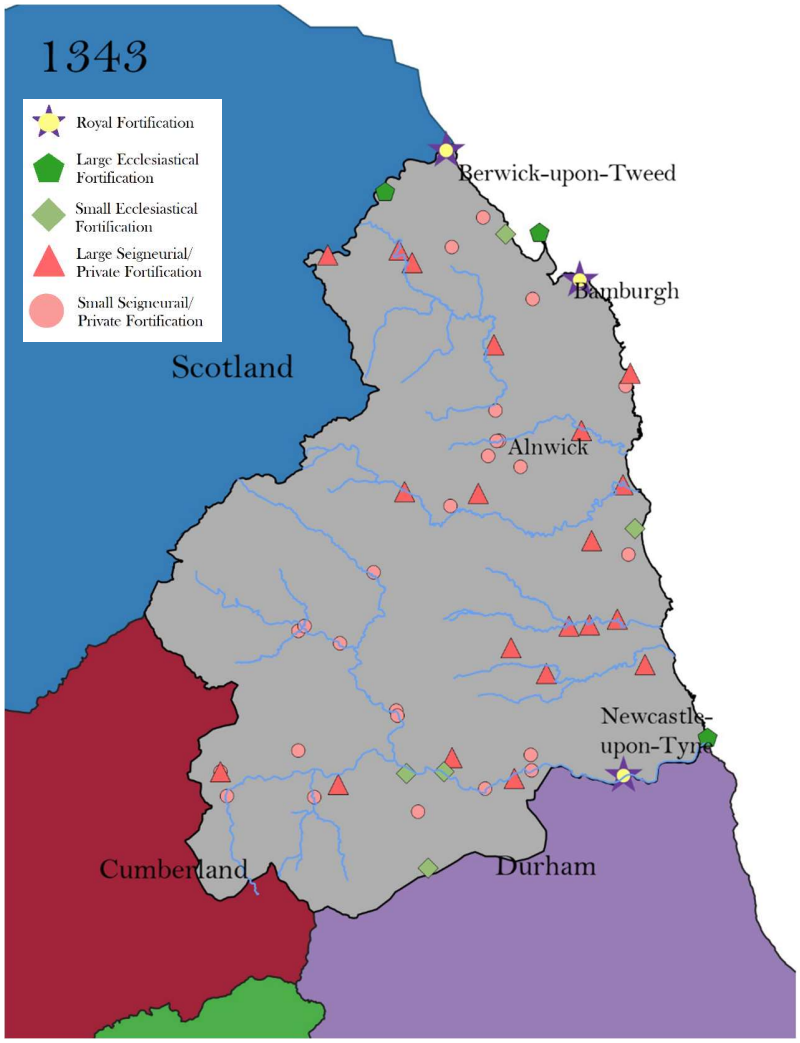


Figure 25 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1343

Accounts from the bishopric of Durham are mixed in this period, especially from Norham, which sat directly on the border, but they do indicate a general upturn in violence, claiming destruction and no yields at

114 1330, clergy of the bishopric of Durham (including Norhamshire and Islandshire?) are unable to pay the tenth, Sc 8/173/8625; 1331, Prior of Durham unable to collect tithes from parish of Edlingham due to the war, SC 8/43/2150A; 1331, Blanchland requests a pardon of debt for victuals bought under Edward II, Sc 8/34/1683; 1331, Hexham requests a pardon of debt for victuals bought under Edward II, SC 8/115/5749; 1333-1334, House of God Berwick requests aid for repairing houses, SC 8/33/1608; 1334, Hexham asks for the King's church at Alston, SC 8/307/15310; 1334 Hexham again requests the King's church at Alston, SC 8/11/540; 1329, requesting debts be respited pending an inquiry SC 8/129/6436; 1333-4, ask to be pardoned the current tenth and fifteenth SC 8/65/3218; 1334, Ask to be pardoned of the tenth and the fifteenth until Michaelmas, SC 8/130/6490; 1335-1336, Petitions for allowance Northumberland, E 199/33/9; 1333, asked to be pardoned a debt until the following year, SC 8/32/1563; 1334, asked to be paid arrears for damage done while the Queen was in residence SC 8/32/1566; 1332, SC 8/319/E408; 1335, SC 8/12/591; 1333, William de Tynedale requests recompense for losses suffered while in the kings service, SC 8/174/8687

115 SC 8/32/1563, discovery synopsis

116 SC 8/32/1566

the time of the raid in 1333 aside from some receipts for produce, livestock and cheese in 1338, 1341 and 1345.[117] Islandshire showed similar resilience, with small collections reported in 1330 and 1341.[118]

In this short period of relative peace there was a marked increase in recorded building. Sometime shortly after Edward III's accession, £25 15s 3d was spent on minor repairs to Bamburgh castle, which had apparently been in a state of decay under Edward II. A further £80 was spent between 1330 and 1335, making it apparently strong enough to withstand the siege it saw in the 1333 incursion.[119] Edward also spent money on both of his other royal strongholds, laying out £20-£30 yearly for works on Berwick from the time of its recapture, and delegating £60 for repairs at Newcastle in 1334, '£30 from the farm of the town and £30 from the issues of the county', possibly thanks to the complaints put forward by Roger Maudit regarding the poor state of the defences of the castle in the previous year.[120] Non-royal building also continued at pace, for it was at this time that crenellation licenses began to increase. That for Eslington was taken out on 20th February, 1335 the first of several to come over the next decade.[121] Extensive works were also carried out on the Umfraville stronghold of Prudhoe at this time, including improvements to the outer walls, the barbican the gatehouse and the towers between 1330 and 1340.[122] At

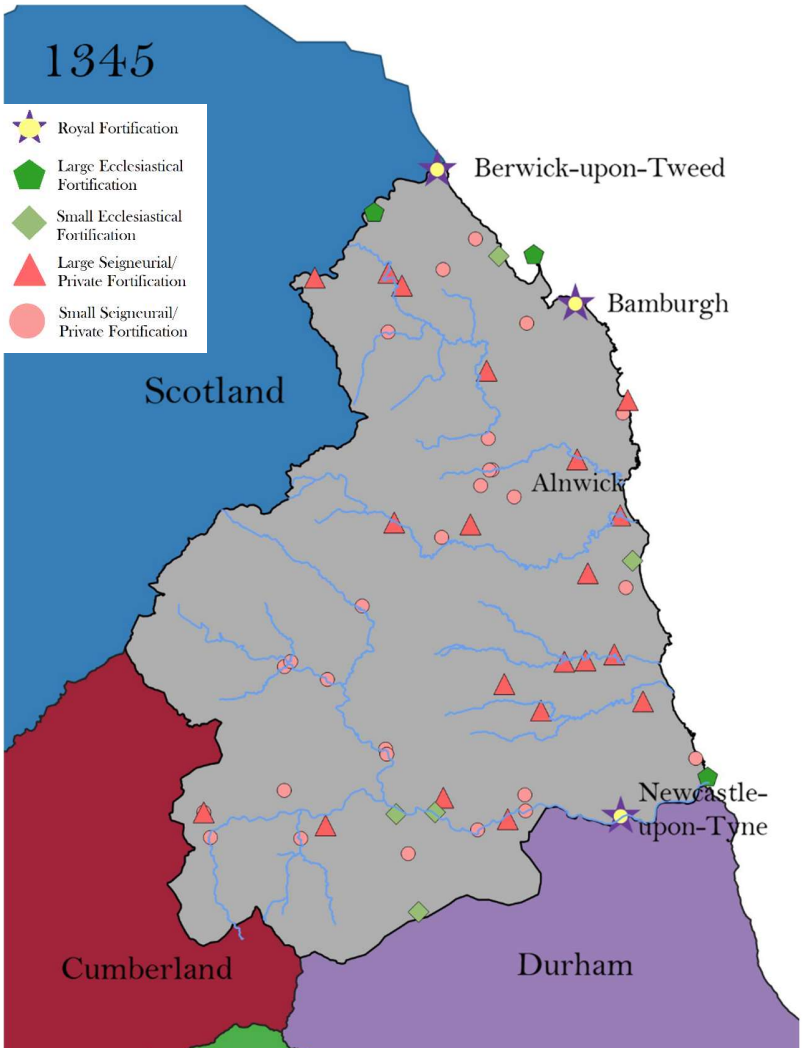


Figure 26 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1345

117 1333-4. Nothing received for the tithe corn – Tweedmouth and Allerden destroyed, Raine, *History & Antiquities,* 273; 1338-9, received 260 tithe lambs, 3 sacks of wool worth 9l 6s 9d, cheese 6d per stone, 4d worth of pigs,3d worth of geese, fifty tithe hens, tithe ducks; Raine, *History & Antiquities,* 273; 1341: Tithe hay (worth at sale): 4s Horncliffe, 3s heton, 12d from Tilmouth, 12d from Duddo, other places 'waste on account of the war' Raine, *History & Antiquities,* 276; 1345: Rec'd 72s 8d for 8 chaldrons of corn, mills at Barmoor and Bollesdon destroyed, p.276

118 1330: 66s 8d for the tithe of wool and lamb (though the full tithe could not be ascertained due to the death of sheep 'everywhere'); 13l collected for the tithe of ale and salmon whitefish from Tweedmouth, Raine, *History & Antiquities,* 84;

119 *HKW II*, 567, *Pipe Rolls 7 Edward III*, rot. 39d, 8 Edward III rot. 45d, 9 Edward III rot. 45d

120 *HKW II*, 567; (CPR 1334-8 p. 223, 332, *CCR 1333-7* p.540-1, C 49/7/1) (HKW II 747); 1334 to 1335, Account of works at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, E 101/476/19; Inquisition as to the state of the castle of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, E 101/476/20; SC 8/130/6471

121 Eslington CL 20/2/1335, Long, *Castles of Northumberland,* 20

122 *NHC XII, 111-135*, 1335 to 1336, request to keep prisoners at Prudhoe Castle while Harbottle is being repaired SC 8/80/3987, *NCH XII,* 123, 125,

Hexham, one of the locations most commonly targeted by Scottish incursions, fortification was strengthened. Hexham Gaol was built around 1330, followed by the Moot Hall in Hexham in the mid 14th century.[123]

From 1336 to 1346 a tense stability existed, in alternating short truces and Scottish raids to the Tyne, with only one chronicle detailing large scale raids in each year, and no documentary evidence to back it up.[124] In this period, rate of known building continued to increase. New buildings must have been constructed within the castle at Newcastle, for John de Thinden left instruction for their keeping in 1339.[125] Again in 1336 to 1338 John de Thingden was at work in Newcastle conducting repairs and £307 was spent on the great hall, the chapel and the chambers.[126] In 1340 and 1341 accounts are given for the repair of two towers and other buildings within Berwick castle by Robert de Tughale, and in 1344 only £30 of the requested £310 needed for the repair of the castle was given, on top of £38 13s. 9 ½ d. for the town.[127] The trend of crenellation licences continues here, with Ford in 1338, Blenkinsopp in 1340, Barmoor, Etal, Ogle and Widdrington in 1341, Bothal and Crawley in 1343, Chillingham in 1344, Haggerston and Whitley in 1345, and Swinburne in March of 1346.[128]

1346-1376

In October of 1346 the peace was interrupted by a major Scottish invasion, culminating in David II's defeat and capture at the Battle of Nevilles Cross.[129] Nearly all the chronicles agree that the Scottish forces took a path south past Liddel Peel – in the Middle March -and then across the Tyne, where the Scots met the English forces at Nevilles Cross just outside of Durham.[130] Following the Scottish loss, John de Coupland took the captured King David II to his castle at Ogle, culminating in his imprisonment in England for several years, and a peace agreement and ransom which would leave the Scots in crippling debt for years to come.[131]

No building works are recorded in the last few months of 1346, nor is there any surviving evidence of garrisoning records nor pleas for aid, reinforcing the idea that the period leading up to the invasion had been one of relative quiet in Northumberland.

---

123 Hugill, *Borderland Peles* 134; F. Graham, *The Castles of Northumberland* (Gateshead: Howe Brothers, 1976), 203; King, *Castellarium Anglicanum I*, 336; Antony Emery 101

124 1337 – *Scalachronica*, 105, 1338 – *Scotichronicon*, 149, 1339 – *Scalachronica*, 113; 1340 – *Knighton's Chronicle*, 54,(
1341); Le Bel, 125, 1342 – *Liber Pluscardensis,* 221; *Scotichronicon*, 152. No garrisoning records or please were found for these years from the National Archives.

125 1337, Memoranda for repairs, C 49/7/1; 1339, John de Thinden requests backed wages and leaves instructions for keeping of castle, Sc 8/239/11934;

126 *AA* 3rd ser vol iv (1909-10) p. 177-9, Pipe Roll excerpt, *HKW II*, 747

127 E 358/2, E 358/4; *HKW II*, 567, Rot. Scot. I p.647, CDS iii no. 1434.

128 Long, *Castles of Northumberland*, 20, CL: Cal Pat Rolls, 1338-1340, 144, Cal Charter Rolls vol. 4 (1340) p. 468-9; Ford: *CPR Edward III 1338-1340* p.114; Blenkinsopp: *CPR Edward III 1338-1340*, p.417; Etal: *CPR Edward III 1338-1340*, p.179; Ogle: *Calendar of the Charter Rolls, Preserved in the Public Record Office V 1341-1417,*p.4. Widdrington: Bothal: *CPR Edward III 1343-1345*, p.30; Crawley: *CPR Edward III 1343-1345*, p.143. Haggerston: *CPR Edward III 1343-1345*, p.479; Whitley: *CPR Edward III 1343-1345*,p.446; Swinburne: *CPR Edward III 1345-1348*, p.88.

129 Hardyng, 327; *Liber Pluscardensis;* 223-225: mentions the burning of Liddle Pele, *Polychronicon,* 349*, Scalachronica* 118, also in true fashion mentions an attack at Norham, Le Bel, 190; *Scotichronicon*, 257, path: Liddel – Hexham – Ryton – Durham, *Knighton's Chronicle,* 66-74*, Froissart* 4, 8-9, *Lanercost,* 345-352.

130 For more information on the Battle of Neville's Cross, see: C.J. Rogers, 'The Invasion of 1346', in *Northern History*, Vol. 34 (1998) p.51-82; and C. Rogers, 'Three new accounts of the Neville's Cross campaign'' in Rogers, *Essays on Medieval Military History* Pt. XIII p. 70-82

131 For the campaign and battle of Neville's Cross, see Clifford Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp: English strategy under Edward III, 1327-1360*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 77. and David Rollason, ed, The Battle of neville's cross, 1346, (Stamford: The North-East England History Institute, 1998).

The capture of David II, and the following stringent peace terms inflicted upon the Scots after the Battle of Nevilles Cross created a period of nearly unbroken peace on the border for the remainder of Edward III's reign.[132] English and disinherited campaigns also cooled, with none of the examined chronicles mentioning cross-border raiding in these years. It seems likely that this calming of border tensions may have seemed more a permanent peace than the short stints of calm that had existed before the battle, and in this period, we know of building works at Berwick, Newcastle, Etal and Langley.[133]

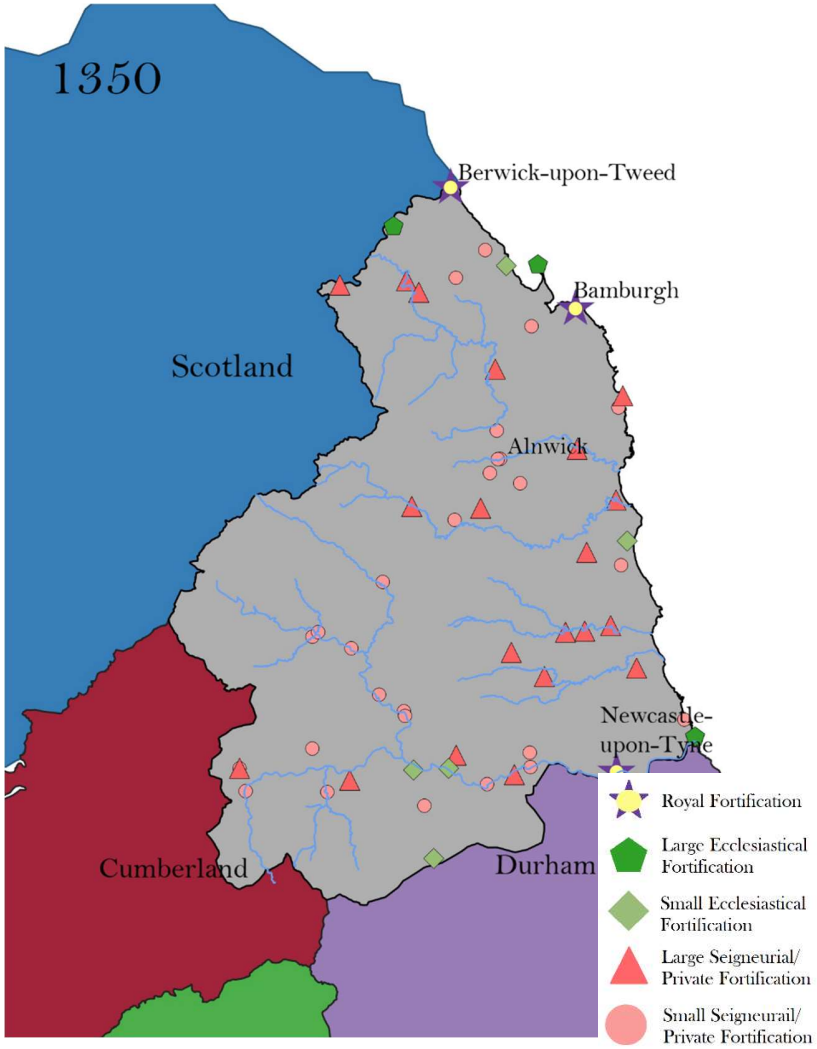


Figure 27 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1350

No garrisoning records for the county survive from these years, and apart from sets of general Northumbrian petitions in 1364 – 1371, 1372, and 1375, only two specific pleas were generated from the time. In 1349 the mayor and burgesses of Berwick requested financial aid, and around 1370 it was stated that it was too dangerous (though whether because of the Scots or of local reavers it does not say) to collect taxes between the Coquet and the Tweed and a reprieve was sought.[134] This temporary peace within much of the county is further substantiated by another plea similar to John de Fenwick's plea of 1324, when around 1355 Robert Morley wrote to the archbishop or York asking to be excused from taking archers to Newcastle.[135]

132 Treaty for the ransom of King David of Scotland, E 39/14/13, See also A.A.M Duncan 'Honi soit qui mal y pense: David II and Edward III, 1346-52' in *The Scottish Historical Review* Vol. 67, No. 184, Part 2 (Oct., 1988), 113-141. No chronicle recounts a Scottish incursion beyond Berwick, and even an attack on Berwick only occurs in 1355, *Liber Pluscardensis,* 227, *Polychronicon,* 433, *Scalachronica* 120, Le Bel, 222, *Scotichronicon* 289; *Knighton's Chronicle,* 136-8, 133 Newcastle: SC 8/157/7820, Berwick: PR 30 edw III rot. 23d; E 101/579/14, Arch Aeliana NS iv (1859-60) p.49-54, and p.126-33, p.166 PR segment; *CPR 1391-6* p. 450, 710, CPR 1399-1401 p.273, *HKW II*, 748, E 101/579/14; E 101/579/15; E 101/579/16; Etal: *CPR 1354-1358* p.283 (1355); Langley: *IPM* v12 no.17 p.17, 8th December 1365; Hugill, *Borderland Peles* 145.

134 1364 – 1368, E 199/33/17; 1369 – 1371, E 199/33/21; 1373, E 199/33/25; 1375, E 199/33/26; SC 1/37/190; SC 8/172/8562

135 SC 1/41/67

Royal works make up the bulk of the recorded building in this period. In 1348 the commons of Newcastle requested aid for the repair and heightening of the town walls which was partially granted.[136] Newcastle saw the repair of the curtain wall in 1353-5, the prisons were repaired in 1357-8 and continual repair works occurred on the castle through 1365 and 1366.[137] Berwick saw the rebuilding of a bridge between the castle and the Douglas Tower between 1347 and 1352 for £174, repairs to the Douglas tower and other buildings after the siege of 1355, totalling £244 9s 6d, had a section of wall rebuilt in 1360 along with other repairs for £133 2s. 4d, a barbican built outside the Wallace Gate in 1362-1363 for 4 marks, £388 worth of repairs to the walls in 1367 and £119 worth of repairs to the castle in 1372-1375.[138]

Work at Dunstanburgh began anew under the King's son John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster, and a new tower and gatehouse were constructed between 1372 and 1382, and while still out of the way of Scottish raids, the additions to the fortification proved one of the most practical defense built in the county at the time, possibly due to Gaunt's need for a foothold in the north thanks to his increasing involvement in march politics, and his ongoing conflict with the Percy family, which began at least as early as 1381.[139] Works on Etal castle had brought it from the state of fortalice in 1355, to that of a castle, its distinction in the 1415 survey, with the completion of the gatehouse and

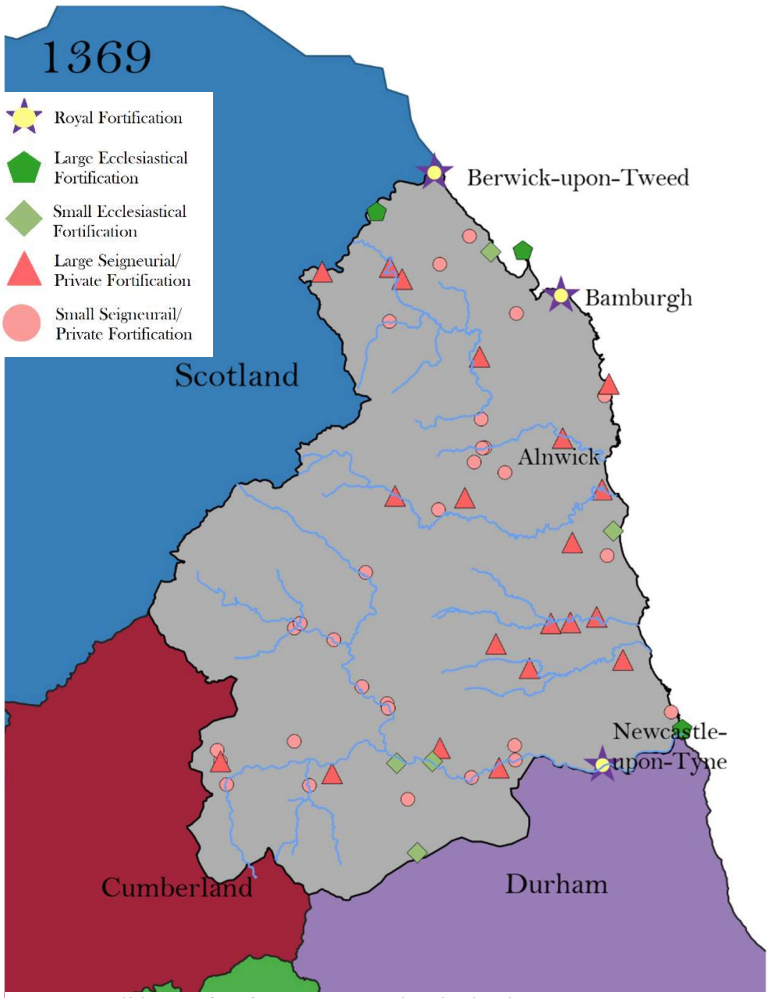


Figure 28 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1369

136 SC 8/157/7820
137PR 30 edw III rot. 23d; E 101/579/14, Arch Aeliana NS iv (1859-60) p.49-54, and p.126-33, p.166 PR segment; CPR 1391-6 p. 450, 710, CPR 1399-1401 p.273, *HKW II*, 748, E 101/579/14; E 101/579/15; E 101/579/16
138 1355 siege: Rot Scoti, pp 778-801, E 101/482/16, *HKW II*, 567;
139 Construction began on the gatehouse around 1380: 25th October 1380 'an indenture was drawn up between Gaunt and the Durham master mason, John Lewyn, in which Lewyn undertook to rebuild a battlemented mantlet of freestone 'around the great tower' in the Duke's castle of Dunstanburgh' Hislop, 'John of Gaunt's

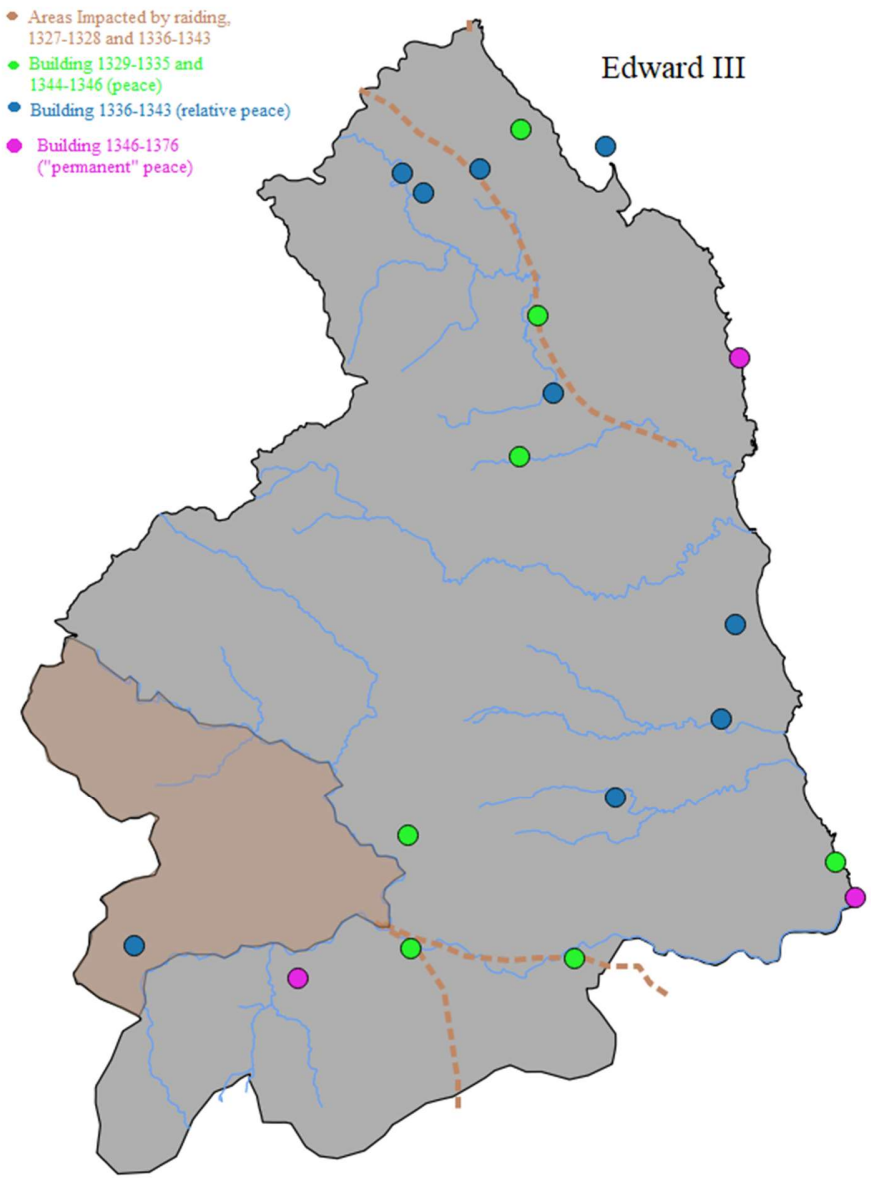


Figure 29: Shows the routes and areas impacted by invasions under Edward III in brown, and building completed in subsequent years in blue, green and pink.

curtain walls in 1368.[140] According to a nineteenth-century article on Langley castle, construction likely began not long after Nevilles Cross with money gained from Thomas de Lucy's campaigns in France, though the castle is not mentioned until 1365 and Tynemouth Priory began the lengthy procedure of strengthening their walls and building a new gatehouse, around 1349.[141] While this may seem like a significant amount of work, only six known sites saw work in this thirty-year period of peace, a stark change from the fifteen recorded sites which saw work in the decade leading up to Nevilles Cross, or even the three works carried out in the three years of peace at the conclusion of Edward II's reign.

Under Edward III, the sheer amount of raiding and building, particularly in the first half of his reign, makes the significance of raiding locations slightly easier to trace. Tynedale was affected more than once, as well as lines south from Tynedale through Hexham, and through Corbridge and Prudhoe. An attack at the start of the reign saw a path from Norham to Alnwick, and the English seige of Berwick in 1333 saw a Scottish incursion to Bamburgh. From 1329 to 1335, a period of peace directly following the conflict of the beginning of the reign, saw building only close to invasion routes, with Chipchase, Hexham and Prudhoe

Building Works at Dunstanburgh Castle', 139, p. 139 nn2 transcript of the indenture in E. Lodge & R. Somerville *John of Gaunt's Register 1379-83,* Camden Society, 3rd ser., 56, 57.

140 Long, *Castles of Northumberland* 100; Ian S. Nelson, *Etal Castle*, (London: English Heritage, 1998) 17. Original references to the surveys to be found in *CPR 1354-1358,* p.283; and *CPR 1367-1370,* p.119.

141 C. Bates 'The Barony and Castle of Langley' Arch. Aeliana X 1885 38-56; *IPM* v12 no.17 p.17, 8th December 1365; Hugill, *Borderland Peles* 145; Emery 141-2; Cal Pat. Rolls 194, King, *Castellarium Anglicanum I*, 342.

incorporated into the defences against the southern incursion routes, and Eslington, Chillingham, and Haggerston built just off of the main invasion route taken by the Scots in 1328, with Whitley being the only exception (as shown in figure 28). The fragile period of peace between 1336 and 1343 saw extensive building on both invasion routes, but the latter half of Edward III's reign saw only a random and sparse selection of building, supporting the theory that the peace at this point could have been percieved as stable and permanent, relieving the need for building.

Richard II

Upon the death of Edward III, stability between the two nations dissolved and the Scots began to test the waters on the border once again. The period from 1377 to 1389 saw near constant raiding, including the joint French and Scottish attack on northern England, and English invasions into Scotland in 1385, and the famous Otterburn campaign in 1388, before Richard could make way for the more peaceful decade of the 1390s.[142]

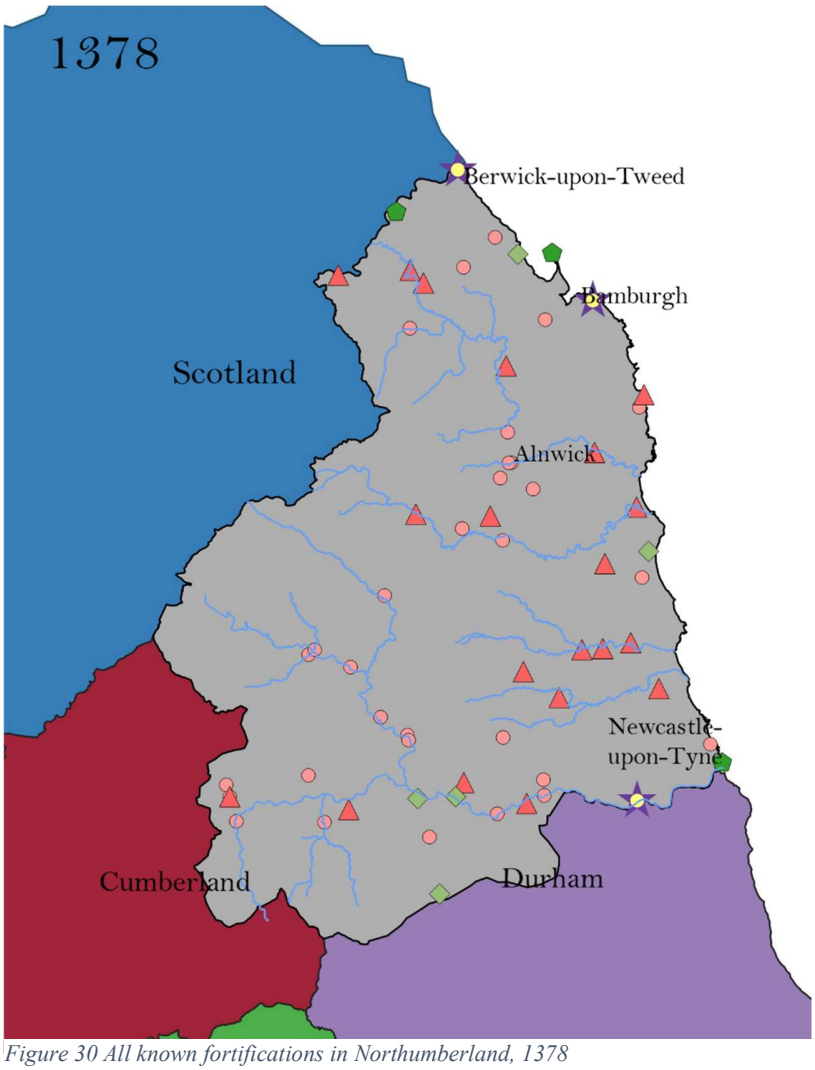


Figure 30 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1378

Incursions

1377-1389

In 1378 Berwick was recaptured by the Scots for a short time, and from 1380 to 1384 conflict

142 For more information on the conflict under Richard II, see A.J. MacDonald *Border Bloodshed: Scotland and England at war, 1369-1403,* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 2000); J.A. Tuck 'Richard II and the Border Magnates' in *Northern History* vol. 3 (1968) p.27-52; and

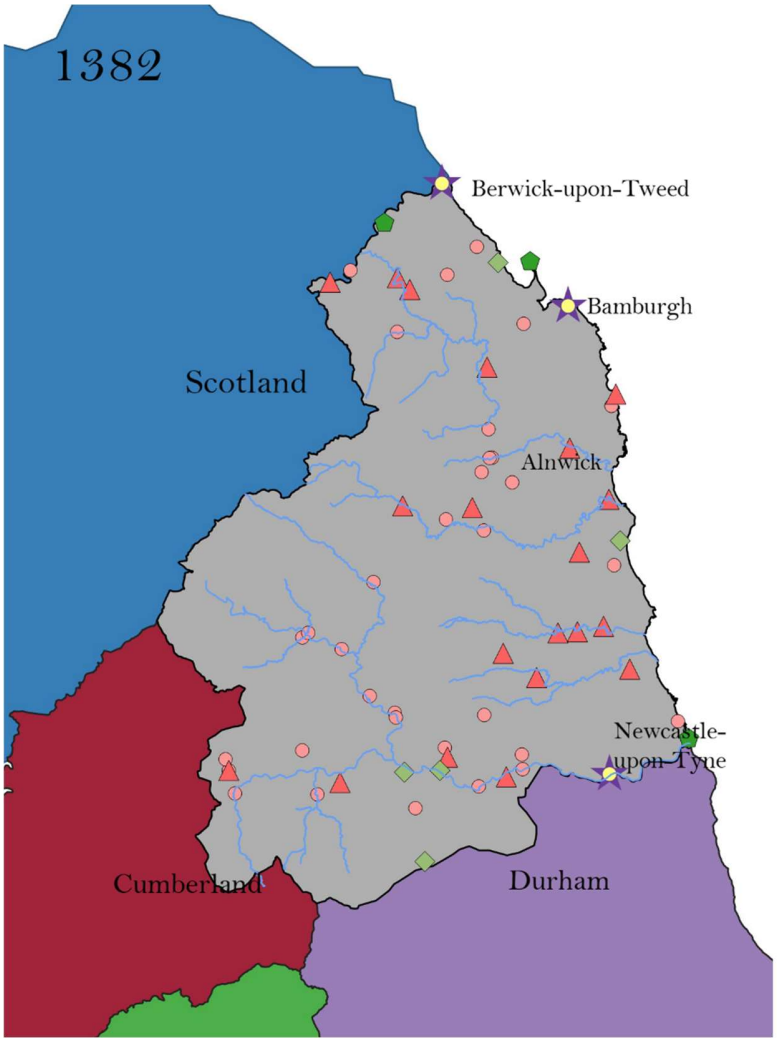


Figure 31 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1382

continued in full force, with raiding reported every year.[143] In 1384 Berwick was captured again. Accounts differ on whether Percy, the present keeper who was allegedly in London at the time of the attack, or the Earl of Lancaster, who was supposedly in charge in Percy's absence, was responsible. Whoever was at fault, Berwick was shortly purchased back to his great shame.[144] Tensions continued to grow, with Scottish and French joint raiding in the borders, and a major English invasion led by Richard II in 1385.[145] Seemingly, a brief reprieve came in 1386 and 1387, but by 1388 conflict had returned in full swing in the Otterburn campaign, which began with a large-scale Scottish raid and skirmish outside Newcastle.[146] Scottish forces raided to the very walls of Newcastle, while possibly another force came down through Carlisle, which led to the provocation of English forces, a clash at Otterburn and a rather minor Scottish victory. The relative fame of this campaign, and the importance of the men involved – Henry Percy and Earl James Douglas - led to its inclusion in nearly every studied chronicle. Indeed, only two of the ten failed to detail the

143 *Scotichronicon*, 379- states only briefly that Berwick was captured, Polychronicon says that Scots took Wark on Tweed (460) and that Berwick was taken by way of treason and purchased back (468). In 1380 Liber Pluscardensis reported an English campaign into Scotland, while Scotichronicon describes a single invasion of the west march. The Westminster Chronicle states that the Scots captured a 'castle of great strength belonging to Sir john Montagu, the king's stewart' possibly Wark, and then in November raided the entire countryside: *Westminster Chronicle,* 43; *Liber Pluscardensis,* 238.
144 *Liber Pluscardensis,* 239 and *Scotichronicon*, 379 briefly recall the event, Polychronicon blames Percy: *Polychronicon,* 490.
145 Key secondary works on the 1385 invasion need referencing here as well. three and four different chronicles respectively mention, 1384: *Scotichronicon* – Berwick captured and Northumberland raided to Newcastle multiple times, 403-5; Westminster – Lancaster and Buckingham invade Scotland in retaliation for Scottish capture of Lochmaben, 67, Scots devastated Northumbria then agreed a peace until Michaelmas 87, Berwick captured, Lancaster vs Percy 101. *Westminster Chronicle,* 121-149: July, English raid Lothian, September Scots attack Carlisle with siege engines but left it unscathed, October Scots raid to Hexham; *Scotichronicon* Douglas and the French raided, brought siege engines to Carlisle but changed plans and went for Roxburgh, Richard II raids Scotland, destroyed Lothian (407), Scots invade Solway-Cockermouth, pillaged 3 days(409) natural son of Archibald Douglas raided frequently (411); *Liber Pluscardensis*: Lancaster invades Scotland to Edinburgh, Scots take Berwick in September, England was twice raided to Newcastle (1385, 245) Scots took Wark, Ford and Corndale with French support (1385)
146 For more information on the Battle of Otterburn, see: P. Armstrong, *Otterburn 1388: Bloody Border Conflict,* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2006); and A.E. Goodman & J.A. Tuck *War & Border Societies in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 2014).

events of August 1388.[147] They all tell a similar story, of the Earl of Douglas leading Scottish forces through Bamburghshire and Redesdale to attack the city walls of Newcastle.[148] This agitated the young Henry 'Hotspur' Percy, who was residing inside the city with his forces and he pursued the Scottish upon their retreat, falling upon them near Ponteland at Otterburn, where they engaged in a skirmish ending in the death of the Earl of Douglas but ultimately a Scottish victory.[149] The campaigns most famous account, *The Ballad of Chevy Chase*, an oral retelling of the events from at least the fifteenth century, with several variations in existence today, recounts the events very differently and instead has the Earl of Douglas on an innocent hunting party when Percy falls on him from Bamburgh, and attacks for his invasion of English territories.[150] While the accounts differ the battle of the location remains the same, and the overwhelming amount of evidence suggesting that the battle was the result of an attack on Newcastle makes it likely that the chronicles which detail a route hitting Redesdale and Bamburgh were more accurate.[151]

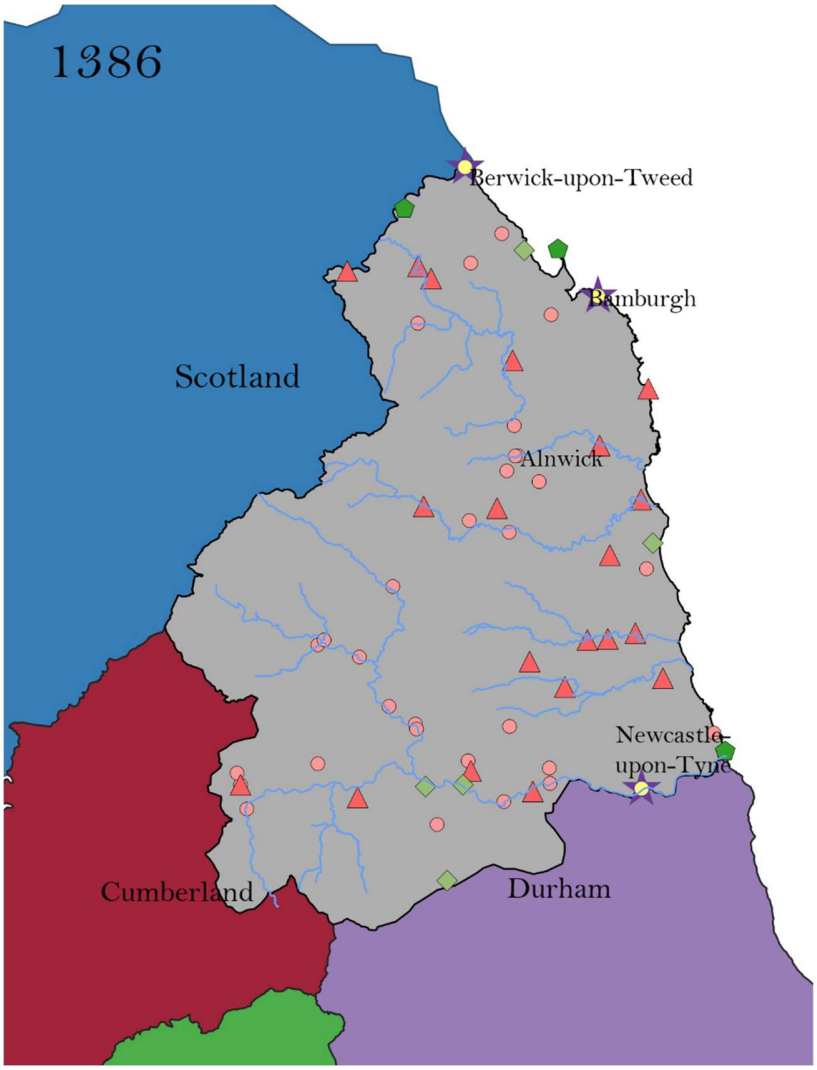


Figure 32 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1386

147Hardyng, 340-341; Only *Polychronicon* leaves out these events.

148 Based on John Marsden, *The Illustrated Border Ballads,* (London: Macmillan London Ltd, 1990), 28-33. While most chronicles relate the Scots headed straight for Newcastle, Scotichronicon and the Battle of Otterburn tell of the destruction of Redesdale on the way, and The Battle of Otterburn also tells of the destruction of Bamburgh; *Scotichronicon*, 417; Arthur Quiller-Couch, *The Oxford Book of Ballads,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), 664-675. For analysis of the Otterburn Campaign, see: War and Border Societies in the Middle Ages, ed. Anthony Goodman and Anthony Tuck (London: Routledge, London, 1992). Good – but this reference should come earlier

149 The view that Douglas invaded to Newcastle is reinforced by Hardyng, 342; *Liber Pluscardensis,* 290; Battle of Otterburn Poem; *Scotichronicon*, 415-417; *Westminster Chronicle,* 375 (*Westminster* also tells of multiple other incursions earlier in the year); *Knighton's Chronicle*, 502-7; *Froissart* 15, 146-174 (Froissart gives a lengthy description of the campaign and the motives); Only Chevy Chase tells the other version.

150 Arthur Quiller-Couch, *The Oxford Book of Ballads,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), 664-675. Other versions and more information on the ballad can be found here: M. Chesnutt 'Otterburn Revisited: A Late Medieval Border Ballad and its Transmission' in *Older Scots literature*
Ed. S.L. Mapstone, (Edinburgh, 2005), pp. 397-412; and J. Reed, 'The ballads and the source: some literary reflections on The Battle of Otterburn' in: *War and border societies in the middle ages* (1992), p. 94-123.

151 *Scotichronicon*, 417; Arthur Quiller-Couch, *The Oxford Book of Ballads,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), 664-675.

Three chronicles detail the continuation of conflict into 1389, however *Scotichronicon* tells of a three-year truce which was agreed at this point. This seems likely as no accounts detail large-scale Scottish incursions for the remainder of Richard II's reign. As seen by the general decrease in garrisoning records under Edward III, this type of record seems to have become less common, or fewer of these exchanges passed through crown hands over time, as only one exists for the entirety of Richard's reign, concerning the garrison at Berwick in 1386 to 1387.[152] Despite the overall lack of garrisoning evidence, a plea made by the three border counties in 1379-1380 addressing the poor state of affairs in the north reinforces the concept of a heavy period of conflict taking place at the start of Richard's reign.[153] As usual, a number of pleas to the crown also exist from these years, four from the people of Northumberland as a community, one from the prior and convent of Bamburgh, and one from William Heron.[154] The 1377 petition which came jointly from the people of Cumberland, Northumberland and Westmorland called for the repair and defence of Carlisle, Newcastle, Roxburgh and Berwick, which were so weak that they were unable to resist their enemies.[155] A final, rather interesting plea came from Tynemouth Priory around 1370 for aid in repairing their walls, as they were so destroyed by the Scots that they could not pay themselves, though there is no evidence that aid came until later in the century.

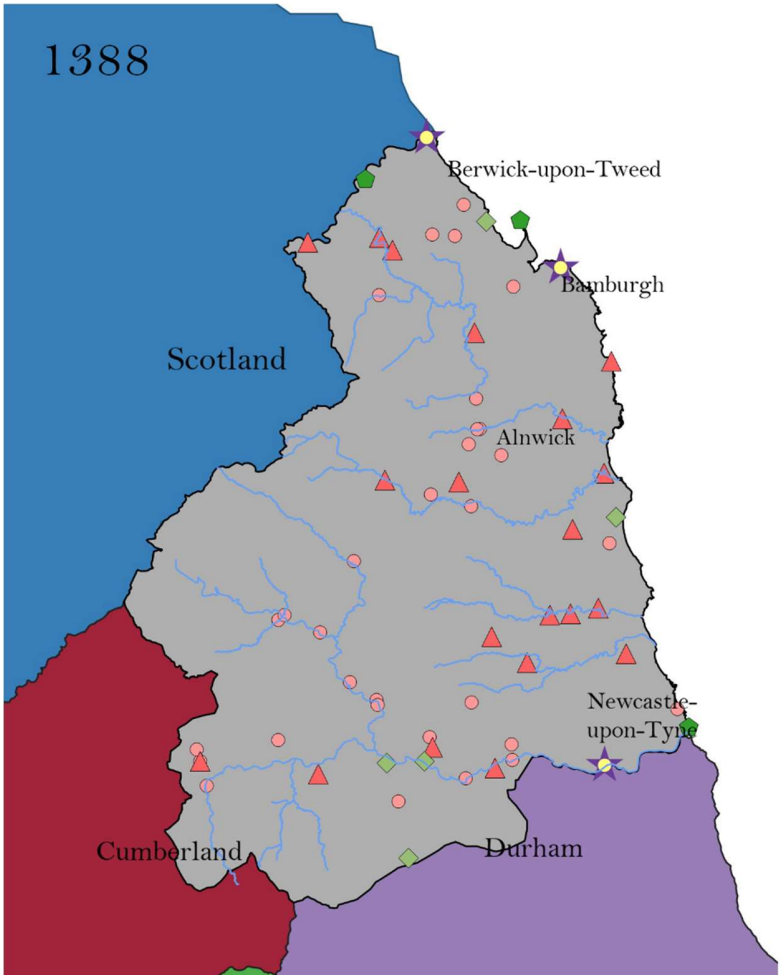


Figure 33 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1388

The expenses of the bishopric of Durham provide a glimpse into the military running of the castle, with the purchase arrows and bows in 1382-3,

152 E 101/676/56
153 SC 8/130/6477
154 1377, Cumberland, Northumberland and Westmoreland seek adequate defence of Carlisle, Newcastle, Roxburgh and Berwick, SC 8/101/5037; 1383 the people of Northumberland request exemption from the grant of groats, SC 9/129/6439; 1383, the people of Northumberland again ask for exemption from the grant of groats, SC 8/129/6441; 1389, people of the border call for an inquiry for reprieve from the tenth and fifteenth, SC 8/164/8179; c1377, William Heron seeks compensation for damage done to him by the Scots, SC 8/21/1015; 1381-1382, Convent and Prior of Bamburgh request custody of the chapel of St Magdalene's, SC 8/178/8882
155 SC 8/101/5037

along with the payment of guards for the castle.[156] Again in 1386 the same guard is paid for the protection of the castle, though this time through Lord Neville, showing the urgency for garrisoned fortification along the border.[157] While in the final full year of Edward II's reign the collections of Islandshire had finally started to pick up, totalling £154 15s 8d with less than half borrowed (close to their takings in 1301), by 1377-1378 the takings had dropped to £102 18s, with £99 11s 7.5d of that borrowed, with minor recuperation the next year of £126 12s 11d received, £77 19s 7.5 of which was borrowed, showing the difficult years the border saw in transition.[158] The final Islandshire account of note exists from 1385-6 and mentions no takings from that year due to the destruction of lands at Tweedmouth, Ord, Morton, Scremerston, Bowsden and Barmoor.[159]

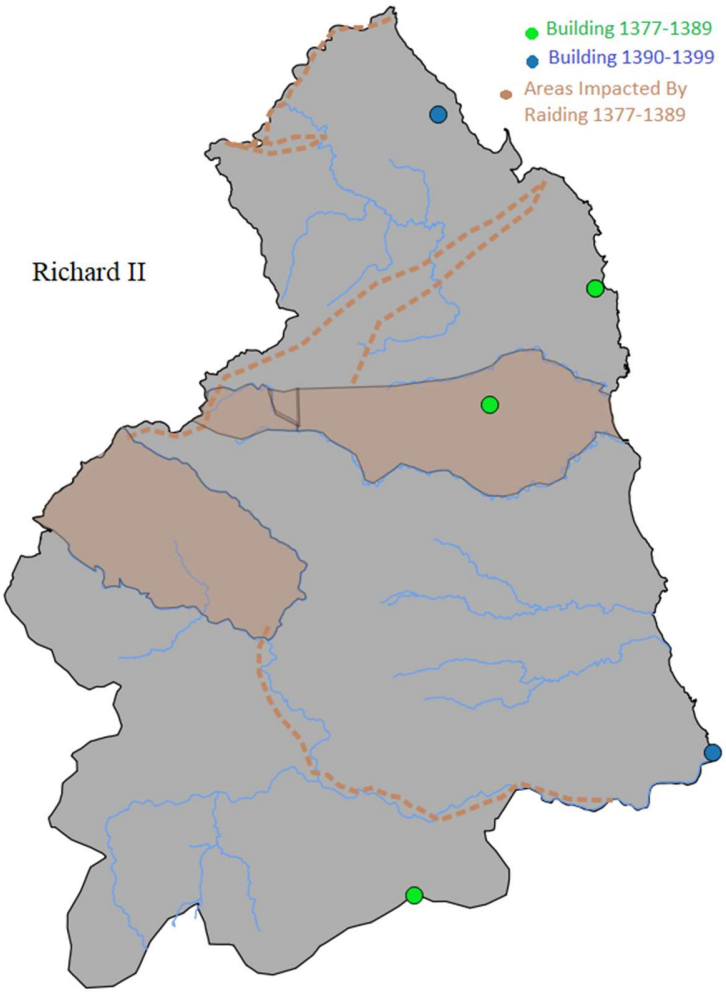


Figure 34 shows the routes and areas impacted by invasions under Richard II in brown, and building completed in subsequent years in blue and green.

In these thirteen years of turmoil royal works continued as normal. Bamburgh saw extensive works, as demanded by the surveys conducted at the end of Edward III's reign.[160] Between 1384 and 1389 the castle received a new hall and new lodgings for 1500 marks.[161] Berwick also received the necessary repairs after the siege of 1384, when £506 19s 10d was spent.[162] A request was made by the mayor of Newcastle for the funds to strengthen the town defences, though no evidenced building work took place. Non-royal building slowed far more in this period, with the only recorded new-build taking place at Fenwick, which was licenced in 1378.[163] An attack on Ford possibly

156 SC 8/144/7157, Raine, *History & Antiquities,* 286, from 'Rot. 2-3, Fordham, in the Auditor's office in the Exchequer at Durham'
157 Raine, *History & Antiquities,* 286, 'Rot. W. Elmeden Rec. Dunelm'
158 Raine, *History & Antiquities,* 108-112.
159 Raine, *History & Antiquities,* 109-112.
160 At Bamburgh, a thorough inquisition was made into the state of the castle in 1372, and another in 1376, to inspect dilapidations which occurred under Ralph de Neville in his 32 years as keeper of the castle *HKW II*, 557.
161 E 101/458/31, Cal Pat Rolls 1381-4 p.480, 492-3, 515, 391, 54, *CCR 1385-9*, 336 *HKW II*, 556-7; Indenture for building at Bamburgh, 1384, E 101/458/31
162 *HKW II*, 568-569, Rot. Scot ii, p.64, 86-7
163 SC 8/129/6428; CL 26/11/1378 Long, *Castles of Northumberland,* 20.

resulted in repair works in 1385, while similarly, Harbottle was rebuilt after 1381.[164] Sometime prior to 1385, Lindisfarne Priory also carried out a massive rebuilding program, though the exact date is not know, and it should be noted that the guidebook and signposting at the priory itself dates these extensions to 'about 1300' and '1320-1365', though these dates could not be verified. While mainly residential, defense was certainly in their minds as the outer walls were built thick and windowless.[165]

1390-1399

The following period of relative peace lasted until the end of Richard's reign. In this period, garrison records are lacking, and between 1390 and 1399 only one general plea survives, from the people of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland in 1390 asking for the fifteenth to be waived until Michaelmas.[166] On top of this only three short collections of petitions for allowances came in 1389-1390, 1391-1392, and 1398-1399.[167] The final decade of the fourteenth century saw private works maintained with two new builds undertaken at Embleton and Edlingham, and works at Tynemouth finally completed. Here, the gatehouse, begun forty years earlier, was finally finished in 1390 with Richard II's financial support.[168] Repairs continued

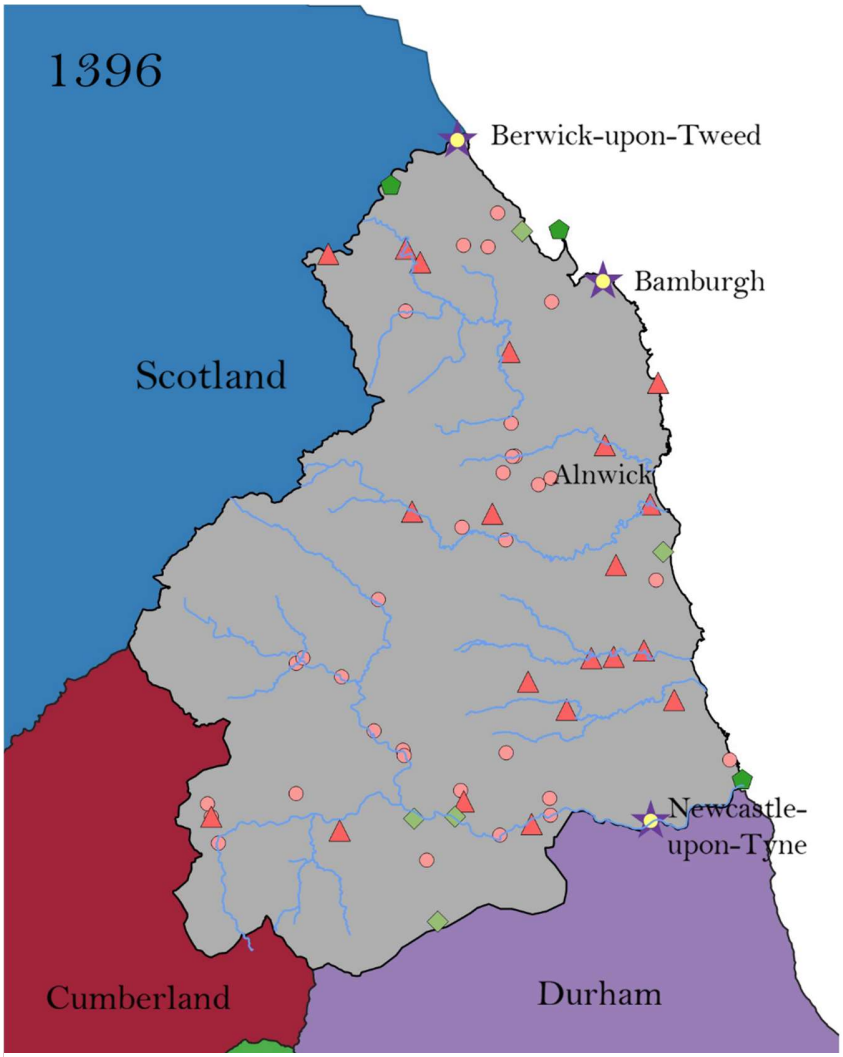


Figure 35 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1396

164 Emery 95; King, *Castellarium Anglicanum I*, 334; CPR 42. For more information on raiding under Richard III, see: Alastair MacDonald, 'The Kingdom of Scotland at War, 1332-1488,' in A Military history of Scotland, ed. Edward M. Spiers, Jeremy A. Crang and Matthew J. Strickland (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 158-181., Raymond Campbell Paterson, My Wound is Deep: a History of the Later Anglo-Scots Wars 1380-1560, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1997). and Alastair J. MacDonald, Border Bloodshed: Scotland and England at War, 1369-1403, (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000).
165 Emery 117; Durham priory accounts - in A. Hamilton Thompson, *Lindisfarne Priory: Handbook,* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office:1986), 13;
166 SC 8/218/10868
167 E 199/33/34, E 199/33/35, E 199/33/36
168 Cal Pat. Rolls 194, King, *Castellarium Anglicanum I*, 342.

at Newcastle from 1391 to 1395, and a call went out for financial aid in the construction of a bridge at Berwick.[169] At Edlingham, a strong tower was added to the church around 1396 and Embleton Vicarage Pele was built in 1395 for £40.[170]

Richard II's reign presents the sparsest of the evidence for location of Scottish raids, though it is clear from the chronicles that Redesdale and Coquetdale were impacted most heavily, along with a route along the northern border, and a route south from Redesdale to Newcastle in the Otterburn campaign. Only Fenwick was built during a time of conflict, close to multiple conflict zones but not in any direct path, and Edlingham, Blanchland, and Dunstanburgh saw construction. Of these, only Edlingham was in a direct conflict zone, Blanchland stood close to the incursion route, and Dunstanburgh still stood at some distance but was newly associated with the crown. Overall, the limited evidence for location of incursion routes supports the concept that fortified building, particularly under Edward II and Edward III occurred as a direct result of Scottish raiding.

