A VANISHED CASTLE

AN ATTEMPT TO RECONSTRUCT THE CASTLE OF SOUTHAMPTON FROM OBSERVATION, ANALOGY AND DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE.

By PERCY G. STONE, F.S.A.

N.B.—Much of what is put forward in this little brochure must of necessity be the result of conjecture based on the study of analogous examples. Most existing stone Keeps are no earlier than the reign of Henry the Second.

11th Century.

LONG before ever Duke William set foot on Pevensey Beach we know from documentary evidence that Southampton grouped round its mother church of Saint Mary was a flourishing borough and seaport, minting its money and administering its laws.[1] On the arrival of the Normans, somewhere about the Christmastide of 1066, the high ground on the gravel spit between the two rivers naturally appealed to the military instinct of the newcomers as the most favourable site for their entrenched camp, dominating as it did the Saxon burh and the approach up the Water. Tracing out a defensive enceinte, containing some three acres, with a ditch and palisade having its western boundary resting on the estuary of the Test, they raised in the south-east angle the usual mound [2] or motte of the period, its base surrounded by a deep ditch and its summit crowned by a timber [3] fort within a stockade. (Fig. 1 a.) Such was the first Castle of Southampton so far as we can conjecture from analogy.

1. Hamtun Scire is mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* under the year 755. Æthelwulf of Wessex in 840 dates from the royal vill of Hamtune, and in 962 the dues of Suthhamtune were bestowed by King Eadgar on the Monastery of Abingdon.

2. The diameter of the mound is said to have been some 200 feet, but the regrettable levelling of 1822 destroyed all evidence so we have little to go on beyond the analogous example of Carisbrooke, of about the same diameter. The Castle height of this latter measured by Captain Markland, the Custodian in 1894, from the bottom of the ditch was found to be 58 feet, so we may take it the Southampton mound cannot have been much less.

3. Timber, generally used in early defence, it must be remembered was abundant in the vicinity, whereas stone was practically unobtainable and had later to be brought for Walkelin's Cathedral Church at Winchester mostly from Binstead in the Isle of Wight, under grant from the Conqueror and his son Rufus.

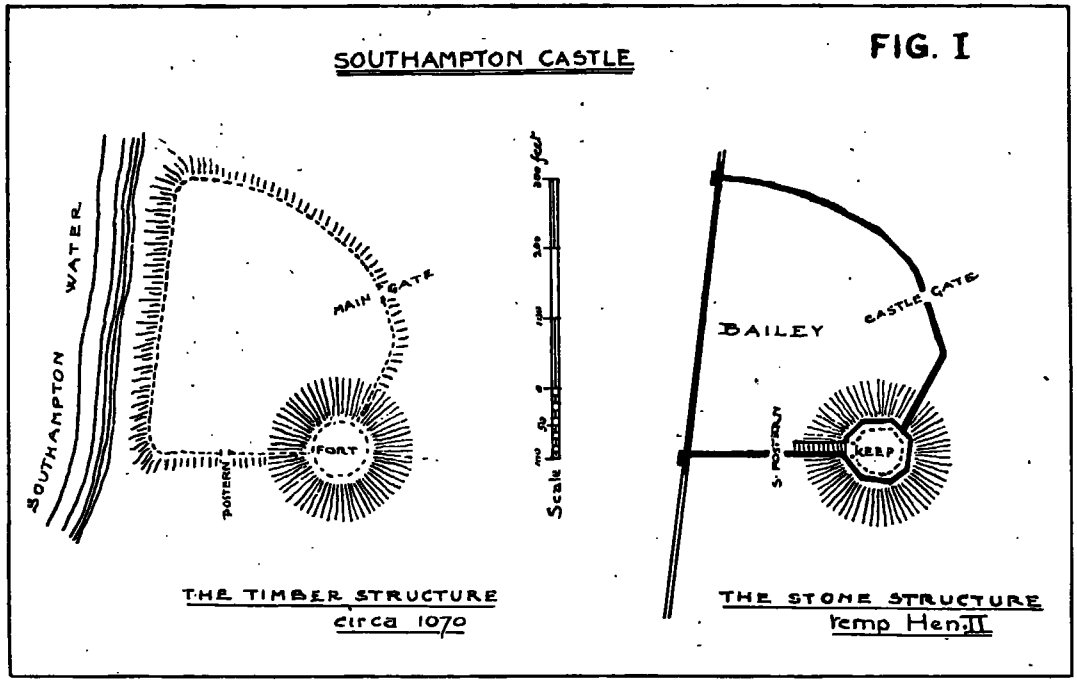


Fig. Ia. Fig. Ib.

THE CASTLE OF THE 11TH AND 12TH CENTURIES.

Its appearance may be judged from that of the Motte Castle of Dol, Rennes (Fig. II), and Bayeux, shewn in the well-known tapestry. At first all defences, enceinte stockade and tower were

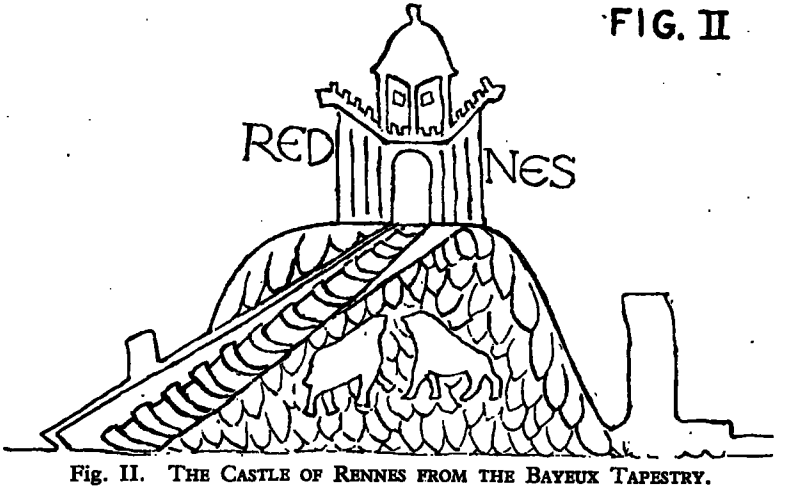


Fig. II. THE CASTLE OF RENNES FROM THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY.

of timber, and such they must have remained until their conversion to stone in the middle of the 12th century. Anyhow it was a recognised castle in the reign of Stephen and presumably the scene of the surrender of Earl Baldwin de Redvers in 1136, while by 1153 it must have been fairly complete as it formed one of the "strong places" mentioned in the agreement of that year between Stephen and Henry as to the succession.[4]

12th Century.

Though by the reign of Henry II the bailey timber enceinte would have been replaced by stone (Fig. 1 b), and presumably the mound stockade also, it is probable that the enclosed fort, or tower as it was later termed, still remained in its original material, for wooden defence in many cases continued to a much later period. Shrewsbury still had its timber Keep in the reign of Edward I, while the Old Bailey wall at York remained of that material in the reign of his grandson.

4. By this agreement the Bishop of Winchester, Stephen's brother, Henry of Blois, was to become surety for the delivery of the Castle (munitio) of Southampton and the Castle (Castrum) of Winchester to Prince Henry on Stephen's decease. The differentiation of terms should be noted, the one referring to the stronghold of a provincial town, the other to the Castle of an important city containing a royal residence. Most of the Norman work remaining in Southampton is of that period.

A contemporary description of the Castle of Merchem, near Dixmude, which singularly corroborates those shewn in the Bayeux tapestry, gives us some idea of our vanished Castle about the time of Henry I.

This account by John de Collemedio, the biographer of John Bishop of Terouenne who died in 1130, runs as follows in translation: "It is the custom of the nobles of that region, in order to defend themselves from their enemies, to make a hill of earth as high as they can and encircle it with a ditch as broad and deep as possible. They surround the upper edge of this hill with a very strong wall of hewn logs. Inside this wall they plant their house or keep (arcem) which overlooks the whole thing. The entrance of this fortress is only by a bridge which rises from the counterscarp of the ditch supported on double or even triple columns till it reaches the upper edge of the motte (agger)."

For the apartments in the Keep itself we have a fairly reliable guide in the description given by Mrs. Armitage of the Castle of Ardres, built about 1117 in timber.[5] This, built entirely of wood on an earthen motte, contained on the ground floor, cellars, granaries and stores, with above living rooms, larders and offices, as well as a great-chamber for the lord's use. On the second stage were the sleeping rooms, while high up on the east side was a chapel. As a type of a period these motte castles must have been more or less alike, so we may take Ardres as a fair example.

In considering the early appearance of Southampton the analogy of Carisbrooke, the nearest example of a motte castle, cannot be overlooked. Both had about the same diameter of mound (200 feet) and both were raised about the same date. At the time of Domesday, Carisbrooke had a hall[6] as well as a chapel, and must have been converted from wood to stone about the same time, 1130, as we learn from the *Gesta Stephani* that previous to making his peace with Stephen, Baldwin de Redvers had retired to his Castle of Carisbrooke, a castle "stately built of hewn stone" according to the chronicler.

In the history and reconstruction of our vanished castle one has to rely almost entirely on the documentary evidence contained in the Rolls Series preserved in the Public Record Office. Taking the earliest extant, that of the pipe which begin 1130-1, we find that Henry began early to see to his new possession, as in the second year of his reign, 1156, repairs started on the castle at a cost of £7, to be increased the following year to £10. 6*s*. 11*d*.,[7] which included

5. *Early Norman Castles*, Armitage, pp. 88-90. The Castle of Dinan of the Tapestry is somewhat analogous to Merchem.

