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The Personnel of English and Welsh Castles, 1272-1422

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by

Thomas John Charles Rickard, MA, BA

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Names

This period saw the standardisation of some family names. Where possible, this study will use a single, standardised name, for all members of the same family. Thus James de Audithele of 1273 will be referred to as James de Audley.

References

All references to individuals at castles can be found in volume II, under the individual castle, organised by county. This has been done in order to reduce duplication of references, and to provide the information used to produce the many tables contained in this study. Hopefully, it has also resulted in the production of a useful resource for future study.

Appendixes

The appendixes contain those tables likely to be of use in more than one section of the study, such as the summary of castle ownership by county in appendix twenty, of use in chapters two, three and four, as well as lists of groups of men such as the list of known sub-constables in appendix fifteen that would otherwise be awkward to reconstruct from volume II.
Abbreviations

BL British Library
_C.& W.A.&A.S._ Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society
_C.A.C.W._ Calendar of ancient correspondence concerning Wales, J.G. Edwards, Cardiff, 1935
_C.C.R._ Calendar of Close Rolls
_C.Ch.R._ Calendar of Charter Rolls
_C.Ch.W._ Calendar of Chancery Warrants, 1244-1326, London, 1927
_C.F.R._ Calendar of Fine Rolls
_C.M.R._ Calendar of Memoranda Rolls (Exchequer), Michaelmas 1326-
_C.P.R._ Calendar of Patent Rolls
_C.S.D._ Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, ed. J. Bain, 4 vols., 1881-1888
_C.W.R._ ‘Calendar of Welsh Rolls, 1277-1294’ in Calendar of various Chancery Rolls, London, 1912, pp. 157-382
Davies J.C. Davies, ‘The Despenser war in Glamorgan’, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 3rd series, 9 (1915), pp. 21-64
Fry P.S. Fry, Castles of Britain and Ireland, Newton Abbot, 1996
Fryde N. Fryde, List of Welsh Entries in the Memoranda Rolls 1282-1343, Cardiff, 1975
_Issue Roll_ Issue Roll of Thomas Brantingham, 1370, F. Devon, London, 1835
Nthumb Petitions 'Northumberland Petitions', ed. C.M.Fraser, Surtees Society, 176 (1966)

Norwell Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell, 12 July 1338 to 27 May 1340, ed.M.Lyon, B.Lyon, H.S.Lucas and J.de Sturler, Brussels, 1983

P.P. Parliamentary Peer

Percy Chartulary 'Percy Chartulary', ed. M.T.Martin, Surtees Society, 117 (1909)


R.C.H. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments

Scalacronica 'The Scalacronica' of Sir Thomas Gray, trans. H. Maxwell, Glasgow, 1907


V.C.H. Victoria County History

County Abbreviations
Beds Bedfordshire
Bcrks Berkshire
Cams Cambridgeshire
Cumb Cumberland
Glou Gloucestershire
Herts Hertfordshire
Lancs Lancashire
Leics Leicestershire
Lincs Lincolnshire
Nhants Northamptonshire
Notts Nottinghamshire
Nthumb Northumberland
Oxf Oxfordshire
Shrops Shropshire
Staffs Staffordshire
Warks Warwickshire
Worcs Worcestershire
Yrks Yorkshire
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Acknowledgements

Thanks must go to my supervisor, Dr. Andrew Ayton, both for his enthusiastic support and direction during the production of this study, and for allowing me access to his extensive databases, without which no analysis of the military involvement of the castle community would have been possible. Likewise, thanks must go to Richard Gorski, for allowing me access to his M.A.R.S. database of appointments to posts in county administration.
Map 1: Density of castles in 1422

Square miles per castle (low number equals higher density)

- 0-49
- 50-99
- 100-199
- 200-299
- 300+
Chapter One - Introduction

So that scarcely could they [the Scots] find anything to do upon these Marches, except at Norham, where a [certain] knight, Thomas de Gray, was in garrison with his kinsfolk. It would be too lengthy a matter to relate [all] the combats and deeds of arms and evils for default of provender, and sieges which happened to him during the eleven years that he remained [there] during such an evil and disastrous period for the English. It would be wearisome to tell the story of the less [important] of his combats in the said castle.¹

If there was a castle community,² then the Grays of Heton were amongst its most enthusiastic members. Three generations of the family, including the chronicler, served as constable of Norham castle (Northumberland), while his descendants owned Heaton Coldstream castle and Wark on Tweed castle (both Northumberland), at one point actually exchanging the newly built Heaton for the older, exposed, frontier castle at Wark.³ The aim of this study is to examine those people who were directly involved with the ownership or management of castles in the 150 years from the coronation of Edward I to the death of Henry V. It will examine the level and nature of each individual’s involvement with castles and how these factors changed over time. It will only touch on the more popular areas of castle studies – the architectural and the military – from the viewpoint of the individuals involved, examining the men who were building castles as opposed to detailed examinations of what was being built. The same will be true of the siege, considered here not in regard to length, or mechanics, but in relation to the impact on the besieged constable or castle owner and on the besiegers. The aim of this study is to add the human element to the stone, earth and timber of traditional castle studies.

The period of this study – from the reign of Edward I to that of Henry V – has been carefully chosen. At the start of this period, the castle was an established part of the landscape. Great magnates were still constructing mighty fortresses, while Edward I was shortly to begin building his great castles in north Wales. By the end of this period, the castle has been seen as being in decline. New castles were being built by newly wealthy men attempting to establish themselves, while the last new royal castle, Queenborough castle (Kent), was sixty years in the past. This period also saw several episode of great turmoil, in particular during the reigns of Edward II and Richard II, and this study will attempt to examine how the castle featured in these crises. In addition, Glendower’s revolt at the end of the period saw the great castles of north Wales put to the test for the first time. These moments of crisis and upheaval should help illuminate the changing status of the castle.

¹ Scalacronica, pp.60-61
² This term will be used to refer to all those people who were involved with castles in some way, whether as owners, constables or even workmen. It refers to a direct connection and thus does not include those people whose connection with castles was involuntary, such as criminals held in the castle gaol or people who paid their rent at the castle. It also does not include those people who provided some work for the castle, such as local artisans – rope-makers and the like who provided services to castles – for while they had an involvement, it was not a direct one. Some areas will not be covered in detail in this thesis. There will not be a detailed look at the people involved in the royal works as this area has been studied in detail in the History of the Kings Works.
³ Bates, p.341
This study will cover England and Wales in full. Large areas of Wales were under English rule for the entire period, while by the end of the reign of Edward I the entire country was conquered. Many of the greatest lords in England were based in Wales and the Marches while Edward's conquests became a major part of the crown's own lands. In contrast Scotland managed to retain its independence against great English pressure. The French and Scottish castles held by the English during this period will not be examined in their own right, but service at those castles by constables or owners of English or Welsh castles will be dealt with when examining the career of these people. The results of this study will be compared with those of scholars in other areas of Europe where the personnel of castles has been examined in more detail, hopefully adding much to our understanding of the English and Welsh case.

A main interest of this study is the relationship between the castle community - whether owners or constables - and political power. In many parts of Europe, this relationship would be taken for granted, with local political power being linked directly to ownership of the local castle. However, the absence of this concept in writings focusing on England and Wales may be explained by the absence of the actual phenomenon as opposed to unawareness of it. Only on the Welsh Marches may such a relationship be seen. In England, the role played on the continent by the castellanies would appear to have been performed by the county castle and the sheriff, a post that remained firmly under the king's control in all but a few counties. Instead, a more subtle link between the castle community and political power will have to be found. It will be searched for in the appointment of constables to royal castles, and in grants of ownership of castles, royal or forfeited. It may be found in the building activity that was so common in this period, or in the marriage alliances that created many of the great castle owning estates.

* * *

Before moving on, we must define what we mean by a 'castle'. Our definition must be valid both for eleventh century motte and bailey castles, and for the great palace-castles of the fourteenth and early fifteenth century, while clearly distinguishing them from later fortresses and citadels. Of these aims, the first is easiest. The first castles were a clear break with what went before, and most definitions of the castle deal well with these. As will be seen, it is with the fortress that our problems will lie. Regardless of how tightly we define the castle, it must be admitted that for many border line fortifications, no clear decision can be made. Where a building has disappeared, or been incorporated into a more recent structure, the evidence for deciding what structure had existed at the time of this study does not exist. Furthermore, even for intact or recreateable sites, there is, and can be, no clear criterion. A weak castle to one historian will be a fortified manor house to another. For this study, such borderline cases will be considered as castles. Another important point must be made. Castles must, whenever possible, be discussed as they were at the time, not as they now appear. It is easy to forget those parts of a castle that have disappeared when discussing the strength of the building. A good example of this is Stokesay Castle (Shropshire). This is frequently dismissed as not a serious fortification because of the origins of the owner, Laurence of

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Ludlow, a wealthy financier, and the windows of the great hall. However, an examination of the actual castle would suggest otherwise. According to Fry, the place was surrounded by a curtain wall thirty feet high and a moat. To suggest it was not a serious castle, despite these fortifications, on the evidence of three windows, seems somewhat unconvincing.

The standard definition of the castle is that it is a building where the military predominates over the domestic. This definition is almost impossible to use in practice as it requires some quite arbitrary value judgements. Therefore, for this study a clearer definition will be required. Contemporary terms for the various buildings under consideration in this study were many and varied. Castrum, turris and fortalicium were common, while other terms occur less frequently. However, the usefulness of the original terms is somewhat limited. Two examples should suffice to demonstrate the various problems. First, the name used at the time did not always reflect the size of the building in question, as an examination of the Turris nostre London should indicate. While an extreme case, this demonstrates the tendency for names to reflect tradition as much as architecture. The second problem is that these contemporary terms were not used consistently, even within a single document. The 1415 survey of Northumberland contains several such examples, such as that of Blenkinsopp castle (Northumberland). In the text it was described as castrum, while in the margin that it is called fortalicium. With such confusion within a single source, we must be wary of making judgements based only on contemporary terminology.

A problem with most definitions of the castle is that at many castles, the owner would rarely, if ever, have been in residence. This must have been the case at White Castle (Monmouthshire) during this period. It, along with Skenfrith, Grosmont and Monmouth castles were all the property of the earls and dukes of Lancaster, and with alternative accommodation so close, it is hard to see any of White Castle’s owners choosing pay it more than a passing visit. Similar groups of castles were contained in many of the great comital estates during this period, just as they were in the king’s estates. However, for the purposes of the definition, what matters is that the possibility remained that their owner may realistically have chosen to live in any of their castles at any time. It is harder by far to imagine Henry VIII moving his court into an artillery fort than it is to see Edward III stopping at even the smallest royal castle.

For the purposes of this study, a castle will be defined as a residential building with a complete circuit of fortifications. This excludes towers attached to an otherwise unfortified building. For this definition to be viable, we must decide what to consider as fortification. Clearly, it can include natural defences such as cliffs, as was the case at Dunstanburgh castle (Northumberland). Where man-made fortifications are involved, they must allow the defenders to return missile fire. This would exclude simple walled sites with no provision for the use of missile weapons from the walls. It is here where crenellation comes into the picture. At the lowest level of fortifications, the presence or absence of crenellation on the walls could be the deciding factor. Finally, the material from which the fortifications have been built is not important. Wooden constructions

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5 Platt, p.103
6 Fry, p.182
7 All three terms can be found in the 1415 survey of Northumberland castles printed in Cadwallader John Bates, 'The Border Holds of Northumberland', Archaeologia Aeliana, 14 (1891)
9 Bates, p.15
could still be found at some castles in 1272, while brick built castles were capable of resisting long sieges. It will not exclude castles with a single weakness, such as large windows in one part of the curtain wall. Not all such windows were contemporary features, while those that were could have been securely barred and made as safe as any door.

This definition includes the free standing towers of the northern border. Almost by definition, a tower has a complete fortified circuit. Where there is still room for uncertainty is when a tower was known to have been merely part of a larger building of unknown type. At least some of these towers may have been strong points within otherwise unfortified manor houses. However, unless archaeological evidence proves otherwise, these northern towers will be included in this study.

The most important documentary materials for this study are the Chancery records. The Patent and Fine Rolls contain the records of appointment of most constables of royal castles across this period and are thus the chief primary source for this study. While the printed calendars provide the bulk of the required information, it has proven necessary to consult the originals to determine the original Latin vocabulary, as will be seen in chapter six. The Close Rolls also provide much useful information, although rarely of appointments. The Inquisitions Post Mortem are the main source of information for private castle ownership, and the printed calendars provide the information required for this study. However, there are limits to the information provided by this source. Firstly, castles not held in chief are rarely referred to, and then only during minorities of the tenant in chief. This automatically slants our information on castle ownership towards the tenants in chief, and obscures those castles held below that level. This problem is increased in Wales and the Welsh Marches, where our level of ownership information is thus much reduced. Secondly, the inquisitions do not always include all castles in an individual estate, especially for the larger estates of the comital community. Indeed, some castles only appear in one or two inquisitions across the entire period. Again, this problem is more evident in Wales.

While the Chancery records contain appointments, the Exchequer records, in theory, should contain details shedding light on the running of these castles. Perhaps the most useful exchequer class is King’s Remembrancer, Accounts Various (E.101). They are an especially strong source for the study of garrisons, and contain many lists and accounts. Furthermore, they are evenly distributed across this period. It should be noted that the date of some of these documents is unclear, and several can only be dated from comparison with the lists of constables assembled from the Chancery records. Despite this problem, this class provides much information that cannot be found elsewhere. The Issue Rolls contain very little information of use to this study. Typical is a reference to John Crabbe as constable of Somerton castle (Lincolnshire) on 6 July 1334. Crabbe’s

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11 For an example see E.101/19/26, listed as accounts of Welsh castles for 1335 (9 Edw. III). However, both John de Wells, accounting as constable of Criccieth castle (Caernarvon) and Vivian de Staundon, accounting as constable of Harlech castle (Caernarvon), were actually in post in 1316 (9 Edw. II) and had both been replaced long before 1335. 12 E.404/276 m.11
spell as constable of Somerton is well documented in the Chancery records. He first
appears at his appointment on 24 June 1334,13 and there are another six references
between then and 1348. Even those sub-constables who have been found on Issue Rolls
are also documented elsewhere. John de Wynewyk, sub-constable of the Tower of
London in 1342,14 appears on the Patent Rolls, 15 while for Thomas Rous, sub-constable
of the Tower in 1347-1348,16 there is a complete account. 17 The published roll, for 44
Edward III (1370-1371),18 appears to be unusually informative, containing forty one
references relating to castles. However, even here the majority refer to Scottish or
French castles or to the works, areas not covered by this study, or to already well known
constables such as Stephen Rumelowe at Nottingham castle,19 or Ralph Spigernell at
Dover castle.20 An examination of the printed Memoranda Rolls suggest that as a class
they are of little interest for this study. While the printed roll for 1326-7 contains many
references to individual constables, they are all for individuals already known from
other sources. 21 The same is true for Fryde’s list of Welsh entries on the Memoranda
Rolls, 22 which rarely contains more than two references for any one year, once again for
known individuals. Indeed, this is the case for the majority of classes of exchequer
records. They contain scattered references to royal constables, already the best
documented group of individuals in this study.

Very little information relating to this study has survived in private archives. We
are best informed about the duchy of Lancaster, a beneficial side effect of Henry IV’s
seizure of the throne. In particular, John of Gaunt’s Register reveals the workings of one
of the greatest private estates, although how far Gaunt can be taken as typical of even
great magnates is clouded by his own close proximity to the crown which must have
had some impact on his administration. Although a search of sources such as the
catalogue of the National Register of Archives produces numerous collections of estate
documents from this period, few of them relate to castle owners, while of those that do,
almost none contain information on the castles in question. Where relevant records have
survived the majority of them are concerned with property ownership, and include
charters, quitclaims and fines, all casting more light on castle ownership. Unfortunately,
little or no information about the constables of privately owned castles has survived in
these records. The extensive list of surviving household records in Mertes,23 contains
information for a mere twenty eight estates in this period, of which only a very few are
of any relevance. Woolgar’s more extensive list contains many more estates from this
period, 24 but those published in full in his work contain nothing of use for this study,
while the nature of the surviving documents listed suggest that they too would be of
little interest. The published accounts of Henry de Lacy for Lancashire and Cheshire
estates in 1297 and 1307 refer to only two named constables for his three castles in

13 C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.407
14 7 December 1342, E.403/327 m. 15
15 27 November 1342, C.P.R. 1340-1343, p.566
16 E.403/327 m. 15
17 E.101/25/29
18 Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham, ed. F. Devon, London, 1835
19 11 February 1370, ibid. p.438
20 6 May 1370, ibid. p.82
22 N. Fryde, List of Welsh Entries on the Memoranda Rolls, 1282-1343, Cardiff, 1974
23 Kate Mertes, The English Noble Household 1250-1600, Oxford, 1988
those counties. Private castles and their staff appear to fall between household records and estate records.

Sadly, the same is true of the many bishop’s registers that have survived for this period. As a class they were more concerned with ecclesiastical appointments than with church property, and provide few, if any, records relating to this study. This is true even for the bishops of Durham, whose castles were amongst the most important in church hands. The register of Bishop Anthony Bek (1283-1311), contains one reference to a keeper of Durham castle, while the three volumes of the register of Thomas Langley (1406-1437), includes many letters sent from the bishop’s castles, but few references to the castles themselves.

Most contemporary chronicles do not contain the type of detailed information that this study requires. When they do provide the name of an owner or constable, it is rarely one that does not occur in the printed sources. However, they do contain more detail on some of the more important incidents that occurred at castles during this period, especially in times of crisis and may shed some light on contemporary attitudes to the castle, something largely missing from the government records. Those chronicles more concerned with regional than national affairs do provide some more interesting details. The Scalacronica of Thomas Gray is probably the best example of such a local chronicle, at least as far as this study is concerned. Written by a soldier, its descriptions of conditions on the northern border are invaluable, and its narratives of some of the exploits of the author’s father are most entertaining. A similar light is cast on events on the Scottish border by the Lanercost chronicle, which deals with several key sieges.

The most important secondary source for this study is the Castellarium Anglicanum. Without this work and its encyclopaedic listing of the castles of England and Wales, it would not be possible to consider such a national study of the castle – the time required to assemble such a list would be overwhelming. Next in importance is the Victoria County History. The V.C.H. often contains ownership details not otherwise available in print, as is the case for the linked castles of Castleton and Danby (Yorkshire), where the only published information on ownership is the complete descent of the manor contained in the V.C.H. While this is the most complete case, there are countless other castles where the fragmentary ownership details that are known have come from this source. The main works on the castle do not provide much information for this study. Castle owners are not dealt with in any depth in those by Fry, Platt, Pounds, and Thompson, as most of these works focus on architectural and military history, and thus limit themselves to examining the builders of some of the

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27 ‘Records of Anthony Bek, Bishop and Patriarch’, C.M.Fraser, Surtees Society, 162 (1953)
29 Chronicon de Lanercost, ed. J.Stevenson, Edinburgh, 1839
30 D.J.Cathcart King, Castellarium Anglicanum, 2 vols., New York, 1983
31 V.C.H. Yorkshire, North Riding vol. 2, pp.334-6
32 Plantagenet Somerset Fry, Castles of Britain and Ireland, Newton Abbot, 1996
34 N.J.G. Pounds, The Medieval Castle in England and Wales, a social and political history, Cambridge, 1990
more important castles. Even less has been written on the constable. Of the above volumes, only Pounds included a section on the constable. Two notable exceptions are Shelagh Bond’s 1967 article on the constables of Windsor castle,⁶ and Andrew Ayton’s 1989 article on Corfe castle (Dorset). Other than these two articles, the constable remains an obscure figure, mentioned only when national events bring an individual constable to the front.

The study was able to make use of two databases of historical information. First is Andrew Ayton’s database of military service. This covers the war in France from 1324-1325 and 1337 until 1360 and the war against Scotland from 1295 to 1400. This study will focus on the period 1338-1343, which contains a series of well documented campaigns in Brittany and northern France. The second database is Richard Gorski’s M.A.R.S. database of service in county administration. This contains information on commissions of array, of peace and to raise tax, and on escheators, sheriffs and knights of the shire, between 1285 and 1419. This study will make use of the data for four counties – Hampshire, Kent, Shropshire and Yorkshire – that contain a large number of castles, and a variety of castle owners. Both of these databases contain extensive references to the original documentation.

This study poses problems of an individual’s identity at two levels. First is that of their career within the castle community. Here the prosopological problems are rarely difficult. As will be seen, those individuals who served at, or owned, multiple castles, were a small group and where there was any chance of confusion at the time, identifiers were used. Thus the careers of, for example, the two John de Beauchamps who were active at castles in the 1350s, John ‘of Warwick’ and John ‘of Somerset’, were clearly distinguished in the records. One problem that does occur is distinguishing between a single long career, and the careers of father and son. This is most common at the county castles, where important local families could expect to serve over several generations. At York castle alone there were four examples of this. As a general rule, if more than thirty years elapse between two occurrences of a given name and no other relevant information is available, it will be assumed that two different individuals are involved, although no relationship between the two will be assumed. Thus, all four of the York examples (Table 1-i), will be considered as two separate men.

### Table 1-i: Recurring names of constables at York castle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Early date</th>
<th>Late date</th>
<th>Gap in years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Bygod</td>
<td>1373</td>
<td>1418</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralph de Hastings</td>
<td>1340</td>
<td>1376</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert de Hilton</td>
<td>1383</td>
<td>1417</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas de Rokeby</td>
<td>1342</td>
<td>1411</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, problems arise when attempting to piece together the further careers of the castle community. Here, individuals for whom there was no problem of identity, as they only served at or owned a single castle, come to the fore. There is rarely any corroborative evidence to prove a link between two men of the same name, in different

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⁷ Andrew Ayton, ‘William de Thweyt, esquire, Deputy constable of Corfe Castle in the 1340s’, *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*, 32 (1989), pp.731-738

⁸ For a discussion of the sources for military service see Andrew Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, Woodbridge, 1994, pp.138-193
posts a decade apart, even when in the same part of the country. As is perhaps always the case, some guidelines will have to be decided upon in order to allow any progress to be made with these careers. When there is no evidence of two individuals with the same name at the same time, it will be assumed that there was only one person of that name important enough to appear in national records. When two or more individuals can be distinguished, on whatever evidence, the issue becomes more complex. If the individuals in question have geographical identifiers and are from separate parts of the country, then a weak link will be made between the castle and post in question and the individual geographically closest to the castle. This link is stronger for castle owners, who are more likely to appear in their own locality, and weaker for royal constables, who for some castles could be appointed at any distance. Finally, if there are several clear individuals with the same name at the same time in similar areas then no assumptions will be made and only concrete links will be allowed. There will only be one exception made to this. When examining military service, the large number of names involved precludes such a detailed examination of every match between a member of the castle community and serving men-at-arms. By using these guidelines, it is hoped that the number of false positive matches will be kept to a minimum, although it is certain to generate many false negatives.

This study will make use of eight regions in order to provide a broader view than can be provided by a county by county view. These regions are not all of the same size, and it is readily admitted that they are largely arbitrary; however their usefulness will hopefully become clear during this work.

### Table 1-ii: Counties contained in each region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Counties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern Border</td>
<td>Cumberland, Westmorland, Durham, Northumberland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The North</td>
<td>Lancashire &amp; Yorkshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midlands</td>
<td>Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Staffordshire, Rutland, Leicestershire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Oxfordshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East</td>
<td>Berkshire, Hertfordshire, London, Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire, Kent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West</td>
<td>Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Anglia</td>
<td>Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marches</td>
<td>Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Cheshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>all Welsh counties</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before proceeding with this study, we must establish how many castles were in use during this period. Without this information, much of what follows would be without context. Figures will be established for 1272, 1350 and 1422. It must be remembered that for many castles there is no precise building date and so an estimate has had to be made. This has had the most impact in the 1350 totals, which include all castles datable only to the fourteenth century. This period contained more castles than earlier centuries. This may, in part, reflect increased knowledge on our part, and as will be seen below there are many castles for which there is no secure date. Despite this, we

39 There are more undated castles than there are castles involved in this study (see table 1-iv). However, the vast majority of these were simple earthwork castles and can almost certainly be dated to earlier periods. This is supported by the high number of such undated castles in Wales and the Welsh Marches, where over half of the total were located. These are the castles of earlier conquests, and clusters of them identify the most fiercely fought over territories of earlier wars. It is possible that some of them were occupied, or at least used, until Edward I's conquest of north Wales rendered them obsolete, but what evidence can be found suggests that most were already abandoned by 1272.
can see a general increase in the number of castles in use across the period of this study, rising by nearly three quarters between 1272 and 1422. This is a significant rise and the reasons for it will be examined in chapter five.

Table 1-iii: Comparative numbers of castles in active use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1154</td>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1214</td>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1272</td>
<td>this study</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1300</td>
<td>this study</td>
<td>405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1350</td>
<td>this study</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1400</td>
<td>this study</td>
<td>563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1422</td>
<td>this study</td>
<td>583</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1-iv: Number of castles by region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>1272</th>
<th>1350</th>
<th>1422</th>
<th>% increase</th>
<th>Undated castles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern Border</td>
<td>27 (6&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>77 (2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>169 (1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>525%</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>34 (5&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>43 (5&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>54 (5&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midlands</td>
<td>47 (3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>67 (3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>71 (3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Anglia</td>
<td>19 (8&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>23 (8&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>25 (8&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East</td>
<td>39 (4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>41 (6&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>46 (6&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West</td>
<td>27 (6&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>35 (7&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>41 (7&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marches</td>
<td>56 (2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>56 (4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>65 (4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>82 (1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>96 (1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>100 (2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt;)</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>583</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>738</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All regions of England and Wales saw an increase in the number of active castles between 1272 and 1422, even the increasingly safe Welsh Marches. However, five counties – Brecknock, Cambridge, Hampshire, Radnor and Wiltshire – did see a decrease in the number of active castles. It must also be remembered that the increase in the number of active castles does not reflect accurately the amount of castle building in an area. Kent alone saw seven new castles built, potentially accounting for the entire increase in the south east. However, Kent saw two castles go out of use, resulting in a lower overall increase. Indeed, of the 647 castles in this study, only 278 were active both in 1272 and 1422. This was a period of great fluidity for castles, with many abandoned and even more built.

Table 1-v: Increase in number of active castles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>1272 to 1350</th>
<th>1350 to 1422</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern Border</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midlands</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Anglia</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marches</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

41 ibid.
42 These are those castles for which no occupation date is known, either from documentation or from archaeology.
The most dramatic increase in castle numbers was on the northern border, accounting for well over half of the total change with an increase of 142 active castles, compared to only 108 for the rest of England and Wales combined. Within this region, the vast bulk of the increase was within Northumberland, but all four counties in this region saw at least a three fold increase in the number of active castles. Behind this vast increase, the north, with the second largest increase, looks almost static. This increase was a direct response to a constant, localised, military threat. As can also be seen, the bulk of this building on the northern border took place after 1350.

Table 1-vi: Number of castles surviving from 1272 to 1422

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Total no. castles</th>
<th>Survived</th>
<th>% Survival(^43)</th>
<th>% Stability(^44)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern Border</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>92.6%</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>79.4%</td>
<td>44.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midlands</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>78.7%</td>
<td>45.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Anglia</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>89.5%</td>
<td>60.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>82.1%</td>
<td>59.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>81.5%</td>
<td>44.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marches</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>85.7%</td>
<td>65.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>79.3%</td>
<td>55.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>634</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>81.0%</td>
<td>43.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once again, this table shows the importance of the northern border. The low stability percentage for that region reflects the high number of new castles, while the high survival percentage shows the value that was placed on fortifications on the border across the entire period. Unsurprisingly, the level of stability is closely linked to the level of increase in active castles, with the areas with lower rates of increase having higher levels of stability. As for survival rate, only East Anglia and the northern border had rates significantly different from the national average. The border we have already dealt with, while East Anglia was not a significant region for castles, either new or existing.

Table 1-vii: Average age of castles in 1272 and 1422\(^45\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>1272: Average build date</th>
<th>1272: Average age</th>
<th>1422: Average build date</th>
<th>1422: Average age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern Border</td>
<td>1155</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>1334</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>1169</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>1257</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midlands</td>
<td>1150</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>1233</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Anglia</td>
<td>1127</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>1199</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East</td>
<td>1121</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>1203</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West</td>
<td>1127</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>1233</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marches</td>
<td>1148</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>1186</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>1174</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>1215</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1151</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>1253</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several conclusions can be drawn from table 1-vii. First, despite the amount of castle building during this period, the ‘castle stock’ of England and Wales was ageing.

\(^{43}\) Percentage of castles in use in 1272 that were still in use in 1422

\(^{44}\) Percentage of all castles in use at some time during our period that were in use from 1272 to 1422

\(^{45}\) For many castles no clear building date in known. In these cases a middle date has been used for this calculation. Thus for a castle known only to have been built in the twelfth century a date of 1150 had been used. These are therefore only approximate figures.
Enough building work had happened in most regions to limit that ageing and the passing of a century and a half had moved the average building date on one hundred years, but only on the northern borders were new castles dominant. Second, these figures again demonstrate the decreased danger from the Welsh. Only Wales and the Welsh marches saw the average age of castles increase by over one hundred years as the threat from Wales receded into memory. Even Glendower’s revolt was not enough to trigger any major new building.

Table 1-viii: Castles in the 1415 Northumberland Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Extant Castles</th>
<th>Lost Castles</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Only mention</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First mention</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not first mention</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is certain that there were castles about which we known nothing. For example, the 1415 Northumberland survey (see table 1-viii) is our only reference for seventeen otherwise unknown towers. Given the number of surviving towers in Cumberland and Westmorland, we must expect there to have been more towers in those counties, unknown to us in the absence of such a survey. In contrast, for the bulk of the country the tower was relatively rare, and so this factor can be discounted. When examining the age of castles in Northumberland, we must remember that not all of the castles first recorded in this survey were built in the period immediately before 1415. At least one of them, the vicar’s peel at Corbridge, is considered to have been of a much earlier date, and they could have been built at any time between the end of licences to crenellate in Northumberland in 1346 and 1415.

The raw figures for the numbers of castles in various parts of the country do not tell the entire story. We must also consider the size of the county (see map 1), and the distribution of castles within each county. Thus, despite the high number of castles in Yorkshire, the larger area of the county reduces the density of castles, reaching a peak of one castle for every 144 square miles in 1422, a similar density to that found in many midland counties, such as Worcestershire (143 square miles per castle) and Derbyshire (168 square miles per castle). The spread of castles within a county varies greatly, from Shropshire, where the majority of castles were concentrated on the Welsh border and in the north of the county, to Northumberland, where by the end of the period, castles were spread almost evenly across the entire county.

Despite the overall increases, five counties – Brecknock, Cambridge, Hampshire, Radnor and Wiltshire – all saw a small decline in the number of castles. However, even in these counties there were new castles built. Of the five only Hampshire saw no new building. Several reasons can be suggested for these declines. In Brecknock and Radnor, the end of Welsh independence under Edward I removed any remaining threat from the north Welsh princes. Cambridgeshire was in an area that saw very little building overall, and the decline in numbers there reflects this. For Hampshire and Wiltshire the situation was a little different. In these two counties royal castles dominate, and as the crown was not an active castle builder in England in this period, it only needed a small number of castles to go out of use for these two counties.

46 King, p.331
to see a decline. While the decline in these five counties was not large, it should remind us of the nature of the increase in most counties. Rather than being simply an increase, it was due to the number of new castles being built outnumbering the number of castles going out of use. With such a fluid situation, it is perhaps surprising that only five counties saw a decline.

* * * *

The first part of the study will examine castle owners and ownership. It will examine all castle owners, a group that included the crown, the church and a wide cross-section of landowners, from the greatest magnates to the tower owners of Northumberland. It will examine the size, location and composition of the castles contained within all of these estates. It will also examine castle building, both new castles and modification to older castles, as well as looking at all castles that fell out of use, from the point of view of the castle’s owners rather that the architecture involved. The royal castles were the most complex, and could be split into three separate groups: those held by the king, the queen and the heir to the throne. Within each of these groups there were further divisions, all of which will be examined in Chapter two.

Chapter three will study those castles in private hands. This was the most numerous group, representing three quarters of the total. It was also the most volatile, with frequent changes of ownership. Chapter four will examine those castles owned by the church. Many levels within the church owned castles, from Saltwood castle (Kent), owned by the archbishop of Canterbury, to the Vicar’s Peel at Corbridge (Northumberland). Finally, chapter five will examine material changes at castles, including castles built from new, a group that includes such diverse places as Harlech, Bodiam and the many towers of Northumberland. It will also examine those castles that saw significant modifications during the periods, places such as Windsor or Warwick. Finally, it will examine the relatively small number of castles to go out of use during this period. It will not cover repair work. This must have been a background to life in most castles, and to focus on the major repairs that happen to be recorded would be misleading.

There are very few castles where we do not know the name of at least one owner. For most castles we have good ownership lists, with few gaps, while for others our knowledge is very limited. For many new, minor castles the only name we have is the name of the original builder, preserved on the licence to crenellate, as at Bletsoe (Bedfordshire), licenced by John de Pateshull in 1327,47 the only owner we can name. The one major gap in our knowledge occurs for minor castles in Wales and the Marches, where the marcher lord was the tenant in chief. In these cases, our information is limited to those times when the marcher lordship was either forfeited or in wardship. An example of this is Carew (Pembroke). For this castle we know two owners, John de Carew, whose I.P.M. names his son Leonard de Carew as his heir.¹ This only appears because at the time the Hastings lordships were held by a minor, John de Hastings.

It is important to remember while looking at castle ownership that it is a subset of land ownership. In many cases it is the land that is important and the castle followed with it. When considering inherited castles for two landowners of the same stature, the

47 23 June 1327, C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.130
48 5 June 1362, I.P.M. XI, no.300
one with most land in the Welsh marches will have more castles, not through his choice, but through simple chance. This must also be remembered when the royal castles are being discussed. One of the main motivations for granting royal castles away was the value of the land attached to each castle, especially for the lands of the queens, whose value was agreed in the dower contract. When a castle such as Wallingford was granted, it went with the honour of Wallingford, and no doubt it was this land and income that was behind the grant as much as the physical castle, although in this study the castle is the main focus of interest. In contrast, when a new castle was built, the land was already in the hands of the castle builder, and so it the main motivation was the desire for a new castle.

Table 1-ix: Castle ownership in England and Wales by type of owner

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Owner</th>
<th>c.1300</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>c.1350</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>c.1400</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crown</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>+13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Owners</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>+7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>+61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comital Community</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>+43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliamentary Peers</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>-32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Private</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>+123%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>+51%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>521</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>521</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>521</td>
<td>+39%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If we examine the changing balance between the various groups of castle owners, the most obvious trend over time was that the number of castles owned at the lowest level of the castle owning community - knights or below - more than doubled during this period. Indeed, by 1350 this was the largest group of castles. However, as will be seen, the estates involved were small, as were the castles involved. At the top of society, we can see a changing balance between the king and the comital community. In 1300, Edward I controlled more castles than the comital community, but by 1350, the comital community had overtaken Edward III. Richard II had fallen further behind, and only his Lancastrian castles gave Henry IV a numerical advantage in 1400. However, we should not over stress the numerical balance. While the king’s estates were united, individual estates within the comital community never rise much above twenty castles, while the majority were much smaller and only if the entire comital community was united could they equal the crown in the number of castles they controlled.

The large number of castles whose ownership was unknown at these dates fall into three main groups. The first, and least problematic, are those for which we have been able to compile detailed ownership lists but at which there are either gaps, or moments of uncertainty at these dates. The second consists of those castles for which we have a very small number of references, limited to one or two individual owners, often including the licence to crenellate. While we can not identify individual owners we can at least be clear at what level of society these castles were held. The final group consists of those castles for which we have no documentation. Here we are totally in the dark and can make no comment. While it may be tempting to assume that all such castles were owned by low ranked individuals, that is not always the case. Castle Camps castle (Cambridgeshire), a de Vere castle from the time of William I until 1580, does not appear in any of the Inquisitions Post Mortem of the family and yet it saw some major building works at the start of this period. It was not a small castle, and the

49 V.C.H. Cambridgeshire, vol. 2, p.21
50 Modified 1265-1331, ibid.
absence of such a place from the inquisitions reminds us that we can make no assumptions about the undocumented castles. This was not a unique case and similar gaps can be demonstrated in many of the greatest estates.

The second part of this study will examine those people who ran these castles. This will include constables, both royal and private, holders of wardships and finally sub constables and lieutenants. It will also examine the staff over whom they had authority and the garrisons of their castles. These people made the day to day decisions about castles that they did not own. For those castles whose owner, whether the king or a private landowner, were infrequent visitors, the constable was by far the most important resident. The main focus of this part of the study will be on the royal constables. They are the most numerous group of named and, more importantly, traceable individuals connected with castles in this period. Their appointments were recorded on the Patent or Fine Rolls, and as will be seen, detailed and near complete lists of constables can be collated for most royal castles. In contrast, the private constable remains a shadowy figure. Very few of their names have come down to us, most often in chance mentions in royal administrative documents. There is even some uncertainty about their existence for many private castles, where, as will be seen, the role may have been filled by the steward of the surrounding estates. Even for those individuals whose names have survived, we rarely have more than one reference, meaning that we do not have time-spans for their service. The two estates for which we have more details are those of the Black Prince, and John of Gaunt. The survival of some of their records has given us at least a few snapshots into private estates. However, these were the two greatest estates of their time, and both owned by sons of the king, and as such are unlikely to be typical of any but the greatest of the private estates. A similar set of problems will face our study of the sub constables. Very few of these men were appointed by the crown, and information about most of them survives only in chance mentions. However, the nature of many messages sent to constables, or ‘whoever held their place’, suggests that the sub constable was a normal member of the staff at most important castles. Unlike the private constables, we do have some time-spans for these individuals, and can reconstruct some of their careers.

Constable will be used to refer to the official in charge of a castle, private or royal, regardless of what term was used in an individual reference to describe them (for example keeper or custodian). The only exception to this will be during the discussion of the Latin terminology used to describe these people.
Chapter Two - Royal Castles

Section i - The king's castles

The royal castles represent the largest block of castles throughout this period. Seventy four castles were long term royal castles, with over two hundred passing through royal hands at least once during this period. In comparison, the largest private estate, that of John of Gaunt, contained twenty eight castles. These castles ranged from the most powerful in the country – Dover, Windsor and the Tower of London amongst them – down to the fortified hunting lodge at Haverah Park. Most of the core seventy four castles were amongst the first rank of English and Welsh castles. They represent over three hundred years of building, from the earliest castles of William the Conqueror, through to Edward III's foundation, Queenborough castle on the Isle of Sheppey and include the great castle building programme of Edward I which provided so many of the crown's greatest castles, representing one tenth of the royal castles. This study will examine all of these castles, not just those newly built in the period. Indeed, the new castles will only form a small, if important, part of this chapter. The main emphasis must fall on those castles that already existed in 1272 and that provided the backbone of royal power. The long term royal castles were relatively evenly spread throughout England and Wales, with two main exceptions. First, there were very few royal castles in the midlands. Eight counties in or next to the midlands contained no royal castles. Second, Wiltshire, Hampshire and Kent contained high concentrations of royal castles. These exceptions will be examined in detail below.

Within the block of royal castles there were several clearly defined sub-groups. Membership of these sub-groups was not exclusive, nor was it permanent. The status of individual royal castles could alter, and on occasion a castle could even leave royal ownership. Very few royal castles had a simple history during this period, with many passing through a variety of hands, some close to the king and uncontroversial like the queen, others controversial figures such as Piers Gaveston. The most important sub-groups were castles held by the queen, castles held by the heir to the throne, castles linked to a sheriff, castles in direct royal control and castles in royal hands due to forfeitures. The first group consists of those castles that were granted to the queen, which will be dealt with in section ii below. When not held by a queen they could fall into all of the other groups. The second group consists of those castles that were given to the heir to the throne. These will be dealt with in section iii below.

The third group were the county castles. The constables of these castles were also the county sheriffs. The dual appointments were made as a single grant, normally recorded on the Fine Rolls, with the appointment as constable clearly coming second to that as sheriff. Twenty five castles fall into this group at some time. Of those castles, eight – Appleby, Arundel, Gloucester, Guildford, Launceston, Lincoln and Nottingham – were linked temporarily, often after a forfeiture or during the wardship of a private castle. These temporary links fall into two broad groups. The first is composed of private castles that were for some reason in royal hands and were linked with their county during that time. This was the case at Appleby castle, Arundel castle and Lincoln castle. The other group consists of those royal castles that were linked to their county temporarily. One such castle was Guildford castle, linked to the sheriff of Surrey and Sussex once, at the appointment of Andrew Peverel in 1342. In 1367 Andrew de

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1 This figure includes those castles held by the heir to the throne and the queen. See appendix nineteen for a list of royal castles.
2 Excluding castles in wardship.
Sakevyll, then sheriff of Surrey and Sussex was appointed constable of Guildford castle, but in this case no link was made between the posts. Similar circumstances occur at Gloucester castle and Nottingham castle. In contrast, the history of Launceston castle was more complex. Between 1331 and 1336 the custody of the castle was held by the sheriff of Cornwall, despite that fact that the castle itself was owned by John of Eltham, earl of Cornwall for exactly the same period. At most of the remaining seventeen county castles, there were still some breaks in the connection between county and castle. Only at York castle, Canterbury castle (Kent) and Newcastle upon Tyne castle (Northumberland) were there no breaks between the county and the castle.

These changes in status fall into four main categories. The first contains castles that became independent royal castles for a limited period, the second, castles that permanently made that change, the third, castles that became private property and the fourth, castles that were granted in dower to the queen. Castles in all groups but the third could continue to be used by the sheriff in the same way as had been the case while he was sheriff, but with a separate official in charge of and accounting for the castle.

Short term breaks occur at Norwich castle, Northampton castle and Oxford castle. The first such break occurred at Oxford castle, where Richard Damory was constable from 1311 until his death during Lancaster’s rebellion in 1322, after which the link was restored. The splits at Norwich and Northampton castles occurred from 1380 to 1391, a period that saw other more permanent breaks. At both castles constables were appointed for life – John Crey at Norwich in 1381 and William de Murreres at Northampton in 1380, then Matthew Swetenham in 1388. None of these three were sheriff of the respective counties during this period, although Swetenham was sheriff of Northamptonshire in 1411. More relevant was that John Crey was a king’s esquire and Matthew Swetenham a yeoman of the chamber, at a period when the household was being criticised for its greed. The appointment of two junior members of the household as constables for life may reflect this greed in operation.

At Carlisle (1382), Cambridge (1399), Colchester (1376), Winchester (1385), Shrewsbury (1339), and Old Sarum castles (1382), the split between castle and county lasted at least until 1422. The first such split was at Shrewsbury castle, which split from Shropshire and Staffordshire in 1339, when John de Hethey was appointed constable for life. He was again mentioned in that post in 1341, but was dead by May 1342 when he was replaced by John de Windsor, also for life, to be followed by a series of appointments for life. In what would appear to be an example of administrative confusion, or at least inertia, the next two sheriffs of Shropshire and Staffordshire were recorded in the Fine Rolls as still possessing Shrewsbury and it is clear that Shrewsbury castle was deliberately taken away from the Sheriff. At the same time Bridgnorth castle lost its link with Shropshire and Staffordshire, and after 1388 disappears from the record completely. The remaining cases all resemble that of Colchester castle (Essex). After being split from the county in 1376, the castle was held by six different men over the next forty six years. All castles in this group were held by a small number of long serving constables after the split from their county, just as with the independent castles. As above, half of these permanent splits occurred during the 1380s, and it is worth noting that all three of the men involved here were members of the household, suggesting that these appointments were made to reward the recipients rather than from any concern for the castles involved.

3 C.P.R. 1391-1393, pp.147 & 198
4 C.F.R. 1337-1347, pp.168 & 200
Only one county castle – Sherborne (Dorset) – went into private hands. In 1331 ownership of the castle was granted to William de Montague, and although sheriff-constables continued to be appointed until 1333, the castle remained in private hands for the rest of the period. At Exeter castle (Devon), the break was caused by the grant of the castle to the Black Prince in 1348. The appointment of sheriff-constables stopped immediately, and did not restart after the death of the Prince. Indeed, no constables are recorded after 1352, although porters were appointed as late as 1408.

In one case a county castle was granted to the queen. This was Cambridge castle, held by Queen Margaret from 1299 until her death. However, this does not appear to have affected appointments to the castle. Cambridge castle and Cambridgeshire appear in the same form as all other county castles, with no indication of any input from Queen Margaret, despite her possession of the castle having been confirmed in 1310.

Of these county castles, Cambridge, Carlisle, Exeter, Winchester, Hereford, Norwich, Northampton, Newcastle upon Tyne, Oxford, Shrewsbury and York were located in the main seat of their county court, while Colchester and Canterbury were both amongst the sites for peripatetic county courts. Only Old Sarum castle (Wiltshire) was located away from the county court, and then only by a few miles, with the court meeting in Wilton, near Salisbury. As would be expected from their location in major towns, all but three of these county castles dated to the reign of William I, and had originally been motte and bailey castles. Although none of these county castles saw a total rebuilding during this period, they were still being updated piecemeal as late as 1380 when a new gatehouse was added to Canterbury castle (Kent). Most of these castles appear to have been reasonably maintained. Of them only Shrewsbury castle (Shropshire), dilapidated by 1350, and Oxford castle, already in a poor condition by 1300, fell into decay during this period.

The fourth and final group of royal castles contains those that were independent of any of the previous groups. The king had the most freedom when dealing with these castles, and as will be seen in chapter six this had an impact on their constables. Membership of this group was fluid, with large numbers of castles leaving it whenever there was a prince of Wales or to enter the queens dower, but at its peak this was the largest group, and included the three most important royal castles – Dover, Windsor and the Tower of London – as well as a network of castles across most of the country. Only six castles remained in this group across the entire period. Windsor castle (Berkshire), Dover castle (Kent) and the Tower of London represent three of the six, each of which had functions beyond those of most royal castles. Windsor gained its role at the symbolic seat of the king and the home of the Order of the Garter, Dover acted as a frontier post and the Tower contained a whole variety of important offices. The remaining three were Bamborough castle (Nthumb), Scarborough castle (Yorkshire) and Rochester castle (Kent). Bamborough and Rochester were key castles against the Scots and the French respectively and that may have influenced their retention by the King. Scarborough is harder to explain, and reversion of the castle was granted to Piers Gaveston when he was appointed constable, although his near immediate death cancelled that grant. It is possible that its remote location simply made Scarborough an unattractive grant. Another ten castles – Bolsover (Derbyshire), Corfe (Dorset), Bristol (Gloucester), Gloucester, St. Briavels (Gloucester), Portchester (Hampshire), Sandwich

5 R.C. Palmer, The County Court, Princeton, 1982, p.312
6 Fry, p.181
7 Fry, p.168
(Kent), Nottingham, Guildford (Surrey) and Devizes (Wiltshire) – fell into this group for over one hundred years of this period while twenty eight were part of this group for between fifty and one hundred years. Of the twenty eight, sixteen were a part of the estates eventually associated with the heir to the throne, including twelve Welsh castles. The only areas not containing such castles were south Wales where the marcher lords were dominant and the northern border, where Bamborough castle (Northumberland) was the only representative.

Over two hundred castles came into the king’s hands through forfeiture, many of which were forfeited by successive owners. This was the most numerous group of royal castles, and included most of the greatest private castles in the realm. However, the significance of this group to the king was limited by two factors. First was that the bulk of these castles were forfeited either in 1322 or between 1397 and 1415. During most of our period, there were no forfeited castles. Second, only six of these castles remained in the king’s hands for more than ten years, while only one, Dynevor castle (Carmarthen), became a permanent part of the royal estates. These factors combine to reduce the importance of these castles, although their value as a source of patronage was great, as will be seen in chapter three.

Table 2-i: Forfeited castles remaining in royal hands for over ten years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Span</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blaen Llyfni (Brecon)</td>
<td>1330-46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinas (Brecon)</td>
<td>1330-46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dryslwyn (Carmarthen)</td>
<td>1287-1317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynevor (Carmarthen)</td>
<td>1277-1297-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynevor (Carmarthen)</td>
<td>1326-1422-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halton (Cheshire)</td>
<td>1327-1349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cilgerran (Pembroke)</td>
<td>1389-1399</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A small group of privately owned castles played such a vital part in the defence of the northern border that the king became involved in their maintenance. This royal involvement was most long lived at Wark on Tweed castle (Northumb). In 1296 the castle had been granted to William de Ros of Helmsley, after Robert de Ros of Wark had joined the Scots. The castle’s new owners were clearly not happy with this grant, and as early as 1300 the castle had been loaned to Edward I, before the son of William de Ros gave it to Edward II in return for safer lands. However, rather than maintain it in royal hands, Edward II granted Wark-upon-Tweed to William de Montague, his most trusted nobleman, who was richly endowed after 1330. However, this did not end the king’s involvement. In 1384, Henry de Percy, warden of the east March, was given the right to put a garrison in the castle, although John de Montague, the castle’s owner, retained control over the keep. This was the only example of a fully private castle being so garrisoned outside a military campaign. Royal garrisons can be found at Warkworth castle (Northumb) in 1318 and 1319, when the castle was owned by John fitz Robert de Clavering, but he had made Edward II his heir in 1311.

Some castles became royal castles by means other than forfeiture or building activity. The largest such group, the Lancastrian castles, will be dealt with below. Two castles were purchased by the king. Edward I purchased the reversion of the Isle of Wight and Carisbrooke castle from Isabella de Forz in 1276, and gained possession shortly before her death in 1293. The second castle purchased was Wark on Tweed castle (Northumberland), discussed above. Clearly Wark was too precarious for William de

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8 Bates, p.93
9 C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.247
Ros, remote even from his northern centre around Helmsley castle (Yorkshire). Both Carisbrooke and Wark on Tweed were of obvious military value and their purchases by the crown could be seen in that light. A small number of castles reverted to the king as heir. The largest group of castles to so revert were the nine castles owned by Edmund, earl of Cornwall. After Edmund’s death in 1298, his estates were not entirely kept together, but a core of castles were held by each man to be granted the title. Piers Gaveston held three, John of Eltham six, the Black Prince seven and Prince Henry six. This was a remarkable level of cohesion, and was only achieved through the death of Piers Gaveston and John of Eltham, both of whom could have been expected to leave an heir, thus permanently removing their castles from royal control.

The single largest group of castles to enter royal control were Henry IV’s Lancastrian castles. Henry’s seizure of the throne brought twenty eight castles into royal control, accounting for more castles than the king built across the entire period, bringing the total number of royal castles to over 100, from a low of fewer then eighty under Richard II. The first two Lancastrian kings retained direct control of the majority of their family castles. Brecon castle and Hay castle (both Brecknock) were transferred to Anne, lady Stafford in 1321 as part of a redistribution of the Bohun estates first gained by Henry Bolingbroke through marriage, while Grosmont castle (Monmouth) was granted to Joan, widow of William de Beauchamp in 1413. These were the only castles to leave permanent royal control. Another four castles were made part of the dowry of John of Gaunt’s widow, Katherine, while Hertford castle formed part of the dowry of Queen Joan. The only issue regarding these castles that had to be decided was the exact status of Lincoln castle, which had almost come to be regarded as Lancastrian private property. In 1408 it was judged to be a royal castle, although by that date all that was at stake was how the castle would be managed.

Section II – The queen’s castles

A major claim on the royal castles were the dowries of the queen. Nine queens of England fall into this period, of whom seven are known to have held castles. The two cases where the queen appears to have held no castles were Isabella of France (1396-1409) and Catherine of Valois (1420-1437), and in both cases their royal husband died soon after the marriage. Fifty castles were held by at least one queen, and the five periods where two queens were alive simultaneously increased the number of castles at least theoretically in their hands at any one time. While these periods of overlap were normally uncontroversial, those involving Queen Isabella, first with Queen Margaret (1308-1318) and then with Queen Phillipa (1328-1358) occurred at a period of some turmoil and will be examined below.

The control a queen had over her lands changed over this period. During Edward I’s reign, the queen’s estates only entered her control once she was widowed. Thus the estates of Eleanor of Castile should have remaining part of the main royal estates, while those of Eleanor of Provence should have been under her control. As will be seen in chapter six, we do not have enough information about the constables of Eleanor of Provence’s castles to be certain who appointed them, but she did gain control of Benefield castle (Northants) in 1273 and was granted Skipton castle (Yorkshire) in 1286,

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10 Berkhamstead (Hertfordshire), Knaresborough (Yorkshire), Launceston (Cornwall), Mere (Wiltshire), Oakham (Rutland), Restormel (Cornwall), Tintagel (Cornwall), Trematon (Cornwall) and Wallingford (Berkshire)

11 See appendix twenty two for lists of castles held by each queen.

suggesting that she was personally involved in her own estates. In contrast, Queen Philippa appears to have appointed her own constables, even though she was never widowed, suggesting that she had some control over her dower estates.

The number of castles allocated to the queen remained remarkably consistent until the death of Queen Philippa. While Eleanor of Provence and Eleanor of Castile individually held fewer castles than their successors, their estates existed simultaneously and thus until 1290 nineteen castles were held by the queens. In contrast, the total of twenty eight castles held by Queen Isabella during her lifetime were not all in her hands at the same time and she held no more than seventeen castles at any one time. This level of allocation placed the queen above all but the greatest of the earls as castle owners. This may have been an important consideration when the dower estates were defined, intended to secure the status of a widowed queen.

Table 2-ii: Castles held by the queens of England

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Dates13</th>
<th>Husband</th>
<th>No of Castles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eleanor of Provence</td>
<td>1236-91</td>
<td>Henry III</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleanor of Castile</td>
<td>1254-90</td>
<td>Edward I</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>1299-1318</td>
<td>Edward I</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isabella of France</td>
<td>1308-1358</td>
<td>Edward II</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippa of Hainault</td>
<td>1328-1369</td>
<td>Edward III</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna</td>
<td>1382-1394</td>
<td>Richard II</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isabella of France</td>
<td>1396-1409</td>
<td>Richard II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joan of Navarre</td>
<td>1401-1437</td>
<td>Henry IV</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catherine of Valois</td>
<td>1420-1437</td>
<td>Henry V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like many estates, those of the queens were not static. Castles were gained and lost by all but two queens of England during this period. The most dramatic examples of this were the resumption of Queen Margaret’s estates in 1317 and Queen Isabella’s in 1324, both officially due to a perceived threat from France.14 For most queens, the changes in their estates were relatively minor. Eleanor of Castile lost Tickhill castle (Yorkshire) and Stamford castle (Yorkshire) as part of a reorganisation of her estates. Queen Margaret held Montgomery castle from 1299, when it formed part of her first estates, until 1301, and again from 1304, when her dower was extended, leaving one to wonder if any of her other castles were lost in 1301. Like Eleanor of Castile, Queen Philippa lost two castles – Caerphilly castle (Glamorgan) and Neath castle (Glamorgan) – restored to the Despensers in 1349. The only castles to leave the estates of Queen Anne were Richmond and Bowes (both Yorkshire), leased by her to Henry fitz Hugh in 1391. In contrast, the estates of Queen Isabella fluctuated frequently, even before 1326. The first castle did not appear in her hands until 1313, five years after her marriage and one year after the birth of the future Edward III. This was in part due to the survival of Queen Margaret, and indeed six castles passed to Queen Isabella on the death of Queen Margaret in 1318. However, some of these castles left Queen Isabella’s control as early as 1320-21, and only one of her first castles – Mere (Wiltshire) – was still in her hands in 1358. Such a cavalier attitude towards her estates on the part of her husband may help explain Queen Isabella’s eventually hostility towards him.

The castles held by the queen were concentrated in the same areas as the other royal castles. Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Hampshire, Northamptonshire and Yorkshire, all counties with concentrations of royal castles, contained nearly all of the

13 From marriage to date of death.
14 Feudera, conventiones, litterae, ed. Thomas Rymer, revised edn by A.Clarke, F.Holbrooke and J.Coley, ii, 1818, p.569
dower estates. At the core of the queens estates were eleven castles that were held by three or more queens. The overlap between Queen Eleanor of Castile and Queen Eleanor of Provence prevents any castles being held by all seven queens. However, only Odiham castle (Hampshire) was held by six queens, and only Devizes castle (Wiltshire) and Rockingham castle (Northamptonshire) by five. There was not a group of castles that were consistently held by the queen. As will be seen below, that was not the case for the heir to the throne.

The eleven castles that were most often in the queen’s hands were a physically mixed group. They varied from Peak castle (Derbyshire), a castle with only basic accommodation, through to Leeds castle (Kent) and Hadleigh castle (Essex), both of which saw major domestic works during this period. These last two castles were the nearest of the queen’s castles to London, perhaps explaining this work. At many of the other eight castles, minor work was carried out on the royal accommodation, but no major work was carried out.

Twenty four of these fifty castles were only held by one queen during this period (see table 2-iii). This group includes Benefield castle (Nhants), the only castle gained through her own actions by a queen other than Queen Isabella, when it was leased by Queen Eleanor of Provence in 1275, as well as four castles gained by Queen Isabella during her time in power. These castles include many that were only available to the king due to forfeiture. Thus Arundel castle (Sussex) was available for grant to Queen Isabella after the forfeiture both of Edmund fitz Alan, and of Edmund de Woodstock, earl of Kent, while Barton Seagrave castle (Nhants) was granted to Queen Joan after execution of the young earl Marshal in 1405. As otherwise private castles, they were not available to be granted to any other queen.

Table 2-iii: Castles held by one queen

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Queen</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Unique Castles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eleanor of Provence</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Benefield, Ludgershall, Skipton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleanor of Castile</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bolsover, Caergwrle, Orford, Stamford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Cambridge, Guildford, Oxford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isabella</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Arundel, Bilt, Clitheroe, Hanley, Mold, Sandwich, Wallingford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Caerphilly, Neath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bowes, Conway, Richmond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joan</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Barton Seagrave, Carisbrooke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Their castles came to the queen from a variety of sources. The most obvious of these sources were the estates of the previous queen. However, when the dower of four of these queens were set, the king’s mother was still alive, and so her castles were unavailable. Even when that was not the case, there was surprisingly little overlap. Queen Margaret only held five of the nineteen castles that had been held by the Queen Eleanor, while Queen Anne only held four of the same castles as Queen Philippa. Only Queen Joan differed from this pattern, holding seven of the eleven castles of Queen Anne. In contrast, Queen Isabella gained eleven of Queen Margaret’s castles after her death, while only four of Queen Philippa’s castles had not been held by Queen Isabella. Queen Philippa benefited from the fall of Isabella and Mortimer, gaining seven of her castles in 1331. It should not surprise us to find a greater overlap of castles when there was no gap between queens. With no gap, there was no time for other grants to be made, while the castles in question had visibly been the property of the previous queen, increasing the claim of her successor.

15 for details see chapter three.
Queen Isabella gained eleven castles during her time in power. Of these, seven were independent royal castles while another, Odiham castle (Hampshire), had been held by Queen Margaret, and this may just be a delayed first mention. Only three of these eleven demonstrate the greed for which Isabella and Mortimer are notorious. Arundel castle (Sussex) came from the estates of Edmund, earl of Kent, after his execution, despite the prior claims of Richard, earl of Arundel, whose father had forfeited in 1326. Hertford castle was gained from Mary de St. Pol, the widow of Aymer de Valence, who was forced to surrender it in March 1327. Finally, Hanley castle (Worcester) was in her hands for five months in 1330, before Isabella passed it to Roger de Mortimer. However, five castles were first granted to Queen Isabella after her fall. The most interesting of these was Haverford castle (Pembroke). This too was surrendered by Mary de St. Pol in 1327, but was not granted to Queen Isabella until 1331, suggesting that the motivation for the surrender of both castles was a desire to be rid of them, rather than any pressure from Queen Isabella, and neither castle was ever restored to Mary. Queen Isabella was also granted Clitheroe castle (Lancashire) in 1331, a Lacy castle that had been forfeited by Thomas of Lancaster and remained a royal castle until this grant. Finally, in November 1331 Emma, widow of Robert de Mohaut surrendered her castles – Hawarden (Flint), Mold (Flint) and Castle Rising (Norfolk) – to Queen Isabella. Queen Isabella gained more recently private castles in her disgrace than she had done while in power.

One of the main influences on the allocation of the queen’s estates were their financial value. The value of the estates allocated to the queen had to match the value agreed before her marriage. This was sometimes explicit in the allocation of dower lands, as was the case for the allocation of Queen Philippa’s dower in 1331.16 Twenty five parcels of lands were granted to her, ranging in value from the manor of Gillingham at 74s. up to the castle, town and honour of Pontefract at 1000 marks. Altogether these estates were valued at £4000, of which £2463 came from estates that included castles. However, the income from these estates came not from the castle, but from the associated honours, towns and manors. This financial element must have played a part in the concentration of the queen’s castles in the more prosperous south and east of England.

Ideally, we would be able to examine what use the three widowed queens made of their castles after the death of their husband. However, Eleanor of Provence is said to have retired to a nunnery after the death of Henry III, while Queen Margaret’s location can not easily be traced. This leaves Queen Isabella, who still held five castles at her death. She can be proved to have spent some time at at least three of these castles. Castle Rising (Norfolk) was her favourite residence,17 although she died at Hertford castle. She also spent some weeks at Leeds castle (Kent) in the years before her death, and appears to have used the castle as a base for visits to Canterbury.18 This leaves Haverford castle (Pembroke) and Mere castle (Wiltshire) apparently unvisited, and these castles were some distance from Queen Isabella’s main residences.

The castles of these seven queens were a disparate group. Their numbers, origins and the level of control over them enjoyed by the queen changed from queen to queen. The most striking element of this is how wide and changeable a group of castles was held by the queen. Only when Queen Margaret, Queen Isabella and Queen Philippa

16 1 January 1331, C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.55
17 McKisack, p.102
18 E.A Bond, ‘Notices of the Last days of Isabella, Queen of Edward the Second, drawn from an account of the Expenses of her Household’, Archaeologia 35 (1853), pp.453-469
overlapped, resulting in a period of seventy years during which there was always at least one queen alive, did any concept of a set group of castles associated with the queen develop. Only a very small core group of castles became permanently associated with the queens of England.

**Section iii – Castles of the heir to the throne**

The heirs to the throne were, in theory, amongst the greatest castle owners in the country. Their castles were a part of their royal inheritance granted to them early. The significance of this split from the bulk of the king’s estates varied massively, depending on the age of the prince. The heir’s estates were at their most independent during the active life of the Black Prince, who played a central role for much of his father’s reign. In contrast Prince Richard was underage during his brief time as heir to the throne, and as such had little control, if any, over his estates. Thus the estates of each heir to the throne will be examined individually.

Edward of Caernarvon’s time as heir to the throne saw the beginnings of the great estates of the later heirs. He was earl of Chester and prince of Wales, and although he never gained as many castles as the later princes of Wales, both Beaumaris castle (Anglesey) and Conway castle (Caernarvon) were to be found in his hands. In contrast, Edward III had very limited estates during his father’s reign, and only Carisbrooke castle (Hampshire) and three of the castles of the earls of Chester – Chester castle, Rhuddlan castle (Flint) and Flint castle – were to be found in his hands. Even at these castles, his impact must have been minimal, and he was king before he came of age.