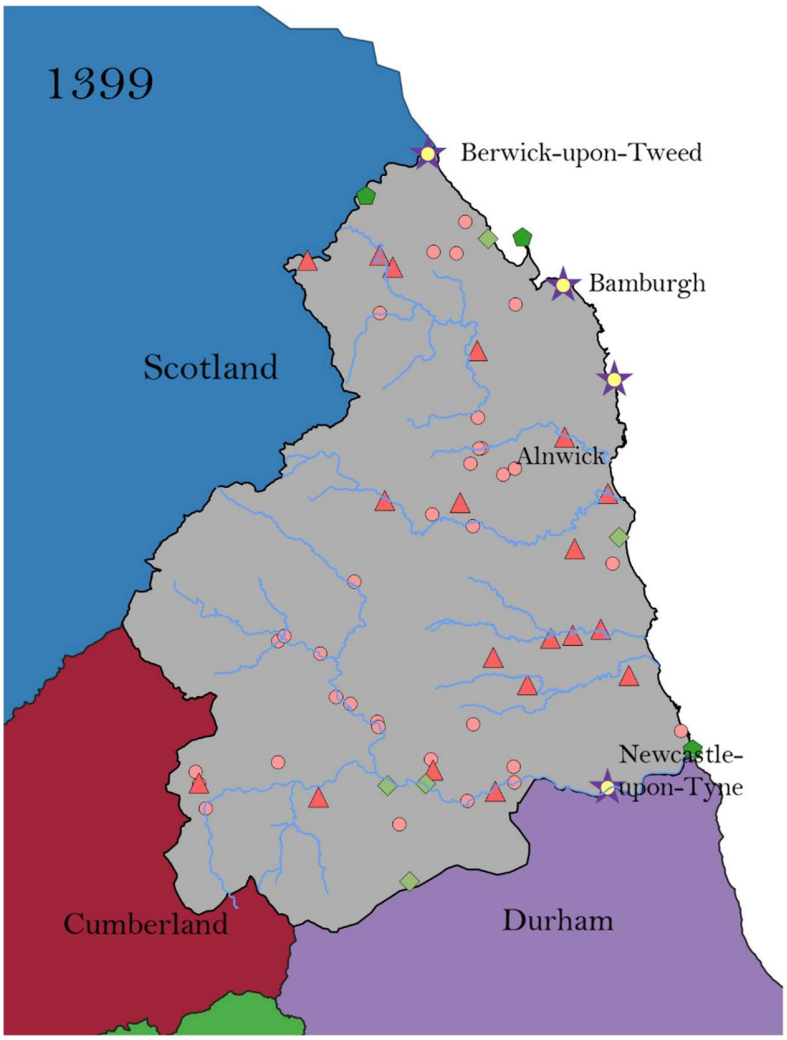


Figure 36 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1399

169 E 101/579/19, SC 7/64/23

170 King, *Castellarium Anglicanum I*, 332; *IPM* Ric. II no. 26 on John de Felton; Long, *Castles of Northumberland,* 151. The sum of £40 for the construction of the tower comes from the vicars rolls which states that the in 1395-6, 'Nothing was paid for the corn of Embleton… because it was allowed to the vicar for his new building ('pro suo novo edificio'), in full payment of xl marks [around £26 14s] owed to him for building by agreement. An additional sum of £13 6s 8d was also paid this year to the vicar for his new building.' Hodgson, NCH part 3 vol. 1, p.67.

1400-1415

Incursions:

The start of the fifteenth century saw another short flare-up on Anglo-Scottish border, but a decisive English victory at the battle of Homildon Hill in 1402 led to another lull in border tensions.[171] These years were distinctive in comparison to the last century of the border wars as by this point northern nobles, such as the Percies and the Nevilles controlled much of the running of the north. The rebellions of the late 1399, and 1403-1413 tested the relationship between these nobles and the monarch, as the Percies sat at the head of two revolutions, and it was the Earl of Lancaster's own son Henry Bolingbroke who sparked a rebellion and became Henry IV.[172] The catapulting of northern lords into the centre of southern politics brought civil conflict to Northumberland's door in a way it had not seen since the flight of Edward II and Piers Gaveston to Newcastle and Tynemouth in 1311-1312.[173] This political turmoil saw the changing of Dunstanburgh in status from a seigneurial to a royal castle, and saw the important strongholds of Alnwick and Warkworth taken from Percy hands in 1403 until 1415.[174]

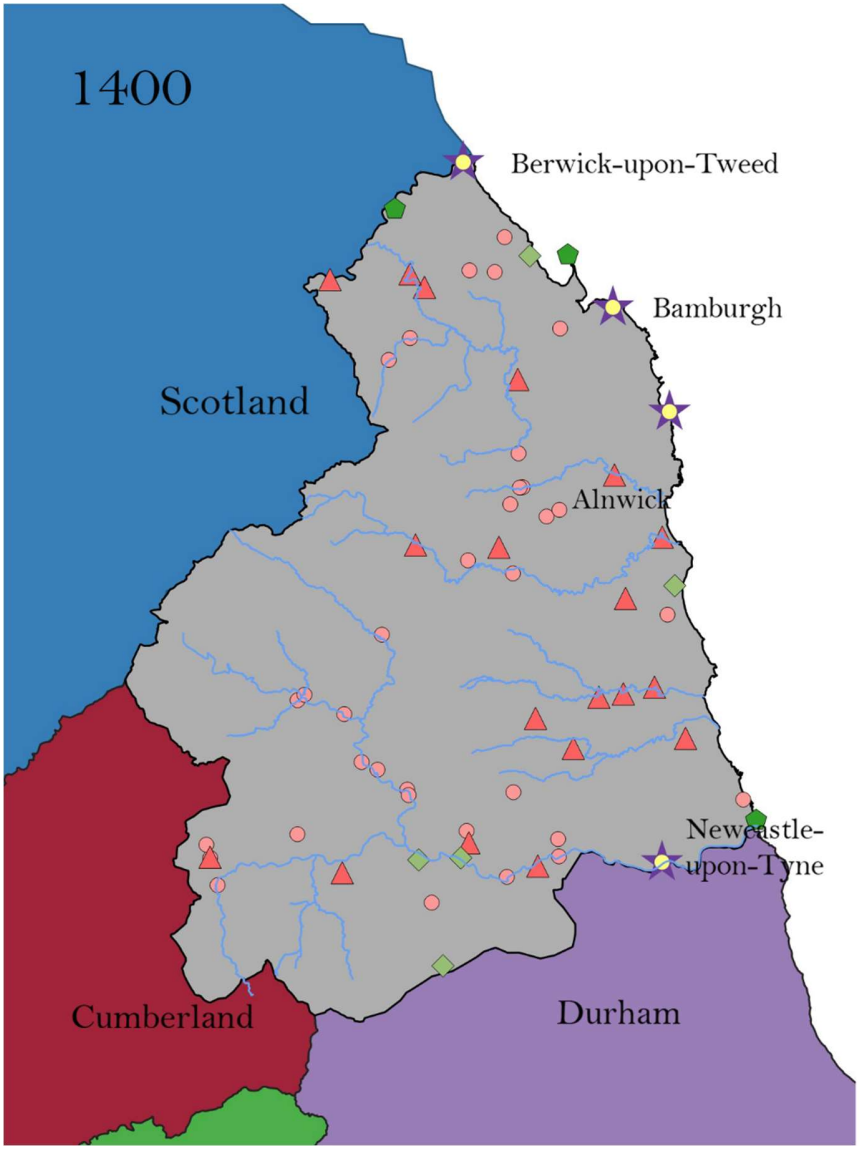


Figure 37 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1400

Records from Norhamshire do not go into much detail on the financial state of the shire in this period, but in 1400-1 they do state that only 20s was collected from

171 As Chronicled by Hardyng, 364; and *Liber Pluscardensis,* 260, *Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham 1376- 1422*, Trans. D. Preest, (London: Boydwell Press, 2005), 323-324. For a more recent account, see Rose, *Kings in the North,* 325-355.
172 For more information on conflict under Henry IV, see C. Given-Wilson, *Henry IV,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 216-232.
173 As relayed in *Lanercost,* 197-198; *Polychronicon,* 303.
174 Bates *Border Holds,* 14

Shoreswood 'on account of the war', and only 2s for the tithe from the Tweed, likely the income of the Tweed Valley, 'and no more because of unproductiveness'.[175] Additionally, while the takings for 1400-1 were meagre, with total receipts of £37 8s 11d, and were lower still the next year, with only £16 10d, with arrears reported in 1403 of £75 4s 6d.[176] By 1405 annual receipts had climbed to £28 18s 2d, and in 1408 they had reached £65 2d, just under where they had been at the height of conflict under Edward II.[177] With annual receipts, even in 1317 of £66 23s, it is clear that the fourteenth century took its toll on the northern territories, and it is to be regretted that here is not a wider collection of tax records available for evaluation in the later years of the century.

Very little evidence for building exists in these early years of the fifteenth century, aside from the erection of a gatehouse at Blanchland around 1400, the rebuilding of Wylam Tower in 1405, and the construction of Carraw Tower, belonging to the prior of Hexham, in 1406.[178] In 1415 Henry V conducted the first thorough survey of fortified building in Northumberland, which provides key evidence for which fortifications stood by this time, though very little detail is given on each of the sites.[179] The next detailed survey was not conducted until 1541, shedding some light on the condition of several of the older fourteenth century fortifications but is not much use in their dating.[180] Because the 1415 survey provides the earliest existing evidence we have for about two-thirds of the fortifications which stood in the fourteenth century, it is important to extend our survey at least to 1415.

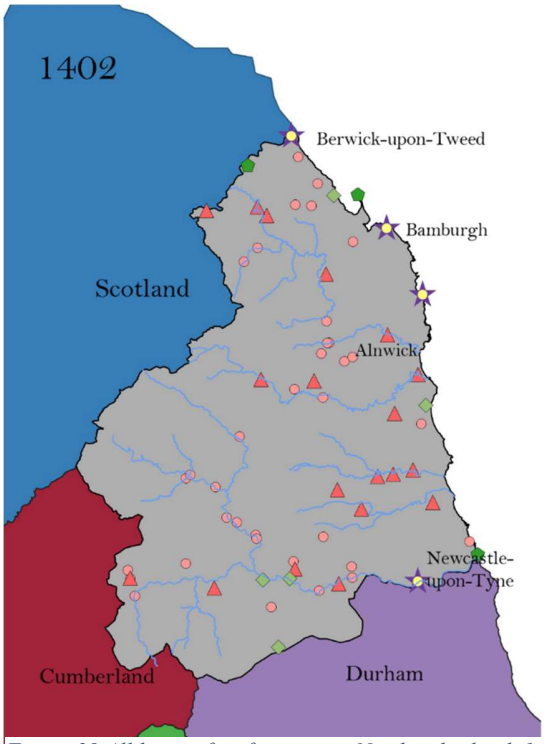


Figure 39 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1402

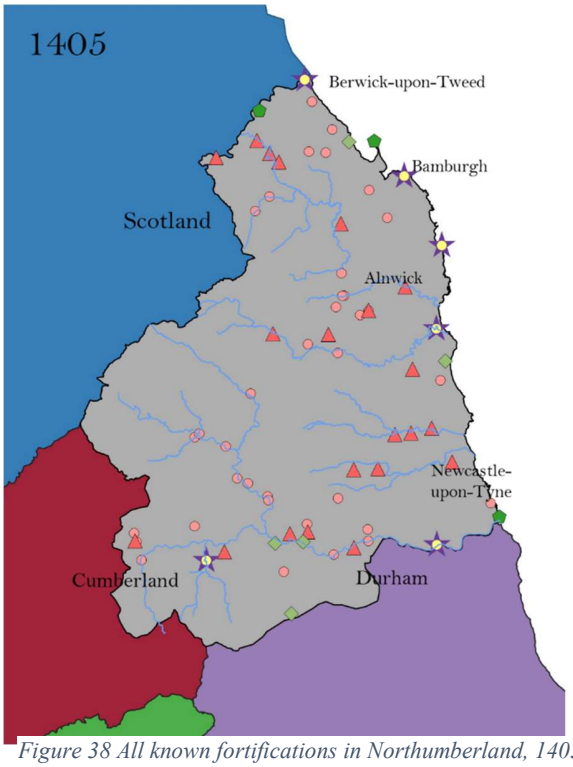


Figure 38 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1405

175 Raine, *History & Antiquities,* 278-279.
176 Raine, *History & Antiquities,* 278-279.
177 Raine, *History & Antiquities,* 278-279.
178 Graham, *The Castles of Northumberland*, 73& 97; Long, *Castles of Northumberland* 176;
179 1415 Survey of fortification in Northumberland, from Harleian MS. 309, fo. 202 b-203b. as transcribed in Bates, *Border Holds*, 12-19.
180 Survey 1541 MM; Survey 1541 EM

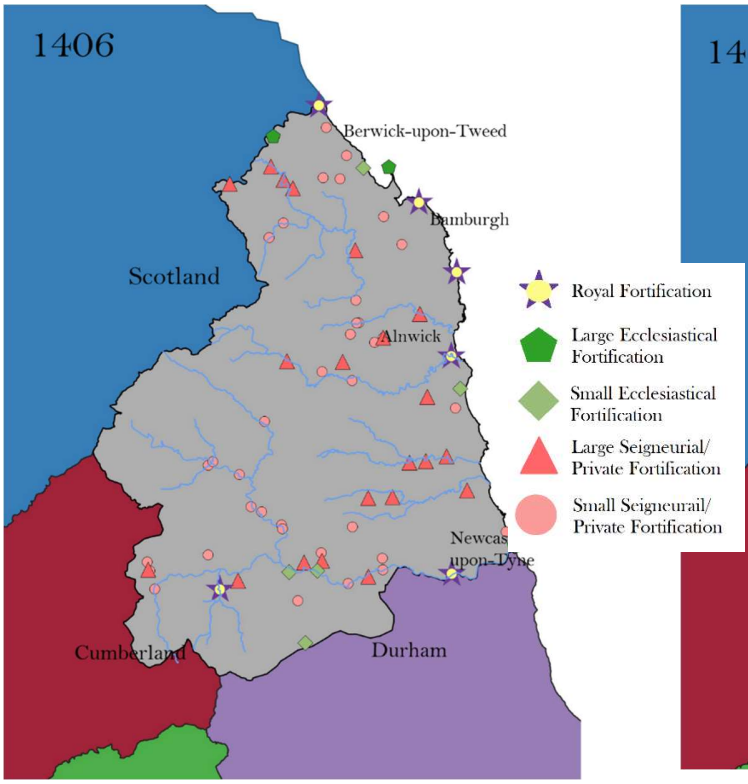


Figure 42 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1406

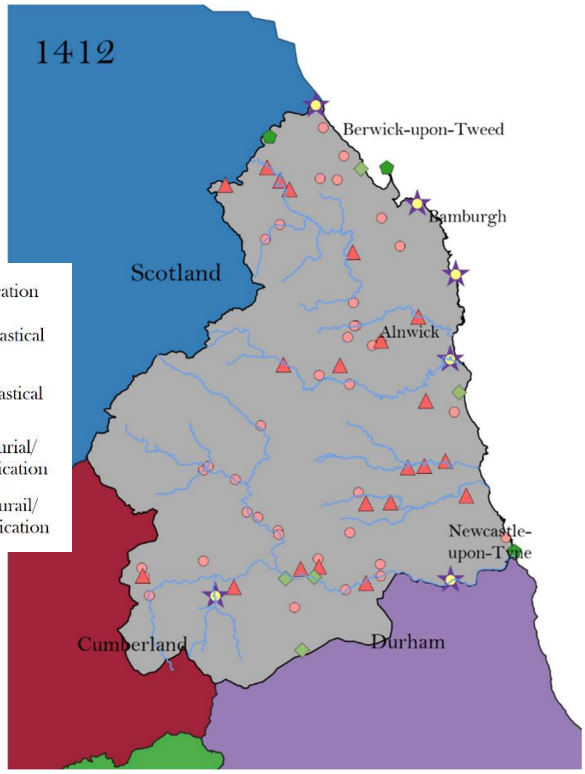


Figure 43 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1412

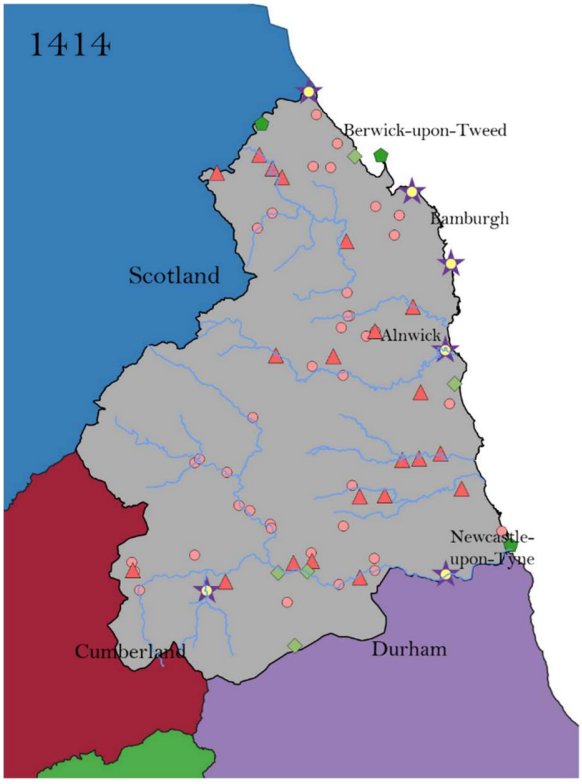


Figure 40 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1414

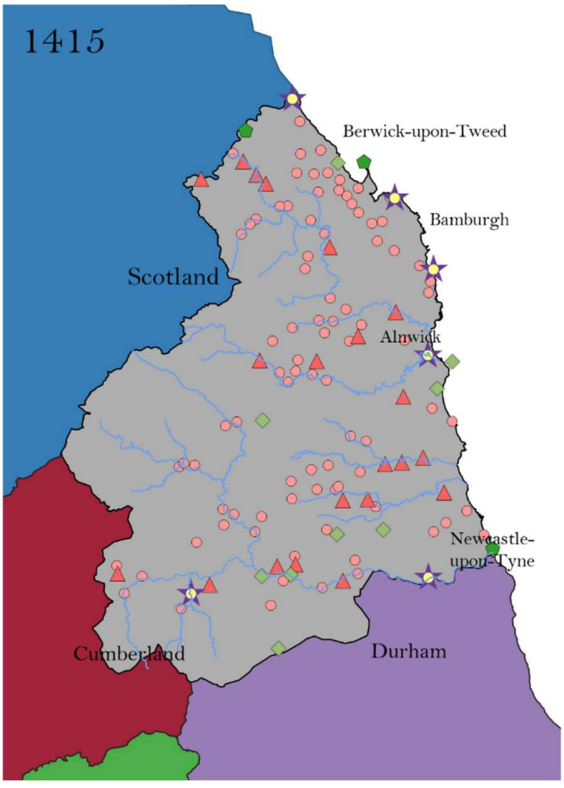


Figure 41 All known fortifications in Northumberland, 1415

Conclusion

Towards the end of the century, when the country was plummeted into civil war, sources on border warfare become sparse. The sheer number of undatable fortifications on the 1415 survey suggest that more building must have taken place in the later decades of the fourteenth century, but it is entirely possible that due to the conflict, records were never created or they did not survive. To further complicate matters, by the turn of the century, the rebellion of the Percies makes the study of fortifications in the border more difficult as motivations behind building and the line between border conflict and civil conflict becomes partially blurred. Nevertheless, the evidence that does exist, especially from the reigns of Edward II and Edward III, can tell us something about patterns of building at the height of the fourteenth century. The obvious bursts of building which occurred directly after extended periods of conflict indicate that fortified building was driven primarily by Scottish incursion. The lack of evidenced building after the battle of Nevilles Cross, in a period which could easily have been perceived as a stable or permanent peace further serves to support this idea. The proven patterns of building, including some unlicensed sites, also helps to show how unlikely it was that licences to crenellate were prescriptive, and lifted in 1346, causing most unlicensed building to take place after 1346.

One remaining question lies in the apparent lack of building which took place in Tynedale and Redesdale, which will be explored more in the next chapter along with the level of lawlessness throughout the county as a possible motivation to fortify. Alongside that, the following chapters, will discuss the role of the castle in Northumberland in both peace and wartime and their interactions with their communities, to create a more complete picture of the motivations behind their construction.

Chapter Two:

Security in the Community: The various forms of protection provided by these fortifications to their communities

Introduction

Military tensions in the border led to a different lifestyle in Northumberland than in the rest of England, and very possibly more economic hardship in daily life, as shown by the numerous calls for aid detailed in chapter one. Even the buildings held a different style, as we will show in the following chapters the northern English counties had their own style of fortification, borne seemingly out of their unique situation and present nowhere else in England. Throughout Northumberland in the fourteenth and particularly into the fifteenth century, there is evidence that people increasingly came to see private fortifications, both large and small, as key centres of protection for the community.

While advanced and stylish building works such as Alnwick and Dunstanburgh Castle help to set aside this view of a solely wide and untamed society in the north, few written works survive from Northumbrians to shed light on contemporary northern society. Our main body of evidence for reconstructing everyday life for Northumbrians in this period lies in Scottish or Southern English chronicles, scattered government documents and the archaeological remains left behind in Northumberland.

At least 98 new fortifications were erected in Northumberland between 1296 and 1415, not including a vast number of rebuilds and additions.[181] With Scottish raiding posing an ever-present threat and local, and even civil, violence making its way through the county on various occasions, it comes as no surprise that so many fortifications were built in this period, but with little evidence for how these sites functioned, it is unclear to what extent they would have provided solace to the general populace of their regions. This chapter will discuss, how these fortifications functioned privately and within their communities in a military capacity. Here I will take a step back from the study of conflict and incursion to look more closely at individual fortifications, and find the purposes they served and roles they performed in everyday life during conflict periods, and crucially, how they were perceived and what might be expected of them, by the contemporary population of Northumberland.

---

181 1296, the start of the first Scottish War of Independence, and 1415, the date of the first major survey of fortification in Northumberland.

The most important pieces of evidence here will be familiar, as they come in the form of the two major surveys of fortification which were conducted in the borders in 1415 and then 1541. The 1415 survey, taken only in Northumberland, lists the names of the fortifications and their owners in 1415.[182] The 1541 survey is slightly more useful in that it gives detail as to the usage and state of repair of the site alongside the owner.[183] For fortifications in existence in 1415 and also 1541, we'll make the leap that their usage would have been similar in these two periods, unless I have reason to believe the site was much altered in the interim.[184] The general shortfall with the 1541 survey is that, although it provides helpful insights into many Northumbrian fortifications, it is clearly not comprehensive, and many fortifications which were built in the Fourteenth Century and remain intact today were left out– this applies mainly to royal castles and many small towers, which make up the bulk of Northumbrian fortification at the time.[185]

The details on the 1541 survey are the starting point for learning how these fortifications would have been used on a daily basis, and the evidence put forward by the survey gives a solid base to move from. While its implications are mainly defensive, the survey was conducted with the aim of gauging the number and calibre of functioning defences which existed in the marches at the time, meaning that little information provided would mainly concern their military uses. This survey is particularly useful in showing when and how these buildings provided aid to their communities and the wider countryside, or at least their main functions as they were perceived by the men conducting the survey.

'External' Protection

Overall, the survey hints at two broadly different types of protection which can be provided by these fortifications. The first is external protection, which is most clearly served in the form of a garrison, and the survey points out at least eight fortifications which either had the capacity to hold a garrison, or would have if they were repaired. External protection can also be given through a property's location, (as mentioned in the survey) with nine towers (five of which specifically mention the posting of soldiers or garrisons, included in the above figure) having a listing which boasts a 'convenient location' for the defence of the region – three of which refer not to the borders, but to Tynedale and Redesdale. With over half of these listings giving specific mention to soldiers of some kind, and the other four using phrases 'for the defence of the Incourse of the Scottes of Lyddesdale & of the theves of Tyndale' (Langley), 'for the defence of the countrye

182 Survey 1415.
183 Survey 1541 MM; Survey 1541 EM
184 This is generally only the case for the sites which state on the 1541 survey that they have been destroyed or are now derelict and are no longer in use, or that they have been expanded and are now in use as a home, barmekin, etc.
185 For example, Alnwick Castle, Warkworth Castle, Prudhoe Castle, Morpeth Castle, Bamburgh Castle, Berwick Castle and Newcastle Castle have all been left out of the 1541 surveys, all of which are large castles owned by the crown of important men of the county, however Norham Castle is on the survey for the East March, so there seems to be no distinct rules for which sites are included.

thereabouts' (Horton in Chatton), and 'for the defence of all that quarter' (Wooler) it seems clear that some amount of force would have been employed in conjunction with strategic location to perceive and obstruct this violence before it began.[186] The only example where this appears not to be the case is Harehaugh Old Farm, likely built in the sixteenth century, which states that it was built in a 'convenyent place for resystence of the Incourse of theves of Ryddesdayle' which in its wording seems more that it was built remotely to protect itself, though in its location is quite close to the border and the more lawless wester territories, and in close proximity to at least three other towers, meaning it was at least as exposed to threat as the others.[187]

For each of these, the size of the garrison is suggested, leading to the belief that the site has held, or could have held soldiers in the past.[188] Etal Castle, Ford Castle, Fenton Tower, West Lilburn Tower and Ilderton Tower, all in this small northern section of the county, were all stated to, in peak condition, be able to hold a garrison of between fifty and 100 in times of war. These fortifications, then, could theoretically have been part of a network which protected the region against raiding Scots, were they in a good state of repair.

Not including those which claim the specific ability to maintain a garrison, at least a further seven 1541 listings include mentions of strategic locations for the protection of the county or the region.[189] While the building of fortifications in strategic locations seems a straightforward notion, the concept here - that these castles and towers were used as central locations to protect larger areas - is crucial to the understanding of the motivations behind their construction.

Interestingly, each listing which specifically mentions a garrison gives its own circumstances and reasoning for the obtaining of said garrison. Old Bewick tower, West Lilburn tower, Ilderton tower, Ford castle and Fenton tower all mentioned that the garrisons would best be placed 'in time of war', though the circumstances varied slightly, with Fenton's listing mentioning the war against Scotland specifically, and Ford's listing giving special mention to its strategic location which lends itself to the protection of the entire county in wartime. Old Bewick and West Lilburn also give at least small mentions to the fact that a garrison in their location would protect the surrounding region, making Ilderton the only one to mention a garrison with no ties to surrounding county or village.

Located only a few miles from Ford is Etal Castle, and the listing for Etal Castle goes beyond stressing Etal's importance in wartime, stating 'it were muche necessary to be repared for the defence of

186 Survey 1541 MM; Survey 1541 EM
187 Harehaugh doesn't show up on the 1415 survey and is called lately built on the 1541 survey putting its date in the early to mid 16th century, Survey 1541 MM.
188 1541 MM, 1541 EM
189 Ford castle, Wooler, Horton, Fenton, Harehaugh, Langley and Cornhill

those borders aswell in tyme of peace as for the receyvinge and lodging of a garryson of a hundredth men or mo in tyme for whiche purpose that place ys very convenient.'[190] The emphasis here is on the idea of Etal as a keeper of the peace even outside of conflict periods, presumably through the policing of small raids and skirmishes with the garrison.

The listing for Norham Castle is particularly interesting. Norham's location directly on the Tweed meant that it had been in a state of near continuous repair, and had often been upgraded, since its construction in the early twelfth century. Norham's listing on the 1541 survey reinforces the sites importance, and while leaving out specific details on garrisoning – an issue which likely fell under the jurisdiction of the Bishopric of Durham – it does state that the castle is well furnished and in good repair, and 'stuffed with artyllery munyc'ons and other necessaries requysyte to the same.'[191]

Further south, Harbottle and Tarsett are noted for their use, not in the protection against Scotland, but in more local violence in Tynedale and Redesdale. Harbottle, the site of a large fortification from the twelfth century, was ruinous by the time of the 1541 survey, though its listing is by far the longest on either segment of the survey. Harbottle is said first to be 'a strong place and metely for the defence of all the country as well as against the invasion and incourse of Scotts in time of war as for defence of thieves and spoiles of the Redesdale men', followed by a short recent history of its owners and repairs, and then goes on to say that 'yf yt were in suche good state as hath bene yt would in tyme of warre receive & lodge an hundrethe souldiors & their horses And also there is no other convenient place for the keeper of Ryddesdayle to dwell in to conserve the Ryddesdale men in good rule & for the chastysinge of the evell desposed people of the same when they offende.'[192]

The size and location of Harbottle does make it perfectly placed for both endeavours in the fourteenth century, however its identification as being specifically for the use of law and order within Redesdale seems a sad underestimation of the site, given its longstanding history as a defender against the Scots. At its initial construction, long before the first War of Independence, Harbottle and Wark on Tweed were, seemingly, the largest castles on the border and primary points of defence against the Scots, as evidenced by the multiple attacks inflicted on Harbottle by the Scots in the twelfth century. [193] Throughout the following three centuries, however, Northumbrian society developed, and several more key fortifications were erected.

---

190 Survey 1541 EM.
191 Survey 1541 EM.
192 Survey 1541 MM.
193 - This theory is shared by Cadwallader J. Bates, in his book *The History of Northumberland* (London:Sandhill Press, 1895), 123. That Wark and Harbottle were fortified to secure Northumberland after the county was secured by Henry II. The most impactful Scottish invasions of the period are arguably those in 1138, more on this: S. McGlynn, 'The Scottish Invasion of England in 1138: A War Without Quarter', in *Medieval Warfare* Vol. 3, No. 3 (2013) 44-50; and 1173-1174, when Harbottle was attacked and captured, evidenced *Gesta regis Henrici Secuni Benedict Abbatis: The Chronicle of the Regisn of Henry II and Richard I)1169-1192)* ed. W Stubbs. R.S. 49 (London, 1867), vol I, 65

Where Harbottle had once been a key defender against the Scots, many other sites, such as Ford, Etal and the new castle at Berwick now sat closer to the border, and Harbottle faced the more present issue of violence within the western territories of Northumberland – which will be covered in more detail later in the chapter.

Harbottle is not the only site to have claimed a garrison for the protection or control of Northumberland's western region. Further south, Tarsett Castle was said to have once held a garrison under Sir Ralph Fenwick for the specific purpose of 'reformac'on of certayne mysorders within the said country of Tyndall'.[194]

The listing for Langley Castle, in the southwest of the county, is similar in stating that 'it stands in a very convenient place for the defence of the incourse of the Scots of Liddesdale and of the thieves of Tynedal, Gilesland and Bowecastle, when they ride to steal or spoil within the bishopric of Durham.'[195] Langley, therefore, seems to be protecting its community in a similar way to Harbottle - not only from the Scots, but also from a more rogue and 'wild' part of Northumberland – in this case, Tynedale. Finally, the listing for Wark-on-Tyne mentions, perhaps, the only hint towards castle administration which exists in the survey, stating it was there that the court or 'law day' was kept at 'suche tymes as the kep' of Tyndale doth appoynte the same'.[196] This is an important point to note – that at least by 1541, there were several major fortifications in Northumberland which were recognised as functioning as in defence, not against the Scots, but against unruly Northumbrians, particularly in Tynedale and Redesdale. We will discuss this pattern more in depth later in the chapter, as it is important to investigate the role that this level of violence played, if at all, particularly in the fourteenth century, in the construction and maintenance on these fortifications.

'Internal' Protection

The second type of protection, we will call internal. This type is slightly harder to trace within the survey, though it seems to be provided more often by smaller towers and fortifications, and is most easily interpreted as physical protection in the form of shelter in times of danger. We find evidence of this kind of protection meant to be given, and denied in some form, in complaints to the crown by residents to the tenants at Bamburgh in the fourteenth century, and it is seemingly also implied in the 1541 survey for Cornhill, Hethpool, Wooler, Ford Vicar's Pele, and Kiknewton Tower.[197] The listing for Hethpool states specifically

194 Survey 1541 MM.
195 Survey 1541 MM.
196 Survey 1541 MM.
197 Survey 1541 MM. Petitions from Bamburgh: NA SC 8/218/10871, SC 8/34/1652, SC 8/32/1565, SC 8/95/4725

that the tower provides relief to 'the tenants thereof', the most obvious interpretation of which is physical protection.

Cornhill Castle, Hethpool tower, Wooler tower, Ford vicars pele, Kirknewton tower, and Horton castle in Chatton all leave out information on garrisoning, but mention that they, in some way, provide protection or shelter to the surrounding area. Cornhill's entry states that the barmekin, once finished, will 'succor defence & relefe in tymes of warre aswell for thinhabytants of said towne of Cornell as for other neybours'.[198] The key word here seems to be 'relief' and in stressing the inhabitants of the town and surrounding towns, I believe that physical protection is implied here.

The listing for Wooler tower, likely built in the early 16th century, gives still more detail, stating that it 'had a lytle towre standynge strongely whiche dyd muche releyve as well the Inhabytants of the same towne as of the two or three vyllages nere adjoyninge thereunto'.[199] This could mean Humbleton, Earle and Haugh Head…even more helpful it goes on to say that despite the fact that half of the tower is now fallen, it should quickly be repaired as 'nere thereby ys the common entree & passage of the Scottes for invadynge this realme or makinge any spoyle in tyme of warre or troubles peace', giving interesting insight into the raiding patterns of the Scots in this period.[200]

Kirknewton, there listed as East Newton, says that, were it to be fixed, it could provide for 'the defence of common skyrmyshes', a slightly less clear meaning for defence, though without mention of garrison of convenient location, it seems probable that the protection leant was internal.[201] Unfortunately, the exact location of Kirknewton is now unknown, making the exact meaning difficult to discern. Similarly, Horton, as mentioned before, simply states that 'standeth in a very convenient place for the defence of the countrye thereabouts', making its meaning more difficult to discern.

Slightly more specific, the listing for Ford Vicar's Pele states that 'yt were muche requysite to be fynyshed for defence of that towne.'[202] Again, there are no specific details listed of the type of protection given, but it is specified that, were the building finished, it would be for the protection of the town. It comes as no surprise that no garrison is advised for the tower, given its location, less than 100 metres outside the

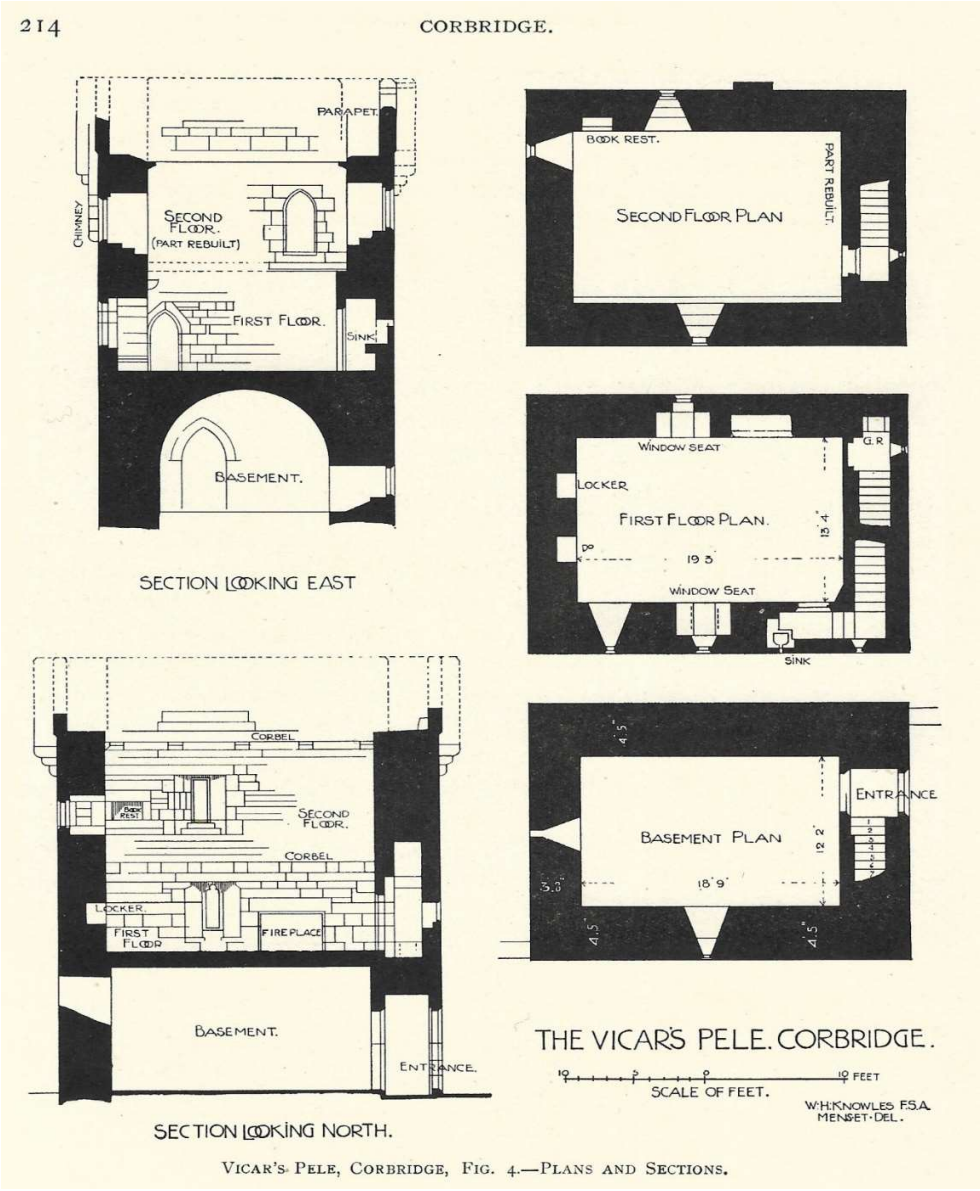
198 Survey 1541 MM.
199 Wooler, then Earle, Haugh Head, Humbleton – both of the first two near equidistant from Lilburn tower
200 Survey 1541 EM, for more information on the raiding patterns of the Scots in sixteenth century, see P. Dixon, 'Border Towers: A Cartographic Approach,' in *Newcastle and Northumberland: Roman and Medieval Architecture and Art,* ed. J. Ashbee & J. Luxford (Leeds: Maney publishing for the British Archaeological Association, 2013).
201 Survey 1541 EM.
202 Survey 1541 EM.

curtain walls of Ford Castle, though closer to the church, and possibly an alternative haven for the local area.[203]

While no other listings imply this sort of physical protection, it seems likely that, vicars' towers, which are most often seen within towns and villages, might have provided physical protection of a similar kind. Generally located close to their local churches, vicars peles would seemingly have provided the most obvious place of shelter for the community. Prime examples of these come in the form of Corbridge Vicar's Pele, Embleton Vicar's Pele and Ponteland Vicar's Pele (the three surviving examples). Though there were at least six in existence in Northumberland by the fifteenth century, sadly, none of these examples size or location warranted a listing on the 1541 survey and so we have no detailed glimpse into what their use would have been apart from the protection of the vicar or, in the case of Bamburgh Tower, the monks, who issued the construction of the towers.[204] Many more may have existed, for in an 1881 piece on the history of Corbridge, Robert Forster wrote that 37 pele towers similar to Corbridge Vicars peel were built in Northumberland around the same time, including those at Embleton, Rothbury and Elsdon, though that number is difficult to substantiate.[205]

203 First mention for Ford Vicars pele comes on the 1541 survey
204 1415 vicars peles – Corbridge, Embleton, Ponteland, Stamfordham, Chatton, Bamburgh – Bamburgh Tower belonging to the Monks of Bamburgh*
205 R. Forster, *History Of Corbridge And Its Antiquities: With A Concise History Of Dilston Hall And Its Associations [facsimile]* (Kessinger Publishing: 2009, 1881).

Figure 44 Layout of Corbridge Vicar's Pele, as shown in NCH X, 214



VICAR'S PELE, CORBRIDGE, FIG. 4.—PLANS AND SECTIONS.

The layout of these towers will be discussed in more depth in chapter four, but to date the most intact example is Corbridge Vicar's Pele, which is entered on the ground floor on the eastern side, into a barrel-vaulted basement. The door would have been of thick wood with an iron grill, and the staircase, built into the wall, leads up to the first floor level, which is now open to the story above, but would have seemingly been originally separated by a wooden floor, providing two levels of living quarters.

Other examples of towers clearly built for community use are the two at Hexham. Hexham Gaol, likely built in the 1330s, and Hexham Moot Hall, built sometime in the late 14th or early 15th century, both had implied communal uses, one as a gaol and the other primarily as a courthouse, with a possible residence area for the bailiff to the Archbishop of York.[206] Both of these buildings survive relatively unchanged, and are the only buildings on the 1415 survey which we know were built specifically for community use and not as dwellings, so they create an interesting example of how these towers functioned in their communities.

Again, it seems likely that these buildings could have been used as havens by the local populous in times of violence, particularly the moot hall, which is the only fortified communal building of its kind in

206 P. Ryder, *The Two Towers Of Hexham,* Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1994, 11.

early fifteenth century Northumberland, but again neither of the towers at Hexham were included in the 1541 survey, possibly due to their small size, or because they fell under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York.

While the 1541 survey provides little detailed insight into this type of protection it, has helped to show that the larger fortifications, particularly those placed closer to the border, were meant to house garrisons and use those garrisons to protect the surrounding areas from invading Scots, as can be seen happening with the Norham garrison in chronicle accounts.[207] Smaller fortifications were built more for personal protection than for the housing of a large garrison and the protection of an area, though seemingly one fortification in an area of a village could provide for the shelter and protection of a small population against local violence or small raiding forces, such as the local vicar's pele.

Case Study: Bamburgh

Outside of the 1415 and 1541 surveys of fortification conducted in Northumberland and the marches, no castle or tower received near as much negative attention in the fourteenth century as Bamburgh.[208] Located on the central east coast of the county, the history of the site spans back at least as far back as wooden stronghold in the sixth century CE, and remained a key site for the kings of Northumbria until it was taken by the forces of William Rufus in 1095, from which point it remained in the hands of the English crown until the start of the

Figure 45 Bamburgh Castle from the South, showing the 12th century gatehouse, largely built over in the 19th century. Image: O.B. Paterson, 2018.

207 See *Scalacronica* 81-85, and *Lanercost* 198.
208 Survey 1415; Survey 1541 MM; Survey 1541 EM

seventeenth century.[209]

One of only three royal castles in Northumberland in the fourteenth century, Bamburgh stands out as it is the only one not part of an important harbour fortified city – the other two being Newcastle and Berwick. Bamburgh, therefore, saw little but neglect from fourteenth-century monarchs, and those in charge of its upkeep struggled to get by. The clear strategic location and military superiority of the others shows clearly through the number of visits paid to each royal castle by the first three kings of the century. From the start of the Scottish succession crisis and Edward I's visits to the north in 1291, he spent 155 total days in Berwick castle, 42 days at Newcastle, and only 9 days at Bamburgh. In his entire reign, Edward II spent 311 days in Berwick, 73 at Newcastle, and only 5 at Bamburgh, and in the most tumultuous years of his reign, Edward III spent 134 days total at Berwick, 157 at Newcastle, and none at Bamburgh. Instead, Bamburgh was run by an ever-revolving door of constables, dominated by no single family and with little interest from the crown.[210] The impact of this poor management can be seen clearly through the long list of complaints and petitions which reached the king in the mid-fourteenth century from tenants, constables and prisoners of Bamburgh Castle, and give us the most comprehensive look at how a castle functioned, or at least was expected to function, within its community.

From the view of the Bamburgh's medieval tenants, the castle seemingly provided as much hardship as it did protection. Various early fourteenth century petitions to the crown make it clear that rents and service in the keeping of the gate were due the castle from the tenants, seemingly in agreement not only for the keeping of their lands, but also for the protection that the castle and the garrison should have provided them. The castle, though, did not make good on those promises. Between 1318 and 1334, at least ten petitions were sent to the crown from the people of Bamburgh begging for reprieve from the sums owed to the crown or the castle, as their lands had been so badly damaged by the Scots that they could levy no money for payment.[211]

---

209 The best public source for the history of Bamburgh Castle is the castle's own website: https://www.bamburghcastle.com/castle/

210 Rickard, *Castle Community,* 348-349:
Walter de Camhou, 1288-1293 *CFR 1272-1307* p.327;
Hugh Gobioun 1295 *CFR 1272-1307* p.361;
John de Warenne 1295-1301 *CFR 1272-1307* p.361 & *CPR 1292-1301* p.605;
Isabel de Vescy 1305-1311 *CFR 1272-1307* p.528 & *CFR 1307-1319* p.121;
Henry Percy 1311 *CFR 1307-1319* p.121;
Isabel de Vescy 1312 *CFR 1307-1319* p.133 & *CPR 1307-1313* p.427;
John de Eslington 1312-1313(?) *CFR 1307-1319* p.133 & *CCR 1313-1318* p.31;
Roger de Horsley 1315 *CFR 1307-1319* p.267 & *CCR 1313-1318* p.532;
William de Felton, 1315-1316 *CFR 1307-1319* p.267, 313;
Roger Heron, 1316-1318(?) *CFR 1307-1319* p.313,344;
John de Fenwick, 1318 *CCR 1313-1318* p.532 & *CPR 1317-1321* p.76;
Roger de Horsley, 1318-1327 *CFR 1327-1337* p.5 & *CPR 1317-1321 p.76*
Robert de Hornclyf, 1327-1332 *CFR 1327-1337* p.5, 296

211 NA SC 8/218/10871, SC 8/34/1652, SC 8/32/1565, SC 8/95/4725

Most notably, the last of these, in 1334, specifically states that the reason for this attack was the Queens presence at Bamburgh Castle, laying the fault squarely at the king's feet.[212] During this time we know that there was a garrison kept at Bamburgh Castle, or at least there had been in 1312 and 1327, because of petitions to the crown for the repayment of this garrison, so if not protecting the surrounding lands (as had been done at Norham, and presumably Wark and Berwick) Bamburgh's garrison was presumably responsible for protecting only the castle itself and its inhabitants – or at least only performed that portion of their duties.[213]

Perhaps more interestingly, these same petitions show us some of the rights that these men and women expected to enjoy as part of their tenancy. The most important right seems to have been that to seek refuge, for themselves and their goods, in the castle in times of violence. Between 1315 and 1318, three petitions came to the crown complaining of the abuse of the officials at Bamburgh Castle for charging for refuge in the castle for people and goods, and in one instance charging on multiple occasions for the same service. The first, in 1315, came from the people of Bamburgh and with multiple complaints, first alleging the then-constable, likely either John de Eslington or Roger de Horsely, thwarted a peace treaty with the Earl of Moray by demanding the people of Bamburgh pay him a sum equal to that paid to the Earl to allow the peace to go forward. On the same petition, they stated that 'when they brought their goods to the castle for safe-keeping, the constable charged them 12d for each plot, while the gate-keepers also charged them fines to enter and leave the castle.' [214]

Two petitions followed ca. 1318 – one from the Burgesses of Bamburgh, and one from the people of Shoreston and North Sunderland. Slightly less damning in their tone, both of these simply asked that the fee requested of them upon entrance to the castle be lifted. The petitions made by the burgesses went on to say that inhabitants will 'shelter at their own cost and help keeping watch and guard' should they be given free entry.[215] Though none of this suggests that entry and shelter into the castle without payment was expected as a right given to tenants of the area, the multiple petitions to the crown requesting it – and the fact that these petitions are only seen in Bamburgh in this period – does suggest that such entry was likely given as a custom elsewhere.

Another custom violated by the constables at Bamburgh was that of the tenancy itself. Two complaints came to the crown in 1332 for a remedy, as at every change of constable, the tenants were forced

212 Specific petition - SC 8/32/1566
213 For examples of the use of the garrison at Norham, *Scalacronica* makes an interesting source, specifically references to their defence of the Scottish attacks, p.83. Claims for repayment of garrison - SC 8/53/2605B is an indenture between Edward III and Robert de Horncliffe, evidencing the keeping of hobelars and men at arms at Bamburgh castle from early September 1327. SC 1/61/44 provides evidence for the 'reinforcement of the garrison at Bamburgh' in 1312.
214 NA SC 8/218/10871
215 Burgesses of Bamburgh – NA SC 8/34/1652, Tenants of Shoreston – 8/74/3681

to purchase a new 20 or 40 year lease, a major inconvenience as in the twenty years preceding these petitions the position of constable of Bamburgh castle had changed hands a minimum of seven times, and at least twelve times in the preceding forty years.[216] This petition must have had an impact, as an inquiry was launched and only three years later, in 1335, that Ralph de Neville was granted constableship of the castle for his lifetime, and the constant change in constables was ended, at least for a time.[217]

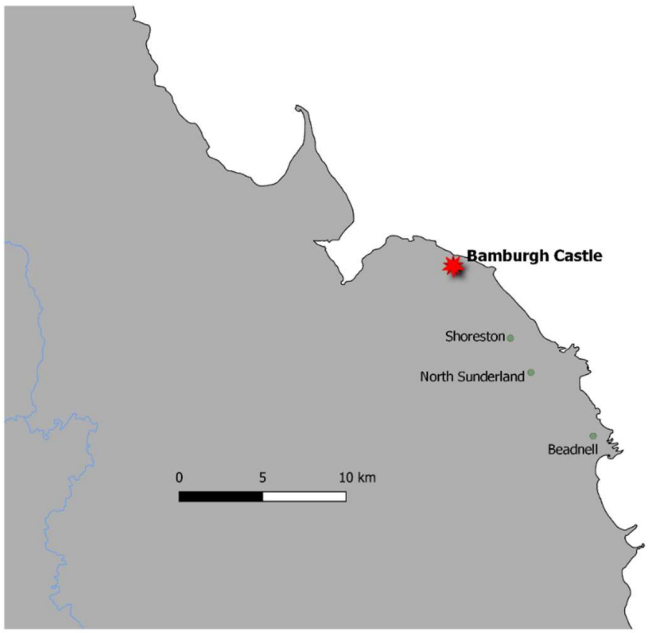


Figure 46 Map of Bamburgh Castle in relation to sites lodging complaints over their rights as tenants of Bamburgh Castle - Goulet-Paterson 2021

Thanks to these instances of corruption, we can see that the royal castle had a vast array of tenants who were beholden to the constable to pay rents and perform guard service, though in return they expected some level of protection from the castle and from the crown – as can be seen in the anger which resulted from the attack during the queens visit in 1333. The specific wording of this petition, and the fact that the people chose to point out that they were attacked while the Queen was staying there, could imply that they saw the Queens presence at Bamburgh as reason for the Scots attack. That then, begs the question, would this region have been a target if there was no major prize to be had there – namely no Queen? As mentioned earlier, aside from the occasion of the Queens visit, Bamburgh saw far less attention from the English crown, both physically and financially than did the other two royal castles in Northumberland – likely due to its slightly inconvenient location, but the region experienced a handful of direct assaults from the Scots in the first half of the century seemingly due to the presence of the royal castle and particularly in 1333, a member

216 Rickard, *Castle Community,* 348-349: (for full list, see note 212)
217 Rickard, *Castle Community*, 349 (CPR 1334-1338 p.174)

of the English royal family. This means that the simple existence of this major fortification put the people in the region of Bamburgh at a higher level of risk, and the people of Bamburgh seem to have perceived that and were attempting to use it as leverage to ease their burdens in the petitions of 1332.

These documents also tell us that both royal and seigneurial castles were used as to hold prisoners, and many examples of both local and Scottish prisoners can be found in the lists of petitions for Bamburgh, for local court and trade matters, and that the constables and castle keepers were also in charge of justice in the region, as shown by the digging of an illegal ditch, and its punishment by Bamburgh's castle keeper c.1307.[218]

Though the purpose of the castle in this period is to ease that risk, and perhaps, had the castle at Bamburgh done a better job at protecting and caring for its tenants in these years, the regions perception of the castles' protection may have been kinder. Moving away from the 1415 survey and towards the next survey conducted, in 1541, the perception of protection leant by these buildings becomes extremely important, as a large proportion of the buildings on the survey are listed for the protection they could provide, and not what they do provide. Even in the early fourteenth century, the inhabitants of the surrounding region were striving to make Bamburgh into a centre of protection that, perhaps due to inept leadership, it had not been for some time.

Crime & Lawlessness

When trying to assess whether fourteenth-century Northumberland was a wild and lawless land relative to other English counties, aside from its position on the border, putting any type of statistics for crime rates together becomes quite difficult. While, technically, some basic level of analysis for the levels of crime in the various counties could be achieved through the thorough perusal of the Gaol Delivery rolls, in the northern counties this might not paint an accurate picture of the level of crime which actually occurred, due to the unusual impact of the border conflict on crime and justice in the border region and differing modes of justice in the liberties.

Northumberland's location on the border with Scotland, and within a conflict zone for nearly all of the fourteenth century made it extremely susceptible to at least three types of crime. This first type is domestic crime such as thefts, murders, assaults, etc., which were committed generally between one Englishman and another and could happen anywhere in the country. These are the cases which are mainly be

218 NA SC 8/53/2601

found on the gaol delivery rolls.[219] The second type of crime is associated mainly with the county's border location – the crimes which were committed by or against Scots in England, or by Northumbrians in Scotland, and was generally settled by March law from the latter half of the thirteenth-century. Cross-border crimes, and the issue of how to settle disputes between parties on either side of the border, became an important political issue when, with the Treaty of York in 1237, concessions were made by both sides, and the boundary between England and Scotland settled, more or less as we know it today.[220] With the border agreed and a relative peace in existence between the two nations, a system of march law was put in place through a series of negotiations held in southern Scotland in 1249.[221] This system was created to preside over infractions or disputes which involved both nations, and cases were typically heard by mixed juries, though beyond that, outdated practices such as a form of wergild, and trials by combat were frequently used.[222]

From the outset of his reign, however, Edward I sought to chip away at these practices of the north and bring border justice under his own control, especially as the proclaimed overlord of Scotland in the last decade of his reign. The handling of crimes against Scots within the English court system could have only spurred on the English to commit such crimes and according to Cynthia Neville after the outbreak of war 'The question of punishment for offences done by Englishmen against Scots became, almost by definition, redundant, and violence committed against the king's enemies was pardoned, if not actively encouraged.'[223] Through all of this, however, march custom survived, and while some were tried in the English courts, some continued to be tried in the old custom of the march courts, leaving no consistency to the punishment or crimes committed in the border counties. [224] Throughout the fourteenth century, positions like Conservators of the Truce, and then Wardens of the March arose and grew in power in order to aid these issues, but it was not until 1346 that the Wardens of the Marches were officially given the duty of keeping the truces, with authority to punish truce-breakers, and not until 1373 were the Wardens were allowed to arrange a 'March-day' to allow for the cross-border issues to be addressed.[225] Even, then, into the end of the fourteenth-century, cross-border crimes were treated differently from other crimes and addressed in different courts, leaving little evidence behind.[226]

---

219 National Archives JUST 3, incl. JUST 3/173, JUST 3/165A
220 According to Richard Lomas' *County of Conflict,* in the Treaty of York: 'Alexander gave up his claim to the earldom of Northumbria; and in return Henry agreed to increase the size of the Tynedale lordship' Lomas, *County of Conflict,* 33. Berwick would become the main point of contention moving forward.
221 For a detailed account of the creation, impact and terms of the laws and customs of the March, see Cynthia Neville, *Violence Custom & Law: The Anglo-Scottish Border Lands in the Later Middle-*Ages (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), Introduction & Chapter 1.
222 Neville, *Violence, Custom & Law,* 6.
223 Ibid., 15.
224 Ibid., 8-9.
225 The Office of Warden of the Marches; Its Origin and Early History Author(s): R. R. Reid: *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 32, No. 128 (Oct., 1917), p.482-483
226 Neville, *Violence, Custom & Law,* 5-7.