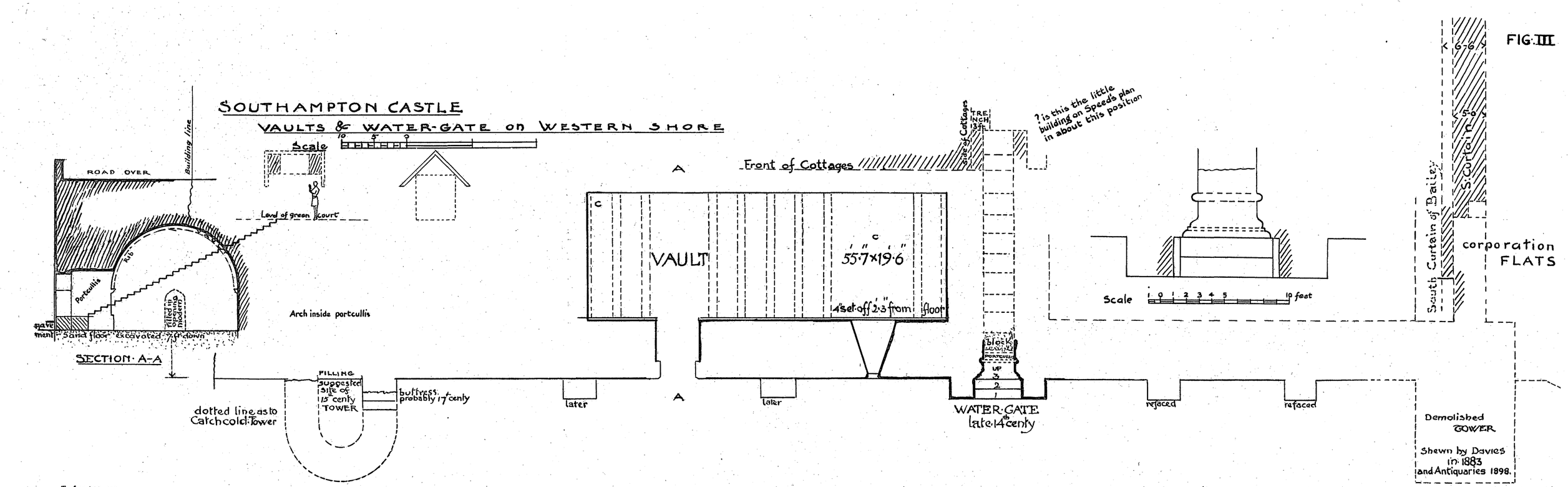
6. The aula regalis in which Odo of Bayeux was arrested by the Conqueror in 1082.

7. To give an idea of the present value these sums should be multiplied by about thirty to forty.

FIG. III

SOUTHAMPTON CASTLE

VAULTS & WATER-GATE on WESTERN SHORE



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work on the chapel and the keep and bailey bridges. In the years 1155-9 first appear the salaries of three officials, the Chaplain, the Porter and the Watchman, sometimes entered under one head and so evidently reckoned as part of the permanent staff, noted again in 1170-1. In 1161 the military side was attended to when the shire reeve, Richard, son of Turstin, was charged with payment to Milo of Hamton of the sum of £7. 6*s*. 8*d*. to be expended on fortification work, while the following year further repairs cost more than double that amount. A well is mentioned in 1171-2, and the work on it may have consisted in a deepening after the experience of Baldwin de Redvers in 1136 when the failure of the Carisbrooke well compelled the surrender of the Castle.

From the Roll of 1173-4 we learn that our Castle was garrisoned by five Knights engaged in the transmission of money and munitions to Henry, then engaged in the French war. Ten years later we get work on the gaol, which may have been moved from the mound to the Base Court, at the somewhat high cost, for those days, of £24, while about the same time the Keep chambers were evidently put in order.[8] The final work of the century amounting to the large sum of £133. 4*s*. 0*d*. was done to the Quay before the Castle Watergate during the constableship of William Brewer,[9] 1192-5.

Reviewing the state of the Castle as regards the 12th century, the period of its translation from wood to stone, we get from documentary and still existing evidence the incontestable fact that this change took place about the reign of Stephen or Henry II, the period to which most of the existing Norman work in Southampton may be assigned. The wooden Keep now guarded by a stone curtain from fire and axe may, as at Shrewsbury, have remained of timber up to the dawn of the 14th century.

In fact, as what remains of it testifies,[10] the whole palisaded defence had now given place to a stone curtain raised, anyhow as to the north and south faces (Fig. VI), on an arcaded substructure 6ft. 6ins. wide, battering back to 4ft. above ground. The vaulted chambers within the west curtain with the Quay in front of them must have been constructed, the one for landing the other for storing goods, for we have it from the evidence of the Pipe Rolls that wine and flour were unloaded there in 1156 and stores and money transported thence in 1173-4. Anyhow this Quay, jutting out into the tideway, exposed to westerly storms and reared on a

8. . . . et in reparandis domibus in Turre de Hantone VIIi et XIId. (Rot. Pip. 1189-90.)

9. or Briewere, presumably founder of Mottisfont Priory, who in 1180 was appointed Keeper of Bere Forest with power of arrest between the bars of Hampton and the gates of Winchester. A man of some importance.

10. The west curtain with its vaulted chambers, the arcaded north and south walls and the carved corbels in the vault by the shore ; all of indubitable late Norman work.

sandy foundation, needed repair as early as 1214. Whether an earlier Water Gate exists behind the late 14th century one disclosed in 1887 can only be ascertained by unblocking its entrance.[11] Originally there must have been direct communication between this gate and the Castle, presumably by a stepped passage to the bailey above. Otherwise the only access to the Castle from the Quay would have been *via* Biddlesgate—whose existence I doubt at that early date—the distant Blue Anchor postern or haulage up the face of the curtain. North and south of the Watergate there were vaulted chambers, the former of which still exists in a fairly intact state, owing probably to its having for many years been blocked up. It is 55ft. 7ins. long, 19ft. 6ins. wide and 16ft. from the present floor to the crown of its barrel vault. By the signs on the soffit, which still exhibits the marks of the 12th century boarding (see Fig. IV), this vault was crossed by ten stone ribs 12ins. wide, springing from sixteen late Norman corbels, some of which still remain *in situ* (see Fig. V). Sometime between 1845 and 1878 these ribs, not being keyed to the vault and probably owing to the vibration of building operations above, fell to ruin; as at the former date they were described by a visitor as intact while by the latter date their remains littered the floor.[12] The Reverend F. Kell, F.S.A., who was one of the first of the knowledgeable moderns to see this vault, visited it with the British Archaeological Association in 1853, and twelve years later published an account of it in a description of Southampton Antiquities contributed to the *Journal* Vol. XXI. He seems to have given the right dimensions of the vault all but the height—making this 25ft. instead of 16ft., an error followed later by others. He mentions the original entrance, 6ft. 6ins. wide, as at that time blocked with masonry, with its sill on a level with high-water mark, and also refers to the fact that "an entrance from above is lately closed," so I take it that at this period it was the only way in, traces of which are still visible in the south-east angle. The suggestion of an opening in the north wall proved on investigation to be a modern attempt to discover a further chamber and to confirm the opinion that this cross wall was only revetted work, not bonded in. To settle definitely the question of height the floor has been opened to a depth of seven feet and found to be entirely composed of virgin sand[13] forming the underlay of a

11. Probably blocked by Major Murford, Town Commandant under the Parliament in 1650, recognising this open way as a weak point in his defence. Anyhow he commandeered stone from Peter Gollop in that year for the strengthening of the walls and the Castle had to furnish it.

12. Appendix "D."

13. This deep sand layer probably accounts for the continual damage done to the walls by the wash of the tide and their need of constant repair.

At the time of the existence of the Castle Quay—the floor of the vault being as now—the Quay itself must have been at least 3 feet above high water which infers that in the 12th century the bed of the "Water" must have been considerably lower.

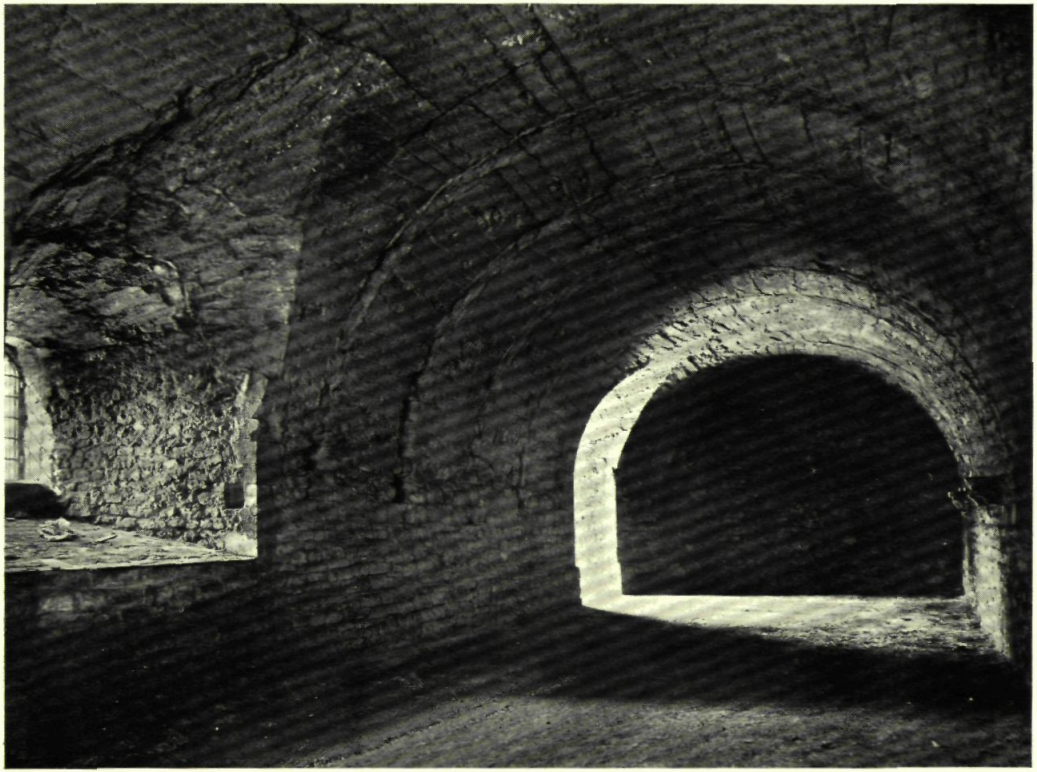

Fig. IV. THE NORTH VAULT ON THE WESTERN SHORE.