The most celebrated heir to the throne in this period was Edward, the Black Prince. He held twenty six castles, making him one of the greatest castle owners of the period (see table 2-iv). His first four castles were gained in 1333, when he was created earl of Chester while aged only three. Another seven castles came with the duchy of Cornwall in 1337 and another twelve when he was created Prince of Wales in 1343. This group of castles then remained intact for thirty six years until his death. One result of the source of his castles was to make the Black Prince a regional landowner, with very few castles outside Wales and the South West. Another was to make his estates safe from competing claims. Only Montgomery castle, granted to him from the estates forfeited by Roger de Mortimer in 1330 was vulnerable to restoration, and it was indeed lost by 1355. A final result of being made prince of Wales was that his estates included Edward I’s great castles in North Wales, making him a great castle owner both in quantity and quality. Moreover, the forty years he spent as heir to the throne gave him time to have a real impact on his estates. In contrast, Richard II’s time as heir can be seen as a coda to his father’s. His council barely had time to confirm the Black Prince’s appointments before the death of Edward III catapulted Richard to the throne.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2-iv: Castles of the Black Prince</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Castle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaumaris (Anglesey)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallingford (Berkshire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caernarvon (Caernarvon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conway (Caernarvon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criccieth (Caernarvon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwth (Cardigan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan (Cardigan)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the aftermath of his father's victory in 1399, the titles of the Black Prince were revived for Prince Henry after a twenty-two year gap. The young prince controlled the same castles that his great uncle had, but under very different circumstances. In 1399, Henry was only twelve, and Henry IV continued to appoint the constables to his son's castles until 1403.\(^{20}\) Before Prince Henry could come of age, the Glendower revolt began, and the nature of his estates changed immediately. What had been a source of prestige and income for the Black Prince, became a source of worry and an endless financial drain for Prince Henry. His correspondence with his father was filled with calls for more money, while all but three of his Welsh castles came under attack by Glendower's men, with all but three of the attacked castles falling to the Welsh at least once.\(^{21}\) While this constant strain can not have endeared Wales to the Prince, it did provide him with his military training.

The castles granted to the heir to the throne differ from those held by the queen in that a large group of castles became permanently associated with the heir. These castles were those linked to the three titles that became linked to the heir to the throne – earl of Chester, duke of Cornwall and prince of Wales – each of which carried a set group of castles. These castles also differed from those of the queen in that they were located almost entirely in the west of England and in Wales, while the queen held castles in those areas of England where the bulk of royal castles were located. Thus, despite the superficial similarities of two groups of castles that had to be allocated from

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19 With a break in the 1350s

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2-v: Castles of the Black Prince by region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Border</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The North</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midlands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Anglia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Marches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---
a common pool, in reality the heir to the throne had a far more consistent group of castles that the queen.
Chapter Three - Privately Owned Castles.

The majority of castles in England and Wales were the property of private landowners, ranging from the great castles of John of Gaunt down to the towers of the Scottish border, owned by the local gentry. During their lives some individuals rose from gentry towards the heights, and their rise was often marked by the acquisition or building of castles. However, as important as the individual was the family, and in this chapter we see how individuals and families lost and gained castles across this period.

We shall begin by examining the types of tenure by which castles were held, and the frequency of each type.¹ The majority of privately owned castles were held in chief from the crown. In many parts of England, tenure in chief was entirely dominant. The amount of the land associated with castles could vary massively, from the one and a half knights fees for which Blaen Llyfni castle (Brecknock) and Dinas castle (Brecknock) were together held by Gilbert de Talbot in 1346, up to the four knights fees by which John Mowbray of Axholme held Bramber (Sussex) in 1368, although the smaller values were more common.

A small number of castles were held by mesne tenants. This was at its most common in Wales and the marches, but could be found elsewhere, although rarely. Of the fifty six castles in Yorkshire, only four were held by mesne tenants. Only the greatest landowners had mesne tenants with castles. The archbishops of Canterbury occur most often, as tenant in chief for Whorlton castle (Yorkshire), Tonbridge castle (Kent) and Eynesford castle (Kent). The rarest form of tenure was ownership for life. Only eight such grants were made by the king, and another six by private castle owners. Four of the eight royal grants were made after 1390, when both Richard II and Henry IV had large numbers of forfeited castles to distribute. However, even then these grants were massively outnumbered by more traditional hereditary grants.

As with all landed property, great efforts were made with castles to avoid or alter standard inheritance laws. However, there was little consistency of action. Within a single estate, a wide range of tenures could occur. Of the four castles owned by Simon de Burley (d.1388), Newcastle Emlyn (Carmarthen) was held for life, Lyonshall (Hereford) and Llanstephan (Carmarthen) in fee simple and Leybourne (Kent) in tail male, while of the twenty four castles owned by John of Gaunt, at least six were at some time entailed and another two placed in jointure. However, the same can not be said for earlier Lancastrians. Edmund of Lancaster’s sole entail was for the benefit of his second son Henry, who was made Edmund’s heir for Grosmont castle, Skenfrith castle and Whitecastle (all Monmouth), by charter in 1292. If it had not been for the childless death of Earl Thomas, these castles would have separated from the main Lancastrian estates. Other families are not as well documented as the Lancastrians, but it is clear that jointures, entails and uses became increasingly common during this period and by the end examples can be found for all great castle owners.

* * *

¹ Tenure at castles used the same legal mechanisms as all land holding in this period for which see B. Lyon, A Constitutional and Legal History of Medieval England, New York, 1960
We will now examine the framework of private castle ownership – the number and spread of castles within estates, what castles they contained, and how that related to the rank of the individual castle owner. The number of castles in each estate can be examined in two ways. First, we must examine how many castle owners existed at each level. Second, we must examine how many castles were owned at each level. If we examine the owners of one castle from these two viewpoints, we see that from the first viewpoint, two thirds of castle owners across our period owned a single castle, making them the largest group of castle owners. However, from the second viewpoint, less than one third of castles across the period were in single castle estates.

Table 3-i: Private estates by numbers of castles held

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Owned</th>
<th>Individuals</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Comital Community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>66.5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>674</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most important private castle owners were the comital community.\(^2\) This group included some of the most powerful people in the country and this was reflected in both the number and type of castles they owned. The comital community in this period contained 112 individuals, whose background, wealth, power and careers varied widely. Despite that, their estates have several elements in common, and that clearly distinguished most of them from other private estates. Within the overall comital community there were nine families – those of the earls of Arundel, Devon, Hereford, Lancaster, March, Oxford, Salisbury, Stafford and Warwick – that spanned several generations and most of this period, giving us the chance to examine their estates over a longer period than is possible for such families as the de Clare earls of Gloucester, who died out in 1314 or for late creations such as the Neville earls of Westmorland, created in 1397. This group of nine families will be referred to as the established comital families in this study.

The 112 members of the comital community owned a total of 648 castles, over one third of all private ownership in the hands of one sixth of the castle owners. Moreover, only two non-comital estates contained six or more castles, and none contained ten or more. All the great castle owners were members of the comital

\(^2\) Defined as those men of the rank of earl or higher
community, although the reverse was not true, and three owned no castles. Within this group, only fifteen individuals owned ten or more castles. Of these, five were represented by the Mortimer earls of March and five by the earls and dukes of Lancaster. The greatest of the remaining five was the last Clare earl of Gloucester, who owned twenty one castles. Towards the end of the period the eleven castles of Thomas Despenser, earl of Gloucester, included ten from the Clare estates. John Warenne, earl of Surrey (d.1347) and Richard fitzAlan, earl of Arundel (d.1397) were members of established comital families whose personal estates increased beyond their family inheritance, in Arundel's case by inheriting Warenne's castles. Finally, Edward, duke of York combined the seven castles he inherited from his father with four he had gained in his own right. All but two of these men were members of one of the nine established comital families. However, not all of these families owned large numbers of castles. The remaining families within that group averaged between four and six castles, although that does hide some exceptional estates such as William de Montague, earl of Salisbury (d.1397) who held nine castles, twice as many as any other member of his family.

The castles of the comital community were spread across most of England and Wales. However, there were two areas with few or no comital castles. The first surrounded London. In 1300 there was a string of eight counties from Hampshire to Norfolk that contained no comital castles. The second was north and mid Wales, conquered by Edward I, and dominated by royal castles. The picture was similar in 1400, although the seizure of the throne by Henry IV had reduced the number of comital castles. Within individual estates the distribution of castles was varied. Not even the greatest families had a truly national spread of castles, although the earls and dukes of Lancaster had concentrations of castles in south Wales, the Midlands, Lancashire and Lincolnshire. In contrast even the great Mortimer estates look concentrated, with only Bridgewater castle (Somerset) and Clare castle (Suffolk) away from Wales and the marches. The remaining comital estates fall into two groups. The first, representing the larger estates, resemble smaller copies of the Lancastrian estates, with one English and one Welsh focus. Thus the earls of Warwick had one concentration of castles in the Midlands and another in Glamorgan, while the earls of Salisbury were concentrated in Hampshire, Kent, Denbigh and Flint. The remaining, smaller estates were more concentrated. The most geographically focused estates were those of the Courtenay earls of Devon, all of whose castles were in Devon and those of the de Vere earls of Oxford, whose castle were limited to Cambridgeshire and Essex. These concentrated estates were the smallest amongst the comital community. The most important element in determining the number of castles owned by any family was the possession of lands in south Wales and the marches. In those areas the concentration of castles was very high, and the marcher lords were the greatest private castle owners.

The comital community, in keeping with their wealth and status, owned some of the greatest castles in the country. Even the de Veres, amongst the poorest of the earls, owned Hedingham castle (Essex), containing one of the largest Norman great towers, as a constant reminder of their rank. At the top of society, the earls and dukes of Lancaster owned a group of great castles. Amongst the nineteen castles that were held by three or more members of the house of Lancaster, there were no weak links. They included Pontefract castle (Yorkshire), one of the greatest castles in Yorkshire and Kenilworth castle (Warwickshire), one of the greatest castles in the country, both in military and residential terms. Even Whitecastle (Monmouth), renowned for its lack of comfort was militarily powerful. In contrast, many of the newly created members of the comital
community held lesser castles. Even William de Clinton, earl of Huntingdon, Edward III’s companion, did not gain great castles, having to be content with Halton castle (Cheshire), and even that was lost before his death. There were a limited number of great castles in England and Wales, and only at a time of mass forfeitures were they available to the King to redistribute.

Table 3-ii: Younger sons of kings granted comital titles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Castles</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edmund of Lancaster (1245-1306)</td>
<td>Henry III</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmund de Woodstock, earl of Kent (1301-30)</td>
<td>Edward I</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John of Eltham, earl of Cornwall (1316-36)</td>
<td>Edward II</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lionel, duke of Clarence (1338-1368)</td>
<td>Edward III</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmund de Langley, duke of York (1341-1402)</td>
<td>Edward III</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas de Woodstock, duke of Gloucester (1355-97)</td>
<td>Edward III</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Varied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas, duke of Clarence (1389-1421)</td>
<td>Henry IV</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John, duke of Bedford (1389-1435)</td>
<td>Henry IV</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humphrey, duke of Gloucester (1390-1447)</td>
<td>Henry IV</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Grant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Endowing their younger sons with worthy estates was always a problem for medieval kings (see table 3-ii). While the heir to the throne could freely be granted royal castles without their being permanently lost to the king, the same was not true for younger sons. The ideal solution was marriage to a suitable heiress, but only Edward III was fortunate enough to have both marriageable sons and heiresses at the right time. Even then, Lionel of Clarence did not gain great English and Welsh estates from his marriage, and was unable to gain effective control over his Irish lands. Edward III’s reign was still a high water mark for control of castles by the royal family, with over one hundred and ten castles in the hands of the king and his sons. In contrast, only ninety four castles were held by Henry IV and his sons, despite the boost provided by the Lancastrian castles.

Twenty five men outside the royal family were given a comital title during this period. The members of this group varied widely, and included complete upstarts such as Piers Gaveston as well as members of established families; such as Ralph Stafford, Henry Percy and even Roger de Mortimer. Despite this, their estates were in some ways similar. Only Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, and Thomas le Despenser, earl of Gloucester, owned ten or more castles, and they both inherited significant numbers of castles from their fathers. Very few of these men were granted significant castles by the crown. Indeed, Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester had to rely on his own family, who granted him Warkworth castle (Northumberland) in 1400. Whatever else may have been granted to the new ennobled, castles were not.

The parliamentary peerage were less important as castle owners am the comital community. Although twice as many individuals were involved, they only accounted for two thirds as many castles. Thus each castle-owning member of the comital community owned three times more castle than their non-comital parliamentary colleagues. It must also be remembered that a family could cease to be summoned to parliament, thus removing their castles from this group. This happened to the Greys of Wilton castle (Hereford), who were summoned to Parliament from 1295 to 1360, but not after that, despite Henry de Grey being thirty eight when he inherited the castle in 1370. Several

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3 G.E.C. VI, p.176
families amongst the parliamentary peerage showed a remarkable level of stability. A good example of this was the Clifford family, who held the same group of five castles – Appleby, Burgh, Pendragon and Brougham (Westmorland) and Skipton in Craven (Yorkshire) – across eight generations, from 1310 when Skipton was granted to Robert de Clifford, through to 1422 when all five castles were held by the under age Thomas de Clifford. This level of stability was achieved despite the execution of Roger de Clifford on 22 March 1322, and all five castles were restored to his brother Robert on 12 February 1327. A similar level of stability was achieved by the Audleys of Heighley, who owned Heighley castle (Staffordshire) and Redcastle (Shropshire) from 1282 to 1391 and by the Ros of Helmsley, who held Helmsley castle (Yorkshire) and Belvoir castle (Leicestershire) across the entire period. This level of stability was remarkable, and can not be matched at any other level.

Table 3-iii: Castle ownership by non-comital parliamentary peers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castles Owned</th>
<th>Individuals</th>
<th>Castles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, we reach the knights and lesser gentry. This group increased rapidly in importance during the first half of this period, during which time the number of castles they owned increased from fifty one in 1300 up to ninety three in 1350, before increasing more slowly to 1400 when they owned 114 castles. From a point where only one in eight castles were owned by this group, by 1400 one in five castles fell into this group. By 1430, there were probably no more than 200 knights in the country. Although our period closes in 1422, we can still safely say that even in 1430 close to 100 of these knights were castle owners. These were not all small or insignificant buildings. The best known of them is Bodiam castle (Sussex), for neither Edward or John Dalyngrugge were summoned to parliament. Dudley castle (Staffordshire) also falls into this group for all but thirty years of this period. Members of this group owned one, or at best two castles, almost invariably close together, as was the case for Ralph Basset of Sapcote (d.1378), who owned Benefield castle in north east Northamptonshire and Castle Bytham, in south west Lincolnshire, just over fifteen miles apart. The group does include most of the weakest castles and many of the towers, but they should not be taken as representative.

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4 G.E.C. III, p.291
5 I.P.M. VII, no.77
Table 3-iv: Castle ownership amongst lesser lay landowners, 1272-1422

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castles</th>
<th>Individuals</th>
<th>Castles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>317</strong></td>
<td><strong>382</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the families owning castles in England and Wales also owned castles in Ireland. These Irish castles present a different set of problems. First and foremost is that of identification. Most castles mentioned in this period in Ireland appear to have gone out of use during or before the fourteenth century and are thus hard to pin down. A more significant problem is that the fourteenth century saw a resurgence of the native Irish, removing many castles from the control of their putative owner. The Irish estates of Lionel, duke of Clarence, gained through his marriage to Elizabeth de Burgh are a good example. After the death of her father, the last earl of Ulster, his estates were effectively in the hands of his Irish cousins, and Clarence had no more than a theoretical title. Moreover, of the ten castles mentioned in the inquisition of William de Burgh, five were described as ruined.\(^7\) The same was true for Roger le Bigod, who held three Irish castles at his death in 1306, one of which was ruinous and another roofless.\(^8\)

From the above it can be seen that patterns of private castle ownership can be split into three rough geographical areas. First is south Wales and the marches, where the bulk of castles were owned by the marcher lords. The greatest castle owning families, such as the Clare earls of Gloucester, Mortimer earls of March or the earls and dukes of Lancaster, had concentrated groups of castles in this area. The second area was the border facing Scotland, where few members of the comital community owned castles, and the bulk of castles were in the hands of much lower ranked families. Finally comes the rest of England, where there was a mix of castle owners, with all levels of the castle owning community present in a similar ratio to the national figures.

Very few estates survived intact and in a single family across this period. However, over four hundred castles never came into the king’s hands, suggesting that for two thirds of castles, the normal rules of inheritance operated without the need for intervention. Even when a family survived over several generations, there was often little stability. Of all the castles associated with the earls and duke of Lancaster, only ten castles – Grosmont, Whitewall, Skenfrith and Monmouth (all Monmouthshire), Lancaster and Liverpool (both Lancashire), Leicester, Kenilworth (Warwickshire), Pickering (Yorkshire) and Tutbury (Staffordshire) – passed through the hands of the five earls and dukes. Here there was a core group of castles, many part of the original creation, and a much larger group that fluctuated as marriages added and forfeitures removed them. A similar pattern can be found with most comital families. Some of the fluidity of family estates was caused by the frequent breaks in normal inheritance. Even amongst those families that did survive for most of the period there was normally at least one such break. This can be seen clearly in the comital community. Even amongst the nine main comital families, there was often a break. For the earls and dukes of Lancaster there were two such breaks, first the forfeiture of Thomas of Lancaster, then

\(^7\) **I.P.M. VII**, no.537
\(^8\) **I.P.M. IV**, no.434
the extinction of the male line after the death of Henry of Grosmont, after which it was only the death of his daughter Maud that preserved the family estates intact, while the earls of Arundel survived two forfeitures, of Earl Edmund in 1326 and Earl Richard in 1397. A similar level of fluidity can be found in most castle owning families, and very few castles were owned by the same family across this period. A typical case was that of Kilton castle (Yorkshire), held by the Thweng family until 1374, when there were four heirs, one of whom took the castle into the Lumley family, who retained it for the rest of the period.

Normal inheritance rules account for the vast majority of changes of castle ownership. Where there was a clear heir the process was straightforward, uncontroversial and rapid. Many examples of this process can be found. At Swine castle (Yorkshire), the transfer of ownership was especially rapid. Constance, widow of Peter de Mauley VI died on 9 June 1410, and her grandson, Peter de Mauley VIII received livery of the castle on 23 June, fourteen days later. Although this was one of the fastest cases, very few took more than a month. Only when the heir was underage was this process interrupted, as will be seen in chapter seven. When the male line failed, inheritance could become controversial. The division of the Clare estates after 1314 led directly to the marcher revolt of 1321 and thus played its part in the fall of Edward II, while the division of the Bohun estates after 1373 rumbled on until 1421. Even more controversial was any attempt to interfere with direct male inheritance, and it was Richard II’s disinheritance of Henry Bolingbroke in 1399 that led to his fall.

The easiest, not to mention cheapest, way of gaining large numbers of castles was by marriage. Although great heiresses were never common, there was a regular supply as male lines failed, and a good marriage could greatly boost a family. Perhaps the best examples of this come from the earls and dukes of Lancaster. The fortunes of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, were greatly increased by his marriage to Alice de Lacy. On the death of her father, Lancaster gained eight castles, including Bolingbroke castle (Lincolnshire), the birthplace of the future Henry IV. Eventually, the Lancastrian estates themselves passed to heiresses, and it was through his marriage to Blanche of Lancaster that John of Gaunt gained the majority of his castles. Before his marriage, he had been earl of Richmond, and owner of a single castle, Richmond (Yorkshire). After his marriage, and the early death of Maud, the second sister, he became one of the greatest landowners in the country, falling just short of the Black Prince, and well above his other brothers.

More problems were caused by the marriages of the Clare sisters. After the death of Gilbert de Clare at Bannockburn, the estate was split between his three co-heiresses. The division of his estates became one the most divisive issues of the reign of Edward II. Gilbert de Clare had owned twenty two castles, including some great castles, such as Caerphilly castle (Glamorgan), one of the largest of the concentric castles. All but three of his castles were in Wales, and his lands were natural targets for the marcher lords who played a key part in the events of the reign. However, until the early death of Clare, his sisters were not expected to inherit, and so when Eleanor de Clare married the younger Despenser in 1306, the marriage carried dynastic significance rather than property. In contrast, when her sisters were married in 1317, to Hugh Audley, younger, and Roger Damory, they were great heiresses. Both Audley and Damory were royal favourites by 1317, and they did not come from the same level of society as the Clare sisters. Clearly, royal favour had gained them their marriages, and along with them a share of the Clare castles. However, the younger Despenser was not satisfied with his
share, and his increasing greed helped to move Audley and Damory into opposition to Edward II before triggering the marcher revolt in 1321.

The division of the Bohun estates also caused controversy. After the death of the last Bohun earl of Hereford in 1373, his estates were inherited by his daughters Eleanor and Mary. The older daughter, Eleanor, was only seven in 1373, and the sisters grew up as marriageable heiresses. Eleanor was married to Thomas de Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, and an attempt was made to keep the estates intact by placing Mary in a nunnery, but she was spirited away and married to Henry Bolingbroke, much to Gloucester’s anger. Ironically, Eleanor’s estates would have been split between her three daughters after her death in 1399 had not her second daughter died in 1400, while her youngest daughter was herself a nun, leaving her oldest daughter Anne to inherit all Eleanor’s castles. However, even that did not end the dispute over the Bohun castles, and the original 1373 division was renegotiated in 1421 between Anne countess Stafford and Henry V.

Another major source of new castles was by royal grant. However, very few castles were available for the crown to distribute without controversy. Those few that were, the castles that had reverted legitimately to the king, in particular the castles of Edmund, earl of Cornwall, have been discussed in chapter two. Here we will examine the distribution of those castles that had come into the king’s hands through forfeiture, a much more sizeable group, and the rare grants of established royal castles. The grant of a royal castle to a private individual could take various forms. The most advantageous from the recipient’s point of view was fee tail, the equivalent of most private ownership; then tale male, or descent through the male line only; and finally, ownership for life, with the level of rights over the castle made clear at the time of the grant.

It is possible to confuse grants of ownership with appointments of constables for life. This is exacerbated by the practice of preceding a grant of ownership with an appointment as constable, as happened at Lewes castle (Sussex), where Thomas de Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, was appointed constable in July 1397 before being granted ownership of the castle in tail male in September 1398. This practise was not unique to Richard II, but the speed with which the grant of ownership followed the appointment as constable was. More typical of earlier cases was the grant of Blaen Llyfni and Dinas castles (Brecknock) to Gilbert de Talbot. He was appointed constable in 1333, before gaining ownership in 1346, a gap of thirteen years, compared to the fourteen months that passed at Lewes.

Not all royal grants of ownership came without limits. In 1415, Henry V granted the ownership of Carisbrooke castle (Hampshire) to Philippa, the widow of Edward duke of York, as part of her dower, but excluded from the grant the office of constable of the castle. While Philippa gained the income that came with the castle and occupation of the residences within the castle, Henry retained control over the day to day running of the castle. As the only castle on the Isle of Wight, Carisbrooke was key to the defence of the island, and Henry was clearly unwilling to leave that in Philippa’s hands.

The largest group of castles available for distribution by the king were those that had been forfeited. Forty five castles owners, owning between them over 200 castles, forfeited their estates during this period (see appendix eight). However, the majority of
these forfeitures took place in two short periods. The first stretched from 1322 until 1330, and saw the single largest number of forfeitures, fifty castles being forfeited in 1322 alone, as well as all but one of the forfeitures of Edward III's reign. The second started in 1388 and lasted until the rebellions of Richard II's supporters in 1400. Each of these periods saw over 100 castles forfeited. In contrast, the remaining 130 years of our period saw very few forfeitures.

Table 3-v: Scale of forfeiture by reign

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reign</th>
<th>Forfeitures</th>
<th>Castles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edward I</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward II</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward III</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard II</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry IV</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry V</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite their numbers, forfeited castles were not a reliable source of new castles. Both Edward II and Richard II used the forfeited castles of their enemies to reward their friends, who almost inevitably forfeited themselves at the beginning of the next reign. Thus many of the castles forfeited in 1322 went to the younger Despenser, then to Roger de Mortimer after 1326 before being restored to their original owners in 1330. Likewise, Warwick castle was granted to Thomas de Holland, earl of Kent after the forfeiture of Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick in 1397 and then restored to the Beauchamps before Holland's own fall in 1400.

The estates of Thomas of Lancaster provide a good case study of a major forfeiture. The size of his estates and the five years that elapsed between his fall and that of Edward II combine to give a good picture of how such an estate was treated. Thomas had inherited eleven castles from his father. These castles remained in direct royal control until they were restored to Thomas's brother Henry in February 1327. In the intervening five years we can reconstruct near complete lists of royal constables for most of these castles, often ending with Henry himself. John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, benefited from his loyalty to Edward II during the Boroughbridge campaign, and the four castles he had been forced to grant to Thomas of Lancaster were soon restored to him, beginning with Holt castle (Denbigh) in May 1322. Finally, eight of Thomas's castles had been gained through his marriage to Alice de Lacy. Of these, three were never recovered by the Lancastrians. Clifford castle (Hereford) and Denbigh castle became Mortimer castles, while Castle Donnington (Leicester) was held by the Holland earls of Kent. Four of the remaining five were held by Alice de Lacy until her death, when they were restored to Henry of Lancaster, while Pontefract castle (Yorkshire) was held by Queen Isabella and Queen Philippa before Duke Henry regained ownership in 1348. What this example shows is that even after forfeiture, there were claims upon many castles. Henry of Lancaster had not taken part in his brothers rebellion and so was untainted, while Alice de Lacy's claim to at least some of her fathers castles was undeniable, even after a victory such as Edward II's in 1322.

At its most uncontroversial, this was simply a new way of maintaining royal castles, as at Carisbrooke castle (Hampshire), where from 1385 ownership of the castle was granted for life to a series of owners. The key element to each of these grants was that as they were for life only, the castle was always intended to return to the king. In
contrast were the grants of full ownership of royal castles to the king’s favourites. Thus Simon de Burley gained Newcastle Emlyn castle (Carmarthen), a royal castle since being taken from Rhys ap Maredudd in 1287. However, such grants were always rare, and Richard II preferred to reward his allies with forfeited castles.

In a small number of cases, a grant of reversion of ownership was made (see appendix six). These could be made to secure an indirect heir, as when Richard, earl of Arundel was granted the reversion of the castles of his uncle John de Warenne. Arundel was the acknowledged heir, and this grant confirmed that status. However, most of these grants regarded castles that were due to revert to the crown after the death of the current owner. The chief danger of these grants was that the recipient of the grant could die before the current holder of the castle. This happened to William de Bohun, who was granted the reversion of Fotheringay castle (Nants) in 1338. Unfortunately for Bohun, Fotheringay was held by Marie de St. Pol, the widow of Aymer de Valence, who outlived Bohun by seventeen years, dying in 1377 still in possession of the castle. One third of the reversions of ownership granted failed to take place.

Two castles changed hands after legal action. The first was Sherborne castle (Dorset). Sherborne had been built by Roger, bishop of Salisbury, who forfeited it in 1139. From 1183 it was a royal castle, until in 1331 Edward III granted it to William de Montague and his heirs. In 1342, Robert de Wyvill, bishop of Salisbury (1330-75), decided to attempt to recover the castle, but it took another thirteen years for him to succeed, and in was only in 1355 that he regained possession of the castle. It is telling that success only came after the death of William de Montague, removing the family’s direct connection to the king. The second and third successful legal claims to castles both involved Swansea castle (Glamorgan). The heart of the issue was the Beauchamp’s claim to Gower, based on Earl William of Warwick’s ownership in the twelfth century. The Beauchamps were not related to Earl William, and their first attempt to regain Swansea castle in 1278 failed. However, when they tried again in 1354, the claim of the then owner, John Mowbray, was in itself shaky and Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, was successful. However, the Beauchamps lost the castle again after forty two years, when Richard II encouraged Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham to claim the castle as one of the first moves against his political enemies. The political background of the day appears to have been as important as any legal arguments in both of these cases. One dispute over ownership descended into violence. After the main line of the Audleys of Heighley castle (Staffordshire) died out with Nicholas de Audley in 1391, the title and estates passed to John Tuchet, his grandson. However, Fulk fitz Waryn claimed one third of the estates, and occupied one third of Heighley castle by force. Richard II intervened, and took this third of the castle into the king’s hands, where it remained at least until the death of Fulk in 1407. Fulk’s claim was not entirely spurious, and it was this legal confusion that no doubt dragged this case out for so long.

Some castles changed hands after illegal actions against the then owner by a figure of national importance. The first such case was also the most blatant, and amounted to a private war between Thomas of Lancaster and John de Warenne. The hostilities were triggered by Warenne’s kidnapping of Alice de Lacy, Lancaster’s wife. The conflict reached such a level that Sandal castle (Yorkshire) was damaged during an

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9 H.K.W. II, p.832
10 Hemingby’s Register, ed. H.M. Chew, Wiltshire Record Society, 18 (1962), p.112
11 I.P.M. XIX, no.434

35
armed attack, and by 1319 Warenne had to admit defeat, handing four of his castles to Lancaster. In comparison, the actions of the younger Despenser were less public, although no less effective. First to suffer was Elizabeth de Comyn, an heiress of Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, who was imprisoned until she transferred lands including Goodrich castle (Hereford) to Despenser in 1325. The same happened to John de Sutton, who was only freed after he had surrendered Dudley castle (Staffordshire) to Despenser in 1326. The favourites of Richard II appear to have been largely innocent of such activities. The only possible case was at Llanstephan castle (Carmarthen), gained by Simon de Burley within months of the death of Edward III. Unfortunately, we do not know how it was lost by Robert Penres, the previous owner, but it was restored to his son, another Robert, in 1391, suggesting that his father’s loss had not been entirely legitimate. In neither Edward II’s or Richard II’s reign was such pressure the preferred method by which favourites gained castles, when a pool of forfeited castles was available to be distributed.

Very few castle-owning families died out leaving no heir. Even when the direct line did end, as happened to the Warenne earls of Surrey in 1347, there was an heir, in that case Richard fitz Alan, earl of Arundel, nephew of John de Warenne. The most important family to vanish in this way were the Bigods, who died out after the death of Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk in 1306. Even here, the estates were not immediately available to the king, and it was only after the death of Roger’s widow, Alice, that the estates and title were granted to Thomas of Brotherton.

The least common method to gain a castle was by purchase. The best known purchase of a castle was that of Carisbrooke castle (Hampshire) by Edward I. In 1276 he bought the reversion of the castle from Isabella de Forz, who named him her heir, although he had to wait until 1296, the year of her death, before he was able to take possession of the castle. A more straightforward sale was that of Broughton castle (Oxfordshire), bought by William de Wykeham, bishop of Winchester. Thomas de Broughton, grandson of the castle’s builder, had died without a male heir, and in 1377 Wykeham was able to buy the castle from the husbands of Broughton’s daughters.

Table 3-vi: Leased castles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Leased From</th>
<th>Leased To</th>
<th>Terms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benefield castle</td>
<td>1273</td>
<td>25 years</td>
<td>Humphrey de Bassingborn</td>
<td>Queen Eleanor of Provence</td>
<td>In return for a payment of £2500 to clear Bassingborn’s debts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egremont castle</td>
<td>1375</td>
<td>10 years</td>
<td>Walter fitz Wauter</td>
<td>Edmund Lorence, Thomas Thelewall,</td>
<td>To be returned to fitz Wauter on payment by him of £1000 in 1385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folkingham castle</td>
<td>1332</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td></td>
<td>clerk and John Bretby, clerk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12 King, p. 524
13 Conisborough castle (Yorkshire), Dinas Bran castle (Denbigh), Caergwrle castle (Flint) and Sandal castle (Yorkshire), surrendered on 1 January 1319, *C.P.R. 1317-1321*, p.264
14 *V.C.H. Oxfordshire vol. IX*, p.89
leased from: Isabel de Vescy
leased to: The Peruzzi of Florence
terms: Unknown
**Hornby castle (Lancashire)**
date: 1362
duration: 3 years
leased from: Robert de Neville
leased to: Michael de la Pole
terms: The lease could be ended by Neville repaying debts of £140 owed to de la Pole
**Shoreham castle (Kent)**
date: 1371
duration: unknown
leased from: Sir John Poyntz
leased to: Nicholas Bonde
terms: Unknown
**Torrington castle (Devon)**
date: 1386
duration: four years if debt was paid
leased from: Peter de Veel
leased by: John and Thomas Cary
terms: Veel had four years in which to pay the Carys five hundred and fifty marks or lose the castle.

At least six castles were leased during this period. It is possible that many more leases took place. The lease of Folkingharn castle (Lincolnshire) to the Peruzzi is only known to us because Isabel de Vescy died in 1334, two years into the lease, suggesting that there might be other such leases that passed unnoticed in the official record. In the five cases where we have details, these leases were entirely financially motivated. In no case was possession of the castle central to the lease. Rather, the castle owner was using his castle and its associated lands either as security on a loan, or to repay a prior loan. Some of these six castle owners owed a great deal of money. Robert de Neville seems to have been particularly indebted. The £140 he owed to Michael de la Pole was only one amongst many debts, including a debt of £2000 to Michael's father William de la Pole,\(^\text{15}\) and another £1000 to Sir Robert de Swyngton.\(^\text{16}\) The lease of Hornby castle was part of complex series of deals made by Neville to gain his release from Newgate prison, where he had been sent after defaulting on his debt to William de la Pole, and although he regained Hornby within months, it was only to grant the castle to Sir Robert de Swyngton and his heirs. The castles involved were a varied group. While Folkingharn castle (Lincolnshire) was only twenty years old when it was leased, Benefield castle (Nthants) was described as an ‘old castle’ in 1298, while Hornby castle (Lancashire) was at least one hundred and seventy years old in 1362.

Despite the frequent changes in ownership that occurred at most castles in this period, there was a surprising amount of stability in the long term. Even after the great upheavals of Edward II’s and Richard II’s reigns, most castles were soon restored to their original owners. The heirs of Thomas of Lancaster, Roger de Mortimer and the Despensers were all restored to most of their estates, and went on to play important roles during Edward III’s reign, while the forfeitures of the last two years of Richard II’s reign were even more short-lived.

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\(^{15}\) *C.C.R. 1360-1364*, p.390
\(^{16}\) *C.C.R. 1360-1364*, p.403
Having established who owned which castles, we will now move on to examine how often these people visited their castles. The evidence for this does not exist for the majority of castle owners. For the owners of one or two castles, their castles must often have been their most impressive residence and they probably spent much of their time in them. For the lesser castle owners we only have fragmentary glimpses. However, for a few of the greater castle owners there are published itineraries, and it is these people, with large numbers of castles, who are the most interesting. Even with the published itineraries there are problems. While they can prove where the most favoured residence of a particular castle owner was, the frequent gaps in them could hide visits to less favoured castles, while the official nature of most documents used to compile them almost certainly hides time spent at private residences. Not everyone visited their castles. Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, and a key figure during the reign of Edward II, did not visit any of the castles he owned between 1307 when he inherited them and his death in 1324. Furthermore, he only visited one of the castles he was constable of, and that only three times. As his itinerary proves, Pembroke spent most of his time with the King, and is not a typical figure. The itinerary of Piers Gaveston is even more striking. Between 1307 and his death he can not be proven to have visited any of the castles he owned, while his was only present as constable at Scarborough castle (Yorkshire) in May 1312 while besieged there. The itinerary of Thomas of Lancaster is much more revealing, in part because it can draw on surviving duchy of Lancaster records. Lancaster can be placed at least once at fourteen of his twenty five castles. He was most likely to be found at one of the castles gained through his marriage to Alice de Lacy, in particular Pontefract castle (Yorkshire), where he can be placed on seventy six days, four times more than at any of his other castles. Behind Pontefract comes Kenilworth castle (Warwickshire), with nineteen days, Tutbury castle (Staffordshire) with eighteen and Castle Donnington (Leicestershire), with fourteen. In each of these cases, the documented visits occurred over a series of years, although Pontefract appears to have gained favour from 1320. It is also notable that Lancaster can not be proven to have visited any of his Welsh castles. For other, less well documented, individuals, all we have are occasional glimpses. Thus we know that the Percys used Warkworth castle (Northumberland) as a residence because two Henry Percys died in the castle, while Peter de Mauley the eighth dated his will at Mulgrave castle (Yorkshire) in 1415, and Ralph de Neville, earl of Northumberland dated his at Raby castle (Durham) in 1424. We also see James de Audley being paid expenses for travelling from his castle of Heighley castle (Staffs) to Berwick castle (Northumberland) in 1342. These glimpses show us that these castles were still used as important residences, even at the end of this period, although they can not tell us how often they were so used.

* * *

One fifth of all private castle owners in this period were women (see table 3-vii). Although for many women this ownership was only short term, some of these individuals held their castles for decades. These women gained the vast majority of

18 J.S. Hamilton, Piers Gaveston, earl of Cornwall 1307-1312, Detroit and London, 1988, pp.113-117
20 Henry Percy, died 27 February 1352 and Henry Percy, died 18 May 1368, Bates, p.95
21 Testamenta Eboracensia vol. 1, Surtees Society, 4 (1836), p.380
22 Wills and Inventories, part v, Surtees Society, 2 (1824), p.73
23 E.101/23/24
their castles either as heiresses or as widows. These two groups were very different as will be seen below. On average, these women owned fewer castles than their male counterparts. This should not come as a surprise. Many of these women were widows, whose dower would only ever contain part of their husbands castles, while only when there was only a single heiress would a women inherit an estate intact. It is worth noting that the proportion of single castle owners was the same amongst men and women, at 64%. It is with the larger estates that the women fall rapidly behind, with only six women owning seven or more castle, as opposed to thirty eight men.

Table 3-vii: Castle ownership by women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Castles</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Castles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>106 (64.3%)</td>
<td>106 (34.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>33 (21.2%)</td>
<td>66 (22.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>7 (4.2%)</td>
<td>21 (6.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5 (3.0%)</td>
<td>20 (6.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2 (0.6%)</td>
<td>10 (1.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>5 (3.0%)</td>
<td>30 (9.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2 (1.2%)</td>
<td>14 (4.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1 (0.6%)</td>
<td>8 (2.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1 (0.6%)</td>
<td>11 (3.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>2 (1.2%)</td>
<td>24 (7.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Women could hold castles from three sources. First were those castles inherited from a blood relative and thus owned by the woman in her own right. Second were those castles that had been placed in jointure during marriage and which were held by the widow by virtue of that arrangement. Third were the widow’s dower castles. The first and second groups are often visible in the records even during marriage, while the third group rarely appear until after the husbands’ death. These groups were not entirely exclusive, and the first group could overlap with either of the other two. Some castles spent a disproportionate amount of time in the hands of a widow. Bridgewater castle (Somerset) was held by Mortimer widows for over fifty years during this period.

It is possible for some estates to compare the dower castles of several generations of widows, and thus to see if there were established dower castles, or whether the castles in dower changed over time. The best family for such a study is the Mortimer earls of March, where the early deaths of successive members of the family left six widows (see table 3-viii). Each of these widows held different castles. Only Bridgewater castle (Somerset), held by four of the six, can be said to have been established as a dower castle. Here there was not a set group of dower castles. A similar pattern emerges for the Clifford family, who also produced six widows during this period. Of the five Clifford castles, four were held by at least one of the six, while Brough castle (Westmorland) was held by three. However, for two of the three who did not hold Brough castle, there is a clear reason. Isabel, the first Clifford widow of this period, held Appleby castle (Westmorland), a castle she herself had brought into the family, while Elizabeth and Maud de Clifford were widowed at the same time, and as Elizabeth already held Brough castle, Maud was allocated Brougham castle (Westmorland) instead. Here there was a set dower castle. Other families do not provide enough widows to draw comparison.

24 14 May 1292, I.P.M. III, no. 70
### Table 3-viii: Castles held by widows of the Mortimer family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Widow:</th>
<th>Maud</th>
<th>Joan</th>
<th>Elizabeth</th>
<th>Phillipa</th>
<th>Eleanor</th>
<th>Margaret</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridgewater</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radnor</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ludlow</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cefnlys</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denbigh</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolforwyn</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narberth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montgomery</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Builth</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usk</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knucklas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rayder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a few cases an heiress survived to become a widow. Almost invariably, the widow's dower estates included all of the castles she had originally inherited. This happened to both Eleanor de Bohun and to her daughter Anne. Eleanor’s portion of the Bohun castles contained Caldicot (Monmouth), Huntingdon (Hereford) and Pleshey (Essex), all of which were in her hands at her death in 1399. Her marriage to Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester had produced an heir, Humphrey, who died before he could return from Ireland, where he had been taken in 1399, but he was still underage at his death. Eleanor’s castles were inherited by Anne, her surviving daughter, and they were once again found in her dower after the death of her husband Edmund, earl of Stafford, in 1403. Once again, there was a son, but he was an infant when his father died. Only in exceptional circumstances, such as after the forfeiture of Thomas of Lancaster, was this pattern broken, and even then only partly, as was seen above.

It was common for a woman to hold castles by more than one method. A typical example of this was Elizabeth, widow of Nicholas de Audley. She held Llandovery castle (Carmarthen) and Newport castle (Pembroke) in jointure from July 1391 and Redcastle (Shropshire) in November of the same year, giving her three of her husband’s four castles. Nicholas had died leaving three heirs, perhaps strengthening Elizabeth’s position. Likewise, Margaret Marshal, duchess of Norfolk, held two castles in jointure from her first husband, John de Seagrave (d.1353) and three castles inherited from Thomas de Brotherton, her father.

Having established how many castles were held by women, and how those castles were gained, we must now establish what proportion of the castles available to them each group of women held. For widows the proportion of their husband’s castles held varied massively from case to case. In the ‘single castle’ estates, the sole castle had often been placed in jointure, and thus the widow gained the castle, despite the presence of an heir, as was the case with Agnes, widow of Ralph Bulmer, who held Wilton castle (Yorkshire) from the death of her husband in 1406, preventing their son from gaining possession. Of more interest are the widows of the greater castle owners. Here the number of castles held by the widow varied even within the same family. Thus Philippa, widow of Roger de Mortimer, earl of March (d.1360), held six of his twelve castles, while Eleanor, widow of Roger de Mortimer, earl of March (d.1398) held a mere three of his twenty-one castles. These are the extremes, and most widow’s portions from the

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25 C.C.R. 1360-1364, pp.46 & 81; C.P.R. 1370-1374, p.333; I.P.M. XV, no.564
26 16 March 1399, C.C.R. 1396-1399, p.451
larger estates fall between them, containing one third of their husbands castles. Where an estate was split between sisters, the division of castles was normally close to even. Of the nine castles of Humphrey de Bohun (d.1373), four passed to Eleanor and five to her sister Mary. Similarly, of the twenty five castles held by Henry, duke of Lancaster, eleven went to Maud and fourteen to Blanche.

How long these castles remained in female hands varied depending on circumstances. Many heiresses were betrothed before they came of age or were married before they became heiresses, and so never gained control over their castles. Even when that was not the case, few remained unmarried for long, while widows also often remarried, as did Alice de Lacy, who was married four times. However, some widows did not remarry, and they could remain in control of their castles for decades. The longest survival was that of Mary de St. Pol, the widow of Aymer de Valence, who retained control of Fotheringay castle (Northampton) from his death in 1324 until her own death in 1377, fifty three years later. Similarly, Mary countess Marshal held Framlingham castle (Norfolk) for twenty four years from 1338 until 1362. While not common, women could own castles for long periods of time.

Table 3-i: Female owners of five or more castles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>CASTLES</th>
<th>REASON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alice de Lacy</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Heiress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maud of Lancaster</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Heiress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth de Burgh</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Heiress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joan, Princess of Wales</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Widow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary de St. Pol</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Widow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth, widow of Hugh le Despenser</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Widow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joan de Bar</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Widow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne, Countess of Stafford</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Heiress and Widow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippa Mortimer</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Widow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth, widow of Edward le Despenser</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Widow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joan de Valence</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret, Duchess of Norfolk</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Heiress and Widow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the greater female castle owners, Alice de Lacy, daughter of the last Lacy earl of Lincoln was the most important. Not only did she own the largest number of castles of any female owner, she survived to 1348, outliving her father by thirty years, and was married four times, including her famous marriage to Thomas, earl of Lancaster. In comparison, many other female castle owners either died young, as was the case for both Blanche and Maud of Lancaster, or remained widowed for long periods, as in the case of Mary de St. Pol. It is worth noting that the greatest of the female castle owners were all heiresses. Where a widow gained a sizeable number of castles, there was often no direct heir, as for Mary de St. Pol, and so her claims were dominant.

Despite the numbers of castles in female hands in this period, these female castle owners were in effect custodians of their castles, either until their marriage or until their death allowed their heirs to gain possession. Only a very few resisted this pressure, of whom Mary de St. Pol was the most significant. Far more typical, although in an exaggerated way, was Alice de Lacy, whose four marriages meant she was rarely in control of her own castles.

27 To Thomas of Lancaster, Ebulo le Strange, Nicholas de Cantilupe and Hugh de Frene
Chapter Four – Church-owned castles and fortifications

The church was one of the greatest castle owners in this period, owning nearly forty castles and towers, more than any single lay landowner, second only to the King. Moreover, these castles were scattered across the entire country (see table 4-ii), from Saltwood castle (Kent) to Norham castle (Northumberland), a spread that once again only the King could match. However, the church was not a single unified body, and control of these castles was spread widely within the body of the church, reaching all levels, from the archbishop of Canterbury, down to local parish priests with their simple towers in Northumberland. In this chapter we will examine where these church owned castles were, what they were, and which parts of the church controlled them.

Table 4-i: Church owned castles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Holder</th>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Owned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Archbishop of Canterbury</td>
<td>Saltwood (Kent)</td>
<td>Period ¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archbishop of York</td>
<td>Hexham (Nthumb)</td>
<td>1415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop of Carlisle</td>
<td>La Rose (Cumb)</td>
<td>licenced 1355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop of Carlisle</td>
<td>Northallerton (Yrks)</td>
<td>Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop of Chichester</td>
<td>Amberley (Sussex)</td>
<td>licenced 1377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield</td>
<td>Eccleshall (Staffs)</td>
<td>Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop of Durham</td>
<td>Bishop Auckland (Durham)</td>
<td>from 1283-1310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop of Durham</td>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop of Durham</td>
<td>Norham (Nthumb)</td>
<td>Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop of Durham</td>
<td>Crayke (Yrks)</td>
<td>Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop of Ely</td>
<td>Wisbech (Cambs)</td>
<td>Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop of Hereford</td>
<td>Bishops Castle (Shrops)</td>
<td>Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop of Lincoln</td>
<td>Sleaford (Lincs)</td>
<td>Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop of Lincoln</td>
<td>Newark (Notts)</td>
<td>Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop of Lincoln</td>
<td>Banbury (Oxf)</td>
<td>Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop of London</td>
<td>Bishops Stortford (Herts)</td>
<td>Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop of Salisbury</td>
<td>Sherborne (Dorset)</td>
<td>from 1354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop of Winchester</td>
<td>Wolvesey (Hampshire)</td>
<td>Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop of Winchester</td>
<td>Taunton (Somerset)</td>
<td>Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop of Winchester</td>
<td>Farnham (Surrey)</td>
<td>Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furneys Abbey</td>
<td>Piel (Lancs)</td>
<td>1327-end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rector</td>
<td>Elsdon no. 2 (Nthumb)</td>
<td>1415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Vicar</td>
<td>Chatton (Nthumb)</td>
<td>1415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Vicar</td>
<td>Corbridge (Nthumb)</td>
<td>1415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Vicar</td>
<td>Embleton (Nthumb)</td>
<td>1415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Vicar</td>
<td>Ponteland (Nthumb)</td>
<td>1415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Vicar</td>
<td>Stamfordham (Nthumb)</td>
<td>1415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tynemouth Priory</td>
<td>Coquet Island (Nthumb)</td>
<td>1415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tynemouth Priory</td>
<td>Tynemouth (Nthumb)</td>
<td>1296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tynemouth Priory</td>
<td>Whitley nr Tynemouth (Nthumb)</td>
<td>1415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor, warden and canons of the free chapel</td>
<td>Deddington (Oxf)</td>
<td>gifted 1364</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ i.e.1272-1422
Table 4-ii: church owned castles by region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern Border</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The North</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midlands</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Anglia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welsh March</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the northern border contained nearly half of all church owned castles, its dominance was not as total as would first appear. All but five of the castles on the border were simple towers, whereas in the midlands and the south west, more significant castles were normal. This is also reflected in the ownership of these castles. The northern border saw a much wider range of church involvement in castle ownership, extending down to local priests. In contrast, the rest of the county saw bishops dominate.

By far the most important group of castles owned by the church were those of the bishops of Durham. When one considered their position on the northern border this should not surprise. Not only was there the ever present threat from Scotland, but the palatinate powers of the prince-bishops of Durham gave them powers and responsibilities above those of other bishops. This accounts for their ownership of Durham castle, an important castle that in other parts of the country would almost certainly have belonged to the crown, while Norham castle (Northumberland) was one of the most vulnerable in the country.

In contrast to the bishops of Durham, the bishops of Carlisle did not own any castles important for the defence of the border. Carlisle castle (Cumberland), the key to the defence of Cumberland, was in royal hands, and the bishop’s only castle in the county was Rose castle, itself attacked while it was under construction. The main castle owned by the bishops of Carlisle was Northallerton (Yorkshire), refortified in 1314, when increased Scottish success made the approaches to York temporarily dangerous.

All three castles held by the bishops of Winchester in this period were built by Bishop Henry of Blois in or around 1138. No licences to crenellate were granted to the bishops of Winchester, and their castle owning appears to have been a legacy of earlier, more troubled time. The same is true of the three castles held by the bishops of Lincoln. However, both Newark castle (Nottinghamshire) and Banbury castle (Oxfordshire) saw major work in the thirteenth century, while the bishops of Lincoln also gained licences to crenellate in this period.

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2 *Chronicon de Lanercost*, ed. J. Stevenson, Edinburgh, 1839, p.246
3 *C.P.R. 1313-1317*, p164
The bishops of Salisbury were unusual in that they successfully gained control of Sherborne castle (Dorset) through a legal dispute, as was seen in chapter three. This demonstrates that some elements within the church were willing actively to seek new castles just as much as does castle building. How much use the bishops made of their new castle in uncertain, but Bishop Hallum issued a letter from the castle in 1410, showing at least that it remained in use.

Only two abbeys owned castles during this period. Between them, Furness abbey (Lancashire) and Tynemouth priory (Northumberland) owned four castles, although all but one were towers. All four of these castles were built during this period, although not all were built by the church. These castles were all close to their abbey. Piel castle (Lancashire) was on an island five miles from Furness abbey. Tynemouth castle (Northumberland) is the most interesting, as the priory stood within the castle walls. The longest distance was Coquet Island (Northumberland), twenty miles north of Tynemouth. Finally, Whitley near Tynemouth was only two miles from the priory. It had been licenced to Gilbert de Whitley in 1345, but by 1415 was in the priory’s hands, and was probably acquired due to its proximity to the priory.

Even at the lower levels of the church, some castle - or at least tower - building can be found. Six of the towers first mentioned in the 1415 survey of Northumberland were owned by the local priest. These six towers were scattered across the county, and it is possible that other such towers existed elsewhere on the border. Of these, Corbridge (Northumberland) is the finest example. It is clearly a fortified residence, complete with a roof top crenellated parapet – truly a castle in miniature.

Very little information has survived about the constables of church owned castles. The bishop’s registers are not revealing, and much of our information comes during voidances, when the last constable was often either replaced or confirmed. Only seventeen constables appointed by the church are known to us. Eight of these men served on the northern border, partly reflecting the distribution of church owned castles, and party due to the significance of Norham castle (Northumberland), where we know of five church appointed constables. This is also reflected in the status of the individual constables. Of the six church constables known to be knights, five served at Norham. This group of five men also contained four of the six men in this group with known military experience and the only man in this group to serve as royal constables at other castles. The remaining eleven men in this group were obscure figures, esquires at best, with no known military career, and little local service. Clearly Norham castle, with its important position on the border, was treated far more carefully than other church castles.

Many of these church owned castles were relics from the reign of King Stephen. While they had been maintained in the intervening years, very little castle building had been done by the church after that. More than any other group, church castles appear to have been a reaction to crisis, and the increase in the number of church castles in this period can be seen to have been a reaction to the threat from Scotland. Otherwise, a study of the surviving bishop’s registers shows that concern for their castles was intermittent, with even their use as residences seeming to have differed from bishop to bishop, each of whom had their favourite residences.

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Chapter Five - Structural Changes at Castles

The most active area of castle studies centres on the physical building. Unlike the majority of work in this area, this chapter will examine castle building and decay from the perspective of the castle owner rather than the architect. First, new castle building will be examined. This is an area that has gained most attention in the past, but that attention has tended to focus on certain well known castles such as Edward I's castles in north Wales or Bodiam castle (Sussex). This chapter will examine all castle builders. The second section of this chapter will examine the licence to crenellate, both those that produced castles and those that did not. Finally, those castles that went out of use during this period will be studied, both those who were abandoned after a single dramatic incident and those that were abandoned gradually.

This period started with the last and greatest period of castle foundation by the kings of England, the string of great castles in north Wales built by Edward I. From this high point, the castle has been seen as declining until it disappeared during the fifteenth century. While this is undoubtedly true for royal castles, the same may not be true for private castle builders. This chapter will limit itself to those castles that were built from scratch, either on a new site or one that had been long abandoned. These are the buildings that indicated a perceived need for a new castle.

At least 272 castles were built during our period, resulting in a significant increase in the number of castles in use. Northern England was dominant, with one hundred and forty seven new castles. Even excluding simple towers such as those only known from the 1415 survey of Northumberland, the north and the northern borders still account for one third of total castle building. In contrast Rutland, Huntingdon, Essex, Hertfordshire, Middlesex and Hampshire saw no new castles built. Wales, the traditional centre of castle building, falls into both extremes. During the Edwardian conquest, Wales saw castle building on an unprecedented and never matched level, with twenty eight of the thirty five castles built in Wales in our period complete by 1307. In the remaining one hundred and fifteen years of our period only seven new castles were built in Wales, demonstrating graphically the success of Edward I's conquest. It is the northern focus that limits the value of the debate of Bodiam castle (Sussex), located in an area that saw less building than anywhere other than East Anglia.

Table 5-i: Castle building by region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Towers</th>
<th>Excluding Towers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern Border</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The North</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midlands</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Anglia</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Of the twenty five firmly datable new castles in Northumberland, only one was built after 1350. Remembering that the prime source for these dates is licences to crenellate, this strongly suggests that it was the need to gain a licence that diminished in Northumberland, not the building of new castles.
2 see in particular C. Coulson, 'Some Analysis of the Castle of Bodiam', *Medieval Knighthood IV*, Woodbridge, 1992, pp.51-108
As important as their location is the building date of these castles. Here there are two main problems. First, there are over 100 castles for which we do not have a clear building date. This includes fifty nine castles first mentioned in the 1415 survey of Northumberland, many of which can be dated no more securely than to the period between 1346, when licences to crenellate finish in Northumberland, and their mention in 1415. Second, we are reliant on the licence to crenellate for building dates for the majority of these castles. These provide us with an exact date at which building work was being considered, but does not tell us when the actual building took place.

Accepting the limitations of the evidence, one hundred and fifty four castles can be dated to a particular decade. Two thirds of these castles were built during six decades: 1300-1319, 1330-1349 and 1370-1389. The main surprise here is that the 1340s saw more castles built than any other decade, a period of increasing stability and in which Edward III established his reputation on the battlefield, before ending with the disaster of the Black Death. A closer examination of the castles built in the 1340s shows that ten were built in 1340 and 1341, while after 1346 there was almost no building. As will be seen below, this may cast a light on one motivation for castle building.

### Table 5-ii: Castle building by decade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1270</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1280</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1290</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1300</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1310</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1320</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1330</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1340</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1350</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1360</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1370</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1380</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1390</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1400</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>154</strong></td>
<td><strong>-</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This period saw as wide a range of new castles as any, from masterpieces such as Caernarvon castle or Harlech castle (Merioneth), down to the single towers of Northumberland. The two types of castle most often seen as typical of this period were the concentric castles, such as Beaumaris castle (Anglesey) or Queenborough castle (Kent) and the quadrangular castle, typified by Bolton castle (Yorkshire). However, these forms of castles were not numerically speaking dominant during this period. This study will not concentrate on the architectural details of these new castles. Instead, it will look at the numbers of each type being built, and who was building them. Unlike many studies, it will not focus on a small, well known group of surviving castles, but will include all castles built during this period.

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3 See part ii below for a full discussion of this.
Only eight true concentric castles were built from scratch during this period. By their very nature these castles were expensive to build, requiring two lines of fortification, and also to garrison effectively and this is reflected in that seven of the eight were built in Wales during the reign of Edward I, four by Edward himself, while the only concentric castle built in England was Queenborough castle (Kent), again a royal castle. While dramatic and powerful, these castles were thus in no way typical of castles built during this period.

Table 5-iii: Quadrangular castles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greystoke (Cumberland)</td>
<td>1353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemyock (Devon)</td>
<td>1380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chideock (Dorset)</td>
<td>1370s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodsford (Dorset)</td>
<td>1336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumley (Durham)</td>
<td>1389-92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raby (Durham)</td>
<td>1378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ravensworth (Durham)</td>
<td>14th cty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hever (Kent)</td>
<td>1271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westenhanger (Kent)</td>
<td>1343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somerton (Lincolnshire)</td>
<td>1281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moor End (Northamptonshire)</td>
<td>1347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodcroft (Northamptonshire)</td>
<td>1280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chillingham (Northumberland)</td>
<td>1344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ford (Northumberland)</td>
<td>1338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heaton Coldstream (Northumberland)</td>
<td>1415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rotherfield Greys (Oxford)</td>
<td>1348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirburn (Oxford)</td>
<td>1338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farleigh Hungerford (Somerset)</td>
<td>1383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cavershall (Staffordshire)</td>
<td>1275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sterborough (Surrey)</td>
<td>1341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wingfield (Suffolk)</td>
<td>1384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maxstoke (Warwickshire)</td>
<td>1345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartley (Westmorland)</td>
<td>1353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolton (Yorkshire)</td>
<td>1379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cawood (Yorkshire)</td>
<td>1378-88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danby (Yorkshire)</td>
<td>1400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheriff Hutton (Yorkshire)</td>
<td>1382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wressle (Yorkshire)</td>
<td>1380s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The quadrangular castle was the most distinctive form of new private castle in this period. Although sometimes seen as a northern form, castles such as Hemyock (Devon), Chideock (Dorset) or Hever (Kent) demonstrate that quadrangular castles could be found across all of England, although none was built in Wales. Indeed, within England the distribution of quadrangular castles matches the overall concentration of new castles. However, the twenty seven quadrangular castles represent only one tenth of new castle building, and while more significant that concentric castles, were still not typical of the period.

Table 5-iv: Towers on the northern border

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Towers</th>
<th>Other Castles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lancashire</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northumberland</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Yorkshire 5 15
Westmorland 7 5

Numerically, the tower dominated the northern counties. Two thirds of all castles built on the northern border and in the north were towers. These towers varied in size from very small buildings such as the Vicar’s Peel at Corbridge (Northumberland), up to substantial buildings such as Belsay castle (Northumberland). Northumberland was the home of over half of these towers, although many of them are only known to us through the 1415 survey of Northumberland and it is possible that many similar towers remain unknown in other counties. Away from these northern counties, towers were rare. Only ten can be found, scattered across most of England and Wales, although absent from the south east. The tower was clearly a response to the real military threat posed by the Scots.

Despite the prominence in the literature of the above forms of castles, the majority of castles built in this period were enclosure castles, often of an irregular plan. Castles of this form can be found across the entire country, from Scotney castle (Kent), a two ward castle, with a weak rectangular outer ward and a stronger but irregular inner ward to Etal castle (Northumberland), with an oblong ward. At least sixty castles fall within this group.

Who was building new castles? As will be seen, the crown and the comital community were not active builders of new castles in this period. Instead, families such as the Dacres and the de la Beches provided the bulk of new castles in this period, each building as many castles as the most active magnate families.

Table 5-v: Castle builders by rank

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Builder</th>
<th>Castles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The King</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comital Community</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliamentary Peers</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knights</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esquires</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yeoman</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>39 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Edward I was the only great royal founder of castles in this period. His great castles of north Wales are well known. Here we will limit ourselves to noting that the four concentric castles amongst this group represent a high proportion of all concentric castles built in our period. The cost of building truly concentric castles limited them to the king and the wealthiest magnates. After the great castles of Edward I, the only new royal castle in this period was Queenborough castle (Kent) on the Isle of Sheppey, built by Edward III and a favourite residence of his. This too was a fully concentric castle,

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5 Where identity of builder is known
6 While the rank is unknown, the name is not, and so this category can be categorically said to exclude the comital community, parliamentary peers, the king and the church
resembling, if only in outline, a later artillery fort. Queenborough also resembles the castles in north Wales in that it was associated with a new town, and can be seen as the last example of a tradition dating back to the conquest. However, despite its sophisticated design, Queenborough castle was an isolated case, and after Edward I, royal castle building was concentrated at existing castles.

Table 5-vi: Welsh castles of Edward I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth</td>
<td>Concentric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaumaris</td>
<td>Concentric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caernarvon</td>
<td>Enclosure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carreg Cennon</td>
<td>Courtyard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conway</td>
<td>Enclosure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flint</td>
<td>Enclosure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harlech</td>
<td>Concentric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhuddlan</td>
<td>Concentric</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5-vii: Castles built by the comital community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Peer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bampton (Oxford)</td>
<td>1315</td>
<td>Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bungay (Suffolk)</td>
<td>1294</td>
<td>Roger le Bigod, earl of Norfolk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caerphilly (Glamorgan)</td>
<td>1268-</td>
<td>Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denbigh</td>
<td>1282</td>
<td>Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunstanburgh (Nthumb)</td>
<td>1315</td>
<td>Thomas, earl of Lancaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llangibby (Monmouth)</td>
<td>1307-14</td>
<td>Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morlais (Glamorgan)</td>
<td>1287-90</td>
<td>Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powderham (Devon)</td>
<td>c.1390</td>
<td>Edward Courtenay, earl of Devon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wingfield (Suffolk)</td>
<td>1384</td>
<td>Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wressle (Yorkshire)</td>
<td>1380s</td>
<td>Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The comital community were not great castle builders during this period. Of their castles, only Caerphilly castle (Glamorgan) ranks amongst the greatest castles, and it was begun in 1268, although building continued on into this period. The remaining castles were middle ranking castles, although Thomas of Lancaster’s original plans for Dunstanburgh castle (Nthumb) may have made it a first rank building. This lack of comital castle building can be explained in two ways. The first is suggested by the early date of most of these castles, with seven of the ten built by 1315 and of them five located in Wales. As was seen in chapter three, the comital castles were largely concentrated in Wales, and once the threat from the Welsh was over, the main spur to their building new castles was removed. A second reason for the lack of comital castle building is also suggested by chapter three. The easiest way to gain new castles was by marriage to a great heiress. While a new building could take years to complete and consume large amounts of money both to build and maintain, marriage could bring a group of castles and the lands to maintain them.