If we were to assume that all cases tried in the March courts were in some way connected to the war or the border, and took them out of the equation, we would still be left with the slightly hazy third category of crimes, those which were inspired by the violence of the wars and the confusion of the legal system to commit opportunistic crimes. These are harder to pin down, but a clear group of examples shows that such crimes did occur. The first, and perhaps most obvious, were acts mainly of theft or violence against Scots or those aiding them, acts which seemingly would not have taken place had the perpetrators feared serious repercussions, and indeed which were overlooked if not encouraged, especially during the reign of Edward I.[227] This last category of crime, most likely tried in the English courts (when tried at all), would undoubtedly skew the figures of crime in Northumberland. Yet taking away those issues tried in march courts, as well as concerns brought by the liberties such as Tynedale and Redesdale, it is difficult to say with any degree of certainty that Northumberland had a greater degree of internal crime than any other English county, particularly in the fourteenth century.[228] In his seminal study of the keeping of law and order in late medieval Northumberland, based mainly on assize rolls, gaol delivery rolls and records of the court of the king's bench, Henry Summerson concludes that towards the end of the thirteenth century, Northumberland had relative rates of crime which were no higher than anywhere else in England, and while the Anglo-Scottish conflict certainly had a negative impact on law and order from the end of the start of the Wars of Independence, there was certainly never a significant collapse in the systems of law keeping throughout the county.[229] The primary evidence for this is the continued functioning of the circuit courts, with the only notable gap under Edward II, between c.1309 and c.1321.[230]

Often presented as a county beyond the king's justice and a haven for lawlessness, in fact justice in the north had taken a different, if slightly harsher form, where power was delegated from the king to local officials, with the power of the wardens gradually increased throughout the century, allowing for the kind of oppression described in *Vita* around 1319, which was described as a worse affliction upon the county than

227 Ibid., 15.

228 For more on the subject of law and order in late medieval England, particularly along the border, see: *Cynthia Neville's Violence, Custom and the Law: The Anglo-Scottish Border Lands in the Later Middle Ages;* 228 *Regions and Regionalism in History: Liberties and Identities in the Medieval British Isles,* Ed. M. Prestwich 2008, including many noteworthy pieces, such as: 'Peacekeepers and Lawbreakers in Medieval Northumberland, 1200-1500', H. Summerson, and 'Arbitration and Anglo-Scottish Border Law in the later middle ages' by Cynthia Neville. *Crime, law, and society in the later Middle Ages : selected sources*, trans.by Anthony Musson and Edward Powell, 2009; and *Medieval crime and Social Control*, Ed. B. Hanawalt and David Wallace, 1999.

229 Peacekeepers and Lawbreakers in Medieval Northumberland, 1200-1500, Henry Summerson. For crime in the 13th century he cites *Three early assize rolls for the county of Nortymberland, sæc. XIII,* which provides rates of various crimes throughout Northumberland from 1269-1279, and compares them to the rest of England. (p.60)
His study also uses various National Archive records from the court of the king's bench (KB) and gaol delivery rolls (JUST).

230 Assize rolls exist for the northern circuit for 1308-1309 (NA JUST 1/660), some miscellaneous records exist for the courts of 1314-1315 (JUST 1/1364), though in 1319 a complaint was made that the assize courts had not sat in ten years (Northumberland Petitions, 115-116, King *Thesis*, 190); and again in c1321 asking for the court to sit as they had not in 12 years (NA SC 8/64/3198). Otherwise records of the northern circuit of the assize court for the rest of the century with no more than a three-year gap (1332-1335), until 1385, when another decade elapses with no records. All records in NA JUST 1 (1404, 1417, 1421, 1425, 1435, 1444, 1440, 1460, 464, 661, 1475)

the Scots.[231] These measures were, however, often deemed necessary for the keeping of a degree of fairness and order in a county persistently plagued by border raiding.

Of course, it is not possible to take all border-related crimes out of the equation entirely. We know that Northumberland was often a violent place in the late-medieval period, and it is nearly impossible to disentangle many of the crimes which were committed simply using the violence of the wars as an opportunity. Instead of attempting to pick violence apart by category, moving forward in this section we will attempt to understand, using various case studies of famous or important crimes committed throughout the century, how dangerous or 'lawless' a territory Northumberland was outside of Scottish involvement, including larger civil conflicts, and - crucially – what impact this had on the erection of fortification in this period. We will also examine what other uses fortifications had in everyday Northumbrian life, to see how much of a role peaceful and administrative activities had in the motivations behind their construction.

Local Squabbles and Civil Violence

Among the most cited examples of crime in Northumberland were the 1317-1318 raids of the county by what later became known as the 'Mitford Gang' from its leader, Gilbert de Middleton, who was constable of the castle of Mitford under its then-owner Aymer de Valence, eleventh earl of Pembroke. The accounts of the turmoil wreaked by Middleton's band vary greatly. While most contemporary chronicles give only the briefest accounts of the incidents, typically centered on the attack on the bishop-elect of Durham, Louis de Beaumont, and the two cardinals accompanying him en-route to Durham, important details vary in each, and the accounts in *Scalacronica* and Trokelowe give rather fuller accounts.[232] The importance of reconstructing the most likely course of events is significant for determining whether these crimes were motivated purely out of self-interest, and a lack of law and order in the north, or if they were just another phase of the conflict on the Anglo-Scottish border. Despite its often glaring bias towards the Grey family, the *Scalacronica* is generally considered one of the most authoritative narratives for early border conflict, being one of the few surviving accounts written by a member of a Northumbrian gentry family in this period. Likely because of Sir Thomas Grey's interest in border affairs, *Scalacronica* – written c. 1355-1363 - presents the longest description of the events which took place in involving Gilbert de Middleton in Northumberland between 1317 and 1318. It notes that

231 For more information on the roles of Wardens of the Marches, see R.R. Reid, 'The office of the Warden of the Marches,' in *The English Historical Review* v.32 No. 128 (Oct., 1917), 479-496. and R.L. Storey 'The Wardens of the Marches of England towards Scotland, 1377-1489,' in *The English Historical Review* v72, No. 285 (Oct., 1957), 593-615; *Vita* 103.

232 For a more in-depth analysis of the activities of Gilbert de Middleton's activities, see M. Prestwich's paper 'Gilbert de Middleton and the attack on the cardinals 1317' in *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Karl Leyser,* Ed. T. Reuter, Bloomsbury Publishing, 1992.

> 'because he king had caused his cousin Adam de Swinburne to be arrested because he had spoken too frankly to him about the condition of the marches', Gilbert…with adherance of others upon the Marches, rode upon a foray into Cleveland, and committed other great destruction, having the assistance of nearly all Northumberland, except the castles of Bamborough, Alnwick and Norham, of which the two first named were treating with the enemy, the one by means of hostages the other by collusion, when the said Gilbert was taken through treachery of his own people in the castle of Mitford by William de Felton, Thomas de Heton, and Robert Horncliffe, and was hanged in London… On account of all this, the Scots had become so bold, that they subdued the Marches of England and cast down the castles of Wark and Harbottle, so that hardly was there an Englishman who dared to withstand them.'[233]

Figure 47 Remains of Mitford castle keep, 12-13c, OB Goulet Paterson 2022.

The possible significance here is twofold. The first is that Grey, who was likely alive (though possibly very young) in 1317-1318, remembers this to have been such a major event affecting the whole county, that de Middleton had been able to garner so much support, implying that he had so many fortifications under his sway. Grey's family had a long history of holding the constableship of Norham Castle, with his father possibly even holding the post in 1317 (and at least from 1322), so he was showing his clear bias by stressing that Norham was the only castle in the county which had stayed loyal and managed to stand against de Middleton and his allies in an admirable manner.[234] The second point is that Grey does not state that de Middleton was in collusion with

233 *Scalachronica*, 60-61.
234C.M. Fraser, *Ancient Petitions Relating to Northumberland* (Gateshead: Surtees Society v176, 1961), 62.

the Scots, but merely that they took advantage of the chaos. Instead, Grey paints Middleton almost as a northern patriot towards the beginning, someone who has stood up to the king for treating his cousin unjustly, after his cousin dared speak to the king 'too frankly about the condition of the marches', and whose actions had garnered the support of 'nearly all of Northumberland'.[235] So Grey, as someone with insight into the culture of Northumberland at the time, seemed to perceive this more as a widely supported rebellion against an unjust and incompetent royal government than a self-interested and uncontrolled riot.[236] If this was the case, Middleton, and possible Grey, would not be alone in the feeling that the north of England had been failed by Edward II. Only five years after Gilbert de Middleton had been executed for treason, Andrew de Harcla, earl of Carlise and sheriff of Cumberland, and once favoured military leader of Edward II, was put to death for attempting to negotiate a peace with the Scots in 1323.[237]

On the other end of the spectrum, John de Trokelowe's *Chronicle*, written by a Benedictine monk who also would have lived through the events and was very possibly based at Tynemouth, describes de Middleton and his group as brigands who unexpectedly attacked the cardinals and Louis de Beaumont, en-route to Durham. Again, there may be significant religious bias here at play, which causes political events in the background to be excluded from the entry, particularly as it goes on to detail that de Middleton had attacked Tynemouth before being captured at Mitford, and his co-conspirator Walter de Selby managed to capture the peel at Horton.[238] The lack of significance, however, given to the event by the *Lanercost Chronicle*, which was written within living memory of the event, and provides detail on most significant border events, makes it seem that this affair was not of much significance nationally, or even to border affairs, and makes unlikely the later accusation that de Middleton was in league with the Scots..[239] Despite their varying opinions on the motives of Gilbert de Middleton, and the fact that his hold over the area seems to have been short-lived, both Thomas Grey and Trokelowe seem to have perceived his escapades in 1317-18 to have had some impact, and to have reached to multiple fortifications across Northumberland. It seems fairly certain that Mitford Castle and Horton Pele were under the control of de Middleton and his allies at some point, as was Eshott Castle, thanks to the participation of Roger Maudit. He also had the support of Henry de Lilburne, though it is not certain if the two towers at West Lilburne yet existed at such an early date.[240] In addition, it seems likely that Tynemouth was attacked, and Alnwick was approached in some way,

---

[235] S*calachronica*, 60-61.
236 *Scalachronica*, 60-61.
237 See H. Summerson's OBND entry on Sndrew de Harclay [Harcla], earl of Carlise, published 2004: https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/12235
238 *Trokewlowe* 99-101
239 Holinshed claimed that Middleton was in league with Robert the Bruce, R. Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicle of England, Scotland, and Ireland*. (London: J. Johnson, F.C. and J. Rivington, T. Payne, Wilkie and Robinson, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, Caddell and Davies, J. Mawman, and R.H. Evans, 1807), 555.
240 A.E. Middleton, *Sir Gilbert de Middleton,* (Newcastle: Mawson Swan & Morgan Limited, 1918), 28; fortifications based on owners and tower houses data, compiled in chapter 4. First evidence for the construction of towers at Lilburne around 1400, but Henry is 'of West Lilburne' in Middleton's book.

meaning Middleton likely had a significant force of some kind, owing to the might of both of these fortifications by 1317.[241] All of this appears to favour Grey's view, not of a ragged group of brigands sacking the county, but on a semi-united Northumbrian front against mistreatment from a southern government, which takes this incident outside the realm of local violence and infighting. Instead, this looks more like a matter of regional rebellion, which seems isolated to the reign of Edward II.

Edward's utter mismanagement of the war with Scotland and his failure to defend Northumberland further destabilized the county as civil war loomed. The construction of Dunstanburgh, in fact, is the only reliable example of a fortification built in Northumberland which we can say for certainty was not built to fortify against the Scots, and so far as we know was never targeted by Scottish incursions. Instead, the construction of Dunstanburgh began in 1313, on the instruction of Thomas of Lancaster shortly after his involvement in the *coup de main* which ended in the death of Piers Gaveston, a much-hated favourite of Edward II. [242] The castle was seemingly inhabitable by 1319, and after his failed uprising against Edward in 1322, Thomas made for the Dunstanburgh, bringing the king's forces north in pursuit, but he was caught in Yorkshire.[243] After this, the crown took possession of the castle, and continued building works, eventually passing it to Thomas' younger brother, Henry.[244] This was not the first time that Edward II had brought internal political conflict into Northumberland. In his attempt to save the life of his favourite Piers Gaveston in 1312, Edward II fled north and along Gaveston and Edward's heavily pregnant wife, took shelter in Tynemouth Priory. From there, he sailed to Scarborough, pursued by opposition forces, including Thomas of Lancaster, Robert Clifford and Henry Percy.[245]

Despite having been used in times of civil conflict under Edward II, the actual erection of fortifications at Tynemouth was far more a response to war with the Scots than any internal struggles, as discussed in chapter one. Though the site had been used as a stronghold from at least the rebellion of Robert de Mowbray against William Rufus in 1095, the initial construction of stone defences at Tynemouth, including a perimeter curtain wall with towers was undertaken by Edward I immediately after the start of the first war of Independence, and most requests for aid and repair of the fortifications on behalf of the priory attribute their problems to the Scottish conflict as well.

241 Aside from Tynemouth being explicitly mentioned in Trokelowe's chronicle, a petition to the crown from Robert Deleval in 1318 requests reimbursement, partially for the defense of Tynemouth against Middleton by him and his men at his own cost. SC 8/80/3994, *Trokelowe*, 99-102.
242 For more information on this conflict, and the reign of Edward II, see: Seymour Phillips, *Edward II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Lordship, castles and locality: Thomas of Lancaster, Dunstanburgh Castle and the Lancastrian affinity in Northumberland, 1296-1322' King, Andy. (2001) - In: *AA* Ser. 5, vol. 29 (2001) p. 223-234
243 https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/dunstanburgh-castle/history/
244 *CA* ii, 332; A. Oswald, *Dunstanburgh Castle,* 30-31.
245 Tynemouth guidebook p. 29, Seymour Phillips *Edward II* p.187

What this shows is that, except for Dunstanburgh, which was built to fend off a potential attack from Edward II, there is no reason to believe that civil conflict contributed to the erection of any fortifications in fourteenth-century Northumberland. Nor is there necessarily reason to believe that the majority of smaller sites constructed in this period were being used for defence in local squabbles, though it should be noted that the extant evidence pertains to the operation of larger sites such as Dunstanburgh, Newcastle and Tynemouth, making the day-to-day use of these sites often difficult to discern prior to the survey of 1541, when more information on their use is given. Significantly, save for the instability caused by border raiding, there is no evidence to suggest that Northumberland saw a higher level of lawlessness than any other English county.

This argument is backed up by Dr. Andy King's PhD thesis on the topic *War, politics and landed society in Northumberland c.1296-c.1408.* King's chapter on disorder in the county summarizes the obstacles facing law and order in Northumberland. Of course, King mentions Middleton's rebellion, but also the various activities of John de Lilburne outside of his support for Mitford – including his support for Thomas Earl of Lancaster in his opposition to Edward II. Lilburne was initially embroiled in turmoil when he and some others attempted to murder a Berwick justice outside of Alnwick in 1314, as retribution for the hangings of a group of men suspected of treason in Berwick.[246] Similar to the Middleton incident a few years later, this act was heavily connected to political discontent and border conflict. According to King, the men who were hanged in Berwick were suspected of trying to 'sell' Berwick to the Scots, but were very likely trying to negotiate a truce, and their execution caused Lilburne and others to hurl threats at the justices responsible for the hangings.[247]

The primary seigneurial feud which does warrant a mention is that of the Herons and the Greys, which has been speculated to have led to the building of Etal castle by the Manners family shortly after the building of nearby Ford by the manner alleged 'rivals', the Herron family. There is no evidence of this feud, however, in the fourteenth century. It wasn't until 1428, when John Manners of Etal was accused of coming to Ford with a host and murdering William Heron the younger. The case went on for three years, but it is alleged that the feud between the two families was an ongoing one – possibly the issue which gave rise to the suspicion the Etal was built to protect the Manners against the Herons.[248] The lack of evidence showing an existing feud earlier, and Hugill's assertion that the Manners waited for the completion of Ford, before

246 *CDS* iii, 73, no. 384
247 King, *War, Politics and Landed Society,* 134.
248 K.H. Vickers, *History of Northumberland* vol. XI, (1922), p.380-381, further sources – IPM 6 Hen VI no. 15; Ford Tithe Case p. 232, C Pat. Rolls 1422-1429 p.467.

employing the same builder to construct Etal paints a different picture, though sadly this point has been impossible to substantiate.[249]

King mentions a handful of other incidents, including the abduction of the war-widow, Lady Clifford in 1315, the murder of John de Coupland in 1363, and various robberies and murders, however King's central conclusion remains that law and order in Northumberland was no more degraded than anywhere else in England.[250] The main cause of the concerns, as proposed by King, in the fourteenth century were those brought into the county from elsewhere to defend and garrison the various castles, though as we have seen in chapter one, petitions were often made for requests for payment of these garrisons, and King puts forward that the general violence caused by these men may have been down mainly to hunger and deprivation.[251] This view is supported by complaints from the keeper of Berwick in 1316 and constable of Alnwick in 1317 of desertion of the garrisons due to non-payment.[252] In the conclusion of his detailed study, King concluded that:

> 'Northumbrians such as Lilleburn and Ogle were not operating entirely outside of the law; they clearly regarded armed force as a complement to legal process rather than an alternative. John de Coupland's enemies only resorted to murder after all legal channels for redress had been tried. For all that they might try to turn royal administration to their own advantage, the Northumbrian gentry, in common with the gentry of the whole country, evidently had an ingrained habit of obedience to that administration, and a certain reluctance to disturb the king's peace. The crown's maintenance of law and order in fourteenth-century Northumberland was not overly effective - but on the whole, it was not perhaps markedly more ineffective than elsewhere in England at the time.'[253]

Meaning that, at least in King's opinion, and based on the most thorough study on the matter, much of the violence which occurred in Northumberland in the fourteenth century was not due to a breakdown of law and order, but a roundabout means of enforcement in the complex legal society which existed there. Instead, the primary obstacle to keeping law and order within the county, at least by the start of the fifteenth century, seemed to be the liberties, which will be covered in depth in the next section.

249 Hugill, *Borderland Castles and Peles*, 101.
250 Abduction of Maud de Clifford: described in *Scalacronica* 147; Murder of John de Coupland, CPR 1361-4, p. 453; C 145/187/19 – King, *War, Politics and Landed Society,* 133-4, 165-6
251 *War, Politics and Landed Society,* 139.
252 1316: *CDS,* iii, no. 470.. 1317: Northumb. Pets, p. 158; CDS, iii, app. vii, p. 394.; *Vita Edwardi*, 70.
253 King, *War, Politics and Landed Society in Northumberland,* 194.

'Numerous Murders, Treasons, Homicides and Robberies': The Liberties of Northumberland

Within the official boundary of Northumberland lay several major 'liberties', including not only Tynedale, Redesdale and Hexhamshire, but also Tynemouth and various areas belonging to the bishopric of Durham.[254] Within these areas, the crown's powers were restricted in different ways, most typically in jurisdiction and the keeping of law and order, but often also in the collection of taxes, and instead the lord or bishop residing over these areas would have control over such matters. Each liberty differed in origin and therefore also in its franchises, but the very extent of the liberties in Northumberland, especially Tynedale and Redesdale which made up a large part of eastern Northumberland, placed substantial limitations on the kings' power in the county.

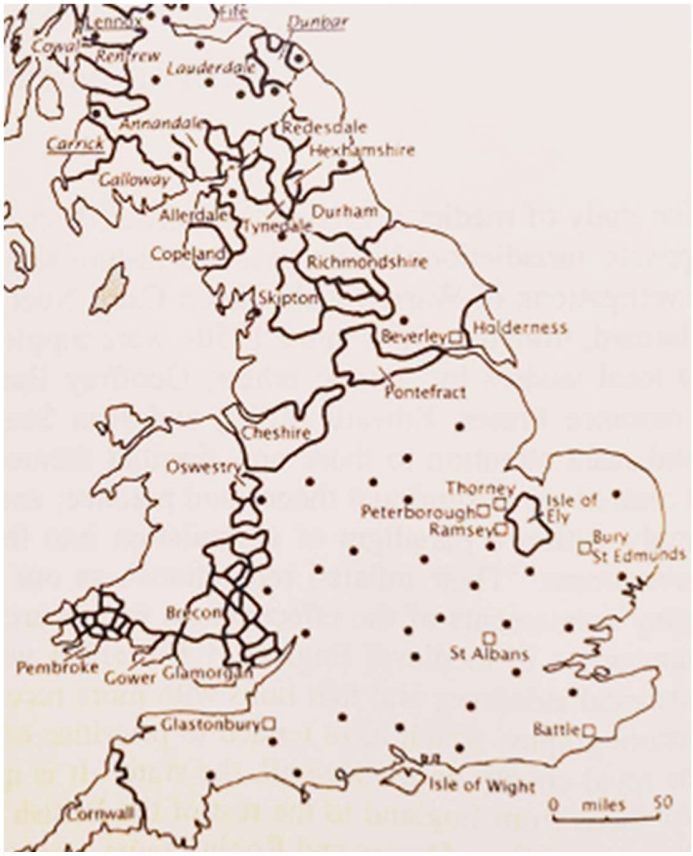


Figure 48 Map of English liberties c.1250 in 'States, Liberties and Communities in Medieval Britain and Ireland (c.1100-1400)' by Keith Stringer, in Liberties and Identities in the Medieval British Isles, ed. Michael Prestwich, Boydwell Press, 2008, p.6

By the fifteenth century, the liberties may have contributed more to Northumberland's reputation for violence and lawlessness, as can be seen by descriptions of fortifications in the region on the 1541 surveys. By then series of petitions had been sent to parliament complaining of the lack of law and order among the men of the liberties, complaining mainly of robberies and the carrying off of cattle.[255] The ongoing problems with disorder eventually resulted in the abolition of the liberties of Tynedale and Redesdale liberties with Tynedale in 1495 and c.1536.[256]

Typical of such complaints was that 'numerous murders, treasons, homicides and robberies and other crimes are daily committed against the said commons by various people of the franchises of Tyndale, Riddesdale and Hexhamshire'[Parliament,

254 The most comprehensive volume on English liberties is M. Prestwich's collection of essays: M. Prestwich, *Regions and Regionalism in History: Liberties and Identities in the Medieval British Isles* (Woodbridge: Boydwell Press, 2008). This volume contains several influential articles including C.Etty 'Neighbours from Hell? Living with Tynedale and Redesdale, 1489-1547,' 120-140; K. Stringer, 'States, Liberties and communities in medieval Britain and Ireland (c.1100-1400),' 5-36; and H. Summerson, 'Peacekeepers and Lawbreakers in medieval Northumberland c.1200-1500,' 56-76.

255 NA SC 8/130/6459 (calling for resumption of courts in Tynedale 1421), SC 8/62/3067 (stolen lands in Tynedale, c.1400), C 1/12/221 (theft of cattle from Redesdale, 1321),

256 Petitions to parliament, 1414, 1421, 1445, as seen in C. Etty 'Neighbours from Hell? Living with Tynedale and Redesdale 1489-1547,' in *Liberties and Identities in the Medieval British Isles,* ed. M. Prestwich (Middlesbrough: Boydwell Press, 2008), 120-121; *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England* – accessible publicly via 'Actis of English Parliament Online' - Henry V : Parliament of 1414 item 20; Parliament of May 1421, item 22; *CPR 1446-1452,* 137.

April 1414]. These complaints, however, were usually left to the lords of the liberties to deal with – the king of Scotland for Tynedale, the Umfrevilles for Redesdale, and the archbishops of York for Hexhamshire. [257] While English law held sway in Tynedale, the claim of the Kings of Scotland to the area made the loyalties of the area murky, and although Tynedale was technically part of Northumberland, with its centre at Wark-on-Tyne, court proceedings for the region might actually be held in Scotland, at least through the late 13th century.[258] Such blurred loyalties may well have contributed to the ability of the Scots to come down the western portion of the county and enter into other regions of Northumberland.

Significantly, the first extant complaint was not made to parliament regarding the Northumbrian liberties until 1414, while by contrast all complaints of violence which were made from the county throughout the fourteenth century focused on damage being done by the Scots. Despite their differing allegiances in the conflict, several academics attest to the running of a functional courts system in the liberties, or at least a hierarchy of justice in the liberties through the fourteenth century, including Henry Summerson, Claire Etty and Edward Chatton.[259] Summerson, while acknowledging the relative disorder of the liberties, maintains that even within these areas, there were 'attempts to avoid a collapse into total anarchy [in the fifteenth century],' and officials were appointed to keep order when the lords were not present to do the job themselves.[260]

Claire Etty's paper on living on Tynedale and Redesdale in the later centuries even implies that the problems with the liberties specifically at the end of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century were caused by a lack of significant presence by the Percies in the north in that period, which could also explain the complaints of the lack of order in the area in the first part of the fifteenth century.[261] Following their involvement in the rebellions against Henry IV at the start of the century, the most prominent members of the Percy family were stripped of their lands and titles and took refuge in Scotland. It wasn't until after Henry V had come into power that the second Earl of Northumberland was able to reclaim most of the titles and lands of his father, and even then it wasn't until the death of the Duke of Bedford in 1435, that the second earl was able to physically repossess many of these properties.[262] The lack of one strong unifying power in the north, as the Percies had been from the middle of the fourteenth century, may help to explain the devolution into

257 Acts of English parliament online, henry V 1414, 20.
258 Alexander II gave up his claim to the northern counties of England, and in return Henry II granted him the honour of Tynedale, from which point it was passed through the Scottish royal line – C. Neville 'Arbitration and Anglo-Scottish Border Law,' 38; E. Charlton, 'Notes on North Tynedale' *AA* 2nd Series, Vol. 3, (1859), 147-148.
259 For more information on the law system in the northern counties in the later middle ages, see C. Etty 'Neighbours from Hell? Living with Tynedale and Redesdale 1489-1547,' in *Liberties and Identities in the Medieval British Isles,* ed. M. Prestwich (Middlesbrough: Boydwell Press, 2008); H. Summerson, 'Peacekeepers and Lawbreakers in Medieval Northumberland, c.1200-c.1500,' in *Liberties and Identities in the Medieval British Isles,* ed. M. Prestwich (Middlesbrough: Boydwell Press, 2008); and E. Charlton, 'Notes on North Tynedale' *AA* 2nd Series, Vol. 3, (1859), 147-148.
260 H. Summerson, 'Peacekeepers and Lawbreakers in Medieval Northumberland, c.1200-c.1500,' 76.
261 C. Etty, 'Neighbours from Hell?,' 129.
262 Lomas, *A Power in the Land*, 84-85

disorder which occurred in the liberties in the start of the fourteenth century, and then again while the fourth earl resided in London, awaiting his majority at the end of the century.[263]

Specific links can be found between the Percies and important families of both large Northumbrian liberties. Details of the Percies close dealings with the Umfreville's, who held Redesdale from its creation until at least the sixteenth century, are plentiful, and can be found through instances of marriage and land transactions throughout the fourteenth century[264] The Percies also seemingly had some allies in Tynedale, including John Heron, who closely linked with the Charltons of Tynedale, and resided at Chipchase, close to the border of Tynedale.[265]

With the whole of the east march behind them, the Percies were not afraid to lend support to a rebellion against Richard II, who had chipped away at their power for the latter half of his reign.[266] The first Earl led the deputation that went to persuade Richard II to meet with Bolingbroke, and Hotspur served in Bolingbroke's armies, supported by a substantial border force. Their support did not go unrewarded – the first Earl served as the sword bearer at Henry IVs coronation, and the new king lavished positions around England and Wales, on both the Earl and Hotspur giving them complete control of the east and west marches in northern England, forces mustered in the north, and many key castles in Wales.[267] The favour was short-lived, however, and between 1403 and 1408, the Percies gradually lost support as they attempted to overthrow the Lancastrian regime through three separate uprisings.[268] Hotspur lost his life in 1403 and the earl, who lost his earldom in 1404 and his lands in 1406, also died in battle surrounded by the last of his followers, mainly Yorkshire farmers, in February 1408.[269]

By the end of the century, the creation of powerful northern lords, and especially positions as powerful as the wardens of the marches had seemingly created a problem for the crown. Richard Lomas believes that by the start of the fifteenth century, the Nevilles had established such a foothold in the borders that the complete removal of the Percies after their initial rebellion would have allowed for the Nevilles to take full control of the north and rival even royal power.[270] This could explain why Henry IV was so lenient with the Percies after the first rebellion, and possibly why the Henry V was so quick to allow the Percies back into power, gifting back all territories by 1416 and restoring the earldom and the Wardenship of the East

263 Ibid., 96-98
264 Ibid., 71.
265 C. Etty, 'Neighbours from Hell?,' 130.
266 For more information on dynamics between Richard II and the Percy family in the latter years of Richard's reign, see the chapter 'Counter-Revolution and Revolution, 1389-1399' in R. Lomas, *The Fall of the House of Percy, 1369-1408,* John Donald Publishing, Edinburgh, 2007. P.87-123
267 R. Lomas; *A Power in the Land: The Percys,* 74-75
268 For more information on the three uprisings in which the Percies were involved, in 1404, 1405 and 1408 see the chapter 'Hubris: Three Rebellions, 1399-1408' in R. Lomas, *The Fall of the House of Percy,* 125-154.
269 A. Rose, *Kings in the North,* 355-366
270 R. Lomas; *A Power in the Land: The Percys,* 81-83

March, allowing Percy power to continue into the fifteenth century. Almost immediately after his titles and positions were returned, the second earl petitioned the king for the return of his estates, and all of his Northumbrian holdings aside from Prudhoe, were returned to him.[271]

By time of the 1415 survey of fortification in Northumberland, the Percies had regained their position to the extent that they held more fortification than any other family, and this was before they regained the barony of Prudhoe in 1470. The Percies, it seems, were the original experiment in northern power. The Percies spent more time as Wardens of the Marches in any capacity, than any other family in the fourteenth century - nearly doubling the time spent in the same posts by the Nevilles, who come in second (roughly 95 years served, against 54 years served by the Nevilles). Starting out with a handful of properties in Yorkshire, the Percies moved north in 1309 and from there we can easily track the growth of their power through their marriages, acquisitions and building works to the massive power they became in the end of the century, and the mark of the Percy's firm grip on the north lives on today in the fortifications that tell the story.

Throughout the major liberties in Northumberland, though most particularly Tynedale, fortifications lay far less densely than they did in other parts of the county, possibly because of single ownership of such large swathes of land, or because of such frequent Scottish raiding. Those that existed may have taken a more important administrative role, given the decreased level of crown involvement in liberty affairs. The seat of Tynedale, for example, was, according to Charlton, at Wark on Tyne, and was used in the thirteenth century for courts and legal matters not settled in Scotland.[272] Castles in the liberties also served as protection from incursion, as they would have anywhere else, as shown by the attack on Wark in the early fifteenth century.[273] The same principles apply to castles in other liberties. Harbottle would likely have been the main seat Redesdale, at least after Elsdon went out of use sometime in the early fourteenth century.[274] Harbottle remained in use for the keeper of Redesdale even into the sixteenth century, when constableship of Harbottle came hand-in-hand with the keeping of the Redesdale liberty, to Lord Thomas Dacre around 1502.[275] Dacre was in this post in 1518 when he wrote to Wolsey about the state of order and taking of prisoners in the county from Harbottle, implying that the castle was being used as gaol, and a centre of justice and administration.[276] In Norhamshire, Norham Castle was owned by the Bishops of Durham, which was

---

271 A. Rose, *Kings in the North,* 371.
272 E. Charlton, 'Notes on North Tynedale,' 148-149. Charlton discusses various pieces of evidence, mainly in the Pipe Rolls, which attest to the location of the liberties' main judicial seat being located at Wark, though names none specifically.
273 C. Neville, 'Arbitration and Anglo-Scottish Border Law in the later Middle Ages,' in *Liberties and Identities in the Medieval British Isles,* ed. M. Prestwich (Middlesbrough: Boydwell Press, 2008), 51.
274 C.H. Hunter Blair, 'The Early Castles of Northumberland,' in *AA* 4, v. 28, 120 & 134. Building of Harbottle: 1157, after being ordered to fortify to protect the route down the western side of the county from invading Scots, 'Henry III, Letters, etc. Rolls, ed. I, 131; C.H. Hunter Blair, 'Elsden' in *The History of Berwickshire Naturalist Club* v. XXXI (Edinburgh: 1947), 45;
275 C. Etty, 'Neighbours from Hell?' 122; TNA E 36/214 m.478 (naming of Thomas Dacre as keeper of the middle march, and the time Claire Etty believes Dacre would also have been named keeper of Redesdale);
276 *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, v2p2: 1515-1518, (London: 1864), 1433 (23, Dec 1518, no. 4676).

continually operated as a border fortification and say several Scottish attacks. As discussed in chapter 1, while Norham was owned by the Bishopric of Durham it played a key role in the defence of the border, and the crown often played a role in its maintenance. In Islandshire, Lindisfarne Priory was fortified sometime before 1381 (the castle on Lindisfarne dates from around 1550).[277]

The general lack of complaints of violence in the fourteenth century relating to the liberties, or violent concerns within the county in general – excepting the issues early in the century with Gilbert de Middleton, seems to imply that local violence did not have as much impact on the construction of fortification in the fourteenth century, as it seems to have done by the mid sixteenth-century.[278]

Conclusion

Aside from their primary function as a residence, fortifications might serve many other critical roles within society, most notably as centres of justice, commerce, and gaols. It is therefore important to at least discuss how such functions related to fortifications in Northumberland, although I shall argue that these functions could not have been the primary reason so many fortifications were erected and maintained in the fourteenth century

The key factor here is the sheer number of fortifications in the county: in 1415, Northumberland had the second-lowest population per square mile of any county in England, and still managed to produce at least 98 fortifications in the period of 115 years.[279] For buildings intended mainly for communal purposes, such as market days, courts and prisons, the population in much of the county was quite sparse to warrant such constructions. There were exceptions, of course. Berwick and Newcastle, both large royal castles, sat alongside key river ports, and were encircled by fortified town walls. Both Berwick and Newcastle served as important centres for trade and justice, and were fittingly protected. Other smaller sites which served similar purposes were Alnwick and Hexham, both of which had established markets, and both of which had town walls and more than one fortification within the complex, showing that in order to fulfil such purposes in Northumberland, additional fortification was needed.[280]

For most other sites, *pre-1415 mentions*, where they exist are limited to attacks, garrisons, construction or the occasional keeping of a prisoner for ransom, which does not imply prison facilities as at

277 Dating of Lindisfarne Priory: Durham Cathedral Archive: Regalia - 2.4.Reg.1 (Mandate from the crown to hold an inquest into whether Lindisfarne priory should be allowed to take down its defences, 1385); Dating of Lindisfarne Castle: National Trust, 'Lindisfarne Castle: Peeling Back the Layers; https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/lindisfarne-castle/features/the-castle-peeling-back-the-layers
278 Fortifications built due to the violence within the liberties, as evidenced by the 1541 survey
279 Population calculated from Broadberry, Campbell & Smith, 'English Medieval Population: Reconciling Time Series and Cross Sectional Evidence' as part of Leverhulme project: *Reconstructing the National Income of Britain and Holland, c.1270/1500 to 1850* (2011), 25.
280 Both Alnwick and Hexham Markets were likely established in the thirteenth century, likely by royal license in the town centre. There is some evidence that Hexham market was established in 1239 - https://www.hexhamhistorian.org/historic-hexham/i-didnt-know-that/hexham-auction-marts/

Newcastle, but merely the locking up of one person, as with David II supposedly held by John de Copeland at Ogle castle after the battle of Nevilles Cross.[281]

Other chapters will cover the evidence which shows that Northumbrian castles were mainly constructed as a result of the Anglo-Scottish border conflict and incursions, here it is only important to show that it was unlikely to have been for mainly administrative or commercial purposes that so many fortifications were built by so few in such a short span of Northumbrian history.

These functions may have been slightly more significant in the liberties – Tynedale, Redesdale, etc., where key royal centres such as Newcastle and Berwick did not control the region, though very few records exist from the time to tell us how fortifications inside the liberties actually functioned. What evidence we do have from the liberties exists mainly from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and that evidence is what has helped to build a picture of Northumberland as a violent and dangerous place. Tracing back to the fourteenth-century, however, most evidence we have relating to the violence and 'lawlessness' in the county relates directly to the conflict with along the border, if not civil conflict brought north under Edward II, which would have been seen throughout the country. With the large number of fortifications which rose up in Northumberland in this period, and in such a short time, it seems unlikely that threat of domestic violence contributed hugely to the drive to build fortification throughout the county in the fourteenth century.

The final, and perhaps most interesting piece which can be taken away from the listings on the 1541 survey, is the concept of perceived protection. Five sites on the survey of the East March, and six for the survey of the Middle March state that garrisons could be placed and the site could lend protection to the area were it in a good state of repair.[282] Many of these sites have already been mentioned, including Ilderton, Harbottle, Wooler and West Lilburn, and provides an interesting look into how much protection the local populace, or at least those drafting the survey, believed could be lent by these fortifications. Even in 1541, with such a high number of towers having been destroyed by Scottish invasion, there was still a clear and firm belief that even smaller towers, particularly with a garrison, could make a substantial impact on the safety and protection of the region.

The overwhelming number of small towers which are listed as ruined by the Scots on the 1541 survey perhaps shows to some extent that whatever the beliefs of the time, the tower alone, with no external fortification, did not prove an effective method of fortification in areas of heavy conflict (particularly directly

281 According to the Chronicle of Jean Le Bel, David II was taken to Ogle Castle by John Copeland after the Battle of Neville's Cross - According to the Chronicle of Jean Le Bel, David II was taken to Ogle Castle by John Copeland after the Battle of Neville's Cross - Le Bel, 190.
282 In the Middle March – Old Bewick Tower, Ilderton tower, Harbottle castle, Langley castle and both towers at West Lilburn; In the East March: Ford castle, Ford Vicar's pele, Fenton tower, Wooler tower and Horton – Survey 1541 MM; Survey 1541 EM.

around the border) - possibly contributing to the preference towards bastle houses and/or tower houses with barmekins by the sixteenth century.[283] No listing shows this better than that for Shidlaw Tower, which states that Shidlaw is a little tower, without a barmekin or an iron gate, but should there be a sudden incursion upon the town, the inhabitants 'may resorte for theyr relefe to the said castell of Warke *[1.5 miles away]*'.[284] Shidlaw Tower seems to be one of the most extreme cases – located directly on the Tweed, and just over a mile from where the Scottish border dips southwards, putting the border on not one but two sides of this relatively small tower.[285]

All of this harks back to the C.T. Cairns completely apt statement that 'Tower houses can be found in many countries, and what seems to be the common determinant is a risk of small-scale violence', and therefore generally meant to deter attack and thievery from small groups, and withstand small incursions - not to stand against the full might of a large invading force.[286] For that, larger sites – such as the aforementioned Wark and Bamburgh, were available to (in theory) shelter the local populace and fend off larger forces and to do so, most larger sites had nearly permanent garrisons in place *(see Chapter 1 for details)*

283 26 (towers) - Lanton, Howtell, Scremerston, Cheswick, Berrington, Shoreswood, Wooler, Tilmouth, Duddo, Ford Vicars Pele, Fenton, Nesbit, West Lilburne (1), West Lilburne (2), Old Bewick, Ilderton, Roddam, Crawley, Titlington, Ingram, Burradon, Carraw, Sewingshields, Walltown, Great Tosson, Little Swinburne
284 Survey 1541 MM.
285 The remains of Shidlaw Tower are thought to be around where the current Carham Hall is located.
286 C.T. Cairns, *Irish tower Houses: A Co. Tipperary Case Study* (Athlone: Temple Printing, 1987), 21-22.

Chapter Three:

Architecture & Motivation: Large Castles & Fortified Houses

The mention of Northumbrian castles brings to mind majestic monoliths such as Bamburgh, Dunstanburgh and Alnwick, and rarely envisage the far more numerous small towers which dotted the Northumbrian landscape. While small fourteenth-century towers actually made up the bulk of Northumbrian fortification at the time, tower builders may have looked to larger castles and more prolific builders for style cues, and while the defensibility of tower houses has only recently been called into question, the argument over the real defensibility of larger more lavish castles has been raging for over fifty years. In previous chapters we have discussed the role of these sites in the conflicts and communities around them, in an attempt to show that in their function, these sites were primarily functional over comfortable. In the following two chapters, I will change track slightly and examine the architectural details of the sites themselves to assess their defensibility.

Modern architectural studies, such as P.A. Faulkner's 'Castle Planning in the Fourteenth Century', discussed in the introduction, found defects in large southern castles which were previously assumed to be defensive in nature, though as Faulkner noted, the level of defensibility was often swayed by the trends of the region.[569] Though Faulkner never went to far as to apply his theories to the northern border, here we hope to prove that fortification, at least in Northumberland, did not place style over function. Beginning with larger fortifications, we will attempt to measure the influence that higher status builders, such as the crown, the Percies and the Umfrevilles had on the construction of smaller fortifications throughout the county, and to find to what extent, if at all, these constructions can be put down to trend rather than necessity.

In Northumberland, tower houses seem to be a uniquely fourteenth and fifteenth-century construction, but most large-scale castles in Northumberland had been constructed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and merely saw changes or additions over the 1300s.[570] This is the case with all of the royal castles –

569 Faulkner, 'Castle Planning,' 215.
570 The earliest surviving stone keep in Northumberland is at Bamburgh, built in 1164, though stone castles were likely constructed at Alnwick, Prudhoe and Mitford in the first half of the eleventh century, and possibly wooden motte and baileys existed at Mitford, Warkworth and Newcastle in the late Eleventh century. Pele towers starts around 1300 with Corbridge Vicar's Pele and would continue to see construction in Northumberland into the sixteenth century, with Beadnell Tower constructed sometime after 1520, and continue to be popular in Ireland even into the seventeenth century.

Berwick, and Newcastle and Bamburgh, which both have fortified origins pre-dating the conquest, and most seigneurial castles, including Prudhoe, Harbottle, Alnwick, Wark-on-Tweed, Norham, Mitford, Morpeth, and Warkworth. Several more seigneurial castles were built atop previously occupied manor houses in the fourteenth century, as is the case with Aydon, Edlingham and Featherstone. The long-established dominance of the sites on which these great castles are founded lends itself to the prestige of the family and the buildings or can serve as a symbol of captured or maintained dominance over the land. This interpretation is especially clear at Bamburgh, where the site was used as an Anglo-Saxon capitol, and once captured, as a base by William the conqueror. Despite its relatively inconvenient location, Bamburgh continued to be a royal castle into the seventeenth century.

Those castles which were built, or rebuilt, in the fourteenth century have, in the past, largely been ascribed to follow a certain pattern. Apart from the large castles of Alnwick and Dunstanburgh, the castles at Etal, Ford, Ogle, Langley and Chillingham, all began construction within two decades in the middle of the century, and all follow a roughly quadrangular pattern. While investigating patterns and influence, this chapter will assess to what extent this chain of quadrangular castles was a related trend. Most importantly, as these sites make up the bulk of Northumbrian castle building in the fourteenth century, I will asses to what extent they were functionally defensible. Beginning with royal castles, this chapter will work down through levels of building, focusing mainly on fourteenth century building and additions, and identifying influence and patterns where possible.

Royal Fortifications

Despite the valiant efforts of Henry II to bring border fortifications under his own control in the 12th century, by the start of the first Wars of Independence there were only three royal castles remaining in Northumberland.[571] Spread throughout the county, these three not only looked and were run differently, but also saw very different treatment from their Scottish enemies. Today, the remains of these three fortifications speak to just how varied their pasts were. What all three do have in common is there early roots, which led to little being built in the fourteenth century, save at Berwick.

Furthest to the south and located a few miles to the west of the mouth of the Tyne, is Newcastle Castle. Sitting atop the path of Hadrian's wall, Newcastle has a long-fortified history, and the royal castle at Newcastle goes as far back as the late eleventh century - with the keep dating back to the mid twelfth century and the Black Gate to the 1200's. In the centuries following the castles' use in the Scottish wars of

571 See *HKW I*, Henry II takes large northern castles under his control, including royal castles and Norham, and undertakes to pay for their protection

Independence, the castle ceased to be repaired and by 1589 was described as ruinous.[572] The castle was taken into care and the keep and Black Gate restored in the nineteenth century, but the rest was allowed to fall into complete disrepair. Nearly nothing remains standing of the castle today, aside from the keep and the Black Gate, which have been entirely restored, with nearly all rooms, and the roof of the keep, open to visitors.

In its day, Newcastle Castle was used more as an administrative centre than a fortification, with an extensive network of town walls to keep intruders from reaching the castle or city. Edward I spent over a month at Newcastle during his reign, the number of days spent there by monarchs increased over the century, though Newcastle remained secondary to Berwick, even under Edward II, who saw Berwick under Scottish control for nearly half of his reign.[573] Newcastle itself was seldom attacked, likely due to its location, deep in English territory, and its significant outer defences.[574] By the mid fourteenth century Newcastle's castle was located in the middle of an intense ring of defences which surrounded the city, and which came into play at least in 1388 when Newcastle came under attack. More practically, as a populous trade city, it was important for Newcastle's city to be fortified. Newcastle's location, moreover, while strategic in its position presiding over the Tyne and overlapping the historic end of Hadrians Wall, it did not fall in the typical path of Scottish raids. In the southeast corner of the county, with raiding normally coming down the top half of the east coast, or down the southwest side, Newcastle was on the way to nowhere for the Scots.

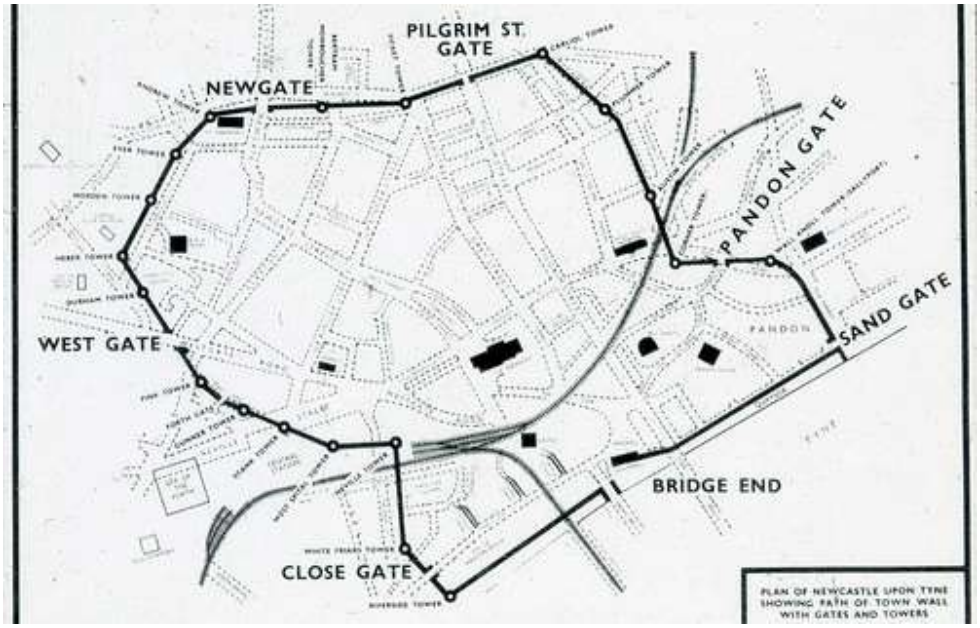


Figure 49 Map of Newcastle City Walls, by JR James, Department of Town & Regional Planning, University of Sheffield, 1967. https://co-curate.ncl.ac.uk/newcastle-city-walls

The keep at Newcastle is a quite typical 12th century keep, completely detached inside the curtain walls, and still stands four stories high, plus the 19th century roof reconstruction, with an entrance on the first

572 *Newcastle Castle* (Newcastle: Newcastle), 4. (guidebook).
573 The Scottish captured Berwick in 1318 and held it until 1333.
574 From 1291, Edward I spent 42 days at Newcastle, in his entire reign, Edward II spent 73 at Newcastle, and in the most tumultuous years of his reign, Edward III spent 157 at Newcastle. Figures calculated from the itineraries of Edward I: E.W. Safford, 'Itinerary of Edward I, part 2 1291-1307', *List & Index Society*, 103 (1976).

level. The Black Gate, built nearly a century later, acts like a barbican, projecting out of the curtain wall with projecting turning bridge suspended over a ditch, protecting entrance from the castle. With mainly square towers built into the curtain wall, Newcastle is a clear product of the 12th century and there are no examples of Newcastle having been penetrated after its constructing in stone in the twelfth century.

Figure 50 Newcastle Keep, 2007, northofthetyne.com

The keep at Bamburgh Castle is quite similar, and was constructed within a decade before Newcastle, making it the first of its kind in Northumberland. Built high onto a natural promontory, much of Bamburgh's defences are natural, though from its early days as a royal castle it took typical Norman form with large square keep and encircling walls. Also situated slightly out of the way, Bamburgh saw far fewer attacks than sites in the far north and southwest, with the only confirmed attack recorded in 1333 when the Queen was in residence. Bamburgh was also not on the typical English route north and not situated near any major waterways or cities so was not important for trade and therefore saw significant neglect and little royal use in

the fourteenth century, and little other than repair works and a new gate constructed in the fourteenth century. Despite its royal abandonment in the seventeenth century and general neglect over the wars of independence, it stands completely intact, though greatly changed. Still a functional home, Bamburgh retains its keep and some medieval walls, but little else is extant of its distant past. The strength of Bamburgh's walls and positions withheld it from siege and kept it from being successfully sacked for the duration of the wars of independence.

Figure 51 The Keep at Bamburgh Castle from the South/site of entrance. O.B. Goulet-Paterson 2018.

In contrast, Berwick castle, the key royal fortification in Northumberland, was located on the east coast on the north side of the river tweed. Disputed territory, Berwick was attacked more often than any other property in Northumberland, and spent at least sixteen years total in Scottish hands throughout the fourteenth century, having been captured three times.[575] Much of Berwick Castle as we know it was constructed in the fourteenth century, thanks to the constant destruction and reconstruction necessary as a result of the wars of independence.

Over the century, Berwick Castle accrued a varied mix of tower shapes and sizes, a prominent style in the fourteenth century. This mix gives Berwick an echo of Alnwick Castle, likely the result of having been controlled by the Percy family for a minimum of fourteen years between 1333 and 1403, considerably more if you count the extended period the Percies spent as governors of Berwick in the latter half of the century.

575 Berwick was attacked in 1318, 1355 and 1378 and 1384/5, and held by the Scots from 1318 to 1333.

While dating of the exact works is difficult, many of the round and semi-circular towers on Berwick Castle's outer wall likely date to the fourteenth century, including the double-D towered east entrance, in addition to the squared layout and square postern tower and northwest tower. The square Percy tower faced the gatehouse, creating a clear juxtaposition of tower styles.

Berwick Castle and the surrounding town fortifications, which continued to be used as key border fortifications even into the Jacobite rebellions of the eighteenth century, and barracks and fortification continued to be added until that point. The medieval castle however, seems not to have been used much after the Scottish wars of independence, and a seventeenth century drawing of the castle shows it in a sad state of disrepair and neglect. Having never seen the restoring efforts which were undertaken at Newcastle, what is left at Berwick, mainly the white wall, water tower and barmekin tower, are all ruinous and stand only to a height of a few metres.

All three royal Northumbrian castles stand to the idea that fortifications functioned as much to protect as to serve as a home, and in 886 total days spent by Edward I, Edward II and Edward III at Berwick, Bamburgh and Newcastle between 1291 and 1346, and in this time these three fortifications were attacked or used as a muster point at least times.[576] None of their defensive functions have ever been

Figure 52 Remains of Berwick Castle, White Wall heading up the hill, the water tower and fortification stretching down towards the Tweed. O.B. Goulet-Paterson 2022.

576 Edward I's visits to the north in 1291, he spent 155 total days in Berwick Castle 42 days at Newcastle, and only 9 days at Bamburgh. In his entire reign, Edward II spent 311 days in Berwick, 73 at Newcastle, and only 5 at Bamburgh, and in the most tumultuous years of his reign, Edward III spent 134 days total at Berwick, 157 at Newcastle Number of days spent at these fortifications comes from the itineraries of Edward I : E.W. Safford, 'Itinerary of Edward I, part 2 1291-1307'; *List & Index Society*, 103 (1976); E. Hallam, 'Itinerary of Edward II', *List & Index Society*, 211 (1984). 1307, Edward II enters Scotland via Berwick; 1313, English march north from York to Berwick, Berwick attacked 1314, 1317, 1318; Berwick attacked by English 1319; 1333 English recapture Berwick; 1335 English march from Berwick; 1340, truce made at Berwick; 1311-1312, Edward II and Piers take refuge in Newcastle, 1320, muster at Newcastle

called into question, given the extensive amounts of money which was spent on repairing and garrisoning them, and Berwick and Bamburgh's ability to withstand siege. Instead, these three stand as a model of the physical and psychological power which was exerted by the crown onto the Northumbrian people, and was mimicked by the highest levels of Northumberland's nobility quite early in the fourteenth century.

Seigneurial Building

The Percies: Alnwick & Warkworth

Despite having control over the vast majority of grand non-royal castles by the end of the fourteenth century, the only large-scale building projects undertaken by the Percies in this period in Northumberland were at Alnwick Castle, their first Northumbrian acquisition and eventually their main seat, and Warkworth. It comes as no coincidence, then, that Alnwick sticks out from surrounding seigneurial castles, both in size and in design.

The layout of the castle is unlike any other in the north, with two courtyards surrounding an evolved sort of shell-keep. Despite having mostly been built in a short period of time, the towers vary in size and shape giving Alnwick a unique look, utilizing square, rectangular, round, D-shaped and octagonal towers in the keep and the curtain wall.

In Northumberland, Alnwick was by far the most stylish castle of its day, and though the specific building details of the castle are not known, a look at the archaeology and design can help to date various parts of the castle to different dates within the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Here, building will be discussed in two main phases, the first of which took place under the third Henry Percy shortly after his acquisition of the castle in 1309 and the second in the 1340s.

Figure 53 Barbican at Alnwick castle, taken from the village-side, OB Goulet-Paterson 2022.

The Percies first came over into England from Normandy by 1067, and were given Yorkshire territories for their service under William the Conqueror.[577] So far as we know, for the next two centuries the English branch of the Percies remained relatively confined to Yorkshire, with some lands held in Sussex.[578] In 1295, when trouble between England and Scotland began to rise to the surface, the Percy family embarked

577 A. Rose, *Kings in the North* (London: Weidenfield & Nicolson, 2002), 22-23
578 For more information on the Percy rise to power within Yorkshire and Sussex, see chapters 2 & 3 'Consolidation' and 'Crisis and Recovery' in R. Lomas; *A Power in the Land: The Percys* (Tuckwell Press: East Linton, 1999).

on a prolific military career which saw them rise dramatically in status in a relatively short period of time. This case study will explore the rise of the Percies in fourteenth-century Northumberland by looking at property acquisition and development through various means, and the influence this this Percy dominance had over Northumberland and its fortified architecture.

Henry Percy, first lord Percy (1273-1314), moved the family into Northumberland in 1309 with the purchase of Alnwick castle from the bishops of Durham.[579] The waning of active involvement of the crown in the Scottish conflict which began under Edward II also helped to launch the rapid rise of the Percies, as the need for military leaders in the north led to the creation of a position to be created for the protection of the northern counties in 1297, the Warden of the Marches, a post the Percy family would dominate for most of the century.[580]

From the start of Edward III's reign, Henry Percy, second lord Percy (1301-1352) was given more power in the borders than any of his forefathers, and was one of a small set of lords sent to agree a truce with Scotland which was eventually to become known as the treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton.[581] Rewards for this service came in the form of the second Lord Percy's appointment as Warden of the Marches at least as early as 1327, and Warkworth castle, awarded to the Percy family by the crown in 1332.[582] He held this post alone for six years, before sharing with various other northern lords, including Ralph Neville, until his death in 1352.[583] While at its inception around the start of the Wars of Independence, the position of Warden of the Marches essentially allowed the warden to raise northern levies to protect against the Scots, as time went on, it grew in authority and by the end of the century wardens were responsible for punishing breaches of the truce and creating truces of up to two months. Most importantly, Wardens exercised complete control over all subordinate captains, constables and castle keepers, making Percy dominance over the wardenship all the more significant.[584] Additionally, by the end of the century, Wardens of the East March controlled Berwick castle, and Wardens of the West March controlled Carlisle.[585] The Middle March was not created until the death of Gilbert de Umfreville, the ninth earl of Angus (1309-1381), when this third march was created of the are to the west of the road to Newcastle – including Hexham, Tynedale and Redesdale.[586]

---

579 G. Brenan *History of the House of Percy: Volume 1* (London: Freemantle & CO, 1902), 20.
580 R.R. Reid, 'The office of the Warden of the Marches', 482; *Parliamentary Writs*, vol. I, 301
581 A. Rose, *Kings in the North,* 194-5
582 A. Rose, *Kings in the North,* 207, 'percy chart DCCXXVII 7 oct 1331, *CCR 1330-1333,* 23; jan 1332, p.390', &9 aug 1332, p.593, cal pat rolls 1330-1334 10 aug 1332, p.326
583 *CPR 1327-1330,* 18.
584 R.R. Reid, 'Office of Warden of the Marches,' 482-483
585 The Office of Warden of the Marches; Its Origin and Early History, R. R. Reid, *The English Historical Review* Vol. 32, No. 128 (Oct., 1917), 479-496.
586 R.R. Reid, 'The Office of Warden of the Marches,' 487; *Rouli Scotiae* ii, 43.

Continuing the patterns of acquisitions, in 1373 the Henry Percy, first Earl of Northumberland (1341-1408) bought the wardships of David Strathbogie, the earl of Athol's daughters, and was able to successfully marry half the earl's properties into the Percy line, including Mitford and the Tynedale lordship.[587] In 1375 he had managed to purchase the barony of Prudhoe and half of its accompanying properties, including Prudhoe castle, from his friend and ally Gilbert de Umfreville.[588]

The start of Richard II's reign looked bright for the Percies' as Henry was granted the earldom of Northumberland at Richard's coronation in 1377.[589] In 1381, Henry Percy, now the first earl of Northumberland, married Maud de Lucy, who brought with her to the marriage the other half of Umfreville's territories, including Cockermouth in Cumbria, and also her families' inheritance of Langley castle.[590] In 1395 The Percy's took the final step into Northumberland and traded a set of Yorkshire estates for a set originally belonging to the Alnwick barony.[591]

Figure 54 A 19th century plan of Alnwick Castle by F.R. Wilson, 1855, as shown in the Alnwick Castle guidebook, Alnwick Castle: Where History Lives

Despite having some degree of control over so many influential castles by the end of the fourteenth century, very few large-scale building projects were undertaken by the Percies in fourteenth-century Northumberland – the first being at Alnwick - their first Northumbrian acquisition and eventually their main seat. It comes as no coincidence, then, that Alnwick stands out from surrounding seigneurial castles, both in size and in design. The layout of the castle is unlike any other in the north, with two courtyards surrounding an evolved sort of shell-keep, which is dated to pre-1136.[592]

587 See J.M.W. Bean's ODNB entry on Henry Percy, first earl of Northumberland: May 2005. https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-21932?rskey=Je2MwC&result=2
588 A. Rose, *Kings in the North,* 225.
589 A. Rose, *Kings in the North,* 325, cal charter rolls 1341-1417, 16 jul 1377 p.235
590 R. Lomas; *A Power in the Land: The Percys,* 71
591 Ibid., 71.
592 .A. Goodall, 'The Early Development of Alnwick Castle, c. 1100-1400,' - in *Newcastle and Northumberland: Roman and Medieval Architecture and Art,* ed. J. Ashbee & J. Luxford (Leeds: Maney publishing for the British Archaeological Association, 2013), 232-247.