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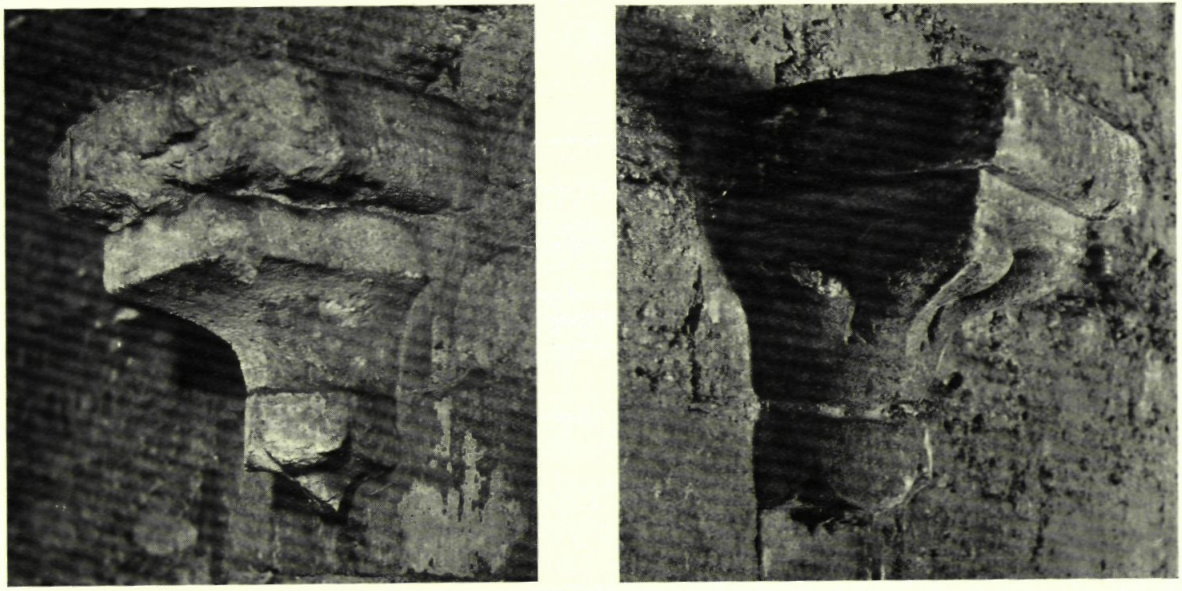


Fig. V. Corbels in North Vault.

Fig. VI. Exterior of Remains of North Curtain to Bailey.

stone floor, probably used for material elsewhere when the walling-up of the door rendered the vault useless. The only light to this vault was through a narrow round-headed loop to the south of the present entrance, which took the place of the original Norman door when that was unblocked about 1890. The curtain wall is here 9ft. thick with a 4in. set-off inside 2ft. 3ins. from the floor.

The southern chamber was apparently somewhat shorter than the northern, but reached well nigh to the rectangular tower[14] closing the junction of the bailey south and west curtains and the

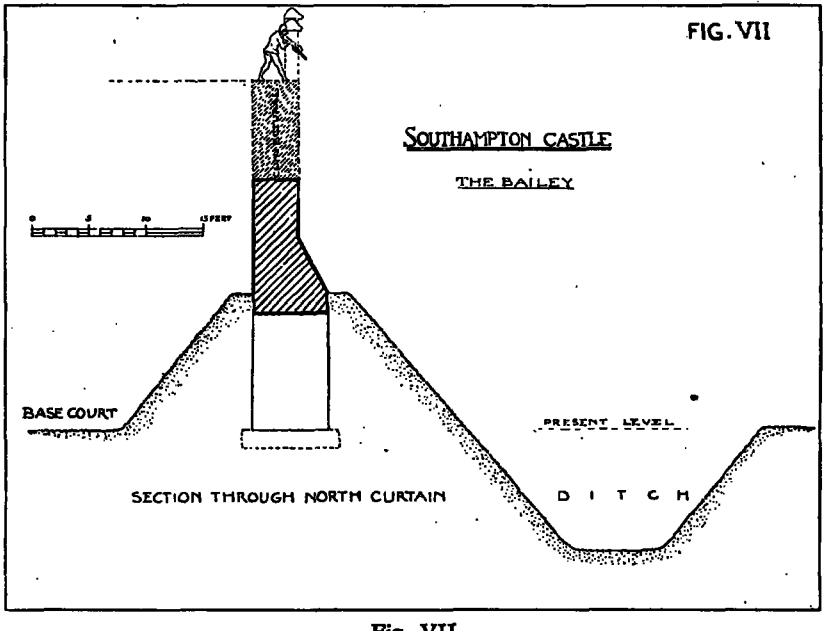


Fig. VII.

wall of the later spur-work covering Biddles Gate, dismantled about the same time as the South Gate. This vault, which evidently had some connection with a dwelling in the angle against the curtain, was on the testimony of the mason who destroyed it at the end of the 18th century—quoted by Sir Henry Englefield in his *Walks Round Southampton*, 1801—" of considerable size and height, its vault crossed with moulded ribs, was lighted by openings through the curtain wall and had much the appearance of a place

14. I remember it a shattered block in 1890, much as is shewn on the 1898 plan of the ancient defences compiled by Sir W. St. John Hope. The spur work with its interesting 14th—15th century central closing tower was destroyed in 1898-9 to widen the western shore road.

or worship."[15] Sir Henry ends his account : "the ribs and all the convertible stones were taken away and the vault closed up, and so it at present remains," which statement precludes all possibility of its ever being exposed to view. Until the recent refacing of the curtain wall at this point traces of round-headed windows were visible, two above and two below the horizontal wall string, the latter being similar to the existing loop in the north vault, which rather points to an under croft with a solar above. To sum up, the records of the 12th century give us a Castle with a mounded Keep containing various chambers, a bailey, or base court, enclosed by a stone curtain pierced by two gates ; two bridges respectively crossing the Keep and bailey ditches ; a Chapel, a Gaol and a Well.

13th Century.

Of existing 13th century work in Southampton there is little to shew beyond the West Gate, the principal entrance for sea borne merchandise into the town, as in contradistinction to the Government stores discharged at the Castle Quay.

By the western shore passed the bulk of the wine trade with Bordeaux, the extent of which may be judged from the fact that in 1272 over three thousand tuns were landed at these two quays.

For the Castle the century opened with the sinking of a new well in the base court, maybe the one disclosed by the building operations in the north-west angle of the bailey about 1860, while under the supervision of Walter Foran and Robert Hardwine some twenty-five pounds was expended on the carriage of timber to the Castle for the construction of "the King's houses."[16] Five years later came repair to the roof of the King's Hall, erected probably like that at Carisbrooke in the previous century, for which William Brewer supplied the Constable with twenty rafters (chevrons) out of "Knuteswude"[17] according to the Pipe Roll of 1207.

15. Dr. Speed refers to it earlier as in a garden adjoining the town and "having much the air of a chapel."

16. The term house (domus) does not carry its modern meaning but was applied to any building however insignificant and even to a single chamber. "Kings houses" were seldom, as popularly supposed, royal residences, but merely buildings belonging to the Crown and forming part of its revenue and I take it affording accommodation for its officials. The King had many such in Winchester but when in residence would have taken up his quarters at the Castle. The so-called palaces of Canute and John in Southampton were 12th century merchants' houses and the latter may possibly be located as the "Jews House" mentioned in the Chartulary of Godshouse *re* a lease to Thomas atte Marche of a house at West Quay (Westhuthe) towards the Castle, which formerly belonged to Hugo Sampson, "situated between the Jews House and that of John Twyg."

17. Probably a wood in the Forest of Bere of which William Brewer was the Keeper.

Then follows the putting in order of the Castle Quay, evidently damaged by the tide-wash which swept the face of the western defence, and to safeguard the Castle landing stage and the cellars behind it continual quay repairs went on till 1222. Among these items the bailiffs were in 1214 directed " to repair the quay of the Castle," and the next year see to " our cellar of our Castle and likewise the quay of the same Castle," while in 1218 the Sheriff himself was bidden to put in order the " Cellar of our Castle for the storing of our prisage wines."[18] This prisage cellar indubitably refers to the north vaulted chamber, which I compute would about hold the one hundred and twenty tons specified in the contemporary Roll as its contents capacity. Moreover the decorative character of its roof rib corbels somewhat mark its special purpose. Meanwhile matters were apparently urgent, and in the November of 1222 the bailiffs were reminded to see to the Quay the coming winter, " lest any damage occurs to our houses at Southampton." At a future and more propitious season they were to carry out the work more thoroughly, which does not seem to have occurred till four years later when Royal Letters were issued directing " repairs upon our houses at Southampton and on the quay there," the matter to be so efficiently handled " that no loss occur to us on account of our houses through neglect of such repairs."[19]

The construction of the " King's Houses " within the bailey in the year 1224 brought the appointment of Walter de Karron as their " Keeper " at a salary of twopence a day. It was in these " houses of the Castle of our lord the King at Southampton " that the final agreement—the *finalis concordia* entered in the Liber Niger among the Corporation muniments—between the burgesses and Nicholas Shirley was, on the Vigil of Pentecost 1228, signed before the Justices Itinerant and " the residents in the aforesaid

18. Out of every shipload of twenty tons or over the King claimed two tuns at his price of 20s. a tun—one taken before, the other abaft the mast.

19. This incessant repair was due to the drift of the tide, with the wind behind it, up and down the water, forming a danger to the whole of the Western Curtain. Shingle on underlying clay and superimposed sandy silt was not an ideal foundation and the walls needed constant attention, as witness the entry in the Corporation Records of 1511 of " repair of the Town walls inundated by the sea." From the Journal of 1553 we find that it was an ancient custom for lighter-men to cross yearly to the Isle of Wight and procure chalk from the Needles and " Sandye Bay " to ram in between the timber piling—for which " a grove of wood " was purchased off the Abbot of Netley in 1469. This service apparently was liquidated by beer—a barrel for every lighter of 20 tons and a firkin under that tonnage. Even the service by which the Hythe boatmen plied their passage was the delivery of a boat load of stone laid against the walls every half year. In default of this a payment of fourpence was claimed every time they landed goods or passengers.