Table 5-viii: Castles built by the church

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Builder</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wolsty</td>
<td>Cumb.</td>
<td>1348</td>
<td>Holmcultram Abbey</td>
<td>Rectangular moasted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piel</td>
<td>Lancs</td>
<td>1327</td>
<td>Furness Abbey</td>
<td>Great Tower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somerton</td>
<td>Lincs</td>
<td>1281</td>
<td>Bp of Durham</td>
<td>Quadrangular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Elmham</td>
<td>Norfolk</td>
<td>1387</td>
<td>Bp of Norwich</td>
<td>Prob. strong house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 Platt, 1995, p.109
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Year(s)</th>
<th>Builder/Owner</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thorpe Waterville</td>
<td>Nhants</td>
<td>1301</td>
<td>Bp of Cov &amp; Lich</td>
<td>Two enclosures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chatton</td>
<td>Nthumb</td>
<td>by 1415</td>
<td>The Vicar</td>
<td>Tower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coquet Island</td>
<td>Nthumb</td>
<td>by 1415</td>
<td>Tynemouth Priory</td>
<td>Tower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corbridge</td>
<td>Nthumb</td>
<td>1300-1415</td>
<td>The Vicar</td>
<td>Tower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsdon no.2</td>
<td>Nthumb</td>
<td>by 1415</td>
<td>The Rector</td>
<td>Tower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hexham</td>
<td>Nthumb</td>
<td>by 1415</td>
<td>Abp York</td>
<td>Tower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ponteland</td>
<td>Nthumb</td>
<td>by 1415</td>
<td>The Vicar</td>
<td>Tower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stamfordham</td>
<td>Nthumb</td>
<td>by 1415</td>
<td>The Vicar</td>
<td>Tower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amberley</td>
<td>Sussex</td>
<td>1377</td>
<td>Bp of Chichester</td>
<td>Quadrangular enclosure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bewley</td>
<td>Westm.</td>
<td>14th C.</td>
<td>Bp of Carlisle</td>
<td>Square courtyard castle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cawood</td>
<td>Yorks</td>
<td>1374-88</td>
<td>Abp of York</td>
<td>Quadrangular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherburn in Elmet</td>
<td>Yorks</td>
<td>1382</td>
<td>Abp of York</td>
<td>Rectangular moat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Taken as a body, the church built more new castles than anyone else in our period, outbuilding even the king, although the majority of the buildings were on a very modest scale. Of course the church was not a monolithic organisation, and the impetus behind these castles came from fifteen different parts of the church. The most important of these, both in rank and in the number of castles built were the archbishops of York, who built three castles. Nationally, the bishops were responsible for another five castles, each built by a different diocese. Lower levels of the church hierarchy were only active as castle builders on the northern border, where both abbeys and local priests were to be found building castles and towers. This helps to account for the northern bias amongst these church owned castles, with twelve of the sixteen located in the northern counties. Once again it was the threat from the Scots that inspired the building of new castles. Some church buildings stretch the definition of the castle. The Bishop’s Palace at Wells (Somerset) is a good example of this. Here the palace itself is not fortified at all. However, the site is surrounded by a curtain wall and moat with a fortified gatehouse, on a par with many castles and the site is considered as such.\(^8\)

As the above discussions imply, the majority of new castles in this period were built by lesser lay landowners. The knightly community dominates this group. They represent those families that had the lands and resources required to build and then maintain a castle. This group contains the private individual responsible for the greatest number of new castles. Two years before his disgrace in 1340 Nicholas de la Beche gained a licence to crenellate for Aldworth le Beche (Berks), Watlington (Oxf) and Beaumyss (Berks). As will be seen below, multiple licences were not uncommon, but this case is unique in that a castle was built at all three sites. Nicholas survived his disgrace by seven years and appears to have spent his time building. Unfortunately, all that remains of these three buildings is a moat at Beaumyss, so we do not know what he built. More typical were builders of a single castle, such as Sir Edmund Bacon, who gained a licence to crenellate for Gresham castle (Norfolk) in 1318, and John de Pulteneye, who gained a licence for Cheveley castle (Cambridge) in 1341.

Only eleven of these men owned castles they had not built themselves. In most of these eleven cases, that castle had been recently gained. John de Cherlton, the builder of Wrockwardine castle (Shropshire), licenced in 1316, had recently gained Powis castle (Montgomery) through his marriage to Hawisa de la Pole, while although Ralph de Lumley, the builder of Lumley castle (Durham) had inherited Kilton castle (Yorkshire) from his brother Robert in 1374, Robert had himself only gained the castle seven months before his death. This was a group moving into the castle community rather than one expanding an existing involvement with castles. Moreover, it was rare

for a single family in this group to build more than one castle. The main exception to this was in Northumberland. There, examples abound of families producing two or more castles. Typical of this was the Widdrington family. Widdrington castle (Northumberland) itself was licenced to Sir Gerard de Widdrington in 1341, while his younger brother Roger gained a licence for West Swinbourne castle (Northumberland) in 1346, both of which belonged to John de Widdrington in 1415. However, the greatest of these families was the Ogles. In 1415, Sir Robert Ogle owned six Northumbrian castles—Flotterton, Hepple, Middleton, Newstead, Ogle, and Sewingshields. Ogle had been licenced in 1341 by Robert Ogle, while the remaining five castles first appear in the 1415 survey. All six of these castles appear to have been built by members of the Ogle family, making the family, at least in numerical terms, the greatest private castle builders of this period.

Table 5-ix: Castles built by the Welsh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Builder</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dolforwyn (Mont.)</td>
<td>Llewelyn ap Griffin</td>
<td>c.1273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dryslwyn (Carm)</td>
<td>Rhys ap Mareudd</td>
<td>by 1287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynevor (Carm)</td>
<td>Rhys ap Mareudd</td>
<td>by 1287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llandover (Carm)</td>
<td>Res Wyndot &amp; bro.</td>
<td>by 1282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newcastle Emlyn</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>by 1288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinas Bran (Denb)</td>
<td>Gruffydd ap Madog</td>
<td>by 1282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caergwrl (Flint)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>by 1282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castel-y-Bere (Mr)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>by 1283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powis</td>
<td>de la Pole</td>
<td>by 1299</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The thirteenth century was the last period to see major castle building by the native Welsh princes. Indeed, it was just such castle building, at Dolforwyn castle (Montgomery) that helped contribute to the start of the Welsh wars of Edward I. However, like many other Welsh castles most of these buildings were soon in English hands. It must also be remembered that many of the smaller, undocumented castles in the Welsh heartland must have been built by the Welsh. How long they stayed in use, or in Welsh hands is unclear but their existence must be remembered.

The best known example of castle building by the Welsh was Llewelyn ap Griffith’s castle of Dolforwyn (Montgomery), only four miles from Montgomery castle, and thus a direct challenge to Edward I, who responded by ordering Llewelyn to stop building work at the castle.9 Llewelyn’s continued work on the castle soon led to war, although the castle itself remained in his hands until 1277.

Powis castle (Montgomery) is unusual in that it remained in the hands of the descendants of its original Welsh builder across the entire period. In 1309 the castle had passed to Hawis de la Pole, sister and heir by English law of Griffith de la Pole.10 She married John de Cherleton, and the castle was held by their direct descendants across the period, despite an attack on the castle by the heirs under Welsh custom in 1312.

These Welsh castle builders could find themselves under intolerable pressure. Rhys ap Mareudd was particularly badly treated. Despite having been loyal to Edward I since 1277, he was forced to abandon Dynevor castle (Carmarthen) and after a series of demands from Edward finally rebelled in June 1287, regaining Dynevor and

9 23 June 1273, C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.51
10 I.P.M. V, no.147
capturing Carreg Cennon castle (Carmarthen) and Llandovery castle (Carmarthen) before being pressed back. By November 1287, his second castle, Dryslwyn (Carmarthen) was under siege, and although he was able to break out and capture Newcastle Emlyn (Carmarthen) he was forced on the run, before being captured and finally hanged on 2 June 1292.\textsuperscript{11} His castle building had not helped him survive English pressure – indeed it may have attracted the attention of Edward I and his case demonstrated the problems that faced a Welsh castle builder.

The 114 castles where we do not know the builder fall into two almost equal groups. In sixty cases we know the names of some owners of the building, but not when the castle was built. This group is concentrated on the northern border, and is dominated by those castles that first appear in the 1415 survey of Northumberland. The second group contains fifty four castles where we do not know the names of any owners. Of those fifty four castles, all but fourteen were either in Wales or on the Scottish border. These are both areas where licences to crenellate were not needed, and demonstrates how useful a source they are.

\* \* \* \*

In the twenty six cases, an admittedly small percentage, where we know the age of a castle builder a clear pattern emerges. The largest group were in their forties. This was not because they had had to wait to inherit. Gilbert de Clare, builder of Caerphilly castle (Glamorgan), had not started to work on the castle until twenty years after inheriting. Both of the castle builders who were in their teens were members of the comital community. Llangibby castle (Monmouth) was built by the last Gilbert de Clare at some point between 1307 and 1314, when he was between sixteen and twenty, while Henry de Beaumont was eighteen when he built Folkingham castle (Lincolnshire).

\begin{table}
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
Age & No \\
\hline
19 & 2 \\
20-29 & 2 \\
30-39 & 6 \\
40-49 & 11 \\
50-59 & 5 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Age of castle builders}
\end{table}

\begin{table}
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
Constable service & Individuals \\
\hline
0 & 49 \\
1 & 26 \\
2 & 11 \\
3 & 3 \\
4 & 3 \\
5 & 1 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Constable service by castle builders}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{11} J.E.Morris, \textit{The Welsh Wars of Edward I}, Oxford, 1901, p.204
Table 5-xii: Relationship of castle building to constable service

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>before first service</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>after first service</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>still serving</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in gap</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>after last service</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unclear</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Just under half of these castle builders served as constables. This represents one third of the overlap between castle ownership and constable service. All ranks amongst castle builders can be found serving as a constable, from Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, builder of Ruthin castle (Denbigh) and Denbigh castle, who served as constable of Corfe castle (Dorset) and Skipton castle (Yorkshire), in addition to his role as hereditary constable of Chester, to Roland to Vaus, builder of Triermain castle (Cumberland) and constable of Carlisle castle (Cumberland). Amongst this group, castle building was more likely after first service as a constable. The time that lapsed between that first appointment and the date of castle building, or at least of the licence to crenellate, varied from under a year, as between Robert Baynard’s appointment as constable of Norwich castle in 1311, and his gaining a licence to crenellate Great Hautboys castle (Norfolk) in 1312, to twenty six years between Nicholas de la Beche’s first service as constable of Carisbrooke castle (Hampshire) in 1312, and his gaining a licence to crenellate for Aldworth castle (Berkshire), Beaumyss castle (Berkshire) and Watlington castle (Oxfordshire) in 1338. However, two thirds of these men were still serving as constables when they gained their licence to crenellate, possibly using the chance created by their being in royal service to gain the licence.

Thirty four castle builders can be identified between 1330 and 1350. Of these men, seventeen, exactly half, saw some military service in 1338 to 1343 (see above, p.7). Of the seventeen, sixteen saw service in France, while one, William Heron, builder of Ford castle (Northumberland), only served against the Scots. The castles build by these seventeen men were spread across the entire country, from Ilton castle (Devon), licenced by John de Chevreston in 1335, to Crawley castle (Northumberland), licenced by John Heron in 1343, less than twenty miles from the Scottish border. Of particular interest is Gerard Widdrington. Between 1338 and 1340 he was serving in northern France, while in 1342 he was serving in Brittany. In the intervening year he gained a licence to crenellate for Widdrington castle (Northumberland), taking advantage of a lull in the fighting in France, although when exactly he build the castle is unknown. These men were active members of the military community while they were building their castles, rather than retired soldiers, building with money made from the wars in France.

What were the motives behind this castle building? It is never going to be possible to give a definitive answer to such a question, but we can make some suggestions that may

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14 13 October [1342], SC.1/39 no.153. This is a letter from the earl of Arundel to the chancellor explaining that as Gerard Widdrington had agreed to serve in both Scotland and Brittany, his brother Roger was serving in his name in Scotland.
have some validity. This new castle building can be split into two groups. The first, and largest, is the group of castles built as their owners' only castle. Here we must examine why a family that had not before built a castle was either able or willing to build. The second group is those castle builders who already owned castles. Here we must examine why they wanted a new castle, and how it related to their existing building.

The most important factor in the building of a new castle was a perceived military threat. This is shown most clearly by the dominance of the northern border as a location for new castle building, and by the end of intense castle building in and around Wales after the Edwardian conquest. Even excluding the towers, the northern border still saw the largest number of new castles built, followed closely by Wales. In contrast, the south coast, where there was an intermittent danger of French raids, the impetus towards castle building was much reduced, and only East Anglia saw less castle building. When one remembers that Kent, facing the French coast, saw eight of the thirteen castles built in the South East, the motivation of the threat seems more obvious. It is the northern bias that reduces the value of the debate on the military value of Bodiam castle (Sussex). Bodiam is far from the main area of castle building in this period, and it is to the northern castles that we must thus look to find how castles had evolved by 1400. The different levels of building in Northumberland and Cumberland also demonstrate the importance of a military threat. While Carlisle castle (Cumberland) was able to effectively resist Scottish attacks, neither Berwick or Roxburgh were able to play that role for Northumberland, and Northumberland saw five times more new castles build than Cumberland, despite the similar size of the two counties.

A second clear contributor to the desire to build castles was political uncertainty. The three main bursts of castle building – 1300 to 1319, the 1330s and early 1340s and finally 1370-89 – all match such periods. The first covers the old age of Edward I and most of the reign of Edward II, a period of uncertainty followed by crisis. The second peak also covers a period of uncertainty. Edward III had yet to make his reputation, and his military endeavours in France had been unspectacular and expensive. The governmental crisis that his financial problems had sparked, and the very public dispute with Archbishop Stratford, would not have reassured men who could remember the chaos of his fathers reign. After the victory at Crécy this flow of new castles dried up, suggesting a new confidence in the abilities of Edward III, although the impact of the Black Death must not be underestimated. The final peak marks the old age and rapid decline of Edward III, the early, crisis-ridden years of Richard II and the change of fortunes in France.