Alnwick's towers, most of which were built in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries – the octagonal in phase one in the first half of the fourteenth century and the D-shaped in phase 2, vary in size and shape giving Alnwick a unique look, utilizing square, rectangular, round, D-shaped and octagonal towers in the keep and the curtain wall.

In Northumberland, Alnwick was among the most stylish castles of the late medieval period. Though many of the specific building details of the castle are unknown, a look at the archaeology and design can help to date various parts of the castle to two phases, the first of which took place under the third Henry Percy shortly after his acquisition of the castle in 1309 and the second in the 1340s.

In the initial fourteenth-century phase of building, the keep, which is presumed to have been the previous entrance to the castle, was rebuilt. As pointed out by John Goodall, the oldest exposed feature of the castle is the Norman entrance into what is now the keep, displaying a typical Norman archway similar to the one seen at Durham Castle.[593] Beyond that, the octagonal towers which flank the entrance into the new keep are part of the first phase and the first of their kind to be seen in Northumberland. With the addition of a new inner courtyard, new entrances were necessary, and gates were built to the west and the south. The combination of circular, semi-circular and octagonal towers is one that mimics the current style of building in the south of England, as can be seen in Windsor**,** but was hugely unique in the north at this point.

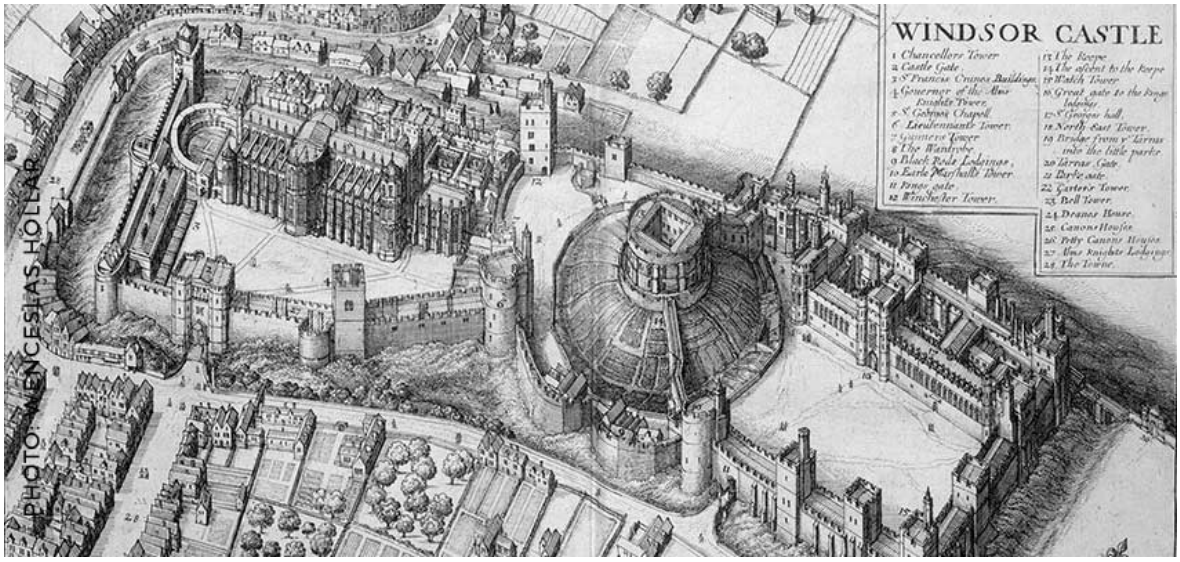


Figure 55 Perspective and Birds Eye View of Windsor Castle', Etching by Wenceslaus Hollar, 1672, layout similar to what it what have been in the time of Edward III, aside from the Henry VIII gate. As shown in Windsor Castle Guidebook.

The second phase of Alnwicks' building took place in the 1340s. Unlike most of the castle, building in the period can be dated with some certainty, thanks to the selection of heraldry placed on the gatehouse to the inner courtyard, as **t**he shields depicted represent a set of arms in use only between 1342 and 1347.[594]

593 J.A. Goodall, 'The Early Development of Alnwick Castle, c. 1100-1400,' 234.
594 Ibid., 242.

According to Goodall, the towers surrounding the inner courtyard were added at this point, along with the addition of round and D-shaped towers into the outer walls alongside the original square towers, putting it further in line with the contemporary style of southern castles - as demonstrated by the construction which took place at Windsor under Edward III from 1350s.[595] This is also when the wall moving from the keep to the outer wall was built, fully separating the inner and outer courtyards, making the overall layout similar to Windsors', with the keep in the middle and a courtyard jutting out in either direction.

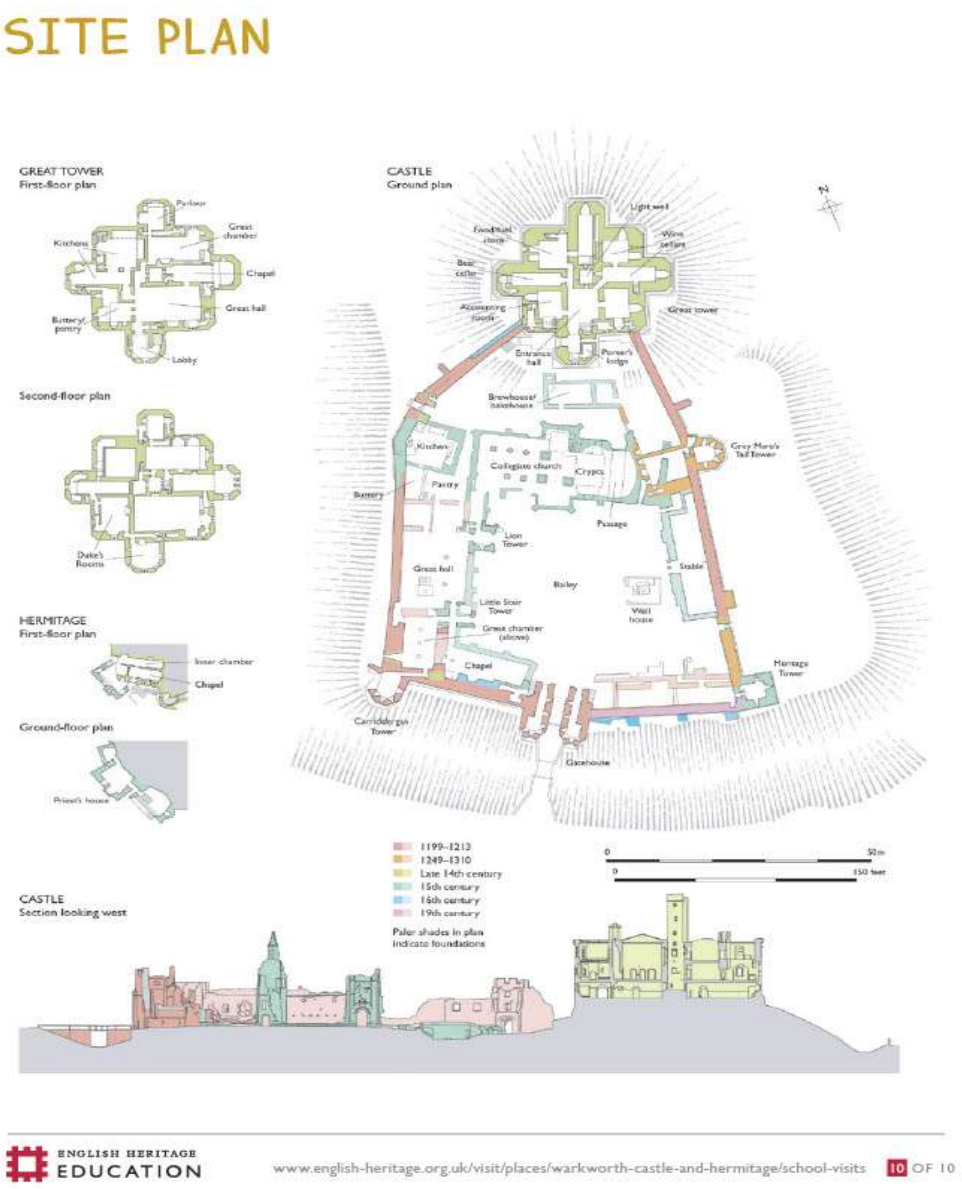


Figure 56 Dated plan of Warkworth Castle, from English Heritage Education: Warkworth Teacher's Resource Pack (2017), 11.

It was likely also at this time that the barbican was added on the north side of the outer courtyard. The dating here is hazy, but the style of the barbican is similar to others, such as those at Prudhoe, Norham

595 Ibid., 242-244.

and Edlingham, which were erected in the middle fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[596] The arms on the front of the barbican are believed to belong to the fourth earl (c.1449-1489), and were seemingly a later added sometime in the middle of the fifteenth century.[597] The barbican also bears resemblance to the keep at Warwick, built in a similar period by the equally powerful Earls of Warwick.

The Percy's other building project at Warkworth was on a slightly smaller, if no less impressive scale. When the Percies were gifted Warkworth by Edward III in 1332, the castle had only recently undergone a significant level of building work at the crowns expense, at which time much of the southern portion of the castle was constructed, including what appears to be various repairs to the curtain wall, and the construction of the polygonal Grey Mare's Tail tower along the east wall.[598]

Clearly the castle was in a good enough state of repair, as the Percies did not see a need to carry out works, until around the 1370s, when the design of the new (and current) keep were likely drawn up.[599] The new keep mimicked the design of the earlier phases stylistically, and fell in line with the rest of the county in layout – cross-shaped and built in a semi-quadrangular style, with four tower surrounding a small light well at the centre, and with the exterior of each tower polygonal in shape, to match the towers of earlier phases of building. Unlike Alnwick, no effort was made in this phase to vary the style of towers, though the Montagu tower, added in the fifteenth century, was square (see layout, Figure 56).

596 Norham, 1408; Edlingham 1340-50; Prudhoe 1340s
597 Ibid., 240.
598 Grant of the castle to Henry Percy: *CPR* Edward III v1 1327–30, 243; royal contribution to earlier building works: W Stubbs (ed), Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II, Rolls Series, 76/2 (London, 1882–3), 97.
599 This dating of the keep is attributed to the arms on the front of the keep, which can be no later than 1384, and comes from M.J. Hislop, 'The Date of the Warkworth Donjon,' *AA* 5, v19 (Newcastle: 1991), 79-92.

Figure 57 The fourteenth-century keep at Warkworth castle, viewed from the courtyard. O.B. Goulet-Paterson 2018.

Warkworth's situation is far more advantageous, with views for around five miles in every direction, and a steep slope down from the castle to the north, east and west and the River Coquet at the bottom of the slope to the west side, with a bridge suspended over the ditch leading into the entrance on the south wall. The large outer wall encloses all buildings of the castle, save to north face of the keep and is two metres thick. More impressively, Warkworth employed at least six defences to keep visitors from gaining entry to the courtyard. Externally, a ditch, parapets, and arrow slits ward off invaders, and upon approach sits a gatehouse with guardrooms. Approaching the keep provides further impediment, as the keep sits up an incline from the gatehouse, and the entrance sits at first floor level, with entry only by a wooden staircase to the south.

Like Alnwick, Warkworth served as one of the main seats for the Percies for several centuries and would have been built in Northumberland to materialise their growing status in the county. Other middling sized castles in Northumberland from the period had far less ornamentation, and many of the functioning middling castles were built primarily in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such as Harbottle, Mitford and Wark on Tweed, and of these little survives. Handily, of the batch of castles and fortified homes largely built in the fourteenth century, most have intact remains, including those at Edlingham, Aydon, Ogle, Morpeth, Etal, Langley, Ford, Chillingham and Prudhoe.

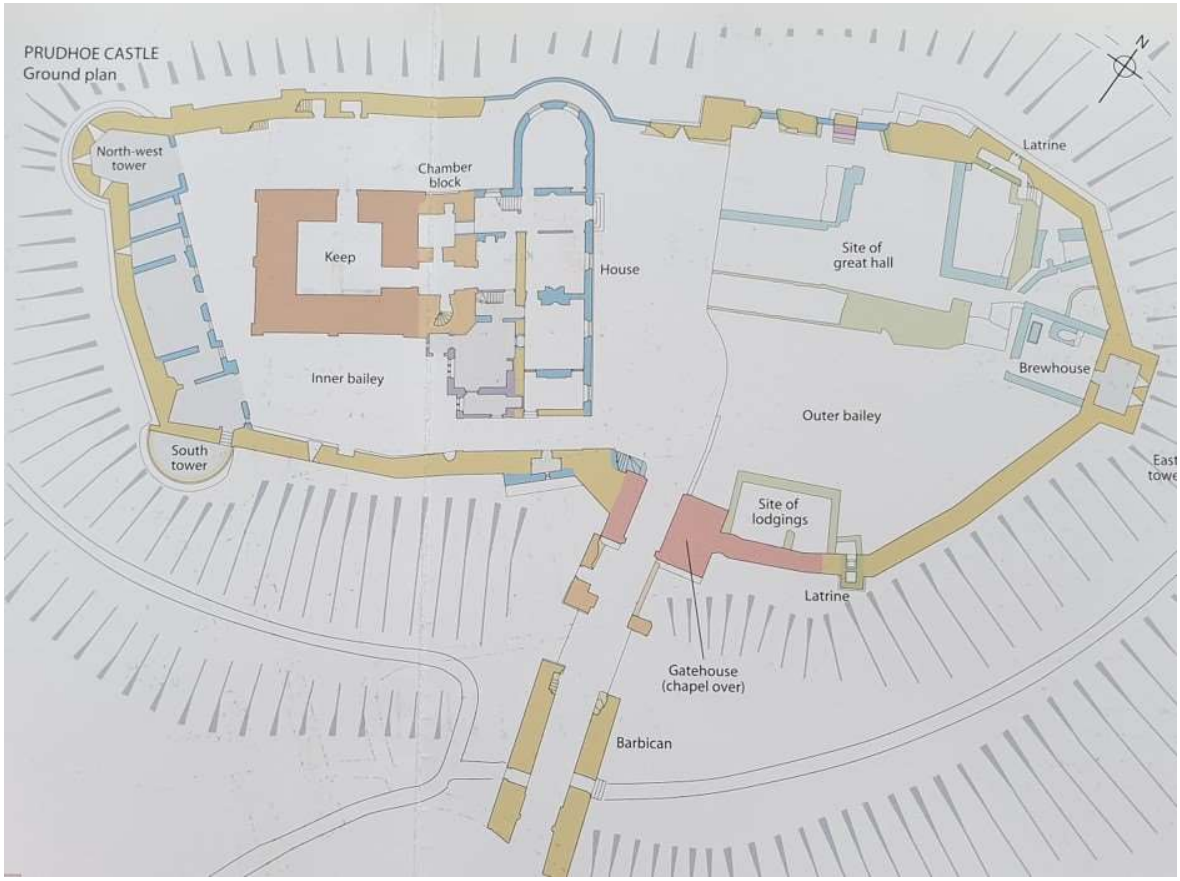


Figure 58 Dated plan of Prudhoe Castle: Susie West: *Prudhoe Castle*, English Heritage Guidebooks.

Within Northumberland, Warkworth is quite unique, but several sites emulate Alnwick's style, most clearly at Prudhoe castle in the works carried out in the 1340s. The exact link between the fifth Henry Percy and Gilbert de Umfraville is not known, but their interactions imply that they had a close connections at least between 1346 and 1375. This Percy-Umfreville link is also possibly shown through the works at Prudhoe castle, which extended the size of the castle considerably and created a mix of round, D-shaped and square towers, similar to the mix used at Alnwick. The entire existing curtain wall was constructed at this period, along with the round north-west tower, the semi-circular South tower, and the square east tower. Additions to the keep stretching nearly from the north to the south wall also imitate the overall outline of Alnwick castle by creating one bailey to each side of the 12th century keep. The long rectangular barbican was also added in this period, and though its decoration is not now known, the shape of this main entrance echoes the

gatehouses built onto Alnwick earlier in the century and may have even served as inspiration for, or been inspired by the barbican at Alnwick.[601]

The lavish nature of the construction at Alnwick and Warkworth, the detail in the shapes of the towers, the heraldry carved above the entrances, and Alnwick's extensive gardens, all stand to the fact the Alnwick was more home than fortress. Even its situation in the landscape is not nearly as advantageous as most Northumbrian fortifications, with only about a mile visible in each direction, although the castle did manage to take advantage to the location of the river Aln, down a slight slope to the north of the castle. However, the site was very well defended. Aside from the array of defences included in the Percies works throughout the fourteenth century, such as the impressive curtain wall and had a spiked moat, evidence of Alnwick's defensive purpose was the garrison which was kept at Alnwick at least in 1317 and 1318 as paid for, at least in part, by the crown.[602]

Berwick

Over the century, Berwick castle also accrued a varied mix of tower shapes and sizes, which could partially been the result of royal influence on a crown possession, or a repercussion of Berwick having been controlled by the Percy family for a minimum of fourteen years between 1333 and 1403, not counting the extended period the Percies spent as governors of Berwick in the latter half of the century.[603] While dating of the exact works is difficult, many of the round and semi-circular towers on Berwick castle's outer wall likely date to the fourteenth century, including the double-D towered east entrance, in addition to the squared layout and square postern tower and northwest tower. The square Percy tower faced the gatehouse, creating a clear juxtaposition of tower styles. Outside of Northumberland, the gatehouse at Carlisle castle, built around 1380 suggests the influence of Alnwicks' early fourteenth century gatehouses and could be a result of the Percies holding the west march from 1384.[604]

601 *NCH XII,* 125, dating based on masons marks and architectural similarities with other sites.
602 Pleas were made to the crown for payment for services in the Alnwick garrison in 1317 and 1318 – NA SC 8/319/E389, NA SC 8/201/10043
603 Dates of Percy power over Berwick: (in Castle comm. P.284, verified) – Percy from 3 Feb 1363 - ? *CPR 1361-1364* p.304, Henry Percy 28 Mar 1385- 10 Aug 1394, *CPR 1381-1385* p.550 *&* *CPR 1391-1396* p.492, Ralph Percy from 10 Aug 1394*, CPR 1391-1396* p.492
604 Fourteenth Century Percy Wardenships: Warden of the marches1328-1334 & 1352-1370 (three gen. of Percy), low warden of the marches 1439-1482, warden of the east march 1367-1377 (jointly with Gilbert de Umfreville from 1369), then 1417-1434 Hotpur warden of the east march 1396-1403, warden of the middle march 1417-1434; warden of the west march 1384-1386, 1399-1403.

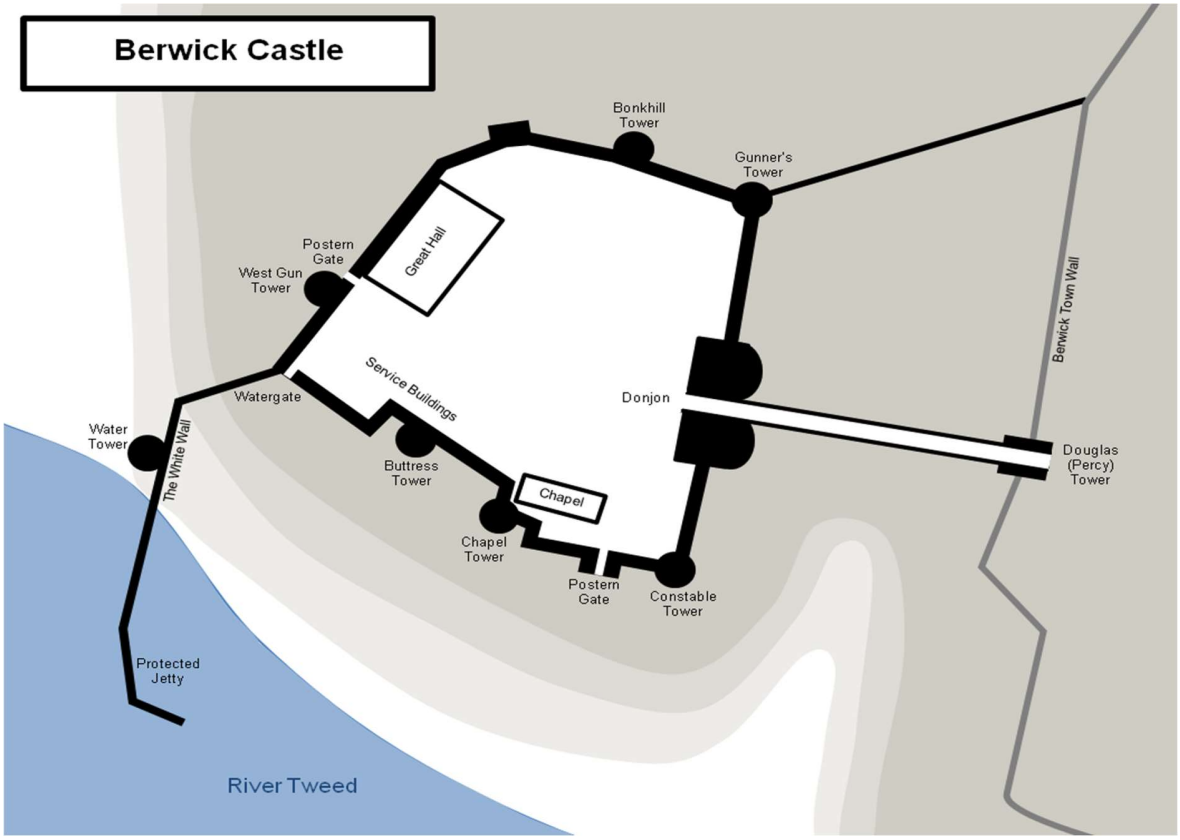


Figure 59 layout of Berwick Castle by James Lancaster, created for his website CastlesforBattles

It may seem surprising that in a time of such conflict and economic growth for the Percies that they were not in the business of building new fortification. However when looking at exactly who was building at the time and what was being built, it becomes clear that mainly only pele towers were cropping up throughout the century, and very few of these were built afresh by anyone of high status (see chapter five for more information). The Percies, instead, focused their energies on acquiring established and respected properties and updating them. This is likely a product of the violence of the period, which could have made building on a large scale a target. Focusing on their relations with other families and crown rewards for the advancement of their territories in the north served them well throughout the century and the Percies went from Yorkshire barons to earls of Northumberland and wardens of the marches in the span of three generations.

Dunstanburgh

Only one other seigneurial fortification was built on such a grand scale in the fourteenth century, and that was Dunstanburgh castle on the east coast. Unlike Alnwick, Dunstanburgh has no earlier roots and therefore is completely a product of the fourteenth century. Furthermore, Dunstanburgh's fourteenth-century roots spring from rebellion and not cooperation with the crown. Despite

Figure 60 The gatehouse at Dunstanburgh castle, as shown from the south. O.B. Goulet-Paterson 2018.

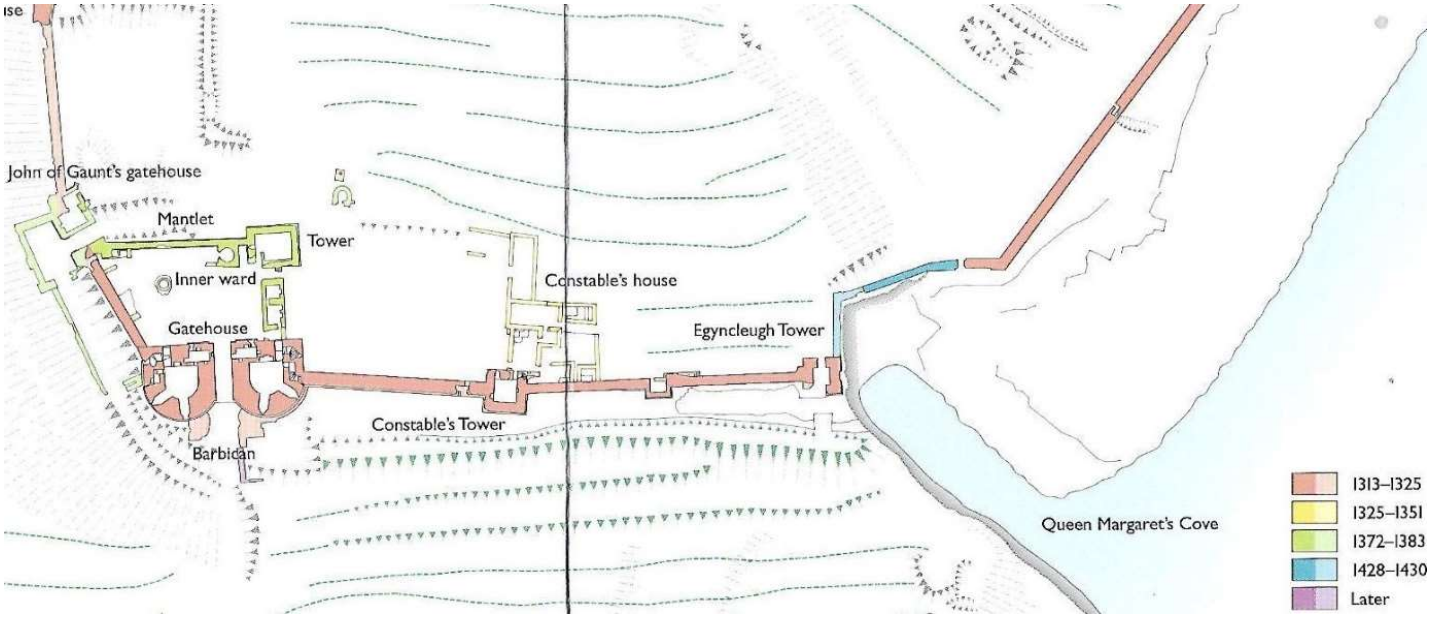


Figure 61 Plan of Dunstanburgh castle, produced by English Heritage, as shown in Dunstanburgh Castle Guidebook, by Alastair Oswald and Jeremy Ashbee, Published by English Heritage, London, 2007.

its questionable early history, Dunstanburgh saw completion relatively early on, and still largely retains its fourteenth century shape, a product of two phases of building, one in the 1310s and one in the 1380s.

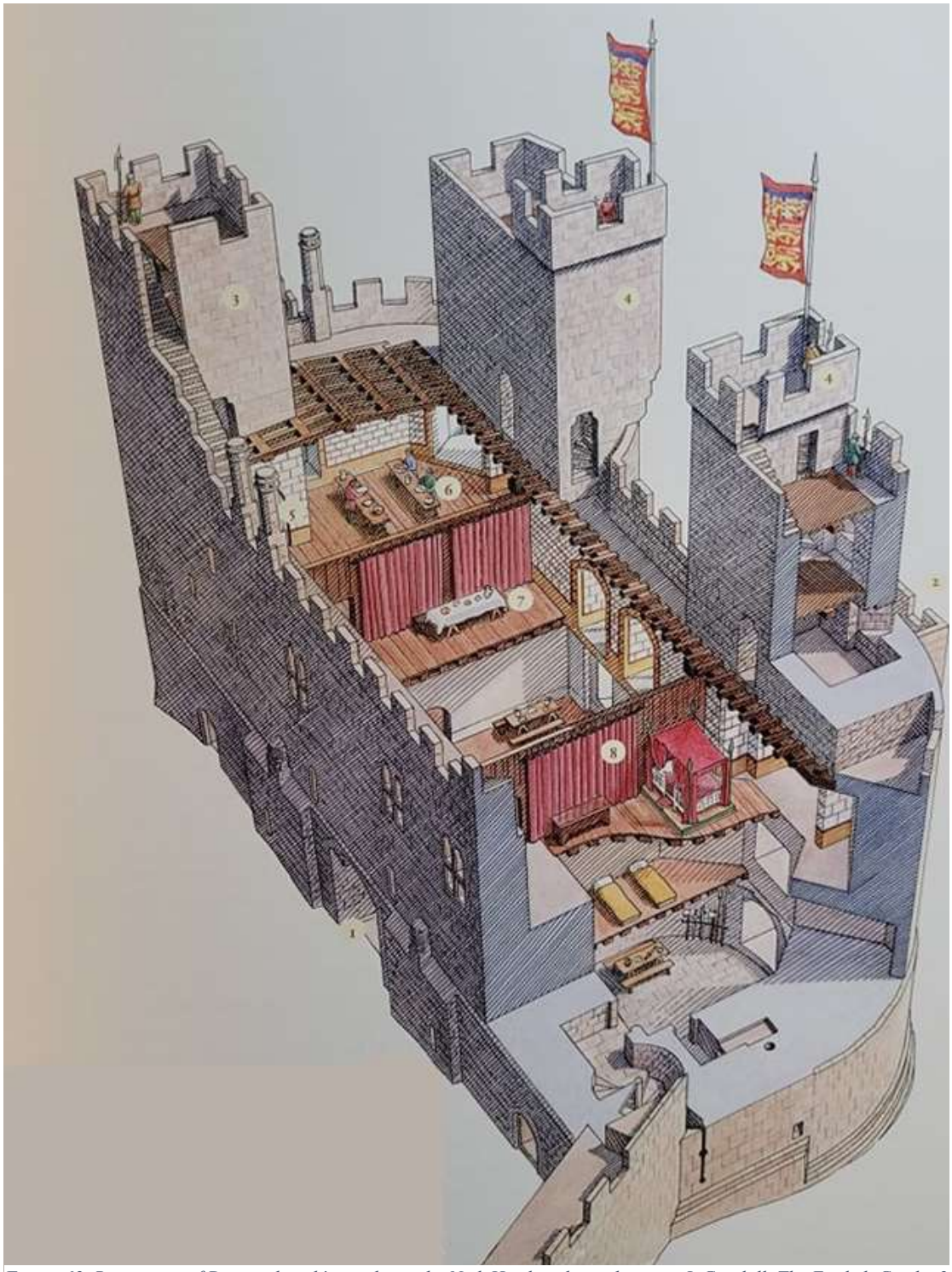


Figure 62 Recreation of Dunstanburgh's gatehouse by Nick Hardcastle as shown in J. Goodall, The English Castle, 251.

Despite its vast size and lavish ornamentation, Dunstanburgh was never visited, at least on record, by Edward II or Edward III, though they did spend time at many other large seigneurial castles in Northumberland and several of the smaller fortifications and religious establishments.[605] Dunstanburgh's location, along the coast, south of Bamburgh, seems most to blame for Edward III's general lack of interest. In fact, Dunstanburgh attracted little attention and

605 Aside from the three royal castles, royal visits in the first half of the century occurred at Norham, Tynemouth, Holy Island, Wark, Warkworth, Alnwick, Chatton and Felton. These sites based on the Itineraries of Edward I- Edward III,

would be out of the way if marching north, and out of the way of Scottish invasion coming south. As Bamburgh itself saw significantly fewer visits from Edward II as it had by Edward I, and Edward III did not visit Bamburgh in the most violent years of his reign (prior to Nevilles Cross), it seems likely that Dunstanburgh's location, or possibly a mix of location and relations with the Lancaster's, kept them away from Dunstanburgh.

Of all larger castles in the north, royal, ecclesiastical and seigneurial alike, Dunstanburgh seems outwardly the most military, save perhaps Bamburgh. Also situated high on a rocky cliff, Dunstanburgh is protected to the north by harsh cliffs dropping down to the sea, and by a slope down to the sea to the east. To the west, a steep escarpment separates the castle from a lowland area which at the time of the castle's construction was surrounded by three connecting lakes, or meres, forming a western perimeter.[606] To protect this entrance, Thomas of Lancaster built a massive twin towered gatehouse keep, with each tower around twelve metres long and wide, and the walls over two metres thick, and entered through the centre by a passage which is about 2.5 metres wide, originally preceded by a square barbican. The exemption of a separate keep was made up for by the addition of a variety of defences entering the gatehouse, as the original structure would have been complete with parapet and arrow slits as a first defence, and then barbican and gatehouse with, guard rooms, portcullis and murder holes, a total of at least seven built-in defences to stop an intruder from gaining initial entry.

The original 1320s construction under the crown included this large twin-towered gatehouse with D towers, along with the square or rectangular towers dotting the curtain walls, including the Lillburn Tower, Constable's Tower and Egyncleugh Tower. Shortly thereafter a small construction was built inside the southern wall, now labelled the constables house and now visible only at ground level with walls around one metre thick.[607] The 1380s saw a final phase of reconstruction under John of Gaunt, with an additional gate to the northwest of the original gatehouse and a wall projecting north and inward east from the curtain wall, creating a small inner courtyard.[608] All externally facing windows on the small towers are slits or hardly wider, apart from the upper windows on the western face of Lilburn tower within the western wall, which would have stood several above accessible ground. Approaching the gatehouse, several decorative, narrow double windows exist on the upper levels, in the main living areas of the gatehouse. Exact details of these

606 Alastair Oswald and Jeremy Ashbee, *Dunstanburgh Castle* (London: English Heritage, 2007), 22.
607 NA SC 8/58/2888 details a request made by John de Lileburne, likely while constable of Dunstanburgh c.1323 (*CPR 1321-1324,* 233; *CFR 1319-1327,* 219), for repairs made to Dunstanburgh Castle. Occupied by crown constables from 1322 to at least 1325 (above citations for Lileburne as well as *CPR 1321-1324,* 205, 233 & *CCR 1323-1327,* 12, 269). Dunstanburgh: Alastair Oswald and Jeremy Ashbee, Dunstanburgh Castle (London: English Heritage, 2007), 41.

608 Construction began on the gatehouse around 1380: 25th October 1380 indenture: Hislop, 'John of Gaunt's Building Works at Dunstanburgh Castle', 139, p. 139 nn2 transcript of the indenture in E. Lodge & R. Somerville *John of Gaunt's Register 1379-83,* Camden Society, 3rd ser., 56, 57

windows are now gone, so any internal decoration cannot be discerned, though would likely have existed, particularly in the hall on the second level of the gatehouse keep.

As the only functioning seigneurial fortification in Northumberland which could rival Alnwick for its size, the difference in style and ornamentation is striking. Both built primarily in the 1310s, the Percies were constructing a grand northern home which would serve as their primary seat for centuries. Meanwhile, Dunstanburgh was meant as a northern outpost for a family that was already well-established slightly further south. In comparison to Dunstanburgh's condensed gatehouse keep, five towers and few or no unattached buildings, even by the end of the fourteenth century Alnwick was a complex network of multiple sets of curtain walls, and at least ten towers in only the outer walls. Alnwick's superior living space and excess of decoration, such as the lion on the barbican and the heraldry over the entrance to the inner courtyard, make Alnwick seem more of a statement of power than Dunstanburgh, or even Bamburgh or Newcastle.

In the case of fortification built by the top levels of society, then, clear connections can be drawn between southern and crown building, and what is being erected in the north. Alnwick, Warkworth and Dunstanburgh all show clear connection with modern trend and lack nothing in terms of size or ornamentation. As homes of such importance and wealth, they might have been likely to be targets in the wars of independence, as Alnwick was in 1333, and therefore also lacked nothing in defence, though it seems Dunstanburgh was never attacked. Indeed it seems, in the south, while a military façade, such as can be seen at Bodiam, was becoming popular, a trend was growing of necessity in the borders by which mighty and functional fortification displayed power. As for patterns, little parallels can be drawn between Alnwick and Dunstanburgh. Both were built by men of great status, especially by the end of the century when the Percies had obtained the earldom, and both seemed to conform in some way to the style of the day, though otherwise they were clearly built only for their own individual purposes, and their similar dating comes down to nothing more than coincidence, or perhaps a signal of the poor leadership of Edward II.

Prudhoe

Of all middling sized castles, Prudhoe takes its style most from Alnwick's early fourteenth century building, which comes as no huge surprise given the relationship between the families. The origin of the link between the fifth Henry Percy and Gilbert de Umfreville is not clear, but their interactions imply that they had a close connection. Before allowing the first earl to purchase half of his barony and properties in 1375, in 1346 the fifth Henry Percy sent a written petition to the Chancellor complaining over the omission of

Gilbert de Umfreville from the commission of the keeping of the north.[609] This link is shown clearly through the fourteenth-century works at Prudhoe Castle.

While the history of Prudhoe takes the sites fortified roots back before the Norman conquest, and the stone castle likely originates from around 1095 under the Umfreville family, much of what is currently visible was built in the 1330s when the Umfreville's extended the size of the castle considerably and created a mix of round, D-shaped and square towers, such as the mix used at Alnwick. The entire existing curtain wall was constructed at this period, along with the round north-west tower, the semi-circular south tower, and the square east tower. Additions to the keep stretching nearly from the north to the south wall also mimic the overall outline of Alnwick Castle by creating one bailey to each side of the 12th century keep. The long rectangular barbican was also added in this period, and though its decoration is not now known, the shape of this main entrance echoes the gatehouses built onto Alnwick earlier in the century and may have even served as inspiration for the later barbican at Alnwick.

Figure 63 Prudhoe Castle, 2016 OB Paterson

The stylistic details, taking queue from the prominent style of the day and strongly mimicking Alnwick, come as large surprise as the Umfrevilles had been an important family in the borders from the time

609 NA SC 1/41/77, Dated 1st of June 1346, states that Henry Percy 'request for letters of protection for his 'valet'; the earl of Angus should be included in a commission to keep the Scottish march.' The valet in question being Gilbert de Umfreville. In 1375 Henry Percy paid £60 for a 'license fee' for Gilbert de Umfreville's estates, which had been settled on Umfreville's wife, Maud. Upon Umfreville's death in 1381, Percy married Maud and the estates were brought into the Percy family– A. Rose, *Kings in the North,* 332.

of the conquest, but by the middle of the fourteenth century the Umfreville's foothold in the north was in decline. The extensive reworks at Prudhoe, with strong echoes of Alnwick, may have been an attempt to assert their own power in the north. Prudhoe's location, along the southern side of Northumberland and situated south of the Tyne between Corbridge and Newcastle, exposed itself to Scottish attack and incursion, and though there is no evidence that Prudhoe itself was attacked by the Scots in the 14th century, the southwest was hit at least three times and it would have been a logical move for the Umfrevilles to reinforce their castle at Prudhoe. Prudhoe Castle's outer defences were so substantial that they included an entire external pele tower which, as described by the Stockdale survey of 1586, was to protect the area between the inner and outer moats of the castle, also implying that two entire moats encircled the castle.[610] Prudhoe of course has the standard arrow slits and parapet walk, in addition to the barbican added in the 1330s and original gatehouse and extension, creating a drawn out and protected entrance to the south. As is expected, there are no large windows at ground level, even to the detriment of the castle's appearance, lacking in ornate windows on most of the castles facades, and even sacrificing light entirely on the bottom level of the original stone keep and those at first floor level remain quite narrow.[611] The only feature which sticks out at Prudhoe is the location of its chapel above the gatehouse, a strange placement for such a sacred space, though if it should be taken into account that in order to gain access to the chapel after the fourteenth-century additions, attackers would have needed to pass through a minimum of eight physical defences.[612] This number does not, of course, include Prudhoe's strategic placement, halfway up a steep slope and allowing for visibility for several miles to the north.

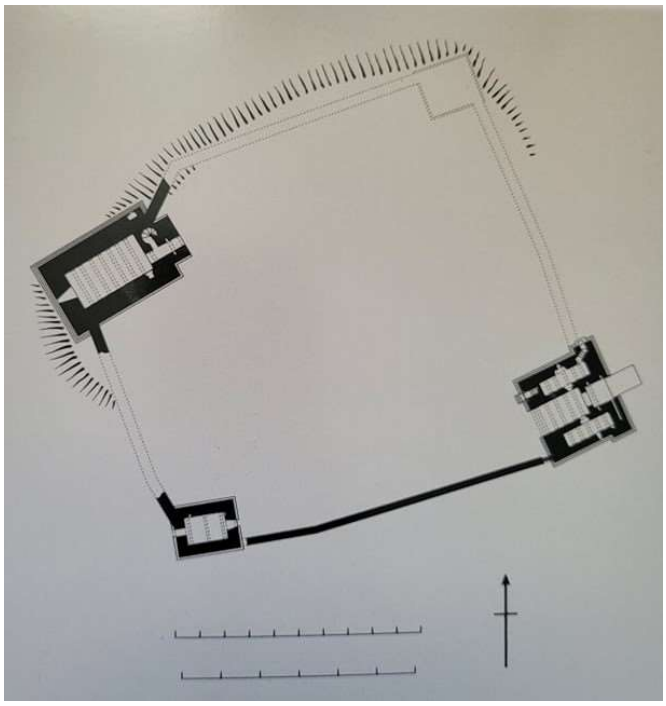


Figure 64 Layout of Etal Castle, Shown in English Heritage

For its size, Prudhoe's minimum of four towers embedded in the curtain wall, plus barbican and pele tower make it an impressive competitor for Warkworth's grandeur, though the placement of Prudhoe in a tested warzone, much unlike Warkworth in the middle of the east coast, forced the fourteenth-century

610 Stockdale survey of 1586, Held at Alnwick Castle,
611 Laurence Keen, 'The Umfravilles, the Castle and Barony of Prudhoe, Northumberland,' in *Anglo-Norman Studies: V Proceedings of the Battle Conference, 1982,* ed. R. Allen Brown (Woodbridge: Boydwell Press, 1982), 165-184.
612 The seven, including the tower, are the pele tower, the two ditches, parapet, arrow slits, barbican, gatehouse, guardrooms, and this does not include any other defences which may have been built into the barbican.

Umfreville's to make Prudhoe more defensible and less fanciful than Warkworth had become, though still showing status through the modernity and style utilized in the new works.

Quadrangular: A Northumbrian Style

Quadrangular castles, while encompassing, as a style, a variety of sub-styles which became popular in the fourteenth century. The idea which best captures the style of Northumberland's quadrangular castles is put forward in John Goodall's 2011 book *The English Castle.* Goodall states that

> 'With a few notable exceptions, quadrangular castles of the fourteenth century were not works of much architectural invention or quality. They usually reflect in their design and detailing local architectural preferences and can be grouped regionally.'[613]

Goodall goes on to cite the example of Naworth, in eastern Cumbria, licensed in 1335, followed by the construction of Ford and Chillingham in 1338 and 1344.[614] Goodall also explains that in the southeast, quadrangular castles, which came into fashion a few decades later, tended to use the popular style of mixing tower shapes, and in the southwest, round towers were preferable.[615] This early trend of square-towered quadrangular castles in the north, then, seemingly did not come from royal or even high seigneurial influence such as the Percies, but originated and ended in the northern counties in the mid fourteenth century. The fortifications produced of this trend, if it can be called that, all differ greatly in size, shape and decoration, and are difficult to link together in more than a rough general outline, making even these seem quite independent.

Etal

In its proximity to a conflict zone, Etal is like Prudhoe. Ford and Etal castles (close neighbours), were both licensed and built in the 1330s and are said to have been built not to protect against marauding Scots, but to protect from their neighbours – each other, though evidence suggests otherwise. Despite their proximity to the Scottish border, Scottish raiders tended to go for large and strategic border castles, such as Berwick and Norham, or go down the western part of the county through Redesdale and into Tynemouth, leaving Ford and Etal largely at peace.

613 John Goodall, *The English Castle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 261.
614 These are all the dates of licences, and as seen in John Goodall, *The English Castle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 261.
615 John Goodall, *The English Castle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 261.

Ford, a large quadrangular castle, will be discussed in the following section, but Etal takes a unique shape all its own. Two main buildings make up the complex at Etal, the first a tower largely resembling a pele tower, sits in the northwest corner of the complex, and in the southwest is the gatehouse. In the two opposing corners are small towers, now gone or built over, and connecting them all is the curtain wall. No stone constructions are known to have existed in the centre, and all accommodation is housed in the large northwest tower. Etal has little natural defence apart from a slight slope and good views to the northwest and southwest, and is, at first glance, comparatively ill fortified. On approach, the most glaring gap in the defences is the double window directly above the castle's gateway. In this blatant attempt at ornamentation, the Manners sacrificed defensibility for style, and paired with the arms of the family emblazoned on the front of the gatehouse, the Manners family clearly was out to show off their own status. Beyond this clear sacrifice of the gatehouse, however, Etal was quite defensible. The gatehouse, while lovely, would have functioned under minor attack, complete with gate, portcullis, guardrooms and possibly a drawbridge.[616] Gatehouse aside, the 'keep' or main tower of the castle is largely supposed to have been the earlier home of the Manners. While no concrete evidence can be provided, Vickers suggests that the features date stylistically to slightly earlier, and the license allowing the Manners to crenellate their existing home implies that there should be a structure which predates 1341.[617] The tower itself strongly resembles a pele tower, and Vickers draws comparisons to the pele towers at Chipchase and Cocklaw.[618] While a bit larger than the average pele tower, at about 140 square metres instead of the average 120, Etal's main tower fits the

Figure 65 The northwest tower at Etal castle as shown from the south (west and south faces visible). O.B. Goulet-Paterson 2018.

616 The drawbridge has never been proven, though it has been theorised by some early scholars, including Kenneth Vickers, based on markings once visible in the upper floor of the gatehouse. – *NCH* XI, 465.
617 LTC: *CPR Edward III 1338-1340,* 179; *NCH* XI, 469-470.
618 *NCH* XI, 466.

description of a pele tower in every other sense.[619] The ground floor entrance is protected of its own accord by portcullis, and has no weak points, with the only light being one extremely small arrow slit to the west side.[620] The walls of the tower are roughly two metres thick, with a spiral staircase built into the thickness, and the upper floors have more lavish accommodation with a fireplace and three double light windows on each floor.[621] It seems largely possible that the pele tower could have been built as the family's earlier accommodation, and after Ford was built, the gatehouse, curtain wall and subsequent towers were added as a 'keeping up with the Jones' (or in this case, the Herons) sort of effort.[622] The stylish heraldry and window on the gatehouse help to spell out the Manners status, and even if the window does compromise the safety of the gatehouse building, the main tower was seemingly built to defend itself, and likely had been doing so for several years.

Ford

Ford, Etal's neighbour, was licensed in 1338 by William Heron.[623] Surviving intact, but greatly altered, Ford was Northumberland's earliest quadrangular castle and three of the original towers still survive in some form. Looking past Ford's current remains, the original layout, with two large towers and two small towers sitting at the four corners of a square, looks remarkably like the original plan at Etal – which can come as no great surprise as Etal is only a few miles away and

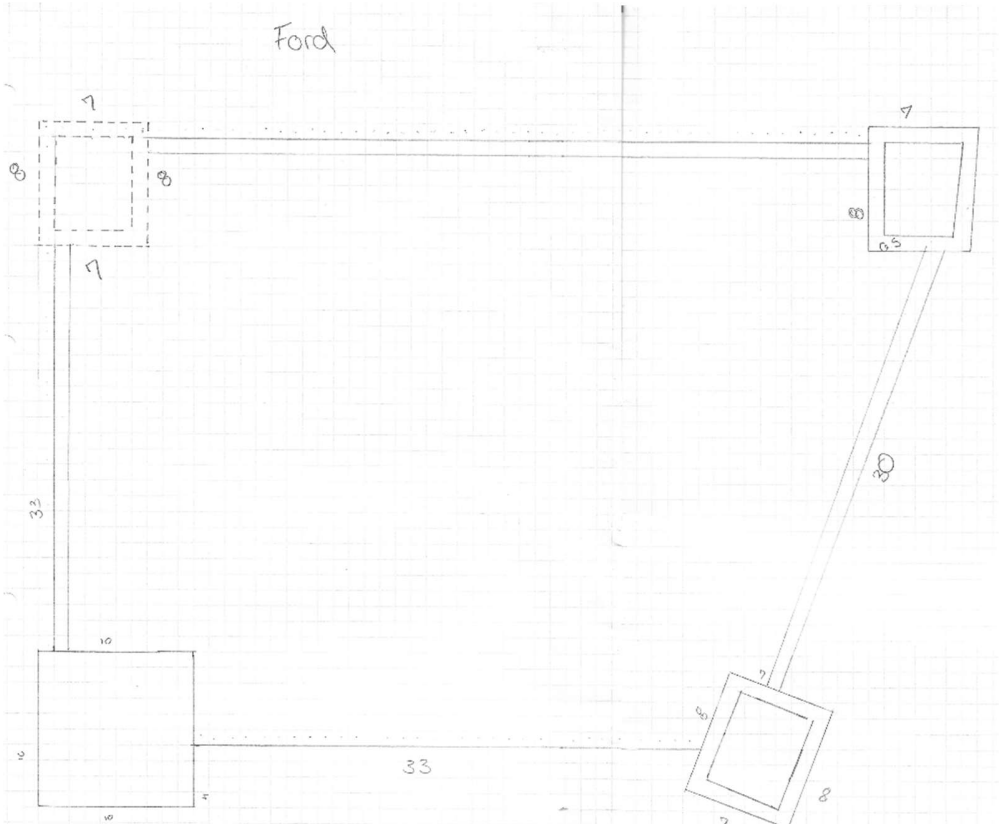
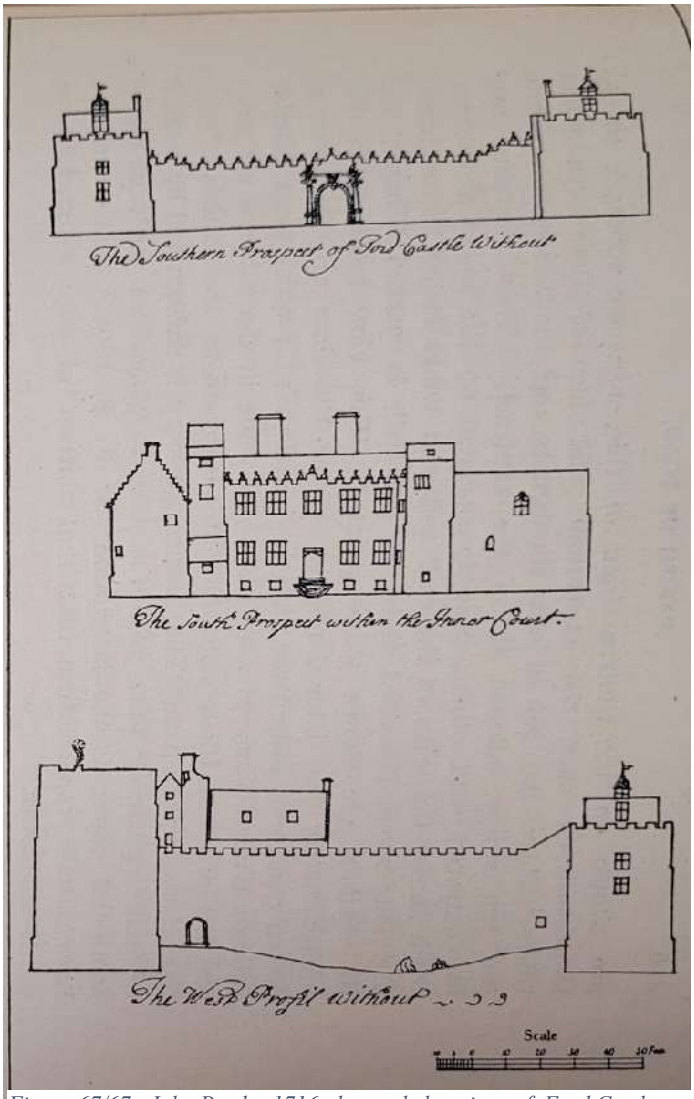


Figure 66 Layout of Langley Castle, O.B. Goulet-Paterson, 2019

619 Averages taken from pele tower measurements described in the next chapter, measurements for Etal's tower are taken from Ibid., 466.
620 Ibid., 466-7.
621Ibid., 468.
622 William Heron was the builder/licensee of Ford castle in 1338 LTC, *CPR Edward III 1338-1340,* 114.

623 *CPR 1338-40*, 114.

is said to have been built as Ford's rival.[624] The Manner's family, however, is not known to have come into direct conflict with the Herons until the 1420's, and this conflict may be, in hindsight, what led historians to believe that there was tension between the families.[625] It seems equally likely, then that the building of Etal in a style similar to Ford could have been, as previously stated, an effort to keep up with their neighbours in appearances. Northern-English historian R. Hugill relays the similarity between the two buildings, not as the result of tension, but of collaboration.[626] Incidentally, this similarity in outline would suggest the Etal, as well, takes some form of quadrangular outline.



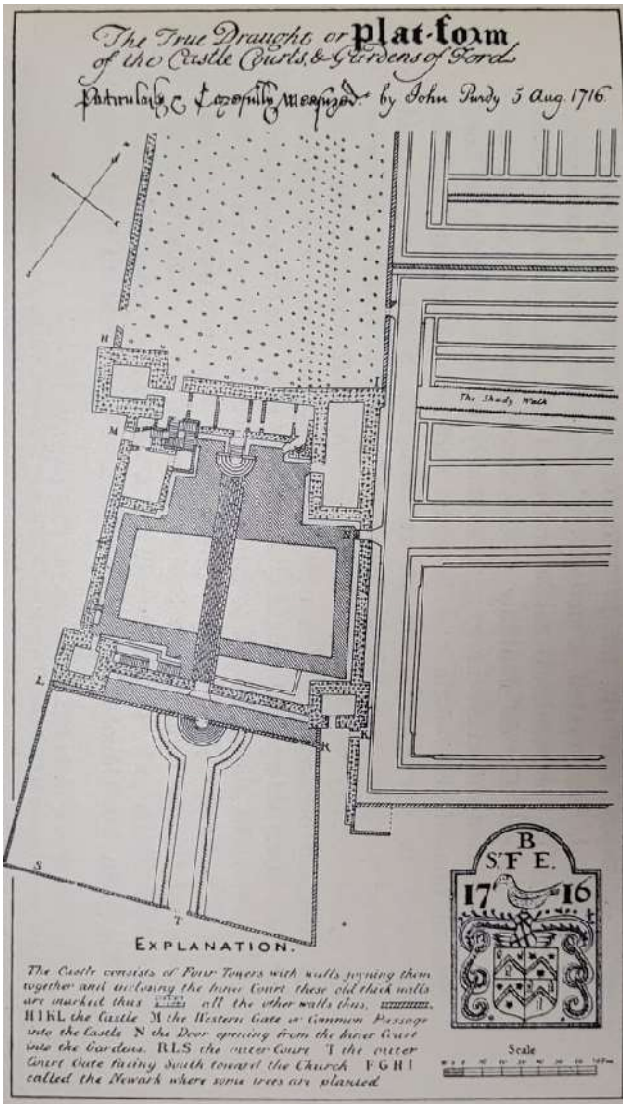


Figure 67/67a John Purdys 1716 plan and elevations of Ford Castle, as pictured in , NCH XI , 415

624 Plan from 'Ford Castle', Richard Fawcett, arch journal, vol. 133, 1976, p.190-192 (in proceedings),Brian Long, p.100
625 For more information on – *IPM* 6 Hen VI no. 15; *Ford Tithe Case* p. 232, C Pat. Rolls 1422-1429 p.467.
626 There is no evidence for this feud before the fifteenth century – see page 65 for details.

Like Etal, Ford had two small towers and two large. Of the two larger towers, the northeast tower is believed to have been used as the main living area and the northwest tower sat just to the north of the original entrance into the curtain wall and served as the guard tower.[627] Much of the northeast tower is now gone, but the entrance in what is presumed to be the all and solar area survives, giving little insight into what the decoration or protections of the day might have been.

Two towers survive intact, though altered. In the southwest tower, though the upper windows are now gone, they are believed to have been at least slightly decorative, given the mullioned windows pictured on the tower in John Purdy's early eighteenth-century plan of the castle.[628] There seem to have been no windows on the ground floor of the southwest tower, and with the southeast tower seemingly taking a likely shape, most of the castle would have had a defensive layout. At four storeys high and with a footprint of around 70 square metres externally, the southwest tower was one of the smaller two in the castle complex.

The northwest tower had five storeys, including a vaulted basement. The only entrance to the tower was through a door in the courtyard, small windows on the upper levels gave views to the north, and over the entrance to the south, and with walls nearly three metres thick, the protection afforded by this tower would have been greater than its southern counterpart.[629] Despite its clear defensive aims, decoration prevailed internally. On the first floor, the north window is decorated by 'chamfered and rebated jambs and trefoiled head.' and the room is entered by a pointed doorway.[630]

The hole in Ford's defences comes in its entrance. Despite being overlooked by the northwest tower, there was no external exit from the tower, so it cannot be seen as a traditional guard tower. No outbuilding is evident meaning there was likely no portcullis, only a gate directly through the wall, as at Aydon, making access to the courtyard quite easy, though once access was gained, each tower would seemingly have offered more protection.[631]

While Ford and Etal may have been strikingly alike in original layout, neither share such a resemblance with Naworth, which has a skewed plan, significantly narrower in the west than in the east, and seemingly original buildings along the west wall joining the two towers.

---

627 Richard Fawcett, arch journal, vol. 133 1976 p.190-192, p. 190

628 John Purdys plan, 1716 plan and elevations of Ford Castle, as pictured in , *NCH* XI , 415

629 Ford Castle has been heavily altered and is now a centre for retreats and school children, without having been able to gain entry, information on these features comes from *NCH* XI, 419-427, R. Fawcett 'Ford Castle,' *Archaeological Journal* vol. 133 (1976) p.190-192.

630 *NCH* XI, 419.