By the 16th century the Castle Quay had either fallen into disuse or been washed away, as it does not appear on Speed's Map of 1596.

houses . . . and many others then present," which clearly establishes their existence at this period.

The following year, 1229, the Chapel, the houses and their gutters needed repair,[20] and by the middle of the century considerable dilapidation must have arisen to have enabled the townspeople to remove timber, lead and stone from the Castle, as they did in 1246. For this pilfering and their arrear of dues they were fined the considerable sum of two hundred and seventy marks. Such reprehensible proceeding on the part of the townsfolk might well apply to a decayed wooden Keep and an unsound stone " shell " leaning to settlement, and forty years later matters had gone from bad to worse, as the writ issued in 1286 states the Castle to be " in ruins."[21] Anyhow material could hardly have been removed from sound work.

In the last year of the century Edward I, on his second marriage with Margaret of France, endowed his bride with, among other properties, the Castle of Southampton, which had it been in a state of general ruin would hardly have formed a suitable wedding gift for a Queen of England, so we may conclude the dilapidation only referred to the mounded Keep, a feature out of date by the 14th century and therefore of little military value except as a look-out.

Weaving together the scanty threads gathered from the documentary sources of the 13th century, we find record of a Royal Hall and various official buildings in the base court—including, one may surmise, barracks, stables and store houses for the use of a now regular garrison—a constant renewal of the Castle Quay, and the indubitable decay of the Keep. The latter may consistently be attributed to an undermining of the " shell " by the action of the rains sweeping over so exposed a situation which might possibly have been avoided had the construction of the motte proceeded on the scientific lines of that at Carisbrooke.[22]

20. Et in reparatione Capelle Regis de Suhanton et domorum Regis ibidem et gutterarum earundem . . . LXIIIs. VI*d*. (Rot. Pip. 140, Hen. III.) Five years before, in 1224, a writ had been issued for repairs to the "King's Chamber."

21. The medieval term would perhaps be better rendered " dilapidated." Timber and lead point to a wooden tower. Stone to a curtain wall. The Keep was always termed the " Castle " in contradistinction to the later building in the bailey.

22. In Captain Markland's paper on Carisbrooke Keep, contributed to Hampshire Field Club *Proceedings* in 1894, there is an illustration of the sectional heading he cut into the mound. This is shewn to consist of layers of loose and rammed chalk bound together by bands of flints and stone, a construction that would to a great extent resist the penetration of weather and so obviate settlement. At Southampton these materials were not readily available and the surface soil alone had to be relied on—soil dug from the surrounding ditches. Even at Carisbrooke the wall shews signs of later repair.

In fact, so far as our Castle is concerned, this period seems to have been one of decay, of which the Letters Patent of 1246 and 1286 had given ominous warning.

14th Century.

At the opening of the 14th century friction with France, continually provoked by the English pretensions to Aquitaine, drew to a head with a declaration of war on the part of Philip de Valois in 1339 and the despatch oversea of Nicholas Béhuchet—the King's Treasurer and a noted seaman—in the March of that year in command of a force that plundered and burnt Portsmouth. Six months later a still stronger force of some ten thousand men under Hugh Quiéret, Admiral of France, Béhuchet, and Barbanera, a corsair of Ponto Venere in command of the auxiliary Genoese cross-bowmen, was launched across Channel, having this time for its objective the town of Southampton. This raiding expedition, landing on the beach of the "Gravel" below the West Gate, somewhat easily broke through the weak section of defence fronting it, and finally sacked and burnt the town, and so departed on the ebb to reassemble and share the booty at Dieppe—incidentally capturing on the way the great ship *Christopher* lying off Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight, though the chronicler Murimuth records this took place on the Feast of St. Michael, five days previous to the raid. There is no record of their having done any damage to the Castle, which probably formed a refuge and rallying point for the discomfited townsfolk and on which their assailants, mainly intent on plunder and arson, did not trouble to waste their time and energy.

The young King was furious. Overseas in Brabant engaged on his own affairs he could do nothing beyond ordering a Court of Enquiry, which adjudged that the local forces "had basely fled with the men of the said town in sight of the enemy," and accordingly laid a heavy fine on the burgesses from which it took them some time to recover. Meanwhile one Stephen de Bitterle was instructed to see to the making good of the breach in the wall without delay. Despite the Court's finding and the slackness of the local watch and ward we have to realise that the odds were against the good folk of Southampton. The raiding force was a large one composed of trained veterans, its leaders men of tried experience, and its commander the High Admiral of France. Against such, local forces must have had a poor chance of success. Edward's riposte was Sluys.[23]

A responsible Defence Committee, consisting of the aforesaid Stephen, Edmund de la Beche (the King's Clerk) and Richard de

23. Appendix "A."

Poole, was now formed to look to the situation, and the Prior of the Knights Hospitallers in England, who owned property in the town, was bidden to send thirty men-at-arms to be held in readiness against further attack. Finally Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, was appointed Constable of the Castle with supreme command of all levies. From now on this Defence Committee was kept busy and the unfortunate burgesses taxed so heavily that by 1376 the strain on their resources had become unbearable and they petitioned the King to take the matter into his own hands and remit the fee farm for two years plus the thousand pounds they had already expended on fortification works.

Meanwhile the war was beginning to turn against the English, besides draining the Treasury, until finally death brought Edward's reign to an inglorious end and his grandson, Richard of Bordeaux, a lad of eleven, was crowned at Westminster. The spirits of the French raised by success, rumours of descent again became rife, and the City Fathers were ordered once more to look to their defences and compel the necessary contributions thereto.

Threatened by invasion in the spring of 1378, the Castle defences under the direction of the new and capable Governor, Sir John Arundel, were taken in hand. By now apparently the early Keep had disappeared and the Norman motte, under its later denomination of "Old Castle Hill," had become a derelict waste on which Sir John promptly settled as a building site for the "King's New Tower." Whether intended as a nucleus of last resort or merely as a comprehensive "lookout"[24] must be a matter of conjecture. Such isolated donjons were getting out of date in the 14th century. This Tower, described in the instructions issued in April 1378 to the overseers Henry Mansfield, John Pypering and Richard May (the Bailiff), was to be of squared stone, to have two gates guarded by portcullises and a mantelet round it with a barbican, also in stone.[25] The patent of next year[26] extended the work, as by it the tower was to have an additional gate and portcullis, probably in the barbican, four turrets and a bridge, the last, I take it, across the ditch at the bottom of the steps up the mound. The instructions are clear but their terms are rather puzzling, as a mantelet in its

24. For which it was used in 1521 when, in the directions to the watch, four of them in their round were bidden "oft times to walk up to the Castle Hill and there to have a good prospect of the sea and every quarter of the town to guard against fire and surprise." *Boke of Remembrances.* Among the Municipal MSS.

25. Super quendam montem vocatum old Castell hill quandam Turrim de petra et calce et duas portas in eadem Turre et unum mantelettum cum quodam barbicano de petra et calce circa dictam turrim. (Pat. 1, Ric. II, pt. 6, m. 7.) See Appendix "B."

26. Pat. R 2, Ric. II, pt. 11, m. 42. 27 January, 1379.

general application and as defined by Maigne D'Arnis is a moveable wooden shield to guard attackers from the besieged and the term barbican, in this instance, must apply to the usual Keep forebuilding. Here the mantelet implies a protecting wall in the nature of a chemise and the four turrets of the second Patent refer to corbelled bartizans for observation, similar probably to those surmounting the Keep at Helmsly, Yorks, which is of this period.

The work was evidently urgent as it was to be put in hand without delay and pushed to completion. Extra labour was to be commandeered from the home counties, even as far afield as Somerset, and retained as long as needful at the King's Wages. Timber was to be drawn from the New Forest and all material and carriage provided by the Crown. Lastly, all disobedience to orders was to be punished by imprisonment. Under the superintendence of the King's Clerk of Works (John de Thorpe) the work must have gone with a will, as by 1380 the new Tower was practically finished and the Custody of its Gate granted. Three years later a survey of the mantelet and pavement[27] was taken by John Thorpe and William Bacon, while Thomas, Earl of Kent, the King's brother, was appointed Governor with Sir John Sondes as his deputy.

The Castle now being completed, in November 1386 John Polymond and William Bacon, two prominent burgesses, in conjunction with William Hughlot, one of the tellers of Receipt, were directed to take the muster of men-at-arms and archers at the King's wages in the Castle.

In the previous July one of those curious products of the times had appeared on the scene—part priest, part layman—one Thomas Tredyngton, appointed "to serve the King in his new Tower, both in celebrating divine service for his good estate and keeping the artillery, victual and guns therein for its garrisoning and defence; to do everything necessary for its safe custody and to control all the King's works within the Castle." For these multifarious duties this many-sided cleric was to draw the modest yearly salary of ten pounds levied on the town's wool custom, but, be it noted, the Patent is careful to add the proviso that the appointment must not be made a precedent for the Crown's having always to find so accomplished a Chaplain.

From what scanty data we possess let us now try to visualise this "New Tower" over which Thomas Tredyngton exercised so diversified a sway—a tower that for over two centuries was to hold up its head before falling to hopeless decay, to finally perish in the vandalism of the Georgian era.

27. I take it the paved court between the mantelet and the Tower as at the Chateau de la Roche Guyon on the Seine.

We know that it was raised on the deserted summit of the Norman motte and built of mortared masonry ; that it had a defensive wall, the mantelet, round it and a forebuilding, the barbican covering and guarding the entrance ; finally that it was surmounted by four turrets, which last item points to a rectangular structure.

Now the diameter of the bases of the Southampton and Carisbrooke mounds being almost identical, it naturally follows that the dimension of their summit platforms would have been much the same, *i.e.* enough in this case for tower, mantelet and barbican but certainly insufficient for an additional encircling wall such as Speed implies.[28] We may surmise that " Old Castle Hill " had been a neglected site long before Sir John Arundel selected it for his tower, as the Letters Patent of 1246 and 1286 gave ominous warnings of what to expect, and the so-called " shell " must have foundered to ruin[29] before the opening of the 14th century, thereby causing a serious breach in the continuity of the bailey defence. To close the gap and remedy matters it was, I take it, that the remodelled curtain was carried round the base of the mound, enclosing it within the general defence and being prolonged westward to form a barbican covering the Castle South Gate.