One possible motive for castle building that can be dismissed is fear of civil unrest after the Peasant’s Revolt of 1381. An examination of the castles built in the 1380s shows that building work was at its peak in 1380, and slowed across the rest of the decade, with no peak in or immediately after 1381. The best candidate is Cooling castle (Kent), not least on the strength of the unusual inscription carved into the castle:

```
Knoweth that beth and schul be
That I am mad in help of the

cuntrie
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In knowynge whyche thyng
Thys is chartre and wytnessyng.

This message has been taken to be aimed at either rebellious local peasants, or the French. Of these, the latter seems more likely. The locality of Cooling had been raided by the French in 1379, providing a clear military motivation, while the licence to crenellate was issued on 10 February 1381, three months before the start of the revolt.

While most castles acted as estate centres, it is hard to find one built for such a purpose by an existing castle owner. Dunstanburgh castle (Northumberland) would be a candidate, located in an area where there were Lancastrian estates but no Lancastrian castles, and Simpson makes a good case for such a positive interpretation of the castle. However, Thomas of Lancaster’s motivation for building the castle is notoriously suspicious, and political considerations rather than estate management were probably dominant.

At least one castle was built to directly replace an older and derelict castle. Castleton castle (Yorkshire) was in ruins by 1336. The site was owned by the Thweng family, then the Latimers, before coming into the possession of John Neville, lord Latimer, who built himself a quadrangular castle at Danby (Yorkshire), within sight of the old castle. Here we have a case where a change of hands, and the dereliction of an older castle both contributed to the building of a newer castle in an up-to-date style.

Some of these castles were built by newly wealthy men who had managed to gain enough lands and income to build and maintain a castle where their predecessors had not. The licence to crenellate and the resulting castle were only part of a series of grants gained by these men. Both Stephen de Pencestre, builder of Allington castle (Kent) in 1281, and Sir Edward Dalyngrugge builder of Bodiam castle (Sussex) had gained a licence to hold a fair and a market and grants of free warren before building the castle. They were gathering around them the symbols of lordship, and the castle was one of the most visible. For some men it is possible to trace the increase in their estates that allowed their castle building. John de Pateshull, builder of Bletsoe castle (Bedfordshire) is one such case. In 1324 he inherited lands in five counties on the death of Walter de Teye, and within three years he had gained the licence to crenellate Bletsoe. Here it is worth noting the Bletsoe was part of Pateshull’s own lands, already held by him in 1313, and he chose to build his castle there rather than on the lands he had recently inherited.

There was undoubtedly a symbolic element to much castle building. Even buildings of undeniably military intent such as Caernarvon castle could contain such symbolism, with its resemblance to the walls of Constantinople, and a whole series of imperial connections. In those parts of the country unthreatened by any realistic enemy

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17 ibid., p.130
18 W.D. Simpson, ‘Dunstanburgh Castle’, Archaeologia Aeliana, 4th series, 16 (1939), pp.31-42;
19 Bates, pp.169-171
20 King, p.515
22 J.P.M. VI, no.533
23 J.P.M. V, no.376
this symbolic element must have formed an important part of the urge to build. Indeed, Coulson has suggested that almost no castles had anything but a symbolic nature. However, one must not overplay this element. Even excluding towers, the northern border still saw more building work than any other area, and it is clear that a constant military threat was a more significant factor than any desire for ostentatious display. In those areas where the military threat was not strong, new castles were rare. While the majority of castles would not have been able to resist a determined royal siege, the castles of the northern border were not intended to combat such a force, but rather to deter Scottish raiders.

What then of those castles built in the quiet period of the 1350s and 1360s? The answer is in their location. The private castles datable to this period demonstrate a clear geographical bias towards the northern counties of England, with four of the eight located in Yorkshire or further north. Quite clearly the relative nearness of the Scottish threat was a key element in the building of these castles. In the rest of the country there was a near total lack of private building, suggesting that the peace and confidence of the period, perhaps combined with the opportunities for military adventure offered by the successful campaigns in France, removed the incentives to spend time and money building castles. The gap between 1353 and 1361 is the one of the longest in castle construction during this period.

Table 5-xiii: Castles built 1350-1369

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Builder</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northborough (Nhants)</td>
<td>c.1350</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flamborough (Yorks)</td>
<td>1351-2</td>
<td>Marmaduke Constable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greystoke (Cumb)</td>
<td>1353</td>
<td>William lord Greystoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartley (Westmorland)</td>
<td>1353</td>
<td>Thomas de Musgrave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queenborough (Kent)</td>
<td>1361</td>
<td>The King</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doddington (Cheshire)</td>
<td>1364</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harewood (Yorks)</td>
<td>1366</td>
<td>William de Aldeburgh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A very few castles can be seen to have been built to provoke a reaction. The best known case was Dolforwyn castle (Montgomery), dealt with above, but a similar case occurred at Morlais castle (Glamorgan), built in 1287-90 by Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, on land owned by Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford causing a dispute between the two that required Edward I's personal attention. Morlais was a sizeable castle, and its building must have been expensive and required much forward planning. Clare had passed through the area, then unoccupied, during the revolt of Rhys ap Mareddud in 1287, and he was no doubt claiming it through right of conquest. A private war soon developed, and eventually Clare was held to be at fault for the entire episode, after which the castle appears to have been abandoned.

Nine counties saw more castle building than their surrounding area. Devon, Kent and Norfolk were isolated in areas of little castle building. Kent and Norfolk saw similar patterns of building, with castles built across most of the period before ending in Cooling castle (Kent) in 1381 and North Elmham castle (Norfolk) in 1387. In contrast, Devon saw late construction, with three of the ten castles built after 1390 in England.
and Wales. These three castles were all located at river mouths on the south Devon coast, suggesting that the threat of French raids motivated the builders of these castles. Shropshire, Herefordshire and Glamorgan form a loose ring surrounding north Wales, and this is reflected in the early dates of their castles, at its most extreme in Glamorgan, where nine of the eleven castles built are dated to Edward I's reign. Once the threat from the Welsh faded, so did castle building in the surrounding areas. Finally, three midland counties – Northamptonshire, Warwickshire and Oxfordshire – saw an unusually high level of castle building, concentrated before 1349. No obvious reason can be seen for this concentration of new building, and it can only be allocated to individual preference amongst local landowners in those areas.

We can draw some conclusions from this chapter. First is that there were massive regional differences in castle building in this period. This period saw the end of major castle building in Wales, after the great castles of Edward I and his supporters, and the success of Edward's conquest put an end to any major castle building in Wales across the rest of this period. In contrast, the failures of Edward I and Edward II in Scotland created a dangerous border area in the north of England, and that danger created an situation in which even minor landowners built themselves towers and minor castles. The pattern of building work here was thus different from that in Wales. Edward I had started to build great castles in Scotland on a par with those of Wales, but that was not the reaction on the northern border. Thus the size of the castles being build decreased during this period. However, it is not possible to say that the quality of the castle had also decreased. Although the greatest castles were concentrated in the first thirty years of this period, places such as Bodiam (Sussex) or Bolton (Northumberland) demonstrate that a high level of skill was still present across the period, and whatever their military potential, their quality as buildings cannot be denied.

Section ii - Licences to crenellate

The licence to crenellate provides us with one of the best sources for both castle building and castle ownership in this period, often providing the only documented owner for many lesser castles. The vast majority of licences issued by the king were recorded on the Patent Rolls, with only four recorded on the Charter Rolls. In addition, at least two original licences to crenellate have survived. Two copies of the licence for Bolton castle (Yorkshire) survive amongst the Scrope manuscripts, while original letters patent for a licence for Edgefield (Norfolk) are preserved in the Public Record Office. In both cases, the licence was enrolled on the Patent Rolls. Unlike most areas covered by this work, licences to crenellate have been studied in some detail. Coulson's article in Nottingham Medieval Studies is the most recent, and the best, work on this subject, and is both a discussion of the role of the licence and a guide to previous writing.

In addition to those licences that resulted in castles, a sizeable number did not, and these apparently unused licences can provide a further insight into the desire for

27 Bampton (Devon), C.Ch.R. 1327-1341, p.353; Ogle (Northumberland), C.Ch.R. 1341-1417, p.4; Aston (Bucks), C.Ch.R. 1327-1341, p.353 and Bighton Malherbe (Kent), C.Ch.R. 1341-1417, p.1
28 Northallerton Record Office ZBO 1/642 and ZBO 1/644
29 E.156/28/6
fortification and the value placed upon it. Here we will divide the licences into two groups – active and inactive. The active licences are those that resulted in the building of a new castle or were issued for an already existing castle, while the inactive licences are those for sites where no castle resulted. This does not imply that no building occurred at these sites, only that whatever was produced is not considered a castle. The inactive licences fall into several groups. Many did not result in any building work of any nature. Others can be linked to un-fortified buildings, while still others were gained for church buildings. Finally, a small group were gained for buildings within towns.

While the vast majority of these licences to crenellate were granted directly by the king, this was not always the case. The right to grant licences was one of the powers granted away by the king in the palatinate areas of the country. In effect this was limited to the bishop of Durham across the period, and the dukes of Lancaster when they held those powers. Although the same was true for the earls of Chester, that title was held either by the King or his heir during this period and thus remained attached to the crown. Although few licences were gained from these sources in this period, the last two licences gained, for Witton-le-Wear (Durham),\(^31\) and Ludworth (Durham),\(^32\) were both gained from the bishop of Durham.

\[\text{Table 5-xiv: Licences to crenellate by reign}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reign</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Per Year</th>
<th>Used</th>
<th>Unused</th>
<th>% Used</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edward I</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>57.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward II</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>52.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward III to 1349</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward III from 1350</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>76.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard II</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>65.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry IV</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry V</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>57.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most dramatic change in the rate at which licences to crenellate were issued came at the end of the 1340s. Until that point the number of licences issued had been slowly increasing, reaching a rate of over four per year, a rate maintained until 1348. The following year, none were issued, and the rate of issue did not begin to recover until the 1370s. The most obvious cause of this dramatic fall in licencing (matching a fall in actual building) was the Black Death. No other explanation fits this date. Success in France had not stopped the licence seekers of 1347 or 1348, and the renewed campaigns of the 1350s likewise failed to rekindle interest. No such obvious cause can explain the lack of royal licences under Henry IV and Henry V. Of the eight licences issued during their reigns, the last two were issued by the bishop of Durham – Henry V issued no licences to crenellate. Here we may be seeing the first signs of the death of interest in castles, or a sign of the insecurity of the Lancastrian monarchs. The lack of unlicenced building after 1399 suggests that this decline does not indicate that licences to crenellate were no longer required. A different situation appears to have prevailed in Northumberland. Of the twenty three licences issued in Northumberland, only one was granted after 1346. The effective end of licences to crenellate in Northumberland coincides with the ravaging of the border by the Scots before their defeat at Neville Cross, and that destruction may have motivated this change.\(^33\)

\(^{31}\) W. Hutchinson, *The History of the County Palatine of Durham*, vol. 3, Durham, 1823, pp.304-6

\(^{32}\) W. Hutchinson, *The History of the County Palatine of Durham*, vol. 1, Durham, 1823, p.408

\(^{33}\) Bates, p.11
Of the 246 separate licences granted, ten were for two sites, and eight for three. Of these eighteen multiple licences, six produced no building work, while another nine only produced one castle. All together, these multiple licences account for twenty eight licenced sites where no work was carried out, nearly one quarter of all such cases. Although such multiple licences can be found up until 1399, such licences were concentrated in the reign of Edward III, who granted ten between 1329 and 1343, during the peak period of licence granting.

Thirteen castles received more than one licence. In one case, that of Hever castle (Kent), there was both a change of family and a gap of over one hundred years, between the first licence, granted to Stephen de Pencester in 1271, and the second, granted to John de Cobham in 1383. In contrast, at two castles – Blenkinsopp (Northumberland) and Flamborough (Yorkshire) – the second licence was issued within months of the first. The only difference between the licences was that in both cases, the second licence was issued under the privy seal while the first licence for Blenkinsopp was issued by the keeper, and the first for Flamborough by the king, although what this signifies, if anything, is unclear. At Penrith castle (Cumberland), the second licence of 1399 expanded on the original licence of 1397 and included permission to fortify a 'mantlet'. Finally, at Macclesfield castle (Cheshire), the second licence may have been intended as security after the fall of Richard II. John de Macclesfield, clerk, had gained the original licence in August 1398, and as Cheshire was a stronghold of Richard, Macclesfield may have felt that a second licence was prudent. In the remaining eight cases, there are no obvious reasons for the second licence.

Table 5-xv: Licences to crenellate by region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Inactive</th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>% Active</th>
<th>Castles Built</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern Border</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>95.8</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The North</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>59.0</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midlands</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>50.9</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Anglia</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marches</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Very similar numbers of licences were issued across most of England. However, it should be remembered that all but two of the twenty five licences granted in Northumberland came before 1346, artificially lowering the number of licences in the northern border. The greatest differences came with the number of licences acted upon, which was at a peak in the northern border region, and then was dramatically lower the further south one goes, until it reached a low point in East Anglia and the south east. The nature of a licence to crenellate thus varied across the country, from being a serious military grant in the north, almost to being a form of planning permission in London.

Fifteen licences were granted to fortify buildings within towns. These licences did not result in any recognised castles, but they were not all intended entirely as status symbols. A small group of these licences were granted to bishops, either to crenellate the bishop’s palace or to enclose the cathedral close, and here at least some work may have occurred. However, most of these licences were for town houses, both for bishops and for laymen. Of the laymen, only two were castle owners. The first was to John de Cherleton, who gained a licence to crenellate his house in Shrewsbury in 1325, after
having been pardoned and restored for his part in the rebellion of 1321-1322. The second was to John de Pultney, who in 1341 gained a licence to crenellate Cheveley (Cambridge), Penshurst (Kent) and his house in London. He built a moated castle at Cheveley.

Table 5-xvi: Location of urban licences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>No of Licences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>York</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shrewsbury</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exeter</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ten licences issued in London do not indicate a willingness on the part of the king to have fortifications near London. All ten were for clearly urban dwelling, with most of the locations being indicated by street names. Whatever work resulted from these licences is hard to say, with frequent rebuilding in the city obscuring any work but licences such as that issued to John de Wengrave to crenellate a ‘chamber in Bradestrere’ can not have been intended to produce castles.34

Three licences were issued in the form of pardons for crenellation. The first of these is the most interesting. It was granted to John de Sutton of Holderness in 1352, who had been accused before the justices of unlicenced crenellation. In his petition for a pardon, he claimed that he had simply built some strong tenements, and the accusation was malicious, an argument somewhat weakened by his then gaining permission to convert the tenements into a castle. He was fined 20s. and granted a licence to build a castle. The low level of the fine is particularly interesting, suggesting as it does that there was no financial disincentive to gaining a licence. This case also demonstrates that unlicenced crenellation could attract legal attention. The remaining two pardons both occur in the early 1380s. In neither case is there any doubt that crenellation had occurred, although the scale differed between the two cases. The first was that of John Rous, who in December 1381 was pardoned for crenellating the gate of his manor house at Ragley (Warwickshire) and given permission to crenellate the entire manor. The second was to Sir Thomas Hungerford in 1383, who had crenellated the entire manor house at Farleigh Hungerford (Somerset) and was pardoned for a fine of 1 mark. These fortifications could have been built as a panicked reaction to the peasants revolt, and once again the fine was too small to suggest any financial reason for not gaining a licence.

There is very little evidence to suggest that licences were sought for modifications to castles already in existence at the start of this period. However, there are at least three cases where a site that had probably fallen out of use was licenced for effective re-crenellation. The first was at Whitwick castle (Leicestershire), initially mentioned in 1149-53 and 1204-5,35 before a licence was granted to Henry Beaumont, an ally of Edward II in 1321.36 The second such case was Bampton castle (Devon), taken by King Stephen in 1136,37 before being licenced to Richard Cogan in 1336.38

34 22 May 1314, C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.118
36 12 March 1321, C.P.R. 1318-1323, p.571
is unclear if any work was carried out as a result of this licence, and the remains are of
an earthwork castle. At the third case it is clear some building work was carried out.
Bishop’s Stortford castle (Hertfordshire), belonging to the bishops of London, was first
mentioned during the reign of William I, before being dismantled in 1211. Although
the castle was to be repaired in 1213-14, it was licenced in 1346, after which it again
appears in the record. It would seem clear that this was a reoccupation of an abandoned
site. Likewise, there was almost certainly an existing castle at Broughton castle
(Oxfordshire) when Thomas Wykeham gained a licence to crenellate in 1406. The
original castle had been built around 1300 and this licence may indicate that it had
fallen into decay or that it had not been a true castle.

There is very little difference between the group of men who received active
licences and the wider pool of men who built castles. Thus the discussion of castle
builders above is equally relevant here. The only significant difference is that the
Northumbrian castles after 1346 were not licenced and their builders are thus not
relevant for this section. However, that lack of licences is reflected in our lack of
knowledge of builder’s identity for most of those castles and so they do not feature
strongly in the above discussion. Here we will concentrate on those people and
organisations that received inactive licences.

The inactive licences were granted to a very mixed group of people. Of the
ninety five individuals and bodies granted inactive licences, the rank of fifty two is
known. Amongst them the largest groups were parliamentary peers (twelve), bishops
(eleven) and knights (seven), but there were also men such as John Wyard, who gained
a licence to crenellate Staunton Harecourt (Berkshire) in 1327, his closest association
with castles. The only members of the comital community present were Ralph, first earl
of Stafford, who gained a licence to crenellate Madlee and Stafford (both Staffordshire)
in 1348 and Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, who gained a licence to crenellate for
Wingfield castle (Suffolk), Sternefeld (Suffolk) and Huntynfeld (Suffolk) in 1385.
Both of them were newly created members of the comital community. In each cases,
one of the sites licenced became a castle.

Twenty seven of the individuals in this group were members of the castle
community. Of these, twelve were castle owners, of whom only three owned castles
they had not themselves built. The most important of these three was Ralph, earl of Stafford, discussed above. Second was John Cherleton of Powis, discussed above (see
p.50), who gained a licence to crenellate a house in Shrewsbury in 1325. Third was Fulk
le Strange of Blackmere, who gained a licence to crenellate for Whitchurch
(Shropshire) in 1322, one year before his death. At his death he owned Corfham castle
(Shropshire), having gained the castle through his marriage to Eleanor Giffard. The
remaining nine were men like John Rous of Ragley, who having gained a licence to
crenellate for Ragley castle (Warwickshire) in 1381, then gained another for Stanley
Poundelarge (Gloucestershire) in 1391, this time without result.

The inactive licences contain the only examples in this period of licences to
crenellate being granted to women. The first was issued to Matilda, widow of William
de Ferrers in 1337 for Bere Ferrars (Devon), regarded as no more than the site of a

38 17 March 1336, C.Ch.R. 1327-1341, p.353
ed. William Stubbs, Rolls Series, 76 (1882), p.15
possible castle by King. A second licence for the same site was gained three years later in 1340, by John de Ferrers, presumably William and Matilda’s heir. It is possible that William had requested the licence but had died before it could be issued. However, that can not be true for the second such licence, issued to Maud, widow of John Marmion in 1348 for West Tanfeld (Yorkshire). John Marmion had died in 1335, and it is clear here that Maud had herself requested the licence.

Table 5-xvii: Licences granted to the church

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kings' Clerks</th>
<th>Inactive</th>
<th>Active</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbeys</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5-xviii: Date of licences granted to the church

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Inactive</th>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1280's</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1290's</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1300's</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1310's</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1320's</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1330's</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1340's</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1350's</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1360's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1370's</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1380's</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1390's</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Churchmen were active seekers of licences to crenellate, representing just over one in ten of the licences granted. However, only eleven of the granted licences resulted in a known castle, much lower than the overall ratio. The licences granted to the church were spread across the period in much the same way as the overall picture. Even the concentration of nine licences granted in 1336, 1337 and 1338, matches the national picture. The only significant difference is that church licences fall off dramatically after 1340, while nationally that fall off does not occur for another decade.

Of the eleven active church licences, seven were granted to bishops. Only two of these seven were granted to a bishop close to the Scottish border, both of which were granted to the bishop of Carlisle for Rose castle (Cumberland). The remaining five licences were granted to the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (two licences), the bishop of Norwich, the bishop of Chichester and the bishop of London. Twice as many licences granted to bishops did not produce castles. These too were scattered across the country, including two for houses in London. Most of these licences must have been sought for prestige rather than through any military concern.

Three licences granted to abbeys produced known castles. As would be expected, all three were northern abbeys. Tynemouth castle (Northumberland) is the
most impressive of three, and the priory stands within the castle walls,\(^{41}\) but neither Piel (Lancashire), built by Furness Abbey, or Wolsty (Cumberland), built by Holmcultram Abbey were impressive buildings. Four licences were granted to fortify the abbey site itself. Although it is not possible to be sure what work was carried out, the impressive gatehouse standing at Evesham suggests that some work was carried out. Three of these four licences were issued between 1336 and 1338, the high point of church licences and thus fit into the overall trend. What does not fit is that none of these abbeys were on the northern border, suggesting that serious fortification was not the aim of these licences.

Table 5-xix: Licences granted to crenellate abbeys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbey</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Evesham Abbey (Worcester)</td>
<td>1336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buklond Abbey (Devon)</td>
<td>1337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Battle Abbey (Sussex)</td>
<td>1338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Weburghs Abbey (Cheshire)</td>
<td>1377</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One interesting licence was that granted to the Knights Templar in 1306 for Temple Bruere (Lincolnshire).\(^{42}\) This was fifteen years after the fall of Acre, and only six years before the king of France began his attack that led to their fall. This was a time at which the Templers were said to be turning away from the Holy Land and attempts to re-conquer it, and towards their European lands. Prior to this, the Templars owned no castles in England and Wales, and this licence could be an example of their change of focus. However, no work appears to have been carried out at Temple Bruere, although this could be accounted for by the rapid fall of the order.

Very few unlicenced castles can be found in England.\(^{43}\) Only in Northumberland, where the need for a licence appears to have disappeared after 1346, are unlicenced buildings common. Away from the northern border such examples are few and far between. Only thirteen such cases occur south of Yorkshire and Lancashire. As would perhaps be expected, we can only be sure of the builders of four of these castles. Of those four, two are for buildings of uncertain nature. Powderham castle (Devon), built by the earls of Devon, may never have been a fortification,\(^{44}\) while the Bishop’s Palace at Wells (Somerset), while consistent with the definition of the castle used by this and most other modern studies, may not have been so considered at the time. A third, Gidleigh (Devon) was a small tower, similar to South Kyme (Lincolnshire) and Lea (Shropshire), suggesting that such places may have been considered too insignificant to need a licence. Indeed, of all of these places, only Penyard castle (Hereford) may have been a strongly fortified castle, and its building date is unclear.

Table 5-xx: Unlicenced castles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Builder</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Helston (Cornwall)</td>
<td>temp Edward I</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sir William le Priouz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gidleigh (Devon)</td>
<td>1315-1324</td>
<td>Small tower;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{41}\) Fry, p.187

\(^{42}\) 10 Sept 1306, C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.462

\(^{43}\) In the period to 1326, those licences that were not enrolled are calendared in the Calendar of Chancery Warrants, 1244-1326. During that period, only one such licence exists, issued to Robert de Clifford in 1309 for Brougham castle and Pendragon castle (both Westmorland), both already in existence. Four unlicenced castles were build during this period, and no warrants are recorded for them.

\(^{44}\) King, p.119
Powderham (Devon) c. 1390 Long block earl of Devon
Penyard (Heref) by 1338 Big stone castle Roger Ashburnham
Scotney (Kent) late 14th cty Two wards Roger Ashburnham
Kyme, South (Lincs) 14th cty Tower
Woodcroft (Nhants) c. 1280 Roughly quadrangular
Lea (Shrops) prob. 14th cty Tower
Bishop’s Palace, Wells mid 14th cty curtain wall and moat Bishop of Wells
Mountfield (Sussex) post-1300 Moated with stone defences
Kingsbury (Warwickshire) prob. 14th cty curtain wall with one tower

Section iii - Castles that went out of use

Relatively few castles can be shown to have gone out of use during this period.\(^{45}\) Just over fifty castles were abandoned and not reused, while another thirteen suffered from temporary abandonment or destruction. In this section we will examine who owned these castles when they were abandoned, why they were abandoned and in some cases how they were referred to after their abandonment.

Not all references to a castle as ruinous or abandoned can be taken at face value. Exeter castle (Devon), described as ‘ruinous’ in 1274, was one of the castles held by the Black Prince, and appears in the records as late as 1413, when a gatekeeper was appointed. Likewise, Somerton castle (Lincolnshire), apparently decaying after 1360,\(^{46}\) was granted to George Dunbar, Scottish earl of March, in 1401, in compensation for the loss of his estates in Scotland.\(^{47}\) Such examples should make us wary of overemphasising the state of decay of many castles. In contrast, some castles lingered in the records long after their destruction. The best example of this is Huntingdon castle (Huntingdonshire), demolished and abandoned in 1174.\(^{48}\) The castle then reappeared in the records in 1375, when justices of gaol delivery were appointed.\(^{49}\) From then until the end of the period, the castle was held by the Hastings earls of Pembroke, and appears in four separate entries on the Fine Rolls. There is no archaeological evidence to suggest that a new castle was built on the site, and these references may be linked to the survival of a gaol building on the site of the castle. A similar explanation is likely for Bedford castle, dismantled in 1224. The owners of the site can be traced throughout the period, and in 1398 there was even a constable appointed. However, in the inquisition post mortem of John Mowbray in 1368 it was stated that there was a court held on the site of the castle every three weeks,\(^{50}\) and it may have been this court that explained the continued interest in the site of a long demolished castle.

Just over half of these castles drifted out of use over a period of years. This could only happen at castles that were no longer in regular use as a residence and were thus not maintained properly, before being finally abandoned. This was the fate of Bredwardine castle (Hereford), abandoned by the Baskerville family in favour of Eardisley castle (Hereford) by the 1370s, or of Llangibby castle (Monmouth), abandoned by the Mortimers by 1400. This was also the fate of several royal castles.

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\(^{45}\) See appendix eleven for a list of castles going out of use
\(^{46}\) I.Misc. VI, no.15
\(^{47}\) C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.529
\(^{48}\) ‘Great Roll of the Pipe for the Twentieth Year of the Reign of King Henry the Second, 1173-1174’, Pipe Roll Society, 21 (1896), p.50 & 63
\(^{49}\) 2 February 1375 C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.74; 28 February 1376 C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.288
\(^{50}\) I.P.M. XII, no.397
such as Guildford (Surrey), allowed to fall largely into ruin, although here the gaol remained in use after the castle had decayed.

Only one castle went out of use after suffering a fire. In 1282, soon after Glyn castle (Denbigh) was gained by John de Warenne, the castle was burnt down by his new Welsh tenants, and he did not repair it. In contrast, Caergwrle castle (Flint), Kenfig castle (Glamorgan) and Narberth castle (Pembroke) were all repaired after suffering damage in fires. Accidental damage was clearly not enough to end the active life of a castle. Likewise warfare did not result in the long term destruction of many castles. The Welsh wars of Edward I saw the destruction of several castles, but those destroyed in warfare were almost always repaired. Likewise, the Scots destroyed several castles in England, as well as demolishing many within Scotland. But, as with Rose castle (Cumberland), attacked in 1337 while it was being built, these were soon rebuilt.\(^{51}\) The civil wars of Edward II's reign only saw one castle destroyed - Brimpsfield (Gloucester) – and that probably only because it was in Edward's line of march in 1322. Finally, Llansilin castle (Denbigh), the seat of Owen Glendower, was destroyed in 1403.

A small group of castles were simply dismantled. However, most of these demolitions were as a result of warfare and have been dealt with above. Moreover, an order to demolish a castle was not always carried through. The order to demolish High Head castle (Cumberland) issued in 1331 was clearly ignored and the castle remained in use. Even when a building was dismantled it did not always remain so, as apparently occurred at Piel (Lancashire) dismantled in 1403 but soon back in use.\(^{52}\) The first castle in this period to be permanently dismantled was the Welsh princely castle of Dolbadarn (Caernarvon), demolished in 1284, probably due to its inland location, not favoured by Edward I. The second clear case was that of Morlais castle (Glamorgan), dismantled in 1290 by Gilbert de Clare, soon after he had built it as part of a conflict (see above, p.56). Finally, Colbridge castle (Kent) may have been demolished c. 1363,\(^{53}\) but there is not enough information on the castle to be certain what happened.

Four castles went out of use after having been given to the church. The first of these was Hastings castle (Sussex), given to the clergy of the church within the castle by Edward III in 1331.\(^{54}\) Eight years later, the castle was taken in a French raid, making it the only castle on the south coast even to be attacked by the French, let alone actually to fall to them. Next was Deddington castle (Oxfordshire), granted to the canons of Windsor castle in 1364,\(^{55}\) a group most unlikely to need a castle, and the building had been in decay since at least 1277. By 1364 the castle was almost certainly uninhabitable. In contrast to these two decayed castles, Mettingham castle (Suffolk) was only forty years old when it was granted to the chantry of John de Norwich, the grandson of the castle's builder. Even here, the lands and income connected to the castle were the key to the grant, intended to fund the chantry. Finally, Leybourne castle (Kent) was granted to the Cistercians in 1397. Prior to this, the castle had been held by Simon de Burley, Richard II's executed favourite and tutor, and it is possible that this grant, in the year that Richard took his revenge for the events that had led to that

\(^{51}\) The Chronicle of Lanercost, 1272-1346, trans. H.Maxwell, Glasgow, 1913, p.307
\(^{51}\) C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.71
\(^{53}\) King, p.29
\(^{54}\) C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.71
\(^{55}\) King, p.385
execution, was intended to commemorate his friend. In none of these cases is there any
suggestion that the new church owners made any effect to maintain the military
potential of these buildings, or even that they used their new castle as a residence. Other
than at Hastings, it was the income from the lands attached to the castle that was the
motivation behind these grants.

There is no evidence to suggest that age was an important factor in the
abandonment of castles. There was an even spread of castles built from immediately
after the conquest until 1300. Only castles newly built after that date were unlikely to be
abandoned.

Table 5-xxi: Castles going out of use, by region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Castles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern Border</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midlands</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Anglia</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marches</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By far the greatest number of castles went out of use in Wales. Once again this
reflects the decreased threat from the Welsh, and the decrease in the importance of
castles that went with that. Wales contained many more castles than most of England,
and there were thus many castles that became surplus to requirement once the military
danger was perceived to have been removed. Away from Wales, abandonments were
well spread, and only Kent, with five, saw any concentration. Kent also saw a high level
of castle building, and the number of castles in Kent increased across this period.

An attempt to examine the owners of these castles is problematic. In many cases
we do not have a clear date for the abandonment of a castle, nor should we assume that
there always was a clear terminal date. It thus follows that we can not be sure who
owned many castle when they went out of use. In some cases we can not even be sure
which family owned a castle. One such case was Castleton castle (Yorkshire), ruined by
1336. In the preceding years it had been owned by the Thwengs and then the
Latimers, and it is impossible to be sure which family owned the castle when it was
abandoned.

Ten royal castles are included in this group. They can be divided into two clear
sub-groups. The largest contained the seven royal castles that were apparently allowed
to decay gently across this period. Not all of these castles disappear from the records as
they decayed. A typical example was Mere castle (Wiltshire), abandoned by 1398. Despite
that, the castle and it’s lands were still granted to Prince Henry, who held it in
1400. The second group contains the three castles destroyed as a result of the Welsh
wars. Here the records reflect the destruction, and neither Dolbardarn castle
(Caernarvon), destroyed by the English in 1284 nor Castel-y-Bere (Merioneth),
probably destroyed by a Welsh attack in 1294 appear again in the records. Criccieth

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56 King, p.515
castle (Caernarvon), destroyed by Glendower in 1404 also disappears from the records, although a gap of under twenty years was not uncommon and is not conclusive.

Nineteen of these castles were owned by members of the comital community when they went out of use. The Mortimer earls of March were particularly prominent here, abandoning four castles before their forfeiture and another four after their restoration. These were all older castles in Wales and reflect the increased security of the area. The same was true for the Beauchamp earls of Warwick, who let Aberedw castle and Colwyn castle (both Radnor) fall into ruin by 1397.

Although the majority of castle owners who let castles go out of use owned other castles, there was a small group that did not. This includes the Chaundos family, whose castle at Snodhill (Hereford) was reported to be in ruins in 1353, and Nicholas Criel, whose only castle, Eynesford (Kent), was violently destroyed in 1312. However, these are exceptional cases. The majority of these decaying castles were part of larger estates and their loss would not have been as traumatic as that of Eynesford would have been for Criel.

Two main conclusions can be drawn from this section. The first is that the location of these abandoned castles once again demonstrates the reduced military threat from the Welsh. Wales saw more than twice as many abandonments as any other region. Although some of these were castles destroyed in warfare or abandoned after a move to a new site, most simply drifted out of use. That is the second conclusion to be drawn from this section. While it is the dramatic end to a castle’s life that draws the attention, whether demolished or burnt down, it was gradual abandonment that was typical for this period.

58 24 Sept 1353, *I.P.M. X*, no.131
59 *C.P.R. 1307-1313*, p.478
Chapter Six - The Constable

Section i – Royal constables

The royal constables are the best documented and most numerous people in this study. It has proved possible to compile near complete lists of constables for many royal castles. Where there is confusion, it reflects contemporary confusion rather than documentary problems. Moreover, the individuals appointed as constables are rarely obscure enough to cause problems of identity, although a small group can not be traced beyond their appointment. A potentially more serious problem is that some names only occur when they were ordered to deliver a castle to a newly appointed constable, and it is not always clear what post these individuals held.

The mechanics of appointments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Patent Rolls</th>
<th>Fine Rolls</th>
<th>Close Rolls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1270s</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1280s</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1290s</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1300s</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1310s</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1320s</td>
<td>390</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1330s</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1340s</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1350s</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1360s</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1370s</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1380s</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1390s</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1400s</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1410s</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2180</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>1117</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We will begin by examining the mechanics of the appointments – where they were recorded, on what terms they were issued and what terminology was used to describe these posts. The majority of appointments were recorded in either the Patent or Fine Rolls (see table 6-i). The use of the Fine Rolls reached a peak during the reign of Edward II, but appointments can be found there across our entire period, while the Patent Rolls recorded a steady number of appointments across our period, with a peak in the 1390s. Three periods saw a much lower number of recorded appointments. The first two periods – the 1280s and 1290s and the 1350s and 1360s – were periods of political stability in England. In contrast, the period after 1399 saw great turmoil. The decline in the numbers of appointments at this date can be partly explained by the fall in the number of county castles, the source of many appointments. The reign of Edward II saw by far the highest number of new appointments (see table 6-ii). The most important factor behind this was the large number of forfeitures that occurred during this period. 1322 saw twice as many recorded appointments as any other year in our entire period, many to the newly forfeited Mortimer and Lancaster estates. There was then a quiet

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1 The total figures include those constables for whom no appointment source is known, and who are thus only known from later orders addressed to them.
2 Includes 1420-1422
period until 1326 and 1327, when once again a political crisis triggered an increase in the number of appointments recorded.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Appointments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1320</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1321</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1322</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1323</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1324</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1325</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1326</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1327</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1328</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1329</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even during the 1320s, only thirty nine appointments were made per year, ten more than in any other decade, but less than the total number of royal castles. Only in 1322 did the total number of appointments exceed the number of core royal castles and many of those appointments were at the recently forfeited castles. Even at a period of such crisis, many constables were unaffected, including the constables of Dover castle (Kent) and Windsor castle (Berkshire), both of whom served throughout the year.

The number of references for each constable varies greatly (see table 6-iii). For many, especially the sheriff-constables, the only references to them as constables occurred at their appointment and removal from the post, and any other references to them were solely as sheriff. In contrast, some constables appear time after time. Orders were issued to the constables of Dover castle and the Tower of London on an almost weekly basis, and they are thus much better known to us. However, even for the best documented castles there are some gaps. At Dover castle, where we have some knowledge for every year of this period, there are over one hundred and fifty months unaccounted for, rising to over eight hundred months at Canterbury castle, despite our having some information for all but thirty years. Here, part of the problem is that for some constables we have either only an end date, or only a start date. When the next appointment occurs on schedule in the following year this is not a problem and service can be assumed to fill the gap, but when there is a longer gulf between appointments, that assumption would become increasingly unsafe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Appointments</th>
<th>Individuals</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Months</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bamborough</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>1510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dover</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>1648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwich</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>1074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarborough</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>1214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shrewsbury</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tower</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>1582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>1211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>1582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>1079</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 The number of years in our period in which we have at least one reference to a constable at this castle.
4 From a total of 1,800 months in our period
The basic form of appointment was a grant during pleasure. This was the standard form of appointment to county castles, where it was in effect a one year appointment. The method of appointment at county castles is well established. At a set date each year, the king in council appointed the new sheriff-constables. This occurred in November for much of Edward I’s reign and October for Edward III’s, making it easy to see when the normal pattern was changed. Grants during pleasure were not limited to county castles and occur even at the greatest castles. Only after 1350 did the grant during pleasure start to disappear at castles such as Windsor or Dover, as will be seen below. This form of appointment was the most flexible from the king’s viewpoint, allowing the easy replacement of constables.

Grants for life became increasing common during this period. At Dover castle (Kent), only one such grant was made before 1350, to Bartholomew de Burgherssh, who was replaced two years later, while after 1350, twelve of the eighteen appointments were for life. The same pattern can be seen at Windsor castle (Berkshire), with two appointments for life before 1350, and seven from thirteen afterwards, and similar patterns are to be seen at all of the independent royal castles. These grants for life were in no way ownership grants, but were either explicit appointments as constable or grants of custody. As was seen in chapter three, grants of ownership for life were much rarer, and the level of ownership was explicit in the grant. Finally, fourteen fixed term appointments were made. These appointments were scattered across the period and the country, and the only common factor is that none of these appointments can be proved to have reached their full term. Ten were definitely ended early, in most cases as a result of a new appointment, although the twenty year appointment of William le Scrope as constable of Dawley castle (Shropshire), made in 1398, was dramatically cut short by his death.

Hereditary constables do not feature in this period. The only posts to be so held were at Lincoln castle and Chester castle, both held by the earls of Lincoln, before passing to the earls and dukes of Lancaster. Even here, the principle was confused. At Lincoln castle, the castle became in effect the property of its holders, and appeared in their hands until Henry IV seized the throne. In contrast, Chester castle was under the control of the justice of Chester and after Henry de Lacy the hereditary post disappeared. At Berwick castle (Northumberland), the Percys became established as constables. However, the exact status of their claim to the castle, while sometimes confused, was never that of hereditary constables. Despite being in charge of the castle from 1339 until 1402, the castle did not appear in the inquisition either of Henry Percy (d. 1352) or of Henry Percy (d. 1368). From 1385 references to the Percys at Berwick alternate between considering them owners or constables of the castle. It was the dominant role of the Percy family in the defence of the east march that led to their control of Berwick castle rather than any hereditary claim.

We will now examine the terminology used to describe the men in charge of castles. The most common term used was ‘constabularius’. A second, rarer, term was ‘custos’ translated variously as custodian, keeper or warden. The two terms were often used interchangeably, as can be seen in the six references to John de Wysham, 5

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6 Thus Adam de Wells, constable of Rockingham castle (Northampton) in 1299 is referred to as “constabar Castri” on the original fine roll. C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.409, C.60/106 m.17
7 Thus Reynold de Grey, custodian of St. Briavels castle (Gloucestershire) in 1291 is referred to as “custodiam castre”. C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.286; C.60/106 m.2
constable of Knaresborough castle (Yorkshire) in 1318-1319, who was referred to as constable four times and keeper twice. However, in some cases a keeper can be proven to have been the sub-constable. This was the case at Carisbrooke castle (Hampshire) in 1377, where John Griffiths was described as constable, and Hugh Tyrell as his keeper of the castle. The same hierarchy can be demonstrated at the Tower of London during the tenure of Anthony Bek, where Giles de Audenard was variously described as keeper, sub-constable, constable and keeper of the works. This would suggest that a keeper or custodian was more likely to be expected to be present at their castle than a constable. However, we must be wary of establishing any hierarchy based entirely on vocabulary. In 1290, Robert Tibotot was re-appointed as justice of Wales. The appointment included custody of six castles in Carmarthen, Cardigan and west Wales. Three years later, the same terminology was used when William de Caumvill was appointed as Tibotot’s deputy after the deaths of Walter de Pederton and Geoffrey Clement. Here Tibotot was clear the senior man, but the same vocabulary was used for both Caumvill and Tibotot in relation to these six castles.

A short-lived post associated with castles was that of superior custodian (see table 6-iv). This post appeared between 1312 and 1321 at four castles – Bamborough (Nthmb), Scarborough (Yorkshire), St. Briavels (Gloucester) and Carlisle (Cumberland) – and was clearly separate from the post of constable. The most direct evidence for the separation of the two posts is that when the bishop of Carlisle was granted superior custody of Carlisle in 1314, the appointment specifically states that Andrew de Harcley was to remain as constable. This post was different from others above the constable, such as the Justiciar of Wales, in that it was related to a single castle rather than to a linked group. The only case where that was not so was the appointment of Gilbert de Wygeton as superior custodian of Queen Margaret’s castle soon after her death. Queen Margaret held sixteen castles at the time of her death, and this appointment can be seen as an attempt to organise a large estate as it returned to the king’s control.

The nine appointments of superior custodians were spread across the middle of Edward II’s reign, peaking in the crisis year of 1322, after which they disappear, perhaps reflecting Edward’s increased confidence after the defeat and apparent destruction of his enemies. Although there is no evidence as to when these appointments ended, the executions of Andrew de Harclay and then later both Despensers do provide a final termination date.

It is clear that an appointment of superior custody did not indicate a lack of trust in the constable. Only four of the constables affected did not themselves serve as a superior custodian. Of those four, three – Robert Sapy at St. Briavels castle (Gloucester), Gilbert Talbot at Gloucester castle and Richard de Lymesey at Carlisle

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8 20 June 1276, C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.152
9 22 January 1279, ibid. p.298
10 1 Sept 1278, ibid. p.277
11 26 June 1278, ibid. p.273
12 13 July 1290, C.W.R. p.327
13 Carmarthen, Carreg Cennon, Dryslwyn and Newcastle Emlyn in Carmarthen, Aberystwyth and Cardigan in Cardigan.
14 1 Oct 1293, C.W.R. p.354
15 For the Latin terminology see the grant of superior custody of Carlisle castle (Cumberland) to the bishop of Carlisle; C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.103, calendared as “De superiore custod’ Castri de Carleol” in Calendarium Rotularum Patentium in Turri Londinensi, London, 1802
castle (Cumberland) were appointed within a day of their superior custodian, while Anthony de Lucy served as constable of Carlisle three further times, including for five years from 1323, before dying in post while still in post in 1343.

At Scarborough castle (Yorkshire) the picture is somewhat confused by the status of Henry Percy. In March 1308 he was apparently appointed constable. However, the sitting constable, John Sampson, was still referred to as constable two months later, when Henry Percy merely had the right to dwell in the castle. When Percy was granted superior custody in 1311, Sampson was still constable. However, when Robert de Felton was appointed constable in 1312 it was Percy he apparently replaced, having already done so as superior custodian two weeks earlier. This is the only case where the two posts appear to have been in any way confused, with Percy’s status as a resident of the castle the probable cause of the confusion.

Table 6-iv: Occurrences of superior custody

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Superior Custody</th>
<th>Constables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carlisle Castle (Cumberland)</td>
<td>John Halton Bishop of Carlisle from 6 April 1314</td>
<td>Andrew de Harclay from March 1313 to 20 November 1314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Andrew de Harclay from 8 April 1319</td>
<td>Anthony de Lucy from 20 July 1318 to 8 April 1319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Richard de Lymesey from 8 April 1319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarborough Castle (Yorkshire)</td>
<td>Henry Percy from 1 October 1311 to 20 February 1312</td>
<td>Henry Percy from 16 March 1308 to 6 March 1312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robert de Felton from 20 February 1312</td>
<td>Robert de Felton from 6 March 1312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Briavels Castle (Gloucestershire)</td>
<td>Hugh Despenser from 2 November 1322</td>
<td>Robert Sapy from 1 November 1322 to 16 February 1325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester Castle</td>
<td>Hugh le Despenser from 2 November 1322</td>
<td>Gilbert Talbot from 1 November 1322 to 6 October 1326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castles ex of Queen Margaret (R.I.P.) (Sixteen castles)</td>
<td>Gilbert de Wygeton from 24 April 1318</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The short lived appearance of the post of superior custodian demonstrates, as do so many other features, that innovation at castles was a sign of weakness in the position of the king. The majority of such changes occurred during the reigns of Edward II and Richard II. In this case, that concentration was even more clear, with all examples of this post occurring during eleven years in the reign of Edward II. The constables involved must have doubted whether they had the king’s confidence when another man was appointed to supervise them.
While most appointments went smoothly, on four occasions there was a series of rapid appointments to the same post (see table 6-v). Not all of these four cases were caused by a crisis. The first, at Corfe castle (Dorset) in 1280-1, appears to be a change of mind. Richard de Bosci served as constable from February 1280 until 1299, but on 4 March 1280 he was first replaced, by John de Cormailles, before being re-appointed on the same day. The remaining three cases all took place during the reign of Edward II. At Carlisle castle (Cumberland) the post was alternated between John de Castre and Andrew de Harclaj four times in under a year. Both men went on to serve for longer spells at Carlisle and no obvious reason for the rapid changes can be seen. In contrast, the cause of the changes in the remaining two cases is clear. At Nottingham castle and Scarborough castle (Yorkshire), the period of rapid change was triggered by the appointment of Piers Gaveston as constable and the aftermath of his subsequent death.

On forty eight occasions, joint constables were appointed to a single castle. 16 This was a rare occurrence, representing less than one in thirty five of the total of over 1,700 appointments, and needs to be examined in detail. These joint appointments were concentrated in the reigns of Edward II and Richard II (see table 6-vi). Within those reigns, there was a further concentration in periods of great crisis. Seven were made in 1321-22 and three in 1326, while under Richard II six joint appointments were made in 1399. Like many deviations from normal appointments, these joint appointments were a panic measure caused by great upheaval. The incidences of joint constableships were scattered across England and Wales. The only concentration in both time and place was in Yorkshire during the reign of Edward II, where there were five such appointments at four castles, three of which had been forfeited by Thomas of Lancaster.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6-v: Periods of rapid changes of constable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Castle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlisle (Cumberland)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corfe (Dorset)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nottingham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarborough (Yorkshire)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are only six examples where three or more people were jointly appointed as constables, and they all occurred at times of crisis. The first two such appointments, at Llanstephan castle (Carmarthen) and Bristol Castle (Gloucestershire), were made in late October 1326 by Isabella and Mortimer, most notably at Bristol, where a group of three men replaced the younger Despenser. The third appointment was at Newcastle Emlyn (Carmarthen) immediately after the execution of Simon de Burley brought it back into royal hands. The remaining three appointments were part of Richard II’s attempts to resist Henry Bolingbroke in 1399, and all involved William le Scrope, John Bussy, Henry Grene and William Bagot, Richard’s hated close allies, who were together.

16 See appendix ten for a complete list.
appointed at Wallingford castle (Berkshire), Rochester castle (Kent) and Leeds castle (Kent). Such group appointments were clearly not desirable under normal circumstances.

Three of these appointments were made at castles forfeited by Thomas of Lancaster. Edward II was at his most secure, and was able to reward his allies. However, the six men appointed to these Lancastrian castles were relatively humble figures. None of them was a parliamentary peer. Only one, Roger Mauduyt, owned a castle, Eshott (Northumberland), licensed in 1310. For two this joint service was their only involvement with castles. Of the six, John de Lilleburn is the most interesting and his appointment after the fall of Earl Thomas was somewhat unexpected. He was clearly a Lancastrian at least as early as 1313 when he was pardoned for any part he may have played in the death of Piers Gaveston.\footnote{16 Oct 1313, C.C.R. 1313-1317, p.25} Four years later he led the Lancastrian forces that seized Knaresborough castle (Yorkshire) and held it from 5 October 1317 until 4 March 1318. He was also suspected of some involvement with Gilbert de Middleton, and had been accused of threatening the townsfolk of Berwick in 1314.\footnote{J.R. Maddicott, Thomas of Lancaster, Oxford, 1970, p.161} Given this background, it seems odd to find him appointed constable of Dunstanburgh castle (Northumberland) in 1322, and he must have deserted Lancaster before his defeat was complete. He served there from at least September 1322 until 6 July 1323, jointly until January 1323 and then solo. He remained in royal service under all consequent regimes. He was appointed to organise the defences of Northumberland in 1325 for Edward II,\footnote{25 Dec 1325, C.P.R. 1321-24, p.216} was serving with the King on the Weardale campaign of 1327,\footnote{10 July 1327, C.P.R. 1327-30, p.136} was referred to as having helped the King in the 'late rebellion' in 1329 during Isabella and Mortimer's rule,\footnote{28 March 1329, C.P.R. 1327-30, p.475} and after Edward III's seizure of control was once again involved in the defence of Northumberland.\footnote{20 March 1333, C.P.R. 1330-34, p.416} He also served as sheriff of Northumberland and constable of Newcastle upon Tyne four times between 1329 and 1339. His career spanned every change of government and crisis from 1312 onwards and despite a disreputable reputation he seems to have avoided the consequences of his actions.

An account has survived from Lilleburn and Mauduyt's time together at Dunstanburgh castle.\footnote{BL Stowe MS 553, fo.56v for Mauduyt and fo.62v for Lilleburn.} It casts an interesting light on the operation of such joint constableships. Mauduyt's account covers the period 15 September 1322 to 14 May 1323, while Lilleburn's starts one month later, on 13 October, and also ends on 14 May.\footnote{See appendix fourteen for the detailed numbers of troops involved} Mauduyt's account is further divided into five shorter periods, and Lilleburn's into three, during each of which the number of troops fluctuated. Each man accounted for different numbers of soldiers, although their respective retinues were of a similar size. Mauduyt's averaging at fifteen men at arms and seventy one hobelars, compared to Lilleburn's twenty men at arms and seventy six hobelars. It is possible that some of the changes were due to men moving between the two commanders. On 13 January 1323, Mauduyt lost nine men at arms and seventeen hobelars, while Lilleburn gained thirteen men at arms and thirty two hobelars. Lilleburn had been made the sole constable on 2
January, and this reduction in the size of Mauuyt's troop for the last four months of his account may reflect his new, more junior, role in the running of the castle.

Table 6-vii: Documented duration of joint constablisthes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 days</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ½ years</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 years</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For nine joint appointments (see table 6-vii) we have a duration unaffected by the executions that ended many of Edward II's 1326 and Richard II's 1399 appointments. The durations of these joint appointments was similar to the overall figures, with a predominance of one and two year durations. However, few of these appointments were to county castles, and this indicates that these appointments lasted for less time than would otherwise be expected at the castles in question.

Father and son served together twice, while brothers can be found serving together once. At Rochester castle (Kent), the first case of joint service, in 1334, may have been intended as an act of kindness. Henry de Cobham had been constable of Rochester since 1303, until in 1334, when aged seventy four, he was joined in post by his son John, who then went on to become the next constable in his own right. This joint appointment may have been intended tactfully to ease John into his father's place without causing offence to an elderly and loyal royal servant. Portchester castle (Hampshire) saw both brothers and father and son serve together. First came the brothers. Roger and John Waldon served together from 1397 until their replacement in 1399. Roger Waldon had been constable since 1395 and this appointment can be explained neither through dissatisfaction with the sitting constable, or as part of the 1399 crisis. However, Roger was described as a king's clerk, and his brother, who was a king's esquire, may have been associated with him to aid in the defence of the castle. In November 1399, Henry IV replaced the Waldons with Thomas Camoys and his son Richard. This is the only case where one joint appointment directly follows another without one individual continuing from the first to second appointment. Thomas Camoys was a far more senior figure than either of the Waldens, and had been one of Bolingbroke's earliest supporters. He was already an established figure in 1399, having been summoned to Parliament since 1383, and went on to play a part in Henry V's French wars, commanding one wing of the army at Agincourt.

Three occasions saw husband and wife appointed together. The first was the appointment of Richard Lovel and his wife Muriel as constables of Corfe castle (Dorset) in 1315. This was the second of five appointments for Lovel, who had served as constable of Roxburgh castle (Scotland) in 1314, before appointments at Gloucester castle and Bristol castle. The inclusion of Muriel here is inexplicable. In the second
case, it was the husband who was the addition. Alice de Lacy and her husband Ebulo le Strange were appointed joint constables of Builth castle (Brecknock) in February 1331, a grant that was expanded to ownership in 1334. In both cases, the grant was made for Alice's lifetime, and were clearly intended to honour her. The mystery here is why Builth castle was chosen, it having no connection to either Alice’s father or to Thomas of Lancaster, her first husband. The third case was clearly intended to endow a royal ally. Custody of Corfe castle (Dorset) was granted to Thomas Holland, earl of Kent (d.1397) and his wife Alesia in survivorship in 1391, a grant that was honoured by Henry IV in 1401, when the castle was restored to Alesia. Here the grant of joint custody was an alternative to a grant of outright ownership.

Table 6-viii: Rank of joint constables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>to 1350</th>
<th>after 1350</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>earl</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>king's knight</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knight</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>king's esquire</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>esquire</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bishop</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>king's clerk</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clerk</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only after 1350 do we have enough information regarding the rank of these men to make any valid conclusions (see table 6-viii). There are three significant conclusions to be drawn here. First, the comital community was unusually heavily involved here, with an involvement four times higher than amongst all constables. Secondly, esquires played a heavy role, representing one third of involved individuals after 1350. Finally, the king’s men were equally heavily involved, representing one third of the group. These last two groups overlap heavily, with the eight king’s esquires representing the largest individual group of one rank.

A small number of castles were almost invariably dealt with as a clearly defined stable group. The most consistent group were the three castles granted to the justiciar of Chester: Chester, Flint and Rhuddlan (Flint). These three castles were linked together up to and including the appointment of William de Beauchamp and Hugh de Berewyk in 1341, eight years after they had been granted to Edward, the Black Prince, but still two years before he was considered to have come of age. After 1341 the three posts appear to split, never to come together again, although Flint castle and Chester castle were temporarily reunited under Henry Percy, 'Hotspur' in 1399. Although also part of the earldom of Chester, Beeston castle (Cheshire) was only added to this group once, in 1312, when it was granted to Robert de Holland. Even here, it was not part of the main grant, made in December 1311, but an addition. There was a similar pattern at Shrewsbury and Bridgnorth castles (Shropshire). From the start of the period, these two posts were linked to that of sheriff of Shropshire and Staffordshire. However, that link was broken in 1329, when John de Cheilmerssh was appointed constable of Bridgnorth castle. After that the two castles remained separate, and within eleven years neither castle remained with the sheriff. At Bridgnorth castle, Leo de Perton remained constable for twenty nine years from 1341 to 1370, while at Shrewsbury castle similar attempts were made to appoint a constable for life, hindered only by the death of John de Hethey within nine months of his appointment in 1341. His replacement, John de
Windsor, remained in post from his appointment in 1342 until his own death in 1365. There would appear to have been a deliberate decision made to remove these two castles from the control of the sheriff.

The various posts used to control Wales also carried groups of castles with them. Most of these posts were eventually subsumed within the principality of Wales, in existence for much of this period, but before its creation the custody of the king’s castles in Wales was normally granted to the justiciars of Wales. Thus, when Robert Tibotot was appointed justice of Wales in 1290, he was also granted the keeping of the king’s castles in Carmarthen, Cardigan and West Wales, a group that included six castles just in Carmarthen and Cardigan. Unlike the above two groups, these grouping were never explicitly defined and the level of control seems to have been more that of an overseer, with the castles in other hands.

Very few constable appointments came without some other duties attached (see table 6-ix). At the county castles, it was the post of constable that was secondary to that of sheriff. At other castles the balance is not so clear, as at Dover castle (Kent), where the constable was also warden of the Cinque Ports, an equally important post. In contrast, at many of the remaining castles the connected posts were of lesser significance, and it would appear that the constable was being used as a convenient local official. The most obvious example of this was the use of the constables of Nottingham castle to repair the bridges over the River Trent. Rather rarer was to find a constable being appointed to other posts within the castle. Where this did occur, such as in 1388, when Richard Mauardyn was appointed constable and porter of Dynevor castle (Carmarthen), it seems unlikely that Mauardyn performed the lesser post, and the aim of the grant was probably to increase its value to Mauardyn.

Table 6-ix: Posts linked to castles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Linked Post</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bristol (Gloucestershire)</td>
<td>town and barton of Bristol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carisbrooke (Hampshire)</td>
<td>Isle of Wight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chepstow (Monmouthshire)</td>
<td>town of Chepstow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chester</td>
<td>Justice of Chester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colchester (Essex)</td>
<td>Tendring hundred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corfe (Dorset)</td>
<td>Purbeck Chase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dover (Kent)</td>
<td>Warden of the Cinque Ports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flint</td>
<td>Justice of Chester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Peak (Derbyshire)</td>
<td>Honor of High Peak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nottingham</td>
<td>Bridges over the Trent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochester (Kent)</td>
<td>City of Rochester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhuddlan (Flint)</td>
<td>Justice of Chester</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29 The below references merely represent a single sample for each post
30 12 July 1275, C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.50
31 18 April 1312, C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.130
32 21 August 1307, C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.3
33 14 November 1281, C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.464
34 29 November 1274, C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.36
35 8 May 1321, C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.55
36 19 February 1315, C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.231
37 14 November 1281, C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.464
38 12 March 1283, C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.182
39 18 February 1363, C.P.R. 1361-1364, p.314
40 17 October 1274, C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.31
41 30 June 1290, C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.280
Many of these tied posts were income producing. This altered the nature of the post, making an appointment as constable a potential financial reward. However, in most cases the constable was expected to account for the income from his castle and its lands. This allowed the king to use a castle as a source of funds for someone other than the constable. Thus in 1273 the constable of Marlborough castle (Wiltshire) was ordered to pay £50 per year from the issues of the castle to Queen Eleanor, the King’s mother, while in 1413 Humphrey, duke of Gloucester was granted 500 marks per year from the king’s Welsh castles. On occasion, the constable benefited from such a grant. This was the case for William fitz Waryn, who had been granted custody of Montgomery castle for life, at a rent of 100 marks per year. In 1335 this grant was made rent free, in effect a grant of 100 marks per year to fitz Waryn. Used in this way, appointment to a castle could be a valuable source of patronage for the king.

The level and terms of wages received by the constable varied from castle to castle (see table 6-x). At Dover, the £300 allocated to the constable was intended to pay for the constable and a list of specific staff, although even after their wages were paid, the constable can not have been left with much less than £200 per year. At Conway castle (Caernarvon) in 1378, the constable was allocated 100 marks, 60 for himself and 40 for his sub constable. In 1382, this detail was hidden in a simple allocation of 100 marks to pay the wages of the constable and it is possible that other wage settlements hide details such as this. However, some constables wages were too low for such a split to be possible. The constable of Beeston castle (Cheshire) was paid 3d. per day in 1299, less than many gatekeepers, and while Beeston was a relatively minor castle, the same can not be said for Leeds castle (Kent), whose constables were no better paid in 1376 and 1382.

Table 6-x: Wages paid to constables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Wages</th>
<th>£/year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Berkhamstead (Herts)</td>
<td>1381</td>
<td>6d/day£20</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beeston (Derbyshire)</td>
<td>1299</td>
<td>100s/year£21</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blaen Llyfni (Brecknock)</td>
<td>1337</td>
<td>4 1/2 d/day£22</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buckenham, New (Norfolk)</td>
<td>1392</td>
<td>2s 14d/week£33</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridgnorth (Shropshire)</td>
<td>1375</td>
<td>£20/year£24</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bristol (Gloucestershire)</td>
<td>1289-1296</td>
<td>40 marks/year£55</td>
<td>26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bristol (Gloucestershire)</td>
<td>1311</td>
<td>£210/year£36</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

42 30 October 1305, C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.500
43 17 June 1308, C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.24
44 16 December 1273, C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.10
45 C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.146
46 C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.84
47 C.P.R. 1354-1358, p.512
48 C.C.R. 1377-1381, p.530
49 C.C.R. 1381-1385, p.166
50 C.C.R. 1377-1381, p.450
51 C.C.R. 1296-1302, p.247
52 C.C.R. 1337-1339, p.172
53 C.C.R. 1389-1392, p.467
54 C.C.R. 1374-1377, p.160
56 C.C.R. 1307-1313, p.320
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Wages</th>
<th>£/year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carlisle (Cumberland)</td>
<td>1336</td>
<td>10m/year</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cefnilius (Radnor)</td>
<td>1383</td>
<td>2d/day</td>
<td>3.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clifford (Hereford)</td>
<td>1382</td>
<td>5m/year</td>
<td>3.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conway (Caernarvon)</td>
<td>1376</td>
<td>60m/year</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conway – deputy (Caernarvon)</td>
<td>1378</td>
<td>40m/year</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conway (Caernarvon)</td>
<td>1382</td>
<td>100m/year</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinas (Brecon)</td>
<td>1337</td>
<td>4 1/2 d/day</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dover (Kent)</td>
<td>1357</td>
<td>£300/year</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester</td>
<td>1299</td>
<td>£25/year</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harlech (Merioneth)</td>
<td>1293</td>
<td>£40/year</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knaresborough (Yorks)</td>
<td>1315</td>
<td>800m/year</td>
<td>540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Launceston (Devon)</td>
<td>1316</td>
<td>20m/year</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1331</td>
<td>20m/year</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leeds (Kent)</td>
<td>1376</td>
<td>10s/year</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1382</td>
<td>10s/year</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narberth (Pembroke)</td>
<td>1292</td>
<td>£100/year</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northampton</td>
<td>1329</td>
<td>12d/day</td>
<td>18.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oakham (Rutland)</td>
<td>1376</td>
<td>3d/day</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portchester (Hampshire)</td>
<td>1337</td>
<td>12d/day</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queenborough (Kent)</td>
<td>1384</td>
<td>£10/year</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarborough (Yorks)</td>
<td>1329</td>
<td>40m/year</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shrewsbury (Shrops)</td>
<td>1378</td>
<td>7.5d/day</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tindal (Cornwall)</td>
<td>1380</td>
<td>10m/year</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallingford (Berkshire)</td>
<td>1382</td>
<td>£40/year</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallingford – deputy (Berkshire)</td>
<td>1382</td>
<td>£10/year</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wigmore (Hereford)</td>
<td>1382</td>
<td>10d/day</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Careers at castles**

At the core of this study are the individual constables. Having established the framework within which they worked, we will now move on to examine their careers at

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57 C.C.R. 1333-1337, p.600  
58 C.C.R. 1381-1385, p.321  
59 C.C.R. 1381-1385, p.269  
60 C.C.R. 1377-1381, p.146  
61 ibid.  
62 C.C.R. 1381-1385, p.166  
63 C.C.R. 1337-1339, p.172  
64 C.C.R. 1350-1354, p.512  
65 Includes the cost of the castle’s staff  
66 C.C.R. 1296-1302, p.247  
67 C.W.R., p.353  
68 C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.160  
69 ibid.  
70 C.C.R. 1330-1333, p.224  
71 C.C.R. 1374-1377, p.396  
72 C.C.R. 1381-1385, p.55  
73 C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.28  
74 E.101/18/15 m.6  
75 C.C.R. 1374-1377, p.411  
76 C.C.R. 1337-1339, p.184  
77 C.C.R. 1381-1385, p.485  
78 C.C.R. 1327-1330, p.484  
79 C.C.R. 1377-1381, p.160  
80 C.C.R. 1377-1381, p.283  
81 C.C.R. 1381-1385, p.73  
82 ibid.  
83 C.C.R. 1381-1385, p.144
castles. This section has five main divisions. First we will establish the identity of these constables. Second we will discuss how long their service lasted and at how many castles they served. Third we will examine which castles they served at. Fourth, we will analyse the functions of the constable, and finally we will study their other connections to castles, both as constables of castles outside England and Wales, and as castle owners.

A key element of this study is the examination of the rank of constables. There are two main problems with this. The most serious is that during the first half of this period, the rank of those individuals below the parliamentary peerage is rarely recorded. Fortunately, that changes after roughly 1375 and by the end of the period the rank of most constables is clear. This study will thus subdivide our period at 1375 for the purposes of discussions of rank. A second problem that must be addressed is that rank was not static. Many knights first appear as esquires, while membership of the comital community could be very fluid. For the purposes of this study, individuals will be grouped at the highest rank they achieved during their lifetime, even if, like Andrew de Harclay, earl of Carlisle, that rank was short-lived. Although this may cause some distortion, only a very small group of individuals, perhaps numbering under twenty, will thus be considered above their normal rank, and this group is almost entirely composed of royal favourites. Overlapping with rank were other, often equally important, marks of position and power, such as being summoned to Parliament, or membership of the royal household. These elements of status will also be considered, and as these groups had limited membership, it is possible to see how common service as a constable was within these status groups.

Table 6-xi: Levels of involvement as constables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>% serving</th>
<th>average service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parliamentary Peers</td>
<td>24.4%</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comital Community</td>
<td>43.9%</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Knights of Edward III post 1360</td>
<td>52.0%</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamber Knights of Richard II</td>
<td>64.0%</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King’s Knights of Richard II</td>
<td>28.9%</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamber Knights of Henry IV</td>
<td>63.0%</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King’s Knights of Henry IV</td>
<td>19.9%</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6-xii: Level of constable service in the comital community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Posts</th>
<th>No. of Individuals</th>
<th>Of total constables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

84 Average number of castles served at by those members of each group who served as constables. This compares to the overall average of 1.4 castles served at amongst all constables.
85 Based on G.E.C.
86 This and the following four groups are based on C.Given Wilson, The Royal Household and the King’s Affinity, New Haven & London, 1986, pp.280-290
Only forty five members of the comital community served as constables, representing less than half of the entire group (see table 6-xii and appendix twenty one). What these figures show is that members of the comital community played a very small role as constables, representing only forty five of the 1,396 individual constables and 145 of the 1,930 appointments. Regardless of when and where they served, the comital community did not play an important role as constables.

Of the forty five, only thirteen served as a constable before gaining their title. Furthermore, of the thirteen only Aubrey de Vere and John de Warenne represent established comital families, and even there only Warenne expected to succeed to the family title. De Vere was merely the uncle of Robert de Vere, who was only thirty when he died in exile, and would have been expected to have produced children of his own. Had Robert not died young, Aubrey de Vere would have at best established a cadet branch of the family, and so royal service was an attractive option. The eleven remaining members of the group represent newly elevated families. Even here, five of the eleven ceased to serve as constables after their ennoblement, suggesting that constable service was then beneath them.

Service by the comital community was most common in the crisis ridden reign of Richard II, which saw the beginning of over one third of all comital constable careers. This was in part due to Richard's creation of new earls and dukes, with men such as William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire, accounting for many of the comital constables of his reign. In contrast, the more stable reigns of Edward I and Edward III saw very little comital service, and that of Edward I's reign was concentrated towards the end of his reign, with all four careers continuing into his son's reign.

The distribution of these comital careers almost exactly matched the distribution of royal castles. Over half of all comital appointments occurred in either Wales or the south east, where 45% of the royal castles were located. Even at a castle by castle level there were very few concentrations, with only five castles — Wallingford (Berkshire), Corfe (Dorset), Carlisle (Cumberland), Carmarthen and Dover (Kent) — seeing more than three comital constables. None of these castles come as a surprise. All but Carlisle castle (Cumberland) were independent royal castles, while Carlisle castle was the key to the defence of Cumberland, something reflected in its comital constables, including Andrew Harclay, earl of Carlisle and Ralph de Neville, earl of Westmorland, key figures in the defence of the north.

As with all clearly defined groups, the involvement of the parliamentary peerage as constables can be examined from two angles. The first is to examine what proportion of the parliamentary peers served as constables, and what proportion of overall constable service that represents. The second is to examine the presence of parliamentary peers at individual castles, to see where and when they actually served. The first of these is the easiest. As can be seen in table 6-xiii, the parliamentary peers did not serve as constables in any significant numbers, with less than one in four of them serving at all. Furthermore, the 117 parliamentary peers who did serve represent only 8% of all individual constables. However, those parliamentary peers who did serve, served slightly more often than average, meaning that their service represents 11% of all appointments. Thus, while there is not a large overlap between the

87 For the purposes of this discussion only the non-comital parliamentary peers will be considered
parliamentary peers and the king’s constables, that overlap does represent one in ten of all appointments.

Table 6-xiii: Constable service of parliamentary peers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Posts</th>
<th>Individuals</th>
<th>% overall 88</th>
<th>% constable 89</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>75.6%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