631 This seems, certainly, to be the case with the northwest, southwest and southeast tower, with only small slit windows, where windows exist, even facing into the courtyard, however the northeast tower which housed the family had been greatly altered and the original plan is difficult to make out. The remains of the hall make it seem more rectangular in shape, which could put it closer to Etal in plan, in which case it still could be a large, functioning rectangular keep.

Morpeth

Figure 68 The gatehouse and only surviving piece of medieval Morpeth castle, as shown from the courtyard to the southwest of the gatehouse. O.B. Goulet-Paterson 2018.

Morpeth Castle, of which only the gatehouse and some of the curtain wall still stand, seems remarkably similar to Etal in its purpose. While Morpeth was located on the east coast, and in fact was never mentioned to have been attacked by the Scots, it did sit in unfortunately close proximity to Mitford castle, the seat of Gilbert de Middleton and the origins of local violence and infighting around 1317, putting it in a mildly dangerous location in the early years of the century. Little is known about the keep at Morpeth Castle, and if other towers existed, they are not apparent today. Only the gatehouse stands, in the northeast corner of the castle complex, with the curtain wall creating a rough rectangle projecting to the south and west. The keep is thought to have stood in the middle of the complex and would have been constructed no earlier than around 1218, when around which point the de Merlay family possibly relocated to the new site.[639] While the site is thought to be thirteenth century, stylistically the gatehouse is comparable to fourteenth century sites such as Hexham gaol and Etal Castle.[640] Morpeth's gatehouse also shows weaknesses similar to that at Etal's. There is evidence of a ditch, guard rooms and a parapet were in place, the gatehouse itself had no portcullis or extra defences, and very possibly had ornate windows on the upper floors similar to that at Etal.[641] The construction of an ostentatious gatehouse, with decorative parapet and ornate windows, may have been more for style and status than protection, especially if – as at Etal – the keep was a self-sustaining tower house which needed no additional

639 The previous castle site, now known as Ha Hill, sits only a few hundred metres to the north, though nothing remains there. The exact date of the new castle construction is unknown. P. Ryder, 'The Gatehouse at Morpeth Castle, Northumberland,' Arch Aeliana, vol. no series 5 p.63-77, (1992), 63-77; 63.
640 Ryder makes comparisons between Hexham gaol (1330s) and the corbelled parapet at Morpeth, and the windows resemble those at Aydon and Etal, both early 14th century.
641 The lack of defences as pointed out by Ryder, the current windows were put in later, but in the slots where previous windows had already been - 'The Gatehouse at Morpeth Castle, Northumberland,' Arch Aeliana, vol. no series 5 p.63-77, (1992), 63-77.

protection. Without any concrete information on the size or layout of the keep apart from its roughly rectangular size, it is difficult to know to what extent it would have defended itself, though as a functional pre-existing castle keep, the outline seems likely to be similar to that at Etal - which followed in the footsteps of earlier Northumbrian castles such as Norham and Bamburgh.[642]

Chillingham

Slightly more like Goodall's image of Naworth is Chillingham Castle, licensed in 1344. It is difficult to disentangle the various layers of building at Chillingham but it seems clear that the layout and much of the southeast tower, and bases of other towers are original. The ranges seem to have been of early date as well, if not original certainly pre-17th century when the two-story addition was built in the courtyard.[655]

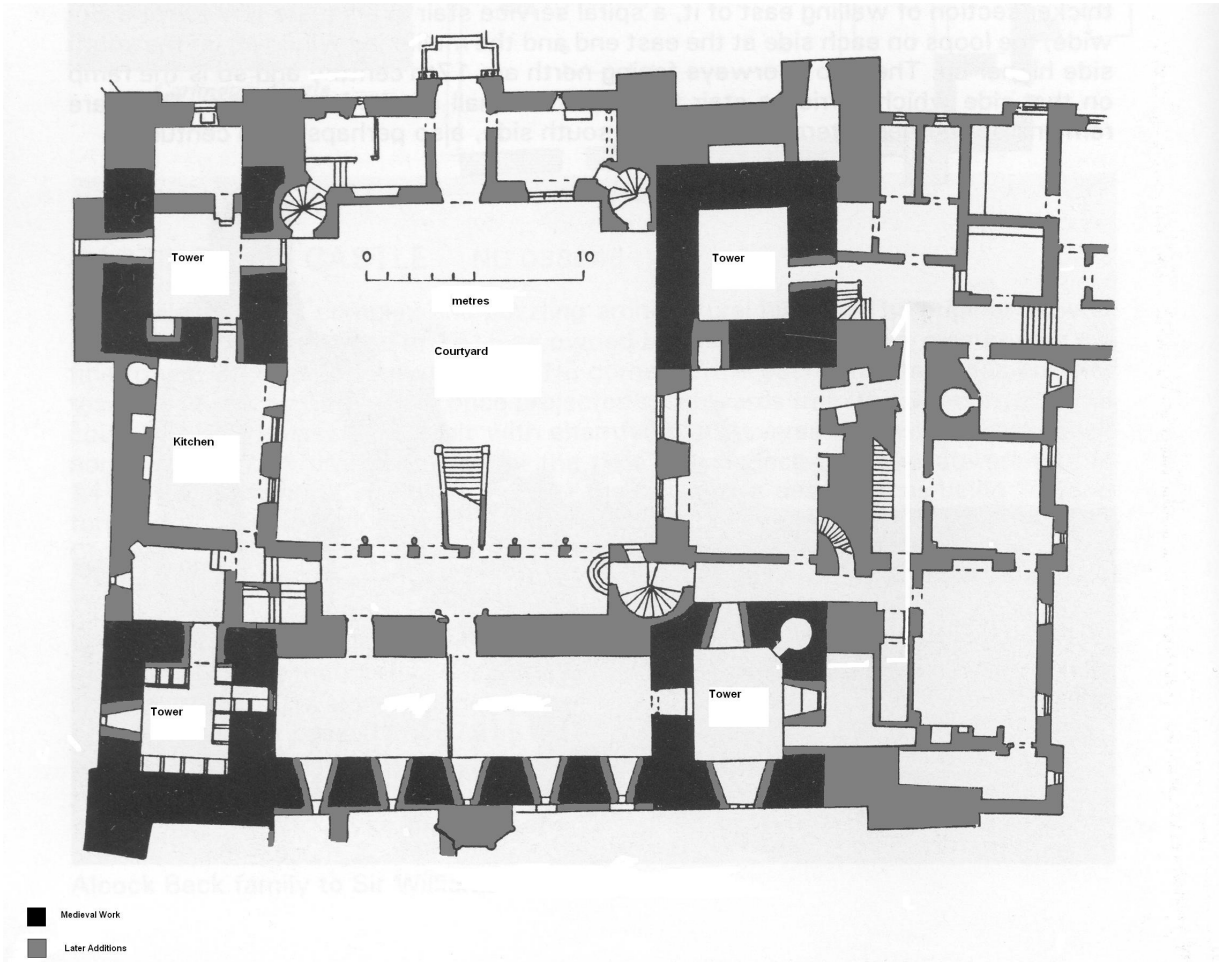


Figure 69 Floorplan of Chillingham Castle, M. Salter, The Castles and Tower Houses of Northumberland, 34.

642 Drawing of Morpeth with a square keep in the middle (citation) Arch Aeliana, vol. no series 5 p.63-77, 'The Gatehouse at Morpeth Castle, Northumberland, Peter F. Ryder, p.63

655 Chillingham Guidebook, Sir Humphrey Wakefield, p. 7 states that the ante-chamber in this extension possibly dates to 1617.

Where original building is evident, such as in the southeast tower, only very small rectangular windows survive, apart from on the top level where a small double-view window looks out to the south, the only good vantage point which the castles' natural situation allows. Of the decoration, the upper levels and interior have been so greatly altered it is impossible to tell, though it appears entry would have been gained in a manor similar to that at Ford – through a simple gate in the north wall, though at Chillingham, a forebuilding may have been possible, as rebuilding around the entry hides any evidence of how the entry was defended. The size of the external windows, and the situation of the castle next to a ravine and with extensive views to the north and west, lends itself to the idea that the original structure was perhaps less ornate than its contemporaries and more defensive in nature. With nearly no local competition, and only the two peles at Chatton within five miles of Chillingham, and the closest large castle, Bamburgh, a decaying monolith ten miles away, it seems likely the Grey's needed no such ornamentation to impress Chillingham's neighbours, and seemingly prioritised function over fashion.

Langley

Langley, the final quadrangular castle with any modern remains, takes yet another form altogether. In his short section on quadrangular castles, Goodall implies that the aim of quadrangular castles may have been meant to create the shape of one, large and impressive building with four towers and curtain wall, presumably projecting an image of greater wealth and status, and Langley seems to have taken this goal a step further, as instead of a courtyard in the middle, Langley's walls and tower are all join to make one large building.[656]

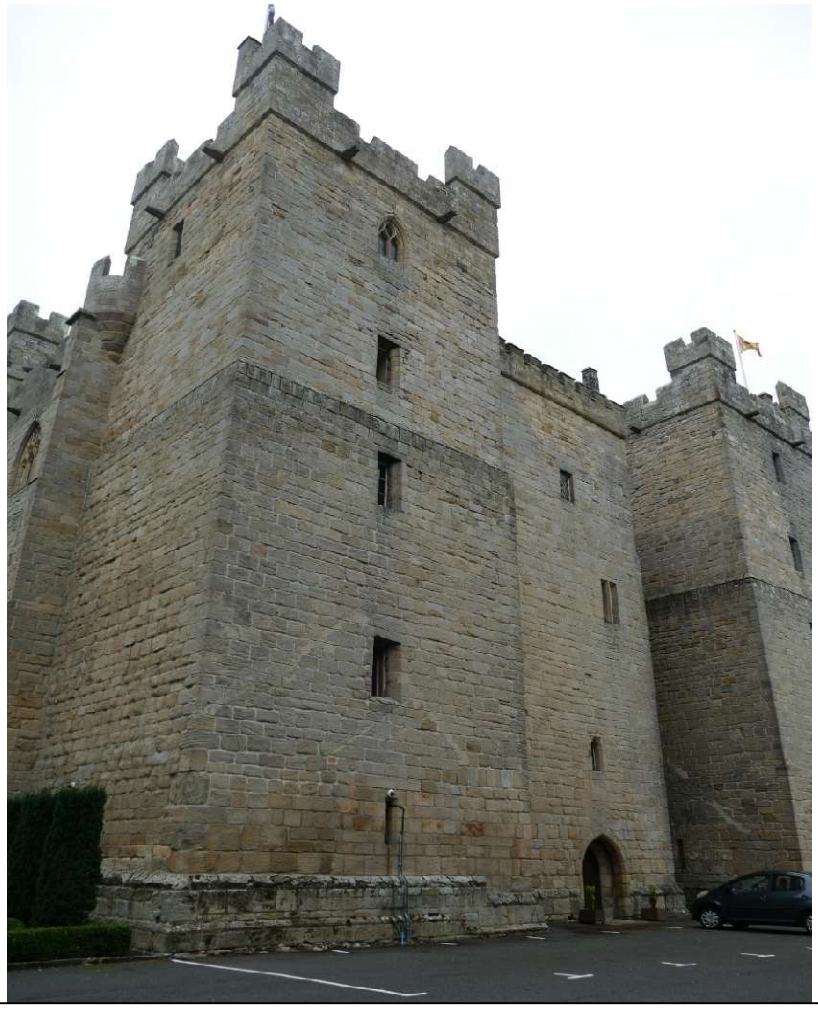


Figure 70 Langley Castle, East Side, site of original entrance. Photo - OB Goulet, 2018.

656 J. Goodall, *The English Castle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 263.

The current castle at Langley was likely began construction not long after the Battle of Nevilles Cross and was finished by 1365, when it was referred to as 'the castle and manor at Langley' in the inquisition following.[657] Like Ford and Chillingham, Langley has been much altered and currently a functioning hotel, so details of the interior and difficult to discern, and must be gleaned from the descriptions given by Cadwallader Bates before his reconstruction of the property.

Figure 71 Langley castle from the southwest, Image – Bates, 'The Barony and Castle of Langley,' 56.

Unlike Northumberland's other quadrangular castles, Langley had a dedicated entry tower, which was built onto the wall, to the east of the southeast tower, an addition still visible today (see figures 70 and 73). As is visible in figure one, on the towers, only very small windows were used, even on the upper floors, and according to

Figure 72 (Above Left) Langley castle interior, south end. Figure 72a (above right) Langley castle interior north end. Both showing large ornate windows on the upper levels, in the walls between the towers (see figures 10 and 13 for outer configuration) Images – Bates, 'The Barony and Castle of Langley,' 56.

657 Bates, 'The Barony and Castle of Langley,' 45-46. *IPM XII*, no. 17 p.17, 1938.

Cadwallader Bates, in its original form, the castle boasted only plain, uncorbelled battlements.[658] The walls average just under two metres in thickness, and the site chosen for Langley is one of great strategic value, with views from the top reaching as far as Hadrian's Wall, ten miles to the north, and nearly as far east.

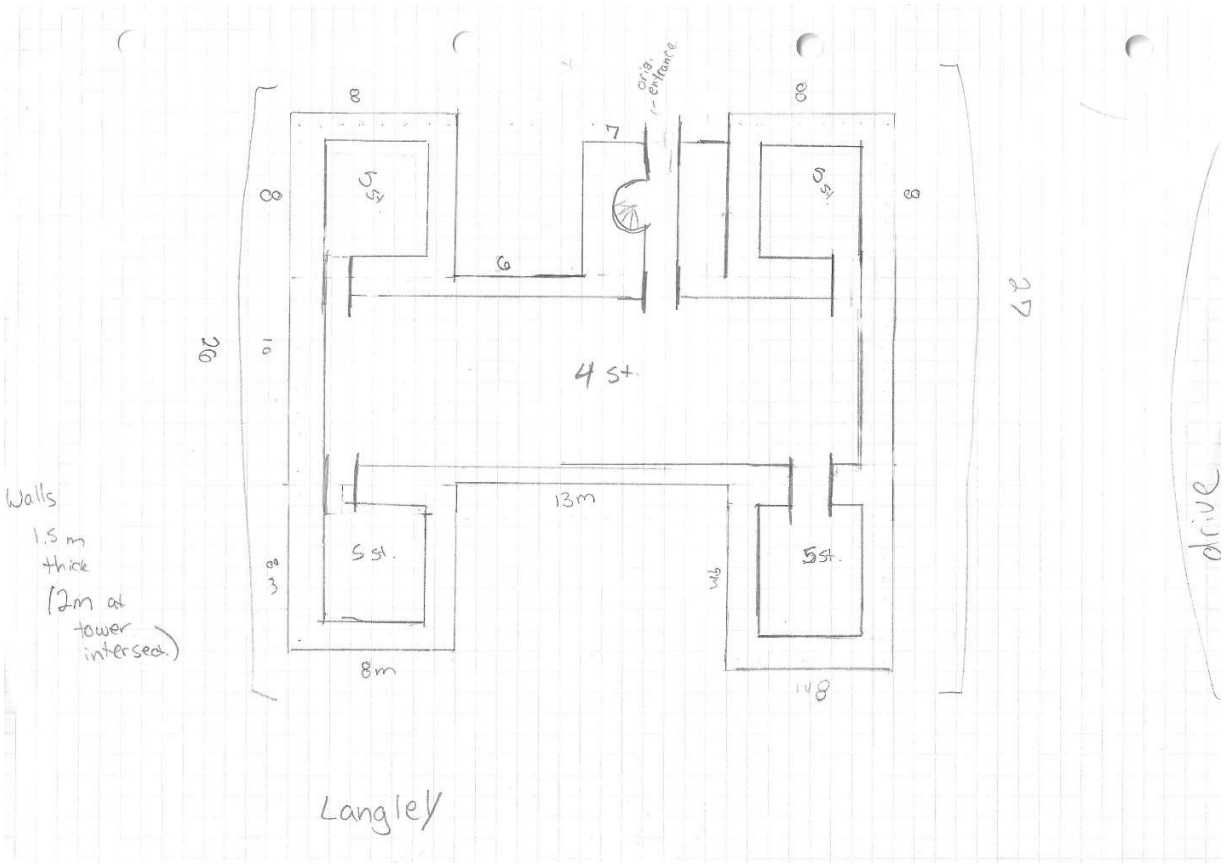


Figure 73 Langley floorplan sketch, based on remains, photos and historical descriptions

There was ornamentation to be seen at Langley, such as the large and presumably ornate windows which would have existed on the north and south ends of the internal structure, the 65 floriated capitals above the doorway into the hall, and – most interestingly – the head of the man who appeared to over the portcullis, with the portcullis dropping down out of his mouth.[659] Little else can be understood in the way of decoration from the descriptions and photographs of Langley before its restoration, but this does lead us to the conclusion that, like its predecessors, Langley would have sacrificed the protection of the courtyard for ornamentation, while maintaining the safety of the towers.

Ogle Castle, the final recognised quadrangular castle in Northumberland, stands out as it is, as Cathcart king put it, in the southwestern style, with round towers.[660] Of the prominent Northumbrian families, the Ogles are a particularly surprising group to have built such a southern-styled home, with 12th

658 Bates, 'The Barony and Castle of Langley,' 48.
659 Ibid., 47.
660 King, *Castellarium Anglicanum II,* 339.

century roots in the north and the only family to have more than two towers in their name on the 1415 survey, the Ogles are firmly rooted in Northumberland in the fourteenth century.[661] With only masonry footing remains, any comment on style, besides the obvious shapes of the towers, is difficult, but the site did boast a double moat with a wall in the middle, showing that outer defences went beyond what the other quadrangular castles had built, making Ogle stand out in both style and defence.

Making up the bulk of new castles which were built in fourteenth-century Northumberland, quadrangular castles provide the best insight into the sources from which influence was obtained and how it spread, and if the patterns of quadrangular castles can say anything about larger patterns of building in Northumberland, it is that no true pattern can be established. Even in a seemingly straightforward streak of building such as this, with Northumberland's only quadrangular castles being built in 1338, 1341, 1344 and the 1350s, none of these two buildings look alike besides Ford and Etal, which stand nearly side-by side. Perhaps a trend in using this general layout came about in the north, though it can only be described as regional and certainly came from no lofty or noble source, making any influence local as well.

All of these quadrangular castles had some level of ornamentation, though seemingly, those closest to other large castles boasted the most ornament. Most importantly, the layout of these castles allowed slightly wealthy Northumbrians to enjoy the increase in status which came from a castle, with its increased size and ornamentation, but at its heart they were functioning within the relative safety of individual pele towers.

Fortified Homes

661 On the 1415 survey, Robert Ogle held Ogle Castle, Sewingshields Castle, North Middleton Tower, Hepple Tower, Flotterton Tower, and Newstead Tower. This number held is quite strange for a family of relatively middling status, but there is no indication or precedent for Ogle being holder of these properties, and of these, at least Ogle, Middleton, Hepple and Flotterton were properties associated with the Ogle family from the early fourteenth century. – *Northumberland Families* vol. 2 W. Percy Hedley, Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1970. P. 143

While all of the aforementioned fortifications are, so far as we know, castles which have been built afresh in the fourteenth century, two of Northumberland's most interesting ruins were not castles purpose-built from the ground up, but homes which underwent the fortification process shortly after fighting began.

Figure 74 The layout of Edlingham castle complex, as shown on one of the castle's display boards. Image O.B. Goulet-Paterson 2018.

The tower at Edlingham, attached at the back of the manor house, is talked about in greater detail in the latter half of this chapter, but the outer works which led the house at Edlingham to later be called a castle are on the opposite, to the northwest, and consist of a curtain wall and gatehouse projecting from the original house. The layout at Edlingham is quite unique in that the solar tower, what in most castle complexes would be looked upon as the keep, is not enclosed within the walls, but rather entered through the manor house, via a wooden passageway at first floor level.[662] Tower aside, the castle and manor complex at Edlingham provides little surviving ornamentation, almost nothing stands above a metre. The original house and added solar tower boast some decoration, including the towers corner turrets, and the houses multiple spiral staircases, but remains of the outer fortification seem simple and even brutish. At a width of two or more metres in most places, the defences at Edlingham were clearly built for practicality. Though it is impossible to discern the size and location of the windows in the outer walls, the number of defences to gain entry into the outer courtyard makes their military

662 The marks where this forebuilding were connected were still visible in 1904 when *A History of Northumberland* vol. VII was issued by The Northumberland County History Committee was issued, *NCH* VII, 122,

motives clear. At least four active defences were in use, only a few less than its larger companions at Alnwick and Dunstanburgh, but more than most more comparable in size.[663] Edlinghams defences included a barbican, built onto an earlier gatehouse, with portcullis, guard rooms, all of which were entered via a bridge over a dry ditch. While the walls do not survive to a height which allows for the discerning of upper defences, it may be safe to assume that in a complex of this military calibre, at least arrow slits and a parapet walk would likely have been employed as well, bringing that total up to a likely seven.

Edlingham's closest contemporary comes in Aydon Castle, about 35 miles to the southwest. Aydon, like Edlingham, started out in its current form as a late-thirteenth century manor house which found a need to fortify around the turn of the fourteenth century.[664] Unlike Edlingham, though, Aydon received a license to crenellate giving a more concrete date for early fortified building around 1305. Aydon Castle also takes quite a unique shape – without a single or keep building, Aydon has a complex of fortified buildings in the form of a shell keep, with the formation of two eventual inner courtyards (one named the 'middle' courtyard) and one large outer courtyard. While several large windows and doors were broken through the curtain wall in the seventeenth century, and now weaken the appearance of the overall structure, the castle in the fourteenth century would have had only one main entrance and one sallyport, and would have boasted at least four defences to reach the outer courtyard - a ditch surrounding the outer courtyard, a barred gate built into the curtain wall, and a chamfered parapet walk, with arrow slits piercing the merlons.[665] Once the outer courtyard was reached, more gates barred entry to the keep, along with a wooden stair used to gain entry to the second floor hall. All of Aydons' original windows were either extremely high or extremely narrow, and the walls were about 1.5 meters thick.

Possibly more strategic were Aydon's natural defences. To the south and west are steep slopes protecting the approach to the castle, preceded by the river on the south side. Views from the castle walls are exceptional in all directions, especially to the north, and there is clear visibility between Aydon Castle and Halton Tower, only a mile to north, and Hexham, four miles to the southwest, leading to the belief among locals and castle staff that the two were used to signal to each other.[666]

---

663 Alnwick and Dunstanburgh both employed 8-10 manmade defences before entry could be gained to the inner keep, including the generally standard parapet and arrow slits, and also ditches, guardrooms, Dunstanburgh's 'murder hole', Alnwick's barbican's statues, etc.

664 The earliest surviving remains at Aydon supposedly date from around 1280 - O.J. Weaver, 'Aydon Castle,' *Archaeological Journal* 5 vol. 133, (1976): 193.

665W.H. Knowles, 'Aydon Castle, Northumberland,' *AA* vol. 56 (1899): 82.
(parapet, merlons), p. 85 (sallyport, ditch)

666 This view was expressed to me upon my visit to Aydon Castle in September, 2018, by Dr Craig Appleby, tour guide at Aydon Castle. This view is confirmed by W.H. Knowles in his 1899 piece 'Aydon Castle in *AA*, where he states that Aydon Castle, 'four miles, as the crown flies' can be seen from the Sele at Hexham, but not from up close due to the dense vegetation. (p.72)

Despite its clear defences, Aydon was taken multiple times in its history, and recent attempts have been made to undermine the defensive nature of Aydons fourteenth-century additions.[667] With roots as a medieval manor house, it comes as no surprise that the focus in Aydon's early stages of building would have been con comfort and ornamentation. The grand hall, situated on the first floor, measures 25' by 40' and 16' high, and elaborate boasts window seats, carved into double-windows in the north and south walls. Similar window seats existed in the solar chamber, which had no external face in the castle complex, as well as a largely decorative fireplace.[668] Both the fireplaces in the solar and that in the ground floor chamber are highly decorative and have either moulded corbels or capital surviving, and of the four surviving window seats in the first-floor solar one in one a carved head still survives.[669] These largely ornate 13th century windows were left mostly for the first floor, however, and on the ground floor defensive concerns prevailed and arrow loops lit the majority of the exposed rooms.[670]

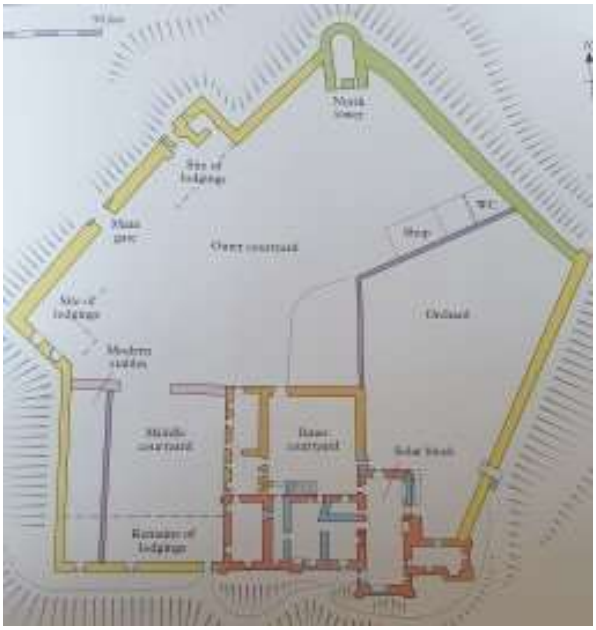


Figure 75 Layout of Aydon castle, produced by English Heritage, as shown in Aydon Castle Guidebook by Henry Summerson, published by English Heritage, London, 2004.

However, with the fourteenth-century expansion of the castle, the focus on style and grandeur seemed to slow, and practicality prevailed. The main attempts at style in the new fortification seems to be through the small variation in tower shapes, with their only two towers, built into the north side of the wall, being of different shapes as was the style of the day – one D-shaped, and one square, and the chamfered parapet. The old windows were allowed to remain, though shuttered and protected with iron grates and the original house was as ornate and decorative internally as it had been built to be, but the new additions had masked many of these features from the passing public.[671] The curtain wall was thick and flat, with no heraldry, as was popular in larger castles of the time, and no decorative entrance or gatehouse, as can be seen at most other middling castles of the time.

667 King 'Fortresses and Fashion Statements,' 383.
668O.J. Weaver, 'Aydon Castle,' *Archaeological Journal* 5 vol. 133, (1976): 194.
669 O.J. Weaver, 'Aydon Castle,' *Archaeological Journal* 5 vol. 133, (1976): 195.
670 W.H. Knowles, 'Aydon Castle, Northumberland,' *AA* vol. 56 (1899): 81.
, the northern end was lit by arrow loops, the other room by a large window of unknown (seventeenth century)
671 Iron grates and shutters over windows – W.H. Knowles, 'Aydon Castle, Northumberland,' *AA*, vol. 56 (1899): 76.

In fact, Aydon's fourteenth-century additions appear the least decorative and most practical of all its contemporaries. This could be a result of the constant threat of Scottish raiding which loomed over the southwest of the county, where Aydon was situated. The countryside around Aydon was attacked in 1311 and 1312, and Aydon Castle itself was attacked and surrendered to the Scots in 1315, in Robert de Reymes' absence, despite the presence of a heavily provisioned garrison.[672] Unbeknownst to the Reymes upon the building of the manor house, Aydon would end up sitting directly in the Scottish incursion route down the west side of the county, down through Redesdale and Tynedale and towards Hexham. Seemingly by 1349 the Reymes had chosen Shortflatt and not Aydon as their primary residence, and so saw no need for such personalised and symbolic works as were seen at Prudhoe and Etal, as they'd begun letting the castle out to the Grey family.[673] Over all, in an area which proved so dangerous, the works at Aydon were seemingly forced to remain relatively simple, and were seemingly never resumed, apart from repair work, throughout the fourteenth century.

While some have used the abandonment of Aydon castle in 1315 as proof that these castles were not functional in the times of real violence, the safety of Aydon in the smaller Scottish raids of 1311 and 1312, and in subsequent raiding down the western border, points to the conclusion that the presence of an intact fortification with functioning garrison would have proved a deterrent to Scottish forces.[674] Though it is impossible to discern the size of the force that marched south in 1315, a direct attack on a larger castle seems to imply a larger force, and the man in charge of protecting the castle at

Figure 76 The middle and inner courtyards at Aydon castle, shown from the castle gate. O.B. Goulet-Paterson 2018.

672 Henry Summerson, *Aydon Castle: Northumberland* (London: English Heritage, 2004), 23.
673 'Coparcenary at Aydon Castle' Philip Dixon & Patricia Borne, Arch journal, 1978, ser. 5 vol. 135, p. 234-238, (p.235)
King 'Fortresses and Fashion Statements,' 378.

this time, Hugh de Gailes, seems highly unreliable, based on his role in the attack at Aydon in 1317.[675] According to Robert de Reymes, Aydon was fully equipped and ready to defend itself when Gailes gave up the castle without a fight, meaning the actual strength of Aydon was never tested.[676]

Small fortifications like these, however, were never meant to have withstood large-scale attacks and sieges like the one which supposedly approached Aydon in 1315, or that in 1317 when Hugh de Gailes returned to attack Aydon with a group of followers.[677] By upgrading from manor house to small castle, especially in dangerous territory such as where Aydon was located, if the thick walls of Aydon and Edlingham functioned even to deter approaching forces, they seemingly served a purpose well. The fact that they were originally built as stylish homes, and the fortification was added on only after conflict had begun, and yet still before the heavy trend of fortification had begun in the north, and the arc at which fortification can be seen as a societal trend for the gentry and lower nobility, perhaps beginning in the 1330s, I believe shows that the fortifications at Edlingham and certainly Aydon were built primarily for protection and not for style, and certainly functioned to serve that purpose.

Ecclesiastical Fortification:

While there are many smaller towers which are in some way connected with the church, either vicars towers, or small towers under the jurisdiction of the Archbishops of York or the Bishopric of Durham, three large fortifications existed under church jurisdiction in fourteenth-century Northumberland. Lindisfarne, Tynemouth and Norham are spread throughout the county, though they share the misfortune of being located in dangerous areas. Norham, situated directly on the border, was attacked more often than any other Northumbrian castle save Berwick.[678] Lindisfarne and Tynemouth are both fourteenth-century fortifications purpose-built to protect the priories from harm in the wars of independence. For this reason the defensibility of these sites has generally never been called into question.

At Tynemouth, a castle was licensed shortly after the start of the war in 1296. Like Norham, Tynemouth would receive much royal and seigneurial support to keep its fortifications manned and standing to protect the precious priory within. The castle at Tynemouth can leave little doubt as to its purpose, with plain, stout curtain walls and mighty gatehouse protecting the priories' only entrance. The Priory itself exists

675 Henry Summerson, *Aydon Castle: Northumberland* (London: English Heritage, 2004), 23.– in 1317 Aydon was 'seized by Hugh and his followers'.
676 Henry Summerson, *Aydon Castle: Northumberland* (London: English Heritage, 2004), 23.
677 Henry Summerson, *Aydon Castle: Northumberland* (London: English Heritage, 2004), 23.
678 Polychronicon mentions an attack on Norham in 1314, *Scalachronica* mentions the Norham garrison involved in skirmish in 1318 (60): *Polychronicon,* 320; *Vita Edwardi Secundi* mentions an attack on Norham in 1319, multiple mentions in 1327-8 and 1346: *Vita Edwardi,* 152 & 177.

on a rocky outcrop on the eastern coast, protected by cliff and sea to the north, east and south. To the west sits the castle and the high curtain wall from cliff to cliff. Arrow slits, presumably a parapet walk, a deep ditch surrounding the eastern approach, a portcullis, guardrooms, and a gate – totalling at least six confirmed defences – and is conspicuously lacking in ornamentation. All windows openings are single in width and roughly rectangular, and no ornamentation survives on any window or doorway, though the doorways are arched, and evidenced or a rounded turret is visible on the southeast corner of the gatehouse. (See Image) The fortification there was strong enough in 1311 for Edward II to seek sanctuary there from the pursuing earl of Lancaster.[679]

Figure 77 Image of gatehouse at Tynemouth Priory, viewed from the west/outside of the priory. OB Goulet-Paterson, 2017

An even more plain extension was built onto the priory at Lindisfarne sometime before 1381. While not technically recognised as a fortification, the building in the outer court is of thick, windowless stone walls with a gatehouse on the west side, and a barbican leading into the inner complex. Given the timing and location of such an extension, it seems highly likely that these features were installed to help protect the priory.

Conclusion

679 Polychronicon put this in 1311, *Polychronicon,* 303, Vita in 1312 (42-3) Phillips more recent and reliable account also puts this in 1312. Phillips, *Edward II*, 187.

At each level of building, different traits can be seen. Royal works certainly followed more southern styles, as did works carried about by upper nobility looking to follow the style of the day, though none of this style allowed for a sacrifice in the defences of the larger fortifications. Fortified priories, while only two, can be seen to have similarly plain fortification, built to serve its purpose and without need for ornamentation, and yet the church-owned castles like Norham, which was omitted from this section for its lack of fourteenth-century remains, tend to carry as much style and ornament as those of the upper nobility.

Moving down the social hierarchy, an odd mix of fortification begins to crop up. Both the fortified homes of Aydon and Edlingham, and the quadrangular castles of Ford and Etal afford a similar kind of protection – the ability to extend your home, increase defence and simultaneously increase the appearance and style of your home, while maintaining a central core. While Aydon and Edlingham originally chose to use their manor houses and fortify externally, others chose to go with a more popular Northumbrian fortification, the tower house. In this way, the only possible pattern, a strong 'central' defence, and often weak and ornamental outer defences, built more for show than practicality, though even in this there are flaws. The outer defences at Aydon are largely without ornament, and it is possible that the entire site at Langley was surrounded by a curtain wall. Despite the vast differences which are apparent in the various societal levels of these homes, defence is never sacrificed, and often some patterns can be found – particularly among middling castles, which implies a regional style of smaller castles with both defense and style at their heart.

Chapter Four:
Architecture & Motivation: Tower Houses

Introduction

In the fourteenth century, fortification styles varied throughout England. Square towers mimicking Norman keeps endured from previous centuries, while large round towers, as made famous by the ring of castles built by Edward I in Wales, remained popular and thrived as a sign of power and privilege. Simultaneously, two other shapes dotted the landscape in larger fortifications, as new octagonal and hexagonal towers began to appear. While the popularity of round and polygonal towers in curtain walls increased in the fourteenth century throughout England, the square tower held popularity and even reverted into a free-standing feature, which became far more prominent in the north of England than elsewhere in this later period. The highest numbers of these towers by far were found in Northumberland and Cumbria, with towers in these counties making up over three quarters of the total number of standalone square towers in the whole of England.[680]

D-shaped towers, such as those at Dunstanburgh's gatehouse, were followed quickly in popularity by polygonal towers like the mural towers and gatehouses at Alnwick, Warkworth and Raby. Octagonal towers gained popularity in England in the fourteenth century and throughout England at least twenty larger castles were built including hexagonal and octagonal towers in their curtain walls, though Alnwick is the only example in Northumberland.

Square or rectangular keeps had been common in England since the time of the Norman conquest, with famous southern examples being those at Corfe, Rochester , the White Tower at London and by the twelfth century the style had reached the north, notably at Bamburgh and Newcastle, then Norham.[681] Seemingly, the square shape never went out of fashion in Northumberland, evidence of which can be seen at the twelfth-century ruins at Willimoteswick and Harbottle, thirteenth-century Chillingham, fourteenth-century Featherstone and Alnwick (with a squared barbican and many square or rectangular towers), and Belsay and Bywell, both grand residences from the early fifteenth century. The sustained popularity of the

680 The total number of fourteenth-century towers in the three historic border counties comes to 55 (can you give a breakdown of numbers in each of the 3 northern counties?), while the number for the whole of England (including these counties) comes to only 73, meaning that the towers in the direct border counties make up 75.34% of all fourteenth century English towers.

681 For Norham see paper by Marshal and Dixon 'The Great Tower in the Twelfth Century: The Case of Norham Castle' *Archaeological journal*, Volume 150, 1993 - Issue 1; For the White Tower: R.B. Harris, 'Recent research on the White Tower: reconstructing and dating the Norman building,' in *Castles and the Anglo-Norman World: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Norwich Castle in 2012*. Ed. J.A. Davies (Oxbow Books, 2016) 177-189.

square building in the north is one that has been largely overlooked. Thomson states that the fourteenth century 'saw something of a retrogression to a fortified dwelling, to a keep-like tower recalling twelfth-century structures', calling to attention their defensive purpose in Ireland but not mentioning their existence in the English borders.[682] John Goodall even goes so far as to attribute the trend to Richard II's reign, but while in his discussion of the perpendicular style of Richard II's reign, he brings up Belsay castle, he ignores the pre-existing culture of square towers in the north, only having mentioned larger castles such as Alnwick and Tynemouth in the earlier fourteenth century.[683]

While all of the above are examples of large, to some extent, decorative Northumbrian castles, the vast majority of square towers in Northumberland were smaller, more modest free-standing towers. 70 of the 98 evidenced builds which took place in Northumberland in the fourteenth century were towers which were built either to stand alone or as an attachment to a small domestic building.[684] In the rest of England, towers such as these make up for only 25 of the 173 such known builds, and when the other border county of Cumbria is excluded from that figure, the number of stand-alone fourteenth-century towers drops to seven, with no county numbering more than two.[685] By the end of the fourteenth century tower houses had become so popular that they can even be assessed as part of a northern trend of building, which in recent years has taken the focus off of their military necessity.[686] By the fifteenth century tower houses had spread to the Anglo-Norman Irish border, where they would remain prevalent there for another two centuries.[687]

The reason for the high number of these towers in the borders compared to the rest of the country has also been little studied in the past, with most scholars brushing it off as issues due to the conflict, or a general lag for thanks to the finances or geography of the region, though some effort has been made in recent years by Dr. A King of Southampton and Professor P Dixon.[688] Square towers were cheaper and easier to build than complex castles and provided defensible but also prestigious dwellings for lesser gentry looking to fortify.[689] But how far were such towers primarily a response to Scottish invasion? Were they also a biproduct of the military culture which existed in the borders, and the growing social pressure for every

682 Thomson, *The Rise of the Castle*, 159. Corfe: B. Morley, 'Corfe Castle' *Archaeological Journal* (140, 1983), 55-57; Rochester: J. Ashbee 'The medieval buildings and topography of Rochester castle,' in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Rochester* (Leeds: British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 28) 250-264.
683 John Goodall, *The English Castle*, 333-334; 277. Goodall, *The English Castle*, 277.
684 This figure includes additions/major renovations and does not include sites which appear on the 1415 survey with no other evidence of building within the fourteenth century.
685 Cheshire 1 (Doddington Tower), Cumbria 18 (Arlosk at Newton Arlosh Church of St John the Baptist [],
Bewcastle , Branthwaite Hall, Dacre , Drumburgh etc, Greystoke Castle, Hardrigg Hall, Hayes Castle, Hutton in the Forest Hall, Irton Hall, Millom Castle, Muncaster Castle, Naworth Castle, Penrith Castle, Rose/ La Rose Castle Strickland Tower, Wokington Hall, Melmerlby, and Burgh by Sands), Devonshire 2 (Bere Ferrars and Buckland Abbey), Lancashire 2 (Broughton-in-Furness and Borwick Hall)
Northumberland 35, Shropshire 1 (Lea nr. Bishops Castle), Warwickshire 1 (Baginton)]
686 King 'Fortresses and Fashion Statements.'
687 The decline of Irish tower houses came with the Cromwellian advance into Ireland, tower houses were no match for guns, this is mentioned in
688 King, 'Fortresses and Fashion Statements;' Dixon, 'Border Towers: A Cartographic Approach'.
689 The only study available in relation to wealth of builders and property type held is included in P. Dixon 'Border Towers: A Cartographic Approach,' 255-256.

family of some status to build fortification? Or should we take their stout and defensive features as a sign that they were in fact purely or primarily military in purpose?

This chapter seeks to evaluate the overall style of building throughout England in the fourteenth century, and to demonstrate how style differed in Northumberland, and to what extent these tower houses were a by-product of a distinctive culture, or of a need to protect one's family and goods from the ever-present threat of Scottish invasion or rival neighbours. From there, we will explore how the tower house evolved in Ireland and Scotland, and look at what can be learned from through a comparison of later Irish and Scottish tower houses to their fourteenth and fifteenth-century English counterparts.

Figure 78 Corbridge Vicar's Pele, as shown from the south, small slit window on ground level and only marginally larger windows on the upper levels. (Photo: O.B. Goulet-Paterson, 2018)

Tower Houses

The term 'Tower House' is one that has come to mean many things in last two centuries, differing across England, Ireland and Scotland.[690] Some consider a tower house to be a manor house with a tower attached, or a small stone or even wooden dwelling with a solar tower attached.[691] For the purposes of this chapter, we will consider the tower house as a building or dwelling in which the tower was the only fortified portion of the building, or the only fortified building in the complex at the time of its construction. Within Northumberland, where the examples are many, this definition will include fortified homes such as Edlingham, Corbridge Vicar's Pele, and Shilbottle Pele.[692]

Outside of Northumberland we can afford to be slightly more loose with this definition as we observe buildings that strongly resemble

690 For Scottish Tower Houses: A.M.T. Maxwell-Irving, *The Tower Houses of Scotland* (Stirling: 2014)., d

691 For the purpose of this thesis, a tower house will be defined as a stone tower (building of two or more levels), which may or may not have an outer wall (remnants of these were more prevalent in Cumberland than in Northumberland), though with no other fortified/stone buildings in the complex.

692 All of these are traditionally thought of 'pele' towers, though they all sit in relatively different settings. The tower at St. Johns church Edlingham built onto the church and served as the residence for the vicar, Corbridge vicar's tower sits in Corbridge Village and seemingly was built as a standalone home for the vicar of the nearby church, and Shilbottle Tower was attached certainly to a later and possibly originally to a vicarage, making it also a solar tower of a kind, to a vicarage. See also Elsdon – a vicar's fortified tower beside the earlier (vast) motte and bailey castle?

Northumbrian tower houses. In Cumbria, for example, several towers had outer defences, but the tower existed as the only defensible building, such as at Hayes castle, which is seemingly a fourteenth-century rebuilding of a motte and bailey castle.[693]

The average tower house in Northumberland had a footprint of around 100-150 square metres, including stone walls which ranged from one to three metres thick, often thicker at the base, and were typically of three storeys. It can be difficult to reconstruct what the storeys were used for, and descriptions often vary, but modern depictions of later towers show storage guardrooms, kitchens and occasionally livestock storage on the ground floor (where entrances permit), living space on the second floor or above, and bedrooms reaching up to the third floors.[694] Larger towers which were built for wealthier families differ greatly in their structure and a few, namely Edlingham and Belsay, lay out the rooms more for style than protection with living space, including fireplaces and windows, on every level. More specific details, such as entryways, windows and especially roofs are still more difficult to discern, as few examples remain intact. Stone vaults were prevalent on the bottom level, and could have protected against fire, but are missed in upper levels, with some towers containing stone vaults on multiple levels, as at Hexham Gaol, but more only on basement level, as at Corbridge and Shilbottle. and Surviving windows, such as at Shilbottle Pele and Corbridge Vicar's Tower were small and deep, some slightly larger towers such as Cresswell also include arrow slits, which help to enforce the idea that these buildings were built, in part at least, for military use. By contrast, the larger tower at Edlingham presents an interesting problem as the projecting solar tower has a large window on ground floor level, a seemingly obvious weak point for an otherwise defensible complex.

693 Little now remains of Hayes Castle, for the most comprehensive summary of Hayes' history and architecture, see listing number 8932 on Heritage Gateway
694 See signpost at Thirlwall Castle, Bates' section on Tower Houses in Bates, *Border Holds*, 323-328, for existing information on tower layout. At Preston, the kitchen is on the ground floor, as it seemingly was at Cresswell – see the History of the Pele tower recently published on their website http://cresswellpeletower.org.uk/index.php/history-1

The location and layout of doorways can be equally difficult to work out, as in order to do this we would need to understand the complete original structure. A few examples do survive, however, such as Corbridge Vicar's Tower, which has a stout wooden door on ground level which would have been barred. Preston Tower (figure), heavily restored in the nineteenth century but thought to have largely retained its original structure, has a similar arrangement**,** and the current entrance to Creswell is likely original, though used to enter from a later attached house. Using these as a model for towers which have been more heavily modified or are largely ruinous, such as Shilbottle, Cocklaw, Crawley, and West Lilburn towers, we can infer that that was probably the main mode of entry for the majority of these towers, and if their everyday usage is any indication, the need to keep livestock on the ground floor may have made a ground floor entrance a necessity in most lower-status towers. Though these towers may not have lent the same level of protection as larger fortifications, they would have been an easy and cost-effective way to build and would have been effective enough to deter small bands of raiders looking for easily portable wealth.

Figure 79 Interior ground floor window, Edlingham Castle (Photo: O.B. Goulet-Paterson, 2018)

Of all tower features, roof defences are the most difficult to assess. Three of the most intact examples of contemporary tower houses are Preston, Shilbottle and Creswell, but all three of these suffered from extensive rebuilding in the nineteenth century and now boast Victorian 'Medieval' style crenellations. With no surviving illustrations, it is impossible to know what shape the roofs originally took. Of the others, Hexham Old Gaol and Moot Hall have modern flat roofs, leaving only Corbridge Vicar's Tower as evidence. The Vicar's Tower shows some evidence of original crenellation, and decoration at the upper levels but it is difficult to establish any sort of pattern with only one example. The shape of the roof, however, might echo reconstructions of Longthorpe Tower near Peterborough (Figure 80), aside from Corbridge's surviving bartizans.[695] Some larger towers exist as part of fortified manors, including Belsay and Edlingham, both of

695 https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/longthorpe-tower/history/description/

Figure 80 Preston Tower, as shown from the southeast, with presumed original entrance location on the south facing wall. (Photo: O.B. Goulet-Paterson, 2018)

which have highly ornate parapets and no crenels, though it is difficult to draw too many parallels between these larger buildings and the mass of smaller towers .

Of the surviving examples, few remain intact enough to reveal what the upper detailing would have looked like, but seven show some evidence of either round or square corner bartizans. This represents the majority of towers nine with possible original upper level remains, meaning that we can infer that some level of decoration, i.e. turrets or bartizans, would have been prevalent. This level of decoration gives these towers, even small local towers such as Corbridge Vicar's Tower an element of sophistication and style which we would perhaps not expect from a building erected a hastily in response to the need for fortification, and implies that style and trend were important factors in the building of these towers.

The group is split nearly evenly, with four round and three square. They are also evenly mixed between more modest towers – Corbridge, Halton, Cresswell, Whittingham, and larger towers including Halton, Edlingham and Belsay. This group spans the breadth of Northumberland, with five in the southern section nearer Newcastle and two further north (both groups mixed round and square), and spans in date from 1300 to the early fifteenth century. Additionally, Preston Tower takes a completely different shape, with two

Figure 81 Cross-section of Longthorpe Tower near Peterborough https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/longthorpe-tower/history/description/

small square towers projecting from the main tower in the centre. This odd mix of builders, location and date makes conclusions about where these smaller details would have been picked up very difficult, meaning that unless further evidence is found the stylistic influencers of these towers will likely remain unknown. The layout of the towers varied greatly and each they seem to have been built more out of personal necessity than stylistic motivation, though it would have given builders a place in the fortified hierarchy of the day. The varying types of decoration, layout and size of the towers with the minimal remains we have left, makes it difficult to prove specific stylistic trends, but instead a regional need for fortification. The numbers with which these towers were erected in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century, in almost exclusively the northern-most counties of England, show that these towers, themselves, formed the backbone of Northumbrian building in this period and, as we will see later, even go on to serve as the core of a new kind of castle on the Scottish border.

The Northumbrian style, if one can be made out, then, would be of generally free-standing square or rectangular towers, with a stout ground-floor entrance, small windows and some upper detailing. This 'style' however, seems to be borne less of style of choice than of necessity. These small structures allowed builders of lower levels of society to protect and fortify their goods and families for lower cost, and similar to the larger castles built at the time, these towers shared little apart from a vaguely similar shape and size.

Tower Building Society

Attempting to analyse exactly which section of the population built these towers is another important yet difficult task. Tower building and ownership in Northumberland seems to have appealed to a wide variety of people, from the 2nd Earl of Northumberland and the Duke of Bedford (Henry IV of England's own son), though the majority of towers seem to have belonged to men whose names cannot now be recovered. The 1415 survey gives us the names of the owners of every fortification on the list save five, one of which is in Cumberland (see Appendix 1), but it is difficult to say how many of these owners were the original builders, and a look into fortifications which have earlier documentary evidence tends to show that towers have an equal chance of staying in one family over multiple generations, or changing hands. At least fourteen towers, including Haughton, Fenwick and Newland, were all kept within their respective families from the time of construction to the 1415 survey, and another nine changed hands between building and the 1415 survey.[696] Of the other towers, only their owners in 1415 are known. In some cases we know these were the builders, such as in the cases of Hoppen Tower and Shawdon Hall, both built in the early fifteenth century most likely by the owners listed on the survey (Hoppen Tower by Robert Hoppen, and Shawdon Hall by Thomas Lillburn). Due to the lack of earlier evidence for most of these sites, in this chapter we will refer to the earliest known owner as the builder, though we know in some instances this may not be the case.

It may be safe to assume in this period that many of the owners on the 1415 survey who were not builders had at least some motivation for keeping and maintaining these towers, save perhaps the few higher nobles such as the Duke of Bedford, who came by Shilbottle Tower by means of royal grant after the Percies' forfeiture for treason and not through active pursuit, and would have presumably have kept a keeper or tenant. Most tower builders were, however, not of the upper elite. Of the eighty-one tower builders/owners on record in or before 1415, thirty-seven are men who held no positions of importance nationally or in the county, nor served in parliament, meaning their names were seemingly mentioned nowhere in history save for the 1415 survey. Though it is likely that some may have held local commissions, none of the 37 are recorded as having served in Parliament in the fourteenth century, nor did they serve at any point as Sheriffs

696 Some examples of towers that changed hands are Lanton Tower, built in 1369 by David Baxter and owned on the 1415 survey by Henry Strother, Newton Tower near Edlingham, built in 1334 by Richard of Embleton and owner in 1415 by John Barker, and Eslington Tower, also built in 1334 by Robert of Eslington but owned in 1415 by Thomas of Hesselrigge, others include Horton Castle, Blyth, Edlingham, Belford Westhall, West Lilburne, Halton, and Whittingham. Those with earlier building dates that remained in the same family include Buckton Tower (Atkynson family), Fenwick Tower (Fenwicke family), Haggerstone castle (Haggerstone family), Crawley Tower (Heron family), Hoppen Tower (Hoppen family), Shawdon Hall (Lileburne family), Hethpool Tower (Manners family), Newland Tower (Middlestons), Newstead Tower (Ogles), Shortflatt Tower (Raymes family), Harnham Hall (Swinhoe family), Widdrington castle (Widdrington family), and Haughton castle (Widdrington family).

of Northumberland.[697] If John Preston is counted, who held no national office and no positions within Northumberland, but was constable of Norwich Castle in 1328, that total comes to thirty-eight.[698]

It comes as no large surprise that so many of these tower builders were not of the upper elite. Many of these towers, as we've seen, were not largely ornate, and none of this lower level of builders had more than one tower, nor did any of them have any larger Northumbrian properties in their name. The towers would have served as an affordable means of fortification, popular enough to be on trend and yet practical enough to protect them from frequent bouts of raiding.[699]

Ten tower builders were religious entities – five vicars, two rectors, one hospital (Chibburn Moated Preceptory, under control of the Knights Hospitallers), Tynemouth Priory and the Archbishop of York, the last of which both had two towers each.[700] Ponteland Vicar's tower and Corbridge Vicar's Tower are among some of the best intact tower ruins in the county. Both Corbridge and Ponteland represent stout modest towers which could have provided protection for the vicar, and possibly the surrounding town if need-be.[701] Judging by the 1541 survey, pele towers and tower complexes could at least hold a garrison of between 50 and 100 men in times of war.[702] Most of these towers were built near to the church or village seem to have some defensive implications for their communities, as can especially be seen by the notes included in the 1541 survey, which comment on the aid which was provided by both the fortification and garrisons of these spaces. Community engagement can especially be seen in the two towers in Hexham, owned by the Archbishop of York in 1415, one a gaol and one a hall for commerce and administration. Apart from those owned by the Archbishop of York and the Prior of Tynemouth, Hexham's towers seem to have been similar in modest size and decoration. They differ in size and style, though this is likely due to their original purpose being for communal and not private use, one as a gaol and one for commerce, and Coquet Island Tower, now gone, was quite small and part of a monastic cell so there is little to compare it to apart, perhaps, from the much larger Piel Castle, off of the south Cumbrian coast.[703]

Only three of the towers listed in 1415 belonged to highest members of the aristocracy. One was held by the John of Lancaster First Duke of Bedford, son of the king, one to the Henry Percy, second Earl of

---

698 Rickard, *Castle Community,* 331.
699 For information on the financial makeup of tower builders in later centuries, see Philip Dixon's 1979 article 'Towerhouses, Pelehouses and Border Society' in *The Archaeological Journal* – while focused on the later period (mainly 16c and onwards, he looks into the financial standing of those who would have been able to build and own tower houses
700 In 1415, Tynemouth Priory held Whitley Tower and Coquet Island Tower, and The Archbishop of York help Hexham Gaol and Hexham Moot Hall (1415 survey)
701 Neither of these appear on the 1541 survey, however the listing for Hethpool Tower does imply that the space lent itself to some level of physical protection, and given vicars peles proximity to centres of population, it seems possible that these, too, would provide such protection. The listing for Ford Vicar's Pele is particularly helpful in this regard, as it states that, were it finished, it would serve for the defence of the town. Survey 1541 EM.
702 In times of war, Fenton Tower and West Lilburn Tower were said to be able to hold a garrison of 100, Old Bewick and Ilderton held 50, according to details published regarding these sites in the 1541 survey, Survey 1541 MM.
703 For more information on Piel Castle, see the Heritage Gateway listing number 37706.

Northumberland (generally a title held by the Percies but confiscated from 1403-1410 after their rebellion against the crown), and one to Gilbert Umfraville, head of a strong Northumberland family and once joint-warden of the East march.[704] These three are the only examples of tower builders with positions of national significance, and again they each only had one. They all, however, had several larger properties in the area which served as their main residences (apart from the Duke of Bedford, who never resided in the area, but merely held the confiscated properties of the Percies in their period of confiscation). These three towers all present distinctive situations. Otterburn Tower, possibly one of the earliest towers in the county, with roots as far back as 1245 – though the form at this stage is uncertain - is now attached to a larger country home and was an early residence of the powerful Umfreville family.[705] Of Alnham earl's Pele, a large tower built on an earthen mound and protecting an area to the west of Alnwick Castle, little is known, but it was supposedly first mentioned when it was surrendered in the Percy rebellion, so it would have been built or obtained by the Percies sometime in the fourteenth century.[706] Shilbottle is a small tower later connected to a vicarage and its origins are unknown, but it came into Percy hands sometime before 1403, also possibly as part of a strategy to have footholds throughout Northumberland. Both Alnham earl's Pele and Shilbottle were forfeited to the crown after the Percy rebellion.[707]

The remaining twenty builders were all men of relatively high local status. Each one served either in Parliament, as Sheriff of Northumberland or both, along with various other local offices. Of these twenty, five had more than one tower, including Robert Ogle - sometime constable of Norham castle, Sherriff of Norhamshire, and member of Parliament - who was in possession of five towers at the time of the survey - though in what capacity it is not known.[708] Nine of these builders also had larger properties, using towers as smaller ports of call or outposts in distant properties. The Herron family held four towers between them, though each member - Sir John Herron, , and Nicholas, Alexander, and Sir William Herron – could have built only one, though in 1415 William Herron held both Whittingham Tower (held earlier in the century by Robert Purvays) and Simonburn Tower. Neither Nicholas nor Alexander held posts of any significance in Northumberland, and William, a knight, is found only in the lists for Parliament in 1385 and 1371, implying that he must have been a knight of some importance, though possibly not only in Northumberland.[709] John Herron, seemingly the founder of the family's power base in Northumberland, held a number of titles,

704 Percies owned Alnham Earls Pele, certainly before it was confiscated by the crown in the Percy rebellions of the fourteenth century, Shilbottle Tower also belonged to the Percys in the fourteenth century, then the kings son, the Duke of Bedford, in 1415. Otterburn Tower was owned by the Umfrevilles (in addition to Prudhoe Pele, which seemed only an additional form of protection at Prudhoe Castle). See 1415 survey and Rickard, *Castle Community.* e
705 For a history of Otterburn, see 'Otterburn, The Tower, Hall and Dene and The Lordship, or Manor of Redesdale' by Howard Pease in *AA,* Series 3 Volume XXI, p.121-122
706 Hardyng, 364: as mentioned in *CA* 325.
707Rickard, *Castle Community,* 373. Shilbottle/Alnwick estates (likely including Alnham): *CPR 1405-1408,* 40.
708 For more information on Robert Ogle, see the Oxford DNB on his son, Robert Ogle, first Baron Ogle (1406-1469)
709 Holdings as found on 1415 survey in Bates, *Border Holds*, previous ownership of Whittingham shown in CDS, (1318), no. 623 p.118. Parl. Rolls.

including Constable of Bamburgh Castle from 1404-1408, collector of the subsidy in Northumberland in 1384, Commissioner for Array, 1388, Constable of Norham Castle in 1390, Commisioner for Oyer and Terminer in Northumberland in 1397, and sitting in Parliament in 1397, along with various other minor offices. He probably built only one tower, at Crawley, which in its remains does not seem to reflect his status in the community aside from the some surviving earthworks which suggest that the tower may have sat in a larger defensive complex.[710]

The Herron's were not the only family to live well off of an ancestors success. John de Lilburn, knight, seeming builder of West Lilburn Tower around 1400 still held it in 1415 sat in Parliament in 1384, but little else is known of his activities in Northumberland. His predecessor, however, also called John Lilburn, held a list of titles similar to that of John Herron, including constable of Dunstanburgh castle from 1322-1323, and in 1326, Private constable for the Earl of Pembroke of Mitford Castle from 1316, Constable of Newcastle Castle in 1328, 1331 and 1339, and Sherriff of Northumberland from 1328-1330.[711] Unsurprisingly, a few of John Lilburn descendants, Richard Lilburn and John Lilburn, also went on to hold a tower in 1415, though they held no prominent positions in the county.[712] However, for every somewhat prominent, tower-holding family, there are at least two who seem to have held no positions at all, such as William Atkynson - builder of Buckton Tower, John Corbet – 1415 holder of Stanton Old Hall, and John Herle – 1415 holder of West Herle Tower. None of these men are noted to be knights and none served in large Northumbrian castles, in Parliament, or as sheriffs, and each held only one tower. There are more than twenty such cases, as shown in figure one, those marked in dark orange, and not associated with more important families in blue, showing the accessibility of the tower construction to those of slightly lower status and means.