So far as was disclosed in 1887, the Castle Water Gate appears to be of this late 14th century, with its platform raised two feet above the floor of the north vault. The moulded north jamb and the portcullis groove still exist up to the springing of the covering arch. Above this the structure has been ruined by the blocking of the stairway and modern adjustments, and all indications of the portcullis chamber have entirely disappeared ; so whether a corbelled fore-defence formed part of the scheme can only be conjecture.[30] Some forty years ago the blocking between the buttresses concealing the Water Gate was removed and the Gate proved to be late 14th century, taking the place of the original one contemporary with the 12th century curtain. The start of the passage to the bailey thus exposed shewed it to be 4 feet 7 inches

28. May he not have had in his mind by his term " Wall within wall " the curved masonry defence round its foot ? Besides, were the shell still standing a mantelet would have been superfluous.

29. Norman masonry did not always possess the strength of its appearance, often consisting of rubble backing within an ashlar skin.

30. The segmental rere arch may have been inserted in the 16th century to help support the super-structure as its face aligns with the inner face of the portcullis groove so as not to interfere with the raising of the wooden frame—a useless precaution if modern.

During the Tudor period this section of the Curtain was in a bad state judging from the entry in the Court Leet Book of 1587 : " from Catchcold to Bidelsgate the walls are much decayed."

The outer arch with the bull-nose angle though patently modern may represent the start of an original corbelled fore defence.

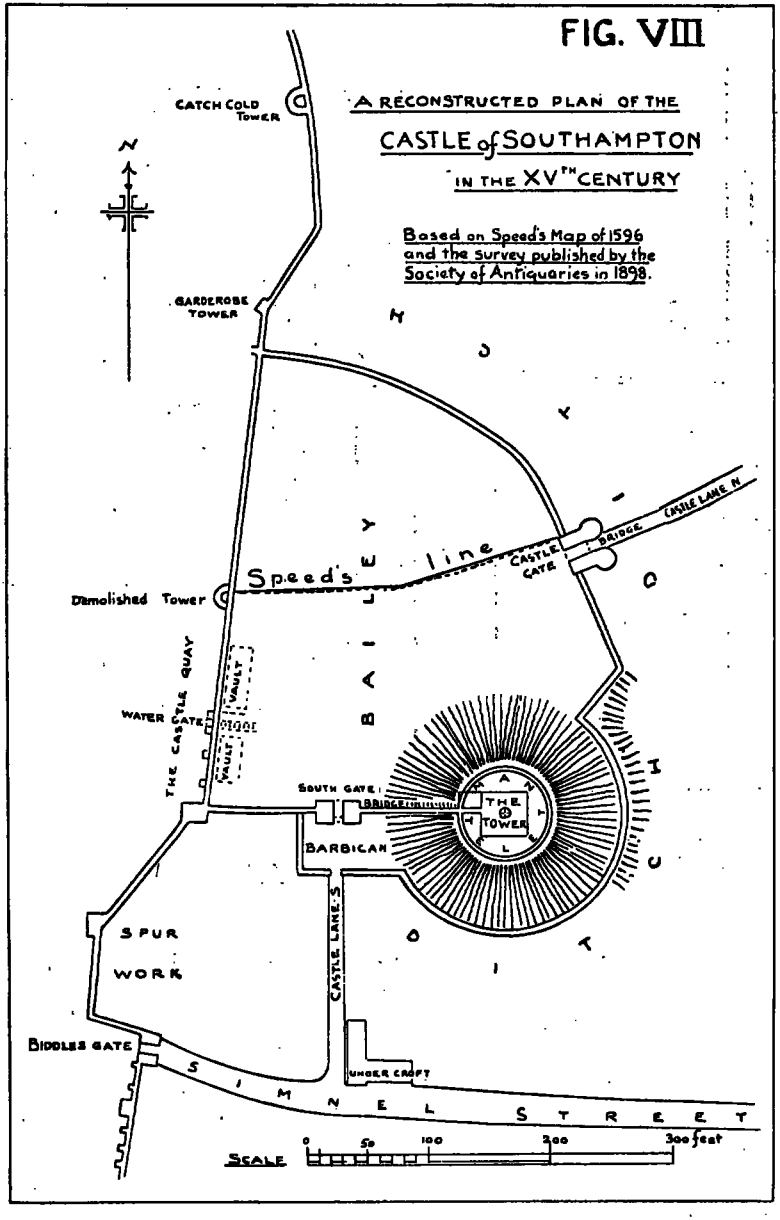


FIG. VIII
A RECONSTRUCTED PLAN OF THE
CASTLE of SOUTHAMPTON
IN THE XV^TH CENTURY
Based on Speed's Map of 1596
and the Survey published by the
Society of Antiquaries in 1898.
CATCH COLD TOWER
GARDEROBE TOWER
N
Speed's line
Demolished Tower
CASTLE GATE
BRIDGE
CASTLE LANE N
THE CASTLE QUAY
WATER GATE
VAULT
VAULT
BRIDGE
BAILEY
SOUTH GATE
BRIDGE
THE TOWER
MOAT
BARBICAN
SPUR WORK
CASTLE LANE S
BIDDLES GATE
UNDER CROFT
S I M N E L S T R E E T
SCALE
0 50 100 200 300 feet

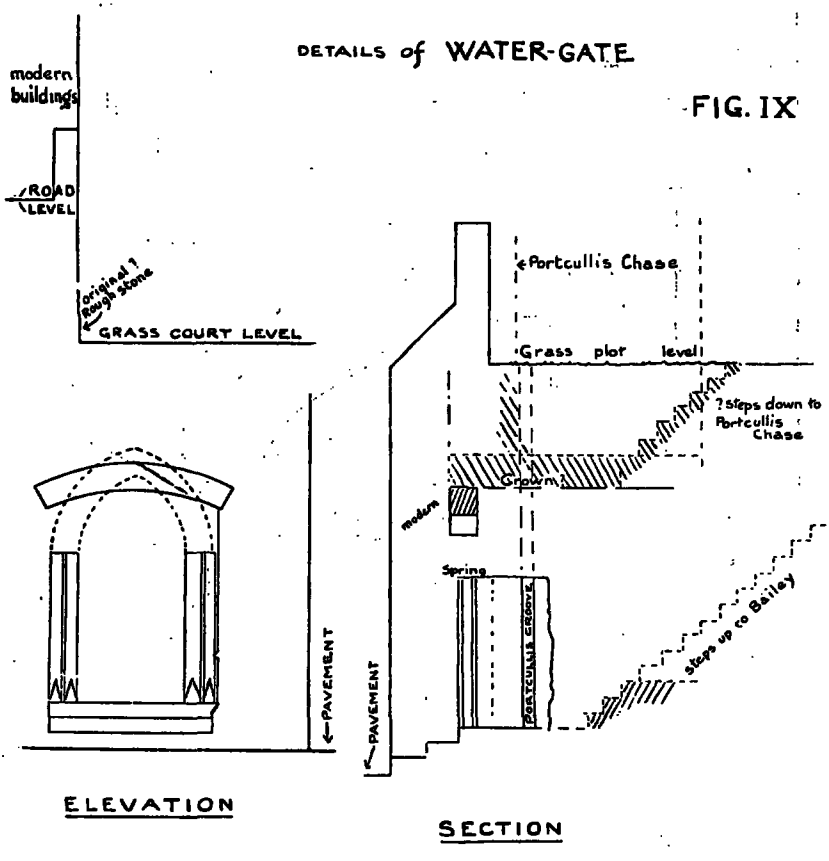


Fig. IX. Measured Detail of Water Gate.

wide, but how it progresses can only be determined by investigation, a matter of no great difficulty as there is no superstructure to support and the wing walls—5 feet 9 inches thick—would successfully resist any side pressure. As the " restored " buttresses well nigh mask the jamb mouldings it does not seem to have been borne in mind that flanking buttresses could not well have started much less than 12 inches from the outer moulding. The two outer angles appear to be original to a height of 3 to 4 feet, but all the rest has been rebuilt.

DETAILS of WATER-GATE

FIG. IX

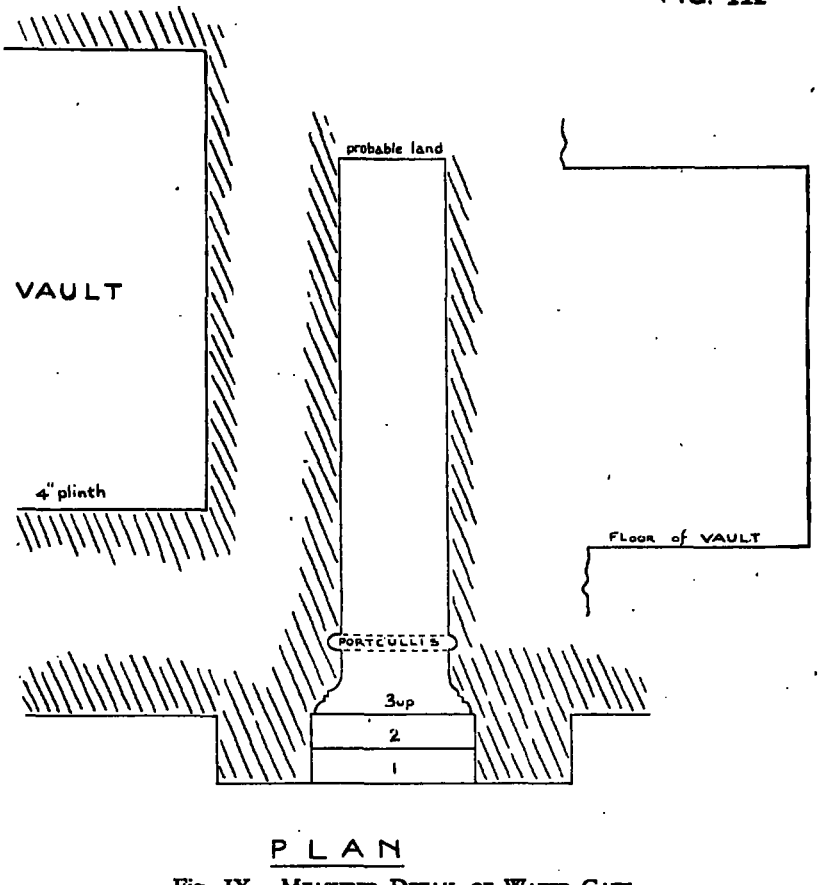


Fig. IX. MEASURED DETAIL OF WATER GATE.