<td>55.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>24.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>480</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The constable service of the parliamentary peers was spread over 100 different castles, covering all types of royal castles from temporarily forfeited castles through to Dover, Windsor and the Tower of London. Geographically, there was a clear pattern of service amongst the parliamentary peerage. Their service was concentrated in Wales (72 appointments), the Marches (42 appointments) and the South East (42 appointments). There was very little service by peers on the northern border. Only two peers served as constable of Bamborough castle (Northumberland), and neither Henry Percy, constable in 1311, or Stephen le Scrope of Masham, constable in 1397, served for more than a year, at a castle where the average length of service was nearly six years. The same was true at Berwick, with two parliamentary peers. Five castles – Carlisle (Cumberland), Chester (Cheshire), Dover (Kent), the Tower of London and York – saw ten or more parliamentary peers serving as constables. These were all important castles and this would suggest that parliamentary peers were seen as responsible people fit to fill such posts, although only Carlisle castle had an important military role across our period.

Table 6-xiv: Appointments of parliamentary peers by reign

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reign</th>
<th>Appointments</th>
<th>Per Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edward I</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward II</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>6.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward III</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>1.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard II</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry IV</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry V</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>1.70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three fifths of constable service by the parliamentary peers occurred during the reign of Edward II (see table 6-xiv). Within the reign itself there were four clear peaks, in 1308, 1311-12, 1317-18 and 1321-2. Each of these peaks will be examined in turn. The first peak, in 1308, was concentrated in March, immediately after the coronation of

88 Percentage of all non-comital parliamentary peers
89 Percentage of those non-comital parliamentary peers serving as constables
Edward II and before the first crisis of the reign. Of the individuals involved, all but one had been summoned to Parliament since at least 1299, while although John de Cromwell, the exception, was first summoned in 1308, he continued to be summoned until his death in 1335 and was serving as constable of the Tower of London at the time of his death, suggesting that he was neither a controversial figure, or a creature of Edward II. This initial peak would appear to have been intended to put experienced and respectable men into key posts. In contrast, the appointments of 1311 and 1312 suggest a different picture. A key element of Edward II’s opposition to the Ordainers over the winter of 1311-12 was to gain control of the great seal and chancery. From Christmas 1311, which Edward celebrated with Piers Gaveston at Windsor castle, to 20 January 1312 when the officers of chancery joined Edward at York, he took control of the mechanisms of government. Of the twenty four appointments of parliamentary peers as constables in 1311 and 1312, twelve were concentrated between December 1311 and March 1312. Clearly these people were being appointed as part of Edward’s attempt to resist the Ordainers. During the 1317-1318 peak there was a fairly even distribution of appointments of parliamentary peers. Here it is the identity of the men being appointed that is of most interest. They include Roger Damory, and more ominously, the first appointments of the younger Despenser. The final peak, in 1321 and 1322, is interesting on both accounts. Eight of the twenty six appointments were made between November 1321 and March 1322, during Edward II’s victorious campaign against the baronial rebels, although they were made to castles scattered from Suffolk to Yorkshire. Another seven, all in Wales, were made in July 1322. An interesting mix of individuals were appointed. Early in 1321 we find several individuals who were soon to join in the rebellion, including Roger Mortimer of Chirk and Bartholomew Badlesmere, appointed at Caernarvon castle and Tonbridge castles (Kent) respectively. However, their appointments were dwarfed by the nine posts granted to the younger Hugh Despenser, including six appointments made on a single day, granting him custody of five forfeited castles in Brecknock and one in Hereford. This is an example of the means used by Edward II to reward his allies. Although most of the castles were restored to their original owners, Despenser was eventually granted the ownership of one – Blaen Llyfni (Brecknock) – in 1324. These four peaks demonstrate a change in the nature of Edward II’s rule. In 1308 his appointments were above reproach. Even as late at 1321 some posts were granted to men outside his immediate circle. However, after his victories in 1322 that changes, and for the remaining years of his reign a small group of Edward’s allies appear as constables.

Only after 1375 can we make any comment on the involvement of knights as constables (see table 6-xv). This increase in the documentation of rank is sometimes considered to be a symptom of a decline in the number of knights. After 1375, four in ten constables were knights, so there is scope for such a decline to have occurred. This ratio was lower at county castles, falling to a low of one in four at Canterbury castle (Kent), but higher at independent royal castles such as Bamborough castle (Northumberland), where nearly 65% of constables after 1375 were knights. This pattern would fit with the idea of the knights as a military elite of declining numbers, used at the most sensitive posts, such as those facing the Scottish border.

90 G.E.C. III, p.553
91 Edward had regained possession of the great seal by 28 December 1311; C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.411
92 10 July 1322, C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.143
93 Coss suggests that the number of knights had declined from 1,250 in 1324 to a mere 200 by 1430; P.Coss, The Knight in Medieval England, 1000-1400, Stroud, 1993, pp.84 & 134
Table 6-xv: Level of known knights

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Pre 1375 Knights of</th>
<th>Post 1375 Knights of</th>
<th>Totals Knights of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bamborough</td>
<td>1 19</td>
<td>7 11</td>
<td>8 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>2 49</td>
<td>7 31</td>
<td>9 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dover</td>
<td>5 17</td>
<td>5 11</td>
<td>10 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwich</td>
<td>6 64</td>
<td>7 17</td>
<td>13 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarborough</td>
<td>2 22</td>
<td>1 4</td>
<td>3 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shrewsbury</td>
<td>2 23</td>
<td>0 5</td>
<td>2 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tower of London</td>
<td>3 26</td>
<td>4 8</td>
<td>7 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>2 33</td>
<td>7 12</td>
<td>9 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>2 13</td>
<td>5 7</td>
<td>7 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York</td>
<td>5 49</td>
<td>19 36</td>
<td>24 85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As with the knights, information about esquires does not appear in any detail until the last third of this period (see table 6-xvi). Even then, they are not common as constables, and even when they do appear at a castle, rarely account for more than one or two appointments. However, not all of these appointments were themselves insignificant or short term. Nicholas Gerard, constable of Shrewsbury castle (Shropshire) for life from 1407, until his replacement in 1413, was not untypical, and longer spans can be found. The type of castle does not appear to affect the appearance of esquires as constables and they are equally likely to be found serving at either county and independent castles.

Table 6-xvi: Esquires as constable after 1375

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castles</th>
<th>Esquires Of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bamborough</td>
<td>1 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>0 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dover</td>
<td>0 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwich</td>
<td>4 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarborough</td>
<td>0 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shrewsbury</td>
<td>3 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tower of London</td>
<td>0 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>2 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>1 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York</td>
<td>0 36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6-xvii: Chamber knights and king's knights as constables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO. OF POSTS:</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>10+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EDWARD III</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household in 1334-594</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>percentage</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household from 1360</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>percentage</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RICHARD II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamber Knights</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>percentage</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King's Knights</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>percentage</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HENRY IV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamber Knights</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>percentage</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

94 BL Additional Manuscripts Nero C VIII, fo.255-6

84
King’s Knights 117 20 7 1 1 0.7% 0.7%

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>% served</th>
<th>No. who served</th>
<th>average service(^%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Household of Edward III 1334-1335</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household of Edward III after 1360</td>
<td>52.0%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamber Knights of Richard II</td>
<td>64.0%</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King’s Knights of Richard II</td>
<td>28.9%</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamber Knights of Henry IV</td>
<td>63.0%</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King’s Knights of Henry IV</td>
<td>19.9%</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The household knights were an obvious group that would be expected to appear as constables (see table 6-xvii). There was a clear distinction between the inner circle of chamber knights and the wider group of king’s knights. Amongst the chamber knights, both of Richard II and Henry IV, over half served as constables. This is a very high level of involvement compared to any other group and shows that it was to these men that both Richard and Henry looked. In contrast, the wider circle of King’s knights were relatively under-involved. However, the percentage involved does not tell the full story. We should also consider the average number of posts served by those that did. This adds another level to the picture. Once again there was a clear difference between the careers of chamber knights and king’s knights, at least during Richard II’s reign. The chamber knights served, on average, at twice as many castles as the king’s knights. This reflects Richard’s reliance on a small group of individuals.

Table 6-xviii: Bishops as constables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Bishops</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tower of London</td>
<td>Anthony Bek, Bp. of Durham</td>
<td>1275-85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlisle (Cumberland)</td>
<td>Bp. of Carlisle</td>
<td>1297-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlisle</td>
<td>Bp. of Carlisle (Superior)</td>
<td>1314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlisle</td>
<td>Bp. of Carlisle</td>
<td>1339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlisle</td>
<td>Bp. of Carlisle</td>
<td>1343-1344-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochester (Kent)</td>
<td>Bp. of London</td>
<td>1300-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tower of London</td>
<td>Bp. of Exeter</td>
<td>1323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tintagel (Cornwall)</td>
<td>Bp. of Exeter</td>
<td>1326-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leeds (Kent)</td>
<td>Abp. of Canterbury</td>
<td>1337-40 (For Queen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherborne (Dorset)</td>
<td>Abp. of Canterbury</td>
<td>1278-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queenborough (Kent)</td>
<td>Abp. of Canterbury</td>
<td>1409-1413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hertford</td>
<td>Bp. Ely</td>
<td>1330-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narberth (Pembroke)</td>
<td>Bp. St. Davids</td>
<td>1331-9-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The senior churchmen of England and Wales did not play an important role as constables (see table 6-xviii). Only thirteen bishops served as constables, and of those, one, Anthony Bek, left his post soon after becoming bishop of Durham. Of these thirteen, most served at castles within or close to their own diocese. The three exceptions to that were Anthony Bek and Walter Stapleton, bishop of Exeter, at the

\(^{96}\) Excluding those who did not serve
Tower of London, and the archbishop of Canterbury at Sherbourne (Dorset). Two of these are easily explained. Bek was a royal clerk and thus close to the king and a natural choice as constable of the Tower, while Walter Stapleton was Treasurer at the time of his appointment at the Tower. The remaining ten appointments were made within or close to the relevant diocese. Only at Carlisle castle were bishops appointed with any frequency, and even there none was appointed after 1344. Although the bishops remained a key element in the government of England, they were not involved at this level.

While Englishmen were dominant amongst the constables, other nationalities were also present. Amongst them, the Welsh were most prominent. Even there, only twenty clear examples of such service have been found, of whom only two served at more than one castle, while only two – Morgan Goch at Corfe castle (Dorset), and Sir Rhys ap Griffith at Wigmore castle (Hereford) – served outside Wales. The careers of these Welshmen were spread thinly across the entire period. Only between 1322 and 1326 was there any concentration, when after his defeat of the Marchers Edward II appointed six Welshmen as constables. The most significant of these men was Sir Rhys ap Griffith. He served as constable of twelve castles over a period of twenty one years, starting at Dryslwyn castle (Carmarthen) in 1321 and finishing at Carmarthen in 1342, only serving outside Wales during a brief spell as constable of Wigmore castle (Hereford) in 1326. Rhys was an active supporter of Edward II, and had held a military command in Wales in 1321. His career was disrupted during the dominance of Isabella and Mortimer, but recovered under Edward III and was in the service of the Black Prince at his death. Continental European constables were even rarer than Welshmen. Only Harlech castle (Merioneth), held by Master James of St. George (1290-1293) and Sir Walter Mauny (1332-1343), saw two overseas constables, while the majority of castles saw none.

There were only sixteen occasions where a women served as a constable (see table 6-xix). Even within that small group, five were wives serving jointly with their husbands, while Isabella de Mortimer may have held Oswestry castle in wardship, and Elizabeth countess of Huntingdon probably owned Manobier castle. This leaves a core of nine occasions where there was a single female constable. Within this group, we can discern a variety of motivations for the grant. Two were the widow of the previous constable, and their service followed directly on from the death of their husband. This de-facto service as constable may have been much more common that the records reflect, but we have no way of telling. As with so many other unusual forms of service, there was a concentration of appointments of female constables in the reign of Edward II. Four of these appointments were made during his reign, while another, that of Isabel de Vescy at Bamborough castle (Northumberland), became an issue during the reign, despite its having been made by Edward I in 1305. Three appointments came in the last two years of the reign, of whom two were appointed in their own right. Neither Aline Burnell at Conway castle (Caernarvon) nor Isabel de Hastings at Marlborough castle (Wiltshire) were related to previous constables. The only other woman to serve entirely in her own right was Constance de Beam at Tickhill castle (Yorkshire), during Edward I’s reign. In one case the grant of custody was rapidly turned into ownership. Joan, prince of Wales, was granted custody of Aberystwyth castle (Cardigan) on 9 March 1384, but by June she was owner of the castle and appointing her own constable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6-xix: Female constables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Castle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

86
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Constable</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberystwyth</td>
<td>Joan mother of Richard II</td>
<td>1384</td>
<td>soon became owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bamborough</td>
<td>Isabel de Vescy</td>
<td>1305-1311</td>
<td>in own right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1312</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Built (Brecon)</td>
<td>Alice de Lacy</td>
<td>1331-1334</td>
<td>jointly with husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castel-y-Bere (Merioneth)</td>
<td>Joan de Turberville</td>
<td>-1292</td>
<td>widow of previous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conway (Caernarvon)</td>
<td>Aline Burnell</td>
<td>1326</td>
<td>in own right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corfe (Dorset)</td>
<td>wife of Richard Lovel</td>
<td>1315-1318</td>
<td>jointly with husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alesia wife of Thomas de Holand</td>
<td>1391-1397</td>
<td>jointly with husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester</td>
<td>Alice de Beauchamp</td>
<td>1303-</td>
<td>widow of previous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leeds (Kent)</td>
<td>Joan de Mohun</td>
<td>1399-</td>
<td>Granted by the Queen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manobier (Pembroke)</td>
<td>Elizabeth, countess of Huntingdon</td>
<td>1402</td>
<td>possibly owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marlborough (Wilts)</td>
<td>Isabel de Hastings</td>
<td>1326</td>
<td>in own right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oswestry (Shropshire)</td>
<td>Isabella de Mortimer</td>
<td>1279</td>
<td>possibly wardship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarborough (Yorks)</td>
<td>Eleanor de Percy</td>
<td>1325-1328</td>
<td>widow of a previous constable, appointed after an 18 month gap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tickhill (Yorks)</td>
<td>Constance de Bearn</td>
<td>1279-1283</td>
<td>in own right</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is one case where a constable served against his will. On 16 April 1391 Robert Echyngham was the constable of Guildford (Surrey), a castle that was going out of use across the fourteenth century. If this is so then by 1391 the castle must have been in very poor condition, although it was still the county gaol, and this is the first mention of it since 1367, when Andrew de Sakevyll, sheriff of Surrey and Sussex was appointed constable. Echyngham too was attached to the castle as part of his role as sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, and it was this post that he had tried to avoid, even to the extent of gaining a grant of immunity from local service that had clearly proved ineffective. In 1391 he was being pardoned for the escape of prisoners held in Guildford castle and his unwillingness to serve was the reason given for his pardon.

It is clear that many constables did not serve in person for either part or all of their period in post. Many can be proved to have been on campaign with the king, or otherwise abroad, and many orders were directed to the constable, or whoever supplied their place, while those men who were serving simultaneously at more than one castle could never be present at more than one at a time. A clear example of an absentee constable was Richard le Vache, constable of the Tower of London from 26 January 1361, and of Windsor castle (Berkshire) from 22 May 1360, both of which posts he held until his death in 1366. With two such important posts held simultaneously, he must have been absent from at least one at all times, and we find a Thomas de la Vache serving as his sub-constable of the Tower in 1365. Beyond this built in absenteeism, we also find Richard getting letters of protection for one year in 1363, leaving both posts untended. At the higher levels of society one wonders if those members of the comital community officially serving as constables were ever present at their castles outside of times of crisis. However, we should not overemphasise this absenteeism. Many entries on the rolls show that constables were expected to be personally engaged in the duties associated with their post. Thus John Darcy was replaced as constable of the Tower of London in 1352 because he was unable to attend to the keeping of the castle, while

97 Fry, p.249
98 for an example see C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.305
99 20 November 1363, C.P.R. 1361-1364, p.425
100 C.P.R. 1350-1354, p.241
fifteen years earlier William Trussel and Gocelin de Gataleye were supplying the place of William de Clinton at Dover castle because he was too ill to carry out his duties.101

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6-xx: Constable service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Posts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vast majority of individuals only ever served as constable of a single castle during their career (see table 6-xx), while only 113 individuals served as the constable of three or more castles. It should be remembered that these figures represent the number of castles served at as opposed to the number of periods of service. This does not affect many individuals, but for some of those men who served repeatedly at the same castle it does distort the figures slightly and they will be examined below. The number of different castles served at has been chosen as the main statistic of constable service as it reflects better the range of service in an individual career. It should also be remembered that the 78% of individuals who only served at a single castle only represent 55% of constable appointments. At any one time, close to half of all constables serving were men who either had, or were going to gain, more experience. As will be seen below, many of the more experienced constables also served for longer periods at their castles that the single servers, increasing the level of experience represented by constables at any one time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6-xxi: Relative level of experience of constables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of castles served at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bamborough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarborough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shrewsbury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

101 C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.295
The patterns of service differed markedly between the two main types of royal castles (see table 6-xxi). At the county castles, most constables did not serve as constable of any other castle. For example, at Norwich castle only six percent of the constables served elsewhere. In contrast, at the independent crown castles a greater level of experience was normal and men whose service was limited to one castle were in a minority. In effect there were two separate groups of individuals serving as constables. The first were the sheriffs, for whom constable service was merely another part of their duties at sheriff. In contrast to them was a larger group of men who served at the independent crown castles. This group was more likely to serve at several castles, most of which were independent castles. There was very little overlap between these two groups. Of the fifty four men who served at four or more castles, only seven started their career at county castles.

An examination of constable experience by reign reveals a clear pattern (see table 6-xxii). The reigns of Edward II and Richard II saw an increase in the level of experience of constables and a decrease in the length of service. This suggests that higher levels of experience as constables could reflect weakness on the part of the King, reflected in the use of a smaller group of individuals, who were moved more often. It is already well established that both Edward II and Richard II relied personally on a small group of favourites, and this would suggest that the same was true for constable appointments. In contrast, the experience of constables was lowest during the reigns of Edward I and Edward III, even at a castle such as Dover (Kent).

### Table 6-xxii: Average number of constable posts held by reign of initial appointment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Edward I</th>
<th>Edward II</th>
<th>Edward III</th>
<th>Richard II</th>
<th>Henry IV</th>
<th>Henry V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bamborough</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dover</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwich</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarborough</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shrewsbury</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tower of London</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 6-xxiii: Average length of service by reign of appointment (in months)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Edward I</th>
<th>Edward II</th>
<th>Edward III</th>
<th>Richard II</th>
<th>Henry IV</th>
<th>Henry V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bamborough</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dover</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwich</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarborough</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shrewsbury</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tower of London</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6-xxiv: Number of repeat appointments by castle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>1 spell</th>
<th>2 spells</th>
<th>3 spells</th>
<th>4 spells</th>
<th>5 or more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bamborough</td>
<td>25 (88.0%)</td>
<td>3 (12.0%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>64 (81.0%)</td>
<td>11 (13.9%)</td>
<td>2 (16.7%)</td>
<td>1 (1.3%)</td>
<td>1 (1.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dover</td>
<td>28 (87.5%)</td>
<td>3 (9.4%)</td>
<td>1 (3.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwich</td>
<td>53 (81.5%)</td>
<td>9 (13.8%)</td>
<td>2 (3.1%)</td>
<td>1 (1.5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarborough</td>
<td>20 (87.0%)</td>
<td>3 (13.0%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shrewsbury</td>
<td>20 (66.7%)</td>
<td>5 (16.7%)</td>
<td>4 (13.3%)</td>
<td>1 (3.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tower of London</td>
<td>26 (86.7%)</td>
<td>4 (13.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>45 (95.8%)</td>
<td>2 (4.2%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>20 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York</td>
<td>36 (64.3%)</td>
<td>12 (21.4%)</td>
<td>8 (13.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Repeat service at a single castle was most common at the county castles (see table 6-xxiv), where it served to overcome the one year limit on shireval service by rotating the post amongst a small group of men. This can be seen at its most extreme at York castle, where between October 1351 and September 1359 the post alternated between Peter de Nuttle, who held it three times, and Miles de Stapelton of Hathelseye who held it twice. Similar examples can be found at most county castles. This contrasts with the independent royal castles where such repeat appointments were rare. Here the king was normally free to appoint whoever he wanted as constable and such a workaround was not required.

Table 6-xxv: Average duration of constable service

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Average Duration (Months)</th>
<th>Constables included103</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bamborough</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>22 of 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>82 of 101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devizes (Wiltshire)</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>4 of 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dover (Kent)</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>31 of 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northampton</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>58 of 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwich</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>61 of 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarborough</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>22 of 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shrewsbury</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30 of 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tower of London</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>28 of 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40 of 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>18 of 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>73 of 87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The average duration of appointments varied dramatically between the county castles and the independent castles (see table 6-xxv). As would be expected, the average duration of service at county castles was under two years, reaching a low of 11.8 months at Canterbury (Kent). In contrast, the lowest average at the independent castles was the fifty five months at Scarborough castle (Yorkshire), rising to nine years at Windsor castle (Berkshire). Once again there is a clear division between the two main groups of royal castles.

Fourteen men remained in the same post for over fifteen years (see table 6-xxvi). Many of these men, such as Stephen de Penchester, who was constable of Dover castle (Kent) for all but nine years of the reign of Edward I, must have become closely

102 This annual rotation can be seen in practice at most county castles, although there were always some breaks. For a good example see Norwich castle (Norfolk), where thirty five constables served for a year or less.
103 Only includes those constables for whom there is a spread of dates and those constables serving at county castles where there appointments were on an annual basis.
associated with their castles. Political stability appears to have been essential for such long service. Ten of these appointments were made by either Edward I or Edward III. However, once in place some men could weather any storm. The best example of this was Henry de Cobham, who was appointed constable of Rochester castle (Kent) in 1303, and remained in post until at least 1334, surviving across every political crisis of the intervening thirty years. Likewise Robert Chalmeley served as constable of Winchester castle (Hampshire) from 1387 until his death in 1404, once again remaining in post across a period of crisis. These long careers were scattered across ten independent royal castles, none of which saw more than two. The high numbers of constables that died in post at these castles suggests that the low number of such long careers was accidental rather than deliberate. A higher than normal number of these men were members of the king’s household, ranging from John de Skydemore, king’s yeoman, up to Ralph de Sandwich, the steward.

Table 6-xxvi: Long service at a single castle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Died</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Humphrey, duke of</td>
<td>Duke</td>
<td>Dover (Kent)</td>
<td>1415-1447</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephan de Penchester</td>
<td>Kn.</td>
<td>Dover (Kent)</td>
<td>1267-1298</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas de Foxle</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Windsor (Berkshire)</td>
<td>1330-1360</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry de Cobham</td>
<td>P.P.</td>
<td>Rochester (Kent)</td>
<td>1303-1334</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geoffrey de Picheford</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Windsor (Berkshire)</td>
<td>1272-1298</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John de Skydemore</td>
<td>K’s yeo.</td>
<td>Aberystwyth (Cardigan)</td>
<td>1300-1326</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Tempest</td>
<td>Kn.</td>
<td>Scarborough (Yorks.)</td>
<td>1350-1376</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralph de Neville</td>
<td>Kn.</td>
<td>Bamborough (Nthumb.)</td>
<td>1335-1367</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephan Romylowe</td>
<td>K’s yeo.</td>
<td>Nottingham</td>
<td>1347-1368</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John de Cormailles</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Corfe (Dorset)</td>
<td>1280-1299</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralph de Sandwich</td>
<td>Steward</td>
<td>Tower of London</td>
<td>1289-1308</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John de Scures</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Winchester (Hampshire)</td>
<td>1321-1338</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Chalmeley</td>
<td>K’s esq.</td>
<td>Winchester (Hampshire)</td>
<td>1387-1404</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alan de Buxhull</td>
<td>Chamber</td>
<td>Tower of London</td>
<td>1366-1381</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>c.1382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Knight</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Having examined the duration of service at individual castles, we will now examine the overall length of constable careers. Those men serving at four or more castles will be dealt with in more detail below. Here we will restrict ourselves to the careers of those men who served at three or fewer castles. Those who served at a single castle were almost all sheriff-constables, and their careers at castles rarely lasted for more than one year. However, as has been seen above, some of these men served repeatedly at the same castle, and their involvement could last decades. The careers of those men who served at two or three castles were normally concentrated in a single decade, for example Sir Ralph Basset of Drayton, who was constable of Stafford castle from 1 November 1317, Northampton castle from 25 April 1321, and finally of Dover castle (Kent) from 15 December 1325. His career was representative of the vast majority of those involving two or three castles. There were some exceptions, such as Andrew de Sakevill, constable of Old Sarum castle (Wiltshire) from 25 April 1345, and Guildford castle (Surrey) from 25 September 1367, a gap of twenty years, but such a long gap between appointments was very rare.

Table 6-xxvii: Proportion of appointments ended by death

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>total appointments</th>
<th>no. ended by death</th>
<th>percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bamborough</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dover</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>29.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

91
Norwich 81 4 4.9%
Scarborough 27 2 7.4%
Shrewsbury 43 5 11.6%
Tower of London 34 10 29.4%
Winchester 47 5 4.2%
Windsor 20 7 35.0%
York 79 2 2.5%

In many cases, the sitting constable was removed by death (see table 6-xxvii). This was most common at independent castles such as Dover or Windsor, where many appointments were made for life, and as many as one in three constables died in place. However, even at the county castles anything up to five percent of appointments were ended by the premature death of the sheriff-constable. There were two reactions to this, both of which can be seen at York castle. The first approach was to appoint the next constable early, and let him serve for an extended period. This happened after the death of Peter de Middleton in 1335. He was replaced by Thomas de Rokeby, who served for sixteen months. The second response was to appoint a stopgap sheriff-constable. This happened after the death of John Moryn in April 1340, only two months after his appointment. After his death his predecessor, Ralph de Hastings, was re-appointed and served for ten months, before an annual pattern was resumed.

Not all appointments were initiated by the crown. On rare occasions, the sitting constable was responsible. Thus the appointment of John de Edyndon as constable of Portchester castle (Hampshire) in 1361 is known to us through a confirmation issued by Edward III of a transfer made by Richard, earl of Arundel, the previous constable, while the appointment of Thomas Holland, earl of Kent and Alesia his wife as joint constables of Corfe castle (Dorset) in 1391 was requested by Morgan Gogh, the sitting constable. Such cases appear to have been very rare, but it is possible that more such requests and appointments were made, but have been recorded as straightforward grants.

Castles played a part in some of the great upheavals of the period. The Marcher rebellion of 1321 and Edward II’s reaction to it saw the largest number of sieges of any campaign in this period, while the fall of Edward II and of Richard II allow us to see the attitude of the King towards his castles in a time of crisis. The most obvious element of the 1321-2 crisis was that from January to March 1322 Edward II made fifty two appointments, both at the forfeited castles and at existing royal castles. This is by far the most concentrated burst of constable appointments in this period. In contrast, the 1326-7 crisis saw three separate peaks of appointments. The first came in October 1326, when Queen Isabella was pursuing Edward II. Two months later, after her successful seizure of power, thirteen appointments were made by Prince Edward and Queen Isabella. Finally, in February 1327, twenty five appointments were made, this time including many of the county castles, as Isabella and Mortimer tightened their grip on the country. The fall of Richard II provides the most clear cut case. His reaction to the invasion of Henry Bolingbroke was to appoint a small group of individuals as joint constable of several castles. William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire, Henry Greene, William Bagot and John Bussy were appointed jointly as constable of Leeds castle (Kent), Rochester castle (Kent) and Wallingford castle (Berkshire) in July 1399, in an attempt to place the defence against Bolingbroke in trusted hands. In each of these cases, the royal castles were important both to the king and to his enemies, and the passage of seventy years had not reduced that importance.
As was seen in chapter two, the royal castles can be split into several particular groups. Of those groups, the county castles and the independent royal castles are of interest here. At county castles, the post of sheriff was more important than that of constable, and it is the requirements of that post that affect the pattern of constable service at those castles. Most sheriff-constables served for one year spells, and only ever served at that one castle, although they often served there more than once. In contrast, the constables of independent castles served for much longer periods of time, and often served at several castles. It is amongst this group that we should look to see what motivated appointments as constables. To contrast these two groups, one need only look at the number of constables who served across this period. At Canterbury Castle, linked to the sheriff of Kent, there were one hundred and two constables across the period. In contrast, Windsor Castle only saw twenty three and Dover Castle only thirty eight. This must have made a difference at the castles themselves. The constable as an ever changing man, with his own local lands and residences, as was the case for the county castles must have had a very different impact on a castle than the constable as a long term resident, possibly from elsewhere in the county.

Forfeited castles formed a distinctive group within the royal castles. As was seen in chapter two, very few of these castles remained in royal hands for more than a few years before being returned to private ownership. Here we will examine the constables appointed to these castles while they were held by the king. The largest group of forfeitures occurred in 1322 after Edward II’s victory over the Marcher lords and Thomas of Lancaster. The majority of these castles remained in the king’s hands until 1327, allowing us to examine these castles over a significant period. Edward’s reaction to this sudden influx of castles was to commit custody of the forfeited lands county by county to a group of fifteen men. These were minor figures such as Alan de Cubbelayk in Lincolnshire or Robert de Stok in Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, 104 for whom this was their only service as constables. Such minor figures continued to dominate as constable of the forfeited castles until the end of the reign. More important individuals, such as the younger Despenser, only appear when they gained ownership of a forfeited castle. After his hard won victory in 1322, Edward was unwilling to commit these castles to any potential enemy. The contrast in 1399 could not be more striking. Custody of the Lancastrian lands was shared between the dukes of Exeter, Surrey and Aumale, and the earls of Wiltshire and Salisbury. Richard was more willing to trust his closest allies with the custody of such great lands. This trust was not misplaced, and all of these men except Aumale were dead by the end of 1400.

The three most important royal castles – Dover (Kent), Windsor (Berkshire) and the Tower of London – appear in the records far more often than any other castles. These three castles had roles above and beyond those normal for any other castle. Dover controlled the shortest route to the continent, and had a major role in naval warfare through its link to the Cinque ports. Windsor castle was already a major royal residence, and became the base of the Order of the Garter and the symbolic home of the monarchy. The busiest of the three must have been the Tower of London. Within its walls could be found an important armoury, a mint and even the royal menagerie. Compared to most other castles, the Tower of London was a hive of activity, even when the royal household was not present. All three of these castles had more permanent staff than at any other royal castle, and the role of constable at these castles must have been very

104 ibid.
different in nature from that of most independent crown castles. Only the busiest county castle can have compared.

Only four men served at more than one of these three castles (see table 6-xxviii). In all four cases, there was some overlap between the two appointments, although only Richard le Vache had a long period of overlap. For Burgherssh and Beauchamp the brief overlap was caused by their deaths soon after receiving the second appointment. Indeed, of these four men, only Simon Burley was not definitely still in both posts at his death. Vache was eminently suitable to hold these posts. He had a distinguished military career and in 1346 was granted 20l. per year for his good service with the King, expanded to 100l. per year in 1356 for carrying the King’s banner on campaign. However, a similar case could be argued for Burley, and yet his career became the subject of great controversy before ending in his execution.

Table 6-xxviii: Overlap of constables at the royal core

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constable</th>
<th>Dover</th>
<th>Tower of London</th>
<th>Windsor</th>
<th>Windsor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bartholomew de Burgherssh (d.1355)</td>
<td>1326-1330 &amp; 1343-1355</td>
<td>1355</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John de Beauchamp (d.1360)</td>
<td>1360</td>
<td>1352-1355 &amp; 1360</td>
<td>1360</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard le Vache (d.1366)</td>
<td>1360-1366</td>
<td>1361-1366</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon Burley (d.1388)</td>
<td>1377-1386</td>
<td>1385-1388</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6-xxix: Level of constable experience of constables Dover, Windsor & Tower

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castles</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Dover</th>
<th>Windsor</th>
<th>Tower</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 or more</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>1.85</td>
<td>2.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The constables of these core castles were significantly more experienced than those who served at most independent royal castles (see table 6-xxix). However, even within this group there was some variation. The constables of Windsor were noticeably less experienced than those of Dover or the Tower of London, which were almost unique in that over half of their constables served at more than one castle. Even Windsor can not claim that level of experience. Indeed, as the table below shows (table 6-xxx), at Dover and the Tower over half of all constables had previous experience, while for many of their constables their appointment to these castles was the last of their constable career. Moreover, the majority of their experience had been at independent rather than county castles. This level of experience can not have been accidental. Clearly there was a consistent policy of appointing experienced men to fill these two important posts that was absent at all other royal castles, even Windsor.

105 C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.157
106 C.P.R. 1354-1358, p.360
Table 6-xxx: Position of Dover, the Tower and Windsor within constable careers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Only post</th>
<th>first post</th>
<th>middle of career</th>
<th>last post</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dover</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tower of London</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As would be expected, the constables of these core castles were frequently members of the royal household. During the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV, over half of the non-comital constables at these castles were already at least king’s knights when appointed. Although the household did not play a major role as constables, they were significant at the most important castles. Even at these three castles, the comital community does not feature strongly. This limited service was concentrated in the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV, increasing its significance during those reigns. The complete lack of comital constables at Windsor castle (Berkshire) can probably be explained by its increasing role as the symbolic home of the monarch. The constable of Windsor was thus more likely to have personal contact with the king, and members of the comital community were not suitable for such a post. Of the nine members of the comital community involved with the ‘core group’, seven were members of the wider royal family. Although John Beaufort was illegitimate and Thomas Holland a half brother of Richard II, the connection was still present. This would suggest an attempt by both Richard II and Henry IV to ensure control of the Tower of London and Dover. Despite this, we must remember that these periods of comital service were in a minority. Only at the end of the period did this change, with the appointment of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester as constable of Dover castle, a post he held from 1415 until his death in 1447.

* * *

Within the mass of constables there was a small group of fifty five individuals who served as constable of four or more castles. Only five men served as constable of ten or more castles (see table 6-xxxi). For Rhys ap Griffith and Bevis de Knovill this high figure was due to the part they played in the government of Wales in periods during which there was no prince of Wales, while the younger Despenser and William le Scrope achieved their power as royal favourites. Edward, duke of York also served in Wales, but the key to his career was that he was appointed to key posts by Richard II, who gave him custody of Leicester, Pontefract (Yorkshire), Bolingbroke (Lincolnshire), Higham Ferrars (Nants) and Lincoln in March 1399, and by the Lancastrian kings, for whom he was serving as constable of the Tower at his death in 1415.

107 see appendix thirteen for a list of these men
Table 6-xxxii: Appointments by region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>No. of appointments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midlands</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Anglia</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The North</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Border</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6-xxxiii: Number of regions served in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Individuals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6-xxxiv: Regional concentrations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of appointments</th>
<th>50-59%</th>
<th>60-69%</th>
<th>70-79%</th>
<th>80-89%</th>
<th>90%-99%</th>
<th>100%</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marches</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midlands</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Anglia</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borders</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Well over half of these constable careers at four or more castles were spread across two or three regions (see tables 6-xxxii, 6-xxxiii & 6-xxxiv). Although more concentrated careers did occur, only three were focused within a single county. Conversely, none of these careers were spread across all eight regions. William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire, with service in six regions, John de Holland, earl of Huntingdon, duke of Exeter with five, and Edward duke of York, also with six come closest, but even they had geographical gaps in their constable careers. As would be expected, the bulk of service by men in this group was in Wales and the South East, the regions that contained nearly half of the king’s castles. However, not one of these careers was concentrated in the South East. Service in that region could be seen as detached duty from careers centred elsewhere.

Table 6-xxxv: Age when first appointed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 and under</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We have more information about the age of this group of constables than for the overall group (see table 6-xxxv). Even so, we still only know the birth date of twenty of the fifty five, although we have the dates of death for all but seven. However, we do have enough information to make some tentative conclusions. Exactly half of the careers for which we have information started when the individual in question was in their thirties. This suggests that some maturity was expected before such a career could start. At the other end of their careers, we have more information. The most obvious feature here is the high proportion of these people who were still working at their death (see table 6-xxxvi). However, two observations must be made. Some of these men - such as William le Scrope or the younger Despenser - were executed and their careers were thus artificially truncated. Secondly, in the five cases where we know the age at which the individual died, all but one was between thirty nine and forty six. This would suggest that rather than working into old age, these careers ended through external interruption and where we do not know the date of death, it is because the individual had retired some years previously.

A surprisingly large number of these careers spanned a short period (see table 6-xxxvii). Nearly half lasted for ten years or less while only two lasted over thirty years. This implies that most of these careers were caused by a short term rise to favour rather than a long, steady career in royal service, and this does fit many of the men within this group, including as it does men such as William Bagot, whose four castle career lasted a mere three years, from his first mention at the end of a period of service at Caernarvon castle in 1396 to his execution in 1399, as well as more famous favourites such as the younger Despenser, whose career as a constable only lasted nine years. Length of career
was not related to the number of castles served at. The longest career, that of William de Felton (forty four years), only included service at five castles, from a first appearance at Beaumaris castle (Anglesey) in 1300, to a final appointment as sheriff of Northumberland and constable of Newcastle castle (Northumberland) in 1344, with service in every decade between. In contrast, the career that included appointments to the largest number of castles, that of William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire, only lasted ten years, despite the number of castles at which he served. A final note on the duration of these careers is that almost exactly half of them spanned more than one reign. When one remembers that this period contains one reign of over thirty years, longer than all but two of these careers, and another of over fifty years, it becomes clear that other than for those unfortunate enough to fall with their monarch, the end of a reign was not enough to end a career.

Ten of these men were members of the comital community, representing one fifth of these experienced constables, a far higher ratio than for all constables. However, rather than representing service by members of established comital families, seven of these men were newly ennobled. Two – Edmund Woodstock, earl of Kent (1301-1330) and Edmund Langley, duke of York (1341-1402) – were members of the royal family, but they were outnumbered by the royal favourites, from Piers Gaveston through to William le Scrope. Even William de Montague could be considered a favourite, after his part in Edward III’s seizure of power. Royal favour rather than any family prominence was the key to membership of this group. Sixteen non-comital parliamentary peers feature in this group. However, all but one served before 1355. Although there was a general fall off in the number of parliamentary peers serving as constables from the reign of Edward III, it was not sufficiently marked to explain this near complete absence of parliamentary peers amongst the experienced constables. What this would suggest is that from Edward III onward, successive kings deliberately chose not to use parliamentary peers as constables.

Eight of these men were household knights under either Richard II or Henry IV. This group once again included John de Holland, earl of Kent, duke of Exeter, who featured above, as well as other royal favourites such as William Bagot, Simon Burley and John Bussy. While these eight men represent a relatively high proportion of these repeatedly serving constables, they represent a tiny proportion of the king’s knights. This would suggest that there was no deliberate attempt to make use of the royal household, but that those men favoured enough to be appointed constable of a large number of castles were also made members of the household.

A telling feature of this group is that it included the most notorious favourites of both Edward II and Richard II. Piers Gaveston and both Despensers feature from Edward II’s reign, while Roger de Mortimer, first earl of March was appointed constable of five castles during his time in power. Simon de Burley, Robert de Vere and William le Scrope au appear from Richard II’s reign. This prominence has two probable causes. First, these posts were an easy source of patronage. Many carried some source of income and as such were desirable posts. Second, the favourites were the men most trusted by the king, and it should thus not surprise us to find them appointed to potentially key posts.

Henry, earl of Lancaster, features in this list as a result of the slow restoration of his family estates. He was appointed constable of Lancaster castle, Tutbury castle (Staffordshire) and Pickering castle (Yorkshire) in December 1326, before being
restored as earl of Lancaster in 1327. Clearly the appointments as constable were intended as a preliminary to his full restoration.

Castle ownership was much more common amongst this group than for most constables (see table 6-xxxviii & 6-xxxix). Very nearly half of the men in this group were castle owners, compared to only just over 10% of all constables. In addition, men in this group owned more castles than the overall figure for constables. Amongst all castle owners constable, 53% only owned one castle. Within this group, 67% owned two or more castles. Four percent of the total number of constables represent 15% of the overlap between constables and castle owners.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castles</th>
<th>Individuals</th>
<th>% of group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>56.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6-xxxix: Comparison to all constables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of castles owned</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>56.6</td>
<td>89.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-10</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11+</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of these men were important members of the crown's administration. Indeed, for some, such as Rhys ap Griffith, his service as a constable was part of that larger role, in his case as Justiciar of Wales. This was also the case for Oliver de Ingham, Robert Holland and William de Beauchamp, who gained their service at castles as part of their service as justiciar of Chester. Other members of this group served in the king's household. Ralph de Sandwich, who served at nine different castles between 1275 and 1308, was also the king's Steward, while later William le Scrope served as under-Chamberlain. These were trusted men and we should not be surprised to see them serving in different ways.

Table 6-xl: Constable service of the de la Beche family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Member</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Months</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carisbrooke (Hamps.) with Isle of Wight</td>
<td>John</td>
<td>1312</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolforwyn (Montgomery)</td>
<td>John</td>
<td>-1322</td>
<td>&lt;2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nottingham, castle only</td>
<td>John</td>
<td>1311-12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester (Hamps.)</td>
<td>John</td>
<td>1314</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester (Hamps.) with Hampshire</td>
<td>John</td>
<td>1315-1317</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carisbrooke (Hamps.) with Isle of Wight</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>1312</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montgomery</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>1321-2-</td>
<td>&lt;2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odiham (Hamps.) for Queen Isabella</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>1330</td>
<td>&lt;7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pleshey (Essex)</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>1321-2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonbridge (Kent) jointly</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>1321</td>
<td>2 days</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tower of London</td>
<td>Nicholas</td>
<td>1335-40-</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolforwyn (Montgomery)</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>1322-</td>
<td>&lt;2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

99
One family stands out from this group of experienced constables. Four members of the de la Beche family served as royal constables at twelve different castles between 1312 and 1340 (see table 6-xl). This includes the famous spell of Nicholas de la Beche as constable of the Tower of London, ended by Edward III's return in 1340. This is the only occasion when several members of the same family were heavily involved as constables at the same time. John, Nicholas and Philip, three brothers, all experienced a gap in their careers after 1321, and Philip suffered forfeiture for his part in the events of 1321. In contrast, Nicholas appears to have been a firm supporter of Edward II, and played a part in his victories of 1322. Nicholas also went on to supervise the early education of the Black Prince, and remained in royal service until 1340, when he was disgraced after Edward III returned from the continent to find Nicholas absent from his post as constable of the Tower of London. Before this, Nicholas had gained a licence to crenellate his manors of Aldworth la Bechc (Berkshire), Beaumyss (Berkshire) and Watlington (Oxfordshire), all of which gained castles, and it is possible that Nicholas retired to his manors and spent the years before his death in 1345 building his castles.

Now we have established who were serving as constables, we must attempt to discover what functions they performed. Many of the constable's tasks were unremarkable. They were responsible for maintaining their castles, although reports on the status of royal castles suggest that they did not succeed in that. They often had to deal with prisoners held in the castle, such as the Welsh hostages resulting from Edward I's conquests or the French prisoners captured during the Hundred Years War. Their account rolls show them acting as accountants for the estates tied to their posts, often dealing with relatively minor purchases. Finally, they were a convenient local officer for the king, and many orders to constables have little relevance to their castle.

A series of commissions were appointed to investigate either the condition of castles, or problems relating to castles (see tables 6-xli, 6-xlii & 6-xliii). These commissions rarely contained more than one previous constable of the castle in question, which is hardly surprising when it is the failures of previous constables either physically to maintain their castle, or to preserve good relations with the local town, that was being investigated. A similar number of commissioners then went on to serve as constable, with their experience on these commissions perhaps a key factor in their appointment.

Table 6-xli: Constable service of commissions to repair Carlisle, 1343-1344

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>1343</th>
<th>1344</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sandal (Yorks.), lost by Thomas of Lancaster</td>
<td>William</td>
<td>1322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Sarum (Wilts) with Wiltshire</td>
<td>Philip</td>
<td>1315-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Sarum (Wilts) with Wiltshire</td>
<td>Philip</td>
<td>1320-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Sarum (Wilts) with Wiltshire</td>
<td>Philip</td>
<td>1327-1329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford with Oxon. &amp; Berks.</td>
<td>Philip</td>
<td>1330</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[\textit{C.P.R. 1321-1324}, \textit{p.40}
\[\textit{ibid.}, \textit{pp.46 & 82}
\[\textit{V.C.H. Berkshire, vol. 4, pp.3-5}
\[1 \text{March 1345, } \textit{I.P.M. VIII, no.574}
\[1^{\text{See also N.J.G. Pounds, The Medieval Castle in England and Wales, A social and political history, Cambridge, 1990, pp.87-90}
\[26 \text{June 1343, } \textit{C.P.R. 1343-1345}, \textit{p.93}
A few constables used their castles as a base for troublemaking. Two such cases were being investigated in 1327. In the first, Thomas Deyn, described as ‘late’ constable of Carmarthen castle, had kidnapped Anabilla, wife of John le Clerc of Carmarthen, and held her for nine days in Carmarthen castle, before moving her further into Wales.117 Here the castle itself was part of the criminal plot. Whatever the truth of the accessions, Deyn did not serve as a constable again. In contrast, William de Aune, who in the same year was accused of committing a robbery while constable of Tickhill castle (Yorkshire), was not affected by his misdemeanours,118 going on to serve as constable of Caerphilly castle (Glamorgan) in 1329 and 1330 and Abergavenny castle (Monmouth) in 1331. These were isolated cases, perhaps attributable to the generally unsettled times, and the vast majority of constables in this period appear to have acted within the law.

Apart from any other jobs performed by constables, the heart of their job was to command a military fortification that could, and sometimes did, come under attack, even in a period such as this that did not see much warfare in most of England. Even after Edward I’s conquest of Wales, there was still some danger from the Welsh, most especially during the lengthy revolt of Owen Glendower, which saw many royal castles besieged, while the near constant state of warfare on the Scottish border led to a great many attacks on castles. The brief invasions of 1326 and 1399 saw some limited action at the kingdom’s castles. Finally, there were several attacks on royal castles during the various crises of the reign of Edward II. Of the forty eight attacks on royal castles in this period, we can safely identify the defending constable in fifteen cases. These fifteen men were unusually experienced constables, ten of whom served at more than one castle. However, there is no suggestion that their careers were boosted by their success in the siege. For four of the ten, the siege occurred during their first posting, but for the remaining six, their careers were already well in progress before the siege. The success or failure of the defence also seems to have had little impact. The temporary successes

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114 27 Aprfl 1343, C.P.R. 1343-1345, p.291
115 22 February 1372, C.P.R. 1361-1364, p.166
116 23 May 1344, C.P.R. 1343-1345, p.293
117 C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.73
118 ibid. p.84
of the Scots at Berwick in 1378 and 1384 had very little impact on the career of Henry Percy, just as the loss of Carreg Cennon castle (Carmarthen) to the Welsh in 1282 had no effect on the career of Robert de Tibotot, who continued in royal service. The exception to this was Rhys ap Gruffydd, who was constable of Dryslwyn castle (Carmarthen) in 1403 when he surrendered it to Owen Glendower, going on to be one of Glendower’s principal captains.119 As a final irony, one of the successful royal constables was Robert de Bruce, who was constable of Carlisle castle (Cumberland) when a Scottish attack was beaten off in 1296.

* * *

Many of these individuals had connections to castles other than as constables of the castles of England and Wales. The most interesting areas for such potential overlap were as constable of the king’s castles in Scotland and France, and as castle owners in their own right. The French possessions of the crown changed massively during this period. Here we will consider Calais castle and the surrounding fortresses, after its capture in 1347. Calais was treated as part of England, with English settlers replacing the French population. The castle and the town were normally in the charge of the same individual, although on a few occasions a separate captain of the town and constable of the castle appeared, while each of the surrounding castles had its own captain.120 Over three quarters of the captains of Calais had some experience as constables in England and Wales. This was a very experienced group of men. Until 1390, Calais was entrusted to a series of knights, such as Sir Robert Herle, captain of Calais in 1350-1352,121 who went on to be constable of Dover castle from 1361 until his death in 1364, and Sir Nicholas Tamworth, captain of Calais in 1370 and 1371,122 at which time he was also constable of Marlborough castle (Wiltshire). After 1390, the status of the captains of Calais increased. A series of members of the comital community held the post, starting with Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland,123 constable of Newcastle upon Tyne castle (Northumberland), Carlisle castle (Cumberland) and Berwick castle (Northumberland, and including Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, captain from 1391 to 1397,124 in whose custody the duke of Gloucester died in 1397, in which year Mowbray was appointed constable of Lewes castle (Sussex). The captains of the associated castles were not as experienced as constables. A full list can be compiled for 1371-1372 (see table 6-xliv). Only two of the seven had any experience as a constable in England and Wales, in both cases occurring after their service at Calais.

Table 6-xliv: Captains of castles in the march of Calais, 1371-1372

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Constable Service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John de Harleston</td>
<td>Guines</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William de Gunthorp</td>
<td>March</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William de Hoo, kn.</td>
<td>Oye</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Stury, kn.</td>
<td>Hammes</td>
<td>Bamborough (Northumberland), 1376-1377</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

121 C.P.R. 1348-1350, p.590; C.P.R. 1350-1354, p.326
122 C.P.R. 1367-1370, p.469; C.P.R. 1370-1374, p.151
123 C.P.R. 1388-1392, p.335
124 C.P.R. 1388-1392, p.460; C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.272
125 John Rylands Library of Manchester, Latin MS 240, fo.3r
126 ibid., fo.3v
127 ibid., fo.3v
The kings of England occupied almost all of the important castles of lowland Scotland for at least part of this period. The majority were held for a twenty year period, from the outbreak of the Scottish wars until they were regained by Robert de Bruce during Edward II’s reign, and for a shorter period after their surrender by Edward Balliol to Edward III, although Roxburgh castle was still in English hands at the end of the period, despite being temporarily lost between 1342 and 1346. What immediately stands out when examining the constables of these castles is that the vast majority of their constables also had experience as constable of an English or Welsh castle, although not always before their Scottish service. At a castle such as Roxburgh, a series of constables with such overlap occur, from Robert de Mauley, who after leaving Roxburgh castle in 1310, went on to serve at Bolsover castle, Peak castle and Harestan castle (all Derbyshire) over the next twenty years, through to Robert de Umfraville, who was constable of Roxburgh in 1415, after spells as constable of Newcastle upon Tyne castle and Langley castle (Northumberland). Fifteen of the twenty three known constables of Roxburgh had constable experience in England or Wales. A similar picture emerges at Edinburgh castle, where four of the six English appointed constables also served in England or Wales. Only at Stirling castle was this not the case, where only Sir Thomas Rokeby had served in England.

There does not appear to have been a link between castle ownership and service as a constable (see table 6-xlv). Only 193 of the 1,733 individual constables owned castles, representing just 10% of constables, or 25% of castle owners during this period. Within this group, the distribution of castle ownership was similar to that of all castle owners, showing that at any level of castle ownership, only one in four individuals served as a constable. Rather than there being a link between castle ownership and constable service, these ratios would suggest that castle ownership was almost a bar to service as a constable. Unsurprisingly, the greatest number of castle owning constables appear at Dover castle (Kent) and the Tower of London. However, Windsor castle (Berkshire), saw a very low level of castle ownership, not much higher than at many county castles. This could suggest that the constables of Windsor were carefully selected not to detract from the royal family’s presence at Windsor in any way.

Table 6-xlv: Castle ownership of constables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10+</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bamborough</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dover</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwich</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarborough</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tower of London</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

128 ibid., fo.3v
129 ibid., fo.3v
130 ibid., fo.4r
131 ibid., fo.4r
132 12 Feb 1310, C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.209
133 12 July 1415, C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.216
One can say with total accuracy that all castles owned by the constable of Norwich castle were in Norfolk, although even that castle, Great Hautboys, built on the Norfolk coast almost due east of Norwich, was not licensed until September 1312, seven months after its builder, Robert Baynard of Hautboys, had finished as constable of Norwich and sheriff of Norfolk. Perhaps it was his time as sheriff that triggered Baynard’s interest in castle building. A similar local bias can be found at most county castles. The same is not true for many of the independent castles. At Scarborough castle (Yorkshire) the castle owning constables included John de Vescy, owner of Alnwick castle (Northumberland), Piers Gaveston, whose castles were focused in the south west and John de Mowbray, whose castles were located in Wales. Only Henry Percy had Yorkshire castles. The same national distribution was true at other independent castles.

Table 6-xlvi: Major overlap between constable service and castle ownership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Owned</th>
<th>Constable</th>
<th>Service Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hugh Despenser, yng</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1317-1326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piers Gaveston</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1308-1312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John de Holland, earl of Huntingdon, duke of Exeter</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1389-1398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roger de Mortimer, earl of March</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1310-1330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward, duke of York</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1390-1415</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only five men both owned and served at five or more castles (see table 6-xlvi). This is an interesting group. All but the younger Despenser were members of the comital community, while he would have been expected to inherit his father’s title at the very least. The members of this group were closely tied to the politics of their time. Despenser and Gaveston were favourites of Edward II as was Holland for Richard II, while much of Mortimer’s service as constable came during his time in power. Other than Mortimer, only Edward of York had a career spread across more than one reign — three in his case. All five of these men came from different families, showing that there was no great tradition of constable service in any of the comital families during this period. Finally, all of these men bar Holland died in post, while he only survived one year into the rule of Henry IV. Indeed, only Edward of York was not executed, dying instead at Agincourt. Overlap between constable service and castle ownership was clearly bad for ones health!

Careers away from castles

For most of these individuals, service as a constable was only a part, often a small part, of a career in royal service. A typical figure was Sir Richard Lovel. He served as constable of Corfe castle (Dorset) from 1315 to 1318, Gloucester castle from 1320 to 1321, and Bristol castle (Gloucestershire) from 1321 to 1322. He also served as constable of Roxburgh. He was present with Edward II at Bannockburn, and took part in Edward’s campaign against his enemies in 1321-2. He had a close connection with Roxburgh, as owner of the manor of Old Roxburgh, granted to the King to help maintain the castle in 1314, while he was constable. He served on widely spread

134 7 February 1314, C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.83
135 C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.69
136 7 February 1314, C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.83
commissions of oyer and terminer, including a inquiry into malpractice by the mayor of Bristol,\textsuperscript{137} and one into an assault at Scarborough.\textsuperscript{138} His service as a constable, although more important than for most, was still only a small part of his career in royal service.

An examination of the careers in county administration of these constables shows once again the clear split between county castles and independent castles.\textsuperscript{139} Over 75\% of the sheriff-constables in all four counties in our study received appointments in local administration. Typical of these men was Roger Cheyni, sheriff of Shropshire and Staffordshire, and constable of Shrewsbury castle (Shropshire) and Bridgnorth castle (Shropshire) in 1314 and 1315. This was only the start of his career in Shropshire. Between 1316, when he was appointed as a tax collector,\textsuperscript{140} and 1335, when he was appointed as an arrayer,\textsuperscript{141} he received six appointments in Shropshire. Other careers were more compact. That of John Gobard, sheriff-constable of York in 1388, was concentrated between 1386, when he was a commissioner of peace,\textsuperscript{142} and member of Parliament,\textsuperscript{143} and 1390, when he was again sent to Parliament.\textsuperscript{144} In contrast, at the independent royal castles far fewer constables received other appointments in the county. Portchester castle (Hampshire) and Dover castle (Kent) saw the highest level of service, with 50\% of constables serving locally, while a meaningful low was reached at Odiham castle (Hampshire), where only three of nineteen known constables received other appointments in the county. Admittedly, one of the three – Bernard Brocas, constable of Odiham from 1377 to 1386 – received twenty four separate appointments in Hampshire between 1367 and 1396,\textsuperscript{145} but he was very much an exception away from the county castles. While the sheriff-constables were key members of local administration, the constables of independent castles were often not part of the county community.

It is not possible to reconstruct the military careers of all of these men across the entire period of a century and a half. This study will therefore focus on a shorter period of campaigning, as was discussed above (p.7).\textsuperscript{146} In all, over 3,000 named individuals served in at least one of the three theatres of war between 1338 and 1343.\textsuperscript{147} Of this total, 198 served as constable of castles in England and Wales. This is a quite extraordinary total. Over one eighth of all constables known between 1272 and 1422 can be found serving under arms during this six year period. This group was a representative cross-section of the constables. It included sheriff-constables, such as Simon Basset, constable of Gloucester and sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1346-7, who served in Northern France in 1338,\textsuperscript{148} and again in 1340,\textsuperscript{149} and experienced constables

\textsuperscript{137} C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.380
\textsuperscript{138} C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.591
\textsuperscript{139} Using the information provided by the M.A.R.S. database, for which see above, p.7. This study uses a sample of the full database, covering Shropshire, Yorkshire, Hampshire and Kent.
\textsuperscript{140} C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.530
\textsuperscript{141} Rotuli Scotoiae, vol. 1, ed. D.Macpherson et al., Record Commission, 1814, p.210
\textsuperscript{142} C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.81
\textsuperscript{144} ibid.
\textsuperscript{145} Commission of array in 1367, C.P.R. 1364-1367, p.430; Commission of peace in 1396, C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.728
\textsuperscript{146} See Appendix Twenty Four for tables relating to this discussion.
\textsuperscript{147} Brittany and Northern France, Gascony, and Scotland and the Borders
\textsuperscript{148} Treaty Rolls volume II 1337-1339, ed. John Ferguson, London, 1972, no.385
\textsuperscript{149} C.76/15 m.21
of independent royal castles, such as Hugh Tyrel, constable of Radnor castle, Dinas castle (Brecknock) and Blaen Llyfni castle (Brecknock), who served in Northern France in 1338,\textsuperscript{150} 1339,\textsuperscript{151} and 1340.\textsuperscript{152} Very few serving constables can be found on campaign. The clearest example is Thomas Wake of Bliseworth, constable of Northampton and sheriff of Northamptonshire between 1335 and 1341. During this period he was present on campaigns in Northern France in 1338,\textsuperscript{153} 1339,\textsuperscript{154} and 1340.\textsuperscript{155} He was clearly absent from his castle and county for at least half of his period in office. Not only were these 198 men serving at a representative spread of castles, they also had a representative spread of experience as constables.\textsuperscript{156} As with the overall figures, 80\% of this group only served at a single castle, while the proportion of more experienced constables was similar to the overall figures, peaking with William Beauchamp and Oliver Ingham, who both served at six castles.\textsuperscript{157} Within the larger armies of this period, the proportion of past or present constables serving rose from seven percent in 1338 to eleven percent in 1343. However, they only represent six percent of the 3,000 men known to have campaigned in this period. In effect the constables were more likely as a group to serve repeatedly on campaign. This includes experienced constables such as Maurice de Berkeley, who campaigned in Northern France in 1338-40 and 1342-3,\textsuperscript{158} and constables of single castles, such as John Dalton, constable of Odiham castle (Hampshire) in 1324, who served in Northern France from 1338-42.\textsuperscript{159}

* * *

The most important conclusion to be drawn from this chapter is that there were two separate groups of men serving as constables. The first group contains the sheriff-constables. Just over 550 men fall into this group. Very few sheriff-constables served at any castle other than their county castle, although they might serve there several times. This group was composed largely of knights and esquires, and its members played a large part in county administration even when not sheriff. The second group contains the constables of the independent royal castles. They were more likely to serve at multiple castles, but less likely to perform other roles in county administration. Here can be found the parliamentary peers, members of the household and the comital community. This group contained over 900 men. Only seventy individuals served at both kinds of castles. Different pools of manpower were being drawn upon to fill these two groups.

Section ii – Sub-constables

Beneath the constables was a group of men who may have done much of the actual work at castles.\textsuperscript{160} The sub-constable appears at many castles, either by name or in an

\textsuperscript{150} Treaty Rolls volume II 1337-1339, ed. John Ferguson, London, 1972, no.702
\textsuperscript{151} C.76/15 m.9
\textsuperscript{152} C.76/15 m.8
\textsuperscript{153} Treaty Rolls volume II 1337-1339, ed. John Ferguson, London, 1972, no.596
\textsuperscript{154} C.76/14 m.14
\textsuperscript{155} C.76/15 m.8
\textsuperscript{156} See above table 6-xxxv or appendix twelve for overall figures
\textsuperscript{157} See appendix thirteen
\textsuperscript{158} Treaty Rolls volume II 1337-1339, ed. John Ferguson, London, 1972, nos.572 & 436; Norwell, p.334; E.101/388/5 m.15; E.101/389/8 m.11; C.76/15 m.21
\textsuperscript{159} Norwell, pp.343-4; E.101/398/8 m.16
\textsuperscript{160} see appendix fifteen
order sent to the constable 'or whoever supplies his place’, and must have existed at many castles for much of this period. The sub-constables present some problems of their own. Many of these individuals are far less well documented than their constable. In some cases, such as that of James de Dorchester, sub-constable of Windsor castle (Berkshire) in 1351, the reference as sub-constable is the only reference that can be found to this man. In other cases, the sub-constable’s name was so common that it is impossible to identify individuals. John Cook, sub-constable of Portchester castle (Hampshire) in 1390 falls into this category. John Cooks can be found everywhere from Berwick to the Isle of Wight during the 1390s, and our John Cook is impossible to distinguish. Secondly, even at the best documented castles we have no more than a scattering of references to sub-constables for the entire period. At many castles, we only know the identity of one sub-constable. Even at Dover, we only have information covering thirty years while at the Tower of London that falls to thirteen years.

Unlike the constable, the sub-constables were not appointed by the king, but were instead appointed or provided by the sitting constable. The most explicit example of this comes in 1354. On the same day that he was appointed constable of Corfe castle (Dorset), Roger de Mortimer, earl of March appointed John de Elmerugg as his deputy, and had the appointment recorded on the Patent Rolls, where it is explicitly stated that Mortimer had appointed Elmerugg. This method of appointment has several effects. First, it reduces the amount of information we have regarding these people. Their names have only come to us through chance references, although their existence can be sensed in the many orders sent to the sitting constable ‘or whoever supplies their place’. One such chance reference that provides some insight into the nature of appointment to these posts comes in 1371. Alan de Buxhull, constable of the Tower of London, was overseas. His sub-constable, Robert Ruthyn, had died, and instead of appointing a new sub-constable, the king appointed Walter de Chippenham to act as temporary constable until the return of Buxhull. This demonstrates the use of sub-constables to cover for the sitting constable, while the unwillingness of the king to appoint a sub-constable shows that this post was in the hands of the constable. However, at least one case can be found of the king nominating a sub-constable. One of the terms under which Edward de St. John served as constable of Conway in 1378 was that there was to be a permanent lieutenant, nominated by the king, resident in the castle, and paid 40 marks per year, only 20 marks less that St. John himself. This is a unique occurrence and no similar references have been found across this period.

This semi-official nature of the post is also reflected in the wide variety of terms used to describe the sub-constable. The most common phrase was ‘locum tenens’, followed by ‘subconstabularius’, although other phrases can be found. The use of these phrases was evenly spread across the period. Moreover, they were often used interchangeably to describe the same man. Thus Thomas de Reynes, sub-constable of Dover castle (Kent), was described as lieutenant of Dover castle on 10 July 1374 and deputy on 26 July, only sixteen days later. These varied phrases clearly can not be used to reflect different roles on the part of individual sub-constables.

161 for example see C.C.R. 1346-1349, p.16
162 3 November 1354, C.P.R. 1354-1358, p.134
163 14 September 1371, C.C.R. 1369-1374, p.250
164 E.101/36/6 m.1
165 E.101/19/26 m.1
166 C.P.R. 1370-1374, pp.460 & 492
The role of the sub-constable is hard to pin down. As a privately appointed deputy, the exact duties of each sub-constable would have varied from appointment to appointment. However, during the many times that the constable was absent, the sub-constable would have performed that role, and this is reflected in the many orders directed to a constable or whoever supplied his place.\textsuperscript{167} In addition, the sub-constables for the most senior constables, must have performed day to day duties at all times. Thus during the four years that Prince Henry was constable of Dover castle (Kent), we know of three sub-constables. There were cases where the sub-constable was mistakenly referred to as constable. Such confusion occurred at the Tower of London during the ten year tenure of Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham (1275-1285). During this time, Bek was in Edward I’s inner circle and was absent from London much of the time.\textsuperscript{168} Two of his sub-constables - first Giles de Audenard in 1276 and 1277 and then Ranulph de Dacre in 1283 – were referred to as constable.\textsuperscript{169} Here it is clear that the sub-constable was acting as constable. When Nicholas de la Beche replaced John de Cromwell as constable of the Tower of London, in 1335, it was actually their respective sub-constables, Robert le Brut and William de Herlisonn, who performed the hand over of goods contained in the castle.\textsuperscript{170} Likewise, when John de Grey of Ruthin replaced Sir Philip de Weston as constable of Corfe castle (Dorset), in 1346, it was their sub-constables, Ralph de Baglee and Thomas de Bridport, who oversaw the changeover.\textsuperscript{171} Here the actual administration of the castle was being carried out by the sub-constables. The \textit{Scalacronica} contains one of the few chronicle references to sub-constables. Thomas de Gray, the father of the chronicler, and constable of Norham castle (Northumberland), was forced to make a sortie from the castle to rescue part of his garrison, and handed control of the castle to his sadly unnamed vice-constable, ‘I’ll hand over to you this castle, albeit I have it in charge to hold in the King’s cause, unless I actually drink of the same cup that my people over there have to drink.’\textsuperscript{172}

This extract tells us both that the constable and his deputy were present at the same time, and that the vice-constable was clearly trusted enough to be left in charge of a key border fortress while the constable was otherwise engaged, if only temporarily.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{Rank of royal sub-constables}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\hline
Rank & Numbers \\
\hline
Knights & 8 \\
Esquires & 5 \\
Serjeants & 2 \\
Unknown & 67 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

Lack of information limits the conclusions that can be make about the rank of the sub-constables (see table 6-xlvi). The suggestion from the information we have that the majority of sub-constables were knights does not seem likely to be valid, and the

\textsuperscript{167} for an example see 26 March 1346, \textit{C.C.R. 1346-1349}, p.16
\textsuperscript{168} In 1277 Bek helped negotiate a treaty with Llywelyn ap Gruffuyd at Conway, while in 1282 he was in Aragon negotiating for a marriage between Eleanor, daughter of Edward I and Alphonse, son and heir of Peter of Aragon; M.Prestwich, \textit{Edward I}, London, 1988, pp.180 & 321
\textsuperscript{169} \textit{C.C.R. 1272-1279}, pp.270 & 370; \textit{C.P.R. 1281-1292}, p.70
\textsuperscript{170} E.101/19/28
\textsuperscript{171} E.101/36/6 m.1
\textsuperscript{172} H. Maxwell, ed., \textit{The Scalacronica of Sir Thomas Grey}, Glasgow, 1907, p.63
obscure nature of many of the sub-constables would suggest that the majority of those of unknown rank were below knightly level.

Table 6-xlviii: Known duration of sub-constable service

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>First</th>
<th>Last</th>
<th>Known Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andrew de Guildford</td>
<td>Dover</td>
<td>5 Dec 1360</td>
<td>18 Oct 1361 n.a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas de Reynes</td>
<td>Tower of London</td>
<td>18 March 1373</td>
<td>24 Sept 1375 30 months</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roger de Wylyasham</td>
<td>Dover</td>
<td>20 June 1378</td>
<td>28 Sept 1379 15 months</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh Fastolf</td>
<td>Dover</td>
<td>15 April 1385</td>
<td>26 Feb 1386 10 months</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roger Wigmore</td>
<td>Dover</td>
<td>30 May 1386</td>
<td>27 Nov 1387 18 months</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert de Burney</td>