The lack of tower ownership among the upper aristocracy implies that the trend of tower building existed mainly in lower to middling levels of noble society, and was distinct from the trends in design of higher status residences. The prominent ownership of only one per immediate family implies that lesser gentry generally built a single tower as their main residence and fortification, and higher nobility used towers as subsidiary fortifications. The few surviving examples of this are Alnham Earls Pele, which seems to protect the area to the west of Alnwick Castle, and Otterburn Tower, belonging to the Umfreville's stands in an area in the northwest of the county which has very little other fortification, and may have provided

710 Rickard, *Castle Community* for constableships of all castles in Northumberland & 376;, *IPM*, *Parl. Rolls; List of sheriffs for England and Wales,from the earliest times to A.D. 1831,* (London: Public Record Office, 1963). Nearly no research has been conducted on Crawley. For more information, see the listing on Historic England here: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1057698

711 Parliament Rolls of Medieval England (Woodbridge: Boydwell, 2005). *List of sheriffs for England and Wales,from the earliest times to A.D. 1831,* (London: Public Record Office, 1963) Rickard, *Castle Community*, 356-357, 365-7.

712 Richard Lilburn held Detchant Tower in 1415, and Thomas Lilburn held Shawdon Hall in 11403 and 1415, though neither were seemingly titled nor held any prominent positions in Northumberland.

subsidiary accommodation or protection in this region.[713] This seems to indicate that towers originated out of military necessity, and provided a quick and affordable alternative to large and ornate fortification. While trends cannot be identified in such a small sample, the detailing on the upper levels of some of these towers, and occasionally in the windows and doorways does show some attempt on the part of the lower levels to possibly emulate the style of more prestigious fortifications, built by families such as the Umfrevilles or the Percies, though exact influences are impossible to trace among these smaller constructions.

Large Tower Houses

As mentioned previously, the layout of larger towers, such as Edlingham and Belsay, appears very different from smaller, seemingly more defensible towers, making it seem likely that the former were more lavishly built with style as a primary motivation. Edlingham and Belsay are both now part of castle complexes but started out as towers, one attached to originally unfortified manor and the other likely as part of a castle complex.[714] Though they share some features and sit similarly in the landscape, Edlingham, built around 1300, is roughly 100 square metres, and Belsay, built a century later, has a footprint of 225 square metres. Edlingham, while smaller, lacks nothing when it comes to style. Linking seamlessly to the manor house over two storeys, the solar tower at Edlingham Castle survives in better shape than the house or surrounding walls.

It is not difficult to understand why the Feltons would have wanted to further fortify their home.[715] While their manor house had seemingly been standing for several decades when tensions ignited in the borders in 1296, they had chosen to build in a particularly vulnerable position. The tower itself was built of a fine yellow sandstone around 1340. Three storeys high and decorated with corner buttresses, each a metre square, and capped with round turrets. Given its construction as a supposed defensive addition, its layout is surprisingly relaxed. No floors survive, but a large circular staircase winds through the northeast wall with only slit windows. There is a large ground floor window, though the current opening of was seemingly not nearly as wide as it currently is, and given the shape of the other windows on the interior, it seems likely that this window originally had a large window seat which culminated in only a narrow window.[716] The entrance,

713 Only Elsdon and Troughend Towers stood within eight miles of Otterburn
714 The original layout of the Belsay complex is not known, the current attached house has roots in 1614, and likely did not exist when the tower was built R. White, *Belsay Castle, Hall and Gardens,* (Holburn: English Heritage, 2005), 31-33.
715 Fairclough, G, 'Edlingham Castle: the military and domestic developments of a Northumbrian manor', Chateau-Gaillard, 9–10 (1982), 373–87;
Also useful to look at would be Fairclough, G, 'Meaningful constructions: spatial and functional analysis of medieval buildings', Antiquity, 66 (1992), 348–66; and King, 'Fortresses and Fashion Statements.'
716 King 'Fortresses and Fashion Statements,' 372-397. He implies that its original, the stonework around the edges imply otherwise, taking into account the size of the other windows, it seems likely that at its original opening this window was no more than a slit.

unlike other contemporary towers, seems to have been at first floor level, increasing defensibility as the need to keep livestock on the ground floor would not have been present in such a high status home.

Figure 82 Solar tower at Edlingham Castle, viewed from the inner courtyard, first floor entrance and bases of two round turrets are visible. O. B. Goulet-Paterson 2018.

Entrance aside, the wide window seats and ornate fireplaces on the first and second floors create weak points in the walls which could compromise the supposed military nature of the building. These weaknesses in the tower are possibly what led to the creation of further defences around the manor house later in the century and the creation of an eventual castle complex. Edlingham stood not far from Alnwick, close to the natural invasion route down the east coast, and in a dip in the landscape which made their home visible for miles in every direction, an obvious status symbol, but made their visibility outwards somewhat poor – quite different to most of the locations chosen for Northumbrian fortification.[717]

717 Other intact towers – Corbridge, Shilbottle, Preston, even Belsay, all have defensible ground floors. This may be explained by the defensible complex which preceded the tower at Edlingham, though the tower still stood as its' own unit outside the wall, making this window seat a glaring sacrifice in the defences.

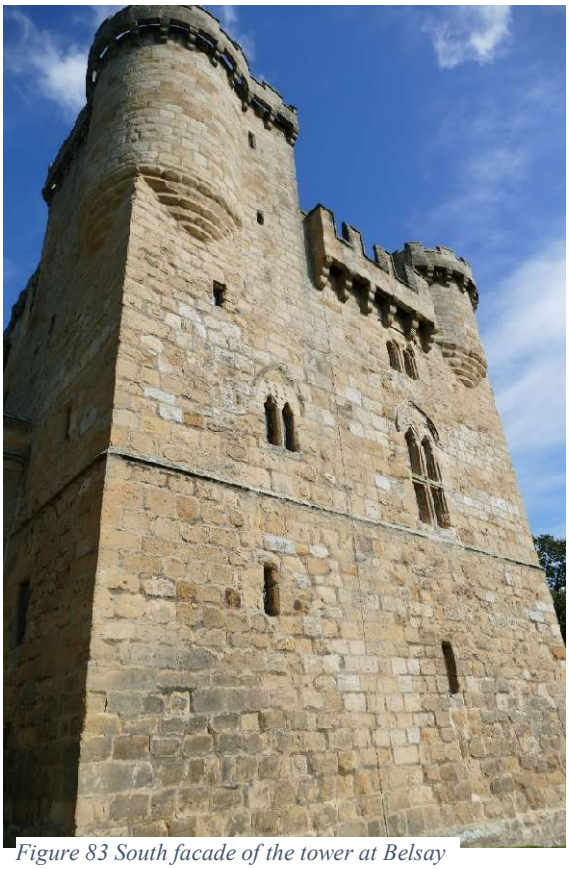


Figure 83 South facade of the tower at Belsay Castle, O. B. Goulet-Paterson 2018

While most tower houses built throughout the century were on a smaller scale, and fit into the following section, we can see similarities to Edlingham in the massive tower at Belsay Castle, likely built just after the turn of the fifteenth century by the Middleton family. Belsay Castle, now in the gardens of the Belsay estate, is the only other largely decorative tower still largely intact. It is over double the size of Edlingham with a footprint of 225 square metres. Stylistically, the two may have been quite similar. Belsay, attached to a manor house which is now much altered and largely 17th century**,** has a similar square shape and round corner turrets.[718] The layout at Belsay is also similarly relaxed and open, with the kitchen on the ground floor and living areas on every successive level, though these have been much altered with the later use of the house and are difficult to assess.[719] The slightly less defensive layout makes Belsay seem more ornate than military, at least in its interior. Belsay also sits within a large flat piece of land which dips on one side, so holds no real defensive advantage, but can be seen for miles and could have marked the family's status in the region. With all of this style, however, the walls at Belsay are around two metres thick and all of the original windows are only slits, implying that Belsay had military function as well. Belsay also has a crenelated parapet walk, and though it is impossible to make out what the original entrance would have looked like, it is likely that there would have been at least a thick barred door, giving Belsay four to five defences before entry to the tower was gained – a considerable number given that Belsay was, at the time, a free-standing tower with no major outer defences. With both of these towers, the entrances are difficult to make out. At Edlingham, the area where the tower would have been entered from the house is largely ruinous and at Belsay it has been much altered, so the level of defence which could have been applied to allow the tower to be its own defensible unit, like a free standing tower would be, is similarly difficult to assess. It does seem clear though that larger tower were built to be seen and admired, and to protect if need be, though it never seems to have come to that in either case. Unsurprisingly the builders of Edlingham Castle were of a the middling elite, with high local importance. Belsay's owners, the Middletons, were on

718 Roger White, *Belsay Hall, Castle and gardens* (Swindon: English Heritage, 1984), 37.
719 Roger White, *Belsay Hall, Castle and gardens* (Swindon: English Heritage, 1984), 49.

Figure 84 Layout of Belsay Castle, English Heritage

the rise in the early 14th century, and while few positions can be found for them previous to Belsay's construction,

construction, the family rose to prominence in the fifteenth century and seemingly built Belsay as a this even seems a mark of their rising station.[720]

Small Towers

Smaller towers often follow a similar plan and there is a much larger pool of them to sample from. These towers typically range from about 100-130 metres square with walls around two metres thick and have a more defensive internal plan. They also seem to have taken better advantage of the landscape than their larger counterparts, and most have views of at least a few miles in multiple directions, though their small size and lack of ornamentation made them less visible to their surroundings, at least than larger castles and towers which were built to be seen. Cocklaw and Crawley, for instance, had views for several miles to the north, Cresswell Tower was situated with views out to sea and at least a mile up and down the coast, and Shilbottle Tower has views for several miles both north and west. Those without advantageous views seem to have been at least placed strategically, either in towns, as was the case with the tower at Hexham and Corbridge, on slopes, as with West Lilburn, Kyloe and Chipchase, or within a bend or at the confluence or streams or rivers, as at Otterburn, Simonburn and Staward. In fact, of the smaller fourteenth-century towers where location is certain, only Preston, which sits in a dip similar to Edlingham's, holds a particularly disadvantageous position.

720 Following a local revolt in the early 14th century, Belsay was taken from the Middleton family and not returned until 1391, and the tower was likely built shortly thereafter. The Middletons were an important local family, holding many important military offices in the border. Roger White, *Belsay Hall, Castle and gardens* (Swindon: English Heritage, 1984), 37.

Figure 85 View from the south showing the situation and remains of Crawley Tower, showing the steep dip and vast views to the north. O.B. Goulet-Paterson 2018.

The earliest of the evidenced Northumbrian towers are Horton, Newlands, though others such as Shilbottle and Corbridge have been architecturally dated to the beginning of the century.[721] Of these, Shilbottle still survives in a relatively intact, if altered condition. Upon approach Shilbottle appears to sit in a relatively flat area, but behind the trees the land drops down to allow for views as far as the sea and to other fortifications such as Warkworth and Alnwick, suggesting the possibility that Shilbottle was a fortification used to signal the approach of the oncoming Scots.[722] Shilbottle Tower is three storeys high with walls at least two metres thick and only small slits windows intact from its original construction. The Tower and attached vicarage were modified heavily in later centuries and the top level is now unrecognizable so we don't know what the upper defences or the entrance would have looked like, but the original outline survives intact. Due to the size of the tower and thickness of the walls, the dining room, which comprises the entire ground floor and is the only room which survives unaltered, is only about has a footprint of about nine metres squared.

721 Horton: December 28, 1292, Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: 'Licence for guichard de Charrun to crenellate his dwelling-house of Horton, co. Northumberland.' CPR Edward I 1292-1301 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1895) p.2
Newlands: July 22, 1310, Westminster, 'License to John de Middelton to crenellate his dwelling-house of Neulond, co. Northumberland.' CPR Edward II 1307-1313 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1894) p.272.
Corbridge: *CA ii* 331.
722 [This is a claim that I heard from multiple residents interviewed living in these older houses, including the current resident of Shilbottle Tower, who preferred not to be named] interesting, but I'd cut this out as it's not reliable evdience. Better, as noted, to bring in comparative evidence – see, for instance, D. Tough. The Last Years of a Frontier

So, why did tower houses find popularity where and when they did? It is difficult to find where to draw the line between trend and necessity. These towers were far less expensive to construct, and the vast majority of them in marches toward Scotland, and especially later in Ireland, were stout, simple and lacked extensive ornamentation.[723] Additionally, at the start of the fourteenth century when these towers began to crop up, it was polygonal, if not round towers which were the style of the day in larger castles, suggesting that these towers came from less exalted origins, namely gentry, knights and men of mainly local importance. Some later towers, grew more ornate, as we saw in Belsay and Edlingham, indicating that a century of necessity had perhaps created a style of towers in the North that had not reached their southern neighbours, however the majority of towers were small and simple, and no strong pattern of ornamentation exists. Additionally, ability to see from these towers and yet not to have them seen by the surrounding area is another clue which points to the idea that these towers served a more military than social or stylistic purpose.

Figure 86 Shilbottle Tower, original only up to the line above the window. O.B. Goulet-Paterson 2018

Evidence for the exact cost of the towers in Evidence for Northumberland is limited, as few records survive for the lower levels of nobility which built them, but we do know that those who built similar towers in Ireland were reimbursed £10 from the crown in the fifteenth century, making this the closest figure we

723Only a few bear extensive amounts of surviving ornamentation, namely Belsay and Edlingham.

have. £10, while not a small sum, was certainly achievable to the lower gentry of the period, with local military men of position earning enough in a year to have built a modest tower.[724]

Towers in England

It comes as no great surprise that apart from Northumberland, the area that was Cumberland and Westmorland has the most towers in the country by a wide margin. At least eighteen known tower houses were built in or around the fourteenth century in Cumbria, most taking similar forms to those within their eastern neighbour.

Tower houses in Cumbria similarly varied in shape, size and decoration. The towers at Penrith, Doddington, Branthwaite and Muncaster all seemed to be traditional towers similar to Preston or Creswell before the early modern house was added. Branthwaite and Penrith have modest and near identical footprints of just under 90 square metres, with Branthwaite standing 39' tall and the ruins of Penrith only one metre high.[725] The walls of the original tower at Penrith is also an impressive 2.3 metres thick, but with no more than the base of the tower remaining, how defensible the rest of the layout was is unknown. Differing slightly from Northumberland, several of these sites seemed to have used towers as part of defensive complex, not quite a castle but towers with outer walls and defences, some of which later grew into castles.[726] This seems to have been the case at Hayes , which consisted originally of a tower, a curtain wall and a moat.[727] Millom was similar, in that in its original form it consisted of at least the tower, a hall, a moat and possibly a gatehouse, and Hutton in the Forrest Hall supposedly had a moat and drawbridge.[728] Slightly further south, in the former county of Westmorland, Pendragon Castle began as a pele tower with a ditch of three metres in depth and Burneside Hall in Strickland Roger is part of a larger fortified complex which connects to a curtain wall and a later gatehouse.[729]

---

724 Based on the little we know of the income of Northumbrian posts – in 1335 the doorman and watchman of Bamburgh made 12d daily and would make £10 in 200 days (*CCR Vol. 3*, 369.) In 1331, 70 men protecting Norham Castle made £113 together (in backpay) for the duration of the siege, so less than one year, (*CCR Vol. 2,* 367, 369.) In 1339, knights guarding Berwick Castle made 2 shillings a day, so would have earned the £10 in 100 days, 12d/d for each man at arms, so it would take them 200 days, and beyond that 4d a day for each hobelar, and 3d a day for each archer making the building of a tower an unlikely prospect *CCR Vol. 5,* 201.

725 Based on measurements found in Penrith's Historic England listing: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1010690 and Branthwaite Hall's PastScape listing: https://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=8859&sort=4&search=all&criteria=branthwaite&rational=q&recordsperpage=10

726 As discussed earlier, for the purposes of this thesis, a castle will be defined as a complex with more than one defensive building

727 Layout and history of Hayes Castle as presented on Pastscape: https://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=8932&sort=4&search=all&criteria=hayes&rational=q&recordsperpage=10

728 Details and history of Millom Castle, as presented on Millom Castle's Historic England Listing: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1086619; Sir Daniel Fleming 1671 'Description of the County of Westmoreland', as quoted in D.R. Perriam and John Robinson, *Medieval Fortified Buildings of Cumbria: An Illustrated Study Guide and Gazetteer* (Cumberland: Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society, 1998).

729 Details as presented in Pendragon Castle's and Burneside Hall's PastScape pages: https://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=14759 & https://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=43160

Similar issues confront us in the assessment of entrance and upper defences. Apart from the sixteenth century mention of a drawbridge and moat, little evidence survives which reveals how these towers would have been protected at ground level. Dacre Castle and Workington Hall, both built into larger complexes in later centuries, and arguably some of the grandest towers built in fourteenth-century Cumbria, have both had extensive rework done to their upper levels, making it impossible to know what defences existed in the original construction. All intact original windows are small arrow slits, as can be seen at Hardrigg, Workington and Newton Arlosh Church. Of all Cumbrian towers, Newton Arlosh is the most intact and untouched, and as such most reflects Northumbrian towers. With its stout square shape and small medieval windows, Newton Arlosh looks very similar to Shilbottle and St John the Baptist in Edlingham, with the main difference being the local red sandstone in which Newston Arlosh is built.[730]

Difficulties are the same in laying out the interior, and all we know about many of these towers is that the bottom level consisted of a vaulted basement. Flemings' 1671 description of Huton in Forest Hall paints a safe and comfortable, yet entirely vague picture of the towers layout, as he said that it was 'formerly a strong place having a high tower well moated about with a drawbridge... but Sir Richard Fletcher... caused the moats to be filled up and made the seat very commodious and pleasant' implying that prior to the restoration the seat was less than 'commodious and pleasant'- though at that point that tower would have been over two centuries old.[731] In other locations accommodation was presumably more comfortable as displayed by the large original fireplaces in the ruins at Penrith Castle and Hardrigg Hall.

Overall, the variety of shape and layout of Cumbrian towers is extremely similar to that in Northumberland. As in Northumberland, towers of local stone and ranged around 100 square metres, and in a similar date range. This makes perfect sense considering that Cumbria would have also lived with the constant threat of Scottish raiding throughout the fourteenth century. With their similar layout and date range, it seems that Cumbrian towers were built with similar motivations as their Northumbrian counterparts, though seemingly with barmekin walls being the trend in the western half of the country.

This trend in the north is reinforced by the fact in the rest of England, only seven known tower houses were built in the fourteenth century – nine, if we include Longthorpe Tower in Northamptonshire, which was built in the end of the thirteenth century. These eight cropped up in in six different counties: Warwickshire, Lancashire, Lincolnshire, Shropshire, Devonshire and Cheshire (see Appendix Two for details). It is notable that most are situated in border areas or those still exposed to potential raiding, the counties of Lancashire,

730 For more information on local stone, see Graham Lott & Stephen Perry, *Strategic Stone Study, A Building Stone Atlas of Cumbria & The Lake District* (English Heritage: 2013).
731 Sir Daniel Fleming 1671 'Description of the County of Westmoreland', as quoted in D.R. Perriam and John Robinson, *Medieval Fortified Buildings of Cumbria: An Illustrated Study Guide and Gazetteer* (Cumberland: Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society, 1998).

Cheshire and Shropshire, spreading down from Cumbria and along the border from Wales. Two towers were possible in Lancashire, Borwick Hall and possibly Broughton-in-Furness. Now completely encircled by a later mansion and heavily altered, the remains at Borwick can tell us little about the original structure. The other is Broughton-in-Furness and is a more certain example of a pele tower.[732] Broughton has also been reused and is now built into a school, though the original layout is a little clearer, with dimensions of ca. thirteen metres by ten metres and walls varying from 1.5 to two metres, giving it a similar footprint to Northumbrian towers.

Little is known about the early history of Cheshire's only tower, Doddington, beyond its two licences to crenellate, given in 1365 and 1403. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a large home was added which greatly altered the tower, and while the home has now vanished the impact of its construction and continuous habitation are evident in the appearance of the tower, making the footprint of the tower the only original feature intact and fitting it in well with its northern contemporaries with a rough footprint of around 100 square metres.[733]

Further south along the Welsh border, Shropshire has only one known tower house, Lea, near Bishops Castle. Now in ruins and partially built over the shape and size are difficult to make out, though it is possible to see a number of ornate fireplaces, possibly later, built into the remaining wall, which appears to be about two metres thick. These tower houses which remain in Lancashire, Cheshire and Shropshire, reveal little about the shape and style of tower houses at the time, other than the fact that their existence seems to have tapered down from the north, and there seems to have been a general continuity in size and shape. Stranger examples, however, are the three towers which are elsewhere in England – one in Warwickshire and two in Devonshire.

The existence of a tower house in Warwickshire is as debatable as it is strange. The site on which Baginton tower sits was once a motte castle of earlier date, but the tower was erected in the late fourteenth century and bears similar dimensions, with a rectangular footprint of ca. 204.8 square metres with walls 1.5m thick, only slightly smaller than Belsay, erected in Northumberland around the same time. Built by Sir William Bagot, who held no offices outside of Warwickshire or the Welsh marches in his lifetime, it is difficult to tell where the notion of a northern tower would have come from, and it is possible that Bagot was attempting to rebuild in the style of the previous keep.[734] Though as little of the tower remains above ground

732See *Victoria County history Online* https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/lancs/vol8/pp400-406 and Pastscape, which refers to Broughton Tower as a pele tower built in the mid fourteenth century.
https://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=38570&sort=4&search=all&criteria=broughton&rational=q&recordsperpage=10
733 See PastScape for later works to the castle, the footprint is calculated very roughly, as I couldn't find the figure published anywhere and had to judge as accurately as possible using aerial photographs and OS surveys: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1330165
734Layout and presentation as presented on Baginton Tower site of Pastscape: https://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=335809

and the rest of the castle has yet to be excavated, it is impossible to tell whether Baginton is a fourteenth-century pele tower in Warwickshire, or simply a later version of a motte and bailey.[735] Though Baginton fits well in shape and size with the rest of the northern trend, if oddly located, and its thick walls and location atop an old motte mark it clearly for defence. Also, its construction by a knight fits it in well with what we imagine the society of tower builders to be – a group a lower gentry building for some status and to protect their families.

Finally, the two tower houses in Devonshire on the southwest peninsula are both extremely uncertain. The first, Bere Ferrers, is associated with a licence to crenelate which was given in 1337, though it is uncertain whether the earliest remains of the current house date back to this point, though Hoskins identifies a keep-like tower as part of the original remains.[736] As part of the later house it is not possible to measure or discern any of the original features of the tower, or any associated buildings. The other is at Buckland Abbey and is slightly more intact. The tower over the crossing at Buckland Abbey is said likely associated with a 1337 licence to crenelate, and despite having extensive rework done to the upper levels, retains its original shape and some original features, including the ornate crossing in the lower levels, its shape of roughly 150 square metres, and the imprint of where it was originally connected to a larger building.[737]

Overall, the information we have for towers outside of the northern counties is sparse. What we can see is that these towers, whether attached or standalone seemed to follow some pattern of size and shape and all seemed to be built by a roughly similar group of people and likely for similar aims as those in the north. The trend of towers, however, seems to be largely confined to the north, as despite a few slight possibilities in the southern counties, nearly all evidenced fourteenth century tower houses were built in either Cumbria of Northumberland and surrounding counties. The trend of building towers did not end in the north of England in the fourteenth century, however. Northern building evolved slightly to include larger tower houses and what would be called bastles - by spanning the footprint of the house on the ground instead of moving upwards, some military integrity was compromised but created larger grander rooms which towers could not afford. Meanwhile, tower houses became more prevalent in Ireland, where lack of funds and military necessity created a situation strikingly similar to that in the fourteenth century Scottish Marches.

735 For information on William Bagot: https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/bagot-sir-william-1354-1407; For Information on the excavations of Baginton: https://magic.defra.gov.uk/Metadata_for_magic/rsm/21540.pdf
736 See Bere Ferrers Pastscape for history and information: https://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=437847 ; W.G. Hoskins, *A New Survey of England: Devon* (London: Collins, 1954) 276, 332.
737 The footprint is calculated very roughly, as I couldn't find the figure published anywhere and had to judge as accurately as possible using aerial photographs and OS surveys; Information as presented on Historic England's Buckland Abbey page: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1163369

Towers in Ireland

While use of the tower house seems to have originated in the Anglo-Scottish borders, and thrived in fourteenth-century northern England, its military advantages for the lower gentry must have been clear as it shortly afterwards spread to Ireland. Tower building in Ireland thrived in the fifteenth century, likely following the statute created by Henry VI in 1429, making available £10 to any man who built a tower house in the pale, specifically within the measurements of 6.1x4.9x12.2 metres.[738] Tower houses in Ireland followed similar patterns of size and shape and varied similarly in decoration and interior. A far greater number survives, however, of Irish examples than Northumbrian so it may be possible to draw conclusions about Northumbrian tower houses from their Irish counterparts. Because Irish tower houses flourished a full century after those in England, some minor stylistic choices may have differed, but other structural information, such as how entries were defended, how often towers were attached to a larger complex, and how the upper defences would have been formed, can possibly be learned from these Irish remains, and with over 150 substantial remains in county Tipperary alone, the sample is impossible to ignore.[739]

Towers in Ireland began to gain popularity shortly after their peak in Northumberland in the start of the fifteenth century. Not surprisingly they were most common in areas of Anglo-Norman settlement, seemingly due to the encouragement of the English crown to build, which is evident after 1429.[740] Their decline, however, began significantly later. While Northumberland saw a slow-down in tensions by the start of the seventeenth century, conflict continued to rage in Ireland and tower houses maintained their foothold to the beginning of the Cromwellian conflict in Ireland and the arrival of powerful guns which proved superior to the towers' defences.[741] Far more common in Ireland than they ever were in Northumberland, the county of Tipperary alone had 398 tower houses, and estimates for the total number throughout Ireland range between 3000 and 6000.[742]

The area where these towers lend most to our understanding is in the layout of tower houses in general. The size of the average Irish tower remains seem relatively similar to later towers in northern England, slightly smaller than their fourteenth century predecessors, ranging from around fifty up to 120 metres squared.[743] These towers often sat in a complex surrounded by a 'bawn' or weakly fortified stone wall – which was occasionally strengthened by corner towers, though typically with a simple entryway in

738 David Sweetman, *Medieval Castles of Ireland* (Suffolk: Boydwell Press, 2000), 137.
& H. Berry, *Statute rolls of Parliament of Ireland, Reign of Henry VI* (London; 1910), 176.
739 Cairns, *A Co. Tipperary Case Study*, 13.
740 Cairns, *A Co. Tipperary Case Study*, 12.
741 Ibid., 6.
742 Based on figures presented by Cairns, Sweetman and McNeil.
743 The smallest of these, around 48 square metres, is at Powerston, while some larger examples are Ballymacady, Suir Castle, and Blarney Castle) – 743 Cairns, *A Co. Tipperary Case Study*, 13-14.

lieu of a fortified gate tower.[744] While the bawn would not have protected against large-scale raids, it would serve to ward off thieves and protect livestock, making it useful in everyday life.[745] Further means of protection included vaulted basements, common across the whole of Ireland, as in England. Throughout Ireland, tower entrances seemed to be situated on the ground floor with various small defences protecting them such as iron grates, and in some smaller towers, murder holes inside the entrance, where the width of the passage typically only allowed for two people to enter at a time, controlling the flow of incoming forces.[746] The little existing evidence for Northumbrian entrances tends to show doors at ground floor level, so it seems likely that smaller defences such as the iron yet and strategic sizing of the doorways were also applied in Northumberland, though there are no surviving examples of murder holes.

Evidence for roofs can also be found among the remains of early modern Irish towers, and McNeil suggests that the majority were built with an attic space surrounded by a wall walk.[747] He also believes that most roofs would have been wooden, and in most cases the attic space was only used as such, excepting in large towers where the attic was large enough to be used as living space. Many towers had battlemented parapets and variated machicolations, some with stepped merlons.[748] The mass Victorian remodelling presented the upper levels as having crenellations and a wall walk, and in some cases, such as Shilbottle and Preston, small attic spaces still exist leading up to the roof, making this layout seemingly plausible for Northumbrian towers as well. Finally, the layout of Irish towers, with residential rooms including fireplaces, latrines and occasionally larger windows placed on an upper floor, can possibly also apply to Northumbrian towers. [749]

The varied styles of prevalent in Ireland throughout the time led to different variations of tower house and the inclusion of different defences including portcullises, popular in larger Wexford towers, gun loops[750] and small slit windows.[751] Styles of projecting turrets seem to vary, some round, some polygonal and some even square, based on the trend of the region and period, and according to David Sweetman, towers in the eastern half of the country tended to be smaller and simpler in design than their western cohorts, a trend that

744 Kieran Denis O'Conor*, The Archaeology of Medieval Rural Settlement in Ireland* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1998), 23-24.
745 Cairns, *A Co. Tipperary Case Study*, 22.
746 David Sweetman, *Medieval Castles of Ireland* (Suffolk: Boydwell Press, 2000), 154.; Iron yet & door size– David Sweetman, *Medieval Castles of Ireland* (Suffolk: Boydwell Press, 2000), 139-140, & Tom McNeil, *Castles in Ireland: Feudal Power in a Gaelic World* (London: Routledge, 1997), 218. For murder holes - Tom McNeil, *Castles in Ireland: Feudal Power in a Gaelic World* (London: Routledge, 1997), 221.
747 Tom McNeil, *Castles in Ireland: Feudal Power in a Gaelic World* (London: Routledge, 1997), 216-17.
748 T.B. Barry *Archaeology of Medieval Ireland* (London: Routledge, 1988), 21., T.B. Barry *Archaeology of Medieval Ireland* (London: Routledge, 1988), 21. & Tom McNeil, *Castles in Ireland: Feudal Power in a Gaelic World* (London: Routledge, 1997), 218.
749 Cairns, *A Co. Tipperary Case Study*, 15. Kieran Denis O'Conor*, The Archaeology of Medieval Rural Settlement in Ireland* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1998), 20-21. & Tom McNeil, *Castles in Ireland: Feudal Power in a Gaelic World* (London: Routledge, 1997), 222.
750 David Sweetman, *Medieval Castles of Ireland* (Suffolk: Boydwell Press, 2000), 156-7.
751 Cairns, *A Co. Tipperary Case Study*, 16.

makes sense if the eastern are, especially closer the pale, remained involved in active defence longer than the western counties. [752]

Attempts have been made to trace the roots of the tower house in Ireland. B. J. Graham has rejected the idea that they mimic Scottish tower houses given their lack of popularity in Ulster, though he fails to investigate their possible link to the English tower house. [753] Terry Barry attributes their style to the square twelfth century keeps popular among Anglo-Normans in Ireland, which also seems plausible in Northumberland. [754]

The builders of Irish tower houses resemble greatly Northumbrian builders, lower gentry trickling up to higher nobility with larger towers.[755] The main difference in the builders of Irish towers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is that while in Northumberland, towers were beginning to be replaced by houses and slightly larger fortifications once again, towers had become the primary mode of fortification in Ireland and, according to Terry Barry, no large castles were built anew from the start of the fourteenth century.[756]

The most interesting piece of evidence left to us regarding Irish tower building is certainly Henry VI's statute.[757] While these dimensions make for a surprisingly small building, and it seems most surviving towers exceed this size, it is clear that Henry's proposal was taken up on, as in 1449 Henry imposed a limit to the numbers of towers this statute applied to in County Meath.[758] While the motivation behind this statute is not explicitly stated it is possible that the king saw the usefulness of the tower as a fortification for the lower gentry in the Scottish borders and hoped to expand this protection to Ireland, where he was clearly encouraging the people to protect their own lands. Yes. Now, as Henry VI himself was not really running things, it would be interesting to see who was running the regency government at the time – perhaps Richard duke of York, who had been sent to Ireland as Lieutenant in 1447, but who was a northern English landholder While a statute of this kind has not survived in Northumberland, different encouragement can be seen, as fortifications close to the border received crown support for victuals and garrisoning, and even smaller fortifications often saw the honour of a royal visit on the king's way north.[759]

---

752 Ibid., 137.
753 B. J. Graham, *An Historical Geography of Ireland* (London: Academic Press, 1993), 108.
754 Terry Barry 'The Last Frontier: Defence and Settlement in Late Medieval Ireland' in J.F. Lydon ed. *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1995), 223
755 Cairns, *A Co. Tipperary Case Study*, 21.
756 Terry Barry 'The Last Frontier: Defence and Settlement in Late Medieval Ireland' in J.F. Lydon ed. *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1995), 218.
757 David Sweetman, *Medieval Castles of Ireland* (Suffolk: Boydwell Press, 2000), 137.
& H. Berry, *Statute rolls of Parliament of Ireland, Reign of Henry VI* (London; 1910), 176.
758 Terry Barry 'The Last Frontier: Defence and Settlement in Late Medieval Ireland' in J.F. Lydon ed. *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1995), 221. H. Berry, *Statute rolls of Parliament of Ireland, Reign of Henry VI* (London; 1910), 176. The most notable surviving towers in county Meath, which likely relates back to this ordinance, is Donore – likely built sometime in the fifteenth century, and with external dimensions of 7.3m N-S; 6.3m E-W - http://www.meathheritage.com/index.php/archives/item/me01751-donore-lune-by-castle-tower-house
759 Edward II visited Blyth, Haggerston, Barmoor and Langley between 1309 and 1320 – E. Hallam, 'Itinerary of Edward II', 17.

The information applied from Irish towers back onto our own subject supports the idea that tower houses grew out of a necessity for the lesser gentry to fortify in an area where small-scale warfare was a way of life. This explains why the tower house thrived only in the north of England, and in Ireland where the king specifically called for personal fortification. C.T. Cairns makes a similar assessment 'Tower houses can be found in many countries, and what seems to be the common determinant is a risk of small-scale violence, often because of the weakness or absence of a central government.' Though he goes on to say that England is largely tower-free because of the state of peace in England and fails to apply the analysis to the Scottish borders, he also states that towers were built with 'Irish-style petty warfare and raiding in mind, rather than defence against large armies.' [760]

Towers in Scotland

In Scotland, the tower house took an entirely different journey. While it is believed that early examples of the tower house can be seen in Orkney as a result of Norse occupation in the 12th century, at that point the trend never spread throughout mainland Scotland. Instead, as in England, it was more likely the Norman keep which inspired the first spattering of tower houses in Scotland throughout the thirteenth century. This first wave – if it can be labelled as such, can be stretched to include twelve towers in Scotland - spread nearly evenly throughout the country. Within this, we include a few sites such as Morton Castle and Lochranza, commonly considered Hall Houses. Maintaining more rigid criteria for the qualification of a tower house would mean that there are a possible seven known tower houses from the thirteenth century, still spread evenly throughout Scotland - however no information is available on the size or layout of most of these sites.

The start of the Wars of Independence overhauled the building of fortification entirely in the Scottish marches. Particularly in the border region of Scotland, where the only building which was taken place in the early years of the war was overseen by Edward I and the English, and is reminiscent of the English style. Not long into the conflict, Bruce's policy of castle destruction took hold, and not only were new fortifications not going up, but many existing sites which may have been dangerous in the hands of the English were being torn down. While Robert I died in 1329, the policy not building any new fortification outlived him and lasted throughout the conflict. Once the second war of Independence came to a formal end in 1352, Scotland had theoretically come out of the conflict victorious, but both the physical and financial states of the nation were in tatters. North of the Anglo-Scottish border, the Wars of Independence had seen the frequent raiding and destruction of large swathes of land and many fortifications throughout Scotland during the late

760 Cairns, *A Co. Tipperary Case Study*, 21-22.

thirteenth and much of the fourteenth century. This large-scale destruction throughout Scotland, both physically and economically, caused a cease in the construction of large-scale fortifications, and grand the construction large castle complexes ceased for an extended period around the outset of the conflict.

The next wave of fortified building started around 1368 with the erection of David's Tower inside the complex at Edinburgh Castle. In the succeeding years, David's tower was followed by Threave Castle, Dundonald Castle, Couthalley Castle, Lennoxlove, and Balthayock, all roughly the same size, between 15 and 17 metres long, and 10 and 13 metres wide.

Throughout the last 35 years of the fourteenth century, a possible 47 tower houses were built throughout Scotland, in a vast range of sizes and styles. By far the smallest of these was Mangerton Tower in Dumfries & Galloway, measured 10x8m, still larger than which tower, the smallest in Northumberland at the time.

By the end of the fifteenth century, tower houses in Scotland were in use for various levels of society. Larger and grander towers, with outer works were constructed in the fourteenth century at Dundonald and Edinburgh (David's Tower) and served the crown, while smaller towers were erected by slightly lower members of society, both in urban and rural settings, throughout the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The exact number of towers in Scotland is much more difficult to trace than in England, as no reliable surveys were conducted until the sixteenth century, but there is some reliable, mainly archaeological, evidence for the construction of around 50 tower houses throughout Scotland in the fourteenth century, around 130 throughout the fifteenth century, of and at least 332 named sites throughout the sixteenth century. I also encountered just shy of 600 sites which had too few remains to either be dateable to a specific period, or undeniably classified as tower houses, so they weren't included in the study, meaning that there were at least a possible 1100 tower houses in pre 17th century Scotland, likely more which have been lost to us.

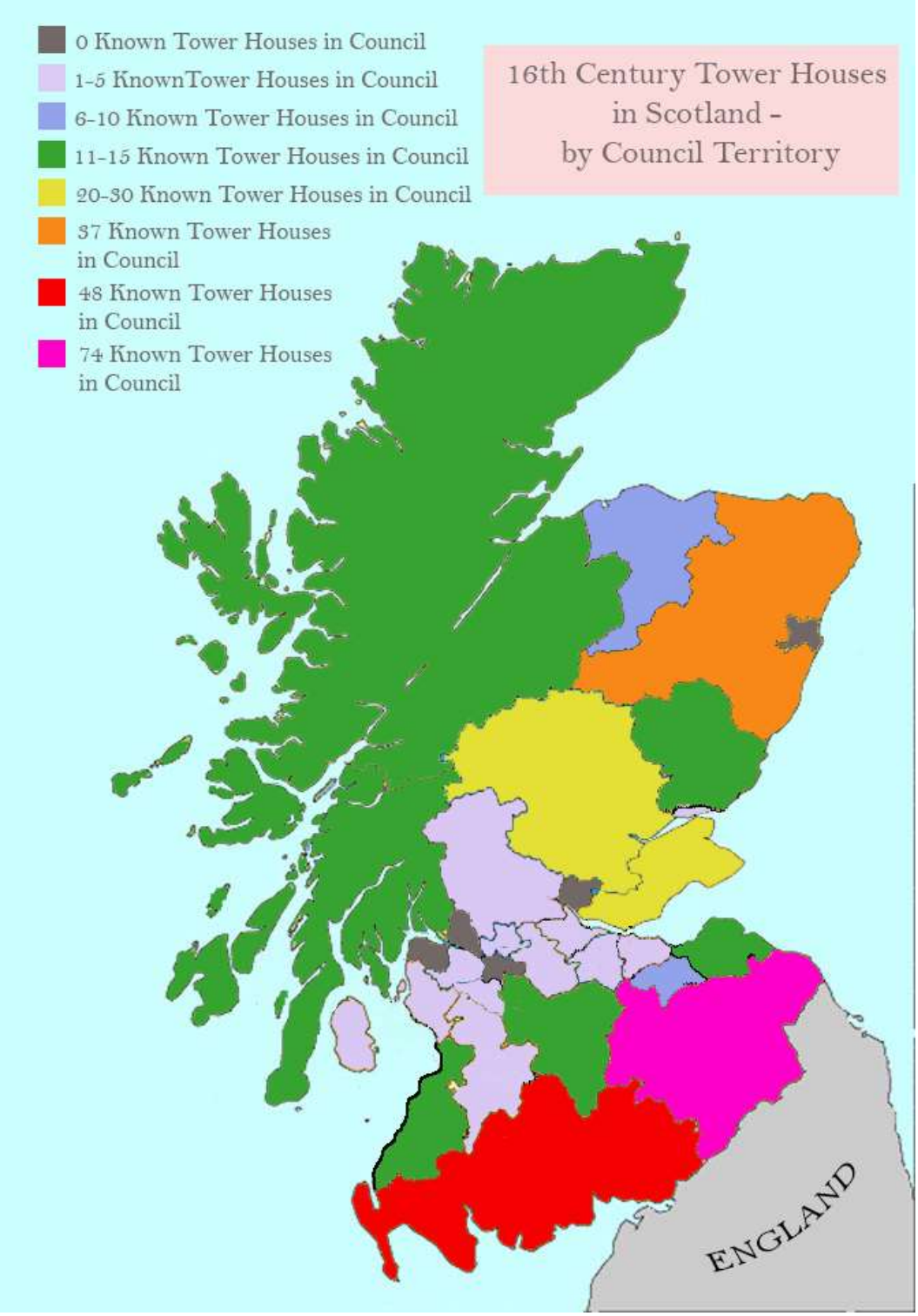


Figure 87 Map depicting number of Tower Houses confirmed built in sixteenth century Scotland by Council Area - O.B. Paterson, 2020

It wasn't until the sixteenth century, however, that the tower house in Scotland evolved into the small border tower

we think of today. Of the 331 towers definitively built in Scotland throughout the 16th century,122, so over a third, were built in the two border councils of Dumfries & Galloway and The Scottish Borders.

With its peak in the sixteenth century, Scotland, then, seems to be the last to have adopted the tower house as an established trend in border fortification, specifically among the gentry and lower nobility.

Tower Architecture:

Sixteenth-centuy century border towers in Scotland were slightly smaller, on average, than towers in the northern counties of Scotland with most in the borders between 20 and 110 metres squared, and those further north between 30 and 130 metres squared.[761]

This seems to show that in both Scotland and Ireland, more conflict-ridden regions produced a smaller, stouter tower house than was prevalent in less conflicted areas. The sixteenth century Scottish tower house seemed to resemble those that had been constructed in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in England and Ireland, with space for livestock on the ground floor, and apartments above, with occasional outer works.

Aside from the grander tower houses of fourteenth- and fifteenth- century Scotland, which were larger and served higher levels of society, tower houses, pele towers, and even later bastle houses of England, Ireland and Scotland, all took on a rather similar purpose. They were constructed by those with the means to protect themselves and their livestock, and when possible, the surrounding area.

The main difference in the builders of Irish towers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is that while in Northumberland in this period, towers were beginning to be replaced by houses and slightly larger fortifications once again, towers had become the primary mode of fortification in Ireland and, according to Terry Barry, no large castles were built anew in Ireland from the start of the fourteenth century, meaning that tower houses were likely inhabited by relatively higher members of society in Ireland than in Northumberland, a trend which would have been similar to the situation in fourteenth and fifteenth century Scotland where larger or more elaborate tower houses were inhabited by various levels of upper society, as can be seen throughout this chapter.

Again, without early documentation, owners are significantly harder to trace in Scotland, apart from the royal and aristocratic owners of larger tower houses, particularly in earlier periods, and for many of the smaller towers, the names of early owners and builders are not known, though this can possibly serve to tell

[761] Based on research conducted for this thesis comparing dimensions and locations for all known towers in Scotland

us that in many cases, the families stood of similar status to their Irish and English counterparts – of possible local importance, but not of enough national significance for their names to have survived through history.

In Scotland, however, the tower house took, what seems to be, an entirely different path, large oblong tower houses became the go-to fortified residence in the fourteenth century, once large castle-building was abandoned after the Wars of Independence. Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, tower houses grew in popularity throughout Scotland and became larger and more complex in some areas, and smaller and more compact in others. The Scottish tower house - instead of coming directly across the border from England, seemingly also evolved, in a roundabout way, from the Norman style of keep-castle and yielded a similar result to England's fourteenth-century pele tower - albeit two centuries later.

Finally, while compared to the number of tower houses in Ireland and Scotland, the remaining archaeological sample of towers in Northumberland is relatively small, but given its dating, at the head of the tower house trend in the British Isles, and the relatively considerable amount of historical evidence available for such small fortifications, the study of Northumbrian towers is one that deserves not only more investigation, but also an important place among the study of tower houses in the British Isles. Particularly in England and Ireland, we need both the physical and archaeological evidence of the towers in Ireland, and the historical evidence of English towers, to piece together a full view of tower building in the late medieval British Isles.

Tower Houses in the later Centuries

While the tower house went on to thrive in Ireland and then Scotland in the sixteenth and even into the seventeenth centuries, it appears to have been in decline in the English borders by the mid-sixteenth century. The towers of the early fourteenth century, small standalone towers, or solar towers attached to largely unfortified houses had become a thing of the past and Cumbrian-style towers, with barmekins and unfortified halls and outbuildings had grown in popularity. In 1541, a second survey was done of fortification in the borders.[762] This survey covered not only Northumberland but all of the border marches and offers some interesting insights, not only into the existence of the fortifications but also their purpose and condition, and displaying the legacy left by the tower house in the northern counties making it an invaluable piece of evidence. Between 1415 and 1541, thirty-nine new towers were constructed in Northumberland, presenting a fairly sharp drop from the seventy plus which were constructed in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Additionally, thirteen of these were in ruinous condition or in need of repair or works at the time of the survey, indicating that they were likely built long before the survey took place, and,

762 Survey 1541 MM; Survey 1541 EM.

significantly, not deemed necessary to keep in a state of defence.[763] Only four, Downham Tower, Pawston Tower, Prendwick Tower and Branxton Tower, indicate that they are newly built or repaired in 1541, and of these, three sit within a few miles of each other spanned across the northern border to Scotland.[764] Only Prendwick stands out, being situated about twenty miles to the south, though it was seemingly attacked by the Scots in both 1538 and 1543, so it likely sat in the path of Scots path south, making Thomas Alder's choice to maintain a tower at Prendwick, rather than build a bastle, relatively clear. [765]

A notable change between the 1415 and 1541 surveys is the number of towers which include barmekins in 1541, a feature which previously seemed scarce in Northumberland. Five of the thirty-nine towers mention that they include a barmekin on the 1541 survey, with physical remains providing evidence for at least one further barmekin. What is more striking is that in the survey, a further five sites mention specifically that there is no barmekin around the tower, implying that to have a barmekin is the norm. For the remaining twenty-eight sites, neither the archaeology nor the survey provide us with enough information to discern whether these barmekins existed there or not. Indeed, of the thirty-nine towers built between 1415 and 1541, twenty-seven have no visible remains. Of the remaining twelve, one has only earthwork remains and four have only minor masonry ruins. The masonry ruins tell us little about the function of the building but can verify that the shape and size of towers changed little in this time save perhaps shrinking with the average around 100 square metres, typically rectangular, and walls between 1.5-2 metres thick.[766] Three have been heavily modified and built over, leaving their original shape difficult to discern. Only Duddo Tower, Howtell and Great Tosson and Clennel Towers remain relatively intact, a strikingly small number compared to the remains of the fourteenth century. The projecting corner turret of Great Tosson tower and splayed arrow loops of Howtell Tower indicate that stylistic elements continued to be incorporated, though the small size rules out Belsay-like towers becoming a trend in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Overall it seems that between 1415 and 1541 towers reduced in size slightly, with the four towers known to be built or maintained in 1541 specifically mentioned as being small, and the popularity of the barmekin, once only prevalent in the west, grew. These changes seem to reflect a society that had moved on to bastles and slightly fortified houses stylistically, more spread on the ground and often with larger windows and more comfortable living space, but still rely on towers for inexpensive and effective fortification.

763 Tilmouth, Ingram, Burradon, Barrow, Great Tosson, Little Swinburne, Walltown, Howtell, Chewick, Shoreswood, Duddo, Ford (Vicar's Pele) and Titlington, condition based on descriptions from the 1541 survey,

764 At least eleven towers were in a state of disrepair or extreme decay at the time of the survey, including - Ingram Vicar's Pele, Duddo Tower, Shoreswood Tower, Burradon Tower in Coquetdale, Barrow Pele, Howtell Tower, Roddam Tower, Walltown Tower, West Lilburn Tower, Cheswick Tower, and Little Swinburne Tower.

765 See 1541 Survey for details: Survey 1541 MM; Survey 1541 EM; Thomas alder – owner and builder of Prendwick tower on the 1541 survey, Survey 1541 MM – dates of attack according to *NCH* XIV, 577: *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* vol VI no.409; vol. XVIII no. 903

766 Little Swinburne is supposed to have been only 9.2m x 5.2m externally with walls 1.5m thick (conversion of figures from Brian Long, p.133), though Thornton Tower and Great Tosson Towers were about 12m x 10m externally (Long 162), and Howtell Tower 10.4mx9.6m (Long 125).

The details provided on the survey itself also help us to understand how towers may have been used in the fifteenth century, and perhaps earlier. For two towers, Branxton and Howtell, both sitting directly on the northern border, it is stated that they were razed by the Scots in years past and since repaired (or going to be), showing their practical use during Scots reiving into the late fifteenth century. Barrow Pele, Tillmouth Tower, Howtell Tower, Branxton Tower, Shoreswood Tower, Duddo Tower and Ford Vicar's Pele all mention having been attacked by the Scots, many in the end of the fifteenth century. Harehaugh Tower presents an especially interesting case in this respect as it states that it was built for protection not from the Scots, but as 'a convenyent place for resystence of the Incourse of theves of Ryddesdayle,' which could include the Scots but seems to mean the lawless men of western Northumberland, possibly where the Goodman's notion of a lawless Tynedale comes from.[767]

The listing for the two towers at Lilburn states that 'And the farms belonging to the same it were much commodious for the country thereabouts that the said two towers were newly repayred again for they stand not only in a place commodious for the defence of those quarters in the time of peace but also in the time of war they would be able to receive and lodge an hundred soldiers in garrison.'[768] This implys that the towers, if not providing actual shelter for the surrounding area, at least provided military protection through the garrisons they housed. The entry for Ford Vicar's Pele mentions that after being attacked by the Scots, repairs were undertaken as it 'it were much requisite to be finished for defence of that town'.[769] Shidlaw Tower exists for the residents to use in 'a suddenly occurrante skirmish and in time of war' as an alternative to Wark Castle, while it is noted that that Wark Castle also provided some refuge for the inhabitants, and Old Bewick Tower was requested to be kept in good repair for the 'defence of the country thereabouts and is in time of war to contain fifty men in garrison.'[770] It is unfortunate that such evidence is not provided for earlier centuries, but it is safe to assume that earlier fortifications played a similar role. Vicar's Towers, especially those located near centres of population, likely served as refuge as much as home – as seemingly Ingram Vicar's Pele did in the fifteenth century.[771]

Instead the surveys of the middle and east march list sixteen bastle houses, fifteen of which are in good repair.[772] Bastle houses were stout strong stone houses which were popular in all of the northern counties in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These homes, with their thick walls, were often paired with

767Seen in - Goodman, 'The Defence of Northumberland,' 161-172.
768 Survey 1541 MM
769 Survey 1541 EM
770 Survey 1541 MM
771 Ingram Vicar's Pele listing on the 1541 survey speaks of the pele being primarily home of the parson, but also as being critical for the defence of the region, Survey 1541 MM.
772 Hepburne Bastle, Linbrig Pele, Alwinton Vicarage, Hartington Hall, Fawns Castle, Hawick Bastle, Sweethope Castle, White House in Filton, Carrycoats Hall, Hall Barns Bastle, Bellister Castle, Akeld Bastle, Earle, Middleton Hall and Groat Haugh all in states of good repair, various mentioned as strong. Bradley Hall Bastle is described as laid waste. Survey 1541 MM; Survey 1541 EM.

a barmekin and small windows and so still afforded some protection yet allowed for significantly more luxury inside, with their extended footprint. The fifteenth century saw many once tower-owning families such as the Herons, the Ordes, and the Herons, add or change to a bastle, compromising security with luxury. The monastery at Newminster, seemingly a prime candidate to have built a tower in the fourteenth century, instead also held a bastle in 1541, showing the gradual triumph of bastle houses over towers by the sixteenth century. Moving into the later centuries especially as the immediate need for fortification goes away, large stone houses become prominent in Northumberland and can be seen as both a reflection of trend in the rest of England, and the grandchildren of the bastle house, and evolved from the tower house itself. By the seventeenth century, tensions along the border had ceased and seemingly the construction of fortified towers and barmekins ceased with it, providing the final piece of evidence that these towers were built of military necessity.

Conclusion

Having examined both large and small fortifications throughout the century, the lack of continuity seems to be the overall pattern. While 'quadrangular' castles are the commonly attributed style of the day for new construction in Northumberland, upon closer inspection we saw that the set of castles labelled quadrangular in fact had little in common besides the square defensive tower at their core, making them seem little more than lavishly expanded tower houses. Moving down to the tower houses themselves, the varying degrees of size and decoration make the identification of style or trend nearly impossible, but the existence of small windows, thick walls and strategic positioning paint an overall picture of the tower as a functionally defensive unit. Towers such as Belsay and Edlingham paint a picture of higher-status builders looking to erect a status symbol and possibly afford some comfort and luxury, putting these few outliers somewhere in between tower and castle, and making them stylistic anomalies in the north.

For the tower house, the trend seems relatively confined to the north of England. The lack of tower houses in the Welsh marches has often been called into question and while the layout of fortification in the Welsh marches is not something this thesis will have the space to cover, I believe that the existence of so many larger fortifications along both sides of the English border with Wales likely had a large part to play in this period. A number of Philip Dixon's works see the tower house in Northumberland as an evolution of the thirteenth-century hall house – of which the examples in Northumberland can be paralleled to what is happening in Scotland at the time.[773] However, the examples of hall houses in Northumberland are

773 Some examples of what Dixon classifies as hall houses are Aydon, Edlingham, and remains found at Norham. For more information see his pieces 'Mota, Aula et Turris: The Manor-Houses of the Anlgo-Scottish border' in *Late Medieval Castles* by Robert Liddiard, and 'From Hall to Tower: The Change in Seigneurial Houses on the Anglo-Scottish Borfer after c.1250' in *Thirteenth Century England* IV, ed. P.R. Coss & S.D. LLoyd

somewhat scarce, and one of his examples – Cresswell – is regarded both by this work and more widely as a tower. The idea, however, just shows the difficulty in categorising these buildings, which vary so greatly in design, style, and occasionally dimension. Architecturally, it is difficult to hold any of the tower houses to any one style aside from, perhaps, tower houses - and in some cases even that is in debate. So for finding motivations for building, it seems the historical sources provided slightly more insight, though among these smaller fortifications especially, defence seems to have reigned supreme as a primary concern.

This intersection of cost efficacy with local defence must filled some need, as these towers went on, as we have seen, to be massively popular in Ireland and Scotland, in their own forms, through the seventeenth century.

Conclusion

In recent decades, trends in scholarship have tended to reinforce the interpretation, visible from the 1960s but greatly advanced by the work of Charles Coulson, of castles in fourteenth century England and beyond as being primarily residential and symbolic, projecting images of royal or seigneurial power, rather than as essentially military structures whose principal function was defence. The late fourteenth-century castle of Bodiam, Sussex, became a well-known case study, though the arguments of Coulson and others that the design offered little actual protection and that its military features were largely symbolic did not go unchallenged, not least because the south coast was under threat from serious French raiding at the time of its construction.[774] Nevertheless, many of those adopting the minimalist view of castles as military structures vaguely apply their conclusions to all of England without discussing Northumberland in detail, or brush off Northumbrian fortification with a sentence or two stating things may have been different in the borders. It is only A. King's 'Fortresses and Fashion Statements' that investigates the true defensibility of smaller castles in Northumberland.[775] Pointing to features such as a large window on Etal's ground floor and high levels of decoration at Belsay, Etal and Halton, he comes to the conclusion that these too were mainly built as status symbols. His study, however, is based only on a very small sample of the overall number of fortifications in Northumberland, focusing only on small castles and leaving out towers entirely.

Yet when examining fortifications in fourteenth-century Northumberland as a whole, several features make it clear that defence was the primary motivation in their construction. Large castles in the county have on average six or more defences in place before central accommodation is reached, and smaller castles, such as those examined in King's paper, have four or more, such as portcullises, guardrooms, murder holes, arrow slits, external ditches, and parapet walks. Smaller towers generally lacked the high number of external defences, but made up for this with their thick walls, small windows and typically with no windows on the lower levels, sacrificing light and living space for practicality and defence. Scottish raiding, mapped out by chronicles and record evidence such as pleas for aid showed a clear pattern of invasion and of reactive building in the most vulnerable areas, including the liberties of Tynedale and Redesdale, the southern-most border region of the county leading towards Newcastle, and occasionally the eastern coast. While the liberties, with ownership concentrated largely among one or a few families, remained sparsely fortified but

[774] See: D.J. Turner, 'Bodiam, Sussex: True Castle or an Old Soldier's Dream House?' in W.M. Ormrod (ed.) *England in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 1986) 267-77.
[775] A. King, 'Fortresses and Fashion Statements: Gentry Castles in Fourteenth Century Northumberland,' *Journal of Medieval History* 33, no. 4 (2007): 383.

contain a few larger fortifications, including Harbottle, other regions which saw heavy raiding also saw subsequent high levels of fortification.