The right hand jamb of the entry has practically disappeared but the left hand one is fairly intact to the spring of the arch which carefully developed gives a segmental head.

The advanced buttresses, which seem to be modern, do not bond into the wall behind them and butt within an inch of the Gate jamb mouldings. The level of the Green Court above is 15 feet 6 inches above the Water Gate platform, and to try and establish the fact of a communication between the two I obtained permission to open what appeared to be the outcrop of the north

wing wall of the passage connecting them, but found it to be occupied by the basement of a dwelling presumably demolished when the present Corporation flats were erected, whose internal plaster covered modern and medieval work alike. Though the passage-way, in our opinion, was established the steps themselves had clearly been robbed for building purposes. Owing to restrictions we could not, unfortunately, extend our researches further, but it was evident that the steps, as usual, had been merely built against the slope of the ground and not bonded in.

Incidentally our investigations led to the establishment of the bailey south wall extending about 50 feet eastward from the west curtain, and like the north wall built on arches, traces of which still remain and will, I hope, be preserved.

When exactly the original Chapel of St. George was erected in the base court we have no record, but may be in the 12th century as in 1229 it needed repair. We know its endowment was put on a sound footing by Richard II, who granted its Chaplain a fixed salary of £10 per annum. A chantry within it was founded by Edward IV to be suppressed with the rest by Edward VI in 1547, though Mass was again said at its altar during the reign of his sister Mary, as the officiating priest, Nicholas Hill, still drew his pension in 1553. This Chapel of St. George is said, on the authority of the perambulation of the Watch in 1504, to have stood in the north-west angle of the bailey.[31]

The Castle gates may have been mainly of this century as the scanty remains of the eastern or principal one exhibit the usual drum towers of the period, but both gates were destroyed about 1770, probably as useless encumbrances.[32] When the southern face of the mound was enclosed must remain conjectural, as we have no record beyond Speed's Map and its French copy of 1630 in the British Museum, but before the reconstruction after the collapse of the " shell " the line of the curtain wall went up either side of the mound and butted against the Tower defence, the southern face of the motte lying outside it. By this remodelling the eastern slope wall became superfluous and may have been the portion referred to on page 260 as pulled down in 1498 ; but the

31. By the town orders at the proposed visit of Henry VII in 1504, four Aldermen with their vintners were deputed to see the town was in good order, their wards being set accordingly. Starting from the Castle by the South Gate they were to go round the walls *via* the old Wool Bridge at the end of French Street and so by God's House Tower and the East Gate and thence to the Chapel in the Castle *via* East Street and Castle Lane. According to the Court-Leet Book of 1579 a path common to the town's people " time out of mind " led from the Chapel into Catchcold and thence to the Bargate.

32. Both must have been preceded by earlier ones contemporary with the Curtain, the eastern opening to the Town, the southern to the shore and that part of the town.

western, visible on Speed's plan as a double line, was kept as a screen to the Keep steps which must have started just inside the South Gate by way of a bridge over the ditch.

15th Century.

The accompanying reconstructed plan (Fig. VIII), mainly taken from Speed's Survey of 1596 and that by Sir William St. John Hope in 1898, in conjunction with the records of Kell and Davies (Appendix C), will give an idea of the bailey enceinte at the beginning of the 15th century. These modern accounts are the result of personal inspection by reliable observers, Kell dealing more with description, Davies with dimension.

On the accession of Henry of Lancaster he was kept too occupied with home affairs to fulfil his coronation promise of an expedition to France, though a French fleet sweeping the East Coast entered the Channel and made descents on Portland and Dartmouth. The weakness of France, however, prevented a formal declaration of war on her part, and beyond gathering an English force in May 1412 to harass the coast of Brittany as an act of retaliation and a second expedition the following year which disembarked at La Hogue, I doubt if events of this reign touched the neighbourhood of our Castle at all, which with the Honour was then held by Edward Earl of Rutland. It was left to Henry's son and successor to regain at Agincourt the English military prestige lost by Edward III in his later and decadent years and to remodel his father's Navy and lay down in Southampton yards the keels of some of its mightiest battleships;[33] to witness their construction the King must have visited the town, presumably putting up at the Castle. From Southampton in August of 1415 Henry started for Agincourt, being delayed somewhat by the well-known plot to put the Earl of March on the throne; the arrested conspirators were committed to the custody of the then Constable, Sir John Popham, to be duly executed without the Bargate.[34] A week later in the *Trinity Royal*, in company with some 1,400 ships of all classes, the King set sail for Harfleur.

33. *The Holy Ghost*, built in 1414, cost £496. *The Trinity Royal* of 540 tons built in 1416. *The Grace Dieu* of 400 tons built in 1417 at a cost of £500, and *The Gabriel*. *The Trinity Royal* and *Holy Ghost* were broken up in 1439.

34. The conspiracy was betrayed to the King by the principal actor in it—a luke warm participant—and its heads, Richard Earl of Cambridge, Lord Scrope of Masham and Sir Thomas Grey of Heaton, were arrested and next day brought before a Common Jury empanelled by the Sheriff of Hants. Grey was forthwith beheaded before the Bargate and his head sent to Newcastle-on-Tyne for display; Scrope and Cambridge pleaded their right as Peers and were tried before Thomas, Duke of Clarence, on the 5th August and condemned and beheaded the same day in the same place, Scrope's head being despatched to York to be set up.

From now on the chief interest connected with the Castle lies in the names of the Constables who held it and the Kings who visited it; from Henry V who 28th July, 1415, addressed his historical letter to his "cousin and adversary" the King of France from "nostre chastel de Hantoune au rivage de la mer," down to Queen Elizabeth who signed "at our tower of Southampton on 8th September, 1569." Notable holders of the Constableship were Edward Earl of Rutland, son of Richard of York, and Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, brother of Henry V. The latter monarch must have been at the Castle on many occasions as he made Southampton the chief port of rendezvous for his French expeditions, while his son made early acquaintance with it, paying his first visit in July 1425 as a child of four, accompanied by his guardian the Earl of Warwick, when a Royal Grant was issued in his name. It was here as a youth he welcomed his bride, Margaret of Anjou, twenty years later. Happily the disastrous War of the Roses seems not to have touched the immediate neighbourhood, beyond the passing through of the Earl of Wiltshire after his drastic treatment of Yorkist Newbury in 1460, *en route* for the Netherlands and safety. Edward IV, riding the coast from Sandwich in the first year of his reign, negotiated with Southampton its new Charter and possibly founded the Chantry within the Chapel of St. George, of which curiously enough Edward VI's Commissioners appear to have been in ignorance.[35] In April 1470 the King was again in the town after the unsuccessful Lancastrian attempt to cut out the Yorkist ship *La Trinité* lying in Southampton Water, when twenty of the raiders were captured and handed over to the tender mercies of John Tiptoft the "butcher," Earl of Worcester.[36] Henry VII in his progress through a kingdom he had little legal right to, visited Southampton in August 1486, so we naturally find as Constable of the Castle a Welshman, if ever there was one by his name, Thomas Thomas.

The last note I have is of the end of the century and states, apparently on the authority of Dr. Speed, who gives no source of origin, that "in 1498 the Castle wall was pulled down," a sweeping assertion on the face of it that hardly bears investigation as the mantelet was still sound at the time of Leland's Survey in 1540—unless it refers to some dismantling of the bailey, as suggested on page 258.

35. The date of the King's visit, 1461, coincides with that of the appointment of its Chaplain, John Pereson, but Silvester Davies gives the date of the chantry foundation as 1478, on what authority he does not state.

36. This was an attempt on the part of the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick to cut out a ship of Edward's. *V.C.H. Hants*, V. 370. Tiptoft was one of those anomalies of the Renaissance, a combination of cruelty and culture. One of the greatest scholars of the age and a friend of Caxton, by his ruthless conduct he earned the unenviable sobriquet of "Butcher"—in this case it is said to the horror and disgust of the Southampton folk.

16th Century.

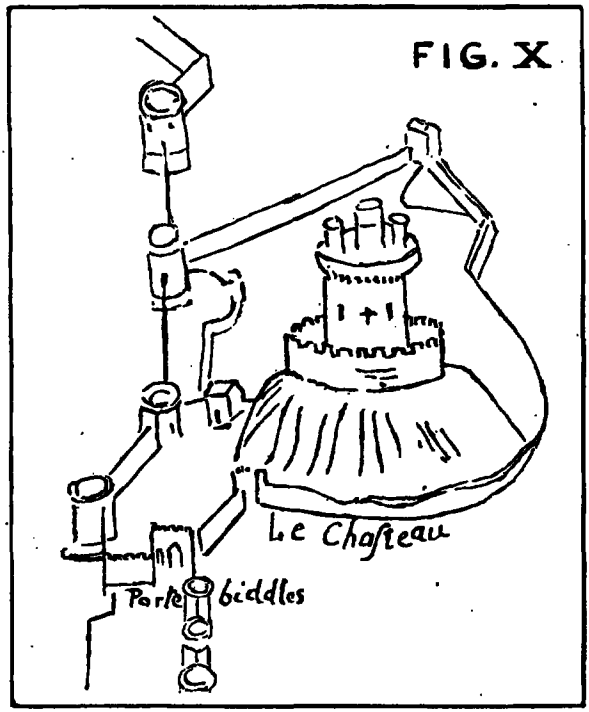
Of the 16th century there is little to record of the Castle's life history. Anyhow during the Tudor period its fortunes were on the wane, to sink lower in Stuart times and vanish altogether in the decadent days of the Georges.