<td>Dover</td>
<td>24 July 1400</td>
<td>16 June 1404 47 months</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As would be expected from the limited nature of our information we can say very little about the duration of sub-constable service (see table 6-xlviii). We have relevant evidence for a mere six of these men, amongst whom sub-constables of Dover castle (Kent) predominate. Even there, our information is limited to the just over forty year period between 1360 and 1404. The usefulness of this information is further limited by the absence of start and end dates. Thus these figures represent minimum durations only and we must remember that all of these periods of service could have been considerably longer than our dates show. Despite this, we can say that these were not short term appointments, averaging at just under two years.

As would be expected from the personal nature of the post, there are only two cases of an individual serving as sub-constable for two different constables. Robert de Hertley served as sub-constable of Windsor castle (Berkshire) for both Helming Leget in 1374 and Simon de Burley in 1381, while Andrew de Guildford served as sub-constable of Dover castle (Kent) for both John de Beauchamp in 1360 and Robert de Herle in 1361, with a short spell as constable in between. These appear to have been consecutive periods of service, with no known sub-constables intervening, and would suggest that in these cases at least the sub-constable was running the castle.

In contrast, there is much evidence to suggest that individual constables were served by more than one sub-constable. For each of five constables of Dover castle (Kent) we known of two sub-constables, while for a sixth, the future Henry V, we have three names, although two – Robert and Thomas Oxbridge in 1409 – served together. While our information for most castles is too limited to provide similar examples, it seems likely that the same pattern would be found at most of the independent royal castles. Amongst those sub-constables we know, none are known to have served at more than one castle. This may well be due more to our lack of information than anything else and can probably be explained by the concentration of information at a small group of castles.

Many sub-constables performed other service in the locality of their castle. In the four counties for which information is available, only for Dover castle (Kent) do we have a good list of sub-constables. We will therefore concentrate on those men. Of the twenty one known sub-constables, eight (38%) can be found serving in local administration. This is lower than the 50% amongst the constables of Dover, but is higher than the 35.2% average for independent castles. However, for six of the eight, their county service was limited to the period during which they were sub-constable.

173 In the intervening period, Guldford had served as constable of the castle during the gap between John Beauchamp and Robert Herle
Only Henry de Cobham, sub-constable in 1323 and Andrew de Guildford, sub-constable in 1360, had local careers beyond that period. Of these two, Cobham had already served as constable of the castle, while Guildford also had two short spells as constable. For the remaining six men, service as sub-constable had either raised their profile enough for them to be appointed to local posts or temporarily moved them from the area of the county in which they normally served.

There were at least three examples of a sub-constable being promoted to become constable of the same castle. The first was that of Peter de la Mare, who was promoted from sub-constable to constable of Bristol castle (Gloucester) in 1277, where he remained until his death in 1291. This was clearly intended as a permanent appointment rather than as a stopgap. In contrast, the second case does appear to have been a temporary appointment. William Gunneys first appeared in connection with Montgomery castle in 1334, when he was sub-constable to William fitz Waryn. He next appeared in 1339, when he was promoted to constable and replaced fitz Waryn. However, by 1341 fitz Waryn was back in post, where he remained for another fourteen years. This would appear to have been a short term appointment intended to cover a long absence on the part of fitz Waryn. A third such case occurred at Dover in 1360-61.

On the death of John de Beauchamp of Warwick in 1360, his deputy, ANDREW de Guildford, was appointed constable. His appointment was explicitly temporary, made 'until the king makes other arrangements'. His time in charge was indeed short, and he was replaced within two months by Robert de Herle, although Guildford was still in place as sub-constable eight months later.

Twelve sub-constables also served as constable of other castles in their own right. One such man was Roger Wigmore, sub-constable of Dover castle (Kent) in 1386-1387 for Simon de Burley. His career was split between two areas of the county. As well as sub-constable of Dover, he served as controller of the customs of Sandwich, also in 1387. However, the bulk of his service was in south Wales. He first appeared in 1383 when he was granted the wardship first of Montgomery castle, and then of Dolforwyn castle (Montgomery). He last appears in this study as constable of Carmarthen castle, first from 1390 to c.1395, and again in 1399. His career demonstrated the personal nature of sub-constable appointments. His only mentions in connection with Kent come during his time as sub-constable of Dover castle. It was Simon de Burley who provided the link between the two areas. Burley also served as constable of Carmarthen castle, from 1375 to 1385, and owned two castles in the county - Newcastle Emlyn and Llanstephan. Having followed Burley to Kent, Wigmore returned home after the death of his patron.

Like Wigmore, four other sub-constables can be found serving as constables in a different area of the country. Slightly more common was service as a constable in the same area. Typical of this was William Frodesham, who followed his service as sub-constable of Caernarvon castle with a spell as constable of Criccieth castle (Caernarvon) in 1391, or Robert de Morton, who had served as constable of Peak castle (Derbyshire) in 1371 before his spell as sub-constable of Nottingham castle in 1373. This would suggest different attitudes on the part of the constables concerned, with some bringing in someone they already knew and trusted, while others preferred to employ a local man to act for them.

174 5 December 1360, C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.509
175 10 January 1387, C.F.R. 1383-1391, p.170; 9 June 1388, ibid. p.234
The military careers of our sub-constables are not easy to recreate. Of the twenty
one known sub-constables serving between 1330 and 1350, six can be proved to have
taken part in the campaigns of 1338 to 1343. None of these six were serving in the
retinue of their constable, although three were present on the same campaign. Of the
six, four campaigned in northern France in 1340, and two in Brittany in 1342. None of
the six campaigned more than once during these six years. However, we known that
one, William Thwayt, sub-constable of Corfe castle (Dorset) in 1344, had a
distinguished military career. He gave evidence before the court of chivalry in 1385,
during the Lovel-Morley case. From his testimony, we know that he had been present
at the battles of Halidon Hill in 1333, Sluys in 1340 and Crécy in 1346, as well as at the
siege of Calais. His service at Corfe was thus during a break in his military career. In
the unlikely event of an attack on Corfe castle during 1344, Thwayt would not have
been found wanting.

Section iii – Constables for the queen

Queen Margaret, Queen Isabella and Queen Philippa all appointed constables in their
own right. For each of these three queens, half of the constables known at their
castles can be said to have been appointed by the queen. For Queen Margaret and
Queen Isabella, the divide was temporal, and those constables appointed after the death
of their respective husbands were appointed by the queen. In contrast, seven of the
eleven constables known at the castles of Queen Philippa appear to have been appointed
by her, all during the lifetime of Edward III. This is not just a linguistic distinction.
Roger de Beauchamp’s appointment as constable of Devizes castle (Wiltshire) was
confirmed on the Patent Rolls in 1340 in a way that makes it clear that Queen Philippa
had made the appointment herself.

The queen’s constables were unusually experienced as royal constables. Of the
twenty one known, twelve also served for the king at other castles. This level of
experience was the same under Queen Margaret, Queen Isabella and Queen Philippa
and is also matched by the rank of this group. Of the nine men in this group whose rank
was known, five are known to be knights, a far higher proportion that amongst royal
constables, although that could reflect a higher level of recording of rank for the
queen’s constables rather than a higher proportion of knights. These constables also
include two senior churchmen, both of whom served for Queen Isabella. The first was
the bishop of Ely, who was appointed as constable of Hertford castle in 1330. Hertford
was one of the castles Queen Isabella retained until her death and this appointment may
have been a stopgap until her new estates were settled. The second appointment was at
Leeds castle (Kent) where the archbishop of Canterbury was constable from 1337 to
1340. Towards the end of her life, Queen Isabella used Leeds castle when she visited
Canterbury on pilgrimage, and this appointment, made by Queen Isabella herself, may
have been part of a general turning towards the church on her part.

Section iv – Constables for the heir to the throne

176 Andrew Ayton, 'William de Thweyt, esquire, deputy constable of Corfe castle in the 1340s', Somerset
and Dorset Notes and Queries, 32, (1989), p.732
177 see appendix sixteen
178 C.P.R. 1340-1343, p.115, confirming his appointment the previous day by Queen Philippa.
The constables that served the Black Prince are the best documented group of constables not directly appointed by the King. The Black Prince’s Register, confirmations of his appointments issued by Prince Richard’s council in 1377 and chance references in royal records provide us with the names of twenty nine of his constables. Six of these twenty nine served the Black Prince at more than one of his castles. Each of these six served in a relatively small area. Typical of this was John de Skirbeck, who the Black Prince appointed as constable of Launceston castle (Cornwall) and Tintagel castle (Cornwall). Sixteen of the twenty nine were also appointed as royal constables. However, nine of those sixteen were men whose only royal service was to continue in place at the same castle they had served the Black Prince. The remaining overlap consists equally of men who were constables for both the Black Prince and Edward III at the same time, and men whose royal service began under Richard II but at castles that had not been held by the Black Prince. The nine men who were confirmed in their places by Richard II give us a insight into the length of service at the Black Prince’s castles. The longest serving was Henry de Berkhamsted, who had been constable of Berkhamsted castle (Hertfordshire) for thirty years, followed by Richard de la Bere, constable of Newcastle Emlyn castle (Carmarthen) for nineteen years. This would suggest a desire for stability at his castles on the part of the prince. The rank of fourteen of these men is known, of whom none were knights. The Black Prince was able to attract men of similar rank to those who served his father.

Section v - Constables of privately owned castles

The final, and least fully documented, group of men in this chapter are the private constables. Most of our knowledge of these men comes from chance references in royal documents. Only for the earls and dukes of Lancaster do we have more information, with John of Gaunt’s registers providing the best picture of these private officials for a single landowner, especially when combined with confirmations in post issued by Richard II and Henry IV in 1399 and the aftermath of Henry’s seizure of the throne. Moreover, the size of the Lancastrian estates and their continuity for over a century allows us to make some observations regarding their constables. Beyond the Lancastrians, the church owned castles are perhaps best documented, with some information from bishop’s registers and more appearing in the royal records during voidances. For other castles and castle owners we have very little information. Thus we will not be able to draw conclusions about individual estates, but will have to focus instead on the known private constables as a group. We must be careful to remember that John of Gaunt’s estates were exceptional and that the conclusions we can draw there do not necessarily apply to these less well documented estates.

If the identity of these men is shadowy, the duties expected of them are even more so. One piece of evidence is an indenture enrolled by David de Offynton, steward of the Irish castles of Gilbert de Clare earl of Gloucester, in which he agreed to guard, maintain and defend those castles. At royal castles these duties would have fallen to the constable, and this example should remind us that the role of the private constable could vary from estate to estate. Indeed, it is possible that many private castles did not have separate constables and instead were controlled by other estates officials, as was clearly the case with Offynton.

179 see appendix five
180 see appendix seventeen
181 11 January 1282, C.C.R. 1279-1288, p.229
Given the nature of our information, we can only make limited observations on the length of service of these private constables. Certainly, some of them stayed in post for very long periods. At Hertford castle Robert de Louth served for at least twenty five years, first appearing as constable for Queen Isabella in 1358, and still in place under John of Gaunt in 1383. Indeed, John of Gaunt’s estates provide most evidence for duration of private constable service. Amongst his constables the outstanding feature is a group of men who served for ten to twenty years. Louth at Hertford can be joined by John Deyncourt at Kenilworth castle (Warwickshire) from 1380 to 1391, and Oliver de Barton at Lincoln castle from 1375 to 1393.

Table 6-xl ix: Rank of Private Constables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yeoman</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esquire</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knights</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliamentary Peers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earls</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the known private constables, only seven served as constable of royal castles. Of these, one was William le Scrope, whose service as a private constable will be dealt with below. Of the six remaining, two continued in place at the same castle after the death of the owner, while the other four all served in the same area. This would suggest that the overlap between private and royal constables was not significant. The private constables formed yet another group within the castle community. These private constables were of lower rank than was the case for royal constables (see table 6-xl ix). The only exception to this was William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire, who appeared as constable of Richmond castle (Yorkshire) for Edward, future duke of York in 1398. From this, it would seem that the private constables, even for the greatest of the comital community, came from their own lower ranked retainers and were not significant figures in their own right, unlike many royal constables.
Chapter Seven - Wardships

Many castles spent long periods of time in wardship. In the ninety years between the restoration of the Mortimers in 1331 and the end of our period, their estates were in wardship for fifty one years, a greater length of time than they were held by an adult Mortimer. While the Mortimers were an extreme case, this illustrates the potential scale of wardship. With all the potential for profit that this implied for the guardian, it is clear why wardship was so often controversial. Like all forms of royal patronage, grants of wardship could play an important part in the success of a monarch. Some of the castles in wardship had an importance beyond their immediate value. Wardships in Wales and the Marches early in the period, on the Scottish border for most of the period, or on the south coast during invasion scares had a potential military role that may have influenced who was granted their wardship.

At least 148 estates containing castles were inherited by minors during this period, including thirteen that were split between heiresses (see table 7-i). These estates were a representative cross section of castle owning estates, at least in the number of castles involved. As was the case for overall castle ownership, over half of the estates in wardship only contained a single castle. Here at least we can be certain of the age of our subjects. As table 7-ii shows, the heirs to these estates were equally likely to be infants or almost of age when they inherited their estates.

Table 7-i: Number of castles in wardship

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castles Owned</th>
<th>Male heirs</th>
<th>Female heirs</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7-ii: Age of underage heirs when inherited

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age when inheriting</th>
<th>Number of heirs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 to 5</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 to 10</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 to 15</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 to 20</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is also worth examining at what date estates fell into wardship. On average, ten estates entered wardship per decade across our period. It is clear that the Black Death had no impact on the number of wardships involving castles. While two estates with castles fell into wardship during 1348, the same can be said of both 1347 and 1349. Two more entered wardship in 1361, the second plague year, while the third plague year, 1369, only saw one new wardship. The key factor that influenced the numbers of castles in wardship would appear to have simply been the number of castles in existence. Before 1350, eight estates with castles fell into wardship each decade, while after 1350 eleven such estates entered wardship per decade. This is an increase of only 40%, much lower than the increase in the number of castles during this period.

Table 7-iii: Date estates containing castles fell into wardship

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Male Heir</th>
<th>Female Heir</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1272-9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1280-9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1290-9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1300-9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1310-9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1320-9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1330-9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1340-9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1350-9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1360-9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1370-9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1380-9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1390-9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1400-9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1410-9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1420-2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Estates in wardship were distributed in three different ways (see table 7-iv). First, and most common across the entire period, was for wardship to be granted for individual castles within an estate, as happened during the minority of James de Audley of Heighley, a minor from 1316 to 1334, when Heighley Castle (Staffordshire), Redcastle (Shropshire) & Llandovery Castle (Carmarthen) were in wardship. These three castles were granted in wardship to eight different individuals, each appointed separately to their posts. Second, estates could be granted either intact or in large blocks, as when the wardship of all castles owned by the earl of Stafford was granted to Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester in 1392. Finally, the wardship of a single castle could be split between several people at once, as when the wardship of Bramber (Sussex) was granted to Richard Burgh, John de Lancaster, John Lewes, Richard fitz Nicholl, John Rome, John Staverton and Thomas Burham in 1403. Not all wardship arrangements remained unchanged. For some castles the level of change was very high. During the twenty year minority of Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, the wardship of Castle Barnard (Durham) was held by at least seven different people. None of these changes appear to have been forced. One in four wardship arrangements were changed at least once before the heir came of age.

---

2 24 July 1392, C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.54
3 He inherited in 1315 and was of age in 1335
Table 7-iv: Types of wardship grant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>No. of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grants of single named castles</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint wardship of single castle</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entire estate to a single individual</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entire estate to a group</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estate split by region</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>213</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most common form of wardship grant was by individual castles, representing nearly three quarters of all grants. For smaller estates, this could amount to a grant of the entire estate. At the start of our period, this was the norm, with very few examples of any other form of wardship. As our period proceeds, the number of appointments made in this way remained constant. However, the total number of wardships increased, and so the importance of this form of appointment slowly decreased.

This type of wardship arrangement was similar in some ways to royal constables to the extent that wardship appointments were often recorded as if they were for normal constables. This can been seen during the wardship of James Audley. Of the three references to the guardians of Llandovery castle (Carmarthen), one treated them as a constable. At Heighley castle (Staffordshire) that rises to two of five, while at Redcastle (Shropshire) all four references treated the guardian as a normal constable. This is hardly surprising for single castle appointments. The posts would have been similar in nature at many such castles, especially when the castle was granted without all of the family estates, as happened above.

Table 7-v: Split wardship at single castles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle in wardship</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Guardians</th>
<th>Heir</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Redcastle (Shrops)</td>
<td>1391</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>John Tuchet, lord Audley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barton Seagrave (Nhants)</td>
<td>1402</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Thomas Mowbray, earl Marshal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bramber (Sussex)</td>
<td>1403</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Thomas Mowbray, earl Marshal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swansea (Glamorgan)</td>
<td>1403</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Thomas Mowbray, earl Marshal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bramber (Sussex)</td>
<td>1410</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>John Mowbray</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At its most extreme, the wardship of a single castle was sometimes split between several individuals (see table 7-v). The first such case occurred in 1391 at Redcastle (Shropshire), after the death of Nicholas Audley. His castles were only in wardship for one year, until John Tuchet, lord Audley, took livery on 20 May 1392. For the six months that Redcastle was in wardship, it was held by John Delves and Richard Walsall. While Delves was not involved with any other castle, Walsall was appointed constable of Carmarthen Castle for life in 1395 and of Dynevor Castle (Carmarthen), again for life in 1397. Although these posts show an interest in south Wales, his name suggests an origin local to Redcastle. Three of the remaining cases involved castles owned by Thomas Mowbray, earl Marshal, whose minority lasted from 1399 until his execution in 1405 after the failure of archbishop Scrope’s rebellion. These three castles represent half of Mowbray’s six, although Bretyby Castle (Derbyshire) was held by his mother. Of the other two, nothing is known about the wardship of Chepstow castle (Monmouth) at this point, while Framlingham castle (Suffolk) was granted to Thomas Erpyngham in 1399 and stayed in his hands at least until early 1402. At Barton

4 20 May 1392, *C.P.R. 1391-1396*, p.467
Seagrave castle, Bramber castle and Swansea castle, a group of nine men held the wardship of the three castles. Of that group, three served at two of the three castles, while two served at all three. This was not a geographically compact group, nor were the appointments made at the same date. Only two of the nine had any experience at other castles, while none of them was a castle owner and it would seem likely that these men had associations with the Mowbray family that led to this appointment. One, Richard fitz Nichol, who served in all three of these cases, was granted custody of Bramber castle after the execution of the earl Marshal, while another, John de Lancestre had served as constable of Framlingham castle. However, none of them was involved in the wardship of Bramber during the minority of John Mowbray, and this again may suggest a close association with the Mowbray family, not of benefit after the death of the earl Marshal.

The final form of distribution of lands and castles in wardship was to grant an entire estate intact to one or more people (see table 7-vi). If any subdivision of the estate was made between the various guardians, it was not specified. On a lesser scale, regions within an estate could be granted. However, this was far rarer than the granting of the entire estate.

Table 7-vi: Wardship of entire estate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guardian</th>
<th>Family in wardship</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Roger de Mortimer, earl of March</td>
<td>Hastings</td>
<td>1330-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret, countess of Kent</td>
<td>earl of Kent</td>
<td>1331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John de Louther, clerk</td>
<td>Brittany</td>
<td>1334-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roger de Mortimer, 2nd earl of March</td>
<td>Avenel</td>
<td>1355-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mortimer, Roger de, 2nd earl of March</td>
<td>Ros</td>
<td>1355-1356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mortimer, Roger de, 2nd earl of March</td>
<td>Greystoke</td>
<td>1355-1356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard, earl of Arundel</td>
<td>Clifton</td>
<td>1374-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland</td>
<td>Mowbray</td>
<td>1378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralph Cromwell</td>
<td>Clifton</td>
<td>1392-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Despenser, earl of Gloucester</td>
<td>Stafford</td>
<td>1392-1397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland</td>
<td>Dacre</td>
<td>1399-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland</td>
<td>Mortimer</td>
<td>1400-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alice de Vere</td>
<td>de Vere</td>
<td>1400-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward, duke of York</td>
<td>Despenser</td>
<td>1403-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Beaufort, earl of Somerset</td>
<td>fitzWalter</td>
<td>1406-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry fitz Hugh</td>
<td>Darcy</td>
<td>1411-13-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry, bishop of Winchester</td>
<td>Beaumont</td>
<td>1413-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Beaufort, earl of Dorset</td>
<td>Ros</td>
<td>1414-1419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Grey</td>
<td>Grey of Heton</td>
<td>1415-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilbert de Umfraville</td>
<td>Poucher</td>
<td>1416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Neville</td>
<td>Scrope of Bolton</td>
<td>1420+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Heton</td>
<td>Ros</td>
<td>1421-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Waterton</td>
<td>Wells</td>
<td>1421-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the majority of cases where wardship of an entire estate was granted, there was a single guardian. Over half of such grants were made to members of the comital community, suggesting that such grants were seen as a method of patronage. It is also notable that just over half of these grants were made after 1400. The first such grant did not occur until 1330, when Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, was granted the wardship of Laurence de Hastings, then only eleven, in what would have been a valuable grant if Mortimer had survived to enjoy it. Although such grants were not common for the rest of the century, they did not totally cease, and reappeared in some number in 1400. As was seen in chapter three, neither Henry IV nor Henry V were able to endow their
supporters and families with great numbers of castles, and this use of wardship may have been intended to boost the income of figures such as Thomas and John Beaufort, Henry IV’s half-brothers.

Table 7-vii: Joint wardship of estates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Guardians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bohun</td>
<td>1361</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courtenay</td>
<td>1377</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de Vere</td>
<td>1377</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mortimer</td>
<td>1383</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stafford</td>
<td>1387</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauchamp</td>
<td>1401</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de Vere</td>
<td>1401</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duke of York</td>
<td>1402</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joan Bohun</td>
<td>1404</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Par</td>
<td>1408</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de la Pole</td>
<td>1415</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berkeley</td>
<td>1417</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earls of Arundel</td>
<td>1421</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courtenay</td>
<td>1422</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clifford</td>
<td>1422</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like grants to a single guardian, grants to multiple guardians were most common after 1400 (see table 7-vii). The five cases to occur before that date all involved estates from the comital community, and may be explained as an attempt to ease the management of widely spread estates. After 1400 the majority of these estates were still from the comital community, but were joined by estates from the parliamentary peerage such as those of the Cliffords. Once again, Henry IV and Henry V appear to have been using these estates to endow their supporters.

Table 7-viii: Wardships granted by region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guardian</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Lands Granted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ralph de Montemer, earl of Gloucester</td>
<td>1307</td>
<td>Morgan &amp; Glamorgan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giffard, John, of Brimpsfield</td>
<td>1316</td>
<td>Clare castles in Glamorgan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Symond</td>
<td>1325</td>
<td>Valence lands in Haverford &amp; Pembroke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roger de Chaundos</td>
<td>1331</td>
<td>Hastings lands in Abergavenny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Symond</td>
<td>1331</td>
<td>Hastings lands in Pembroke &amp; Oysterlowe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen Philippa</td>
<td>1348</td>
<td>Warenne lands held by Edmund de Langley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth, widow of Edw. le Despenser</td>
<td>1376</td>
<td>2/3 of husbands Welsh lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Storey</td>
<td>1377</td>
<td>Morgan &amp; Glamorgan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John de Holland, duke of Exeter</td>
<td>1398</td>
<td>Mortimer lands in south Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward duke of York</td>
<td>1398</td>
<td>Mortimer lands in England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire</td>
<td>1398</td>
<td>Mortimer lands in north Wales</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unlike most of the variations of wardship appointments, the eleven grants of wardship by region were evenly spread across the fourteenth century (see table 7-viii). It was most commonly used in Wales, especially in Glamorgan, which was clearly regarded as a single unit and was granted intact as a region on the three occasions it came into wardship during this period. In the first two occasions, this mass wardship was granted to men with Gloucestershire connections, first Ralph de Montemer, temporary earl of Gloucester through his marriage to Joan, widow of Gilbert de Clare. On her death, he was granted wardship of the Clare lands in Morgan and Glamorgan. Thus the last Gilbert de Clare grew up with his lands held by his step father. After the...
death of Gilbert de Clare at Bannockburn, the wardship of Morgan and Glamorgan was granted to John Giffard of Brimpsfield, one of the marcher barons who was executed after he revolted against Edward II in 1322. Glamorgan next fell into wardship in 1375, when it was inherited by Thomas Despenser, then aged only two. This time the wardship was granted to Richard Stury, a chamber knight of both Edward III and Richard II. He was clearly a trusted man and may well have held the wardship for most of the rest of his life, dying in 1395, six years after Despenser came of age.

On four occasions, wardship was granted of part of a castle. The first such case was in 1373, when wardship of two parts of Mitford castle (Northumberland) was granted to Henry Percy, during the minority of Elizabeth and Philippa, the daughters and co-heirs of David de Strabolgi, earl of Athol. It is not clear what the fate of the remaining part was, but as the following cases will suggest, it may well have been held by Strabolgi’s widow. This was certainly the case at Swansea castle (Glamorgan) in 1403, when wardship of two thirds of the castle was granted to John of Lancaster, John Lewes, Richard fitz Nichol and John de Saint John during the minority of Thomas Mowbray, earl Marshal. The remaining part was held by Elizabeth, his mother, at the death of her second husband, Robert Gousil, in 1403. The same was probably true at Barton Seagrave castle (Northamptonshire), also owned by Mowbray, where the wardship of two thirds of the castle was awarded in 1402.

The final case, that of Newport Castle (Monmouth), was a little different. One third of the castle had been granted to Anne, countess Stafford, in 1403, after the death of Edmund, earl of Stafford. The castle must have been in wardship with the rest of the lands of the Stafford lands from that date, as Humphrey, their son, was a one year old child at the time. However, it was not until 1421 when the wardship of the castle appears in the record, when countess Anne was granted wardship of the remaining two thirds of the castle. The gap can probably be explained as hiding a de-facto grant of the wardship to countess Anne, who was already in possession of one third of the castle, an arrangement that only needed to be made explicit as her son came close to coming of age.

These four cases are a side effect of a growing trend towards the end of this period, to grant fractions of castles in dowry, even from estates with enough castles to avoid such splits. If there is a surprise with these partial wardships, it is that only one of them was granted to the widow, who with a share in part of the castle would already seem to be the logical person to whom to grant the wardship.

* * *

Having examined the mechanics of wardship, we will now move on to examine those people awarded wardships. This was a smaller group than either the castle owners or royal constables, involving 219 individuals. Many of the same questions that were asked about royal constables will also be relevant for those people granted wardships, but there are also questions specific to wardship to be considered.

5 C.Given-Wilson, The Royal Household and the King’s Affinity, New Haven & London, 1986, pp.280 & 283
6 12 September 1395, I.P.M. XVII, no.677
The first group of individuals to be examined are the relatives of the heir. This was not a large group, but such appointments did occur. It must be remembered that there were not always suitable close relatives to whom the wardship could be granted, but the low level of such appointments suggests that even when close relatives were available, they were not favoured. Only in seven cases was wardship granted to a male relative. These six cases were spread evenly between 1317, when Walter Beauchamp was granted the wardship of Warwick castle, and 1415, when John Grey was granted wardship of the lands of Thomas Grey of Heton.

In nine cases the mother of the heir was granted wardship or joint wardship of her child’s lands. The first case took place almost at the start of the period. In 1280, Isabella, widow of John fitzAlan, earl of Arundel, was granted the wardship first of Arundel castle (Sussex), and then of Oswestry castle (Shropshire), during the minority of their son Richard, who was then fifteen. Neither of these appointments lasted until his full age, both ending at the latest in August 1282. Indeed, at Arundel castle, Isabella was only one of five different individuals to hold the wardship, while at Oswestry castle she was one of three. The second such case did not appear until 1331, when the wardship of the lands of Edmund, earl of Kent, were granted to his mother, Margaret, countess of Kent. Edmund was only five at the time, having been restored to his father’s lands in the previous year, but was dead before the end of the year. The third case came in 1377 when wardship of two thirds of her husband’s lands in Wales was granted to Elizabeth, widow of Edward le Despenser. Their son Thomas only came of age in 1394 and thus Elizabeth had seventeen years of this wardship. In addition, she held four Welsh castles either in dower or jointure, potentially represented the remaining third.

The most complex case was that of the Cliffords. Here, three widows held the wardship of most of the lands of two members of the family, the only case where this happened. First was Maud, widow of Roger de Clifford (1333-1389), who had been holding the wardship of their grandson, John de Clifford, at the time of her death in 1403. In 1406 the wardship was granted to Elizabeth I, widow of Thomas de Clifford (1365-1391), the parents of John, who was by then aged seventeen. Nothing more is heard until after the death of John de Clifford, aged only 34, in 1422. At that point, the wardship of his lands was granted jointly to both Elizabeths, his grandmother and mother, during the minority of his son Thomas, born in 1414, to the full age of the heir. This was thus a major grant, for the Cliffords owned five castles and were amongst the most important non-comital castle owners, and the heir would not come of age for another thirteen years. This generosity to the widows was perhaps due to the nature of the death of John de Clifford, campaigning with Henry V at the siege of Meaux.

Of the remaining cases, none was as generous as this. Although Alice de Vere was awarded wardship of all the de Vere lands in 1400, that probably amounted to no more than the Cliffords held, and at most three castles. Constance le Despenser was

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7 21 May 1331, *C.F.R. 1327-1337*, p.252
8 12 December 1377, *C.F.R. 1377-1381*, p.46
9 19 January 1406, *C.P.R. 1405-1408*, p.140
10 27 May 1422, *C.F.R. 1413-1422*, p.433
11 *G.E.C. III*, p.293
12 22 May 1400, *C.F.R. 1399-1405*, p.56
only granted wardship of two of her husband’s castles, while Anne, countess of Stafford, one of the wealthiest people in the country, only gained two thirds of Newport Castle (Monmouth). It is the small size of these wardship grants that show that it was not merely a lack of suitable widows that led to so few being granted wardships. All of the above had lands in dower from the same estates after the death of their husbands and it was clearly not seen as desirable to then grant them wardship of the remaining part in all but a very few cases.

In three cases the heir himself is known to have been given either full or joint wardship of his own lands. All three of these cases have several things in common. First, they all took place during the first ten years of the reign of Richard II, with the first grant made on 21 August 1377, exactly one month after the death of Edward III and the last on 25 February 1387, just after Richard II had left for his ten month ‘gyration’ through the north and midlands. Secondly, they all involved members of the comital community – Edward Courtenay, earl of Devon, in wardship from 1377 to 1378, Roger Mortimer, earl of March, in wardship from 1381 to 1394 and Thomas, earl of Stafford, in wardship from 1386 to 1389. No other comital estates fell into wardship during this period. Where these three cases differed was the age of the heir. Edward Courtenay, aged twenty, was close to full age when he inherited, and this is reflected in his being granted the full wardship of his own lands. In contrast, Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, was only seven in 1381, when he inherited his family estates. Initially, his castles were granted out individually, but after two years he was granted joint wardship of his own lands, with Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, John, lord Neville and Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland. This was an experienced group, with Henry Percy the youngest at forty. Although Neville died in 1388, six years before Mortimer came of age, the arrangement does not seem to have been changed. The last case was that of Thomas, earl of Stafford. He was 18 when he inherited in 1386, and was again granted joint wardship of his own lands, this time with Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, John, lord Neville, and William de Beauchamp. It is worthy of note that two of these three held the Mortimer wardship, and the two wardships overlapped for the three years of Thomas Stafford’s minority, although despite these grants, Thomas de Beauchamp was soon to become a bitter enemy of Richard II.

We will now examine the level of society from which the guardians were drawn, and if that altered with the rank of the landowner whose lands were in wardship. Wardships were granted to people from a wide range of social levels, from minor clerks through to the heir to the throne. However, the largest group amongst the guardians were knights, representing forty two of the 108 guardians whose rank is known. Their service was spread across the entire period and all sizes of estates, from Sir William Beauchamp, who was granted joint wardship of the estates of the earls of Stafford in 1387, through to Sir John Devereux, who was awarded wardship of the fitz Waryn castle of Whittington (Shropshire) in 1392.

Members of the comital community feature much more strongly as guardians than they do as constables. Twenty eight of the 230 individuals granted wardships were members of the comital community as compared to thirty nine of the 1,733 constables. These twenty eight men were granted a total of thirty seven wardships. Of those thirty

13 20 February 1400, C.F.R. 1399-1405, p.48
16 C.F.R. 1383-1391, p.173
seven, only thirteen were not of the lands of fellow members of the comital community. Moreover, a high proportion of these thirteen wardships involved the lands of the parliamentary peerage, the next level of society. At least at this level, guardians received wardship of lands from their own level of society. To put this in context, twelve of these grants involved the lands of the Mortimer earls of March, only one short of all of the non-comital appointments.

Twenty six non-comital parliamentary peers were also granted wardships. They represent one in ten of guardians, with their grants spread evenly across the period. Like the comital community, the majority of their wardships were for the estates of fellow parliamentary peers and the comital community. Members of the royal household received a high proportion of wardships during the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV. Under Richard II, seventeen king’s knights were granted wardships that included castles, and were involved in over three quarters of such wardships. Amongst these men were royal favourites such as Simon Burley or William le Scrope. In contrast, under Henry IV only nine king’s knights received wardships, representing under half of the total castle related wardships of the reign. They were still the most important group involved in such wardships, but their involvement was not as heavy as it had been under Richard II.

We know the ages at which just under one quarter of appointments were received (see table 7-ix). As always with such data, we must remember that our information on dates of birth is biased towards tenants in chief and other senior figures such as parliamentary peers, but we have enough data to make some observations. The first point that must be made is that the three appointments made to men under twenty were grants of wardship to the heir himself. This is hardly surprising – we should not expect to find the underaged being given control of the estates of the underaged. However, as can be seen, there was a preference for younger men when wardships were granted. Just under one third of wardships were granted to men in their twenties, with the number of appointments decreasing with each decade. As the further breakdown shows, while the distribution of wardships during the 20s was even, the decline began at 35. This could suggest that wardship was seen as something to be done early in a career, perhaps to prove someone’s ability without any risk to royal lands or income. However, many guardians had experience as a constable before they gained wardships. Typical of this was John Giffard of Brimpsfield. He was constable of Dryslwyn castle (Carmarthen) from 1309 to 1312, before being granted the wardship of all Clare castles in Glamorgan. Likewise, Thomas de Percy had been constable of Newcastle Emlyn castle (Carmarthen) for three years when he was granted the wardship of Whittington castle (Shropshire) in 1393. A more likely reason for the relatively young age of guardians was that they would thus be young enough to fulfil the duty until the heir came of age.

Table 7-ix: Age of appointment to wardships

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age appointed</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-19</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.270
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age appointed</th>
<th>Men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only twenty individuals were awarded the wardship of castles from different families’ estates, with no individual holding castles in wardship from more than three families (see table 7-x). With only just over one such wardship available per year, this low level of multiple wardships should not come as a surprise. It is also worth remembering that the number of castles involved could sometimes be very large, especially where the Mortimer estates were concerned. In keeping with the scarcity of these wardships, the rank of those people awarded them was significantly higher than normal, with the future Henry V, two queens, six earls and two dukes forming over half of this group. Clearly, such wardships were seen as valuable and to be spread about.

Of these twenty individuals, eight were granted their wardships during the reign of Richard II and six during that of Henry IV. This is very much a phenomenon of their two reigns, and was very rare before 1377, with only three such people during the entire reign of Edward III. For Richard II’s reign, this would seem to support the view that his rule was dependant on a smaller group of close associates than was the case for earlier monarchs, although those appointments made during the minority of Richard II must be excluded from this as must those made when Richard had lost control of his own government. Indeed, when this is taken into account, only those appointments made after Richard’s declaration of full age in 1389 should be considered. Employing these criterion, only one man, William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire, was certainly awarded more than one wardship by Richard II. The first of the two, that of all the Mortimer castles in north Wales, was a valuable appointment, and part of the rearrangement of the Mortimer wardship in 1398. The second, while much less valuable, was more controversial. Scrope was granted the wardship of Knaresborough castle (Yorkshire) within a fortnight of Bolingbroke’s exile being extended for life, this despite the castle already having been granted to Katherine Sywnford. As this is the only definite case of Richard II having personally granted two wardships to the same person, it does not provide evidence for the narrow basis of his support. However, as a example of Richard’s rule in the last years of his reign, it does show how he was at least by then starting to depend on a small group of men.

In most of these cases, the estates being granted were those of the comital community. Of the forty three estates affected, only eleven were from outside that group, and of that eleven, two were during the minority of Laurence Hastings, created earl of Pembroke in 1339 after he had come of age, while a further two came after the execution of Thomas Despenser, briefly earl of Gloucester. Not only were the people being awarded multiple wardships members of the comital community, so were the landowners whose estates they were being granted.

18 11 August 1398, C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.408
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guardian</th>
<th>Family in wardship</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick</td>
<td>Mortimer</td>
<td>1383-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Beauchamp</td>
<td>Hastings</td>
<td>1378-1386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Erpyngham</td>
<td>Mortimer</td>
<td>1399-1402-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>de la Pole</td>
<td>1403-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clare</td>
<td>1415-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Giffard, of Brimpshfield</td>
<td>Audley</td>
<td>1316-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>earls of Stafford</td>
<td>1392-1397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bohun heiress</td>
<td>1376-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry V</td>
<td>Mortimer</td>
<td>1407-1409-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roger de Mortimer, earl of March</td>
<td>Mortimer</td>
<td>1327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Avenel</td>
<td>1355-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ros of Helmsley</td>
<td>1355-1356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Greystoke</td>
<td>-1359-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John lord Neville</td>
<td>Mortimer</td>
<td>1383-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>earls of Stafford</td>
<td>1387-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland</td>
<td>Mortimer</td>
<td>1383-, 1400-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strabolgi</td>
<td>1373-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>earl of Nottingham</td>
<td>-1378-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Percy, Hotspur</td>
<td>Mortimer</td>
<td>1400-1401-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Umfraville</td>
<td>1403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire</td>
<td>Mortimer</td>
<td>1398-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lancaster</td>
<td>1399-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roger Springehoese,</td>
<td>Mortimer</td>
<td>-1282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>earls of Arundel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Symond</td>
<td>Valence</td>
<td>1325-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hastings</td>
<td>1331-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh Waterton</td>
<td>Talbot</td>
<td>1402-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mowbray</td>
<td>1399-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland</td>
<td>Dacre</td>
<td>1399-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Faucomberge heiress</td>
<td>1408-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Wykes</td>
<td>fitz Waryn</td>
<td>1378-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward duke of York</td>
<td>Own lands</td>
<td>1402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Despenser</td>
<td>1403-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mortimer</td>
<td>1398-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>earls of Stafford</td>
<td>1402-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Despenser</td>
<td>1405-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen Joanna</td>
<td>Edmund de Langley</td>
<td>1348-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen Philippa</td>
<td>John of Gaunt</td>
<td>1342-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was a significant level of overlap between guardians and constables (see table 7-xi). 39% of guardians also served as constables. Within the overall group of guardians this overlap was evenly spread, including both major figures such as William le Scrope, and minor men such as John Smert, who was granted the wardship of Builth castle (Brecknock) in 1407.
Table 7-xi: Constable service by guardians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of castles</th>
<th>Individuals</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>201</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only just over one in four of the individuals granted wardships owned castles of their own (see table 7-xii). Clearly, castle ownership was even less of a criterion for the recipient of wardship than service as a constable was. However, amongst the fifty three castle owners, the level of castle ownership was unusually high, with an average of six castles each, as compared to the overall average of 1.6 castles for all castle owners. This reflects the presence amongst this group of men such as John of Gaunt, along with all five Mortimer earls of March. However, it does not alter the conclusion that castle ownership was not an important factor in appointment to wardships across the period as a whole. It is worthy of note that thirty four of these castle owners also served as constables, giving them three separate forms of contact with castles.

Table 7-xii: Castles owned by guardians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castles Owned</th>
<th>Individuals</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>201</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some estates fell into wardship more than once during our period (see table 7-xiii). An examination of these estates allows us to examine how such appointments changed across the period. Nine family estates spend twenty five or more years in wardship across this period, and it is on those estates that this section will focus. They varied in size from the single castle estate of the fitz Waryns to the great estates of the Mortimer earls of March and provide a wide range of lands, both in time and geographically.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Wardships</th>
<th>Years in wardship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Audley</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaumont</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clifford</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Despenser</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hastings</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mortimer, earls of March</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ros of Helmsley</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stafford</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fitz Waryn</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While both the Hastings and fitz Waryn estates were in wardship for longer, neither of them could match the size and spread of the estates of the Mortimer earls of March, whose estates were still in wardship for over one third of this period. Within the Mortimer family, the most interesting case is that of Edmund Mortimer, whose minority lasted from 1398 until 1413 when he was declared to be of age. This minority spans the fall of Richard II and the rebellions against Henry IV that followed, and the fate of his estates during that period highlight some features of the period. The initial arrangement made by Richard II was to split the wardship of Mortimer's lands between three men. John Holland, earl of Huntingdon gained south Wales, William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire, north Wales, and Edward, duke of Aumale and future duke of York, England. Holland and Scrope were amongst Richard's most loyal followers, and both died defending his cause. This arrangement was typical of Richard's last years, as his circle of trusted allies became smaller and smaller. After the fall of Richard II, the arrangement was changed, and in March 1400 wardship of the entire Mortimer estate was granted to Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland. Despite this reward, Percy's loyalty was short-lived, and his rebellion was even claimed to be in favour of Mortimer's own claim to the throne. Finally, after the fall of Percy, a new arrangement was made. This time the Mortimer castles were kept separate, and not even Prince Henry was granted wardship of more than three. After having been held by four of the most important men of the country, most of the men granted Mortimer castles in this final period were of much lower rank, men such as John Smert, esquire, who held the wardship of Builth castle (Brecknock) from 15 March 1407. This sudden and dramatic change must have been the result of deliberate policy, and shows Henry IV attempting to reduce the danger posed by the Mortimer claim.

The wardship of Thomas Mowbray, earl Marshal (1399-1405) shows a similar change. Soon after Henry IV's seizure of power, two appointments were made, Framlingham castle (Suffolk) to Sir Thomas de Erpingham, and Bramber castle (Sussex) to Thomas de Tutbury. These were very different figures. Erpingham was the under-chamberlain of the household, constable of Dover castle (Kent) and a close supporter of Henry IV, while Tutbury was simply a clerk. This arrangement was and 1403, when wardship of the earl Marshal's castles were redistributed. Barton Seagrave castle (Northampton), Bramber castle (Sussex) and Swansea (Glamorgan) were jointly granted to nine different men, two of whom were involved in all three castles. It is notable that Framlingham, in secure hands, was not involved in this new arrangement. The men involved in this new arrangement were largely insignificant, including two clerks, two esquires and only one knight. This is the same approach we saw with the Mortimer castles above, and may suggest that some concern was already present about the earl Marshal.
On occasion, guardians were appointed to a castle even though the heir was already of age. One such case was that of Edward of York. When his father died, on 1 August 1402, Edward was already 29 years old. However, on 6 August, he was granted joint wardship of his own lands, with Robert Eggerley and William Gyloth, both clerks.\textsuperscript{19} This arrangement only lasted until 5 November 1402, when Edward's inheritance was confirmed.\textsuperscript{20} Gyloth was one of the canons at Windsor Castle, and it is safe to assume that he was close to the king during this period. Here, the mechanism of wardship was being used to allow Edward access to his lands while the normal process of inheritance was in progress.

Land could also come into wardship if the owner was considered to be mad. The first such case in this period was that of John Walerand, owner of Stogursey Castle (Somerset). He was first mentioned, as an ‘idiot’ in 1301,\textsuperscript{21} and again in 1308, when the wardship of Stogursey Castle was granted to Robert fitz Payn.\textsuperscript{22} Fitz Payn was a significant figure, by this time in his fifties, who was summoned to Parliament from 1299 to 1314,\textsuperscript{23} and in 1308 was serving both as constable of Corfe Castle (Dorset), and Winchester Castle (Hampshire). Unfortunately, we have no further information about the ownership of Stogursey Castle in our period, or about the death of John Walerand. We have more information about a second case of madness, that of Thomas Faucomberge, owner of Skelton Castle (Yorkshire). He was described as being ‘not of sound mind, but with lucid intervals’ on 17 August 1403,\textsuperscript{24} and Robert and John Conyers, two brothers, were granted custody of the castle. The Conyers had no other connections with castles and were otherwise obscure individuals. However, after the death of Faucomberge in 1407, the wardship of his one year old daughter Joan (evidence of a lucid moment) was granted to Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland.\textsuperscript{25} When the castle next occurs in the record, it was being delivered to William Neville, who had married Joan (evidence of the value to a family of wardship). What these two cases show is the lower value of these wardships. With the current owner alive and with the potential to survive for some years, wardship of their estates was more of a job than a reward. However, the moment the owner died, the castle became available again, and at that point the value of the wardship increased, as can be seen by the difference in rank and prominence of Ralph Neville over the Conyers brothers at Skelton Castle. This clearly demonstrated the value of an heiress to the family granted her wardship.

From the above study it can be seen that wardship could present the king with a problem. The granting of wardship over great estates such as the Mortimer lands could substantially increase the wealth and thus power of the individual to whom they were granted. With this in mind, one can see why the kings of England during this period preferred to treat castles in wardship on an individual basis, with guardians resembling constables to the extent that they are sometimes indistinguishable in government records.

\textsuperscript{19} 6 Aug 1403, \textit{C.F.R. I399-1405}, p.164
\textsuperscript{20} 5 Nov 1403, \textit{C.F.R. I399-1405}, p.186
\textsuperscript{21} \textit{L.P.M. IV}, no.457
\textsuperscript{22} 8 May 1308, \textit{C.C.R. 1307-1313}, p.33
\textsuperscript{23} \textit{G.E.C. V}, p.499
\textsuperscript{24} \textit{C.P.R. 1401-1405}, p.255
\textsuperscript{25} 9 September 1407, \textit{L.P.M. XIX}, p.386; 2 March 1408, \textit{C.F.R. 1408-1413}, p.103
Chapter Eight – Staff and Garrisons

Associated with castles on a day to day basis were the castle staff. Unlike constables or castle owners, these individuals were rarely of any importance outside their local community and their careers away from these posts can not be recreated with any degree of certainty. This chapter will attempt to deal with those people, however small in number, whose work was linked to the castle rather than to the household of the castle’s owner. It would seem clear that every occupied castle in the country would have had some sort of permanent staff, ranging from the relatively large numbers of people working in the Tower of London, down to perhaps a single porter and a watchman if only to keep out looters. Even more than for constables, our information about the existence of these people is limited to royal castles, and even there it is at best patchy. However, there is enough information for some comment to be made.

At the greatest royal castles there were often extensive staffs. Detailed wage lists have survived for Windsor castle (Berkshire), showing us at least ten permanent members of staff associated with the castle, including chaplains, gatekeepers and watchmen,1 while at the Tower of London we find armourers, smiths and the mint, not to mention the king’s menagerie.2 Beyond these regular posts are those that appear with limited frequency, such as the keeper of the bed at the Tower, who appears in the printed records once, in 1409.3 Beyond even this level, one would expect to find a domestic staff – even at the smallest of royal castles one can not imagine that the constable’s duties included cooking. However, information about this level of staff has not survived, or has become so mixed up with household accounts that it is impossible to disentangle. Whatever their number, the castle would have been more important to these people that to the constable or his deputy. For these permanent staff, the castle was likely to have been a main source of income, and perhaps also of housing. Beyond these more or less permanent members of staff there are two more groups who would have had some association with castles. First, the household of the castle’s owner, whether the king or a private landowner, would have spent much of its time in castles. When the castle owner was in residence the castle would have come alive and the contrast when the household left must have been startling. However, these individuals were not tied to the castle, but to the owner and so do not fall within this study. Second, a castle must have provided work for people in the local community, especially for local craftsmen. However, these people were also not permanently attached to the castle, and so once again fall outside the scope of this study.

Very little information regarding wage levels has survived (see table 8-i). The best source is the frequent wage lists given for Windsor castle (Berkshire), which provide us with a detailed range of wages. Castle accounts are often more concerned with receipts than expenses, while the expenses recorded rarely concern staff pay.4 We are thus left with scattered references to individual posts and appointments. A clue to why this is comes from the financial arrangements of the constables of Dover castle (Kent), where the constable was given a fixed sum with which to pay for the castle

1 For an example see C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.34
2 See volume two for lists and references for these posts
3 C.P.R. 1408-1413, p.104
4 for a fine example of this see Sharp, Margaret, ‘Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle’ Bristol Record Society 34 (1982)
Thus we would not expect to find accounts for detailed staff payments. Those payments we know about can be split into three general levels, at roughly £3, £7 and £18 per year respectively. At the lowest level we find gatekeepers, porters, watchmen and gardeners. In the middle level we find more skilled workers such as the carpenter at Windsor castle. Finally, at the top level we find the chief forester at Windsor castle (Berkshire), and the maker of the bows in the Tower of London. Some posts appear to have had a standard wage. The clearest example of this are the gatekeepers, who were paid 2d. per day, the only exception being the gatekeeper of Moor End castle (Northampton) in 1364 who received 3d. For most other posts our information is too limited to make even tentative suggestions. However, we can be sure from these wage levels that the castle watchmen at 2d. or 3d. per day were at best on a par with basic footmen, rather than men at arms.

Table 8-i: Sample of staff wage levels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Post</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Wage Per Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bamborough (Northumberland)</td>
<td>gatekeeper</td>
<td>1345</td>
<td>2d/day 60s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bamborough</td>
<td>gatekeeper</td>
<td>1362</td>
<td>2d/day 60s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hertford</td>
<td>gatekeeper</td>
<td>1363</td>
<td>2d/day 60s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moor End (Northants)</td>
<td>gatekeeper</td>
<td>1364</td>
<td>3d/day 90s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newcastle (Northumb.)</td>
<td>gatekeeper</td>
<td>1352</td>
<td>2d/day 60s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portchester (Hampshire)</td>
<td>porter</td>
<td>1399</td>
<td>3d/day 90s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portchester</td>
<td>groom for porter</td>
<td>1399</td>
<td>1.5d/day 45s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portchester</td>
<td>artiller</td>
<td>1399</td>
<td>6d/day 180s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portchester</td>
<td>watchman</td>
<td>1399</td>
<td>3d/day 90s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tower of London</td>
<td>maker of the bows</td>
<td>1353</td>
<td>12d/day 365s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tower of London</td>
<td>office of haubergery</td>
<td>1363</td>
<td>6d/day 182s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tower of London</td>
<td>keeper of wardrobe</td>
<td>1344</td>
<td>12d/day 365s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester (Hampshire)</td>
<td>chaplain</td>
<td>1275</td>
<td>6d/day 50s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor (Berkshire)</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
<td>1273</td>
<td>6d/day 182s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>chaplain</td>
<td>1273</td>
<td>50s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>chaplain</td>
<td>1275</td>
<td>50s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>chaplains</td>
<td>1279</td>
<td>50s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>chief forester</td>
<td>1279</td>
<td>12d/day 365s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>clerks</td>
<td>1279</td>
<td>3d/day 90s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>door keepers</td>
<td>1279</td>
<td>2d/day 60s.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 13 October 1283, C.P.R. 1281-1292, p.83
6 C.P.R. 1343-1345, p.444
7 C.P.R. 1361-1364, p.267
8 C.P.R. 1361-1364, p.402
9 C.P.R. 1361-1364, p.516
10 C.P.R. 1350-1354, p.366
11 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.46
12 ibid.
13 ibid.
14 ibid.
15 C.P.R. 1350-1354, p.418
16 C.P.R. 1361-1364, p.344
17 C.P.R. 1343-1345, p.353
18 C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.212
19 C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.34
20 ibid.
21 C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.156
22 C.C.R. 1279-1288, p.2
23 ibid.
24 ibid.
25 ibid.
The post of porter of Bamburgh castle (Northumberland) was unusual in that it was filled through a specialised form of castle guard. At his death in 1342, Robert Porter of Bamburgh held sixty six acres of arable land and five acres of meadow in Bamburgh, by tenure of providing a porter for the castle gate. Sixty years earlier, another Robert le Porter of Bamburgh had been porter of the castle, and had also provided a watchman for the castle, and here we can see a minor post that had effectively become hereditary. After the death of Robert, the post left his family. In 1345, we find a Thomas de Bamburgh being removed from the post and the land, because he had used false means to gain the grant, and after that the post was filled by appointment, with the land included as a benefit.41

There are two posts that appear to have been standard, at least at the royal castles. The first was that of porter or gatekeeper. This post is the most frequently occurring of these staff posts and reasonable lists of these men can be compiled for some royal castles, from Carlisle where we know the names of seven such men, to Windsor, where the post reached its most varied form, and as well as the gatekeeper of the castle, we find the gatekeeper of the tower gate of the castle and the gatekeeper of the park. This post was often filled by local men, as at Bamburgh castle (Northumberland), where three of the six known gatekeepers were described as 'de Bamburgh'. The second standard post was that of watchman. Here we rarely have

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26 C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.156  
27 C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.34  
28 C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.156  
29 C.C.R. 1279-1288, p.2  
30 C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.34  
31 C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.156  
32 C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.34  
33 C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.156  
34 C.C.R. 1279-1288, p.2  
35 C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.156  
36 C.C.R. 1279-1288, p.2  
37 ibid.  
38 C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.156  
39 C.C.R. 1279-1288, p.2  
40 C.P.R. 1361-1364, p.499  
41 C.P.R. 1343-1345, p.444
named individuals, but rather a series of references to groups of anonymous watchmen.  

At Windsor castle (Berkshire) there was a gardener. At the start of the period, this post appears to have been very directly linked to the garden, and men such as Edmund le Gardener or Master Fulk held the post. However, by the 1330s, this post was used as a reward. From 1336, the post of gardener, with the herbage, was held by John de Windsor, a yeoman of the household. In 1338-40, Windsor can be found serving as paymaster for the Isle of Wight, and he served as constable of Shrewsbury castle (Shropshire) from 1342 until his death in 1365, at a point when Shrewsbury castle had been split from the sheriff of Shropshire and Staffordshire and was granted to a series of members of the household. It is hard to imagine Windsor gardening in person.

Perhaps the most unusual post that we have information about is that of keeper of the leopards, lions and on occasion camels at the Tower of London, an early zoo keeper. Not only do we have a good list of the men serving in the post, we can also trace, at least in part, the number of animals involved. Eleven men fill this post between 1313 and 1414. The first two were from overseas: first, Peter Fabre of Montpelier in 1313-1315, who was paid 1½d. per day to look after a single lion, then Berenger de Aragon, for whom the pay was increased to 12d. per day. This was in addition to money allocated for the care of the animals. After these two, the remaining nine men appear to have been English, to whom the post was often granted for life, with even those men who were not appointed for life actually dying in the post. Two of these men also held other posts in the Tower. William de Garderobe was already the yeoman of the king's armour in the Tower when he was appointed keeper of the lions in 1369, and after his death in 1381, John de Evesham was appointed to both posts. However, this link was not further maintained.

As was seen in chapter six, many royal castles played a part in local administration, as the headquarters of the sheriff or as centre of a hundred, and those roles must have required staff. However, very little evidence of such staff has survived. Even the published accounts of the constables of Bristol castle (Gloucester), linked at the time to the barton of Bristol, do not include any reference to such staff, despite including detailed some detailed pay lists.

Many castles contained a chapel of some sort, ranging from a small private altar to the elaborate establishment created at Windsor castle by Edward III. Although many of the lesser chapels would probably have only been in use while the owner's household was present, some of the larger castles, both private and royal, employed permanent chaplains. The most important of these chapels was that built by Edward III at Windsor castle as part of the Order of the Garter. Here there was an entire church establishment, dominating the lower ward of the castle. The king was not alone in maintaining such large chapels. The Black Prince's chapel at Wallingford had a staff consisting of the dean, the chaplain to the dean, six chaplains, six clerks and four choristers, more men

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42 25 April 1287, C.C.R. 1279-1288, p.447
44 C.C.R. 1313-1318, pp.4, 60, 124 & 249
45 C.C.R. 1333-1337, pp.412 & 611
46 C.P.R. 1367-1370, p.226; C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.50
47 Margaret Sharp, 'Accounts of the Constables of Bristol Castle', Bristol Record Society 34 (1982)

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than would be found in many castles. 48 This scale of chapel can not have been common—expense must have limited chapels on such a scale to the higher reaches of the comital community and the crown. Many of the permanent chaplains at private castles are only known to us through appointments made when the castle was in wardship, leaving the king with the authority to appoint the chaplain. Not all castle chapels were in the gift of the castle's owner. Like any other church post, that of castle chaplain could be held by an external body, often a monastery, as was the case at Basing castle (Hampshire), where control of the chapel was held by Shirbourn Priory, and only appeared in royal control during the wars with France, as Shirbourn was a daughter house of a foreign monastery. 49 Control of appointments at Bytham castle (Lincolnshire) was held by the bishops of Lincoln. 50 The chaplain is thus one of the few men within a castle whose appointments regularly fell outside the control of the castle owner.

Our information on the staff of private castles is frustratingly limited. The majority of surviving accounts are household records and rarely shed any light on castles. Only detailed estate accounts provide any information, and that is limited. The best printed information is that provided by two early ‘compti’, one of Henry de Lacy for 1295-1296 and 1304-1305 and another of Edmund, earl of Cornwall for 1296-1297. 51 On the Lacy estates, the only staff mentioned beyond the constables are the porters of Halton castle (Cheshire) and Clitheroe castle (Lancashire). 52 Similarly for the earl of Cornwall we only find a janitor at Berkhamsted castle (Herts.). 53 While other estate officials are mentioned, they appear to occupy posts common to all or most manors covered by these documents. Clearly private castles had no more visible staff than their royal equivalents.

An inevitable result of the use of castles as estate centres is that many castles would have contained large sums of money. This could be increased in the larger estates by the use of particular castles as a treasury for a larger area. Thus at the time of his death in 1376, Richard fitzAlan, earl of Arundel, had £29,987 stored in Arundel castle (Sussex), probably with more at Holt castle (Denbigh) and Lewes castle (Lewes). 54 Even storage in a castle was no guarantee of safety. In 1413 a gang broke into Sandal castle (Yorkshire) and stole £5,000 worth of goods, and this is not an entirely isolated case. 55 Unfortunately we do not know if Sandal castle had more staff than was normal at this point.

At the Tower of London and Windsor castle (Berkshire) it is possible to look for overlap between these posts. However, there are very few such cases to be found. That between the keepers of the lions and the yeoman of the king's armour has been mentioned above, and most other apparent overlaps are between very similar posts, as was the case for John de Flete, who occurs as both keeper of the exchange and keeper.

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48 30 September 1352, B.P.R. IV, p.65
49 8 November 1348, C.P.R. 1348-1350, p.203
50 13 June 1291, 'Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, vol. 1', Lincoln Record Society, 27 (1931), p.81-3
51 P.A. Lyons, trans., 'Two Compti of the Lancashire and Cheshire Manors of Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, XXIV and XXXIII Edward 1', Chetham Society, 112 (1884); Margaret Midgley, ed., 'Ministers' Accounts of the earldom of Cornwall, 1296-1297', Camden Society, 3rd series, 66 (1942)
52 Lyons, pp.126, 154 & 174
53 Midgley, p.21
55 C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.65
of the jewels in the Tower in 1344. The same is true at Windsor castle (Berkshire), where despite the many posts that occur, no individual appears to have held more than one post. Only in the works can such overlaps be found in any numbers. Taking this into account it would appear that the men appointed to these staff posts were appointed largely for practical reasons rather than as a form of royal largesse.

* * *

A more transient element at most castles was the garrison. Although there are examples of castles being defended by minute numbers of men, when serious conflict was expected, sizeable forces could be deployed in castles. Dover castle was said to require eight hundred and thirty two men to man the battlements during Edward III’s reign. While there are many garrison lists preserved in the P.R.O., many of them were for occupied castles in Scotland. In England, the castles of the northern border are the best represented, although scattered lists survive for many castles. It is clear that large garrisons were not maintained in peacetime. Castles in peacetime were staffed, not garrisoned. However, for some castles there was no peacetime. The simmering hostilities with Scotland are reflected in the size of the garrisons found at Berwick castle (Northumberland) and Carlisle castle (Cumberland). The largest was the 436 men located at Carlisle in 1314, but garrisons of 100 men were common in these castles, and Carlisle still contained 196 men in 1385. Similar sized forces can be found at Dover castle in 1339, and at Pembroke castle in 1377. However, these represent the largest garrisons, and smaller forces, such as the thirty men guarding Windsor castle (Berkshire) from August 1338 to August 1339 were more common. There is very little evidence for the size of private castle garrisons. In 1318, Thomas of Lancaster ordered the constable of Bolingbroke castle (Lincolnshire) to select a dozen trusted tenants to defend the castle. During the troubles of 1381 John of Gaunt employed more conventional troops, and had seven archers at Skenfrith castle (Monmouth), and twenty men at arms and archers at Tickhill castle (Yorkshire). While not a great force, the Tickhill garrison at least was significantly larger than normal peacetime staffing levels.

As important as a garrison’s size was its composition (see table 8-ii). Missile troops only represent one third of garrison troops, with one in five garrisons containing none at all. This would suggest that at least some of these garrisons were using the castles as a convenient base rather than being devoted entirely to defending the castle. Amongst the missile troops archers are the most common. Crossbowmen are rare, and only appear early in the period, last appearing at Bridgewater castle (Somerset) in 1323. A common element in northern garrisons were the hobelars, representing one fifth all garrison troops. They were very much a northern phenomenon, with their most

56 H.K.W. II, p.635
58 C.P.R 1385-1389, p.10
59 E.101/22/15
60 C.P.R 1377-1381, p.6
61 E.101/21/22
63 J.G.R 1379-1383, no.531
64 ibid. 535
southerly appearance being at Skipton castle (Yorkshire) in 1322-1323. This was a particularly interesting garrison. Over the course of six months from September 1322 until March 1323 it fluctuated repeatedly, containing a mere ten men for much of the period, with three larger forces of up to one hundred men appearing for less than two of the six months. This could suggest that the castle was being used as staging post for troops moving north, or that it was the centre for patrols, returning to the castle intermittently. In some cases local townsfolk could provide part of the garrison. This is best documented at Corfe castle (Dorset). In 1322, twelve men from Corfe town spent forty nights guarding the castle, while in 1381 an inquisition into the rights associated with the castle reported that 'When there is war in the neighbourhood of the castle the tenants of the town should be at the castle for forty days at their own charge for the defence thereof as service for the tenure of their lands.'

Table 8-ii: Composition of garrisons in English and Welsh castles, 1272-1422

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Troop Type</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men at arms</td>
<td>34.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Footmen</td>
<td>12.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobelars</td>
<td>19.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archers and Crossbowmen</td>
<td>33.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The presence of a garrison could bring with it a new official. During the Welsh wars of Edward I, captains appear at several frontline castles. This was clearly a military post and separate from the constable. It occurred at Chester castle in 1276, where John and William Beauchamp were captains of the garrison, while Guncelin Badlesmere was justice of Chester, and at Montgomery castle in 1282, where Roger de Mortimer was captain of the garrison, while Bogo de Knovill was in the middle of a twenty year spell as constable of the castle. Knovill was also justiciar of Wales and this appointment was probably intended to ensure that someone was physically present at Montgomery at a time of war.

The nature and size of the permanent staff varies widely from castle to castle. The most striking contrast is between Windsor castle and the Tower of London. The staff at Windsor reflected its role as a royal country residence, with park keepers and gardeners on the staff, in contrast to which the Tower of London looked almost industrial, with a complement of smiths, carpenters, a royal mint and weapon makers. Compared to these places, most other castles appear to have been almost empty. However, when their owner was in residence, their household would have filled the castle. Moreover, this period saw the great household become more and more sedentary. In 1309, the household of Gilbert de Clare moved every two weeks. In contrast, at the end of the period the duke of York can be found spending two third of a year at Hanley castle (Worcestershire). Many castles would have been bustling with life for long periods of time, while others became increasingly silent.

66 ibid. no.961
67 E.372/176 m.67
68 I.Misc IV, no.147
69 See appendix fourteen for references
Chapter Nine - Conclusion

Returning to our original question, we can now see that the Grays of Heton were not typical of the castle community. The castle community can be split into five main groups, with very little overlap between those groups. The Grays were amongst the small group of men who fall into more than one of these groups. Indeed, as a family they fall into three. The first group within the castle community is the castle owners. This was a large and diverse group, containing 681 private individuals, as well as many parts of the church and the king. It included sons of the king, such as Edmund of Lancaster, owner of fourteen castles, representatives of long established families, such as the de Vere earls of Oxford, who owned the same group of three castles throughout this period, respected supporters of the king, such as John de Cobham, a king's knight of Richard II from 1378, parliamentary peer intermittently from 1355 to 1406, and the builder of Cooling castle (Kent), down to Roland de Thirlwall, an obscure member of the Northumbrian gentry, and owner of Thirwall castle (Northumberland) in 1415. The Grays appear in this group as the owners of Heaton Coldstream castle (Northumberland) and Wark on Tweed castle (Northumberland).

The second group is the sheriff-constables. This group contains over 550 of the 1,396 known constables of royal castles, and is the group that overlaps least with any other group. No more than fifty of these men were castle owners. Those castle owners who did serve as sheriff-constables were often unusually senior figures already. One such man was John de Faucomberge of Skelton, who had inherited Skelton castle (Yorkshire) at the death of his father in 1319. By the time he became sheriff of York in 1341, he had been a parliamentary peer for six years, something he held in common with four of the other six castle owners to serve as sheriff of York. Yorkshire saw by far the largest number of castle owners serving as sheriff. More normal was Norfolk, where only one of the sixty three sheriff-constables owned a castle. In England, custody of a castle was merely one of the duties performed by some sheriffs, for some of our period. In contrast, in both Poitou and Hungary the reverse was the case. From the middle of the twelfth century, Poitou had been divided into fifty or more administrative units, known as castellanies, and consisting of a castle and the territory surrounding it, in which the castellan exercised military, judicial and economic powers, in theory in the name of the count of Poitou, but increasingly for their own benefit. Control was re-established by Count Alphonse (1241-1271), who separated the castles from their lands. The old castellans retained their lands, but the new constables, appointed by the count, gained their old administrative powers. A similar situation prevailed in Hungary, where in the early fourteenth century royal castellans, who had disappeared, were reinstalled in many castles, including privately owned castles, where they had specific judicial and military powers, and worked alongside the castle’s owner. The individuals appointed as castellans by the Angevin kings were more senior figures that the English sheriffs. They were the king’s most trusted men, and included knights of the court, crown retainers

2 G.E.C. III, p.344
3 G.E.C. V, p.271
5 ibid., p.42
The groups of men that in England and Wales were appointed to independent royal castles.

The third group is those men who served as constables of the independent royal castles. This is the largest group within this study, containing over 900 men. It contains almost every man who served at three or more castles, although it does contain nearly 600 men who only served at a single castle. It also contains over 100 castle owners, concentrated at the more important royal castles, such as Dover castle, (thirteen castle owners from thirty constables), and the Tower of London (ten from thirty). This is in part explained by the presence of members of the comital community, such as Thomas de Holland, earl of Kent, constable of the Tower from 1387 to 1392 and owner of five castles, but does include less senior castle owners, such as John Darcy, the son, constable of the Tower from 1347 to 1351, who owned Whorlton castle (Yorkshire). Darcy was unusual, in that he had also served as sheriff-constable of York in 1327-8, and is thus one of the few men to feature in all three of these major groups. Thomas Gray of Heton (d.1415) falls into this group as constable of Bamborough castle (Northumberland) from 1404 to 1408.

The fourth group is the constables of private castles. Only seventy five members of this group are known by name, although this must represent a tiny minority of the actual group. This is a very self contained group, and only seven of its members appear in any other group, all of whom served as royal constables. The Grays of Heton fall into this group as constables of Norham castle (Northumberland) for the bishops of Durham, over at least three generations.

The fifth, and least coherent group, contains the remaining staff of these castles. These men – the gatekeepers, porters and watchmen – are as badly documented as the private constables, although we can prove their existence in many cases where we do not know their names. Amongst those we do know, there is no overlap with the previous four groups, and very little between posts at the same castle. The Grays of Heton do not appear to have fallen into this group. These last two groups appear to have been very much self contained.

The castle community can also be analysed in terms of rank and status that would have been of meaning to contemporaries. At the top comes the king. Despite the lack of royal castle building after Edward I, with only Queensborough castle (Kent) built after his reign, the number of castles under direct royal control fluctuated repeatedly during this period. Very few royal castles remained in the King’s unimpeded control. Many were either linked to a county, held by the queen, or by the heir to the throne. Even Edward I’s great new fortresses in north Wales were soon held by the Prince of Wales, and not the King. It is perhaps not a coincidence that the period of stability under Edward III coincided with the greatest concentration of castles in the hand of the royal family. The Black Prince and John of Gaunt each controlled over twenty five castles, giving Edward III and his family control over an unprecedented number of castles.