The most intense periods of recorded building occurred in the first decade of Edward II's reign, likely due to the advance of the border conflict south into England, and then shortly after the start of the Second War of Independence. The resumption of Anglo-Scottish hostilities from 1333 generated a string of licences to crenellate which were granted in the 1330s and 1340s, before the defeat and capture of David II at Nevilles Cross in 1346 dramatically changed the strategic situation in Northumberland. This building typically seems to be reactive, with construction taking place shortly after raiding occurred in the region in order to safeguard from further attack. While a single case of crown pursuit against an unlicensed castle does exist for Northumberland in the thirteenth century at Harbottle in 1220, none exist for the fourteenth century despite the high numbers of fortifications for which there is no known royal licence.[776] This suggests licences themselves were never prescriptive, an idea reinforced by the fact that there are some fortifications which have been dated via other means such as surveys and Inquisitions Post Mortem, to before 1346, the date after which it has been argued that the crown suspended the legal requirement for licences in Northumberland. Should the theory that licensing was mandatory in the county before 1346 have been true, then all sites without licences should theoretically have been built after this requirement was suspended.

Beyond Scottish incursions, there is no firm evidence to suggest that crime or lawlessness existed in Northumberland at a higher level than in any other county in England at the time. Some conflicts between nobles are documented, though nothing out of the ordinary, and one of the most notable conflicts – that between the Manners and the Greys which allegedly resulted in the building of Etal castle – was likely not to have begun until well after Etal's construction. The extent to which the activities of Gilbert de Middleton and the 'Mitford Gang' are documented in both local and national chronicles imply an anomaly. Deeper exploration of the topic reveals a much smaller range of criminal activities perpetrated by the group than is often assumed, while there was a critical link between the Middleton uprising and the crown's mismanagement of the border county during the war against Scotland. The reputation of the border counties as lawless and dangerous was earned, perhaps, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, after many decades of living under constant threat and instability. Even in this later period, it was only the liberties – namely Tynedale and Redesdale - which posed a real threat to order. By this point, fortifications in and around the liberties served a dual purpose to protect against the Scots as well as against the predatory violence and raiding of those around them in the liberties, a point which is reinforced by the many mentions of the danger

[776] *CDS* no.775.

in the liberties in the 1541 survey. There is no evidence, however, to suggest that such internal disorder was an issue in the fourteenth century. Fortifications (and particularly the larger ones) doubtless still have played their usual judicial and administrative roles, and would have provided safety from violent neighbours, but just not to an extent which would explain the high level of fortification built in Northumberland relative to other counties.

The primary difference in the fortification of Northumberland comes in the numbers, with 98 known new fortifications built in the county between 1296 and 1415. Most of the larger castles in the county had already been erected in earlier centuries and were merely amended or added to, the principal exception being Dunstanburgh. Those castles that were newly built in the period were mainly of middling size and include Langley, Chillingham, Etal, Ford and Ogle – all of which are laid out in a distinctive square-towered quadrangular style. Most of the new builds came in the form of free-standing towers, which became a nearly unique feature in the north in the fourteenth century. Only a handful were constructed elsewhere in England compared to over a hundred known towers built in the border counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland in the period. In contrast to those in the north western counties, Northumbrian towers tended to have fewer outer defences, while several of the Cumbrian towers from the time were built with barmekin walls, while none in Northumberland exhibit remains of such walls. With or without external fortification, the tower flourished in the border counties as a more accessible form of fortification, allowing lower levels of the gentry and those who could not afford castles to fortify and protect their goods and families out of necessity. This interpretation is reinforced by the popularity of the towerhouse as a design form in Scotland in the wake of the First War of Independence, and in the conflict regions of Ireland in the fifteenth century, in which small towers became ubiquitous and their construction was even encouraged under Edward VI as a means of protecting English-held lands. With no clear evidence of towerhouses existing in the British Isles prior to their appearance in the Scottish Borders, it does seem that their success in this region, from c.1300, inspired their use in other areas. In Scotland, larger tower houses became the dominant form of defensive architecture from the middle of the fourteenth century, at least partially due to the instability in the Scottish economy created by the Wars of Independence. Over the next two centuries, these buildings gradually became more complex, with provision for more private accommodation and additional wings , and the towerhouse was to remain the prevalent form of fortified accommodation until well into the sixteenth century and even beyond. It was, however, not until the sixteenth century that smaller towers, more similar to those built in the border counties of England, became prevalent in southern Scotland.

Up to this point, no single body of work has looked into all of the fortifications within Northumberland at one larger period, or during the pivotal fourteenth-century. The cross-disciplinary

approach used in this thesis has allowed for a deeper understanding of these sites, presenting their historical context and the impact of the Wars of Independence on their construction, alongside an examination of site remains and plans, creating a fuller picture of their use. This research has found and displayed a crucial link between Scottish raiding and the erection and use of fortifications within Northumberland following the start of the Scottish Wars of Independence, and that the majority of fortifications within the county were built for defence linked to the conflict, contrary to the trends in recent scholarship. There is now a more complete understanding of how these fortifications were perceived and the impact of frequent border raiding on construction trends, particularly on the tower house in England, which went on to influence towers in Ireland and Scotland.

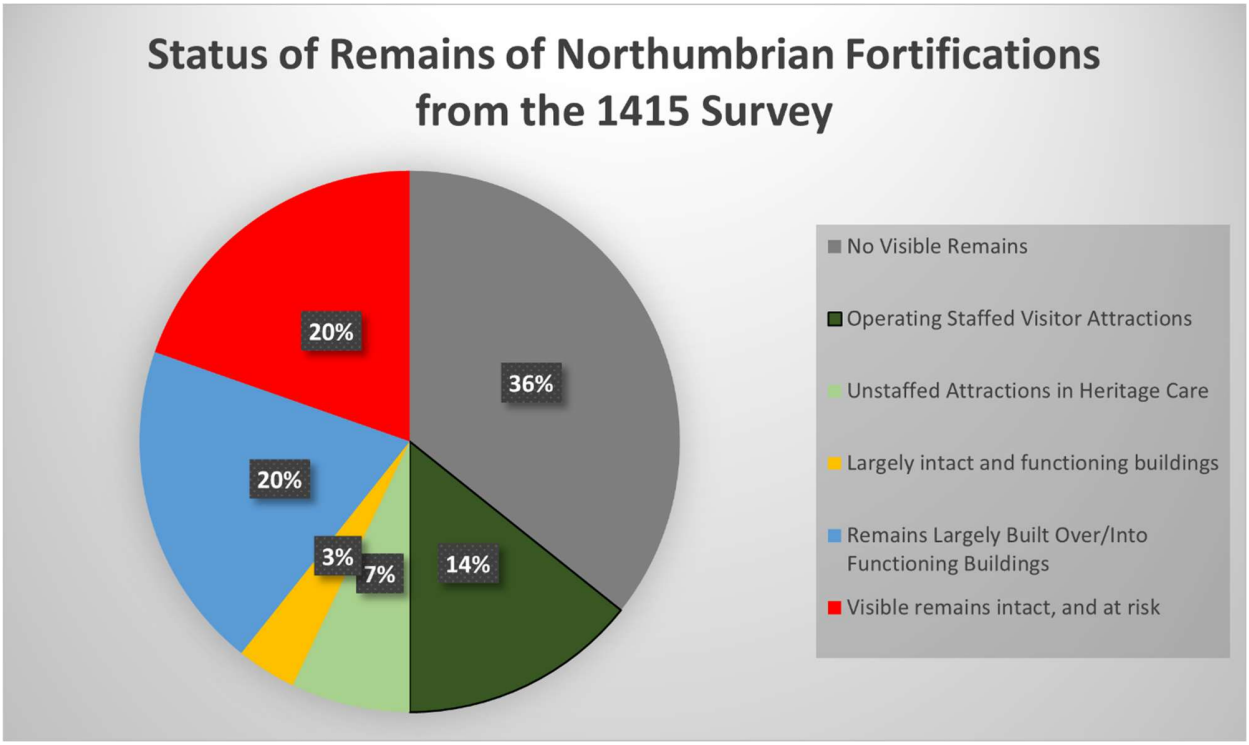


Figure 88 Status of Remains of Northumbrian Fortifications from the 1415 Survey, O.B Goulet-Paterson 2022

However, there is still work to be done. According to the 1415 survey, at least 118 fortifications stood in Northumberland at that time, and for most of the lesser known sites, very little research exists into their historical and archaeological significance, while much of that archaeology which has been undertaken is a century or so old. Perhaps more importantly, of the 118 sites on the survey, several are at risk for loss in today's climate. Of the 118, 40 sites have no visible remains or have disappeared completely, and only 24 are operating visitor attractions in heritage or private care. Of the other 54, 19 have some remains which have been largely built over or into a later building, and only 9 remain largely intact and in use as homes or

businesses (Corbridge, Hexham Moot Hall, Morpeth castle keep, one tower of Ford castle, elements of Langley castle, Bothal, Whittingham, Shortflatt and Shilbottle). Crucially, the final 22 sites all have some remains intact, but are not open to the public, and are not necessarily protected or kept in constant states of repair.[777] These range from minor earthworks, such as at Alnham Earl's Pele, to major masonry remains, such as at West Lilburne, Cartington, and Mitford. With every passing year we risk losing key pieces of this heritage unless radical action is taken to preserve them. So it seems only fitting to end where this study began, at Cresswell, a tower not on the 1415 survey but which probably dates to the early 15th century, and which is similar in shape and layout to other towers of the period. In August 2021, I had the great pleasure of visiting Cresswell again, viewing the reconstructed interior of the tower, and ascending to the upper levels. Having visited it earlier in its ruinous state, this was a truly unique and exciting experience. Cresswell represents a key aspect of Northumbrian history which is so little depicted, yet with 22 other sites on the line from pre-1415 alone, there is still much more to study and preserve.

Figure 89 Ground floor vault of the newly-opened Cresswell Pele, O.B. Goulet-Paterson. 2021.

[777] These 24 sites include: Alnham Earl's Pele, Bamburgh Tower, Cartington Castle, Cocklaw Tower, Crawley Tower, Eshot Castle, Farham Tower, Hepple Tower, Horton Castle by the Sea, Kylow Tower, Lanton Tower in Glendale, Lemmington Tower, Low Trewhitt Tower, Meldon Tower, Mitford Castle, Old Callaly Castle, Sewingshields Castle, Simonburn Tower, Staward Pele, Wark on Tyne Tower, West Lilburne Tower and Widdrington Tower. For an additional four sites there are also unverified remains: Horton, Ilderton, Seghill and Whitfield.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Index of Sites

An abbreviated version of the full site database created for this project, Appendix One lists all known sites in operation in Northumberland between 1296 and 1415, and key information relating to each site.

Site Name, *Historic England Site Number.* Surveys on which the site features. Owners on the 1415 survey. State of Remains. First Mention, or Dating. Other site details & date visited, if applicable.

Adderstone Tower. *No HE site no.* 1415. Thomas Forrester. Gone. First mention 1415.

Alnham Vicar's Pele, *1232573.* 1541 MM. Heavily rebuilt, building private and intact. First mention 1415. Details: 11.7m x 8.8m.

Alnham Earl's Pele, *1017057.* 1415, 1541 MM Earl of Northumberland. Earthwork and minimal masonry remains. First mention 1405 when surrendered to royal troops source. Details: possible doorway at the north-east corner, rectangular in plan 22m, EW x 18m NS (HE).

Alnwick Castle, *1371308.* 1415. Earl of Northumberland. Intact and partially renovated, continual habitation. First mention 1136, capture by Scots under David I. Details: approach in the gatehouse from the west, views (on a foggy day) N: 1-2m, E: 5 miles, river Aln to the N/NE, slight slope to the North. Defences: outer wall, barbican, tower, arrow slit, ditches Can be seen from: E ca 1 mile N ca 1 mile, further south. Centre, surrounded by a spiked dry moat. Keep: Octagonal towers surrounding a small courtyard. External defences: moat/spikes, bridge, gatehouse/passage. Number of defences to keep: 5 from the outer courtyard, 8-10 from outside. Visited 03/09/2018.

Aydon Castle, *1303707.* 1415. Robert Ramsey and Lord Ralph Grey. Largely intact and partially renovated, inhabited to 17c.First mention 1305 LTC, *CPR* 1301-1307 p.328. Details: approach from the N/NE through a gate. Views: a few miles west and S, ca. Miles north on the hilltops (possibly for signal towers?) dip and river to the south, steep slope to the west Defences: outer wall, gate, machicolations/parapet walk. Visible from: a few miles west and S, ca. Miles north on the hilltops (again, signal towers?) Old hall house, built into S/SW sides with multiple enclosed courtyards, L-shaped, walls 1.5m thick, multiple gates, wooden stairs (entry 2nd floor) Defences to keep: 3 - 4. Visited 05/09/2018.

Bamburgh Castle, *1280155.* 1415. The King. Intact and largely renovated, inhabited to the 19c. Keep first mentioned 1164 *Pipe Roll 10 Henry II* p.1. Details: entry from the east then south up a steep hill then through the gate. Views at least 5-7 miles in every direction. Defences: steep rock slope to the NEW, gently

slope to the S, sea to the E outer wall, gatehouse. Visible from likely 8-10 miles in all directions. Square 12c tower, 4 stories, 1.5-2m thick walls only narrow windows on all floors. Defences to keep: 7-8. Visited 02/09/2018.

Bamburgh Tower, *1042270*. 1415. The Master (of the hospital). Masonry footing remains First mention: 1415. Details: wall to the churchyard - 33 feet in length, with masonry of a very solid character, and projects a short distance beyond the rest of wall into which it is built (Bateson 1893).

Barmoor Tower, *1156023*. 1415, 1541 EM. John Preston. Masonry footing remains/built into 19c home. First mention: 1296.

Barrasford, *No HE site no*. Not listed. Gone. First mention: house pre-1289. (*NHC* IV, 314).

Beaufront Castle, *1043009*. 1415. John Widdrington. Gone, built over by a 17/18c home. First mention: 1415.

Belford Westhall Tower, *No HE site no.* 1415. Lord of Darcy. Gone. First mention: 1415.

Belsay Castle, *1042837*. 1415. Robert Swinburne. Largely intact with later additions 1415 - (1370, HE estimate). Details: Entry through the forest/ gardens past the hall house Views: N-W flat, relatively, 7-8 miles from the top, W/S ? (shrubbery) E - 7-8 milesviews, sitting in wide plains parapet, turretsseveral miles to the north, 1-2 miles East. Square with round turrets, ornamental windows 14-15m N-S, ca. 15m E-W, 70 ft high (3 stories) walls 2m thick on the north side must have been a gate at some point, before later house was built. Defences to keep: 2-3. Visited 05/09/2018.

Berrington Tower, *No HE site no*. 1415, 1541 EM. Robert Manners. Gone. First Mention: 1415.

Berwick Castle *1371223, 1290213, 1041696*. 1415. The King. Ruinous, only walls and partial towers remain initial building dated to 12c, HE first mention 1165 in Scottish hands, in 'A Miracle of St. Cuthbert in the Time of King Malcolm IV (1153-65) in Reginald of Durham's account. Entry From a park to the north, and from the east. Views several miles to the south, ca. 1 mile E/W, less than .5 mile north river to the south, hill on east and westside (seems more pronounced on west side) and going south to the river, defences: outer walls, wall going down to river with towers. Visited 31/08/2018.

Biddlestone Tower *1020127*. 1415, 1541 MM. John of Selby. Minimal masonry remains, basement level only. First mention: 1415.

Blanchland Abbey *1017683*.Not listed. Gone/uncertain remains. Dated to 12/13c HE, First mention: gatehouse possibly 15c (HE).

Blenkinsopp Castle, *1370313.* 1415, 1541 MM. John of Blenkinsopp. Largely ruinous and renovated 16c. First mention: LTC 1340, *CPR* 1338-1340 p.417. Details: entrance to the south, drive to the north, ca. 2 miles S/W, E, possibly quite a few miles without the trees Non a flat piece of a steep slope, down to the north, up to the south, seen from ca. 2 miles S/W, possibly a few miles without the trees. Visited 09/09/2018.

Bolam Castle, *No HE site no***.** Not listed, (destroyed pre-1415). Earthwork remains. First mention: 14c or earlier, disappeared before 1415 survey. Listed as a tower in CA. 40'x 30' externally, gatehouse 3 stories, with portcullis slot, Crenelated parapet (possibly added later) murder holes, arrow slits, Defences to keep: at least 6.

Bothal Castle, *1153715.* 1415. John of Bertram. Restored 20c, intact and inhabited (private). First mention: 1343 LTC, *CPR* 1343-5 p.30.

Bradley Bastle, *1018533***.** 1541 MM. Masonry footing remains showing shape and size of enclosures. First mention 1306, in Edward I itinerary (Bradley Hall), then 1541 as Bastle. Details: NW corner entrance through the moat, walls 1.35 - 1.4 m thick, (HE).

Buckton Tower, *No HE site no.* 1415. William Atkinson. Gone. First mention: 1415 'Raised platform measuring 35m by 40m and is roughly rectangular' (HE).

Bywell Castle, *1370558*. Not listed. Shell of gatehouse largely intact, private. First mention 1464, visit of Henry VI, in *Brief Latin Chronicle* ed. J. Gairdner, Camden Society, N.S. 28 (London, 1880) p.179. Entrance from the north, into a gatehouse, either built alone or the rest of the complex was demolished/never finished, not far, flat and wooded, river to the south side, perhaps 20-30m away, looks as if bits of outer protruding from the gatehouse have fallen away, not far, flat and wooded gatehouse, possible plans for a keep or ruined keep elsewhere? gatehouse dimensions - .8-1m thick, 10m N-S, 18m E-W (passage in the middle 3m wide) far more ornate on the northern (outer) side, larger windows facing the inside. Defences: gate passage, gates, guard rooms Defences to interior: 3-5. Visited 05/09/2018.

Capheaton Castle (fortalice), *No HE site no.* 1415,William Swinburne. Gone. First mention: 1415. Moat, drawbridge (national monuments site).

Carraw Tower, *No HE site no.* 1541 MM. Now Gone. First mention: 1541.

Cartington Castle, *1042073.* 1415, 1541 MM. William Swinburne. Shell largely intact, largely renovated in 15/16c, in farmyard. First mention: 1415. Entrance currently from the W (likely original) tucked in, likely only visible to the east, hills going upwards in a few directions, defences - outer wall views: E 5-7miles, S 3-4 Miles, W 15-20 miles, NE corner, rectangular, 4-5 stories, 31 N-S (with wall), 16 N-S, 11 E-W, octagonal tower, possible gate, then another gate to keep? Parapet on outer walls? Defences to lodgings: 2-3. Visited 04/09/2018.

Charlton Tower, Bellingham, *No HE site no.* Not listed. Gone. First mention: 1415. Possible moat (HE).

Chatton Earl's Tower, *No HE site no.* 1415, 1541 EM. Robert Forrester. Gone. First mention: 1415.

Chatton Vicars Tower, *No HE site no.* 1415, 1541 EM. The Vicar. Gone, built over. First mention: 1415.

Chibburn Moated Preceptory, *1014679.* Not listed. Shell intact, heavily renovated in later centuries. First mention: 1313 Flat approach from the SE, 1+ mile from south, 1 mile north, .5 mile E/W unknown, Possible ditch/moat, Visible from: 1+ mile from south, 1 mile north, .5 mile E/W. Defences: Moat, bridge. Defences to keep: 1 to 2. Visited 07/09/2018

Chillingham Castle, *1042387.* 1415, 1541 MM. Alan Heton. Completely intact, inhabited until recent years, towers preserved largely as they were. First mention: 1415. Doesn't seem far apart from the south hill to the north and west (flat to the south) outer wall in two directions, 15-20 miles south castle four towers around a small courtyard, larger, possibly newer outer wall outside this structure protecting 3 sides. The older towers have smaller slit windows (as opposed to new building, NE and SW tower). Visited 01/09/2018

Chipchase Tower, *1155161,* 1415, 1541 MM. Alexander Heron. Now built into a 17c manor house (private). First mention: 1415. Sitting on a slope next to the north Tyne (HE) Standalone tower. The mid-fourteenth-century tower is rectangular in shape and rises three storeys above a vaulted basement, with a watch turret attached to each corner, and joined by a parapet walk. Externally, the tower measures 15.7m north-south by 10.4m east-west and is 15.5m high to the top of the turrets. (GG/Scheduling Report) An entrance lobby, housing a circular staircase giving access to the upper storeys and the parapet walk, is attached to its east side. The main entrance still retains the original wooden portcullis, operated from a small room on the first floor. The vaulted basement is strong, with walls 2.6m thick and no windows. Each subsequent floor consists of a single large room with a variety of small chambers leading off it into the thickness of the walls. The first floor room has small windows on the south and east sides and a small fireplace in the west wall, with the portcullis room at the south-eastern corner. The second floor room has larger windows in the south and east sides and a large fireplace in the west wall. Among the subsidiary

chambers on this floor there is an L-shaped chapel situated on the east side. The third floor contains the largest and most lavish room: lit by four windows, it has a large fireplace in the west wall and several features of architectural note. Portcullis, parapet, possible arrow slits? 3+ defences to keep.

Cocklaw Tower, *1156641.* Not listed. Partial shell intact, built into barn. First mention: 1415. Views 2-3 miles to the north, slope to the north. Visible from several miles north, 1-2 miles other directions. Standalone tower, square, small windows barred door, parapet, thick walls small windows. 2+ defences to the keep. Visited 05/09/2018

Coquet Island Tower, *1014734,* 1415. Prior of Tynemouth. Masonry footing remains, built into later buildings associated with the lighthouse. First mention: 1415. Standalone tower E-W 2 story range, chapel to the east, NW sacristy turret, tower possibly originally detatched (HE)

Corbridge Vicar's Tower, *1044750.* 1415. The Vicar. Now intact, run as a pub. First mention: 1415, dated architecturally to c.1300, (CA p.331) Ground floor entrance on the east side, Views not far, flat area, Visible from: not far in any direction, relatively flat and heavily populated, perhaps 1 mile north, 2 miles south. Standalone tower 30' high. Walls 4' thick, 7mNS, 10m EW. Only small windows on upper levels, barred door, thick walls, small windows, parapet (?) 2+ defences to the keep. Visited 05/09/2018.

Cornhill Tower, *1006508.* Destroyed pre-1415, 1541 EM Gone. First mention: 1385 (destroyed) Possible motte and bailey.

Craster Tower, *1041813*. 1415. Edmund Craster. Built into 18c home. First mention: 1415. Details: Rectangular. 35’ NS x 29’ 2” EW. The entrance is in the east wall, - wall 6'5" thick in places. (HE).

Crawley Tower, *1057698*. 1415, 1541 MM. John Heron. Shell partially intact, 18c cottage Now built into ruins. First mention: 1343 LTC, *CPR 1343-1345* p.145, Views: up hill from the north, far from the north, perhaps 1 mile other directions, steep hill to the north, flat to the south, 2-3 miles, further NSW, views far to the north. Square layout, converted into a house, windows much altered, only one floor left. Barred door, parapet, thick walls small windows. 2+ defences to the keep. Visited 04/09/2018

Creswell Tower, *1042148,* Not listed. Almost completely intact, upper levels rebuilt in Victorian era, restored 2021. Dated 14c by HE and recent excavations. From N/NE into small door, perhaps .5mile in every direction, further from the north - small incline, sea to NE, views a few miles out to sea, perhaps 1 mile up and down the coast, not far inland standalone tower. Thickness 2-2.5m, land to sea 14m, sea front 9m. Old

protrusion on south face (sculpture?), top level victorian, original entrance on NE front very small windows on all sides, only upper levels. Parapet, Barred door. 2+ defences to the keep. Visited 07/09/2018

Dally Castle, *1044856,* Not listed. Masonry footing remains, showing size and outline. House dated 1237 tower dated 14/15c (CA 331) Steep slopes to the E and SW (GG/ scheduling report), ditch, 25m wide by 4.5m deep, to the north and west, smaller ditch to southeast. (scheduling report). 20.9 metres north west to south east by 11.8 m (monuments register) Added 14c: 'these include a square tower at the north west corner, a tower at the north east corner, a pair of butresses on the north wall and a small tower at the south west corner.' (scheduling report) long walls have 3 arrow loops each (HE)

Detchant Castle, *No HE site no*. 1415. Richard Liliburne, Now gone. First mention: 1415.

Dilston Hall, *1044775.* Not listed. Largely rebuilt 17-18c, private (can visit with permissions). First mention: 1464, (*CA* ii, 331 nn102a, Surtees Society v.1 p.31)

Dunstan Tower, *1041815.* Not listed. Now gone. Likely 14c, though not on survey (*NCH II*, 189-90) repaired 15c.

Dunstanburgh Castle, *1007507.* 1415. Duke of Lancaster. Gatehouse/keep largely intact, traces of walls and various other towers, open for visitors. First mention: 1313. Views: plains, slight slope upwards from the south a few miles in every direction (perhaps 5, maybe less to the west) sea and cliffs to the east and north, slope and some water to the south, manmade(?) slope to the west, 14c swamp would have protruded over to the west side outer wall, tower, barbican, gatehouse ca. 5 miles every direction, maybe more N and E out to sea, perhaps 15m west gatehouse (one of the locations), round towered gatehouse with barbican not sure about gatehouse, Lilburn Tower walls 2+m thick and ca. 7-8 square, gatehouse was round all other towers were square, Lilburn tower has ornate windows facing the exterior over the cliff on the upper levels, large window between two rounded tower on upper level (such as at Etal barbican, gatehouse, guard rooms, murder holes, arrow slits, parapet, portcullis, 9+ defences to keep/lodgings. Visited 02/09/2018

Edlingham Castle, *1042032.* 1415. Edmund Hastings. Tower largely intact, hall house and walls ruinous, open for visitors. First mention: 1396. Entrance through a gate passage/barbican (1340 then 1400) to the west. Views: 2mW 3-4mN, 5mS, 5mE in a dip on all sides, curatin wall/barbican, 2mW 3-4mN, 5mS, 5mE, SE corner, square, with projecting turrets, coming out of the south of the hall house. 10m square (2m buttresses). Ornate on the tops of turrets, heavily decorative on the inside of the tower - window and door on the NW/NE side ground level?? barbican (into hall house courtyard), portcullis, guard rooms, ditch/bridge, 5+ defences to keep. Visited 04/09/2018

Elsdon Tower , *1371439.* 1415. The Rector. Largely rebuilt, 16c. First mention: 1415.

Elwick Tower of Thomas Bradforth, *No HE site no.* 1415. Thomas Bradforth, Now gone. First mention:1415.

Elwick Tower of Thomas of Elwick, *No HE site no.* 1415. Thomas of Elwick. Now gone. First mention: 1415.

Embleton Vicar's Pele, *1041824,* 1415. The Vicar masonry remains incorporated into modern buildings. First mention: 1415. Tower 3 storeys, 2 wide bays. Broad central stack projection, corbelled out at eaves level. Square-headed 2- and 3-light windows, some blocked, those to ground floor C20 but in same style. 16-pane casement in C18 stone surround to 2nd floor right; some blocked medieval loops; embattled parapet with truncated old brick stacks. (built into later vicarage) (HE).

Eshot Castle, *1006475*. 1415. John Herron. Unrecognizable earthworks (monuments registry). First mention: LTC 1310 *CPR 1307-1313* p.272. Moat, 55m EW, 44m NS , moat 6m wide, outer wall, (gate), Defences to lodgings: min. 2-3.

Eslington Tower, *No HE site no.* 1415, 1541 MM. Thomas of Hesselrige. Gone. First mention: 1334/1335 (ADS) Suitable for a garrison of 20 men c.1541.

Etal Castle, *1153945.* 1415, 1541 EM. Robert Manners gatehouse and keep shells intact, some walls standing First mention: 13c manor house, LTC 1341 CPR 1338-1340 p.179. Entrance up a slight slope to the gatehouse to the E side, village, or ca. 10m S/SW, slight slope NW, slope S/SW gatehouse E/SE, four towers built into walls (square courtyard, no ditch, possibly pit and drawbridge), good views S/SW, NW corner tower, outer walls 1m thick, 15m NW-SW, large windows, look original on the front of the gatehouse, guardrooms, outer walls, parapet, keep gate, defences to keep: 4+. Visited 01/09/2018

Farnham Tower, *No HE site no.* 1415, 1541 MM. Robert Horseley. Earthwork remains, First mention: 1415.

Featherstone Castle, *1370307.* 1541 MM Intact, inhabited, renovated. 13c hall house, 1541 from the north flat plain, perhaps 1m every directionriver to west possible ditches and manmade wall flat plain, perhaps 1m every direction . Visited 09/09/2018

Fenton Tower, *No HE site no.* 1415, 1541 EM. Ralph Grey. Now gone. First mention: 1415. Once a ‘tower of great strength’ and held a 50 man garrison (1541 survey remarks).

Fenwick Tower, *1370708*. 1415. Henry Fenwick. Slight remains built into modern house. 1378 LTC. Walls 2m thick.

Flotterton Fortalice, *No HE site no. 1415* Robert Ogle. Now gone. 1415. Ornamental grounds

Ford Castle, *1042185, 1303985.* 1415, 1541 EM. William Heron. Intact and largely renovated, in use as an activity centre. 1338 LTC. Quadrilateral castle, 3 of the 4 corners survive (Pevsner).

Fowberry Tower, *1370883*, 1541. Built into a 17/18c house. 1541.

Great Swinburne, *1044905*, 1415, 1541 MM. John Widdrington Built over/into later house. LTC 1346. Entrance from the E. Visited 05/09/2018 .

Haggerston Tower, *No HE site no.* 1415, 1541 EM. Thomas Haggerstongone. LTC 1345, *CPR* 1353-1345 p.479

Halton Tower, *1155641*, 1415. William Carnaby. Masonry remains into house from later periods 1382, late 13-early 14 (ADS) The tower is four storeys high, and has a vaulted basement with an entrance in the north wall. In 15th century a manor house was erected on the north side of the tower, the whole forming a T-shaped building. In the 17th century an addition was made on the east side of the tower. Fragments of walling extending westwards from the tower and some old masonry to the north of the brewhouse probably represent the barmkin enclosure. (GG/Craster 1914; PSAN-u-T 1921-22; Richmond 1947).

Haltwhistle Tower, *No HE site no. 1415, 1541 MM. William Heron. Gone. First mention: 1415.*

Harnhamhall Fortalice, *1042818.* 1415. Robert Swinburne. Masonry remains, built into a later building - now a B&B. First mention: 1415.

Harbottle Castle, *1041281,* 1415, 1541 MM. Robert de Umfreville. Ruinous, only footing remains, and earthwork motte, 1157?. uphill to the west, entrance to the east. N ca. 10m, EW ca. 7-8m, S ca. 2-3m. Situated on a hill, then possible mound (?), valley to the south and east outer wall, ditch definitely to the N, motte (N?) N ca. 10m, EW ca. 7-8m, S ca. 2-3m square, on motte (mottte and bailey) on SE corner of the lot. Wall 1.5-2mthick, keep 17-18 EW, 20-22 NS. Gate from outer wall, motte, presumable gate of some kind at keep 3+ defences to keep. Visited 04/09/2018

Haughton In Tynedale Castle, *1043027.* 1415, 1541 MM. John Widrington. Heavily modified and incorporated into later home 13c , HE dating

Hepple Tower, *1371440*, 1415, 1541 MM. Robert Ogle. Significant masonry remains, basement level and above. First mention: 1415. The rectangular tower constructed of square sandstone blocks measures 12m east to west by 11m north-south. (GG/ listed building report)

Hethpool Tower, *1042322,* 1415, 1541 EM. Robert Manners. Masonry remains built into a 20th century house. First mention: 1415. 7m square, walls 1.6m thick (HE)

Heton Castle, *1304159,* 1415, 1541 EM. Thomas Gray of Heton. Masonry remains, built into a later building. First mention:1415. Vaulted defensible building. Late medieval. Squared stone and random rubble, Welsh slate roof. c.70 ft. by 25 ft. 2 storeys. Long west side has stone steps to 1st-floor doorway; some of the steps are worn, others renewed, but the wall beneath them is old. Under the steps a C16 or C17 doorway with alternating-block surround and rounded arrises. Left of the steps a projection c.8 ft. outside the line of the wall. This has a chamfered plinth and medieval masonry. It appears to be solid. Left of this a further section, still projecting but not so far, also has a chamfered plinth and a window with a steeply-sloping sill. The left section has a later window and an original slit window. On 1st floor C19 windows in old masonry. On east side two buttresses with offsets and 2 blocked slit windows. 1st floor is rebuilt on this side. Interior has a high round tunnel vault rising from c.3 ft. above ground. The walls are c. 3 ft. 6 inches thick normally and much thicker where there are projections. (GG/ Listed Buildings Report)

Hexham Moot Hall, *1042577,* 1415. Archbishop of York. Intact, in use as shopping centre. First mention: 1355 Entrance from the E/W through the passage. Possible views to the west, tower, small windows, L shaped, entrance raised. Raised entrance, arrow slits, parapet? 3+ defences to interior. Visited 08/09/2018

Hexham Old Gaol, *1006512,* 1415. Archbishop of York. Intact, in use as museum. 1330 (Registers of the Archbishop of York 9A f.45 (recto) entry 11), Entrance from the north up a hill, door faces north, perhaps a few miles n/nw slope n/nw. Views 1-2 miles west, ca 5 miles down east, standalone tower, later connecting buildings, (7 ew, 14ns, walls ca. 2-3m thick small windows, raised doorway. Gate, arrow slits, parapet|? 2+ Defences to interior. Visited 08/09/2018

Holburn Tower, *No HE site no.* 1415, 1541 EM. Gone. First mention: 1415. Built by the monks of Lindisfarne, garrison of 20 men, (Cathcart King).

Hoppen Tower, *No HE site no.* 1415. Robert Hoppen. Gone. First mention: 1414. (Dodsworth MS, as related in *NCH* I, 244)

Horton Castle (by the sea), *No HE site no***.** 1415 W. Wychester Disappeared or built over LTC 1292. Moat (possibly 2) (Craster 1909).

Horton in Glendale Castle, *No HE site no.* 1415, 1541 EM. Thomas Grey. Uncertain remains. 1415.

Howick Tower, *No HE site no.* 1415. Emeric Hering. Now gone. 1415.

Ilderton Tower, *1042357,* 1415, 1541 MM. Thomas of Ilderton. Uncertain remains. 1415. Possible buttress remains - 1m square 3.5m high out of the s corner of the current farmhouse.

Kirkley Tower, *No HE site no.* 1415William Eure. Now gone. 1415.

Kirknewton Tower in Glendale, *No HE site no.* 1415, 1541 EM William Eure. Now gone. 1415. A survey of 1715 refers to it as a large tower with a quadrangular wall and circular towers about it (Hodgson)

Kyloe Tower, *1018444*, 1415. David Grey. Some masonry remains within later buildings. First mention: 1415. On rising ground with extensive views northward towards the Northumberland coast. The tower is rectangular in shape and measures 10m by 11.7m externally with walls of ashlar blocks about 2.5m thick. The tower stands to first floor level, marked by a chamfered plinth and chamfered set-back with walls 4.5m high. The original entrance to the ground floor lies at the west end of the south wall. (GG/ Scheduling report/Bates)

Langley Castle, *1154672,* 1415, 1541 MM. Earl of Northumberland. Intact, largely renovated/restored in 19c, in use as hotel. 1326. From the south up a slight incline, max 1-2m, slight incline to the S. Visible from afew miles in all directions, especially N and E. Layout – quadrangular, four towers. building ca. 27m WE (front) 25 WE (back), 29 SN, small windows on original parts of castle, original entrance on east side. Visited 08/09/2018

Lanton Tower in Glendale, *No HE site no.* 1415, 1541 EM. Henry Strother. Some visible masonry remains. 1369.

Lemmington Tower, *1041996*, 1415. William Beadnell. Modified and built into 17c house. First mention: 1415. The tower is L-shaped, external dimensions being about 53 feet E-W by 35 feet on the west side and 48 feet on the east side. The projection on the SE corner is occupied by the entrance, staircase, and some small apartments, three storeys in height. The main block is two storeys high, the lower containing a high vaulted chamber, with the upper storey much altered. The tower no doubt possessed a third floor but this was probably removed in the 18th cent. (Hodgson 1820; Bates 1891).

Lindisfarne Priory, *1042304,* Not listed. Largely ruinous, some outer walls visible but most defences are largely decayed. Fortification, late 14c, dating from guidebook and onsite signage A2P through the priory to the S?, previously - barbican into priory from fortified courtyard, mainland, NS a few miles, W 1-2 miles water to N and E. Outer wall not far, perhaps 1 mile on later built-up earth, only original visibility 1-2 miles to the N. Priory is the 'keep', to the east of the fortified works. 1.5-2m thick walls, 1-2 storeys high all fortified works are very plain and thick walls (2+ metres), in stark contrast to the fine masonry of the priory buildings, seems they were built in haste and not meant to be ornamental outer gatehouse and inner barbican (search for their makeup). 2+ defences to the 'keep'. Visited 02/09/2018

Little Bavington Tower, *No HE site no.* 1415. Robert Langwath. Now gone. First mention: 1415.

Low Trewhitt Tower, *1303177*, 1415, 1541 MM. Hugh Galon. Slight masonry remains built over by later house. First mention: 1415.

Lowick Tower, *No HE site no.* 1415, 1541 EM. Lord of Darcy. Now gone. 1388, as part of Alan Heton's lands (HG). Tower could lodge 80 men (1541). .

Meldon Tower, *1370620*, 1415. Nicholas Heron. Minor visible masonry remains 1416. Cellars 60 feet long and 15 feet wide within. (HE)

Middleton Tower by the sea, *No HE site no***.** 1415, 1541 EM. Robert Ogle. Now gone. First mention: 1415. The walls were about 7 feet thick and 7 feet high (MacLauchlan 1867).

Mitford Castle, *1370755,* 1415. Henry Percy of Atholl. Largely ruiouns, some walls and a keep in evidence, in a field. First mention: 1138 (HE, base source unidentifiafble), 1215, CPR 1216-1225, 122. From the N up a a steep hill, through the gate in the wall to the E of the mound several miles all directions steep slope all sides (mound natural?) river to the north outer walls (2 rings) mound, ditches all directions, mainly north (several miles NES mainly motte and bailey (stone) possible outer wall on mound as well, mound on NW side of complex, several encircling walls, multiple gates, parapets? Ditch, mound 5+ defences to keep. Visited 07/09/2018.

Morpeth Castle, *1155642*, 1415. Baron of Greyston. Largely intact and renovated, in use as a holiday rental. First mention: 1415 (walling dated to 13c, HE). Gate passage to the NE, flat and up a slight slope, several miles N/NW steep slope then river to N/W, wall encircling courtyard, only gatehouse survives likely several miles N without trees, slope continues up S/SW, not good views possibly a square keep in the middle of the old courtyard? gatehouse - 9-10m back to front, ca. 13m across front (5, 3 passage, 5) walls ?? looks

like the original windows survive on lower levels in the back, top floors likely redone. Gate, guardrooms, parapet? Arrow slits, 3+ defences to interior (without including keep defences) Visited 7/09/2018.

Nesbit Tower in Glendale, *No HE site no*. 1415, 1541 EM Thomas Grey. gone. First mention: 1415.

Newcastle Castle, *1320005, 1196763, 1116305, 1116305, 1116305*, 1415. The crown. Gatehouse and keep restored and intact, all else built over or ground level First mention: 1080 (Simeon of Durham), Keep to the south, gate to the east far to the south, slope to the south, 3 storeys, outer wall, raised entrance (keep), gatehouse, barbican. Visited 01/01/2017.

Newland Tower by Belforth, *No HE site no.* 1415 Now gone. 1310 LTC.

Newstead Tower, *No HE site no.* 1415. Robert Ogle. Now gone, 1402, manor at Newstead mentioned DD/FJ/1/177/1.

Newton Tower near Edlingham, *No HE site no.* 1415 John Barker gone 1334-5. The masonry is good ashlar work, in courses which average 12" in thickness. On the north and west sides the walls exist to a height of 6 to 8 feet. The basement chamber is 31' in length enclosed by a wall 9 to 10 feet thick. The entrance has been on the east or south side. (Hodgson 1902)

Norham Castle, *1154811,* 1415, 1541 EM. Archbishop of Durham. Keep largely intact, partially intact gatehouse, walls mostly ruinous, open for visitors. First mention: 12c. Approaches from the west gate and 'sheep gate' (south side) ca. .8 miles, Slight hill facing south, forest E and steep incline, original slopes to the NSEW from 1728 drawing, river N and steep bank, keep on an uphill slope from the gate(outer courtyard slopes down EW and SN), outer moat on S and W sides, barbican now lost, outer wall w/ min. 4 towers (12c) inner moat/bridge E 0, N (far without forestry), W ca. 5 miles, S 2-3 miles NE corner, square tower 20m EW 26 NS nwalls 2-2.5m thick, 4 storeys, outer wall, moat, barbican/guard rooms, ditch inner courtyard, second gate, arrow slits, 6+ defences to keep. Visited 01/09/2018

North Middleton Tower, *No HE site no.* 1415. Robert Ogle. Now gone. 1415.

Ogle Castle, *1264065*, 1415. Robert Ogle. Masonry remains, built into a later building. 1341 LTC. Moat.

Old Callaly Castle, *1155463.* 1415, 1541 MM. John of Clavering Built over and largely into mater house and then apartments (HE). No visible remains. 1415. Rock cut ditch 12-17m wide and 3m-7m deeper than the internal ground level. (HE/Scheduling Report).

Otterburn Tower, *No HE site no.* 1415. Robert de Umfreville. Gone. Dated to 13c (ADS) 520 feet above sea level, upon a level place against a general south-west slope. The site commands the valley of the Otter

burn to the north, and the valley of the River Rede to the west, south and east. The Otter provides a natural defence, flowing down a steep-sided ravine to the west (GG/F1 ASP 24.05.57). (PastScape) 'a square building of the Scots farm house style' (Hugill 1939)

Ponteland Castle, *1042721.* Not listed, (destroyed 1388). X. Gone, only cellars visible underneath local pub 14c/1325 (ADS)

Ponteland Tower, *1017042.* 1415. The Vicar. Now ruinous, altered outline visible. First mention: 1415. 3 storeys. c.24 x 20 ft. in plan. (16/17c?) (HE).

Preston Tower, *1017042,* 1415. Robert Harbottle. Restored 19c, some remains intact. First mention: 1415. Views: n a dip, slight slopes to all sides, visible from: less than half mile all distances. 3-4m S, 2-3m W, 10m N, 2-3m out to sea. Small windows, bars, parapet, arrow slits,3+ defences to keep. Visited 02/09/2018

Prudhoe Castle, *1370476.* 1415. John, Duke of Bedford. Largely intact/rebuilt, gatehouse intact, some towers and walls ruinous. Dated to 12c (HE) Views: SE, up a hill and over water, likely far N and NE without forestry water to SE, steep hills to N and W, slight incline SE, on mound, bridge, outer wall, gatehouse far to the north and east, motte and bailey, keep gone. Ruined keep, linked to Manor House by remains of forebuilding, is quite small, 41 x 44 feet. (HE), bridge, gatehouse, parapet, 3+ defences to keep. Visited 01/10/2016

Rothbury Castle, *No HE site no.* Not listed. Earthwork remains. Dated to 11c (HE)

Rudchester Tower, *1154705.* Not listed. Remains, largely renovated 18/19c (HE) dated to 13c (HE) Rudchester Hall incorporates the remains of the early tower, square in plan, with walls 1.5m thick, preserved intact up to the present roof level, c.8.5m by 6.9m (GG/ryder 1994)

Scremerston Tower, *No HE site no.* 1415. John Swinhowe. Gone. First mention: 1402 (Heritage Gateway) 1415 (survey).

Seaton Deleval Tower, *No HE site no.* 1415. William of Winchester. Gone. First mention: 1415.

Seghill Tower, *No HE site no*. 1415 William Deleval. Uncertain remains. First mention: 1415. The possible remains of this tower consist of a barrel vaulted cellar 15.2m long x 6m wide used as a beer cellar for the Blake Arms Hotel. (Long 1967).

Sewingshields Castle, *No HE site no.* 1415, 1541 MM. Robert Ogle. No visible remains. First mention: 1415.

Shawden Castle, *No HE site no***.** 1415. Thomas Liliburne. Gone. First mention: 1415.

Shield Hall Tower, *1302809.* Not listed. Some masonry remains, largely built over/into later buildings. First mention: 1415. Walls 1.5m thick in places roughly rectangular block c.10.8m by 6.5m externally, with walls 1m-1.3m thick at ground level, built of rubble with massive roughly squared angle quoins and cut dressings. The south wall of the block has been removed, presumably when the farmbuildings were built.(Listed Building Report District of Tynedale: Slaley 18-Jun-1986/Ryder 1994-5). original small windows and a loop hole (Listed Building Report District of Tynedale: Slaley 18-Jun-1986).

Shilbottle Tower, *1371202,* 1415. John Duke of Lancaster intact and renovated, top half rebuilt along with additions in 17c. First mention: 1415, dated to 13c (HE) Possible views to nearby beacon hill to Beacon Hill. Drop to the east. Views to the east coast, several miles north and west. Originally a standalone tower (possibly at one point joint tower like at Preston), ca. 8-10m square, Percy? (according to family history), north wall wider at the bottom, possibly more than one tower, only small original windows. Slope, bars, arrow slits, parapet?, 3+ defences to keep. Visited 03/09/2018.

Shortflatt Fortalice, *1042821,* 1415. Robert Ramsey. Altered and incorp 16/17c house. LTC 1305. The tower measures 13.7m north-south by 9.7m east-west and is three storeys high with, in addition, a gabled caphouse within the embattled parapet. (heavily altered 15/16c HE)

Simonburn Tower, *1302543,* 1415, 1541 MM. William Heron. Some visible masonry remains, no shape/layout visible. 1415, but ruins dated to the 13th century (HE). Simonburn Castle stands on a steep promontory formed by the confluence of two deeply incised streams. The tower, built of small squared ashlar blocks is roughly square in shape measuring 10.5m. Only the ground floor basement of the tower stands today, covered by a plain semicircular barrel vault. (HE)

Stamfordham Vicar's Tower, *No HE site no.* 1415. The Vicar. Now gone. First mention: 1415. Possibly built by the Swinburne's for the vicar before 1415.

Staward Pele, 1006592. *Not listed.* Some visible masonry remains. First mention: 1316, then 1326. Gatehouse to Staward Pele, 65 metres south-east of Pele (HE). Large squared stone. Remains of three walls of a rectangular structure c. 20 metres by 10 metres. External wall faces have stepped plinth and stand to 5

metres high. No openings survive. Spectacular wooded promontory site high above the confluence of the Allen and the Harsondale Burn. (Listed Building Report 1370424)

Stranton Tower, *1370645*, 1415. John Corbett. Masonry ruins/remains, incorporated into a16/17c house 1415.

Tarset Castle, *1156449*, 1541 MM Masonry footing remains. First mention: 1244 (Close Rolls, 221, castle handed over by the Scots), LTC 1267 (*CPR 1266-1272,* 178) Promontory ditch (uncertain date) ES sides, 20m wide 5m deep, kept with 80 men but taken 1525 (CA ii , 341-2; Letters & Papers of Henry VIII iv, pt.1, 141 (No.346).

Thirlwall Castle, *1006605,* 1415, 1541 MM. Roland de Thirlwall/ Exterior slightly intact, layout visible. First mention: 1369 (HE) Door to the N, 5m N, 2m E, 1-2m W, not far S, slope to the N/E, water N/NE, possible ditch to N. Visible far to the N and E. Standalone tower, walls 2mthick (3 in some places), ca. 18m NS, 22 EW. Heavily modified, only small windows on all facades, evidence of heavy gate, mound, arrow slits, ditch. 3+ defences to keep. Visited 08/09/2018

Thropton Tower, *No HE site no.* 1415, 1541 MM. William Green. Gone. First mention: 1415.

Troughend Tower, *No HE site no.* 1415. William Butecom. Gone. First mention: 1415.

Twisel Castle, *1018445*, 1415, 1541 EM. John Heron. Heavily renovated, shell standing mostly 18c. First mention: 1415. Walk up path to E side, entrance on S side, flat plains. 2m N, possibly several miles S. Steep slope to the S side. Can see at least 30m north, 5m W, 10m E, perhaps 15-20mS (w/o forestry). Current castle: 47m EW 25 NS, towers 2.5m round, gone/heavily modified. Visited 01/09/2018

Tynemouth Castle & Priory, *1015519*, 1415. Prior of Tynemouth. Castle shell standing, gatehouse exterior intact. LTC 1296 From the E through the gatehouse. Views far to the NES to the sea, not far to the W, flat (now a town sea/cliffs NES wall W, N?, ditch W, far to the NES to the sea, not far to the W, flat (now a town) gatehouse, priory accommodation to the E of the castle. Well intact, hall above gate ditch, portcullis, gate, guardrooms, arrow slits, parapet? 6+ Defences to keep. Visited 06/09/2018

Walington Tower, *1042869,* 1415, 1541 MM. William Strother. Masonry remains built into the later Wallington Hall.

Wark on Tyne Tower, *No HE site no.* 1415, 1541 MM. Thomas Grey. Only earthwork remains. First mention: 1139/1157 (HE) / 1399.

Wark-on-Tweed Castle, *1013100,* 1415, 1541 EM. Thomas Grey. Only earthwork remains (inaccessible)

First mention: 11c/14c? A long flight of stone steps (down the motte) with a portcullis about half way up. To the west of the mound, the kaim has been cut by a ditch which now survives as a depression 1.6m deep and up to 14m wide. This is interpreted as the defensive ditch associated with the earlier motte and bailey castle. curtain wall, as thick as 7m in some places,, and as tall as 3m surviving (possibly filled with earth, a later addition for artillery?) Stone keep/donjon. 2, likely 3 wards (GG), motte at the inner ward, The inner ward comprises a mound, over 13m high, with a base diameter of 50m; the top measures 10m-15m across.The tower or 'donjon' was originally four stories high, and contained accommodation for over 40 men. There was a series of trapdoors in each floor which allowed ordnance to be hoisted up to the uppermost storey, where it was stored. middle ward to the east. Outer gate (likely at least 2), ditch, motte, portcullis (HE). 6+ Defences to keep. Visited 01/09/2018

Warkworth Castle, *1041690, 1011649*, 1415. Earl of Northumberland. Largely intact, walls still standing, 14c keep completely intact though later additions (15c hall house) ruinous, open for visitors. First mention: 12c. Views from the south through the gatehouse (over a wooden bridge, ditch to the E ca. 5m, to the west forested, perhaps 1-2, N- 2-3 miles w/o town. Visible from: slope NEW, river W ditch, bridge S, wall (all sides but N side of the keep, outer wall 2m+ thick, entrance (S) flat, possibly a few miles, all other sides slope down, perhaps 5-7 miles, N, protruding from wall, cross-shaped, walls ca. 1.5m thick. Keep shape ornamental, though most decoration came in later building gatehouse, ditch, parapet keep: guard room, door on floor 2, arrow slits. Defences to Keep: 6+. Visited 03/09/2018

Weetslade Tower by the sea, *No HE site no.* 1415. Now gone. First mention: 1415.

West Harle Tower, *No HE site no*. 1415. John Herle. Now gone. First mention: 1415.

West Lilburn Tower, *1233229*, 1415, 1541 MM. John Carr. Outline remains and a large piece of one wall. First mention: 1415. Uphill from the west (steep slope heading down to the west) likely not far, only a slight slope creating views. small mound (possibly man made?) 2-3m high, ditch to W/NE/NW. Without forestry could likely see to N and E. Standalone tower 1.5m hick, 12m NS, 9 (or 14? Rubble on ground) EW. Water audible from site, possibly to the west, chapel to the east, small windows on all sides and levels, ditch, mound, arrow slits - 3+ defences to keep. Visited 04/09/2018

Whitfield Tower, *1045433,* 1415. Matthew Whitfeld. Uncertain remains. First mention: 1160.

Whitley in Tynemouth Tower, *No HE site no***.** 1415 Prior of Tynemouth. Now gone. First mention: LTC 1345 (1316 according to ADS).

Whittingham Tower, *1371450*, 1415, 1541 MM. William Heron. Masonry remains, heavily altered in the 17th and 19th centuries late 13th/early 14ths c (ADS) 3 storeys. Square. (HE)

Whitton Tower by the Sea (or Netherwhitton), *No HE site no*. 1415 Roger Thornton. Some remains, built into an 18c house. First mention: 1415. The site is upon the highest part of the hill called Whitton Bank, at approx 450 feet above sea level. It overlooks a wide stretch of the Coquet valley to the W and N. Visibility is limited to the E and S by the top of the hill. a pele, measuring 11.5m E-W and 8.0m N-S. The original thickness of the walls cannot now be ascertained. (HE)

Whitton Tower near Rothbury, *1371030,* 1415, 1541 MM. The Rector. Masonry ruins built into a 19c rectory. First mention: 1415. Entrance - west end of north front, walls 8' thick The old tower measures externally 46 feet north to south and 33 feet east to west, and is still about 60 feet high on the north side, but only 42 on the south side where the ground rises. Walls 9+' thick on ground floor. 4-storey tower with chamfered plinth; 2 small slit windows with chamfered surrounds lighting staircase. (attached to back of later house) (HE).

Widdrington Tower, *1014770*, 1415. John Widdrington. Slight earthwork remains, First mention: 1341 LTC.

Willimoteswick Castle, *1006516,* 1541 MM. Gatehouse and some of the 12c tower remain 1541, family says older tower dates to 11/12. Through the gateway to from the east, slight slopeN: 2-3 miles, S 1/2 mile, W: ca. 5 miles, E 1-2 miles views to most sides family said that at one point in medieval times the hills to the north/west had been cut out to allow for a longer view to see invaders coming, this was visible until the 19c (told to Alice by her grandfather, at one point several miles to the west (old main approach?). House north of the gate, 11/12c house only the gateway survives from that period, 3 storeys, n segment 8-9m, then 3-4m passage (with guard rooms), then 3-4m left of the older section to the s of the passageway before the new building begins. Passage ca. 7-8m long larger windows look as though they've been added later. Gate passage, guard rooms, possible arrow slits. 3+ defences to keep. Visited 08/09/2018

Wooler Castle, *1018347*, Not listed. Only slight earthwork remains. Dates to 12c (HE) 20+miles from the north, ca. 2 miles west E? (forested, S: 1-2 miles (downhill) slope/drop to the E? mound possibly 15-20m

high, wooden palisade at one point 20miles north, 15miles west, 1-2miles south, E, atop mound (motte & bailey), Visited 01/09/2018.

Wylam Tower, *1044924* . Not listed. Masonry remains, intact but heavily altered in 18/19c12c (house), destroyed 1290s Restored by 1405 (ADS) A ditchless circular mound with a diameter of 49m having a maximum height of 2.1m (GG) Its battlements were built on corbels, and it had a projecting turret at each corner with ornamental finials ...demolished c.1770. (Hodgson 1832) The only remains of this building is the mound on which it stood (PSANT 1903).

Appendix 2: Dating fortifications outside the 1415 and 1541 surveys

This section includes all known historical evidence for the certain dating of fourteenth-century sites to dates pre-1415.

Langley: IPM v12 no.17, 8th December 1365 (page 17) – 'Langley. The manor and castle (extent given), held of the king in chief by homage and service of one knight's fee, and by rendering 8s yearly for cornage at the feasts of St Cuthbert in March and September by the hands of the sheriff. The extent of the manor includes park and:

- Hayden…
- …Blancansopp (Blenkinsopp) *The town, held freely of the manor of Langley by Thomas de Blenkinsopp by fealty and service by 6s 8d yearly*
- Fethirstanhalgh (Featherstonehaugh) *The manor held freely by Alexander de Featherstonehaugh by homage and service of 20s 7d yearly, and by suit to the court of Langley every three weeks….*

Tarset: '*De castro de Tyrset' recipiendo et custodiendo.* – Mandatum est Hugoni de Bolebec, vicecomti Norhumbrie, quod castrum Tyreset' quod rex Scocie ei liberari faciet, recipiat et salvam in eo ponat custodiam, et permittat Walterum Cumin extrahere a castr illo instaura, arma et alia que posuit in munitione ejusdem castri, cum voluerit, usque ad Nativitatem beate Marie, ita quod secures sit quod hos quos assignaverit ad custodiam predicti castri, timere non oporteat eos quos intrare contingent de suis as predicta extrahenda, et cum seisinam ejusdem castri habuerit, illud regi significet. Teste ut supra.' *Close Rolls Henry III, 1242-1247,* (London 1916), p.221.

Horton: December 28, 1292, Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: 'Licence for guichard de Charrun to crenellate his dwelling-house of Horton, co. Northumberland.' *CPR Edward I 1292-1301* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1895) p.2

Tynemouth: September 5, 1296, Berwick-upon-Tweed 'Licence for the prior and convent of Tynemouth to crenellate their priory' *CPR Edward I 1292-1301* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1895) p.197

Aydon: April 5, Westminster 'Licence for Robert de Reymes to crenellate his dwelling places of Shortflatt and Eydon, co. Northumberland.' *CPR Edward I 1301-1307* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1898) p.328

Eshott: July 22, 1310, Westminster, 'License to Roger Maudit to crenellate his dwelling-house of Esshete, co. Northumberland.' *CPR Edward II 1307-1313* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1894) p.272.

Newlands: July 22, 1310, Westminster, 'License to John de Middelton to crenellate his dwelling-house of Neulond, co. Northumberland.' *CPR Edward II 1307-1313* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1894) p.272.

Staward: April 26, 1326, Kenilworth 'Appointment of Thomas de Fetherstanhalgh to take seisin in the king's name of the peel and a moiety of the town of Staword, whereof Hugh de Louthre has enfeoffed the kin by charter.' *CPR Edward II 1324-1327* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1904) p.261.