It was at Southampton in the May of 1512 that Henry VIII reviewed the troops of the Marquis of Dorset's expedition to France and he would have stopped at the Castle for the event. Its last Royal visitor seems to have been Elizabeth, who issued a writ *re* the mayoralty of Coventry from the Castle in 1559, so at that date it must have been habitable enough for the Queen's use, though Davies, quoting, I suppose, from Speed, asserts that by 1550 the "Castle Green" had become a receptacle for refuse.

Certain it is that in 1591 it had for some years been let for grazing to the town butchers by a Captain Parkinson[37]—presumably the Castle Keeper—which transaction had formed a grievance to the town, whose Court Leet Jury presented that the sheep had spoiled the hill, *i.e.* the mound, "most ruinously," and requested that no more grazing either of sheep or cattle be allowed. Moreover, what is more serious from our point of view, they go on to state that "the windows and gates of the Castle Tower lie open to all the inhabitants" and forthwith demand that this state of affairs be amended.

One does not understand this reprehensible conduct on the part of a Crown official responsible, I take it, for the upkeep of the Castle unless that as a military asset it had become out of date and useless. Yet but fifty years previously John Leland, Henry VIII's peripatetic antiquary, had declared that "the glorie of the Castelle is in the dungeon (Keep) that is both larg fair and very strong both by worke and the site of it," while Camden, writing at the very time of the Leet Jury's presentment, after eulogising Southampton and the strength of its walls, goes on "and for defence of the Haven a right strong Castle it hath of square stone upon a mount cast up to a great height, built by King Richard II." Moreover Speed at the end of the century describes this presumably dilapidated Keep as "most beautiful, in forme circular and wall within wall, the foundation upon a hill so topped that it cannot be ascended but by stairs." Finally Hortensio Spinola in his report on the Southern Ports in the last year of the century states that the Castle "is strong with 60 pieces of artillery and 100 soldiers"; while on the other hand a visitor in 1636 somewhat contemptuously

37. Captain of Calshot Castle, whose letting of the grazing rights had been presented as a grievance by the Court-Leet Jury in 1594 on the score that he had ten years previously granted it to the town for the term of his life. Yet in 1591 Queen Elizabeth with her Court stayed in Southampton from the 4th to the 7th of September and must have been aware of the state of affairs.

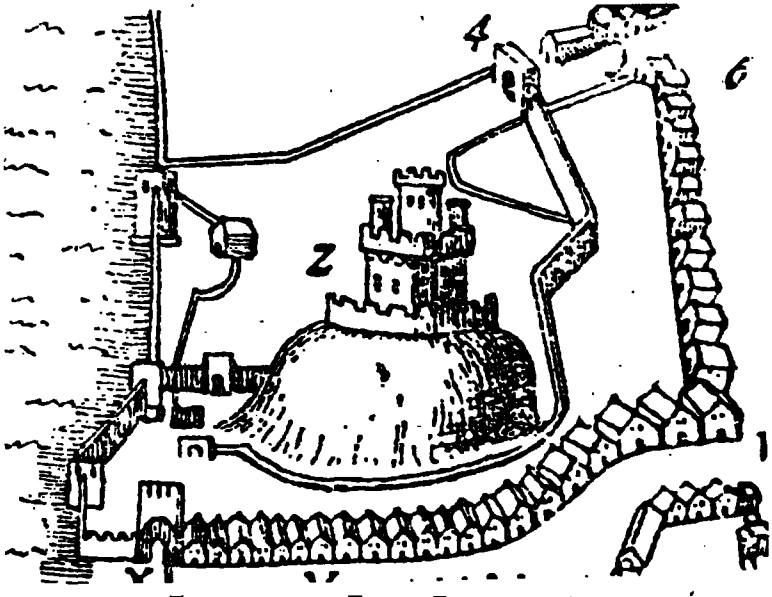


EXTRACT FROM SPEED'S MAP OF 1596.

dismisses it as " an old ruinated Castle on a high mounded hill environned with a sound strong wall."

Before proceeding to dismiss the events of this century and record the rapid decline of the Castle during the next, let us turn to Speed's plan of 1596 and consider it in detail by the light of what little knowledge we possess on the subject, bearing in mind that its author was a " popular " cartographer with a great amount of work on his hands and a wide area to cover, as well as, like most early draughtsmen, an inclination to be imaginative. (Fig. X.)

Taking the first discrepancy that strikes one, the omission of the bailey north curtain or rather the substitution of a straight line of run for a curved one, thus curtailing the area enclosed by the best part of an acre. Again, if Speed's scale is correct and a pase be taken to represent a modern yard, the length of the west curtain is only 130 feet instead of the 370 it actually measures. These two errors alone would throw out the whole plotting of the bailey area. Regarding the line he has substituted in error for the



EXTRACT FROM A FRENCH DOCUMENT 1630.

actual curved north curtain, this might possibly represent the wall of a north ward starting from the East Gate and crossing the bailey to a point at the west curtain, where in comparatively modern times foundations of a wall have been discovered.[38] This line happens to follow the north frontage of Castle Lane, extending to the west curtain, so can this frontage possibly have been raised on the suggested ward wall, a not unusual occurrence in building on ancient sites? To the west of the bailey one notices a building running east and west attached to an irregular-shaped garth which suggests itself as either the Chapel of St. George or a building covering the exit of the Water Gate passage. Of the two one inclines to the latter, as it is too central for the generally accepted

38. In a straight line with the broken bonding in the face of the curtain wall foundations as of a strong wall have been discovered in the rear curiously coinciding with a line of wall drawn in Speed's (1596) plan. (*History of Southampton*, Davies, p. 78.)

Being built upon one cannot now determine whether these are the foundations of a wall running eastward or those of the demolished wall tower shewn on Speed's Map.

The five Knights garrisoning the Castle in 1173 with their retainers and equipment would have required lodgement greater than could be afforded by the 12th century Castle, and Sir John Arundel when appointed Constable had with him 100 men-at-arms and the same number of archers, who would require considerable accommodation to be naturally safeguarded within the wall of a ward.

position of the former—especially if the north curtain is wrongly portrayed—whereas the Water Gate steps by measurement would emerge just about here. The tower shewn just north of this and about midway along the bailey curtain has totally disappeared, but marks of it are still traceable on the outside of the curtain, where the broken bond shews on the face. If this be taken as the remains of the north wall of the tower, the first buttress to the south might cover the junction of the corresponding wall with the curtain, giving a tower almost identical with Catchcold, as is clearly demonstrable in the accompanying photograph.[39] This tower would have formed a flanking defence to both Quay and Water Gate corresponding to that at the south-west angle of the bailey.

The most important detail with Speed was naturally the Keep, and here he seems to have given his imagination rein where the difficulty of dealing with its four turrets in perspective may have been the reason for his conventional treatment of the roof outline. One notes that despite his description as " in forme circular and wall within wall," he has drawn the tower square though he shews the mantelet correctly as round and the curved curtain at the base of the mound, which would fit his description of wall within wall. From a point at about a third of its circumference he shews it running due west with an entrance crossing Castle Lane south and the remains of what is evidently intended as a barbican covering the postern.[40] The run of the original curtain is clearly shewn starting from the tower in the south-east angle of the bailey and so due east to the South Gate and thence up the ramp of the mound, screening the steps, to meet the mantelet.

Despite the favourable opinions of Leland, Camden and Speed, the Castle's fortunes were evidently on the down grade. As a military asset the place was now hopelessly out of date and strategically useless, except as an observation post. It had, moreover, become a burden to the Crown, always on the look out to reduce expenses and, certainly under the Stuarts, to raise money. What wonder it passed into private hands on the look out for cheap bargains and so was disposed of, site, walls and ditches, in the July of 1618 for the sum of £2,078 to James Ouchterlony and Richard Garnard, who within a month transferred their interests to one William Osy of Basingstoke, who in turn passed it on to George Gollop, a Southampton merchant, in whose family it remained for some generations. To consolidate his position this worthy burgess in 1636 obtained from Charles I a definite con-

39. The external diameter is practically the same and three of its identical corbels are built into the filling at the back.

40. This barbican wall does not seem to meet the curtain but stops short of it, returning north to the bailey wall and including what may be intended for the remains of a guard house outside the Gate.

veyance of the whole property at a yearly ground rent of 13*s.* 4*d.* In 1650 Peter Gollop,[41] presumably his son, was in possession, as in that year he gave permission to Major Peter Murford, then Town Commandant under Colonel Richard Norton the well-known local Parliamentarian, to take from the Castle what stone he needed for the repair of the walls—a veritable robbing of Peter to pay Paul. And this is the last historical fact connected with a Castle that had once been the pride of Southampton.

18th Century.

Passing rapidly to complete ruin, by the reign of Anne the Keep had practically ceased to exist and its stump had been converted to the use of a windmill, which now took the place of "the King's New Tower" erected on the summit of the Norman motte in the days of Richard II. By the middle of the century it had become the property of Lord Stafford, who pulled down what was left of it to construct a "banqueting room" out of its materials and sold the site in 1774 to Arthur Atherley, whose son is said to have disposed of it to a bricklayer for the sum of £400. The new owner seems to have passed it on to Lord Wycombe, later Marquis of Lansdowne, who made it into a sort of pleasure house for enjoying the view. In 1804 Lord Lansdowne utilised all that was left of the ancient Keep in the erection of a "castellated mansion," and dying four years later this architectural effort was put up to sale, with the result that it was taken down and the mound levelled and spread in 1822 and the site occupied by a Zionist Chapel—thus obliterating the last vestige of Camden's "right strong Castle."

APPENDIX "A."

The chroniclers tell us that on the eve of Saint John the Baptist, 1340, Edward, at the head of a powerful fleet,[42] left the mouth of the Thames on his mission of *revanche*. Off Blankenbergh he sighted the French Fleet, whose grouping of masts Froissart likens to a forest,[43] and on enquiry was informed that these were they who had done him so much damage, had burnt his good town of Southampton and captured his great ship *The Christopher*. Whereat he replied, "I have for a long while wished to meet them for they have done me so much mischief that I will be revenged on them, if it be possible, please God and Saint George." So in battle formation of one ship filled with men-at-arms between every two

41. Recorder of Southampton in 1662.

42. Froissart says of 120 ships, 4,000 men-at-arms and 12,000 archers, while the French force consisted of 200 ships and 40,000 men.