Our period saw the nature of the comital community change dramatically. In 1272, the earls were either members of the royal family, such as Edmund of Lancaster,
brother of the new king, or representatives of long established families, such as Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford. All of these men were castle owners, and even de Vere, the poorest of the earls, owned Hedingham castle (Oxford), site of one of the largest Norman keeps. During our period, the comital community became more fractured. New titles appeared, while a series of men, such as Andrew Harcley, earl of Carlisle, or William de Montague, earl of Salisbury, were granted titles for their service to the king. Not all of these newly titled men owned or gained castles. Not even the Beauforts, half brothers of Henry IV, became castle owners, despite their prominence after 1399. By 1422, it was perfectly acceptable for members of the comital community not to be great castle owners.

The non-comital parliamentary peerage also changed during our period. Initially, summons to Parliament had not been hereditary, but by the end of our period they quite clearly were. This may help explain the decline of the non-comital parliamentary peerage as both castle owners and constables. In 1300, fifty three castles were owned by parliamentary peers, while by 1400 that had fallen to only thirty three. Likewise, the number of parliamentary peers appointed as constables halved, from one per year under Edward III, to one every two years after his reign. When the membership of parliament had been in the king’s control, summons by summons, it is only natural that those men considered important enough to receive a summons would also be those men considered suitable to hold important posts. Once membership of parliament was inherited, that link no longer automatically existed, and the son of a trusted member of parliament was not necessarily trusted himself. However, the reverse could be true. While Henry le Scrope of Masham received summons to Parliament from 1350 until 1391,8 only his son, Stephan, summoned from 1392 to 1406,9 had any connection to castles, serving as constable of Bamborough and Dunstanburgh castles (both Northumberland).

Our period saw the rise of knights as castle owners. One third of the castle builders whose rank we know were knights. At the same time, the number of knights was falling, reaching a suggested low of only 200 in 1430.10 Although exact figures are impossible to calculate, it is clear that just over 100 knights were castle owners in 1422. They also retained their importance as constables. All eight sheriff-constables of York after 1400 were knights, as were four of the six constables of Bamborough castle (Northumberland), while similar ratios can be found at nearly every castle.

This was also the period that saw the rise of the esquires. By 1430, they outnumbered knights by close to six to one, and had been accepted as being of gentle birth.11 Only one castle was definitely built by an esquire, Radcliffe castle (Lancashire), licenced by James de Radcliffe, esquire, in 1403.12 Very few castles were owned by esquires, even in 1422. One example of a castle that did move from knightly ownership into the possession of an esquire was Broughton castle (Oxfordshire). Until the death of Sir Thomas de Broughton in or shortly before 1377, its owners had been knights.13 However, from 1402 to 1443, the castle was owned by Thomas de Wykeham, esquire.14

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8 G.E.C. XI, p.561
9 ibid., p.564
11 ibid.
12 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.255
13 V.C.H. Oxfordshire, vol. 9, p.89
14 ibid.
Esquires also appear as constables, but not in great numbers. Only one constable of Bamborough castle was an esquire, two of Winchester castle (Hampshire) and none of Scarborough castle (Yorkshire). Whatever their social relationship to the knights, the esquires had not yet entered the castle community in 1422.

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Our period saw three main military threats to England. The most serious was from the Scots. Scottish raids were to trouble the northern borders for more than two hundred years after our period ended. The threat from Wales was intermittent during our period. After Edward I’s conquest, there was over a century of peace, before the shock of Glendower’s revolt. Finally, on occasion the war in France touched England. 1338 saw raids on Portsmouth and Southampton, and the capture of Guernsey, before English victories reduced the danger, but raids began again in the 1370s, and the 1380s saw a serious threat of invasion.

The reaction to each of these threats was different. The threat from the Scots resulted in the building of ninety castles in Northumberland alone. However, the majority of these were very minor buildings, built by the Northumbrian gentry. Royal castle building was limited to attempts to improve the defences of Berwick. Key castles on the border remained in private hands. Thus Norham castle (Northumberland) was owned by the bishops of Durham, while Wark on Tweed castle (Northumberland) was owned by the Montague earls of Salisbury from 1333. A similar situation prevailed in Gascony, where a combination of Angle-French hostilities and local private warfare resulted in a landscape covered with 1,000 castles and fortifications by 1337.

In contrast, the conquest of Wales was secured by the construction of Edward I’s great ring of castles surrounding Snowdonia. As a result, the patterns of castle ownership differed greatly between north and south Wales. South Wales was, and still is, ‘castle country’, with each step in the conquest marked by a series of castles, and each marcher lordship with its own cluster of castles (see map one). The comital community dominated south Wales. Of the nineteen men who owned ten or more castles, all but two owned some castles in Wales, while ten had more than half of their castle in Wales. Across our entire period, one quarter of the comital castles were located in Wales. In contrast, north Wales had relatively few castles, although after Edward I’s building program, those it did have were amongst the greatest in the country, soon to became part of the estates held by the heir to the throne.

The threat of French raids did not result in castle building on a similar scale to either of the above cases. Only Kent, with seven new castles, and Devon, with eight, saw significant levels of building. In contrast, the remaining four south coast counties saw only eight new castles in total. The king’s only contribution to this castle building was Queenborough castle (Kent), built by Edward III after 1361, on the approaches to London. The only other sign of any attempt on the part of the crown to improve the defences of the south coast was Edward I’s purchase of Carisbrooke castle (Hampshire) and the Isle of Wight, from Isabella de Forz. What building work was carried out by the

17 Edmund, earl of Cornwall and Edward, duke of York
18 see appendix twenty, p.222
king was domestic in nature, such as Edward I’s rebuilding of Leeds castle (Kent). Indeed, several royal castles on the south coast were falling into disrepair during this period, while Hastings castle (Sussex) actually left royal hands. For much of our period, the only royal castles on the south coast outside Hampshire and Kent were Pevensey castle (Sussex), and Corfe castle (Dorset), while many of the Hampshire castles seem to have been located with access to the royal forests in mind. The builders of private castles on the south coast were a little more senior than those of the northern border. Knights dominate, from Sir Stephan de Penchester, builder of Allington castle (Kent) in 1281, to Sir John Chideock, builder of Chideock castle (Dorset) in 1370.

There is no evidence that constables of south coast castles were changed to deal with invasion threats. During the serious invasion scare of 1386, the most recent appointment was that of Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, appointed constable of Queenborough castle (Kent) in 1385, while Sir John de Newenton at Rochester castle (Kent) and Sir Bernard Brocas at Odiham castle (Hampshire) had been in post since the 1370s. The constables of the independent royal castles on the south coast were an unusually senior group at this point, and also close to Richard II. In Hampshire, Brocas was joined by William de Montague, earl of Salisbury at Carisbrooke castle, and Sir Robert Bardolf at Portchester castle, while Simon Burley was constable of Dover castle. These were all men in Richard II’s favour. Burley and Oxford were soon to suffer for that favour, but Newenton remained in post until 1393, Bardolf until 1395, and Montague until 1396.

The concept of rendability was almost completely absent from England and Wales during this period. On occasion on the northern border royal troops can be found in private castles, as at Wark on Tweed castle (Northumberland) in 1384, when Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland and warden of the east March, was given the power to place a garrison in the castle, but even here control of the keep was left to John de Montague, the owner of the castle. Earlier, in 1380, John of Gaunt had been granted the authority to replace to constables of private castles on the northern border if they were not satisfactory, but there is no evidence that he used that power. The only clear example of a castle being taken entirely into royal hands was at Piel castle (Lancashire) in 1403, temporarily seized from Furness Abbey as they had failed to maintain it properly. In contrast, in Gascony, both the English and the French seized private castles, while the French kings made frequent use of their power to take private castles into their hands.

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Castles played a different role in each of the major political crisis of this period. However, some features are common to most or all crisis. Each crisis saw major changes in castle ownership, whether in the shape of mass forfeitures such as in 1322 or

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19 Fry, pp.156-7
20 See McKisack, p.208 for the extent of the royal forests in the early fourteenth century
21 Bates, p.341
24 Vale, p.138
1397, or as restorations, as after 1330 or 1399. Despite these upheavals, most castle owning families were resilient enough to survive, and even the most notorious of forfeitures, those of the Despensers in 1326 and Roger de Mortimer in 1330 did not, in the end, damage their families. Indeed, while Roger de Mortimer, first earl of March, owned eighteen castles, his great great grandson, Roger de Mortimer, third earl of March, owned twenty one castles at his death in 1398.26

Castles were central to the crises of 1321 and 1322. The Marchers revolt in 1321 consisted of a series of attacks on the Despenser’s castles in south Wales, and they easily captured at least seven, including Cardiff and Caerphilly castles (Glamorgan).27 Edward II’s counterattack began with a siege, of Leeds castle (Kent), before his allies in Wales captured the Marcher’s castles during the winter of 1321-2, forcing their surrender, and leaving Thomas of Lancaster without the support needed to resist Edward successfully. Edward’s victory left him with fifty two forfeited castles. However, he did not use his victory to increase the number of royal castles. As was seen above (p.34), even the estates of his greatest enemy, Thomas of Lancaster, were not entirely at his disposal, with both Lancaster’s brother Henry, and wife Alice de Lacy, having some claim upon them. The same was true for Roger de Mortimer of Wigmore. Of the castles he had inherited from his father, five were still held by his mother, who survived until 1334,28 outliving both her son and her grandson.29 Edward II granted Cefilllys castle (Radnor) to his brother, Edmund, earl of Kent, and Dolforwyn castle (Montgomery) to Edmund, earl of Arundel. That only left two – Wigmore castle (Hereford) and Ludlow castle (Shropshire) – that were still in Edward’s hands in 1326. The same was true after Richard II’s defeat of his enemies in 1397. Those castles whose fate can be traced between 1397 and 1399 were soon granted away to Richard’s allies. The appellants were not castle owners on the same scale as the rebels of 1322 – Warwick and Arundel forfeited eleven castles each, Gloucester only six. Of these twenty eight castles, the fate of sixteen is documented. As in 1322, there were prior claims on many of these castles. Four of Gloucester’s six went to his widow, Eleanor,30 including Pleshey castle (Essex), the site of Gloucester’s arrest, before passing to her daughter Anne, countess of Stafford, while Arundel’s widow Philippa gained his third of Abergavenny castle (Monmouth). Only three were retained by the king, and in each case, custody was granted to one of his closest supporters. Edward of Aumale, earl of Rutland, gained custody of Clun castle (Shropshire), William le Scrope of Holt castle (Denbigh), and Thomas lord Despenser of St. Briavels castle (Gloucester). Finally, ten castles were almost immediately given to Richard’s supporters. The main gainers here were John Holand, duke of Exeter, who gained three castles, and William le Scrope, who gained two, with five other members of Richard’s circle each gaining a single castle. After Richard’s fall, these grants were reversed. Warwick survived to see his estates restored, while Arundel’s son Thomas went on to fight with Henry V in France, dying at the siege of Harfleur in 1415.

26 I.P.M. XVII, no.1206
27 J.C.Davies, ‘The Despenser war in Glamorgan’, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 3rd series, 9 (1915), pp.53-54
28 I.P.M. VII, no.577
29 Edmund de Mortimer, who died before 21 January 1332; I.P.M. VII, no.387
30 These castles were the Bohun castles that Gloucester had originally gained from his marriage to Eleanor
This contrasts strikingly with the same period in Hungary. In 1300, private castles outnumbered royal castles by three to one. This period in Hungarian history saw the dominance of the Oligarchs, a small group of powerful magnates who controlled most of the country. Their power was destroyed by Charles I, the first Angevin king of Hungary (1308-1342), who from an initially weak position, had gained control of over half of all castles in Hungary by 1320. The situation was reversed at the end of our period. In 1401, King Sigismund (1387-1437) was taken captive during a civil war, and in 1408 was forced to make his captors, the Order of the Dragon, codrulers of Hungary. As part of the new settlement, Sigismund was forced to give 148 castles to the members of the order, one third of the total number then in existence, an arrangement that lasted at least until the end of his reign. In Hungary, ownership of castles was seen as the key to long lasting success both by the monarch and by his most powerful subjects, and the significant changes in castle ownership that Charles I and then the Order of the Dragon achieved lasted for decades.

In England and Wales, that was not the case. However severe the shocks that impacted on the castle community, whether caused by the actions of the king, or of his greatest subjects, within a generation most or all of the same families can once again be found, owning the same castles, or serving as constables. This tendency is represented at its most extreme by the Clifford family. The same five castles that were forfeited by Robert de Clifford in 1322, were owned by John de Clifford at his death in 1422, five generations and 100 years later. Likewise, John Beaumont, constable of Dover castle in 1392-1396 for Richard II, was the great grandson of Henry Beaumont, constable of Somerton castle (Lincolnshire) in 1311-1322 for Edward II. For all the changes that had occurred in English and Welsh society in the hundred and fifty years of our period, the castle community at its end was remarkably similar to that at its beginning.

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31 Fügedi, p.82
32 ibid., p.113-4
33 ibid., p.125
34 Appleby castle, Brougham castle, Brough castle and Pendragon castle (all Westmorland), and Skipton castle (Yorkshire), forfeited on 8 February 1322; C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.94
35 Dead by 27 May 1422; C.F.R. 1413-1422, p.433
PAGE
NUMBERING
AS ORIGINAL
Appendix One - Problem Castles

For a small number of castles, there is some potential for confusion between castles with similar names. This problem is at its most severe in and near Wales, where many castle names were similar and where castles were often referred to by the name of the English county nearest to them. This appendix will examine each of these cases, castle by castle and indicate by which name the castle was most often referred to and any potential confusion.

Newcastle

Newcastle under Lyme (Staffordshire)
This Lancastrian castle is rarely referred to, but when it is, its identity is never in doubt.

Newcastle upon Tyne (Northumberland)
This castle is geographically distant from the other Newcastle's of this period, and that alone removed any chance of confusion.

Newcastle Emlyn (Carmarthen) - Active across entire period.
Normally referred to as Emlyn, sometimes as Emlyn Ucheuch

Newcastle in Gower (Glamorgan)
Known as Penlle’r Castell, although not well documented

Newport (Pembroke)
The castle was normally referred to as Newport in Camois, rendering it clearly distinct.

Newport (Monmouth) - Active across entire period. On the river Usk
Referred to either as Newport in Wentlok or Newport in the Marches facing Gloucester or as both.

Dinas

Dinas (Brecknock) – Bwitch-y-Ddinas
This castle was in use for the entire period of this study. It most often occurs as Bulkydinas, but also occurs as Dinas, often with Blyn Lleyni

Dinas Bran (Denbigh)
Welsh castle, little heard of it after 1282 but still mentioned as late as 1366. Normally referred to by its full name

Dinas Emrys (Caemarvon)
A welsh tower of the late 12th or 13th century for which no references have been found in this period.

Dinas Powis (Glamorgan)
Referred to by its full name across this entire period.
Ewyas

Ewyas Lacy (Hereford) – Longtown
Referred to as Longtown across the period although Ewyas Lacy and Ewyas also occur.

Ewyas Harold (Hereford)
Only referred to as Ewyas Harold across the period.
Appendix Two – Additions to Cathcart King

For several castles dismissed in Cathcart King further evidence has been found during this study. For other castles, new dating information has since appeared. These castles will be considered individually below.

Breby (Derbyshire)

A mention in 1353 is noted by King (p.109). An earlier mention occurred on 19 March 1301, when a license to crenellate was granted to John de Segrave. This date will be used.

Burton in Lonsdale (Yorks)

King refers to it as probably abandoned by 1173 (p.514-5). After the fall of Thomas of Lancaster a constable was appointed. However, this is rather slim evidence and so this castle will not be counted.

Chirbury (Shropshire)

King gives no history for this castle. In 1336 an inquiry was ordered into the terms on which Philip Middleton had held Montgomery Castle, Simondes Castle (Churchstoke, Montgomery) and Chirbury Castle, suggesting that it was in use during this period.

Churchstoke (Montgomery)

King records one mention of this castle in 1231-3 (p.295). As was seen under Chirbury, it was mentioned again in 1336 in a context that suggests it was still in use and so it will be included.

Folkstone (Kent)

King refers to a possible castle (p.231). On 9 July 1377, John de Clinton was ordered to go to Folkestone and defend his castle there. This castle will be included.

Halton in Tyndale (Northumberland)

King’s first mention is in 1415 (p.334). However, it is mentioned in the Inquisition Post Mortem of Roger de Wydrington in 1372. This earlier date will be used.

Haverell (Suff)

Dismissed by King (p.461). It was mentioned as a castle in December 1295, when it appears in the Inquisition Post Mortem of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester. It does not appear as a castle in any other Clare Inquisition and will not be included.

1 19 March 1301, C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.109
2 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.118
3 Fryde, 1974, p.100 (no.887)
4 C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.6
5 I.P.M. XIII, no.215
6 I.P.M. III, no.371
Malpas (Cheshire)

Mentioned as 11th Century in King (p.68). Owned by John de Sutton on 12 April 1327.

Sandwich (Kent)

King does not give any dates for the castle. It is mentioned on 13 March 1315, 1 February 1327 and 20 March 1332 and will thus be included in this study.

Sleaford (Lincoln)

Its last mention in King was an attack on it in 1221. It was again attacked just before 20 April 1327, and will be included in this study.

Strong Houses in King

The buildings categorised as strong houses by King are rarely serious fortifications and will not be included in this study.

\footnote{C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.118}
Appendix Three - Family Estates

Key
n.r. no reference to any owners at this time

Castles of the House of Lancaster

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle Name</th>
<th>Edmund 1267-1296</th>
<th>Thomas 1296-1322</th>
<th>Henry 1327-1345</th>
<th>Henry 1345-1361</th>
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<td>Chirk (Denbigh)</td>
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### Castles of the de Vere Earls of Oxford

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<td>Richard</td>
<td>1400-1417</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Possible</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>1417-1462</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
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### Castles of the Montague Earls of Salisbury

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Reign</th>
<th>Castle Camps</th>
<th>Wark on Tweed</th>
<th>Christchurch (Hampshire)</th>
<th>Denbigh</th>
<th>Hawarden (Flint)</th>
<th>Mold (Flint)</th>
<th>Sherborne (Dorset)</th>
<th>Tonbridge (Kent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William</td>
<td>1302-44</td>
<td>From Crown</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>William</td>
<td>1344-97</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>1397-1400</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Jointured</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>Thomas</td>
<td>1400-1428</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Jointured</td>
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### Castles of the Barons and Earls of Stafford

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Ralph</th>
<th>Hugh</th>
<th>Thomas</th>
<th>Edmund</th>
<th>Humphrey</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1301-72</td>
<td>1342-86</td>
<td>1368-92</td>
<td>1378-1403</td>
<td>1402-60</td>
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<td>Caldicot (Monm)</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td>From wife</td>
<td>Widow</td>
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<td>Caus (Shrops)</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Huntington (Heref)</td>
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<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Newport (Monm)</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ongar (Essex)</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>n.r</td>
<td>n.r</td>
<td>n.r</td>
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<td>Pleshey (Essex)</td>
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<td>Tonbridge (Kent)</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
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1 Recovered by the Mortimers
2 Won in court by the Bishops of Salisbury
### Castles of the earls of Arundel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Richard (-1302)</th>
<th>Edmund (-1326)</th>
<th>Richard (-1376)</th>
<th>Richard (-1397)</th>
<th>Thomas (-1415)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arundel (Sussex)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clun (Shropshire)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oswestry (Shropshire)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Shrawardine (Shropshire)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chirk (Denbigh)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Dolfwrwyn (Montgomery)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Dinas Bran (Denbigh)</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>Holt (Denbigh)</td>
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<td>Castle Acre (Norfolk)</td>
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<td>Lewes (Sussex)</td>
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<td>Reigate (Surrey)</td>
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<td>Folkingham (Lincoln)</td>
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<td>1/3</td>
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<td>Dawley (Shropshire)</td>
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### Castles of the Bohun family

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<tr>
<th>Humphrey d.1275</th>
<th>Humphrey d.1298</th>
<th>Humphrey d.1322</th>
<th>John d.1336</th>
<th>Humphrey d.1361</th>
<th>Humphrey d.1373</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Haverfordwest (Pemb)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hay (Brecon)</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Kimbolton (Hunt)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>N.R.</td>
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<td>Brecon</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Caldicot (Monmouth)</td>
<td>N.R.</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Huntingdon (Heref)</td>
<td>N.R.</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Pleshey (Essex)</td>
<td>N.R.</td>
<td>N.R.</td>
<td>N.R.</td>
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<td>Oakham (Rutland)</td>
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<td>Stamford (Lincs)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td>Briefly</td>
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**Widows**
- Maud, widow of John de Bohun: Kimbolton (Huntingdon)
- Joan, widow of Humphrey de Bohun (d.1373): Kimbolton (Huntingdon)

### Castles of the Woodstock earls of Kent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Edmund (1320-1330)</th>
<th>Edmund (1330-1331)</th>
<th>John (1331-1352)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arundel (Sussex)</td>
<td>1327-1330</td>
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<tr>
<td>Castle Donnington (Leics)</td>
<td>1327-1330</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cefnllys (Rad)</td>
<td>1322</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Denbigh</td>
<td>1322 only</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liddel (Cumb)</td>
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### Castles of the Holland earls of Kent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thomas (1360)</th>
<th>Thomas (1380-97)</th>
<th>Thomas (1397-1400)</th>
<th>Edmund (1401-1408)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bourne (Lincs)</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>1385-97</td>
<td>1397-1400</td>
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<tr>
<td>Castle Donnington (Leics)</td>
<td>-1360</td>
<td>1385-97</td>
<td>1397-1400</td>
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<tr>
<td>Caistor (Lincs)</td>
<td>n.r.</td>
<td>1385-97</td>
<td>1397-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Corfe (Dorset)</td>
<td>-1397</td>
<td>1397-</td>
<td>In dower</td>
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<tr>
<td>Warwick</td>
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150
## Castles of the Earls of Warwick

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<td>Beaudesert (Warks)</td>
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<td>-1361-1369</td>
<td>1369-1412</td>
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<td>Castle Barnard (Durh)</td>
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<td>1307-1315</td>
<td>1369-1399</td>
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<td>Elmley (Worc)</td>
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<td>1315-1369</td>
<td>-1370-1387-1406-</td>
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<td>Oystermouth (Glam)</td>
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<td>-1369</td>
<td>1369-1370-1401-</td>
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<td>Painscastle (Glam)</td>
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<td>-1315</td>
<td>1369-1401</td>
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<td>1315-1369</td>
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<td>Worcester</td>
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<td>1298-1315</td>
<td>1315-1369</td>
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## Castles of Gilbert de Clare and their Fate to 1350

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Maillida, widow of Gilbert de Clare (c.1314)</th>
<th>Roger Danory</th>
<th>Thomas de Blount</th>
<th>Roger de Mortimer, earl of March (d.1330)</th>
<th>Hugh de Audley, earl of Gloucester (d.1349)</th>
<th>Eleanor (d.1337), widow of Hugh le Despenser</th>
<th>Elizabeth, widow of John de Burgo (d.1361)</th>
<th>Hugh le Despenser, younger (c.1327)</th>
<th>Queen Philippa</th>
<th>Hugh le Despenser (1349)</th>
<th>Edward le Despenser (1349)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caerleon (Monmouth)</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Caerphilly (Glamorgan)</td>
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<td>Y</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cardiff (Glamorgan)</td>
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<td>Clare (Suffolk)</td>
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### Castles of the Clifford family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Appleby (Westm)</th>
<th>Brougham (Westm)</th>
<th>Brough (Westm)</th>
<th>Pendragon (Westm)</th>
<th>Skipton (Yorks)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robert, 1274-1314</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roger, 1299-1322</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Widow</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert, 1305-1344</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert, 1328-1345</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roger, 1334-1389</td>
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<td>Thomas, 1365-1391</td>
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<tr>
<td>John, 1388-1422</td>
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### Castles of the Despenser family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Hugh sur (1261-1326)</th>
<th>Hugh yr (1326)</th>
<th>Hugh (1308-1349)</th>
<th>Edward (1337-1385)</th>
<th>Thomas (1373-1400)</th>
<th>Philip</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blaen Llyfni (Brecknock)</td>
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## Appendix Four - Licences to Crenellate

### Active licences

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<td>John Dauney, Kn</td>
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2 Confirmed on 5 February 1410, C.P.R. 1408-1413, p.160
3 ibid.
4 ibid.
Appendix Five – Constables for Edward, the Black Prince

Aberystwyth (Cardigan)
Roger de Coteford 1347-1348-
Robert de Stretton -1355-1359-
Beaumaris (Anglesey)
John de Seint Pere -1359-
Beeston (Cheshire)
Richard de Chastel -1346-
Robert de Houghton 1358-
Alan Cheyne 1363-
Berkhamstead (Hertfordshire)
Roger le Graunt -1346-1351-
Henry de Berkhamstede 1357-1381-
Cardigan
Thomas de Castle Goodrich 1347
Roland Daneys 1347-1348-
Caernarvon
Robert de Parys -1359-
Cardigan
Roland Deneyes 1347-1359-
Carmarthen
Reynold de Hope -1359-
Simon de Burley 1375-1385
Chester
Henry de Ferrars -1341
William de Beauchamp and Hugh de Berewyk 1341-
John de Byntre before 1351
Richard Doun -1353
Thomas de Warrewyk -1355-1362-
Thomas Chaundeller 1365-
Conway (Caernarvon)
Henry de Mortimer -1354
Edward de St. John -1355-1382
Criccieth (Caernarvon)
William de St. Omer -1354-1359-
Dryslwyn (Carmarthen)
Rees ap Griffyn -1355-1359-
Dynevor (Carmarthen)
Edmund Hakelut -1353-1360
Exeter (Devon)
John Dabernoun -1352-
Flint
Henry de Ferrars -1341
William de Beauchamp & Hugh de Berewyk 1341-
Ithel ap Cynfrig Sais -1351-1357-
David de Backarn -1364-
Harlech (Merioneth)
Walter de Mauny -1355-1359-
Richard Massey 1376-1391-
Haverford (Pembroke)
Laurence de Wynston -1359-
Thomas de Felton 1367-1385
Launceston (Cornwall)
John de Moveroun -1346-1347-
John de Skirbeck -1351-
Newcastle Emlyn (Carmarthen)
Richard de la Bere 1346-1379-
Restormel (Cornwall)
John de Kendale 1337-1351-
Rotelin de Ostry 1374-1398
Rhuddlan (Flint)
Henry de Ferrars -1341
William de Beauchamp & Hugh de Berewyk 1341-
William de Shaldeford 1346-
John de Byntré -1352-1362-
Alan Cheyne 1377-1385
Tintagel (Cornwall)
John Dabernoun -1351
John de Skirbek 1351-
Trematon (Cornwall)
John Dabernoun -1351-
Neel le Lohereyn 1372-1378-
Wallingford (Berkshire)
Ralph Spigurnel -1346-1351
Bartholomew de Badlesmere, jnr. 1351-1353-
Thomas de Alveton -1360-
Aubrey de Veer 1375-1382
## Appendix Six - Reversions

### Reversions of Ownership

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<td>Dinas (Brecknock)</td>
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<td>Liddel (Cumberland)</td>
<td>John of Gaunt</td>
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<td>Dinas Bran (Denbigh)</td>
<td>Richard, earl of Arundel</td>
<td>12 Dec 1346</td>
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<tr>
<td>Holt (Denbigh)</td>
<td>Richard, earl of Arundel</td>
<td>12 Dec 1346</td>
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<td>Hawarden (Flint)</td>
<td>Thomas, duke of Clarence</td>
<td>2 Feb 1412</td>
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<td>Carisbrooke (Hamps)</td>
<td>Philippa, duchess York</td>
<td>26 Oct 1400</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leeds (Kent)</td>
<td>Queen Isabella</td>
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<td>Stamford (Lincoln)</td>
<td>William de Bohun, e. Northampton</td>
<td>20 June 1338</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Castle Rising (Norfolk)</td>
<td>Thomas, duke of Gloucester</td>
<td>17 May 1386</td>
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<td>Warkworth (Nthumb)</td>
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### Reversions of Constableship

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<td>Richmond (Yrks)</td>
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## Appendix Seven – Castles Built, 1272-1422

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<td>Nicholas de la Beche</td>
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<td>Nicholas de la Beche</td>
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<tr>
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\(^1\) l. indicated a licence to crenellate, f.m. a first documented mention
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>I. 1318</td>
<td>Godfrey Dawtrey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flamborough</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>I. 1351-2</td>
<td>Marmaduke Constable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilling East</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>late C14</td>
<td>Etton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harewood</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>I. 1366</td>
<td>William de Aldeburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hazelwood</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>I. 1290</td>
<td>William de Vavassour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Killerby</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>I. 1291</td>
<td>Brian fitz Alan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirkby Fleetham</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>I. 1314</td>
<td>Henry le Scrope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirkby Sigston</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>I. 1336</td>
<td>John de Sigston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leconfield</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>I. 1308</td>
<td>Henry de Percy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Markenfield</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>I. 1310</td>
<td>John de Merkyngfeld</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherburn in Elmet</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>I. 1382</td>
<td>archbishop of York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheriff Hutton</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>I. 1382</td>
<td>John de Neville of Raby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slingsby</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>I. 1344</td>
<td>Ralph de Hastings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upsall</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>mid C14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wressle</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1380s</td>
<td>Henry Percy, earl of Nthumb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilton</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>I. 1330</td>
<td>Ralph de Bulmer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix Eight - Castles Forfeited, 1272-1422

Arundel, Edmund, Earl of, forfeited and executed 1326, son restored 1330, owned Arundel (Sussex), Chirk (Denbigh), Clun (Shropshire), Denbigh, Dolforwyn (Montgomery), Oswestry (Shropshire), Shrawardine (Shropshire)

Arundel, Richard, Earl of, forfeited and executed 1397, son restored 1400, owned Abergavenny (Monmouth), Arundel (Sussex), Castle Acre (Norfolk), Chirk (Denbigh), Clun (Shropshire), Dawley (Shropshire), Holt (Denbigh), Shrawardine (Shropshire), Lewes (Sussex), Oswestry (Shropshire), Reigate (Surrey)

Audley, Hugh de, younger, forfeited 1321, restored, owned Tonbridge (Kent)

Audley, Hugh de, younger, forfeited and restored 1329, owned Abergavenny (Monmouth), Arundel (Sussex), Castle Acre (Norfolk), Chirk (Denbigh), Clun (Shropshire), Dawley (Shropshire), Holt (Denbigh), Shrawardine (Shropshire), Lewes (Sussex), Oswestry (Shropshire), Reigate (Surrey)

Balliol, John de, forfeited 1294, owned Barnard Castle (Durham), Fotheringay (Northampton)

Beauchamp, Thomas, Earl of Warwick, forfeited 1397, restored 1399, owned Barnards Castle (Durham), Elmley (Worcester), Castlethorpe (Bucks), Oystermouth (Glamorgan), Painscastle (Radnor), Swansea (Glamorgan), Warwick, Worcester, Aberedw (Radnor), Clyro (Radnor), Colwyn (Radnor)

Bohun, Humphrey de, Earl of Hereford, forfeited and killed 1322, son restored 1326, owned Caldicote, Brecon, Hay, Huntingdon

Burley, Simon, de, forfeited 1388, owned Newcastle Emlyn (Carmarthen), Lyonshall (Hereford), Leybourne (Kent), Llanstephan (Carmarthen)

Cary, John, forfeited 1388, owned Torrington (Devon)

Clifford, Roger de, forfeited 1322, brother inherited in 1327, owned Appleby (Westmorland), Brougham (Westmorland), Burgh (Westmorland), Pendragon (Westmorland), Skipton (Yorkshire)

Cobham, John de, forfeited 1398, restored by 1408, owned Cooling

Despenser, Thomas, forfeited 1400, owned Cardiff (Glamorgan), Caerphilly (Glamorgan), Clun (Shropshire), Elmley (Worcester), Hanley (Worcester), Kenfig (Glamorgan), Llantrisant (Glamorgan), Llandaff (Glamorgan), Moor End (Northampton), Neath (Glamorgan), Talavan (Glamorgan)

Despenser, Hugh, elder, forfeited 1327, owned Denbigh, Castle Donnington (Leicester)

Despenser, Hugh, younger, forfeited 1327, owned Blaen Llyfni (Brecknock), Cardiff (Glamorgan), Caerleon (Monmouth), Carreg Cennon (Carmarthen), Chestprow (Monmouth), Dinas (Brecknock), Dryslywn (Carmarthen), Dudley (Staffs), Dynevor (Carmarthen), Goodrich (Hereford), Llandaff (Monmouth), Loughor (Glamorgan), Newport (Monmouth), Oystermouth (Glamorgan), Penard (Glamorgan), Swansea (Glamorgan), Usk (Monmouth)

Ferrers, Thomas de, forfeited before 1276, owned Chartley (Staffordshire)

Gaveston, Piers, forfeited 1312, had owned Cockermouth (Cumberland), Peak (Derbyshire), Knaresborough (Yorkshire), Launceston (Cornwall), Lydford (Devon), Skipton in Craven (Yorkshire), Wallingford (Berks)

Giffard, John, of Bimpsfield, forfeited and executed 1322, owned Carreg Cennon (Carmarthen), Bimpsfield (Gloucester)

Gloucester, Thomas Woodstock, duke of, forfeited 1397, owned Brecon (Monmouth), Caldicot (Monmouth), Castle Rising (Norfolk), Huntingdon (Hereford), Pleshey (Essex), St. Bravels (Gloucester), Skipsea (Yorkshire)

Grey, Thomas de, of Heton, forfeited 1415, owned Wark on Tweed (Northumberland)

Hastings, John de, earl of Pembroke, forfeited 1390, owned Abergavenny (Monmouth), Blaen Llyfni (Brecknock), Chestprow (Monmouth), Cilgerran (Pembroke), Dinas (Brecknock), Huntingdon (Shropshire), Ludlow (Shropshire), Manobier (Pembroke), Pembroke, Tenby (Pembroke)

Holland, Robert de, forfeited 1322, owned Melbourne (Derbyshire), Thorpe Waterville (Northampton)

Holland, John de, D. Exeter, forfeited 1400, owned Arundel (Sussex), Barnstaple (Devon), Berkhamstead (Hertfordshire), Lewes (Sussex), Restormel (Cornwall), Reigate (Surrey), Tintagel (Cornwall), Trematon (Cornwall)

Holland, Thomas, E. Kent, forfeited 1400, owned Bourne (Lincs), Caistor (Lincs), Castle Donnington (Leicester), Corfe (Dorset), Pembroke (Staffordshire), Pickering (Yorkshire)

Henry IV, forfeited 1399, owned Brecon, Bronlyss (Brecknock), Hay (Brecknock), Tutbury (Staffordshire), Pickering (Yorkshire)

Lancaster, Thomas de, forfeited 1322, family slowly restored, owned Alton (Staffs), Bolingbrooke (Lincs.), Castle Donnington (Leics.), Clifford (Hereford), Clitheroe (Lancs.), Conisborough (York), Denbigh, Dunstanburgh (Northumberland), Dynas Bran (Denbigh), Halton (Cheshire), Highbury (Northampton), Holt (Denbigh), Kenilworth (Warwickshire), Knaresborough (Yorkshire), Lancaster, Leicester, Lincoln, Liverpool (Lancaster), Melbourne (Derbyshire), 166
Pickering (Yorkshire), Pontefract (Yorkshire), Sandal (Yorkshire), Thorpe Waterville (Northants), Tutbury (Staffordshire)

Lumley, Ralph, forfeited 1400, owned Kilton (Yorkshire), Lumley (Durham)

Lumley, Thomas, forfeited 1400, owned Lumley (Durham)

Maustravers, John, forfeited 1334, owned Carreg Cennon (Carmarthen), Brimpsfield (Gloucester)

Montague, John de, earl of Salisbury, forfeited and executed 1400, owned Carisbrooke (Hampshire), Christchurch Twynham (Hampshire), Mold (Flint), Hawarden (Flint), Wark on Tweed (Northumberland)

Mortimer, Edmund, uncle of the earl of March, forfeited 1404, owned Narberth (Pembroke)

Mortimer, Roger de, of Chirk, forfeited 1322 and his heirs never restored, owned Blaen Llyfni (Brecknock), Chirk (Denbigh), Dinas (Brecknock), Ludlow (Shropshire), Radnor, Rhayader (Radnor), Wigmore (Hereford)

Mortimer, Roger de, E. March, forfeited 1322, when owned Cefnlllys (Radnor), Dinas, Dolfwrwyn (Montgomery), Knucklas (Radnor), Ludlow (Shropshire), Radnor, Rhayader (Radnor), Wigmore (Hereford)

Mortimer, Roger de, E. March, forfeited 1330, when owned Blaen Llyfni (Brecknock), Cefnlllys (Radnor), Chirk (Denbigh), Clune (Shropshire), Dinas (Brecknock), Dolfwrwyn (Montgomery), Hanley (Worcester), Knucklas (Radnor), Ludlow (Shropshire), Montgomery, Narberth (Pembroke), Radnor, Rhayader (Radnor), Oswestry (Shropshire), Wigmore (Hereford)

Mowbray, John, forfeited and executed 1322, owned site of Bedford castle, Loughor castle (Glamorgan), Oystermouth (Glamorgan), Penard (Glamorgan), Swansea (Glamorgan)

Mowbray, Thomas, earl Marshal, forfeited and executed 1405, owned Barton Segrave (Northampton), Bramber (Sussex), Bretby (Derbyshire), Chepstow (Monmouth), Framlingham (Suffolk), Swansea (Glamorgan)

Oldcastle, John, forfeited by 1414, owned Castle Ashby (Northampton), Cooling (Kent)

Percy, Henry de, earl of Northumberland, forfeited 1405, owned Alnham (Northumberland), Alnwick (Northumberland), Berwick (Northumberland), Chillingham (Northumberland), Cockermouth (Cumberland), Prudhoe (Northumberland), Warkworth (Northumberland), Wressle (Yorkshire), Langley (Northumberland)

Percy, Thomas de, earl of Worcester, forfeited 1403, owned Warkworth (Northumberland)

Pole, Michael de la, E. Suffolk, forfeited 1388, son restored 1397, owned Wingsfield (Suffolk), Eye (Suffolk), Orford (Suffolk)

Scrope, William de, E. Wilts, forfeited 1399, owned Barnard Castle (Durham), Painscastle (Radnor)

Strabolgi, David de, forfeited 1329, owned Castle Acre (Norfolk), Chileham (Kent), Mitford (Northumberland)

Veer, Robert de, earl of Oxford, forfeited 1388, lands restored to his Uncle, owned Castle Camps (Cambridge), Hedingham (Essex), Lyonshall (Hereford)

Wake, Thomas, forfeited and restored 1329, owned Bourne (Lincolnshire), Cottingham (Yorks), Liddel (Cumberland)

Woodstock, Edm. of, E. Kent, forfeited 1330, owned Arundel (Sussex), Castle Donnington (Leicestershire), Cefnlllys (Radnor), Tinboeth (Radnor)

Perrers, Alice, forfeited 1377, owned Moor End (Northampton)
## Appendix Nine – Building Dates of Castles Included in the Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Average age 1272</th>
<th>Average age 1422</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglesey</td>
<td>no castles</td>
<td>1295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedford</td>
<td>1173</td>
<td>1250</td>
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<tr>
<td>Berkshire</td>
<td>1068</td>
<td>1239</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brecknock</td>
<td>1129</td>
<td>1151</td>
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<tr>
<td>Buckingham</td>
<td>1080</td>
<td>1323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caernarvon</td>
<td>1236</td>
<td>1263</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cambridge</td>
<td>1110</td>
<td>1140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
<td>1240</td>
<td>1258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmarthen</td>
<td>1164</td>
<td>1178</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cheshire</td>
<td>1152</td>
<td>1210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornwall</td>
<td>1132</td>
<td>1194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumberland</td>
<td>1153</td>
<td>1247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denbigh</td>
<td>1250</td>
<td>1273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derbyshire</td>
<td>1150</td>
<td>1202</td>
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<td>Devonshire</td>
<td>1114</td>
<td>1266</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dorset</td>
<td>1086</td>
<td>1223</td>
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<tr>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>1138</td>
<td>1294</td>
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<tr>
<td>Essex</td>
<td>1120</td>
<td>1120</td>
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<tr>
<td>Flint</td>
<td>1176</td>
<td>1237</td>
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<tr>
<td>Glamorgan</td>
<td>1156</td>
<td>1231</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1147</td>
<td>1155</td>
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<td>1139</td>
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<td>Hereford</td>
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<td>1180</td>
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<td>Hertfordshire</td>
<td>1075</td>
<td>1075</td>
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<td>1217</td>
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<td>London</td>
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<td>1066</td>
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<td>1270</td>
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<td>Northants</td>
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<td>1263</td>
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<td>Northumberland</td>
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<td>1364</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nottingham</td>
<td>1099</td>
<td>1179</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxfordshire</td>
<td>1090</td>
<td>1274</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pembroke</td>
<td>1191</td>
<td>1210</td>
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<td>Radnor</td>
<td>1194</td>
<td>1242</td>
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<td>Rutland</td>
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<td>1075</td>
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<td>Shropshire</td>
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<td>1193</td>
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<td>Somerset</td>
<td>1156</td>
<td>1233</td>
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<td>1183</td>
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<td>Suffolk</td>
<td>1108</td>
<td>1185</td>
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<td>Surrey</td>
<td>1176</td>
<td>1268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sussex</td>
<td>1074</td>
<td>1176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warwickshire</td>
<td>1174</td>
<td>1267</td>
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<tr>
<td>Westmorland</td>
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<td>1288</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wiltshire</td>
<td>1134</td>
<td>1198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worcestershire</td>
<td>1190</td>
<td>1230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yorkshire</td>
<td>1163</td>
<td>1245</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The large number of castles first mentioned in the 1415 survey make this date somewhat uncertain.
Appendix Ten – Joint Constables

Barton Segrave (Northamptonshire)
Richard de Colfox & Arnold Hulker
from 5 April 1406 to 2 March 1408

Beaumaris Castle (Anglesey)
William le Scrope & William Warde
from 8 July 1396
William le Scrope (solo)
from 22 February 1397

Brecon Castle (Brecknock)
Richard, earl of Warwick and John lord Audley
from 25 October 1403 to 19 October 1404

Bridgewater Castle (Somerset)
John de Lortye & John de Say
from 15 Jan 1322 to 1 Dec 1322
John de Say and Simon de Furneux
from 12 Oct 1326, end unknown

Bristol Castle (Gloucestershire)
Mathew and John de Clyvedon
from 10 May 1321 to 15 May 1321
Gilbert de Clenkerny, Robert Fleming & Burgesius de Tyle
from 21 October 1326, ended by 15 Dec 1328 at latest

Bronlyss Castle (Brecknock)
John Merbury & William Butiller
from 9 July 1421, end unknown

Built Castle (Brecknock)
Ebuilo le Strange & Alice his wife
for her life from 16 Feb 1331, became owners 25 Sept 1334

Caernarvon Castle
William le Scrope and William Audley
from 6 July 1396, ended by 24 Oct 1399 at latest

Carlisle Castle (Cumberland)
John de Castre & William de Dacre
from 1 Nov 1317 to 8 June 1318
Ralph, son of Lord Neville, and Thomas, son of Lord Clifford
from 26 Oct 1385, changed by 8 Nov 1389 at latest
Ralph de Nevill and John de Ros
on 8 Nov 1389, ended by 1 March 1390 at latest

Carmarthen Castle
Roger Wygemore & William Asshe
from 19 May 1399, ended by 26 September 1402 at latest

Carreg Cennon Castle (Carmarthen)
Richard Wroth & William de Beauchamp
to 6 November 1322, probably started early 1322

Castel-y-Bere Castle (Merioneth)
Joan de Turbervill and Roger de Verduno
to 28 Nov 1292, started just before

Chester Castle
William de Beauchamp and Hugh de Berewyk
from 14 February 1341, end unknown
William Venables and Roger Crophull
from 25 April 1396, ended by 24 Oct 1399 at latest

Chirk Castle (Denbigh)
John Inge & Thomas de Wunnesbury
from 2 December 1331 to 2 December 1333

Conisborough Castle (Yorkshire)
Adam le Bloy & Peter de St. John
to 19 March 1322

Conway Castle (Caernarvon)
John Bp. of Salisbury & Thomas de Percy
for one year from 26 June 1394
Corfe Castle (Dorset)
Richard de Bosco & Simon de Montague
from 16 September 1299, end by 6 November 1272 at latest
Richard Lovel and his wife
from 1 Sept 1315 to 20 Feb 1318
Thomas de Holand, earl of Kent and Alesia his wife
from 1 May 1391 to 1397

Criccieth Castle (Caernarvon)
William Hugon & John Gamill
from 6 April 1398, end unknown
Dryslwyn Castle (Carmarthen)
William de Houton & William Bredewardy
for life from 11 Feb 1399, end unknown

Dunstanburgh Castle (Northumberland)
John de Lilleburn & Roger Mauduyt
by 15 September 1322 to 15 September 1323

Eye Castle (Suffolk)
Bartholomew de Burghersh & William de Cusaunce
to 26 March 1337

Flint Castle
William de Beauchamp & Hugh de Berewyk
from 14 February 1341

Hanley (Worcester)
Malcolm Musard & William Payn
from 21 May 1321

Oakham Castle (Rutland)
Hugh and Margaret de Audley
from 22 April 1327

Peak Castle (Derbyshire)
Richard Damory & Robert de Mauley
from 16 January 1319

Knaresborough Castle (Yorkshire)
William de Ros & John de Mowbray
to 28 Jan 1318

Leeds Castle (Kent)
William Lescrope, John Bussy, Henry Grene & Walter Bagot
from 12 July 1399, ended by 31 Aug 1399

Lincoln castle
Ebulo le Strange and Alice de Lacy, his wife
from 4 Feb 1327 and from 16 Feb 1331

Llanstephan Castle (Carmarthen)
David ap Meuric, Howel Seys & Griffith ap Yean
from 30 October 1326, end unknown

Neath Castle (Glamorgan)
Nicholas de Kyrgeston & John Iweyn
from 16 May 1321

Newcastle Emlyn (Carmarthen)
John de Hastings, John Trailly, John Prat & Robert Poley
from 6 October 1388, ended by 26 January 1389

Pontefract Castle (Yorks)
William Grammary & Thomas Devill
to 3 July 1323

Portchester Castle (Hampshire)
Roger & John Waldon, brothers
1 February 1397- to 3 November 1399
Thomas Camoys & Richard his son
from 3 November 1399 still on 12 February 1405

Rochester Castle (Kent)
Henry de Cobham
on 6 May 1331
Henry de Cobham & John his son
from 24 September 1334
John de Cobham
on 12 March 1347
William Lescrope, John Bussy, Henry Grene
from 7 July 1399
Rockingham Castle (Northamptonshire)
Amaury la Zouche & John de Miners
to 12 February 1325
Rhuddlan Castle (Flint)
William de Beauchamp & Hugh de Berewyk
to 14 February 1341
Scarborough Castle (Yorkshire)
William Barde & Robert Wawayn
from 30 March 1324 to 19 September 1324
Alex. de Bergh & Robert Wawayn
from 19 September 1324- to 26 November 1325
Somerton Castle (Lincoln)
William de Ferrariss and Robert de Staundon
from 1 Nov 1317, ended by 16 March 1322 at latest
Tintagel Castle (Cornwall)
Richard Hampton & John Slegh
from 5 January 1386- to 6 January 1389
Tonbridge Castle (Kent)
Nicholas de la Beche and Richard de Grofhirst
3 November 1321- to 5 November 1321
Wallingford Castle (Berkshire)
William Lescrope, John Bussy, Henry Grene, William Bagot
from 12 July 1399, ended soon after
## Appendix Eleven – Castles Going Out of Use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Owner</th>
<th>Reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yielden (Beds)</td>
<td>by 1360</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>In decay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criccieth (Caern.)</td>
<td>1404</td>
<td>Crown</td>
<td>Destroyed by Glendower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolbadarn (Caern.)</td>
<td>1284</td>
<td>Crown</td>
<td>Dismantled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Head (Cumb)</td>
<td>1331</td>
<td>widow of John de</td>
<td>Ordered dismantled but survived</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Harcla?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liddel (Cumb)</td>
<td>1281-2</td>
<td>Baldwin Wake</td>
<td>Abandoned but back in use by 1300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose (Cumb)</td>
<td>1337</td>
<td>Bishops of Carlisle</td>
<td>destroyed while building, was rebuilt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinas Bran (Denb.)</td>
<td>1277</td>
<td>Gruffydd Ap Madog Gfychan</td>
<td>Destroyed in Welsh wars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glyn (Denb.)</td>
<td>1282</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>Burned by Welsh tenants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llansilin (Denb.)</td>
<td>1403</td>
<td>Owen Glendower</td>
<td>Destroyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnstable (Devon)</td>
<td>1228</td>
<td>Henry de Tracey</td>
<td>ordered to be mutilated, but still going in C15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exeter (Devon)</td>
<td>1274</td>
<td>Crown</td>
<td>Into disrepair but seems to have stayed in use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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Appendix Twelve – Castle Ownership and Constable Totals

Overlap between castle ownership and constable service

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167 individuals were both castle owners and royal constables
Appendix Thirteen – People Serving as Constable of Four or More Castles

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<td>K’s steward</td>
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<td>Scrope, William le, e. of Wiltshire</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1389-1399</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>Strange, Roger le, of Ellesmere</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1273-1284</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>P.P.</td>
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<td>Talbot, Gilbert</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>Tybotet, Payn de</td>
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<td>1307-1311</td>
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<td>1275-1298</td>
<td>23</td>
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<td>Veer, Robert de, earl of Oxford</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1384-1393</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>Waterton, Hugh</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>Woodstock, Edmund de, earl of Kent</td>
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<td>1318-1328</td>
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<td>York, Edward duke of</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1390-1415</td>
<td>25</td>
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</table>

Span: total years from first to last appointment.
Appendix Fourteen - Garrisons

Royal Garrisons

Abergavenny (Monmouthshire)
5 November 1273¹
2 serjeants at arms
4 footmen with bows

Aberystwyth (Cardigan)
24 October 1347²
20 men in peacetime
30 men in wartime

Alnwick (Northumberland)
30 December 1315-29 Dec 1316³ 40 men at arms
1317⁴

Appleby (Westmorland)
7 January 1323-25 February 1323⁵ 6 men at arms
February 1323⁶
26 February-27 March 1323⁷
27 March-30 May 1323⁸
30 May-13 July 1323⁹

Bamborough (Northumberland)
1315¹⁰
1319¹¹
8 September 1419-1421¹²

Barnard Castle (Durham)
1-13 May 1322¹³
10 men at arms
20 footsoldiers

Berwick (Northumberland)
1301¹⁴
30 cover horse
160 footmen

¹ C.C.R. 1272-1281, p.36
² B.P.R. I, p.138
³ C.C.R. 1327-1330, p.308
⁴ Nthumb Petitions, p.158
⁵ BL Stowe MS 553, fo.62v
⁷ BL Stowe MS 553, fo.62v
⁸ ibid.
⁹ ibid.
¹⁰ Bates, p.244
¹¹ Bates, p.245
¹² Bates, p.253
¹³ M. Prestwich, ‘English castles in the reign of Edward II’, Journal of Medieval History, 8 (1982), p.163; BL Stowe MS 553, fo.57v
¹⁴ BL Cotton MS, Vesp. F VII, fo.1
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<tr>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Men at Arms</th>
<th>Hobelars</th>
<th>Archers</th>
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<tr>
<td>18 September 1322-14 October 1322</td>
<td>56 men at arms</td>
<td>60</td>
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<td>15 October 1322-7 November 1322</td>
<td>43 men at arms</td>
<td>48</td>
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<td>8 -18 November 1322</td>
<td>58 men at arms</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>51 at arms</td>
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<td>19 November 1322-11 January 1323</td>
<td>60 men at arms</td>
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<td>12 -19 February 1323</td>
<td>60 men at arms</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60 at arms</td>
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<td>20 -28 February 1323</td>
<td>54 men at arms</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>50 at arms</td>
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<td>1-17 March 1323</td>
<td>58 men at arms</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60 at arms</td>
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<td>18 March-9 April 1323</td>
<td>50 men at arms</td>
<td>60</td>
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<td>10-24 April 1323</td>
<td>49 men at arms</td>
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<td>27 April-7 June 1334</td>
<td>45 men at arms</td>
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<td>21 May-24 June 1335</td>
<td>45 men at arms</td>
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<td>60 at arms</td>
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<tr>
<td>11 July-5 August 1335</td>
<td>45 men at arms</td>
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<td>5 August 1338-2 February 1339</td>
<td>45 men at arms</td>
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<td>60 at arms</td>
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<td>1339-1340</td>
<td>31 men at arms</td>
<td>42</td>
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<td>40 men at arms</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>120 at arms</td>
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<td>May 1340</td>
<td>40 men at arms</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>200 at arms</td>
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</table>

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15 BL Stowe MS 553, fo.57r
16 ibid.
17 ibid.
18 ibid.
19 ibid.
20 ibid.
21 ibid.
22 ibid.
23 ibid.
24 E.403/382 m.2
25 E.403/382 m.10
26 E.101/21/30
27 E.101/20/30
28 E.101/22/9
29 E.101/22/22 m.2
1 May-19 July 1342\textsuperscript{31}  
4 September-4 December 1343\textsuperscript{32}

Bridgewater (Somerset)  
15 August 1323-October 1323\textsuperscript{33}

Bristol (Gloucester)  
1 November 1317\textsuperscript{34}

Brougham (Westmorland)  
February 1323\textsuperscript{35}

Builth (Brecknock)  
1277\textsuperscript{36}

1278\textsuperscript{37}

Caergwrle (Flint)  
June 1282\textsuperscript{38}

August 1282\textsuperscript{39}

Caernarvon  
21 October 1284\textsuperscript{40}

Cambridge  
1 November 1317\textsuperscript{41}

Carisbrooke (Hampshire)  
28 February 1339\textsuperscript{42}

7 March-3 July 1339\textsuperscript{43}

25 June-8 July 1341\textsuperscript{44}

25 June-11 July\textsuperscript{45}

11 July-19 July 1341\textsuperscript{46}

May-29 September 1347\textsuperscript{47}

26 March 1352\textsuperscript{48}

\textsuperscript{31} E.101/204/105; E.36/204/105 m.3  
\textsuperscript{32} E.101/23/24  
\textsuperscript{33} C.M.R., no 833  
\textsuperscript{34} C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.505  
\textsuperscript{35} Morris, 1903, p.325; BL Stowe MS 553, fo.62v  
\textsuperscript{36} Morris, p.147  
\textsuperscript{37} Morris, p.147  
\textsuperscript{38} Morris, p.161  
\textsuperscript{39} Morris, p.161  
\textsuperscript{40} C.W.R., p.291  
\textsuperscript{41} C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.505  
\textsuperscript{42} C.C.R. 1339-1341, p.26  
\textsuperscript{43} E.101/21/32 m.7  
\textsuperscript{44} E.101/23/3  
\textsuperscript{45} E.101/23/3  
\textsuperscript{46} E.101/23/3  
\textsuperscript{47} C.C.R. 1346-1349, p.450  
\textsuperscript{48} ibid.
November 1352

Carlisle (Cumberland)
1314

July 1314

1322

September 1322

February 1323

28 July 1385

Castel-y-Bere (Merioneth)
from 25 April 1283

June 1283

21 October 1284

Cockermouth (Cumberland)
July 1314

1316

16 November 1316

Christmas 1317

24 August 1318

February 1323

Conway (Caernarvon)
21 October 1284

---

49 ibid
50 Prestwich, 1982, p.163
51 Morris, 1903, p.317
52 Prestwich, 1982, p.163
53 BL Stowe MS 553, fo.61r
54 Morris, 1903, p.325; BL Stowe MS 553, fo.62v
55 C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.10
56 Morris, p.193
57 Morris, p.193
58 C.W.R., p.291
59 Morris, 1903, p.317
60 Prestwich, 1982, p.164
61 E.101/20/41 m.6
62 E.101/20/41 m.5
63 E.101/20/41 m.5
64 Morris, 1903, p.325; BL Stowe MS 553, fo.62v
Corfe (Dorset)  
early 1322$^{66}$

2 July-29 September 1377$^{67}$

Criccieth (Caernarvon)  
November 1284$^{68}$

Dover (Kent)  
2 February 1339-8 March 1339$^{69}$

9 March-25 April 1339$^{70}$

26 April-6 June 1339$^{71}$

7 June-1 August 1339$^{72}$

1 August-13 October 1339$^{73}$

20 October-22 December 1347$^{74}$

Dryslwyn (Carmarthen)  
post August 1287$^{75}$

Dunstanburgh (Northumberland)  
27 March-8 September 1322$^{76}$

post 1322$^{77}$

13 October-17 November 1322$^{78}$

18 November 1322-13 January 1323$^{79}$

13 January-14 May 1323$^{80}$

15 crossbowmen

4 men at arms
16 'Balister'
16 more 'Balister'
8 'pedite ad Lancem'
12 men of Corfe town
10 archers
20 'scutifer'
20 archers

30 men

12 men (at arms?)
20 other men
14 other men
20 men at arms
40 footmen
40 archers
20 men at arms
40 footmen
40 archers
20 men at arms
40 footmen
40 archers
5 men

2 knights
22 troopers
20 crossbowmen
80 archers

10 men at arms
30 'homi armatori'
40 hobelars
30 men at arms
100 hobelars
Sir John Lillebourn
14 men at arms
60 hobelars
Sir John Lillebourn
16 men at arms
68 hobelars
Sir John Lillebourn

$^{66}$ C.W.R., p.291
$^{67}$ E.372/176 m.67
$^{68}$ E.101/36/23
$^{69}$ Morris, p.200
$^{70}$ E.101/22/15
$^{71}$ E.101/22/15
$^{72}$ E.101/22/15
$^{73}$ E.101/22/16
$^{74}$ B.P.R. I, p.156
$^{75}$ Morris, p.214
$^{76}$ BL Stowe MS 553, fo.60r
$^{77}$ Prestwich, 1982, p.163
$^{78}$ BL Stowe MS 553, fo.62v
$^{79}$ ibid.

$^{80}$ BYA 1, p. 156

$^{81}$ Mid
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Number of Men</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>15 September-14 October 1322</td>
<td>29 men at arms</td>
<td>100 hobelars</td>
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<td>18 men at arms</td>
<td>77 hobelars</td>
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<td>15 October-18 November 1322</td>
<td>11 men at arms</td>
<td>64 hobelars</td>
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<tr>
<td>18 November-14 December 1322</td>
<td>17 men at arms</td>
<td>77 hobelars</td>
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<td>14 December 1322-13 January 1323</td>
<td>18 men at arms</td>
<td>77 hobelars</td>
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<td>13 January 1323-14 May 1323</td>
<td>9 men at arms</td>
<td>60 hobelars</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dynevor (Carmarthen)</td>
<td>10 archers</td>
<td>20 crossbowmen</td>
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<td>15 October-18 November 1322</td>
<td>77 hobelars</td>
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<td></td>
<td>64 hobelars</td>
<td>3 foot</td>
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<td>18 November-14 December 1322</td>
<td>83 11 men at arms</td>
<td>24 horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 December 1322-13 January 1323</td>
<td>77 hobelars</td>
<td>24 crossbowmen</td>
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<tr>
<td>13 January 1323-14 May 1323</td>
<td>84 17 men at arms</td>
<td>120 archers</td>
</tr>
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<td>Dynevor (Carmarthen)</td>
<td>10 archers</td>
<td>20 crossbowmen</td>
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<td>15 October-18 November 1322</td>
<td>77 hobelars</td>
<td>1 man at arms</td>
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<td>64 hobelars</td>
<td>3 foot</td>
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<td>18 November-14 December 1322</td>
<td>83 11 men at arms</td>
<td>24 horse</td>
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<td>77 hobelars</td>
<td>24 crossbowmen</td>
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<td>120 archers</td>
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<td>Dynevor (Carmarthen)</td>
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<td>20 crossbowmen</td>
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<tr>
<td>15 October-18 November 1322</td>
<td>77 hobelars</td>
<td>1 man at arms</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>64 hobelars</td>
<td>3 foot</td>
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<td>18 November-14 December 1322</td>
<td>83 11 men at arms</td>
<td>24 horse</td>
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<td>77 hobelars</td>
<td>24 crossbowmen</td>
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<tr>
<td>13 January 1323-14 May 1323</td>
<td>84 17 men at arms</td>
<td>120 archers</td>
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<td>Ewias (Herefordshire)</td>
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<td>Flint</td>
<td>24 horse</td>
<td>60 archers</td>
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<td>October 1294</td>
<td>24 crossbowmen</td>
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<td>Gloucester</td>
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<td>20 men</td>
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<td>1 November 1317</td>
<td>24 men</td>
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<td>Hadleigh (Essex)</td>
<td>40 footmen</td>
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<td>1320-1321</td>
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<td>Harestan (Derbyshire)</td>
<td>10 crossbowmen</td>
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<td>19 March 1322</td>
<td>40 footmen</td>
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<td>Harlech (Merioneth)</td>
<td>20 men</td>
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<td>21 October 1284</td>
<td>10 crossbowmen</td>
<td>10 crossbowmen</td>
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<td>High-Head (Cumberland)</td>
<td>4 men at arms</td>
<td>4 men at arms</td>
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<td>February 1323</td>
<td>6 hobelars</td>
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<td>Knaresborough (Yorks)</td>
<td>6 foot</td>
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<td>28 January 1318</td>
<td>10 men at arms</td>
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<td>6 March 1318</td>
<td>30 footmen</td>
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<td>Marlborough (Wilts)</td>
<td>4 Knights</td>
<td>4 Knights</td>
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<td>25 April 1266</td>
<td>24 horse</td>
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<td>24 crossbowmen</td>
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<tr>
<td>120 archers</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 men</td>
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<tr>
<td>20 men</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 foot</td>
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<td>10 men at arms</td>
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<tr>
<td>30 footmen</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 Knights</td>
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80 *ibid.*
81 BL Stowe MS 553, fo.57v
82 *ibid.*
83 *ibid.*
84 *ibid.*
85 *ibid.*
86 Morris, p.214
87 Morris, 1903, p.325
88 *C.C.R. 1313-1318*, p.505
89 Morris, p.244
90 *C.C.R. 1313-1318*, p.505
91 *H.K.W. II*, p.661
92 *C.C.R. 1318-1323*, p.429
93 vacated because unsealed
94 *C.W.R.* p.291
95 Morris, 1903, p.325; BL Stowe MS 553, fo.62v
96 *C.C.R. 1313-1318*, p.523
97 *C.C.R. 1313-1318*, p.529
Mitford (Northumberland)  
1316  
Montgomery  
4 February 1403  
Newcastle upon Tyne (Northumberland)  
6 May 1315  
Northampton  
1 November 1317  
Nottingham  
17 August 1312  
1328-1330 (peacetime)  
Naworth (Cumberland)  
February 1323  
Newcastle upon Tyne (Northumberland)  
6 May 1315  
Montgomery  
4 February 1403  
Newcastle upon Tyne (Northumberland)  
6 May 1315  
Northampton  
1 November 1317  
Nottingham  
17 August 1312  
1328-1330 (peacetime)  
Odiham (Hampshire)  
3 January 1322  
Old Sarum (Wiltshire)  
1 November 1317  
Oswestry (Shropshire)  
August 1282  
Oxford  
1312  
1 November 1317  
Pembroke  
2 July 1377  
Pendragon (Westmorland)  
February 1323  
Rhuddlan (Flint)  
Autumn 1277-1278  
October 1294

4 serjeants at arms  
12 serjeants  
54 footmen  
20 men at arms  
100 archers  
1 man at arms  
12 foot  
10 men at arms  
30 men  
10 men at arms  
20 footsoldiers  
the constable  
1 janitor  
1 watchman  
13 armed footmen  
7 other men  
20 men including crossbowmen  
2 heavy troopers  
2 light troopers  
3 crossbowmen  
60 footmen  
18 men  
30 men  
2 Knights  
40 men at arms  
40 archers  
1 man at arms  
2 hoberlars  
2 or 11 foot  
14 household troopers  
4 horse

98 *Misc I*, no.319  
99 E.101.68/2 m.36  
100 *C.P.R. 1401-1405*, p.194  
101 Morris, 1903, p.325  
102 *C.C.R. 1313-1318*, p.173  
103 *C.C.R. 1313-1318*, p.505  
104 *C.C.R. 1307-1313*, p.475  
105 E.101/18/15  
106 *C.C.R. 1318-1323*, p.411  
107 *C.C.R. 1313-1318*, p.505  
108 Morris, p.172  
109 Prestwich, 1982, p.172  
110 *C.C.R. 1313-1318*, p.505  
111 *C.P.R. 1377-1381*, p.6  
112 Morris, 1903, p.325  
113 Morris, p.145  
114 Morris, p.244
Scarborough (Yorkshire)  
1322
12 crossbowmen
24 archers

Sherborne (Dorset)  
5 February-30 June 1331
20 archers

Shrewsbury (Shropshire)  
1 November 1317
23 September-3 October 1322
3-18 October 1322
16 October-3 November 1322
3 November 1322-6 February 1323
6-21 February 1323
21 February-15 March 1323

Skipton (Yorkshire)  
1 November 1317

Somerton (Lincs)  
27 July 1359

Staward (Northumberland)  
September 1322
25 February 1323

Tower of London  
6 December 1326
20 July 1338

Wallingford (Berkshire)  
1317
1 November 1317

Warkworth (Northumberland)  
1318

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115 Prestwich, 1982, p.163
116 BL, Cotton MS, Nero C VIII, fo.64r
117 C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.505
118 C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.505
119 C.M.R., no.961
120 ibid.
121 ibid.
122 ibid.
123 ibid.
124 ibid.
125 C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.251; To defend and guard King John of France
126 BL Stowe MS 553, fo.61r
127 BL Stowe MS 553, fo.62v
128 C.C.R. 1323-1327, p.620
130 Prestwich, 1982, p.163
131 C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.505
132 Prestwich, 1982, p.163
September 1319\(^{133}\)
15-18 September 1322\(^{134}\)
19-21 September 1322\(^{135}\)
22 September-14 October 1322\(^{136}\) 40 men at arms
15 October-12 November 1322\(^{137}\) 34 men at arms
13 November 1322-19 February 1323\(^{138}\)
20-28 February 1323\(^{139}\)
1-14 March 1323\(^{140}\)
15 March-14 May 1323\(^{141}\)

Warwick
1 November 1317\(^{142}\)
1323\(^{143}\)

Weobley (Hereford)
1 November 1317\(^{144}\)

Windsor (Berkshire)
18 August 1338 to 21 Aug 1339\(^{145}\) 10 men at arms

York
1 November 1317\(^{146}\)

Group Garrisons

Six Welsh castles
26 September 1402\(^{147}\)
Welsh garrisons
7 October 1405\(^{148}\)
29 January 1406\(^{149}\)

\(^{133}\) Bates, p.93
\(^{134}\) BL Stowe MS 553, fo.57r
\(^{135}\) ibid.
\(^{136}\) ibid.
\(^{137}\) ibid.
\(^{138}\) ibid.
\(^{139}\) ibid.
\(^{140}\) ibid.
\(^{141}\) ibid.
\(^{142}\) C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.505
\(^{143}\) Prestwich, 1982, p.163
\(^{144}\) C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.505
\(^{145}\) E.101/21/22
\(^{146}\) C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.504
\(^{147}\) C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.122
\(^{148}\) C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.147
\(^{149}\) C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.156
Private Garrisons

Cefnlys (Radnor) for Roger de Mortimer
Summer 1282\textsuperscript{130} 8 horse
20 foot

Dolforwyn (Montgomery) for Roger de Mortimer
Summer 1282\textsuperscript{151} 8 horse
20 foot

Kenilworth (Warwickshire), for Thomas of Lancaster
1313-1314\textsuperscript{152} The constable
6 archers

Radnor for Roger de Mortimer
Summer 1282\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{153}} 4 horse
12 foot

Skenfrith (Monmouth) for John of Gaunt
19 June 1381\textsuperscript{154} 7 archers

Tickhill (Yorkshire) for John of Gaunt
18 June 1381\textsuperscript{155} 20 men at arms & archers

Tinboeth (Radnor) for Roger de Mortimer
Summer 1282\textsuperscript{156} 5 horse
30 foot

\textsuperscript{130} Morris, p.172
\textsuperscript{151} Morris, p.172
\textsuperscript{152} Prestwich, 1982, p.164
\textsuperscript{153} Morris, p.172
\textsuperscript{154} J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.531
\textsuperscript{155} \textit{ibid.}, no.535
\textsuperscript{156} Morris, p.172
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Dates</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dynevor (Carm)</td>
<td>Geoffrey Louther</td>
<td>on 19 June 1421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester</td>
<td>Walter de Pederton</td>
<td>on 29 July 1297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Aston</td>
<td>from 23 Aug 1369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William Beauchamp</td>
<td>from 9 Dec 1392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenilworth (Warks)</td>
<td>John Herley</td>
<td>on 18 April 1383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Yorks)</td>
<td>William de Burbrigge</td>
<td>dead by 6 March 1325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Henry du Boys</td>
<td>1338</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Dowbyggynge</td>
<td>on 27 June 1396</td>
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<td>John Halswayn</td>
<td>on 1379-80 (Private castles)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas de Wympston</td>
<td>on 24 May 1321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Lyoun</td>
<td>on 20 Aug 1347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guy de Briene</td>
<td>on 24 May 1317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Philip de Wympston</td>
<td>for life from 26 July 1390,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William de Chauldon</td>
<td>still on 30 July 1391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William Gunneys</td>
<td>on 26 June 1334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John de Welton</td>
<td>1376</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Roger de Say</td>
<td>c. 1353-60</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nicholas Heryng</td>
<td>c. 1360-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William Godefray</td>
<td>c. 1360-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas White</td>
<td>lately 29 Jan 1384</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rockingham (N.Hants)</td>
<td>Almaric la Zusche</td>
<td>on 25 May 1321</td>
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<td>Thomas de Stone</td>
<td>on 20 Aug 1347</td>
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<td></td>
<td>John Lyoun</td>
<td>on 24 May 1317</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guy de Briene</td>
<td>for life from 26 July 1390,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Philip de Hambury</td>
<td>still on 30 July 1391</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nicholas Beek</td>
<td>on 9 June 1377</td>
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<td>Giles de Audenardo</td>
<td>on 22 Jan 1279</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Richard de Waldegrave</td>
<td>on 8 June 1280,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Runulp de Dacre</td>
<td>on 1 May 1282</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William de Herlisonn</td>
<td>on 24 Dec 1284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robert le Brut</td>
<td>on 27 Dec 1284</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Walter de Harewell</td>
<td>c.1335</td>
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<td></td>
<td>John de Wynewyk</td>
<td>c.1335</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Thomas Rous</td>
<td>c.1338</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Walter de Birton</td>
<td>on 27 Nov 1342</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas de la Vache</td>
<td>1347-1348</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Ruthyn</td>
<td>on 25 Jan 1360</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Walter de Chippenham</td>
<td>on 23 Nov 1365</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Neuton</td>
<td>dead by 14 Sept 1371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William Lye</td>
<td>from 14 Sept 1371</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Robert Thorle, esq</td>
<td>on 20 Nov 1381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robert German</td>
<td>on 14 April 1395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>on 9 Jan 1400</td>
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<td>on 8 Aug 1400</td>
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<tr>
<td>Castle</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Dates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castle Name Dates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wallingford (Berks)</td>
<td>Thomas Huberd</td>
<td>on 8 Aug 1346, still on 5 Nov 1346 (Private)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Warkworth (Nthumb)</td>
<td>Thomas de Hungerford</td>
<td>on 1 March 1369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warwick</td>
<td>John Hardyng</td>
<td>May 1406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor (Berks)</td>
<td>William de Sniton</td>
<td>on 14 May 1351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robert de Hertley</td>
<td>on 7 Feb 1374, still on 1 May 1381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas Tyle</td>
<td>for life from 10 May 1384, still on 7 Dec 1386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholas Loude</td>
<td></td>
<td>on 12 June 1396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Horsey</td>
<td></td>
<td>to 5 Sept 1413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Wyntershull</td>
<td></td>
<td>from 5 Sept 1413</td>
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### Summary by Castle

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Individuals</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abergavenny (Monmouth)</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bamborough (Northumb.)</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bristol (Gloucester)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caernarvon</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardigan</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chepstow (Monmouth)</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chirk (Denb)</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>Conway (Caern.)</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Corfe (Dorset)</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crickieith (Caern.)</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denbigh</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Devizes (Wilts)</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dover (Kent)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dynevor (Carm.)</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gloucester</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kenilworth (Warks.)</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Knaresborough (Yorks.)</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>Melbourne (Derby)</td>
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<td>Nottingham</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oakham (Rutland)</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>Rockingham (Nhants)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scarborough (Yorks.)</td>
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<td>Somerton (Linca.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tower of London</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wallingford (Berks.)</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Warwick</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Windsor (Berks.)</td>
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### Appendix Sixteen – Constables for the Queen

#### Constables of castles held by Queen Eleanor of Provence

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Constable</th>
<th>For Queen?</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester (Glou)</td>
<td>Imbert de Monte Ferrandi</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-1278-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marlborough (Wils)</td>
<td>John de Brabenharn?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>before 1290</td>
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</table>

#### Constables of castles held by Queen Eleanor of Castile

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<th>Castle</th>
<th>Constable</th>
<th>For Queen?</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bolsover (Derby)</td>
<td>Walter de la Grave</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1290-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harestan (Derby)</td>
<td>Thomas de Normanvill</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-1282-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William de Bagot</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1282-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richard Foliot</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1290-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odiham (Hamps)</td>
<td>John de London?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1275-</td>
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<td>Philip de Pyre</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orford (Suffolk)</td>
<td>Robert de Ufford</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1275-6</td>
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<td>Richard de Holebrok</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1276-80</td>
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<td>Stamford (Lincs)</td>
<td>Philip de Stanburn</td>
<td>No</td>
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#### Constables of castles held by Queen Margaret

<table>
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<th>Castle</th>
<th>Constable</th>
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<th>Dates</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge</td>
<td>Swyneford, John de Swyneford</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1311</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Crek, John de Crek</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1311-1314</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scalarius, Thomas</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1314-1315</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Giffard, Ralph</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1315-1318</td>
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<td>Devizes (Wiltshire)</td>
<td>John Bluet</td>
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<td>-1308</td>
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<td>Hugh le Despenser</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1308</td>
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<td>Gloucester (Glou.)</td>
<td>Walter de Beauchamp</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Alice widow of Walter</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>Nicholas de Kyngeston</td>
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<td>1308</td>
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<td>Hadleigh (Essex)</td>
<td>Roger Filliol</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1311-1312-</td>
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<td>Leeds (Kent)</td>
<td>John de Northwode</td>
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<td>-1300-</td>
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<td>Bart. de Badelsmere</td>
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<td>Thomas de Cottingham</td>
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<td>1314-</td>
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<td>Bart. de Badelsmere</td>
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<td>1317-1318-</td>
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<td>Eustace de Hache</td>
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<td>John Abel</td>
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<td>Hugh le Despenser</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mere (Wilts)</td>
<td>Richard de Chuseldem</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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### Constables of castles held by Queen Isabella

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<td>Hertford</td>
<td>John, Bp of Ely</td>
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<td>Robert de Louthe</td>
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<td>1358-1383-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leeds (Kent)</td>
<td>Owan Corder</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1331-</td>
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<td>Abp. of Canterbury</td>
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<td>1337-1340-</td>
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<td>Walter de Chesthunte</td>
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<td>Reynold Cobham</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1340-1341-</td>
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<td>John de Mere</td>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td>1337-1358-</td>
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<td>William le Mareschal</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>William Trussel of Cublesdon</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-1339-1362-</td>
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<td>John de Verdoun</td>
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### Constables of castles held by Queen Philippa

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<th>For Queen?</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bristol (Gloucester)</td>
<td>Almaric la Zousch</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1331-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John de Hegham</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>-1335-</td>
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<td>John la Ryvere</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-1338-1340-</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Robert Flambard, k's yeoman</td>
<td>No?</td>
<td>-1347-</td>
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<td>Edmund Flambard</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Robert de Fouleshurst</td>
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<td>-1361-1369-</td>
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<td>Hugh de Segrave, Q's esq., kn.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1369-1373-</td>
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<td>Devizes (Wiltshire)</td>
<td>Roger de Beauchamp</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1340-44-</td>
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<td>Marlborough (Wiltshire)</td>
<td>Robert Russel</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>-1345-1340-</td>
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<td>Odiham (Hampshire)</td>
<td>Thomas de Hungerford, kn.</td>
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<td>Rockingham (Northants)</td>
<td>John de Verdoun</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>-1336-1354-</td>
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### Constables of castles held by Queen Anne

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<th>Castle</th>
<th>Constable</th>
<th>For Queen?</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bristol (Gloucester)</td>
<td>John de Thorpe, Kn.</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Devizes (Wiltshire)</td>
<td>Roger de Beauchamp, Kn.</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>Nicholas de Sharnesfeld</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>John Lovel, Kn.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leeds (Kent)</td>
<td>John Devereux</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>1378-1382-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Odiham (Hampshire)</td>
<td>Bernard Brocas</td>
<td>No</td>
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### Constables of castles held by Queen Joan

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<td>Barton Seagrave (Northants)</td>
<td>Richard de Colfox, Arnuld Hulker</td>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td>1406-1408</td>
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<td>Nottingham</td>
<td>Richard Grey of Codnor</td>
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1 Queen Isabella retained the issues and profits
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<td>Appleby (Westm.)</td>
<td>Roger de Clifford</td>
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<tr>
<td>Barnard Castle (Dur)</td>
<td>John Balliol</td>
<td>Chancellor, Thomas</td>
<td>-1295</td>
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<td>Chancellor, Thomas</td>
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<td>Thomas Beauchamp, e. of Warwick</td>
<td>Ros, John de</td>
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<td>Belvoir (Leics)</td>
<td>John de Ros</td>
<td>Shropshire, Richard</td>
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<td>Beverstone (Gloucester)</td>
<td>Thomas ap Adam</td>
<td>Thurmond, William</td>
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<td>Bowes (Yrks)</td>
<td>John, duke of Brittany</td>
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<td>Bramber (Sussex)</td>
<td>John de Mowbray</td>
<td>Derby, John de</td>
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<td>Thomas de Mowbray, Earl Marshal</td>
<td>Nicholl, Richard fitz</td>
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<td>Brough (Westm)</td>
<td>Maud de Clifford</td>