Blenkinsopp: February 4, 1340, Kennington 'Licence for Thomas de Blencansopp to crenellate his dwelling-place of Blencansopp in the march of Scotland. By letter of the keeper.' *CPR Edward III 1338-1340* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1898) p.417.

Ford: July 16, 1338, Ipswich 'Licence for William Heyron to crenellate the dwelling-place of his manor to Ford, co. Northumberland. By K.' CPR Edward III 1338-1340 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1898) p.114.

Etal: May 3rd, 1340, Westminster ' Licence for Robert de Maners to crenellate his dwelling-place of Othale, co. Northumberland. By p.s.' *CPR Edward III 1338-1340* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1898) p.179.

October 10th, 1355, Westminster 'Appointment of Edward de Letham to have the keeping of the fortalice of Ethale, co. Northumberland, in the king's hands by reason of the nonage of the heir of Robert de Maners, 'chivaler', tenant in chief, at the king's will. By p.s.' *CPR Edward III 1354-1358*, p.283

May 24th, 1368, Westminster 'Grant to Joan, late wife of Edward de Letham, of 20l. yearly of the 40 marks yearly which she is held to render at the Exchequer as executrix of the will of the said Edward, to whom the king lately committed the keeping of the lands late of Robert de Maners, who held in chief, in the king's hand by reason of the nonage of his heir, at the said rent of 40 marks, to hold until the full age of the said heir in aid of the sustenance of her children by the said Edward, answering at the Exchequer for the remaining 10 marks; so that she keep safely and securely the castle of Ethale, late of the said Robert, in her keeping, among other lands, as executrix of the said Edward. By K. & C.' *CPR Edward III 1367-1370*, p.119

Barmoor: May 17th, 1341, Westminster, ' Licence for Thomas de Musco Campo to crenellate his dwelling-place of Bairmore, co. Northumberland. By p.s.' *CPR Edward III 1340-1343* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1900) p.221.

Widdrington: September 10, 1341, Tower of London, 'Licence for Gerard de Wodryngton to crenellate his dwelling-place of Wodryngton and impark his woods of Wodryngton, Stanlegh, Legh, Leghflat and Hamstokis.' *CPR Edward III 1340-1343* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1900) p.289.

Bothal: May 15, 1343, Westminster ' Licence for Robert Bertram to crenellate his dwelling place of Bothale, co. Northumberland. By p.s.' *CPR Edward III 1343-1345* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1902) p.30.

Crawley: November 20th, 1343, Westminster 'Licence for John Heroun to crenellate his dwelling-place of Crawelawe, co. Northumberland. By p.s.' *CPR Edward III 1343-1345* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1902) p.143.

Chillingham: Jan. 27, 1344, Westminster 'Licence for Thomas de Heton to crenellate his dwelling-place of Chevelyngham and make a castle or fortalice thereof. By p.s.' *CPR Edward III 1343-1345* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1902) p.191.

Whitley: April 9, 1345, Westminster 'Licence for Gilbert de Whitleye to crenellate his dwelling-place of Whitleye, co. Northumberland. By p.s.' *CPR Edward III 1343-1345* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1902) p.446.

Haggerston: June 4th, 1345, Westminster 'Licence for Robert de Hagerston, king's yeoman, to crenellate his dwelling-place of Hagerston, co. Northumberland. By p.s.' *CPR Edward III 1343-1345* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1902) p.479.

Great Swinburne: May 16, 1346, Westminster 'Licence for Roger de Widdrington to crenellate his dwelling-place of Westswynborn, co. Northumberland, and make a castle of the same. By p.s.' *CPR Edward III 1345-1348* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1903) p.88.

Fenwick: November 26, 1378, Westminster 'Licence for John de Fenwyk to crenellate his dwelling-house or manor of Fenwyck, co. Northumberland. By p.s.' CPR Richard II 1377-1381 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1895) p.290.

Wark on Tyne: December 4th, 1399, Westminster '*Inspeximus* and confirmation to the king's uncle, duke of York, of letters patent dated 8 February, 48 Edward III, granting divers possessions to him and the heirs of his body of the manor of Werke with the peel of the same and the peel or manor of Staworth with all manors, lands, rents, services, fees, advowsons, royalties, liberties, and franchises and the whole lordship of Tynedale, with all fees, royalties, fortalices, towns, hamlets, knights' fees, advowsons, parks, chaces, woods, warrens, fisheries, escheats, forfeitures, fairs, markets, lordships, liberties, and other appurtenances as Philippa, late queen of England, or anyone else had, and pardon to him of anything forfeited to the king in the said lordship and manors beyond the estate which he had by the said letters patent. By K and p.s.' *CPR Henry IV 1399-1401* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1903) p.151.

Ogle: May 11th, 1341, Westminster 'Grant, of special grace and for good service rendered in the march of Scotland, to Robert de Oggle, king's yeoman, and his heirs of free warren in all their demesne lands of Oggle, Aldensheles, Rouley, Shilvyngton, heselrigg, Folbiry, Thrasterton and Hurtheworth; licence also to the said Robert to fortify his manse of Oggle with a wall of stone and mortar and crenellate it and so hold it of the kingand his heirs without let or hindrance of them or any ministers. By p.s. [14023.]' *Calendar of the Charter Rolls, Preserved in the Public Record Office* V 1341-1417 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1916) p.4.

Appendix 3: Tower Builders & Holders in Northumberland pre-1415:

This section contains the names of all builders or earliest known owners of all tower houses in Northumberland pre-1415, coded by status/owner type[778]

Grey – Church/Ecclesiastical

Yellow – Gentry/No key positions or only minor positions/offices identified

Tan – some minor positions identified outside of Northumberland

Blue – Nobility/key positions identified, either local or national

Purple – Crown, or nobility of national significance.

Builder	status	Survey	Site	details and positions
Archbishop of York	Arch Bishop	1415	Hexham Moot Hall & Old Gaol	
Atkynson, William		1415	Buckton Tower, 1360	
Baxter, David		1415	Lanton tower 1369	
Bednell, William		1415	Lemmington Hall	
Bradforth, Thomas		1415	Elwick Tower of Thomas Bradforth	
Butecom, William		1415	Troughend Tower, Rochester	
Charrun, Guichard de	Knt	1415	Horton Castle, Blyth, 1292, Seaton	Constable of Bowes castle 1280-? Sheriff of Northumberland 1308-1309,

[778] This table is composed of a number of sources. Sites and owners at the time of the 1415 survey come from the 1415 survey itself, positions as sherrif of Northumberland come from , positions of parliament, along with most other positions come from, most earlier owners come from licences to crenellate (Long, Brian. The Castles of Northumberland: The Medieval Fortifications of the County (Gateshead: Northumberland Press Limited, 1967).)
Some miscellaneous documents were used such as (various documents from the National Archives E101 series, IPM, and the Calendars of Close Rolls),

			Delaval Castle	Member of parliament 1311, Justice in Durham 1292-1304, Commisioner of Array Northumberland 1298 and 1311.
Clavering, John	Knt	1415	Old Callaly Castle	Sheriff of Northumberland 1403-1404
Corbett, John		1415	Stanton Old Hall	
Crasestir, Edmund		1415	Craster Tower	
Delaval, William		1415	Seghill Tower	Parliament 1372, 1383, Chamberlain, Chancellor and Controller of Customs, Berwick 1364, Escheator of the Northern Counties 1373
Duke of Bedford, son of the king	Duke	1415	Shilbottle Tower	constable of Berwick 1403-1413
Elwyke, Thomas		1415	Elwick Tower of Thomas Elwick	
Embledon, Richard of		1415	Newton Tower, Edlingham, 1334-5	Constable of Dunstanburgh, Parliament 1337-1339
Eslington, Robert de		1415	Eslington Tower, 1334-5	
Eure, William	Knt	1415	Kirkley Tower	

Felton, William de	Knt	1415	Edlingham Castle 1300	Constable of Norham Castle 1314, Constable of Bowes Castle 1326, Constable of Richmond Castle 1326, Constable of Bamburgh 1315-1316, Sheriff of Northumberland 1312-1313, 1341-1343, Parliament 1340
Fenwicke, John de	Knt	1415	Fenwick Tower, 1378	Sheriff of Northumberland 1319-1323, 1325-1327 & 1378, Parliament 1378, Keeper of Newcastle Castle 1373-4, 1398-9, Commisioner to Collect Taxes in Nmbld 1373-4, 1377 and 1384-6
Forester, Thomas		1415	Adderstone Tower	
Forstere, Robert		1415	Chatton earl's Tower	
Galon, Hugh		1415	Low Trewhitt	
Gray, David		1415	Kyloe Tower	
Gray, Ralph	Knt	1415	Fenton Tower	
Grene, William		1415	Thropton Tower	
Grey, Thomas	Knt	1415	Horton Castle, Chatton, Nesbit Tower	Constable of Bamburgh Castle 1404-1408, cc376, collector of subsidy Northumberland 1384, Commisioner for Array 1388, Constable of Norham Castle 1390, Commisioner for Oyer and Terminer Northumberland 1397, Parliament 1397….. (various other small offices)

Haggerstone, Robert de		1415	Haggerston Castle, 1345	witnessed a grant at Haggerston 1341 (ZSW 2/26) - no known offices)
Harbottle, Robert	Esq.	1415	Preston Tower Ellingham	Constable of Dunstanburgh 1399-1401 & 1404-1420, Deputy constable of Nottingham 1399, Sheriff of Northumberland 1407 & 1412
Heringe, Emerici		1415	Howick Hall	
Herle, John		1415	West Herle Tower	
Heron, John	Knt	1415	Crawley Tower, 1310 LTC 1343	Deputy of Bamburgh 1376-1377, Constable of Newcastle 1360-1361 & 1380, Church Constable of Norham 1357-1381, Sheriff of Northumberland 1357, 1360, 1383-1384, Parliament 1379
Heron, Nicholas		1415	Meldon Tower	
Herron, Alexander		1415	Chipchase Castle	
Heron, William	Knt.	1415	Simonburn Tower	Parliament 1385, 1371
Heton, Alan	Knt	1415	Belford Westhall Tower, Lowick Tower 1388	Deputy of Bamburgh 1367-1372, Parliament 1358, 1365, 1368, 1379
Hoppen, Robert		1415	Hoppen Tower, 1414	

Horsley, Robert	Knt	1415	Farnham Tower, Hepple	Richard of Horsley Sheriff of Northumberland 1310, 1362-1363, 1367-1370
Ilderton, Thomas de	Knt	1415	Ilderton Tower	Private Constable of Dunstanburgh 1379-1380, Sheriff of Northumberland 1375 Parliament 1383
Langwath, Robtert		1415	Little Bavington Tower	
Lilburn, John de	Knt	1415	West Lilburn Tower, 1400	constable of Dunstanburgh 1322-1323 cc356, private constable of Dunstanburgh 1326 cc357, Private constable for the earl of Pembroke of Mitford Castle from 1316 cc365, constable of newcastle 1328 & 1331 & 1339 cc366-367, Sheriff of Northumberland 1328-1330, SherifNmbld ?? parliament 1384
Lilburn, Richard		1415	Detchant Tower	
Lilburn, Thome		1415	Shawdon Hall, 1403	
Lowther, Robert de		1415	Halton Castle, Whittington, 1382	
Manores, Robert		1415	Berrington Tower, Hethpool Tower 1400	constable of Norham castle and sheriff and escheater of Norhamshire 1345 - ?, parliament 1340
Master of the Hospital of St.		1415	Bamburgh Tower	

Mary Magdalene				
Middleton, Sir John	Knt	1415	Newland Tower 1310	
Musschamp, William		1415	Middleton Next to the Sea	
Ogle, Robert de (V)	Knt	1415	Sewingshields Castle, North Middleton Tower, Hepple Tower, Flotterton Tower, Newstead Tower 1405	church constable of Norham 1403-1450 (when it reverted to the Ogle family) cc370, constable of Wark on Tweed 1419 cc376 sheriff of norhamshire and Islandshire 1403-death nf2 146, comissioner to treat for truce with Scotland 1411, knight of the shire for Northumberland 1416, 1420, 1421, 1425, sheriff 1417, nf1 146-147, Sheriff of Northumberland 1417
Earl of Northumberland	Earl	1415	Alnham Earl's Pele	Percy – constable of Newcastle 1385-1388 cc368, owner of Prudhoe 1398-1405 cc372, sheriff of Northumberland 1383-1387, 1392-1397, Hotspur 1399-1400 SherNmbld?? Warden of the marches1328-1334 & 1352-1370 (three gen. of Percy), low warden of the marches 1439-1482, warden of the east march 1367-1377 (jointly with Gilbert de Umfreville from 1369), then 1417-1434 Hotpur warden of the east march 1396-

				1403, warden of the middle march 1417-1434; warden of the west march 1384-1386, 1399-1403, source?
Preston, John		1415	Holburn Tower	John Preston, constable of Norwhich 1328 cc331, owner of barmoor in 1415 cc351, built by monks of Lindisfarne???? Between 1350 and 1415? (GG)
Prior of Tynemouth	Prior	1415	Whitley Tower, Coquet Island Tower	
Purvays, Robert		1415	Whittingham Tower, 1317	
Raymes, Robert	Knt	1415	Shortflatt Tower 1305	Robert Raymes Sheriff of Northumberland 1347, Member of Parliament at least 1348 (and others), Collector of Customs Newcastle and Hartlepool 1321
Rector of Elsdon		1415	Elsdon Hall	
Rector of Whitton		1415	Whitton Tower	
Selby, John		1415	Biddlestone Hall 13c?	
Strother, Thomas		1415	Kirknewton Tower	
Strother, William		1415	Wallington Hall	

Swinburn, William	Knt	1415	Capheaton Castle	father: parliament 1395, 1386 conservator of truce between england and scotland,
Swinburne, Robert		1415	Harnham Hall, Belsay 1412	
Swinhoe, William III		1415	Scremerston Tower 1402, Cornhill Castle	
Thornton, Roger		1415	Netherwitton Castle	
Umfreville, Gilbert		1415	Otterburn Tower 13c?	cc360, constable of Langley 1405 cc363, owner of Otterburn tower from 1405 (passed from family) cc371, constable of Warkworth from 1406 cc377, warden of the east march jointly with the Percies/Nevilles 1369-1386 source??
Vicar of Corbridge	Vicar	1415	Corbridge Vicar's Pele 1300	Vicar, Religious Protection
Vicar of Embleton	Vicar	1415	Embleton Tower	Vicar, Religious Protection
Vicar of Ponteland	Vicar	1415	Ponteland Vicarage Tower	Vicar, Religious Protection
Vicar of Staffordham	Vicar	1415	Stamfordham Vicar's Pele	Vicar, Religious Protection
Vicarage of Chatton	Vicar	1415	Chatton Vicar's Pele	Vicar, Religious Protection

Whitfield, Mathew		1415	Whitfield Tower	
Widdrington, Gerard de		1415	Widdrington Castle1341	commisioner for array 1335, commisioner for punishing violators of truce 1343, fought at Nevilles cross, justice itinerant in a court at Wark in Tynedale 1348 nf2 96, member of parliament 1336 *Member of Parliament from 1327*
Widdrington, John de	Knt	1415	Beaufront Castle	Sheriff of Northumberland 1410
Widdrington, Roger de	Knt	1415	Haughton Castle Humsaugh, 13c	Constable of Newcastle Castle 1361, Sheriff of Northumberland 1361, Parliament 1348-1349, 1358

Appendix Four: Fourteenth-Century Towers in England outside of Northumberland

List of Possible Fourteenth-Century Tower Houses in England out with Northumberland:

1. Doddington - *LTC 1364* - **Cheshire**
2. Arlosk (Newton Arlosh Church of St John the Baptist) - *LTC 1304 April 11* **- Cumbria**
3. Asby Rectory - *14c* – **Cumbria**
4. Askham Hall Tower - *14c* - **Cumbria**
5. Branthwaite - **Cumbria**

6. Dacre - *LTC 1354* - **Cumbria**
7. Drumburgh - *LTC 1307* - **Cumbria**
8. Hardrigg Hall - *14c* - **Cumbria**
9. Hayes Castle - *LTC 1322* – **Cumbria**
10. Hutton in the Forest Hall - *14c* -**Cumbria**
11. Irton Hall - *14c* – **Cumbria**
12. Kentmere Hall - *14c (tower)* - **Cumbria**
13. Millom - *LTC 1335* - **Cumbria**
14. Muncaster - *1325* - **Cumbria**
15. Pendragon (Pendragon Castle) - *LTC 1309 July 16* - **Cumbria**
16. Penrith - *LTC 1397, 1399* - **Cumbria**
17. Wokington Hall - *LTC 1380* - **Cumbria**
18. Melmerlby - *Edward II* – **Cumbria**
19. Strickland Roger/ Burnside Hall - *14c* – **Cumbria**
20. Bere Ferrars - *LTC 1337* - **Devonshire**
21. Buckelond [Buklond] (Buckland Abbey) - *LTC 1337 Oct 2* – **Devonshire**
22. Borwick Hall - 14c – **Lancashire**
23. Broughton-in-Furness - *14c* – **Lancashire**
24. Longthorpe Tower – ca. 1290 - **Northamptonshire**
25. *Lea nr. Bishops Castle - 14c - **Shropshire***
26. Baginton - *LTC 1398* – **Warwickshire**

Appendix Five: Fourteenth-Century Percy Possessions

A breakdown of known Percy-controlled regions within Northumberland, and the fortifications constructed in these regions, originating as an exploration of Percy building style on areas under their sway, though it was found instead that stylistic influence came more on a status level, aside from a few miscellaneous smaller tower houses.

- **Alnwick** (from 1310)
    - Burradon – large tower in decay by 1541
    - High Farnham – 1415 tower mentioned
    - Warkworth – from 1332, new tower by 1405
    - Tarset castle – Percy from 1373, 13th century fortification,
    - Horton – fortified by 1415
    - Fowberry tower – around 1400
    - Earle – strong house 1500
    - Ingram – 1430 fortified tower
    - Alnwick – 1215, 1309, 1315
    - Warkworth – works 1323, 1341-1408 (Percy from 1332)
    - Longhoughton – funds dedicated to church of st. peters
    - Howick Hall – 14th century tower
    - Rock – late 15th century tower
    - Adderstone – tower circa 1420
    - Alnmouth – market post 1749
    - Heiferlaw – 1470-89
    - Prenswick – 16th century tower
    - Alnham – tower 1405
    - Rothbury – rebuilt before 1461
    - Thropton – tower by 1415
    - Burradon – tower in decay by 1541
- Warkworth (from 1332)
    - Newtown – bastle around 1586
    - Warkworth, to 1332, fortified 1323
    - Whalton

  - Corbridge
  - Newburn
  - Rothbury
  - Thropton – tower pre-1415
- Beanley Searjentry: (from 1333)
  - Longhorsely – farm
  - Netherwitton – pre-1483 tower, restoration in 1483
  - Combhill – undated bastle
  - Edlingham – 14th century tower
  - Newtown – tower 1335
- **Langley (from 1381)**
  - Rattenraw – cluster of bastles
  - Langley castle – built 1326, destroyed, rebuilt 1343
  - Haydon Bridge, pre 1327
- **Prudhoe (from 1381)**
  - Harbottle (to 1381)
  - Kirkwhelpington – thirteenth century kirk
  - West Harle – fifteenth century tower
  - Kirkheaton, post 1541 manor house
  - Esldon – norman church and tower (vicarage) built end of 14th century
  - Birtley – possible tower by 1307
  - Bavington/Little Bavington – fourteenth century tower
  - Chipchase – thirteenth century tower
  - Barrasford
  - Prudhoe – 1320s peel yard[780]

[780] Heads of Northumberland Percies, fourteenth century: Henry Percy, First Lord Percy, 1273-1314; Henry Percy Second Lord Percy, 1301-1352; Henry Percy, First Earl of Northumberland, 1341-1408; *Sir Henry Percy ('Hotspur'), 1364-1403*

Appendix Six: Key Fourteenth-Century Percy Acquisitions

A breakdown of the acquisitions of key sites by the Percy family in the fourteenth-century, signalling their rise to prominence in the county.

Site	Date	Means	Percy
Alnwick	1309	purchased from the Bishop of Durham	Henry III Percy
Warkworth	1332	gifted by Edward III	Henry IV Percy
Prudhoe Castle	1375	purchased the right to half of barony of Prudhoe (not the half in Tynedale) and marriage to Maud de Lucy, widow of Gilbert de Umfraville in 1381	Henry, 1st Earl Northumberland
Mitford Castle	1373	Bought Wardship of Earl of Athol's daughters and then married one of them into the family	Henry, 1st Earl Northumberland
Tynedale Lordship	1373	Bought Wardship of Earl of Athol's daughters and then married one of them into the family	Henry, 1st Earl Northumberland
Harbottle	1375	Possible part of the Prudhoe Lordship	Henry, 1st Earl Northumberland
Langley Castle	1381	marriage to Maud de Lucy, widow of Gilbert de Umfraville	Henry, 1st Earl Northumberland
Various small Manors originally part of the Alnwick estates	1395	traded for some of their estates in Yorkshire	Henry, 1st Earl Northumberland
Alnham Earl's Pele	unknown	Said to have stood 'from ancient times', in Percy hands	?

		by 1405, not located near any other known properties?	
Remaining Comyn Properties in Tynedale	1399	Gift from Henry IV	Henry, 1st Earl Northumberland
Regained all territories and titles	1415-1416	Through Henry V	Henry
Shilbottle	to 1405		
Cockermouth	1398-1399, 1402-1405		1st Earl
Denbigh	1399-1401		1st Earl

Bibliography

Manuscript/Unpublished Sources:

Registers of the Archbishop of York:
9A f.45 (recto) entry 11

Public Record, Durham Cathedral Archives:

Proctors of Norham Accounts:
GB 0033 DCD Norh. Acs:

1301-1301
1314-1315
1315-1316
1317-1321
1327-1328
1328
Arrears 1328 (A-B)
1329-1330
1330-1331
1333-1334
Arrears 1334
1333
Indenture of Liveries,
1334-5
1335-6
Arrears 1336
Ellingham Arrears 1336
1338-1339
Arrears 1339
Ellingham Arrears 1339
1341-1342
1344-1345
Arrears 1348
1348-1349
1360-1361
Arrears 1361
1366-1367
1401-1402
1402-1403
1404-1405
1405-1406
1406-1407
1407-1408
1408-1409

Public Record, National Archives:

Records of the Admiralty, Naval Forces, Royal Marines, Coastguard, and related bodies:

ADM 75/79

Chancery:

C 47/3/51/15
C 47/14/3/6
C 47/22/10/39
C 49/7/1
C 135/67/1
C 143/302/12
C 143/281/17
C 148/128
C 1/1506/35

Records of the Duchy of Lancaster:

DL 25/3392
DL 29/354/5837

Exchequer:

E 36/173
E 49/253
E 43/395
E 101/14/36
E 101/14/39
E 101/15/14
E 101/15/26
E 101/29/23
E 101/36/1
E 101/39/37
E 101/40/5
E 101/40/30
E 101/42/28
E 101/42/37
E 101/68/2/36
E 101/68/2/42E
E 101/314/317

E 101/331/23
E 101/388/15
E 101/458/31
E 101/476/19
E 101/476/20
E 101/482/26
E 101/482/27
E 101/482/28
E 101/482/30
E 101/483/2
E 101/483/5
E 101/483/6
E 101/483/7
E 101/512/28
E 101/530/1
E 101/530/2
E 101/530/2
E 101/530/4
E 101/530/5
E 101/579/10
E 101/579/11
E 101/579/13
E 101/579/14
E 101/579/15
E 101/579/16
E 101/579/19
E 101/579/20
E 101/676/56
E 101/695/4
E 199/33/5
E 199/33/7
E 199/33/9
E 199/33/11
E 199/33/17
E 199/33/19
E 199/33/21
E 199/33/23
E 199/33/25
E 199/33/26
E 199/33/31
E 199/33/32
E 199/33/34
E 199/33/35
E 199/33/36
E 199/33/37
E 199/91/27
E 202/80
E 210/9140
E 210/11186
E 326/3515
E 358/2
E 358/4

Justices in Eyre, of Assize, of Oyer and Terminer, and of the Peace, etc: Rolls and Files:

JUST 1/1404
JUST 1/1453

Records created or inherited by the Office of the Auditors of Land Revenue:

LR 14/1051

Duchy of Lancaster Papers:
NA DL
29/1/3

Special Collections, Ancient Correspondence of the Chancery and the Exchequer Correspondence:

SC 1/1/204
SC 1/2/10
SC 1/2/16
SC 1/2/17
SC 1/33/32
SC 1/34/179
SC 1/35/142A
SC 1/37/190
SC 1/41/67
SC 1/43/86
SC 1/49/31
SC 1/50/90
SC 1/56/97
SC 1/57/122A
SC 1/61/38
SC 1/61/44

Special Collections: Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts:

SC 6/950/1
SC 6/950/2
SC 6/950/3

SC 6/950/4
SC 6/950/5
SC 6/950/6
SC 6/950/7
SC 6/950/8
SC 6/1144/3
SC 6/1121/10

Special Collections, Papal Bulls:

SC 7/64/23

Special Collections, Ancient Petitions:

SC 8/11/506
SC 8/11/540
SC 8/12/591
SC 8/15/740
SC 8/21/1015
SC 8/32/1563
SC 8/32/1565
SC 8/32/1566
SC 8/33/1608
SC 8/34/1652
SC 8/34/1682
SC 8/34/1683
SC 8/36/1780B
SC 8/41/2005
SC 8/43/2150A
SC 8/53/2602
SC 8/53/2605B
SC 8/58/288
SC 8/62/3053
SC 8/63/3139
SC 8/65/3204
SC 8/65/3218
SC 8/68/336
SC 8/74/3681
SC 8/76/3800
SC 8/80/3987
SC 8/80/3994
SC 8/82/4086
SC 8/83/4107
SC 8/87/4337
SC 8/95/4752
SC 8/97/4802B
SC 8/99/4919
SC 8/105/5230
SC 8/101/5037
SC 8/112/558
SC 8/115/5749
SC 8/129/6412
SC 8/129/6428
SC 8/129/6436
SC 9/129/6439
SC 8/129/6441
SC 8/130/6471
SC 8/130/6477
SC 8/130/6490
SC 8/144/7157
SC 8/149/7420.
SC 8/157/7820
SC 8/164/8179
SC 8/165/8209
SC 8/170/8451
SC 8/171/8520
SC 8/172/8562
SC 8/173/8625
SC 8/174/8687
SC 8/178/8882
SC 8/201/10039
SC 8/218/10868
SC 8/218/10882
SC 8/239/11934
SC 8/280/13972
SC 8/311/15562
SC 8/318/E320
SC 8/319/E365
SC 8/319/E370
SC 8/319/E403
SC 8/319/E408

Special Collections: Rentals and Surveys, Portfolios:
SC 12/13/53
SC 12/13/61

Primary Sources:

Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1174-1328. Some Selected Documents, ed. E.L.G. Stones (Oxford, 1970).

Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland., ed. J. Bain (Edinburgh, 1881-8).

Bower, Walter. *Scotichronicon v VI-VIII,* ed. D.E.R. Watt (Aberdeen University Press, 1991).

Calendar of Close Rolls. 12 vols. (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1892-1953).

Calendar of the charter rolls preserved in the Public Record Office 1226-1915. (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1903-1927).

Calendar of Fine Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office. 22 vols. (London: Public Record Office, 1911-1963).

Calendar Inquisitions Miscellaneous, Chancery 7 vols. (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1916-1937)..

Calendar of Memoranda Rolls. 10 vols. (London: Public Record Office, 1967).

Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1272-1422. 35 vols, (H.M. Stationery Office, 1891-1916).

Capgrave, John. *The Chronicle of England*, ed. Reverend Francis Charles Hingeston. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1858.

The Chronicle of Lanercost: 1272-1346. Translated by Sir Herbert Maxwell. Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1913.

Chronicon De Lanercost. Edited by Stevenson, Joseph. Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1839.

Froissart, Jean. *The chronicles of England, France, Spain etc. etc. / by Sir John Froissart; with notes and illustrations.* Translated by Thomas Johnes. London: Dent, 1906.

Grey, Sir Thomas. *Scalacronica: The reigns of Edward I, Edward II and Edward III.* Translated by Herbert Maxwell. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons, 1907.

Hardyng, Iohn. *The Chronicle of Iohn Hardyng*, *Together with the continuation by Richard Grafton.* London: F. C. and J. Rivington, T. Payne, Wilkie and Robinson, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, Caddell and Davies, J. Mawman, and R.H. Evans, 1812.

Higden, Ranulph. *Polychronicon, v VIII.* Translated by John Trevisa and Unknown Translator of the Fifteenth Century. St Andrews: Tanner Ritchie Publishing, 2011.

Holinshed, Raphael. *Holinshed's Chronicle of England, Scotland, and Ireland.* London: J. Johnson, F.C. and J. Rivington, T. Payne, Wilkie and Robinson, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, Caddell and Davies, J. Mawman, and R.H. Evans 1807.

Calendars of Inquisitions Post-Mortem and Other Analogous Documents. 8 vols. (London: His Majesty's Record Office, 1895-1910).

Knighton, Henry. *Knighton's Chronicle: 1337-1396.* Edited and Translated by G.H. Martin. New York: Oxford University Press: 1995.

Le Bel, Jean. *The true chronicles of Jean Le Bel 1290-1360*. Translated by Nigel Bryant. Woodbridge: The Boydwell Press, 2011.

Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, vII: 1515-1518. London: 1864.

The Historians of Scotland v VII: Liber Pluscardensis. Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1877.

Rotuli Scotie. ed. D. Macpherson. 2 vols, Record Commission, 1814-19.

The Percy Chartulary. ed. M.T. Martin. SS cxvii (1909).

Page, W. *Three early assize rolls for the county of Nortymberland, sæc. XIII.* Durham: Society of St. Andrews, 1891.

Parliament Rolls of Medieval England. Woodbridge: Boydwell, 2005.

Rotuli Parliamentorum. 6 vols, London, 1767-77.

Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londinensi. Vol. I, Printed by Command of His Majesty King George III, 1814.

Gesta regis Henrici Secuni Benedict Abbatis: The Chronicle of the Regisn of Henry II and Richard I (1169-1192) Ed. W. Stubbs. R.S. 49. London, 1867, vol I.

Rymer, Thomas. *Foedera: conventiones, literæ, et cujuscunque generis acta publica, inter reges Angliæ et alios quosvis imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes, vel communitates, ab ineunte sæculo duodecimo, viz. ab anno 1101, ad nostra usque tempora, habita aut tractata; ex autographis, infra secretiores Archivorum regiorum thesaurarias, per multa sæecula reconditis, fideliter exscripta. In lucem missa de mandato nuper*æ Reginæ. London: 1727-1729.

Swanson, R.N. ed. *A Calendar of the Register of Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, 1398-1405*. 2 vols, York, 1981-5.

Trokelowe, J & Blaneforde, H. *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani.* London: Longman's, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1866.

Vita Edwardi Secundi: The life of Edward the Second. Translated by N. Denholm-Young. Edited by Wendy R. Childs. Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2005.

The Westminster Chronicle 1381-1394. Edited and Translated by L. C. Hector. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.

Secondary Sources

Armit, I. *Towers in the North: the Brochs of Scotland.* Stroud: Tempus Publishing, 2003.

Armstrong, P. *Otterburn 1388: Bloody Border Conflict.* Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2006.

Ashbee, J. 'The medieval buildings and topography of Rochester castle,' in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Rochester*. Leeds: British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 250-264.

J. Ashbee, 'Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and theGreat Gatehouse of Dunstanburgh Castle' in *The English Historical Review* 2006, p.29-35;

Ayton, A. *Wars of the Bruces: Scotland, England and Ireland 1306-1328*. East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 1997.

Barrow, G.W.S. *Scotland and its Neighbours in the Middle Ages*, London: Hambledon Press, 1992.

Barry, T.B. *The Archaeology of Medieval Ireland*, Routledge: London, 1987.

Barry, T. 'The Last Frontier: Defence and Settlement in Late Medieval Ireland', in T.B. Barry, R. Frame and K. Simms (eds.), *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland: Essays Presented to J. F. Lydon,* London: The Hambledon Press, 1995.

Bates, C. 'The Barony and Castle of Langley.' *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. 10 (1885): 38-56.

Bates, C.J. 'The Border Holds of Northumberland.' *Archaeologia Aeliana* 14, no. 1 (1891): 1-465.

Bates, C.J. *The History of Northumberland.* Morpeth: Sandhill Press, 1996.

Bean, J.M.W. 'The Percies Acquisition of Alnwick.' *Archaeologia Aeliana* 4, vol. 32 (1954): 309-319.

Bean, J.M.W. 'The Percies and their Estates in Scotland.' *Archaeologia Aeliana* 4, vol. 35 (1957): 91-99.

Bellamy, J.G. *Criminal Law and Society in Late Medieval and Tudor England.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984.

Berry, H., *Statute rolls of Parliament of Ireland, Reign of Henry VI.* London; 1910.

Brenan, G. *History of the House of Percy: Volume 1.* London: Freemantle & CO, 1902.

Broadberry, Campbell & Smith, 'English Medieval Population: Reconciling Time Series and Cross Sectional Evidence' as part of Leverhulme project: Reconstructing the National Income of Britain and Holland, c.1270/1500 to 1850' Manchester University, 2011.

Brooke, C.J. *Safe sanctuaries : security and defence in Anglo-Scottish Border churches 1290-1690.* Edinburgh: John Donald, 2000.

Brown, M. *Disunited Kingdoms: Peoples and Politics in the British Isles 1280-1460*. Great Britain: Pearson, 2013.

Cairns, C.T. *Irish tower Houses: A Co. Tipperary Case Study*. Athlone: Temple Printing, 1987.

Charlton, E. 'Notes on North Tynedale' *AA* 2nd Series, Vol. 3, (1859), 147-148.

M. Chesnutt 'Otterburn Revisited: A Late Medieval Border Ballad and its Transmission' in *Older Scots literature* ed. S.L. Mapstone. Edinburgh: 2005, 397-412.

Coulson, C. *Castles in Medieval Society: Fortresses in England, France, and Ireland in the Central Middle Ages*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Colvin, H.M. *The History of the King's Works, Volume I-II: The Middle Ages.* London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1963.

Condit, T., 'Rings of Truth at Trim Castle, Co. Meath', in *Archaeology Ireland* vol. 10.3 (1996): 30-3.

Cornell, D. *Bannockburn: The Triumph of Robert the Bruce.* Cornwall: Yale University Press, 2009.

Cosgrove, A. (ed.) *Medieval Ireland 1169-1534: New History of Ireland* vol.2 Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Coulson, C. 'Freedom to Crenellate by License.' Nottingham medieval Studies, vol. 38 (1994): 86-137.

Coulson, C. 'Hierarchism in Conventual Crenellation: An Essay in the Sociology and Metaphysics of Medieval Fortification.' *Medieval Archaeology* 26, (1982): 69-100.

Coulson, C. 'Structural Symbolism in Medieval Castle Architecture.' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association,* vol. 132, (1979): 73-90.

Creighton, O. *Castles and Landscapes.* New York: Continuum, 2002.

Cunningham, G. *The Anglo-Norman Advance into the South-West Midlands of Ireland 1185-1221*, Roscrea:Parkmore Press, 1987.

Dixon, P. 'Design in Castle-Building: The Controlling of Access to the Lord.' Château Gaillard: Études de Castellologie Médiévale XVIII (1996): 47-56.

Dixon, P. 'Border Towers: A Cartographic Approach,' in *Newcastle and Northumberland: Roman and Medieval Architecture and Art*, ed. J. Ashbee & J. Luxford. Leeds: Maney publishing for the British Archaeological Association, 2013.

Dixon, P. 'Towerhouses, Pelehouses and Border Society' in *The Archaeological Journal* (1979).

Dixon, P. & Borne, P. 'Coparcenary at Aydon Castle' *Archeological Journal*, ser. 5 vol. 135, (1978), 234-238.

Dodds, J. Bastions and Belligerents: Medieval Strongholds of Northumberland. Newcastle: Keepdate Publishing, Ltd., 1999.

Duncan, A.A.M. 'Honi soit qui mal y pense: David II and Edward III, 1346-52' in *The Scottish Historical Review* Vol. 67, No. 184, Part 2 (Oct., 1988), 113-141.

Emery, A. *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales 1300-1500, v I: Northern England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Etty, C. 'Neighbours from Hell? Living with Tynedale and Redesdale, 1489-1547.' in *Liberties and Identities in the Medieval British Isles,* edited by Michael Prestwich, 120-140. Woodbridge: Boydwell Press, 2008.

Fairclough, G, 'Edlingham Castle: the military and domestic developments of a Northumbrian manor', Chateau-Gaillard, 9–10 (1982), 373–87;

Fairclough, G. 'Meaningful constructions: spatial and functional analysis of medieval buildings', *Antiquity*, 66 (1992), 348–66.

Faulkner, P.A., 'Castle Planning in the Fourteenth Century.' *Archaeological Journal*, vol. 120 (1963): 215-235.

Fawcett, R. 'Ford Castle,' *Archaeological Journal* vol. 133 (1976): 190-192.

Fleming, Daniel (Sir), 1671 'Description of the County of Westmorland', as quoted in D.R. Perriam and John Robinson, *Medieval Fortified Buildings of Cumbria: An Illustrated Study Guide and Gazetteer*. Cumberland: Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society, 1998.

Flodgson, J. and Hodgson Hinde, J. *A History of Northumberland*. Newcastle upon Tyne: 1820-58.

Forster, R. *History Of Corbridge And Its Antiquities: With A Concise History Of Dilston Hall And Its Associations [facsimile]*. Kessinger Publishing: 2009/1881.

Frame, R. *Colonial Ireland 1169-1369 2nd ed*., Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012.

Frame, R., 'The Defence of the English Lordship, 12501450', in *A Military History of Ireland*, T. Bartlett and K. Jeffrey (eds.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

France, J. *Medieval Warfare 1000-1300.* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005.

Fraser, C.M. *Northern petitions : illustrative of life in Berwick, Cumbria and Durham in the fourteenth century.* Gateshead: Society by the Northumberland Press, 1982.

Fraser, C.M. *Ancient Petitions Relating to Northumberland*. Gateshead: Surtees Society v176, 1961.

Given-Wilson, C. *Henry IV.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.

Glasscock, R. 'Mottes in Ireland', in *Chateau Gaillard* vol. 7, Caen: Centre de Recherches Archeologiques Medievales, Universite de Caen, 1975.

Goodall, A. 'The Early Development of Alnwick Castle, c. 1100-1400,' - in *Newcastle and Northumberland: Roman and Medieval Architecture and Art,* ed. J. Ashbee & J. Luxford. Leeds: Maney publishing for the British Archaeological Association, 2013, 232-247.

Goodall, J. *The English Castle: 1066-1650.* London: Yale University Press, 2011.

Goodall, J. *Warkworth Castle and Hermitage.* London: English Heritage, 2006.

Goodman, A. 'The Defence of Northumberland: A Preliminary Survey.' In Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France: Proceedings of the 1995 Harlaxton Symposium, edited by Matthew Strickland, 161-172. Lincolnshire: Paul Watkins, 1998.

Goodman, A. John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe. Essex: Longman Group UK Ltd., 1992.

Graham, B.J. 'The High Middle Ages: c.1100-1350', in B.J. Graham and L.J. Proudfoot (eds), *A Historical Geography of Ireland*. London: Academic Press, Ltd., 1993.

Graham, F. *The Castles of Northumberland.* Gateshead: Howe Brothers, 1976.

Graham, F. *Hexham and Corbridge: A Short History and Guide.* Newcastle: Frank Graham, 1984.

Hallam, E. 'Itinerary of Edward II and his household, 1307-1328', *List & Index Society*, v.211 (1984).

Harris, R.B. 'Recent research on the White Tower: reconstructing and dating the Norman building,' in *Castles and the Anglo-Norman World: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Norwich Castle in 2012*. Ed. J.A. Davies, Oxbow Books, 2016, 177-189.

Hedley, W.P. Northumberland Families Vol. I-II. Gateshead: Northumberland Press,

Ltd., 1968.

Hedley, W.P. 'The Origins of the Families of Heron and Swinburne.' *Archaeologia Aeliana* 4, vol. 37 (1959): 291-301.

Hedley, W.P. 'The Early Widdrington's of Widdrington.' *Archaeologia Aeliana* 4, vol. 35 (1957): 1-6.

Hislop, M.J. *John Lewyn of Durham: a Medieval Mason in Practice.* Oxford: John and Erica Hedges Ltd., 2007.

Hislop, M.J. 'John of Gaunt's Building Works at Dunstanburgh Castle', *AA* vol. 23 (1995) 139-144.

Hislop, M.J. 'The Date of the Warkworth Donjon,' *AA* 5, v19 (1991), 79-92.

Hodgson, J.C. 'The Later Owners of Eslington.' *Archaeologia Aeliana* 3, vol. 6 (1910): 1-21.

Holford, M. 'Family, Lineage and Society: Medieval Pedigrees of the Percy Family.' *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, vol. 52 (2008): 165-190.

Holford, M.L. 'War, lordship and community in the liberty of Norhamshire.' in *Liberties and Identities in the Medieval British Isles,* edited by Michael Prestwich, 77-97. Woodbridge: Boydwell Press, 2008.

Hugill, R. *Borderland Peles and Castles.* Gateshead: Northumberland Press Limited, 1970.

Hunter Blair, C.H. 'The Early Castles of Northumberland,' in *AA* 4, v. 28, 120 & 134.

Hunter Blair, C.H. 'Elsden' in *The History of Berwickshire Naturalist Club* v. XXXI. Edinburgh: 1947.

Keen, L. 'The Umfravilles, the Castle and Barony of Prudhoe, Northumberland,' in *Anglo-Norman Studies: V Proceedings of the Battle Conference, 1982,* ed. R.A. Brown, Woodbridge: Boydwell Press, 1982, 165-184.

Keen, M. *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages.* Milton Park: Routledge, 2016.

Kenyon, J.R. *Medieval Fortifications.* New York: Leicester University Press, 1990.

King, A. 'Fortresses and Fashion Statements: Gentry Castles in Fourteenth-Century Northumberland.' *Journal of Medieval History* 33, no. 4 (2007): 372-397.

King, A. Lordship, castles and locality: Thomas of Lancaster, Dunstanburgh Castle and the Lancastrian affinity in Northumberland, 1296-1322.' *AA* Ser. 5, vol. 29 (2001), 223-234.

King, A. 'The Anglo-Scottish Marches and the Perception of 'The North' In *Fifteenth-Century England*. Northern History 49, no.1, 37 (2012): 37-50.

King, A. 'Sir Thomas Gray's Scalacronica: a Medieval Chronicle and its Historical and Literary Context.' MA Thesis, Durham University, 1998.

King, A. 'War, Politics and Landed Society in Northumberland, c.1296-c.1408.' PhD Thesis, Durham University, 2001.

King, D.J.C. *Castellarium Anglicanum: An Index and Bibliography of the Castles in England, Wales and the Islands, v I-II.* USA: Kraus International Publications, 1983.

King, D.J.C. *The Castle in England and Wales: An Interpretive History.* Beckenham: Croom Helm, 1988.

Knowles, W.H. 'Aydon Castle, Northumberland,' *AA* vol. 56 (1899): 71-88.

Lapsley, G.T. *The County Palatine of Durham: A Study in Constitutional History.* New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900.

Leask, H.G. *Irish Castles and Castellated Houses*, Dundalk: Dundalgan Press, 1951.

Liddiard, R. *Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066 to 1500.* Cheshire: Windgather Press, 2005.

Liddiard, R. 'Mota, Aula et Turris: The Manor-Houses of the Anlgo-Scottish border' in *Late Medieval Castles* by Robert Liddiard, and

Liddiard, R. 'From Hall to Tower: The Change in Seigneurial Houses on the Anglo-Scottish Border after c.1250' in *Thirteenth Century England* IV, ed. P.R. Coss & S.D. LLoyd

Little, A.G. 'The Authorship of the Lanercost Chronicle.' *The English Historical Review* 31, No. 122 (Apr., 1916): 269-279.

Lodge, E. & Somerville, R. *John of Gaunt's Register 1379-83,* Camden Society, 3rd series (1937), 56-57.

Lomas, R. *County of Conflict: Northumberland from Conquest to Civil War.* East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1996.

Lomas, R. 'The Impact of border Warfare: The Scots and South Tweedside, co. 1290-c. 1520.' The Scottish Historical Review, vol. 75 no. 200, part II (Oct. 1996): 143-167.

Lomas, R. *The Fall of the House of Percy 1368-1408*. Edinburgh: West Newington House, 2007.

Lomas, R. *A Power in the Land: The Percys*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999.

Long, B. *The Castles of Northumberland: The Medieval Fortifications of the County.* Gateshead: Northumberland Press Limited, 1967.

Lott, G & Perry, S. *Strategic Stone Study, A Building Stone Atlas of Cumbria & The Lake District.* English Heritage: 2013.

Lyttleton, J. *Blarney Castle: An Irish Tower House*, Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011.

MacDonald, A. 'The Kingdom of Scotland at War, 1332-1488,' in A Military history of Scotland, ed. E.M. Spiers, J.A. Crang and M.J. Strickland. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012, 158-181.

MacDonald, A.J. *Border Bloodshed: Scotland and England at war, 1369-1403.* East Linton: Tuckwell, 2000.

Maddicott, J.R. *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-1322: A Study in the reign of Edward II.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Marsden, J. *The Illustrated Border Ballads*. London: Macmillan London Ltd, 1990.

Marshal, P. and Dixon, P. 'The Great Tower in the Twelfth Century: The Case of Norham Castle' *Archaeological Journal*, Volume 150, (1993), 410-432.

Maxwell-Irving, A.M.T. *The Tower Houses of Scotland* v.2. Stirling: 2014.

McCombie, G. *Tynemouth Priory and Castle.* London: English Heritage, 2008.

McGlynn, S. 'The Scottish Invasion of England in 1138: A War Without Quarter', in *Medieval Warfare* Vol. 3, No. 3 (2013) 44-50.

McNamee, C. 'Buying off Robert Bruce: an account of monies paid to the Scots by Cumberland Communities in 1313-1314,' *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 92, (1992): 77-90.

McNamee, C. 'The effects of the Scottish war on Northern England, 1296-1328 McNamee' PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 1988.

McNeill, T. *Castles in Ireland: Feudal Power in a Gaelic World.* London: Routledge, 1997.

Mead, B. *Cresswell's Curiosities: Druridge Bay, Northumberland.* Northumberland: Cresswell Pele Tower, 2020.

Meirion-Jones, G. *The Seigneurial Residence in Western Europe Ad 800-1600.* Oxford: Archaeopress, 2002.

Middleton, A.E. *An Account of Belsay Castle In the County Northumberland.* Otley: Spredden Press, 1990.

Middleton, A.E. *Sir Gilbert de Middleton.* Newcastle: Mawson Swan & Morgan Limited, 1918.

Milner, N.P. ed., *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science*. Liverpool: 1993.

Morley, B. 'Corfe Castle' *Archaeological Journal*. 140, (1983) 55-57.

Musson, A. & Powell, E. ed. & transl. *Crime, Law and Society in the Later Middle Ages: Selected Sources.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009.

National Trust. *The National Trust: Buckland Abbey.* The National Trust, 1991.

Nelson, I.S. *Etal Castle.* London: English Heritage, 1998.

Neville, C. 'Arbitration and Anglo-Scottish border law in the later middle ages.' in *Liberties and Identities in the Medieval British Isles,* edited by Michael Prestwich, 37-55. Woodbridge: Boydwell Press, 2008.

Neville, C.J. *Violence, Custom and Law: The Anglo-Scottish Border Lands in the Later Middle Ages.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998.

Newcastle Castle Newcastle: Newcastle. (guidebook).

Nicholson, R. *Edward III and the Scots: the formative years of a military career 1327-1335*. London: Oxford university press, 1965.

No Editor. *List of sheriffs for England and Wales, from the earliest times to A.D. 1831.* London: Public Record Office, 1963.

Northumberland County History,15 vols, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1893-1940.

O'Keefe, T. 'Ballyloughlan, Ballymoon and Clonmore: Three Castles of c.1300 in County Carlow' in *Anglo-Norman Studies vol. 23: Proceedings of the Battle Conference,* Woodbridge: Boydwell Press, 2000.

O'Keeffe, T. *Medieval Ireland: An Archaeology,* Stroud: Tempus, 2000.

O'Conor, K.D. *The Archaeology of Medieval Rural Settlement in Ireland*. *Discovery Programme Monograph 3,* Dublin: Wordwell Ltd., 1998)

O'Conor, K.D. 'Motte castles in Ireland: permanent fortresses, residences and manorial centres', in *Chateau Gallaird* vol. 20, France: Canton de Berne, 2002.

O'Neil, T. 'Hibernia Pactata et Castellata', in *Anglo-Norman Castles*, ed. R. Liddiard,Woodbridge: The Boydwell Press, 2003.

Oram, R. 'Prelatical Builders: Lordly Symbolism in Episcopal and monastic Residences in Scotland: 1124-c. 1500', in *Chateau Gallaird* vol. 20, France: Canton de Berne, 2002.

Ormrod, M. *Edward III*. London: Yale University Press, 2013.

Oswald, A. and Ashbee, J. *Dunstanburgh Castle.* London: English Heritage, 2007.

Otway-Ruthven, J. *A History of Medieval Ireland 2nd ed*., London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1980.

Palmer, R.C. *English Law in the Age of the Black Death, 1348-1381: A Transformation of Governance and Law.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Parker, C. 'The Internal Frontier: The Irish in County Waterford in the Late Middle Ages', in T.B. Barry, Robin Frame and Katherine Simms (eds.), *Colony and Frontier in Med Ireland: Essays Presented to J. F. Lydon,* London: The Hambledon Press, 1995.

Parker, J.H. *Some Account of Domestic Architecture in England* Vol. III. Oxford: 1853.

Paterson, R.C. My Wound is Deep: a History of the Later Anglo-Scots Wars 1380-1560. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1997.

Pattison, P. *Berwick Barracks and Fortifications.* London: English Heritage, 2011.

Phillips, S. *Edward II.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.

Pease, H. *The lord wardens of the marches of England and Scotland : being a brief history of the marches, the laws of march, and the marchmen, together with some account of the ancient feud between England and Scotland.* London: Constable and Company, 1913.

Pease, H. 'Otterburn, The Tower, Hall and Dene and The Lordship, or Manor of Redesdale' *AA,* Series 3 Volume XXI (1924), 132-141.

Perrs, H. 'Crossing the Shannon Frontier: Connacht and the Anglo-Normans1170-1224', in T.B. Barry, R. Frame and K. Simms (eds.), *Colony and Frontier in Med Ireland: Essays Presented to J. F. Lydon,* London: The Hambledon Press, 1995.

Plucknett, T.F.T. *Statutes & Their Interpretation In the First Half of the Fourteenth Century.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922.

Prestwich, M. 'Isabella de Vescy and the Custody of Bamburgh Castle.' *Historical Research* vol. 44, 110 (1971): 148-152

Prestwich, M. 'Gilbert de Middleton and the Attack on the Cardinals, 1317.' In *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages*, edited by Timothy Reuter, 179-194. London: Hambledon Press, 1992.

Prestwich, M. *Regions and Regionalism in History: Liberties and Identities in the Medieval British Isles*. Woodbridge: Boydwell Press, 2008.

Prestwich, M. 'Military Logistics: the Case of 1322,' in *Armies, chivalry and warefare in medieval Britain and France*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004, 276-288.

Prestwich, M. 'Tam infra libertate squam extra: Liberties and military recruitment.' in *Liberties and Identities in the Medieval British Isles,* edited by Michael Prestwich, 111-120. Woodbridge: Boydwell Press, 2008.

Prestwich, M. 'The Wars of Independence, 1296-1328,' in *A Military history of Scotland*, ed. E.M. Spiers, J.A. Crang and M.J. Strickland. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012, 133-157.

Quiller-Couch, A. *The Oxford Book of Ballads*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910.

Raimes, A.L. 'Shortflatt Tower and Its Owners.' *Archaeologia Aeliana* 4, vol. 32 (1954): 126-159.

Raine, J. *The History and Antiquities of North Durham as Subdivided Into the Shires of Norham, Island and Bedlington.* Durham: John Bowyer Nichols and son, 1852. (Islandshire accounts).

Reed, J. 'The ballads and the source: some literary reflections on The Battle of Otterburn' in: *War and border societies in the middle ages.* London: Routledge, 1992, 94-123.

Reid, R. R. 'The Office of Warden of the Marches; Its Origin and Early History.' *The English Historical Review* Vol. 32, No. 128 (Oct., 1917): 479-496.

Rickard, J. *The Castle Community: The Personnel of English and Welsh Castles, 1272-1422.* Woodbridge: The Boydwell Press, 2002.

David Rollason, ed, The Battle of Neville's Cross, 1346. Stamford: The North-East England History Institute, 1998.

Rose, A. Kings in the North: The House of Percy in British History. London: Orion Publishing Group, 2002.

Rogers, C. War Cruel and Sharp: English Strategy Under Edward III. London: Boydwell Press, 2000.

Rogers, C.J. 'The Invasion of 1346', in *Northern History*, Vol. 34 (1998) 51-82.

Rogers, C. 'Three new accounts of the Nevilles Cross campaign'' *Northern History* vol. 34 (1998) 70-82.

Ryder, P. 'Fortified Medieval and Sub-Medieval buildings in the North-East of England.' In *Medieval Rural Settlement in North-East England*, edited by B.E. Vyner, 127-139. Durham: Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland, 1990.

Ryder, P. 'The Gatehouse at Morpeth Castle, Northumberland,' *AA*, vol. 20, Series 5 (1992), 63-77, (1992).

Ryder, P. *The Two Towers Of Hexham,* Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1994.

Safford, E.W. 'Itinerary of Edward I, Part II 1291-1307', *List & Index Society*, v.132 (1976).

Safford, E.W. 'Itinerary of Edward III and his household, 1327-1345', *List & Index Society*, v.318 (2007).

Sadler, J. *Border Fury: England and Scotland at War 1296-1568*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2005.

Sanders, I.J. *English Baronies: A Study of their Origin and Descent*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960.

Salter, M. *The Castles and Tower Houses of Northumberland*. Malver: Folly Publications, 1997.

Saul, N. *Richard II.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.

Saunders, A. *Norham Castle, Northumberland.* London: English Heritage, 2001.

Shrimpton, C and Baxter, C. *Alnwick Castle: Where History Lives.* Peterborough: Jarrold Publishing.

Stocker, D. 'The Shadow of the General's Armchair,' The Archaeological Journal, vol. 149 (1992): 415-420.

Stones, E.L.G. 'The Appeal to History in Anglo-Scottish Relations Between 1291 and 1401: Part I.' *Archives* 9 (April 1969).

Stones, E.L.G. 'The Appeal to History in Anglo-Scottish Relations Between 1291 and 1401: Part II.' *Archives* 9 (October 1969).

Storey, R.L. 'The Wardens of the Marches of England towards Scotland, 1377-1489,' *The English Historical Review* v72, No. 285 (Oct., 1957), 593-615.

Stringer, K. 'States, liberties and communities in medieval Britain and Ireland (c.1100-1400).' in *Liberties and Identities in the Medieval British Isles,* edited by Michael Prestwich, 5-36. Woodbridge: Boydwell Press, 2008.

Summerson, H. *Carlisle Castle.* London: English Heritage, 2008.

Summerson, H. *Aydon Castle: Northumberland.* London: English Heritage, 2004.

Summerson, H. *Medieval Carlisle :the city and the borders from the late eleventh to the mid-sixteenth century.* Kendal: Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 1993.

Summerson, H. 'Peacekeepers and lawbreakers in Medieval Northumberland 1200-1500.' in *Liberties and Identities in the Medieval British Isles,* edited by Michael Prestwich, 56-76. Woodbridge: Boydwell Press, 2008.

Sweetman, D. 2000. Medieval Castles of Ireland. Cork: Collins Press, 2005.

Thompson, M.W. *The Decline of the Castle.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1987.

Thompson, M.W. *The Rise of the Castle.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1991.

Thompson, M.W. 'The Military Interpretation of Castles.' The Archaeological Journal, vol. 151 (1994): 439-445.

Thompson, A. Hamilton. *Lindisfarne Priory: Handbook*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office:1986.

Tough, D. *The Last Years of a Frontier.* London: Sandhill, 1987.

J.A. Tuck 'Richard II and the Border Magnates' in *Northern History* vol. 3 (1968), 27-52.

Tuck, A. 'The Percies and the Community of Northumberland in the Later Fourteenth Century.' In War and Border Societies in the Middle Ages, edited by Tony Goodman & Anthony Tuck, 178-195. London: Routledge, 1992.

Tuck, J.A., 'The Emergence of a Northern Nobility, 1250–1400.' Northern History 22, no. 1(1986): 10.

Turner, D.J. 'Bodiam, Sussex: True Castle or an Old Soldier's Dream House?' in W.M. Ormrod (ed.) *England in the Fourteenth Century*. Woodbridge, 1986, 267-77.

Vyner, B.E. *Medieval rural settlement in North-East England.* Durham: Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland, 1990.

Walter, F. 'The Heton-Fenwick-Denton Line of Descent.' *Archaeologia Aeliana* 3, vol. 14 (1917): 173-190.

Wakefield, H [Sir]. *Chillingham Castle Guidebook.* Pamphlet only available on-site.

Watts, S.J. and Watts, S.J. *From Border to Middle Shire Northumberland 1586-1625.* Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1975.

Weaver, O.J. 'Aydon Castle,' *Archaeological Journal* 5 vol. 133, (1976): 193-5.

West, Susie. *Prudhoe Castle.* London: English Heritage, 2006.

White, R. *Belsay Castle, Hall and Gardens.* Holburn: English Heritage, 2005.

Wilson, J. 'Authorship of the Chronicle of Lanercost.' *The Scottish Historical Review 10*, No. 38 (Jan., 1913): 138-155.

Young, C. *The Making of the Neville Family 1166-1400*. Woodbridge: The Boydwell Press, 1996.