43. "Des mas qui drèçoient contre mont, ce sambloit un grand bois."

manned by archers the English, with the odds heavily against them, bore down on the enemy who, with the captured *Christopher* in the van, came out to meet them.

Then Sir Robert Morley, Admiral of the Northern Fleet, leading the van, this historic battle began, lasting the best part of a day, a conflict in which thirty thousand of the enemy are said to have perished. Driven back on Sluys, the French ships could neither get out nor in and were practically annihilated. After a stout resistance the *Christopher*, manned by Genoese bowmen, was recaptured and Barbanera slain at the head of his men. Quiéret,[44] the French Admiral in command, had his head smitten off, it is said, on the edge of his own gunwale, whence it fell into the water, while Béhuchet, " for that he was thief and robber on the seas," was run up to the mast head as a salutary warning. Thus was the Southampton raid amply avenged.

Laurence Minot, who throws much light on the events connected with the text, was a rhyming chronicler of the 14th century whose poems are preserved in the Cottonian Collection in the British Museum. He narrates how Philip, taking advantage of Edward's absence in Flanders, summoned his sea captains and bade them cross the Channel and carry fire and sword into England, sparing neither man, woman or child.[45] Minot gives this force as

44. Hugues Quiéret chevalier, Seigneur de Tours en Vimeu, was appointed Admiral of France in 1336.

45. He cumand than that men suld fare
Till (to) Ingland and for no thing spare
Bot (but) brin (burn) and sla both man and wife
Ond childe, that none suld pas (escape) with life
The gaylay (galley) men held up thairs handes
And thanked God of their tithandes (tidings)
At Hamton, als I understand
Come the galayes vnto land
And ful fast thai slogh (slew) and brend
But nought so mekill (much) als sum men wend (suppose)
For or (before) thai wened war thai mett
With men that some thaire laykes (sport) lett (stopped)
Sum was knokked on the heuyd (head)
That the body thare bileuid (remained)
Sum lay stareand on the sternes (stars)
And sum lay knoked out thaire hernes (brains)
Than with tham was none other gle (amusement)*
Bot ful fain war thai that night fle.
The galay men, the suth to say
Most nedes turn another way ;
Thai soght, the stremis far and wide
In Flanders and in Seland (Zealand) Syde—Minot III, 53-74.

* *i.e.* no alternative but to take to flight.

48 galleys and many galliots which must have carried fully 10,000 men. See latter part of footnote which practically agrees with the Register of the Priory of St. Denys, which states under the year 1336 : " The third day after the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel at one o'clock there came about 40 galleys and about 20 pinnaces and took the town of Southampton and burnt it next day above said."

These instructions they seem to have received with acclamation and, landing at Southampton a force of some ten thousand men, carried out with right good will.

According to Minot, writing from a biased patriotic standpoint, the townsfolk promptly checked their adventure and drove them back to their ships with the loss of 300 stragglers left behind.

As to the battle of Sluys, or the Swyn as he terms it, Minot relates that Philip had collected an armada in the Channel based on Sluys, and that news of this had been brought to Edward lying in the estuary of the Orwell in Suffolk from the burghers of Ypres and Bruges.[46] He tells us the King hurried across the Channel and " came by for Blankebergh or Saint Ions night." He then, like the rest, mentions the notabilities of the expedition, but adds to these a commoner, one John Badding a stout man of his hands, who never rested till he'd had his fill of fighting.[47] As he came from the south-west he was probably a Cinque Port captain and, as specially mentioned, a friend of Minot as no other chronicler records his presence. He gives no special particulars of the battle except to say that more than 200 ships were put out of action and the *Christopher* and sundry English cogs recaptured.[48]

VIII and XL galays and mo
And with tham als war tarettes (transports) two
And other many of galiotes
With grete noumber of smale botes—Minot III, 79-82.

46. Walsingham says that the warning came from the Count of Gileres (Juliers), but Avesbury asserts that Edward first heard of it from the Archbishop of Canterbury and treated it as a canard to keep him in England.

47. I prays John Badding one of the best
Faire come he sayland out of the Suth west
To proue (test the quality of) tha Normanes was he ful prest (right ready)
Till he had foghten his fill he had never rest.

48. Two hundreth and mo schippes on the sandes
Had oure Ingles men won with thaire handes ;
The Kogges of Ingland war broght out of bandes (bonds)*
And also the Cristopir that in the streme standes (where she lay after capture.)

* *i.e.* recaptured.

APPENDIX "B."

The Crown instructions for the building of the King's Tower.

Pat. R. 1, Rich. II, Pt. VI, m. 7. 6 Ap., 1378.

"The appointment during the King's pleasure of Henry Mannesfeld, John Pyperyng and Richard Baillyf[49] to purchase and provide for the King's use stone, lime, iron, planks, timber, lead and other necessaries for the construction on Old Castle Hill in Southampton of a tower with two gates there in and of a mantlet with a barbican round the Tower; to take carriage therefor, paying ready money and masons, carpenters and other workmen in the counties of Somerset, Dorset, Wilts, Southampton, Oxford, Berks, Surrey and Sussex, and set them up on the said works, with power to arrest and imprison the disobedient; but they are not to enter the fee of the church nor take aught within its liberty."

Pat. R. 2, Rich. II, Pt. ii, m. 42. 27 Jan., 1379.

"Appointment of John Polymond of Southampton and Richard Swyft to sell the bark and branches of sixty oaks, which the Keeper of Melchett Forest has been commanded to deliver to the said Richard, and of trees cut down for timber in the New Forest, and from the proceeds pay the carriage of the timber thus obtained to Southampton for the works in the erection of a tower and four turrets and for making a bridge three gates and three portcullises there."

Translated excerpts from Letters Patent, 1377-81.

APPENDIX "C."

The Reverend E. Kell, F.S.A., in his paper contributed to the *British Archaeological Association Journal*, Vol. XXI, in 1865, starts with the statement that the bailey extended north to south along the west curtain 130 yards and from east to west 101 yards. He then goes on to describe the circuit beginning at the north-west angle, "a large portion of the ballium wall on the north side gradually inclining towards the East till it touches the point of the East Gate near the County Court, consisting of thirteen arches is still preserved . . . It was a portion of this wall to the extent of

49. Referring probably to Richard Mey or May who was bailiff in 1376 and 7.

nine arches and a frontage of 70 yards that was lately happily rescued from projected destruction. The exterior bank which concealed these arches is now entirely cut away, but a part of the bank on the south of the wall, which was at the top about fifteen feet broad, remains. Beyond the bank on the outside of the wall was a deep ditch. One of the Castle wells remained till the late alterations near the west end of the wall . . . The Castle wall may be traced beyond the eastern extremity of the ballium wall above described, veering still easterly, at the back of Mr. Buchan's and Mr. Knight's premises to the commencement of Mr. Randall's manufactory where it is united with the Castle Keep. Seventeen yards of the stone wall of this Keep[50] are here sufficiently traceable to indicate the course of its circumference . . . In this part of the exterior of the Keep may be noticed a few remaining steps about three feet wide of three of the stair cases.[51] The ditch which girts the Keep on this side is very observable, especially in Mr. Gutch's garden . . . The Castle wall may be traced on the south side in Mr. Robinson's house at the lower end of Castle Square immediately adjoining which was the Sally Port destroyed in 1770. The Castle wall then forms the back of eight houses in the Court called Castle Gardens reaching to within a yard of its approach to the west wall where an external vestige of it appears over the last house." Arches similar to those described in the north wall of the Castle may be seen in the lower apartment of some of these houses ; I notice them in the first and the last. Few traces remain of the barbican which was situated southward of this part of the wall. The vestige of a small turret or staircase marks the junction of the south with the west wall.

Silvester Davies, in his *History of Southampton*, 1883, pp. 74-5, gives us the first definite dimensions of the bailey curtain run. Starting from the now demolished Tower at the south-west angle, he says, " the Castle wall . . . turned nearly due east, portions of it still existing behind the houses on the South of Castle Gardens. At about 110 feet from the south-west angle it crossed Castle Lane south. Here was the south gate of the bailey demolished about 1770. Beyond this the wall continued eastward some forty feet till it struck the lofty mound of the Keep . . . round which it described three parts of a circle for about 400 feet, the hill's diameter being 200 ; it then started off obliquely with a north eastern

50. This must refer to the wall round the base of the mound as the mound itself had been levelled nearly fifty years previous to the publication of this paper.

51. These can only have been quite modern to obtain a view from the higher ground. The deeds of the premises quoted if still in existence would be of value in determining the course of the bailey curtain to be plotted on the Ordnance Survey.

inclination for about sixty feet, then in a north westerly for another 85 feet, crossing at this point Castle Lane north, where was the principal gate of the Castle, destroyed also in the last century though a fragment may be seen north of the Gate.[52] Beyond this the wall made a curve to the north-west till it struck the curtain at a plain rectangular buttress south of Catchcold . . ."

APPENDIX "D."

As reported in the *Southampton Times* of April 3rd, 1886, Mr. T. W. Shore, F.G.S., explained to the visiting members of the Hampshire Field Club "that the vault had only been opened once before since he had been in Southampton and only twice in the last fifty years, the first occasion being at the time of the visit of the British Archaeological Association to the town in 1845 and the next in the year 1878. It was somewhat remarkable that at the time of the first opening the great apartment was groined but on the last occasion the groining had disappeared and only a great accumulation of rubbish remained."

[Mr. PERCY G. STONE, writer of the foregoing article on *Southampton Castle*, died on March 21st, 1934, at the age of 78, a few days after sending the typescript to the Editor. He was, by profession, an architect, F.R.I.B.A., being also a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. He had resided in the Isle of Wight for many years, first at Sandown, and later at Merston. The *Isle of Wight County Press* of March 24th contained an obituary notice.

Mr. Stone appears to have made a slip in saying (p. 264) that Speed has represented the keep as square. It is in the French plan that it is so shown.]

52. A portion of the north drum with its rough core and the springer of the connecting Gate Arch 19 feet 6 inches above the modern pavement can still be seen. (Fig. IX.)