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<td>Elizabeth de Clifford</td>
<td>Corrye, Adam</td>
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<td>Cardiff (Glam)</td>
<td>Hugh Despenser</td>
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<td>Carreg Cennon (Carm.)</td>
<td>Hugh le Despenser yng.</td>
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<td>John de Montefort, d. Brittany</td>
<td>Austin, John</td>
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<td>Usk (Monmouth)</td>
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<td>Henry Percy, e. Northumberland</td>
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<td>John de Dokwra, esq.</td>
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<td>Durham</td>
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<td>William Louthre</td>
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<td>Saltwood (Kent)</td>
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<td>Philip Darcy</td>
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<td>John Charney</td>
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<td>Sleaford (Lincs)</td>
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<td>Roger Honyton</td>
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<td>Reginald Courtoys</td>
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<td>Newark (Notts)</td>
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<td>Henry Beek</td>
<td>1354</td>
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<td>Norham (Nthumb)</td>
<td>Bishop of Durham</td>
<td>Robert de Maners</td>
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<td>Robert de Ogle</td>
<td>1403</td>
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<td>Taunton (Somerset)</td>
<td>Bishop of Winchester</td>
<td>Adam Draycote</td>
<td>1327</td>
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<td>Eccleshall (Staffs)</td>
<td>Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield</td>
<td>Gilbert de Cottesmore</td>
<td>1359</td>
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</table>
Appendix Eighteen – Castles in Wardship, 1272-1422

Albo Monasterio, John de, born 1338, inherited 1348 aged 10, of age c.1359, castles: Ennor (Scilly)

Arundel, Richard fitzAlan, earl of, born 1267, inherited by 1280, aged 13, of age 1288, castles: Arundel (Sussex), Clun (Shropshire), Oswestry (Shropshire), Shawardyn (Shropshire)

Arundel, Edmund fitzAlan, earl of, born c.1285, inherited 1302 aged 16, of age 1307, castles: Arundel (Sussex), Chirk (Denbigh), Clun (Shropshire), Denbigh, Dolforwyn (Montgomery), Oswestry (Shropshire), Shawardine (Shropshire)

Audley, Thomas de, born 1289, inherited 1299 aged 10, died underage 1308, castles: Heighley (Staffs), Redcastle (Shropshire)

Audley, Nicholas de, born 1289, inherited 1308 aged 19, of age 1310, castles: Heighley (Staffs), Redcastles (Shropshire), Llandover (Carmarthen)

Audley, James de, born 1313, inherited 1316, aged 3, of age c.1334, castles: Heighley (Staffs), Redcastle (Shropshire), Llandover (Carmarthen)

Badlesmere, Giles de, born 1314, restored 1328 aged 14, control in 1333 while underage, castles: Chelham (Kent), Lyonshall (Hereford)

Beauchamp, Thomas de, Earl of Warwick, born 1314, inherited 1315, aged 1, of age c.1335, castles: Barnard Castle (Durham), Colwyn (Radnor), Beaudesert (Warwick), Elmley (Worcestershire), Swansea (Glamorgan), Oystermouth (Glamorgan), Warwick, Worcester

Beauchamp, de, Earl of Warwick, born 1382, inherited 1401, aged 19, of age c.1403, castles: Barnards Castle (Durham), Beaudesert (Warks), Elmley (Worc), Painscastle (Radnor), Warwick, Worcester

Beaumont, John de, born 1361, inherited 1369 aged 8, of age 1383, castles: Folkingham (Lincs)

Beaumont, Henry de, born 1380, inherited 1396 aged 16, of age 1401, castles: Folkingham (Lincs)

Bere, Thomas, born 1401, inherited 1403 aged 2, of age 1422, castles: Fortified manor called Webley (Hereford & Marches), possibly Weobley castle (Hereford)

Berkeley, Thomas de, of Brimpsfield, born 1333, inherited 1347 aged 14, of age 1354, owned Brimfield probably (Gloucester)

Brewosa, John, born 1302, aged 1305 aged 3, of age 1323, castles: Buckingham

Bohun, Humphrey de, earl of Hereford & Essex, born 1342, inherited 1361 aged 19, of age 1363, Brecon, Caldicot (Monmouth), Hay (Brecon), Huntingdon Hereford),Kimbolton (Huntingdon), Pleshey (Essex)

Botiller, William, born 1274, inherited 1290 aged 16, of age 1295, castles: Wem (Shropshire)

Bulmer, Ralph, born 1403, inherited 1406 aged 3, castles: reversion of Wilton (Yorkshire)

Burley, John de, inherited 1401 while underaged, castles: Burley (Rutland)

Clare, Gilbert de, earl of Gloucester, born 1291, inherited 1295 aged 4, created earl 1307 aged 16, of age 1312, castles: Caerleon (Monmouth), Caerphilly (Glamorgan), Cardiff (Glamorgan), Clare (Suffolk), Dinas Powis (Glamorgan), Hanley (Worcester), Kenfig (Glamorgan), Llanblethin (Glam), Llangibby (Monmouth), Llangynwyd (Glamorgan), Machen (Monmouth), Neath (Glam.), Newport (Monmouth), Talavan (Glamorgan), Tonbridge (Kent)

Clifford, Robort de, born 1274, inherited 1292 aged 18, of age 1295, castles: Appleby (Westmorland), Brough (Westmorland), Brougham (Westmorland), Pendragon (Westmorland), Skipton (Yorks)

Clifford, Roger de, born 1299, inherited 1314 aged 15, of age 1321, castles: Appleby (Westmorland), Brough (Westmorland), Brougham (Westmorland), Pendragon (Westmorland), Skipton (Yorks)

Clifford, Robert de, born 1328, inherited 1344 aged 16, died underage in 1345, castles: Appleby (Westmorland), Brough (Westmorland), Brougham (Westmorland)

Clifford, Roger de, born 1334, inherited 1345 aged 11, of age 1355, castles: Appleby (Westmorland), Brough (Westmorland), Pendragon (Westmorland)

Clifford, John de, born 1388, inherited 1391 aged 3, of age 1409, castles: Appleby (Westmorland), Brough (Westmorland), Pendragon (Westmorland), Skipton (Yorks)

Clifton, Adam, born 1307, inherited 1316 aged 9, of age 1328, castles: New Buckenham (Norfolk)
Clifton, Constantine de, born c. 1372, inherited from mother, 1391, aged 19, of age c. 1393, castles: New Buckenham (Norfolk)

Cobham, Thomas de, of Rundale, born 1343, inherited 1361, aged 19, of age 1363, castles: Allington (Kent)

Colvill, Robert de, born 1363, inherited 1367 aged 4, died 1369 underage, castles: Benefield (Northants)

Cornwall, Geoffrey, underage 1346, castles: Stapleton (Shropshire)

Cornwall, Brian, born 1355, inherited 1365 aged 10, of age 1376, castles: Stapleton (Shropshire)

Courtenay, Hugh de, earl of Devon, born 1275, inherited 1293 aged 18, of age 1296, castles: Plympton (Devon)

Courtenay, Edward de, earl of Devon, born 1357, inherited 1377 aged 20, of age 1378, castles: Okehampton (Devon), Plympton (Devon), Powderham (Devon), Tiverton (Devon)

Courtenay, Thomas de, of Rundale, born 1343, inherited 1361 aged 19, of age 1363, castles: Allington (Kent)

Dacre, Thomas, born 1387, inherited 1399 aged 12, of age 1408, castles: Naworth (Cumberland)

Darcy, John, born 1351, inherited 1356 aged 5, died underage, castles: Whorlton (Yorkshire)

Darcy, Philip, born 1352, inherited 1368 aged 16, of age 1373, castles: Whorlton (Yorkshire)

Despenser, Edward, born 1337, inherited 1349 aged 12, of age 1358, castles: Caerphilly (Glamorgan), Cardiff (Glamorgan), Llantrisant (Glamorgan), Longton (Hereford) [Ewyas], Whitchurch (Glamorgan)

Despenser, Thomas, born 1373, inherited 1375 aged 2, of age 1394, castles: Cardiff (Glamorgan), Caerphilly (Glamorgan), Clun (Shropshire), Eimley (Worcester), Hanley (Worcester), Kenfig (Glamorgan), Llantrisant (Glamorgan), Llanblethan (Glamorgan), Moor End (Northampton), Neath (Glamorgan), Talavan (Glamorgan)

Despenser, Richard, inherited 1400, died by 1416, underage, castles: Clun (Shropshire), Kenfig (Glamorgan), Llantrisant (Glamorgan)

Dyve, John de, born 1273, inherited 1275 aged 2, of age 1294, castles: Deddington (Oxfordshire)

Faucomberge, Thomas de, born 1344, inherited 1362 aged 18, of age 1365, castles: Skelton (Yorkshire)

Felton, John de, born 1388, inherited 1396 aged 8, died 1403 underage, castles: Edlington (Northumberland)

Freyville, Baldwin de, born c. 1368, inherited 1387 aged 19, of age 1389, castles: Tamworth (Staffordshire)

Freyville, Baldwin, born 1395, inherited 1400 aged 5, of age 1416, castles: Tamworth (Staffordshire)

Fourivcal, Thomas de, born 1322, inherited 1339 aged 17, of age 1343, castles: Alton (Staffs), Sheffield (Yorkshire)

Giffard, John de, of Brymnesefeld, born 1287, inherited 1399 aged 12, of age 1308, castles: Brimpsfield (Gloucester), Carreg Cennon (Carmarthen)

Graystoke, Ralph baron, born c. 1353, inherited 1359, aged 6, of age c. 1374, castles: Graystoke (Cumberland), Morpeth (Northumberland)

Grey, Richard de, of Wilton, born c. 1393, inherited 1396 aged 3, of age c. 1414, castles: Wilton (Hereford), held by his mother after 1396

Harrington, John, born c. 1328, inherited 1347 aged 19, of age 1349, castles: Gleaston (Lancs)

Harrington, Robert, born c. 1336, inherited 1363 aged 7, of age 1377, castles: Gleaston (Lancs)

Hastings, John de, lord of Abergavenny, born 1262, inherited 1269, aged 7, of age 1283, castles: Abergavenny (Monmouth), Cilgarren (Pembroke)

Hastings, Laurence de, earl of Pembroke, born 1320, inherited 1325 aged 5, of age 1341, castles: Abergavenny (Monmouth), Fillongley (Warwickshire), Cilgarren (Pembroke), Pembroke, Tenby (Pembroke)

Hastings, John de, earl of Pembroke, born c. 1347, inherited 1348, aged 1, of age c. 1368, castles: Abergavenny (Monmouth), Cilgarren (Pembroke), Manorbier (Pembroke), Pembroke, Tenby (Pembroke)

Hastings, John de, earl of Pembroke, born c. 1372, inherited 1375, aged 3, died 1389, still under age, castles: Abergavenny (Monmouth), Huntingdon (Hereford), Cilgarren (Pembroke), Pembroke, Tenby (Pembroke), Manorbier (Pembroke)

Hastings, Richard de, born 1381, inherited 1401 aged 20, of age 1402, castles: Slingsby (Yorkshire) held by his mother

Heton, William, born 1393, inherited 1399 aged 6, died 1401 underage, castles: Chillingham (Northumberland)

Holland, Thomas de, earl of Kent, born 1350, inherited 1360 aged 10, castles: Castle Donnington (Leicester), prob. held by his mother

Holland, John de, earl of Huntingdon, earl of Exeter, born 1395, inherited 1400 aged 5, of age 1416, castles: Barnstaple (Devon), Trematon (Cornwall)

Langley, Edmund, future duke of York, born 1341, granted castles 1347 aged 6, of age 1362, castles: Sandal (Yorkshire), Conisborough (Yorkshire)
Latimer, Thomas de, born c.1341, inherited 1361 aged 20, of age 1362, castles: Braybrooke (Nhants)
Lovel, John, born 1341, inherited 1347 aged 6, died underage 1361, castles: Titchmarsh (Northamptonshire)
Lumley, Ralph de, born 1361, inherited 1374 aged 13, of age 1382, castles: Kilton (Yorks)
Lumley, John de, born c.1384, inherited 1400 aged 16, of age 1405, castles: Kilton (Yorks)
Maners, Robert, heir of, under age in 1355 and 1368, castle: Etal (Northumberland)
Maners, John, heir of, under age in 1408, castle: Etal (Northumberland)
Mauley, Peter, 8th, born 1378, inherited 1383 aged 5, of age 1399, castles: Mulgrave (Yorkshire)
Mohaut, Roger de, born 1262, inherited 1275 aged 13, of age 1283, castles: Castle Rising (Norfolk)
Mohn, John de, born 1270, inherited 1279 aged 9, of age 1291, castles: Dunster (Somerset)
Montague, William de, earl of Salisbury, born 1329, inherited 1344 aged 15, of age 1350, castles: Carisbrook (Hampshire), Christchurch Twynham (Hampshire), Denbigh, Mold (Flint), Sherbourne (Dorset), Wark On Tweed (Northumberland)
Montfort, John de, born 1291, inherited 1296 aged 5, of age 1312, owned Beaudesert (Warwickshire) from earls of Warwick

Montgomer, Roger de, future earl of March, born c.1288, inherited 1304 aged 16, of age 1309, castles: Cefnllys (Radnor), Denbigh, Knucklas (Radnor), Radnor, Rhayadr (Radnor)
Montgomer, Roger de, earl of March, born 1328, inherited 1332 aged 4, seised 1342 aged 14, of age 1349, fully restored 1354, castles in wardship: Radnor, Wigmore (Hereford), possibly Narberth (Pembroke)

Mortimer, Edmund de, earl of March, born 1352, inherited 1360 aged 8, of age 1373, castles: Blaen Llyfnin (Brecon), Builth (Brecon), Clifford (Hereford), Dinor (Brecon), Knucklas (Radnor), Ludlow (Shropshire), Montgomery, Radnor, Wigmore (Hereford)
Mortimer, Roger de, Earl of March, born 1374, inherited 1381, aged 7, of age 1395, castles: Blaen Llyfnin (Brecon), Bridgwater (Somerset), Builth (Brecon), Caerlon (Monmouth), Ceffnlys (Radnor), Clare (Suffolk), Clifford (Hereford), Denbigh, Dolfowyn (Montgomery), Glasbury (Radnor), Knucklas (Radnor), Ludlow (Shropshire), Montgomery, Narberth (Pembroke), Radnor, Llangibby (Monmouth), Trelleck (Monmouth), Usk (Monmouth), Wigmore (Hereford)

Mortimer, Edmund de, earl of March, born 1391, inherited 1398 aged 7, of age 1412, castles: Blaen Llyfnin (Brecon), Bridgwater (Somerset), Builth (Brecon), Ceffnlys (Radnor), Clare (Suffolk), Clifford (Hereford), Denbigh, Dinas (Brecon), Dolfowyn (Montgomery), Holt (Denbigh) [Caerlon], Llangibby (Monmouth) [Tregruk], Longton (Hereford) [Ewyas Lacy], Ludlow (Shropshire), Montgomery, Narberth (Pembroke), Radnor, Trelleck (Monmouth), Usk (Monmouth), Wigmore (Hereford)

Mowbray, John, earl of Nottingham, born 1365, created earl 1377, died 1383 underage, castles: Brambre (Sussex)
Mowbray, Thomas, earl Marshal, born 1385, inherited 1399, aged 14, died underage 1405, castles: Barton Segrave (Northampton), Brambre (Sussex), Bretby (Derbyshire), Chepstow (Monmouth), Framlingham (Suffolk), Swansea (Glamorgan)
Mowbray, John, born 1392, inherited 1405 aged 13, of age 1313, castles: Barton Segrave (Northampton), Brambre (Sussex), Chepstow (Monmouth), Framlingham (Suffolk), Swansea (Glamorgan)
Multon, John de, born 1308, inherited 1322 aged 14, of age 1329, castles: Egremont (Cumberland)
Nevill, John de, born 1300, inherited 1319, of age 1321, castles: Hornby (Lancashire) from earl of Lancaster
Norwico, John de, born 1352, inherited 1366 aged 14, died underage 1372, castles: Mettingham (Norfolk)
Ogle, Robert de, born 1353, inherited 1362 aged 9, of age 1372, castles: Ogle (Northumberland)
Pauncetot, Grymbald, born 1318, inherited 1332 aged 14, of age 1339, castles: Crichowell (Brecknock)
Percy, Henry de, born 1298, inherited 1314 aged 16, of age 1319, castles: Alnwick (Northumberland)
Pole, William de la, earl of Suffolk, born 1396, inherited 1415 aged 19, of age 1417, castles: Orford (Suffolk), Eye (Suffolk), both held by his mother from feb. 1416
Pychard, Roger, born 1290, inherited 1306 aged 16, castles: Tretower (Brecknock)
Restwold, Richard, born 1364, inherited 1374 aged 10, of age 1385?, owned High Head (Cumberland)
Roche, John de, born 1368, inherited 1376 aged 8, of age 1389, owned Maenclochog (Pembroke)
Ros, Thomas de, of Kendal, born 1306, inherited 1310 aged 3 ½, of age 1327, castles: Kendal (Westmorland)
Ros, William de, of Hamelak, born c.1328, inherited 1343, aged c.15, of age 1349, castles: Belvoir (Leicester), Helmsley (Yorkshire)
Ros, Thomas de, of Hamelak, born c.1338, inherited 1353, aged c.15, of age 1359, castles: Belvoir (Leicester), Helmsley (Yorkshire)
Ros, John de, of Hamelak, born 1263, inherited 1383 aged 20, of age 1384, castles: Belvoir (Leicester), Helmsley (Yorkshire)
Ros, John de, of Hamelak, born c.1399, inherited 1414, aged c.15, of age 1419, castles: Chileham (Kent), Belvoir (Leicester), Helmsly (Yorkshire)

Ros, Thomas de, of Hamelak, born c.1406, inherited 1421, aged c.15, of age 1427, castles: Belvoir (Leicester) (Helmsly and Chileham held by his mother)

Scoope, Henry de, of Bolton, born 1418, inherited 1420, aged 2, of age 1439, castles: Bolton (Yorkshire)

Segrave, John, born 1315, inherited 1325 aged 10, of age 1336, castles: Bretby (Derbyshire), Caludon (Warwickshire)

Somery, Roger, born 1255, inherited 1273 aged 18, of age 1278, castles: Dudley (Staffs)

Somery, John, born 1279, inherited 1291 aged 12, of age 1300, castles: Dudley (Staffs)

Stafford, Thomas, earl of, born 1368, inherited 1386, aged 12, of age 1389, castles: Caus (Shropshire), Stafford, Newport (Monmouth), Tonbridge (Kent) from Archbishop of Canterbury

Stafford, William, inherited 1392, died 1395, still underage, castles: Caus (Shropshire), Stafford, Newport (Monmouth), Tonbridge (Kent) from Archbishop of Canterbury

Stafford, Edmund, earl of, born 1378, inherited 1395, aged 17, of age 1399, castles: Caus (Shropshire), Stafford, Newport (Monmouth), Tonbridge (Kent) from Archbishop of Canterbury

Stafford, Humphrey, earl of, born 1402, inherited 1403 aged 1, of age 1423, castles: Caus (Shropshire), Newport (Monmouth), Stafford, Tonbridge (Kent) from archbishop of Canterbury

Strange, John le, of Blackmere & Whitchurch, born 1309, inherited 1323 aged 14, of age 1330, castles: Corfham (Shropshire)

Stratbolgi, David de, born 1307, inherited 1327 aged 20, of age 1328, castles: Castle Acre (Norfolk), Chileham (Kent), Mitford (Northumberland)

Stratbolgi, David de, born 1334, inherited 1336 aged 2, of age 1355, castles: Mitford (Northumberland)

Talbot, John, of Richard’s Castle, born 1336, inherited 1355 aged 19, of age 1357, castles: Richards Castle (Hereford) held by his mother in jointure

Talbot, John, of Richard’s Castle, born 1375, inherited 1382 aged 7, died 1388 underage, castles: Richards Castle (Hereford)

Talbot, Gilbert de, born 1383, inherited 1396 aged 13, of age 1404, castles: Goodrich (Hereford)

Tattershale, Robert de, born 1288, inherited 1303, aged 15, died under age 1306, castles: Tattershall (Lincoln), New Buckenham (Norfolk)

Tuchet, John, lord Audley, born 1371, inherited 1391 aged 20, of age 1392, castles: Redcastle (Shropshire), Heighley (Staffs)

Tuchet, James, lord Audley, born 1399, inherited 1409 aged 10, of age 1420, castles: Llandovery (Carmarthan), Newport (Pembroke), Redcastle (Shropshire), Heighley (Staff)’s?

Ufford, Robert de, born 1279, inherited 1298 aged 19, of age 1300, castles: Orford (Suffolk)

Umframville, Gilbert de, earl of Angus, born 1310, inherited 1325, aged 15, of age c.1331, castles: Harbottle (Northumberland), Prudhoe (Northumberland)

Umframville, Gilbert de, born 1390, inherited 1391, aged 1, of aged 1411, castles: Harbottle (Northumberland), Otterburn (Northumberland)

Veel, John, born 1408, inherited 1410 aged 2, of age 1429, castles: St. Fagans (Glamorgan)

Vere, John de, earl of Oxford, born 1312, inherited 1331 aged 19, of age 1333, castles: Castle Camps (Cambridge), Hedingham (Essex)

Vere, Robert de, earl of Oxford, born 1362, inherited 1371, aged 9, of age 1383, castles: Castle Camps (Cambridge), Hedingham (Essex), Lyonshall (Hereford)

Vere, Richard de, earl of Oxford, born 1385, inherited 1400 aged 15, of age 1406, castles: Hedingham (Essex), Castle Camps (Cambridge)

Wake, Thomas, born 1298, inherited 1300 aged 2, of age 1319, castles: Bourne (Lincolnshire), Liddel (Cumberland)

Warenne, John de, born 1286, inherited 1286 aged 6 months, of age 1307, castles: Dinas Bran (Denbigh), inherited earldom of Surrey 1304, aged 18, castles: Castle Acre (Norfolk), Conisburgh (Yorkshire), Caergwrle (Flint) (Hope), Lewes (Sussex), Reigate (Surrey), Sandal (Yorkshire), Trowbridge (Wiltshire)

Waryn, Fulk fitz, born c.1340, inherited 1349, aged 9, of age 1361, castles: Whittington (Shropshire)

Waryn, Fulk fitz, born c.1366, inherited 1372, aged 6, of age c.1387, castles: Whittington (Shropshire)

Waryn, Fulk fitz, born 1389, inherited 1391, aged 2, died under age 1407, castles: Whittington (Shropshire)

Waryn, Fulk fitz, born 1406, inherited 1407 aged 1, of age 1427, castles: Llandovery (Carmarthan), Redcastle (Shropshire), Whittington (Shropshire)

Waulter, Walter fitz, born 1344, inherited 1363 aged 19, of age 1365, castles: Egremont (Cumberland)

Waulter, Humphrey fitz, born c.1388, inherited 1406, aged 18, of age c.1409, castles: Egremont (Cumberland), held by mother: Dorstone (Hereford), Lyonshall (Hereford)

Wyderington, John de, born 1371, inherited 1372 aged 1, of age 1392, castles: Halton in Tynedale (Northumberland)
Bohun, Eleanor & Mary De Bohun, Born 1366 & 1370, Inherited 1373, Aged 7 & 3, Of Age C.1387 & 1391, Castles: Brecon (Brecknock), Caldicot (Monmouth), Hay (Brecon), Huntingdon (Hereford), Kimbolton (Huntingdon), Oakham (Rutland), Pleshey (Essex), Stamford (Lincolnshire)

Brompton, Margaret & Elizabeth, das. of Brian de Brompton, inherited 1295 aged 1 & 9 weeks, castles: Brompton (Shropshire), from Sir Edmund de Mortimer

Britannia, Alice, daughter of John de Britannia, e. Richmond, born 1282, inherited 1285 aged 3, castles: Richmond (Yorks), Bowes (Yorks)

Clare, Margaret & Isabel, 2 das. of Gilbert de Clare, inherited 1314, aged 19 & 20, castles: Clare (Suffolk), Hanley (Worcester), Cardiff (Glamorgan), Talavan (Glamorgan), Kenfig (Glamorgan), Neath (Glamorgan), Llantrissant (Glamorgan), Caerphilly (Glamorgan), Newport (Monmouth), Machen (Monmouth), Caerlion (Monmouth), Usk (Monmouth), Llangibby (Monmouth)

Clarence, Philippa, da. of Lionel duke of Clarence, born 1352, inherited 1368 aged 14, of age 1373, castles: Clare (Suffolk), Usk (Monmouth), Caerlion (Monmouth), Llangibby (Monmouth)

Faucomberge, Joan, da. of Thomas Faucomberge, born 1406, inherited 1407 aged 1, of age 1427, castles: Skelton (Yorks)

Furnivalle, Joan de, da. of William de Furnivalle, born 1369, inherited 1383 aged 1383, of age 1390, wife of Thomas de Nevill by 1383, castles: Sheffield (Yorks)

Geneville, Joan, Beatrice & Maud, da. of Peter de Genevill, inherited 1292 aged 6, 5 and 1, castles: Ludlow (Shropshire), held of Sir Geoffrey de Genevill, father of Peter

Heton, Joan, Elizabeth & Margaret, heirs of William Heton, inherited 1401, aged 15,12,9, castles: Chillingham (Northumberland): Joan was married to Robert de Rotherford by 1401

Lerchedekene, Margery, one of three da. of Warin Lerchedekene, born c.1391, inherited 1307 aged 16, castles: Richards Castle (Hereford)

Leybume, Juliana de, born 1304, father died 1307, castles: Leybourne (Kent), held by her mother in jointure

Lovel, Joan, da. of John Lovel of Titchmarsh, born 1312, inherited 1314 aged 2, of age 1333, castles: Titchmarsh (Northampton) from Walter de Langeton, bishop of Chester

Lucy de, Joan, da. of Anthony de Lucy, born 1366, inherited 1368 aged 1 ¼, of age 1387, castles: Langley (Northumberland), Cockermouth (Cumberland)

Malory, Elizabeth, da. of Thomas Malory, born 1401, inherited 1412 aged 11, of age 1422, castles: Benefield (Northants), Castle Bytham (Lincs), both from Alice, widwo fo Ralph Basset, her grandmother

Montague, Joan de, da. of Edward de Montague, born 1349, inherited 1361 aged 12, of age 1370, wife of William de Ufford, castles: Bungay (Suffolk)

Mortimer, Joan and Margaret, daughters of Hugh de Mortimer of Richards Castle, inherited 1305, aged 13 and 9, castles: Richard's Castle (Hereford), Stapledon (Hereford)

Pole, Hawis la Pole, sister & heir of Griffith de la Pole, born 1291, inherited 1309 aged 18, of age 1312, castles: Povis (Montgomery)

Segrave, Elizabeth, da. of John de Segrave, wife of John de Mowbray of Axholm, inherited 1353 aged 16, castles: Bretby (Derbyshire), Barton Segrave (Northants), both held by Margaret, her mother, in jointure

Strabolgi, Elizabeth & Philippa, daughters of David de Strabolgi, earl of Athol, born 1362 & 1363, inherited 1369, aged 7 & 6, of age c.1383 & 1384, castle: Mitford (Northumberland)

Talbot, Eleanor, of Richards Castles, one daughter of John Talbot, born 1372, inherited 1388 aged 16, castles: Richards Castle (Hereford). Had two sister who were of age in 1388.

Verdon, Elizabeth, daughter of Theobald de Verdon, born c.1306, inherited 1316, aged 10, of age c. 1327, castles: Longton (Hereford)

Verdon, Joan, inherited 1316, castle: Alton (Staffs)

Verdon, Margary, inherited 1316, castle: Wooley (Hereford)
## Appendix Nineteen – Royal Castles

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² One fifty year span or 75 years in total including time with the heir to the throne and the Queen
³ Forfeited castles that remain in the kings hands for less than five year across the period.
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Total: 191, England: 137, Wales: 54
Appendix Twenty – Castle Ownership by County

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<td>Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester</td>
<td>1291-1314</td>
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<td>Thomas of Woodstock, earl of Buckingham, d. of Gloucester</td>
<td>1355-1397</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas Despenser, earl of Gloucester</td>
<td>1373-1400</td>
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<td>Humphrey, duke of Gloucester</td>
<td>1390-1447</td>
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<td>Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford</td>
<td>-1275</td>
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<td>1323-1380</td>
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<td>1310-1360</td>
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<td>Thomas Holland, earl of Kent</td>
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<td>1340-1399</td>
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<td>Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln</td>
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<td>Roger Mortimer, earl of March</td>
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<td>Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk</td>
<td>1270-1306</td>
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<td>Thomas Mowbray, e. Nottingham, duke of Norfolk</td>
<td>1366-1399</td>
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<td>Thomas Mowbray, earl Marshal</td>
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<td>Henry Beaufort, earl of Somerset</td>
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<td>1301-1372</td>
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<td>Hugh Stafford, earl of Stafford</td>
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<td>1368-1392</td>
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<td>1378-1403</td>
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<td>Robert de Ufford, earl of Suffolk</td>
<td>1298-1369</td>
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<td>?</td>
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<tr>
<td>William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk</td>
<td>1396-1450</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
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<td>1231-1304</td>
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<td>John de Warenne, earl of Surrey</td>
<td>1286-1347</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Beauchamp, earl of Warwick</td>
<td>1240-1298</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guy Beauchamp, earl of Warwick</td>
<td>1273-1315</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick</td>
<td>1314-1369</td>
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<td>1382-1439</td>
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<td>Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland</td>
<td>1354-1425</td>
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<td>William Scrope, earl of Wiltshire</td>
<td>1350-1399</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>Hugh Despenser the elder, earl of Winchester</td>
<td>1322-1326</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester</td>
<td>1343-1403</td>
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<td>Richard Beauchamp, lord Abercavenny, earl of Worcester</td>
<td>1397-1422</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edmund Langley, earl of Cambridge, duke of York</td>
<td>1341-1402</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward, earl of Rutland, duke of Albemarle, duke of York</td>
<td>1373-1415</td>
<td>12</td>
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</table>
Appendix Twenty Two - Castles of the Queen of England

### Castles held by Queen Eleanor of Provence (-1291)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castle</th>
<th>Dates</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benefield (Nhants)</td>
<td>1275-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester</td>
<td>1236-1273-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guildford (Surrey)</td>
<td>1272-1291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadleigh (Essex)</td>
<td>1273-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haverford (Pemb)</td>
<td>1291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ludgershall (Wilts)</td>
<td>1274-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marlborough (Wilts)</td>
<td>1273-1290-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portchester (Hamps)</td>
<td>1273-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skipton (Yorks)</td>
<td>1286-</td>
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### Castles held by Queen Eleanor of Castile (-1290)

<table>
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<tbody>
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<td>Bolsover (Derby)</td>
<td>1275-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bristol (Glou)</td>
<td>1275-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caergwle (Flint)</td>
<td>1283-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harestan (Derby)</td>
<td>1275-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Peak (Derby)</td>
<td>1254-, 1275-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odigham (Hamps)</td>
<td>1275-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orford (Suff)</td>
<td>1275-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rockingham (Nhants)</td>
<td>1275-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southampton (Hamps)</td>
<td>1276-1286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stamford (Lincs)</td>
<td>1254-1275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tickhill (Yorks)</td>
<td>1254-1275</td>
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### Castles held by Queen Margaret (1299-1318)

<table>
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<tbody>
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<td>Berkhamstead (Herts)</td>
<td>1303-1317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge</td>
<td>1299-1318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christchurch (Hamps)</td>
<td>1299-1310-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devizes (Wilts)</td>
<td>1299-1310-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester</td>
<td>1299-1310-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guildford (Surrey)</td>
<td>1299-1317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadleigh (Essex)</td>
<td>1299-1311-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hertford</td>
<td>1299-, 1310-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leeds (Kent)</td>
<td>1299-1314-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marlborough (Wilts)</td>
<td>1299-1310-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mere (Wilts)</td>
<td>1304-1310-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Montgomery</td>
<td>1299-1301, 1304-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Odigham (Hamps)</td>
<td>1299-1311-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford</td>
<td>poss. 1311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pevensey (Sussex)</td>
<td>1299-1310-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portchester (Hamps)</td>
<td>1299-1310-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southampton (Hamps)</td>
<td>1299-1310-</td>
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1 Out of her hands in 1309
2 Held by Prince Edward in 1301-1303
### Castles held by Queen Isabella (1308-1358)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castles</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arundel (Sussex)</td>
<td>1330-</td>
<td>Lost by 1331</td>
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<tr>
<td>Berkhamstead (Herts)</td>
<td>1318-1319-</td>
<td>Lost by December 1330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Built (Brecknock)</td>
<td>-1329-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castle Rising (Norf)</td>
<td>-1337-1358</td>
<td>Location for her retirement</td>
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<tr>
<td>Christchurch (Hamps)</td>
<td>1318-1319-</td>
<td>Prob. lost by 1320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clitheroe (Lancs)</td>
<td>1331-1345</td>
<td>Returned to Alice Lacy by 1348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devizes (Wils)</td>
<td>1318-1321-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye (Suf)</td>
<td>1319-1330</td>
<td>To John of Eltham, Dec. 1330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester</td>
<td>1330-</td>
<td>Lost by 1334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guildford (Surrey)</td>
<td>1327-1330</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hadleigh (Essex)</td>
<td>1327-</td>
<td>Constables restart in 1334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harestan (Derby)</td>
<td>-1330</td>
<td>Prob. gained after 1326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haverford (Pemb)</td>
<td>1331-1358</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanley (Worcs)</td>
<td>1330</td>
<td>Possible only</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hertford</td>
<td>1327-1358</td>
<td>Kept through her fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Peak (Derby)</td>
<td>1313-1318, 1320-29-</td>
<td>To her children in the gap</td>
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<tr>
<td>Knaresborough (Yorks)</td>
<td>-1327-1328-</td>
<td>Lost 1330</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leeds (Kent)</td>
<td>1327-1355-</td>
<td>First granted the reversion in 1314</td>
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<tr>
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being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in the University of Hull

by

Thomas John Charles Rickard, M.A.

September 1999
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<td>cty.</td>
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<td>da.</td>
<td>daughter</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Fry P. S.</td>
<td>Fry, <em>Castles of Britain and Ireland</em>, Newton Abbot, 1996</td>
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<td>G.C.H.</td>
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<td>Issue Roll</td>
<td><em>Issue Roll of Thomas Brantingham, 1370</em>, Frederick Devon, London, 1835</td>
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<td>kn.</td>
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<td>P.P.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>R.C.H.</td>
<td><em>Royal Commission on Historical Monuments</em></td>
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### Anglesey

#### BEAUMARIS

**History**
- **Built**: 1295-1306
- **King, p.2**

**Owners**
- Crown for entire period
- Prince Edward (Edward II) from 7 February 1301 to 7 February 1301
- Prince Edward, the Black Prince from 12 May 1343 to 23 July 1351

**Constables**
- William de Felton from 1295-1302 to 1 April 1300
- John de Havering, P.P. from 1 April 1300 to 7 February 1301
- John de Medefeld from 11 August 1308 to 1 March 1309
- Roger de Mortimer of Chirk from 11 August 1308 to 12 October 1321
- Simon de Montague, P.P. from 1 March 1309 to 16 November 1321
- John de Sapy from 4 March 1312 to 16 November 1321
- Giles de Beauchamp from 12 October 1321 to 26 October 1327
- Hugh de Mortimer, for life from 29 April 1328 to 8 May 1328
- Robert de Walkefare, for life temp from July 1331-1333 to 8 June 1333
- William Trussel, king's yeoman for life from 18 November 1333 to 18 May 1334

**References**
- CCh.R. 1300-1326, p.6
- C.P.R. 1272-1307, p.422
- C.A.W., XXVI.179
- C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.576
- B.P.R. III, p.39
- C.C.R. 1307-1313, p.93
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on 1 October 1334 C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.420
on 27 August 1339 C.C.R. 1338-1341, p.184
on 10 November 1339 C.C.R. 1338-1341, p.286
to 12 May 1343 C.Ch.R. 1341-1417, p.14

David Cradok, king's knight
from 6 April 1380 C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.454
not by 18 March 1382 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.100

Gronow ap Tudor, king's esquire
for life from 18 March 1382 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.100

Baldwin de Radyngton, king's knight
from 27 March 1382 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.100
to 31 March 1385 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.533 (R.I.P.)

Gilbert Trussel
from 31 March 1385 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.533
on 8 May 1385 C.C.R. 1381-1385, p.549
to 24 February 1394 C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.371

William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire
from 24 February 1394 C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.371

William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire & William Warde
for life from 8 July 1396 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.16
William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire
for life from 22 February 1397 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.82
William Newport, kn.
to 5 November 1416 C.P.R. 1416-1422, p.46 (R.I.P.)
Edward Sprencheux
from 5 November 1416 C.P.R. 1416-1422, p.46

Constable for Black Prince
John de St. Pere, kn.
on 26 November 1359 B.P.R. III, p.378

Sub-Constables
'Urrici' de la Hay
on 29 September 1315 E.101/19/26 m.1
**BEDFORDSHIRE**

**BEDFORD (SITE ONLY)**

**History**
- built: Temp. William II
- dismantled: 1224
- site of: 26 July 1311
- inquiry into destruction: 8 May 1368
- not built up or enclosed: 22 September 1399

**Owners**
- Roger le Strange of Ellesmere, in right of his wife to 26 July 1311
- John Mowbray, heir of wife of above from 26 July 1311 to 1322
- John de Mowbray of Axholme to 17 June 1368
- John de Mowbray, son of above from 17 June 1368
- Thomas de Mowbray, duke of Norfolk on 14 October 1398 to 22 September 1399
- Thomas de Mowbray, earl Marshal, son of above from 22 September 1399 to 4 June 1405
- John de Mowbray, brother of above from 4 June 1405

**Constable for Mowbray**
- John Woketton for life from 14 October 1398 (Keeper) confirmed 12 February 1400 (Keeper) on 4 June 1405 (Keeper)

**BLETSOE**

**History**
- licensed: 23 Jun 1327

**Owners**
- John de Pateshull license to crenellate 23 Jun 1327

**YIELDEN**

**History**
- mentioned: 1173-4
- in decay: 1360
Berkshire

Unknown Licenses
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ALDWORTH (LA BECHE)

History
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Owners
Nicholas de la Beche, kn. licence to crenellate 3 March 1338 C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.24

BEAUMYSS (BEAMS)

History
licensed 3 March 1338 C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.24

Owners
Nicholas de la Beche, kn. licence to crenellate 3 March 1338 C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.24

DONNINGTON

History
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siege civil war King, p.11

Owners
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Alice, widow of John Phelipp, kn. from 28 November 1415 C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.234

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demolished 1652 King, p.12

Owners
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to 1272 H.K.W. II, p.850 (R.I.P.)
Edmund, earl of Cornwall from 1272 H.K.W. II, p850
to 1298 I.P.M. III, no.604 (R.I.P.)
The King, heir of above from 1298 I.P.M. III, no.605
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to 5 August 1309 C.Ch.R. 1300-1326, p.131
from 5 August 1309 C.C.R. 1307-1313, p.171
on 5 August 1309 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.186
on 16 January 1309 C.C.R. 1307-1313, p.190
Crown - Queen Isabella from 22 April 1317 C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.639
on 8 June 1317 C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.668
from 1 August 1318 C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.201
from 10 July 1319 C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.149
on 20 April 1327 C.M.R., no.41
John de Eltham, earl of Cornwall
from 4 December 1330 to 1336 by 1 December 1330
in tail male 16 June 1333
Edward, the Black Prince
from 1337 to 1336 by 1 December 1330
on 22 October 1344 on 3 June 1364 on 5 April 1366 to 1376
Joan, widow of the above
from 13 October 1376 to 1399
Prince Henry
from 15 October 1399 to 1336

Constables
Robert de la Mare
1 June 1268 on
Walter de Aylesbury
from 18 February 1301 to 1309
on 2 August 1301 on 16 March 1303 on 23 December 1304 on 27 June 1305
John de Clinton of Maxstoke
from 17 June 1308 to 1309
Edmund Bacon, kn.
from 10 December 1311 to 1312
Piers Gaveston
from 10 February 1312 to 1312
Edmund Bacon, kn.
and from 26 June 1312 to 1318
on 28 June 1312 on 16 August 1312 on 13 June 1314 on 10 July 1314 on 13 July 1316 on 8 August 1316 on 1 November 1317 on 3 December 1318
William le Marshall
on 4 August 1326 to 1328 to 15 October 1326
John le Stonore
from 30 September 1326 to 15 October 1326
Miles de Beauchamp
on 15 December 1326 to 1326-1328
William le Marshall

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Ralph de Ferrers

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Aubrey de Vere, kn.
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on 1 March 1389 C.P.R. 1388-1392, p.23
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on 20 July 1390 Ancient Deeds vol. III, D.412

on 30 March 1391 C.P.R. 1388-1392, p.392
on 30 April 1394 C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.427
on 30 April 1396 C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.658

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on 30 August 1398 C.C.R. 1396-1399, pp.326,332

William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire, John Bussy, Henry Grenne, William Bagot

from 12 July 1399 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.588

Thomas Chaucer

for life from 14 October 1399 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.13
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on 1 September 1346 B.P.R. I, p.14
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Sir Bartholomew de Burghershsh, yng

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Ebulo de Montibus on 15 October 1267, LMisc. I, no.331
on 14 February 1268, C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.148

Hugh Dive on 7 May 1268, C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.281
on 8 May 1268, C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.277
on 7 June 1268, C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.337

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on  19 February 1269  C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no. 608
on  28 February 1269  C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no. 626
on  6 March 1269  C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no. 629
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temp 1395-1396 E.101/683/76
confirmed 2 October 1399 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.40
not from 5 February 1405 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.489
Hugh de Waterton, king’s kn. for life from 4 February 1405 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.489
on 22 May 1406 C.C.R. 1405-1409, p.32
on 14 December 1406 C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.164
to 3 July 1409 C.P.R. 1408-1413, p.90 (R.I.P.)
John Stanley for life from 3 July 1409 C.P.R. 1408-1413, p.90
on 5 September 1413 C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.118
to 28 January 1414 C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.155
John Waterton, esquire from 28 January 1414 C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.155
on 23 May 1414 C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.233
Walter Hungerford, Kn. on 28 May 1419 C.P.R. 1416-1422, p.236

Lieutenants
James de Dorchester on 14 May 1351 C.P.R. 1350-1354, p.72
Robert de Hertley on 7 February 1374 I.Misc III, no.918
on 1 May 1381 C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.626
Thomas Tyle for life from 10 May 1384 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.403
on 13 May 1384 I.Misc IV, no.379
on 7 December 1386
Nicholas Loude on 12 June 1396 C.P.R. 1391-1396
John Horsey to 5 September 1413 C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.118
John Wyntershull from 5 September 1413 C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.118

Porter
Thomas Bastenthwayt from 20 March 1347 C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.273
Nicholas Lary for life from 25 February 1399 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.65
confirmed 14 June 1413 C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.48
John Parker, yeoman for life from 21 June 1408 C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.446

Gatekeepers
John Pollard & Philip de Wyz on 21 April 1272 C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.1900
on 6 March 1275 C.C.R. 1272-1275, p.156
John Pollard to 2 August 1280 C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.392 (R.I.P.)
Hamo de la Chaumbre from 2 August 1280 C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.392
on 25 April 1287 C.C.R. 1279-1288, p.447
Edmund de Alegate (Bailiwick of the custody of the gate) from 29 October 1321 C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.30
John de Broughton on 5 March 1327 C.C.R. 1327-1330, p.14

Keeper of the tower gate of the castle
Roger Bulloc on 20 April 1269 C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.692 (2d./day)
Philip de Wyz
not by 23 January 1272

Verger/ Usher to the order of the Garter
John Shefeld, esq.
for life from 26 November 1410
William Hargrove, esq.
for life from 28 November 1415

Usher of the Free Chapel
Walter Whithors, yeoman
on 23 April 1361

Kings Smith
Nicholas Smyth
on 24 January 1368

Chief Chaplain
Robert de Shutkingdon
on 16 September 1318

Canons of the Kings College
William Gyloth
on 13 December 1410

Chaplains
Richard de Welles, Adam de Bradeham, Laurence de London & Simon
on 6 March 1269
Richard de Welles, Laurence Thorne & Henry de la Grave
on 16 June 1272

Keeper of Beds & Armour
Giles Frensche
on 12 January 1403

Gardener
Fulk le Provincial, Edmund le Gardener
on 25 May 1272
Master Fulk
on 12 July 1272
Edmund
on 26 April 1287
John de Windsor
from 20 January 1336
for life from 24 February 1338

King's Serjeant of Windsor
Geoffrey de Squeler
on 4 July 1273

Keeper of Forest
John Synagun
on 13 July 1270
John Ingelard
on 27 January 1272
Robert de Say (Chief forester)
on 4 March 1275
on 26 April 1287

Keeper of gate & buildings of the park
Robert Lightfoot
on 12 February 1271
on 21 April 1272
on 6 March 1275
on 26 April 1287
Carpenter
Master Gilbert
on 10 October 1273  C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.34
on 26 April 1287  C.C.R. 1279-1288, p.447

Parker of Kenington
John
on 26 April 1287  C.C.R. 1279-1288, p.447

Watchmen
Richard de Redyng & John de Cherleton
on 1 May 1364  C.P.R. 1361-1364, p.499

Parker of the old park
Thomas Cheyne
for life from 20 July 1365  C.P.R. 1364-1367, p.160

Keeper of the gates, doors and houses of the inner ward
Geoffrey de Denham
for life from 18 October 1365  C.P.R. 1364-1367, p.164

WOODHAY, WEST

History
in use  C13 or C14  King, p.12
Blaen Llyfni (Blenleveny)

History

- Siege: 1215, King, p.16
- Siege: 1233, King, p.16
- Siege: 1322, King, p.16
- Mentioned: 1352, King, p.16

Being used as a base for Banditary before Purification 1277

Reversions

- Henry de Ferrers on 8 July 1338 C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.110

Owners

- Sir Reginald fitz Peter before Purification 1277 L.Misc 1, no.1127
- Sir John fitz Reynold, P.P. to 15 June 1310 I.P.M. V, no, 205 (R.I.P.)
- Roger Mortimer of Chirk, P.P. from 24 March 1316 C.Ch.R. 1300-1326, p.306
- Hugh le Despenser yng, P.P. confiscated before 23 January 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.91
- Roger Mortimer, earl of March to 26 November 1330 I.P.M. X, no.188
- not by 24 April 1333 C.C.R. 1333-1337, p.36
- Gilbert Talbot from 21 February 1346 C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.50
- to 24 February 1346 I.P.M. VIII, no.714 (R.I.P.)
- Richard Talbot, son of above heir on 24 February 1346 I.P.M. VIII, no.714
- on 1 January 1347 C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.227
- jointured 25 August 1347 C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.349
- not by 27 June 1352 C.C.R. 1349-1354, p.490
- Roger Mortimer, earl of March from 30 May 1354 C.P.R. 1354-1358, p.18
- in 1355 I.P.M. X, no.188
- died 26 February 1360 I.P.M. X, no.640

Edmund Mortimer, earl of March

- Heir 26 February 1360 I.P.M. X, no.640
- Granted away 24 November 1374 C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.37
- Granted back 14 February 1380 C.C.R. 1377-1381, p.365
- To 27 December 1381 I.P.M. XV, no.561 (R.I.P.)

Roger Mortimer, son of above from 27 December 1381 I.P.M. XV, no.561

John de Hastings & Philippa his wife for 8 years from 24 February 1388 C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.472

Roger Mortimer, earl of March to 20 July 1398 I.P.M. XVII, no.1206 (R.I.P.)

Edmund Mortimer, son of above from 20 July 1398 I.P.M. XVII, no.1206

Constables

- Ralph de Thedmersshe to 2 April 1308 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.62
- John fitz Reynold, P.P. from 2 April 1308 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.62
- on 1 October 1308 C.C.R. 1307-1313, p.77
Roger Mortimer of Chirk, P.P.
from 25 February 1310  C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.58
for life from 20 November 1310  C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.293
on 8 July 1316  C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.353
Griffin ap Rees
from 23 January 1322  C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.91
John de Dene
on 23 January 1322  C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.415
to 14 February 1322  C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.98
Robert Clement
from 14 February 1322  C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.98
Hugh le Despenser yng, P.P.
from 10 July 1322  C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.143
on 4 December 1322  C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.617
Robert de Harle
30 December 1330  C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.220
Hugh Tyrel
from 30 December 1330  C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.220
on 28 January 1331  I.Misc II, no.1252
on 13 February 1332  C.C.R. 1330-1333, p.434
on 23 January 1333  C.C.R. 1330-1333, p.524
on 24 April 1333  C.C.R. 1333-1337, p.36
Gilbert Talbot
for life from 2 October 1333  C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.476
on 24 March 1336  C.C.R. 1333-1337, p.550
Hugh Tyrel
on 1 September 1337  C.C.R. 1337-1339, p.172
Gilbert Talbot
on 23 April 1338  C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.52
on 8 July 1338  C.P.R., 1338-1340, p.110
on 20 February 1339  I.Misc II, no.1649
on 8 December 1340  C.C.R. 1339-1341, p.316
to 21 February 1346  C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.50 (becomes Owner)

Wardships
Minority of Roger Mortimer, earl of March, 1381-1395
Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, John lord Neville & Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland
from 16 December 1383  C.F.R. 1383-1391, p.22
Minority of Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, 1398-1412
John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, duke of Exeter
from 11 August 1398  C.P.R. 1396-1399 pp.408 & 514
Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland
from 2 March 1400  C.F.R. 1399-1405, p.50

BRECON

History
built 1093  King, p.16
modified C13  King, p.16
attack by Hugh Turbervill before 13 September 1273  C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.56
modified C14  King, p.16
siege 1322  King, p.16
siege 1403  King, p.16
in use temp. Glendower  King, p.16

Owners
Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford & Essex
on 13 September 1273  C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.56
died 27 September 1275  I.P.M. II, no.100
Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford & Essex, grandson of above
to 7 January 1299  I.P.M. III, no.552 (R.I.P.)
Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex
from 7 January 1299 I.P.M. III, no.552
confiscated before 23 January 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.91
John de Bohun, earl of Hereford & Essex
to 26 January 1337 I.P.M. VIII, no.55 (R.I.P.)
Humphrey de Bohun, brother of above
from 26 January 1337 I.P.M. VIII, no.55
to 15 October 1361 I.P.M. XI, no.485 (R.I.P.)
Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford & Worcester, son of above
from 15 October 1361 I.P.M. XI, no.485
to 17 January 1373 I.P.M. XIII, 167 (R.I.P.)
Bohun
to 1380 H.K.W. II, p.575
Lancastrian
from 1380 H.K.W. II, p.575
Henry of Lancaster & Mary his wife
from 1380 H.K.W. II, p.575
livery 22 December 1384 C.C.R. 1381-1385, p.511
on 26 June 1387
don 6 February 1397 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.70
to 1399 H.K.W. II, p.575
Crown
from 1399 H.K.W. II, p.575
to 1421 H.K.W. II, p.575
Anne, countess of Stafford
from 12 July 1421 C.P.R. 1416-1422, p.381
Constables
Griffin ap Rees
from 23 January 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.91
to 23 January 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.91
Robert de Morby
from 23 January 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.91
on 23 January 1322 C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.415
Hugh le Despenser, yng, P.P.
from 10 July 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.143
on 4 December 1322 C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.617
Richard, lord Grey
from 26 September 1402 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.122 (Keeper)
Richard de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick & John Tuchet, lord Audley, P.P.
from 24 October 1403 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.370
to 19 October 1404
John Tuchet, lord Audley, P.P.
from 14 October 1404 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.504
from 19 October 1404 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.370
Richard, lord Grey
on 11 May 1405 C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.16 (Keeper)
Private Constables
Thomas son of Wendaubre for Humphrey de Bohun
on 14 June 1282 C.A.C.W., XXII.155
Thomas fitz Walter
on 4 November 1287 C.A.C.W., XXX.71
Hugh de Waterton, kn. for Henry Bolingbroke
from 26 June 1387 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.70
confirmed 6 February 1397 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.70
Wardships
Minority of Humphrey de Bohun, 1361-1363
Stephen atte Roche, William, abbot of Walden & Thomas de Walmesford
on 26 November 1361 C.P.R. 1361-1364, p.133
Minority of Eleanor & Mary de Bohun, 1373-
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<th>Location</th>
<th>History</th>
<th>Owners</th>
<th>Constables</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>BRONLLYS</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>siege 1322 King, p.17</td>
<td>Maud Giffard, daughter of above from 23 October 1299 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.421</td>
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<td>repaired 1409-10 King, p.17</td>
<td>Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford &amp; Essex to 16 January 1373 I.P.M. XIII, no.85 (R.I.P.)</td>
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<td>Joan, widow of above on 11 February 1381 C.C.R. 1377-1381, p.440</td>
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<td>Henry Bolingbroke, earl of Derby &amp; Mary his wife, heir of above from 10 March 1385 C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.56</td>
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<td>to 15 September 1397 I.P.M. XVII, no.1028 (R.I.P.)</td>
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<td>not by 29 November 1397 I.Misc VI, no.226</td>
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<td>1/3 Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester to 15 September 1397 I.P.M. XVII, no.1028</td>
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<td>not by 29 November 1397 I.Misc VI, no.226</td>
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<td>1/3 Humphrey, son of above from 15 September 1397 I.P.M. XVII, no.1028</td>
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<td>1/3 Eleanor, wife of Thomas above on 29 November 1397 I.Misc VI, no.226</td>
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<td>Crown from 1399 H.K.W. II, p.582</td>
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<td>to 1421 H.K.W. II, p.582</td>
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<td><strong>BUILTH</strong></td>
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<td>built early C12 King, p.17</td>
<td>Thomas de Bradeston from 1 April 1340 C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.448</td>
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<td>rebuilt 1210 King, p.17</td>
<td>Roger de Mortimer of Wigmore before 1277 Morris, p.147</td>
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<td>rebuilt 1219 King, p.17</td>
<td>Prince Edward from 7 February 1301 C.P.R. 1296-1302, p.576</td>
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<td>rebuilt 1242 King, p.17</td>
<td>Queen Isabella on 2 September 1329 C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.147</td>
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<td>rebuilt 1277 King, p.17</td>
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<td>siege 1294 King, p.17</td>
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<td>siege 1322 King, p.17</td>
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<td>in use temp. Glendower King, p.17</td>
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Ebulo le Strange, P.P. & Alice de Lacy, countess of Lincoln
from 25 September 1334  C.P.R. 1333-1337 (via Alice)
to 17 September 1335  I.P.M. VII, no.681 (R.I.P.)

Alice de Lacy, countess of Lincoln
from 17 September 1335  I.P.M. VII, no.681
Hugh de Frene & Alice de Lacy, his wife
on 12 March 1338  C.C.R. 1337-1339, p.353
Alice de Lacy, countess of Lincoln
on 1 April 1340  C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.448
died 1348

Roger Mortimer, earl of March
on 25 May 1359  C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.202
on 22 August 1359  C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.262
to 26 February 1360  I.P.M. X, no.640 (R.I.P.)

Edmund Mortimer, earl of March & Ulster, son of above
from 26 February 1360  I.P.M. X, no.640

to 27 December 1381  I.P.M. XV, no.560 (R.I.P.)

Roger Mortimer, earl of March, son of above
from 27 December 1381  I.P.M. XV, no.560
under age 16 December 1382  C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.65
on 17 February 1395  C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.606
on 14 June 1395  C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.583
to 20 July 1398  I.P.M. XVII, no.1206 (R.I.P.)

Eleanor, widow of Roger Mortimer (R.I.P.)
from 16 March 1399  C.C.R. 1396-1399, p.451

to 6 October 1405  I.P.M. XVIII, no.49

Edmund Mortimer, earl of March
on 28 September 1418  C.P.R. 1416-1422, p.180

Reversions
Thomas de Bradeston
on 1 April 1340  C.P.R. 1340-1343, p.390
confirmed 10 March 1342  C.P.R. 1340-1343, p.390

Constables
Hocl son of Meuric
from 7 January 1278  C.W.R., p.162
from 11 March 1279  C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.304.
on 12 March 1279  C.W.R., p.178

Roger le Strange of Ellesmere, P.P.
to 14 October 1282  C.W.R., p.240

John Giffard of Brimpsfield, P.P.
from 14 October 1282  C.W.R., p.240
on 14 November 1287  C.W.R., p.316
on 28 November 1288  C.W.R., p.323
on 12 June 1290  C.P.R. 1281-1292, p.402
on 13 January 1292  C.C.R. 1288-1296, p.213

Philip ap Howel
for 5 years from 23 June 1299  C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.423
on 11 March 1300  C.C.R. 1296-1302, p.336
on 7 June 1300  C.C.R. 1296-1302, p.354
to Prince Edward
on 7 February 1301  C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.576
on 17 October 1307  C.C.R. 1307-1313, p.3
for two years 11 July 1309  C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.46
to 26 February 1309  C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.58

Roger Mortimer of Wigmore
from 26 February 1309  C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.58
to 12 December 1310  C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.76

Philip ap Howel
from 12 December 1310  C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.76
to 25 January 1314  C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.188
John de Charlton of Powis, P.P.
from 25 January 1314 on 26 March 1314 on 20 February 1315 on 7 May 1315 on 8 September 1315
John de Walewayn
from 20 July 1318 to 2 June 1319
Roger Mortimer of Chirk, P.P.
from 2 June 1319
Humphrey de Bohun
to 16 March 1321
Griffin ap Rees
from 23 January 1322 on 23 January 1322 on 30 March 1324 on 8 December 1325
Gilbert Talbot, P.P.
from 12 December 1330
Ebulo le Strange, P.P. & Alice de Lacy, his wife for her life from 16 February 1331
Henry de Halton
from 6 December 1335
Wardship
minority of Roger Mortimer, earl of March, 1332-1342
William de Bohun & Elizabeth, his wife, widow of Edmund de Mortimer
from 6 September 1341
Edward Prince of Wales
from 14 July 1360
Minority of Roger Mortimer, earl of March, 1381-1395
William Jouet
from 16 December 1382
Walter Deverose
from 8 February 1382
Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, Roger Mortimer, earl of March, John lord Neville & Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland
from 16 December 1383
Minority of Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, 1398-1412
John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, duke of Exeter
from 11 August 1398
Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland
from 2 March 1400
Richard, lord Grey
from 26 September 1402
John Smert, esq.
from 15 March 1407 on 6 May 1407 from 9 May 1409
Receiver
John Fayreford, clerk on 5 March 1403

CRICKHOWELL
History
built early C12 modified C13 or early C14 taken by Edward II

19
in use temp. Glendower King, p.18

Tenant in Chief
Gilbert Talbot to 24 February 1346 I.P.M. IX, no.714 (R.I.P.)
Richard Talbot, son of above from 24 February 1346 I.P.M. IX, no.714

Owners
Confiscated before 23 January 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.91
Emery Pauncefoot to 15 December 1332 I.P.M. VII, no.449 (R.I.P.)
Grimbald, son of Emery de Pauncefot from 15 December 1332 I.P.M. VII, no.449
from 23 January 1333 C.C.R. 1330-1333, p.523
John Pauncefot on 8 September 1403 C.C.R. 1402-1405, p.111

Constables
Griffin ap Rees from 23 January 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.91
to 23 January 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.91
Edmund Gacelyn from 23 January 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.91
on 23 January 1322 C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.415

DINAS (BULKDINAS, BWLCH-Y-DDINAS)

History
built C12 King, p.18
siege 1322 King, p.18
in use temp. Glendower King, p.18

Reversions
Henry de Ferrers on 8 July 1338 C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.110

Owners
William Gethin at Purification 1277 I.Misc I, no.1127
John fitz Reynold, P.P. son of Peter to 26 November 1307 C.C.R. 1307-1313, p.46
Crown from 26 November 1307 C.C.R. 1307-1313, p.46
Roger Mortimer of Chirk, P.P. from 25 March 1316 C.Ch.R. 1300-1326, p.306
confiscated before 23 January 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.91
Hugh le Despenser yng, P.P. from 6 August 1324 C.Ch.R. 1300-1326, p.469
Gilbert Talbot on 8 July 1338 C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.110
Gilbert Talbot from 21 February 1346 C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.50
to 24 February 1346 I.P.M. VIII, no.714 (R.I.P.)
Richard Talbot, son of above from 24 February 1346 I.P.M. VIII, no.714
on 1 January 1347 C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.227
jointured 25 August 1347 C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.349
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to 23 January 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.91
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CAERNARVON

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**History**

- Built: 1283
- Siege: 1401

**Owners**

- **Crown - Prince Edward (Edward II)**
  - From: 7 February 1301
  - To: 8 April 31

- **Crown - Prince Edward**
  - From: 12 May 1343

- **Crown - Queen Anne**
  - For life from: 16 August 1382
  - For life from: 16 November 1382
  - On: 20 May 1387
  - On: 24 November 1387
  - On: 26 June 1392
  - On: 28 November 1392

**Constables**

- **William de Cycons**
  - From: 21 October 1284
  - On: 12 July 1290
  - On: 28 November 1296
  - On: 17 May 1297
  - On: 24 May 1297
  - On: 24 May 1297
  - To: 7 February 1301
  - To: 7 February 1301
  - On: 16 April 1310

- **William Bagot**
  - For life from: 18 May 1311
  - On: 4 March 1312
  - On: 4 March 1312
  - On: 13 February 1316

- **Henry de Bisshebury**
  - From: 2 January 1320
  - On: 26 April 1320
  - On: 8 March 1321
  - To: 30 January 1326

- **Aline Burnell**
  - From: 30 January 1326
  - To: 20 October 1326

- **William de Arcalowe**
  - From: 20 October 1326

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  - To: 20 October 1326
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History
built 1090
rebuilt 1210
rebuilt 1245
demolished 1263
Owners
Royal
on 2 January 1278
Notes
Total ruin by 1277.
DINAS EMRYS
History
built C12 or C13
DOLBARDA RN
History
in use 1255
demolished 1284
Owners
Welsh princely castle not by
Crown while being dismantled temp
DOLWY DDEL AN
History
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- Edward, the Black Prince: on 23 October 1347
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DRYSLWYN (DROSLAN, DRUSSELAN)

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<td>on 2 March 1402</td>
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<td></td>
<td>on 17 March 1402</td>
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### Constables

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<td>Alan de Flogonet, P.P.</td>
<td>from 24 September 1287</td>
<td>C.W.R., p.31</td>
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<td>temp 1287-1288</td>
<td>E.101/4/20</td>
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<td>on 14 November 1287</td>
<td>C.W.R., p.316</td>
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<td>C.A.C.W., XXVI.9 (ii)</td>
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<td>on 28 November 1288</td>
<td>C.W.R., p.323</td>
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<td>on 8 February 1288</td>
<td>C.W.R., p.323</td>
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<td>C.P.R. 1281-1292, p.320</td>
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<td>John le Ussher</td>
<td>for life from 17 February 1302</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.15</td>
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<td>John Giffard of Brimpsfield, king's yeoman, P.P.</td>
<td>from 5 July 1309</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.163</td>
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<td>to 22 February 1312</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.126</td>
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<td>Thomas le Blount, P.P.</td>
<td>on 20 May 1312</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.133</td>
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<td>on 30 August 1312</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.489</td>
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<td>on 30 Aug 1312</td>
<td>C.C.R. 1307-1313, p.476</td>
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<td>Thomas de Hewish</td>
<td>from 16 April 1314</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.193</td>
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<td>Thomas le Blount, P.P.</td>
<td>on 1 August 1315</td>
<td>C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.240</td>
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<td>on 12 May 1316</td>
<td>C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.283</td>
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<td>to 18 November 1317</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.56</td>
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<td>Hugh le Despenser yng, P.P.</td>
<td>for life from 18 November 1317</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.56</td>
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<td>Walter Box</td>
<td>from 4 July 1318</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.364</td>
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<td>Name</td>
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<tr>
<td>Giles de Beauchamp</td>
<td>from 14 September 1318 to 21 November 1318</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.375</td>
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<td>Hugh le Despenser yng, P.P.</td>
<td>from 21 November 1318 to 21 November 1318</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1317-1321, p.248</td>
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<td>Res ap Griffith</td>
<td>to 30 September 1321</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.72</td>
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<td>Walter de Beauchamp</td>
<td>from 30 September 1321 to 24 October 1321</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.72</td>
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<td>William de Beauchamp</td>
<td>to 7 May 1322</td>
<td>C.R. 1321-1324, p.30</td>
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<td>Hugh Despenser yng</td>
<td>to 7 November 1326</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.422</td>
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<td>Llewellyn du ap Griffith</td>
<td>from 7 November 1326 to 20 June 1327</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.422</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roger Pychard</td>
<td>on 20 June 1327</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Richard de Pembrigge</td>
<td>from 8 November 1328 to 6 August 1333</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.370</td>
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<td>Res ap Gruffyd (Ap Howel)</td>
<td>for life from 13 May 1335 to 12 May 1339</td>
<td>C.C.R. 1339-1341, p.127</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rhys ap Gruffyd</td>
<td>life from 1353</td>
<td>H.K.W. II p.642</td>
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<tr>
<td>to 24 June 1355</td>
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<td>B.P.R. III, p.492</td>
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<td>to 21 September 1356</td>
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<td>I.P.M. X, no.324 (R.I.P.)</td>
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<td>to 1356</td>
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<td>H.K.W. II p642 (R.I.P.)</td>
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<td>Rees ap Griff</td>
<td>on 26 November 1359</td>
<td>B.P.R. III, p.378</td>
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<td>William de Houton</td>
<td>for life from 5 June 1380 to 20 August 1380</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.498</td>
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<td>on 25 January 1381 to 8 May 1385</td>
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<td>C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.541</td>
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<td>William de Houton &amp; William Bredwardye, king's esquire</td>
<td>for life from 11 February 1399</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.471</td>
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<td>Rees ap Griff, esquire</td>
<td>confirmed from 2 March 1402 to 17 March 1402</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.57</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rhys ap Gruffydd</td>
<td>on 1403</td>
<td>H.K.W. II p.642</td>
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</table>

**DYNEVOR**

**History**
- **built:** C12
- **modified:** C13
- **captured by welsh:** June 1287
- **recaptured:** August 1287
- **modified:** late C15 or early C16

**Tenant in Chief**
- **Sir John son of Reginald:** on 16 May 1306

**Owners**
- **Rhys ap Mereddud:** to 11 April 1277

**Owners**
- **Rhys ap Mereddud:** to 11 April 1277
requests compensation 1284-1287  
Taken into King's hands by Payn de Cadurcis on 5 June 1277 
Hugh Despenser, yng. restored to 7 May 1322 20 May 1318 
Rhys ap Griffith, leased from above for 7 years from 20 May 1318 
Hugh Despenser, yng. to Crown from 1326 1326 
to Crown - Black Prince from 12 May 1343 

Constables  
John Penhys from April-May 1277 
Payn Cadurcis from 12 June 1277 
Bogo de Knovill from 5 January 1280 10 June 1280 
Robert de Tibotot from 8 June 1281 12 November 1281 
John Giffard of Brimpsfield, P.P. from 8 February 1290 
for life from 8 February 1290 to 29 July 1297 
Robert de Tibotot from 29 July 1297 
William de Langeton from 31 July 1310 
Edmund Hakelut for life from 4 December 1310 23 February 1315 on 11 July 1315 on 7 February 1316 to 3 April 1318 
Hugh le Despenser, yng, P.P. from 3 April 1318 
Edmund Hakelut from 11 July 1318 12 Jult 1318 
Hugh le Despenser, yng, P.P. for life from 21 November 1318 
Griffin ap Rees from 23 January 1322 23 January 1322 to 
William de Beauchamp to 7 May 1322 
Edmund Gracelyn from 23 January 1322 
Hugh le Despenser yng to 7 November 1326 
Llewellyn du ap Griffith from 7 November 1326 2 December 1326 to 2 December 1326
Edmund Hakelut
from 2 December 1326 C.P.R. 1319-1327, p.341
from 2 December 1326 C.P.R. 1319-1327, p.422
from 25 February 1327 C.C.R. 1327-1330, p.44
for life on 2 June 1327 C.C.R. 1327-1330, p.129
on 27 February 1328 C.C.R. 1327-1330, p.258
on 27 April 1329 C.C.R. 1327-1330, p.447
Edmund Hakelut ynr
for life from 7 July 1329 C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.140
from 4 December 1330 C.C.R. 1339-1341, p.403
confirmed 13 March 1331 C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.85
on 29 January 1332 C.C.R. 1330-1333, p.427
on 4 March 1336 C.C.R. 1333-1337, p.549
on 29 September 1336 E.101/20/23 m.4
on 5 March 1338 C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.25
on 18 May 1340 C.C.R. 1339-1341, p.403
on 1353 H.K.W. II p.644 (For Black Prince)
on 24 June 1355 B.P.R. III, p.492
on 29 September 1353 B.P.R. III, p.378
on 1360 H.K.W. II, p.644 (R.I.P.)
Edmund de Bradeston
on 13 May 1385 C.C.R. 1381-1385, p.549
Richard Mauardyn, esquire
for life from 1 December 1388 C.P.R. 1388-1392, p.1
Edmund Bradston
to 28 June 1397 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.197
William Walshale
for life from 28 June 1397 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.197
John Hauard, esquire
for life from 3 November 1399 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.49
William Walsall
confirmed 14 November 1399 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.120
Deputies
Walter de Pederton
on 29 July 1297 C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.296
Porter
Richard Mauardyn, esquire
for life from 1 December 1388 C.P.R. 1388-1392, p.1

KIDWELLY

History
built c.1106 King, p.55
rebuilt 1190 King, p.55
modified 1275 Platt, p.85
modified early C14 Platt, p.85
in use temp. Glendower King, p.55
modified temp Henry IV & Henry V Platt p.86

Tenant in Chief
Edward black prince
on 23 March 1361 I.P.M. XI, no.118 (R.I.P.)

Owners
Payn de Chaworth
c. mid 1270s Platt p.85
Henry, earl of Lancaster, through his wife Matilda de Chaworth, niece of above
from 1298 Platt p.85
to 1333 DL.27/192
Henry, duke of Lancaster
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from 1333 to 23 March 1361 DL.27/192
dead by 16 July 1361 C.F.R. 1356-1368, p.165
Maud, his daughter, wife of William duke of Bavaria from 16 July 1361 C.F.R. 1356-1368, p.165 to 10 April 1362 I.P.M. XI, no.299 (R.I.P.)
John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, through Blanche his wife, sister of above from 10 April 1362 I.P.M. XI, no.299 on 18 October 1366 'Feet of fines relating to Wiltshire' foot of fine 2 November 1366 'Wiltshire Record Society 29 (1973), no.548 on 1 March 1373 J.G.R. 1372-1376, no.565
Crown from 1399

Private Constables
Richard de Burley for John of Gaunt for life from 1 March 1373 J.G.R. 1372-1376, no.565

LAUGHARNE

History
siege 1189,1215,1257 King, p.56 modified? temp. Edward I King, p.56 in use temp. Glendower King, p.56

Owners
Guy de Brian to 26 July 1307 I.P.M. V, no.64 (R.I.P.)
Guy de Brian, son of above from 26 July 1307 I.P.M. V, no.64 Hugh le Despencer, yng & Eleanor his wife from 9 July 1322 C.Ch.R. 1300-1326, 448
Guy de Brian, kn., snr, in chief to 29 October 1349 C.C.R. 1349-1354, p.120 to 17 June 1349 I.P.M. IX, no.333 (R.I.P.)
Guy de Brian, kn., jnr, son of above, in chief, P.P. from 17 June 1349 I.P.M. IX, no.333 on 29 October 1349 C.C.R. 1349-1354, p.120 on 8 June 1386 C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.162 on 16 August 1386 C.Ch.R. 1341-1417, p.306 (TALLAGHARN) on 8 September 1403 C.C.R. 1402-1405, p.111

Llandovery

History

Owners
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Katherine de Audley, daughter and heir of above from 23 October 1299 to 23 October 1299

James de Peres & Ela, daughter of above from 24 November 1312 to 7 October 1313 confirmed

Nicholas de Audley of Heighley, unclear title, P. P. from 6 December 1316 to 12 May 1368 confirmed

James de Audley, of Heighley, son of above, P. P. from 6 December 1316 to 20 May 1319 under age confirmed died 1 April 1386
died 1 April 1386
died 1 April 1386

Nicholas de Audley of Heighley, son of above, P. P. from 12 May 1368 to 22 July 1391 confirmed forfeited by 5 August 1391

Crown in 1391

Elizabeth, widow of Nicholas de Audley from 22 July 1391 to 16 November 1391

One third to John Tuchet, lord Audley, P. P. from 8 September 1403 to 19 December 1409

One third to James Tuchet, lord Audley, son of above, P. P. from 19 December 1409 to 31 October 1407

One third to Fulk Fitz Waryn from 31 October 1407 to 31 October 1407

Constables

Taken into King's hands by Payn de Cadurcis on 5 June 1277

Bogo de Knovill on 10 June 1280

Robert de Tibotot from 8 June 1281 on 12 November 1281

Gilbert de Clare to 9 April 1282

to 14 April 1282

John Giffard of Brimpsfield, P. P. from 9 April 1282 to 2 June 1282

Wardships

Minority of James Audley, 1316-1334, heir of Nicholas de Audley

John Giffard of Brimpsfield on 14 March 1317

on 20 May 1319

Griffin ap Res from 14 February 1322

LLANSTEPHAN

History built C12 King, p.58
modified early C13 King, p.58
modified late C13 King, p.58
modified late C15 or early C16 King, p.58

Tenant in Chief
Prince of Wales on 11 March 1357 I.P.M. X, no.407

Owners

Geoffrey de Camville died 1308 G.E.C. III, p.3
William de Camville from 1308 to 1338 G.E.C. III, p.3
Richard de Penres, from Eleanor, his wife to 11 March 1357 I.P.M. X, no.407 (R.I.P.)
Robert Penres from 11 March 1357 to 20 June 1367 I.P.M. X, no.407 C.P.R. 1364-1367, p.413
Simon de Burley, king's knight from 16 June 1377 (Fee simple) confirmed 26 June 1378 C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.262 confirmed 2 August 1383 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.301 on 12 December 1385 C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.96 to 11 Rich II (1387/8)
Robert de Penres from 27 July 1391 C.P.R. 1388-1392, p.473 (Fee simple) Humphrey duke of Gloucester, temporary grant to clear debts to 1 July 1418 C.P.R. 1416-1422, p.129

Constables
David ap Meuric & Howel Seys & Griffith ap Ycvan from 30 October 1326 C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.335 John Penres for life from 24 September 1403 to 19 December 1403 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.295 David Houwell, esquire from 19 December 1403 to 5 August 1404 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.311

NEWCASTLE EMLYN/EMELYN


Reversions
Henry de Ferrars on 8 July 1338 C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.110

Owners
Maredudd ap Rhys temp 1240 H.K.W. II, p.646 Rhys ap Maredudd in March 1277 C.A.C.W., XVI.24 to August 1287 Morris, p.214
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<td>from 1288 to 1349</td>
<td>H.K.W. II p.646</td>
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<td>Gilbert Talbot</td>
<td>on 8 July 1338</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.110</td>
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<td>Edward, prince of Wales</td>
<td>from 1343 to 1349</td>
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<td>Richard de la Bere, chamberlain of above</td>
<td>for life from 1349</td>
<td>H.K.W. II p.647</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Simon de Burley, king’s knight</td>
<td>on 16 February 1383</td>
<td>C.C.R. 1381-1385, p.196 (Emelyn Huckuth)</td>
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<td>on 12 December 1385</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.96</td>
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<td>before 6 October 1388</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1383-1391, p.254</td>
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<td>Constables</td>
<td>Robert de Tibotot</td>
<td>from January 1287</td>
<td>Morris, p.218</td>
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<td>David Vaghan</td>
<td>from 1294/5</td>
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<td>on 14 September 1309</td>
<td>I.Misc II, no.68</td>
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<td>Richard Wrothe</td>
<td>from 4 March 1311</td>
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<td>Robert de Acton</td>
<td>to 29 July 1314</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.203</td>
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<td>John de Welles</td>
<td>from 29 July 1314</td>
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<td>Robert de Acton</td>
<td>from 20 September 1314</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.203</td>
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<td>dead by 7 February 1316</td>
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<td>William Martyn, P.P.</td>
<td>on 3 August 1315</td>
<td>C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.241</td>
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<td>Geoffrey de Bella Fago</td>
<td>from 8 August 1316</td>
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<td>on 13 February 1317</td>
<td>C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.392</td>
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<td>to 28 May 1319</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.338 (Prob)</td>
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<td>William de Knovill</td>
<td>from 28 May 1319</td>
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<td>from 28 July 1319</td>
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<td>on 8 March 1321</td>
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<td>on 19 April 1322</td>
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<td>Hugh de Turpynston</td>
<td>from 29 November 1327</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1324-1327, p.238</td>
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<td>Thomas de Blaunkfrount</td>
<td>from 24 October 1331</td>
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<td>Gilbert Talbot</td>
<td>on 29 May 1331</td>
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<td>for life from 2 October 1333</td>
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<td>on 23 April 1338</td>
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<td>Simon de Burley, king’s knight</td>
<td>for life from 14 March 1382</td>
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<td>for life from 2 May 1382</td>
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<td>John de Hastings, John Trailly, John Praty, Robert Poley</td>
<td>from 6 October 1388</td>
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<td>Thomas Paytevyn</td>
<td>from 26 January 1389</td>
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<td>vacated 10 January 1390</td>
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<td>Thomas de Percy</td>
<td>for life from 20 December 1390</td>
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<td>for life from 15 May 1391</td>
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John Ayschell, esquire
for life from 11 November 1399 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.68

Private Constables
Richard de la Bere, kn.
from 4 July 1346 B.P.R. I, p.44
on 8 February 1347 B.P.R. I, p.53
on 8 March 1347 B.P.R. I, p.53
on 9 March 1347 B.P.R. I, p.73
on 29 April 1347 B.P.R. I, p.126
on 16 October 1347 B.P.R. I, p.142
on 8 November 1347 for life from B.P.R. III, p.378
confirmed 4 February 1348 C.P.R. 1348-1350, p.9
not by 26 November 1359 C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.349
built 27 May 1379 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.107
in use 14 March 1382

ST. CLEARS

History
pre. 1153 King, p.59
temp. Glendower King, p.59
Unknown Licenses

ST. WERBURGHS ABBEY for Abbot & Convent
28 March 1377  C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.442

ALDFORD

History

Owners
Sir Peter de Ardern
on 24 February 1276  I.P.M. II, no.181
on 10 June 1290  I.P.M. II, no.749

BEESTON

History

built 1225  H.K.W. II, p.559
in use temp. Civil War

Owners
Ranulf, earl of Chester
built 1225  H.K.W. II, p559
to 1232  H.K.W. II, p559
John, earl of Chester
to 1237  H.K.W. II, p559 (R.I.P.)
from 1237  H.K.W. II, p559
Royal earls of Chester
from 1254  H.K.W. II, p560
Edward of Caernarvon
on 14 October 1301  C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.616
in 1303-4  H.K.W. II, p.559
Edward, the Black Prince
from 19 March 1333  C.Ch.R. 1327-1341, 300

Constables

Robert de Crevequer
for life from 8 November 1289  C.P.R. 1281-1292, p.328
on 1 May 1293  C.C.R. 1288-1296, p.346
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Ralph de Vernoun, yng
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John de Wlyde, king's archer
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from 24 October 1309 to 19 December 1311  
on 19 December 1311 not by 30 January 1312  
Robert de Holland, P. P.  
from 19 December 1311 to 25 January 1312  
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Oliver de Ingham, P. P., Kn.  
from 19 February 1322 to 15 July 1322  
Hugh le Despenser, yng, P. P.  
from 15 July 1322 confirmed 28 July 1322  
Thomas de Warwick  
on (for life) 16 May 1328  
Oliver de Ingham, P. P., Kn.  
from 29 November 1328 to 16 May 1328  
Prince Edward  
on 16 May 1328 on 25 April 1328  
Edmund de Langley, duke of York  
on (for life) 25 April 1328 on 16 May 1328  
Roger Crophull  
for life from 31 October 1388 to 30 October 1399  
on 31 October 1388 on 25 April 1396  
William Venables & Roger Crophull  
from 25 April 1396 to 24 October 1399  
Henry de Percy, son of earl of Northumberland  
for life from 24 October 1399 to 24 April 1400  
William de Venables of Kynderton  
on (for life) 24 April 1400 on 7 June 1400  
Deputy Justices  
Thomas Illeston  
from 20 March 1387 to 31 October 1388  
Maker of Engines of War  
Thomas le Atitiour  
for life from 6 July 1329 to 30 October 1399  
Surveyor of the Works  
for life from 28 July 1414 to 26 June 1355  
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Henry de Ferrers, P. P.  
to 14 February 1341  
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to 16 August 1353  
Thomas de Warwick  
on 26 June 1355 on 7 June 1356  
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DODDINGTON

History
licensed
in use

Owners
Sir John Delves
poss. license
John Delves
poss. license

DODLESTON

History

Owners
John Boydel

DUNHAM MASSEY

History
in use
mentioned

FRODSHAM

History
mentioned

Owners
David ap Gruffydd

to

HALTON

History
mentioned
modified
temp. Henry II
temp. Edward I
C14
1450-7

Owners
Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln
on
to
Thomas of Lancaster and Alice de Lacy his wife, daughter of above
from
Ebulo le Strange, P.P.
to
Crown
on
on
Henry, duke of Lancaster
on
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**John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster**
- From 6 March 1361
- On 23 February 1361
- On 24 August 1361
- On 8 January 1375
- On 1379/80

**Private Constables**
- **William de Wambelle**
  - In September 1296

**Constable**
- **John Travers**
  - To 6 April 1322
- **Gilbert de Sengelton**
  - From 6 April 1322
  - From 24 March 1322
  - To 12 July 1322
  - For life from 12 July 1322
  - On 25 September 1323

**Henry, duke of Lancaster**
- For life from 8 January 1375
- On 1379/80

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**MACCLESFIELD**

**History**
- Licensed 1398

**Owners**
- John de Macclesfield, clerk, snr.
  - Licence to crenellate 30 August 1398
  - Licence to crenellate 1410
  - Died 1422
  - John de Macclesfield, ynr. probable son of above
  - From 1422

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**MALPAS**

**History**
- Built C11

**Owners**
- John son of Richard de Sutton
  - On 12 April 1327
  - To 10 May 1328
John de Charlton, give by previous, P.P.
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John de Sutton, son of two above, and Isabel, daughter of John de Cherleton above, his wife
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Isabel, above, widow of John de Sutton
from 23 January 1360  B.P.R. III, p.379

NEWHALL

History
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Owners
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Henry de Audley of Heighley
mentioned 1278  King, p.69
William de Audley of Heighley, brother of above
from 22 April 1276  I.P.M. II, no.196 (R.I.P.)

NORTHWICH

History
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mentioned 1278  King, p.69
Owners
John de Baunville
on 14 January 1278  J.Misc I, no.1128
Hugh de Venables
to February 1382  I.P.M. XV, no.160 (R.I.P.)
Richard de Venables, son of above
from February 1382  I.P.M. XV, no.160
 on 1385
Subtenent
William de Brerton, kn.
on February 1382  I.P.M. XV, no.160

PULFORD

History
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in use temp. Glendower  King, p.68

SHOCKLACK

History
mentioned 1290, 1327  King, p.68
Owners
Beatrice, widow of Roderick son of Griffin
to 10 June 1290  I.P.M. II, no.749 (R.I.P.)
Isabel, wife of Richard de Sutton
from 10 June 1290  I.P.M. II, no.749

SHOTWICK

History
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disused by C14  King, p.68

Owners
Edward, the Black Prince
in 1353-1360

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19 March 1336 C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.230
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HELSTON
History
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destroyed by 1478 King, p.77

LANIHIRNE
History
licenced 31 January 1335 C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.79
in use 1478 King, p.74

Owners
John Larchdeacon
licence to crenellate 31 January 1335 C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.79

LAUNCESTON
History
built temp William I
modified C12
modified mid C13
modified late C13

Owners
Edmund, earl of Cornwall
to 1298 I.P.M. III, no.604 (R.I.P.)
The King, his heir
from 1298 I.P.M. III, no.605
Piers Gaveston
on 1307/8 I.P.M. V, no.101
John of Eltham, earl of Cornwall
from 10 October 1331 C.Ch.R. 1327-1341, 233

Constables
Peter Burdet
for life from 18 February 1301 C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.573 (King's Yeo)
on 4 September 1303 C.C.R. 1302-1307, p.57
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Mdgley, Camden Society, 3rd Series, 68 (1945), p.250

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The King, his heir
from 1298 I.P.M. III, no.605
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<td>22 July 1351</td>
<td>B.P.R. II, p.14</td>
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<td>14 July 1364</td>
<td>B.P.R. II, p.207</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### TREGONY

#### History
- **built**: temp. Richard I
- **standing**: 1478

#### Owners
- **Edmund, earl of Cornwall**
  - to: 1298
  - from: 1298
- **The King, his heir**
- **John of Eltham, earl of Cornwall**
  - on: 25 February 1335
  - dead by: 12 February 1337
- **Crown**
  - on: 12 February 1337
  - on: 10 March 1337
- **Edward, the Black Prince**
  - on: 11 June 1351

#### Constables
- **Eudo le Ercedeakne**
  - on: 20 March 1312
  - from: 27 July 1312
- **Thomas de Genely**
  - from: 11 June 1315
  - on: 9 November 1315
  - to: 15 April 1316
- **Henry de Wylington**
  - from: 15 April 1316
- **Odo le Erceedeakne**
  - on: 1 November 1318

### TREMATON

#### History
- **built**: temp. William I
- **modified**: C12
- **modified**: late C13
- **siege**: 1549

#### Owners
- **Edmund, earl of Cornwall**
  - to: 1298
  - from: 1298
- **The King, his heir**
- **John of Eltham, earl of Cornwall**
  - on: 25 February 1335
  - dead by: 12 February 1337
- **Crown**
  - on: 12 February 1337
  - on: 10 March 1337
- **Edward, the Black Prince**
  - on: 11 June 1351

#### Constables
- **Eudo le Ercedeakne**
  - on: 20 March 1312
  - from: 27 July 1312
- **Thomas de Genely**
  - from: 11 June 1315
  - on: 9 November 1315
  - to: 15 April 1316
- **Henry de Wylington**
  - from: 15 April 1316
- **Odo le Erceedeakne**
  - on: 1 November 1318
Robert de Bilkemore to John de Carminou from John Dabernoun on Neel le Lohereyn for life from confirmed John Bevyll from Henry Kirkestede for life from confirmed on for life from confirmed on on for life from confirmed on on on on for life from confirmed on on on Private Constables Henry de Erth from on Wardships minority of John de Holand, earl of Huntingdon, duke of Exeter, 1400-1416 Robert Kendale & Robert Clynton from 7 March 1418 TRURO History ruined by 1478 King, p.77
Cumberland

BEWCASTLE

History
mentioned 1378 King, p.82
siege 1401 King, p.82

Owners
John de Strivelyn, Kn., P.P. to 15 August 1378 I.P.M. Vol. XV, no.143 (R.I.P.)
dead by 4 November 1378 C.F.R. 1377-1383, p.116
Jacoba, his widow on 4 November 1378 C.F.R. 1377-1383, p.116

BRANTHWAITHE HALL

History
built late C14 King, p.83

CARLISLE

History
built 1092 King, p.83
modified 1136-53 King, p.83
modified 1285-1383 King, p.83
modified temp. Henry VIII King, p.83
siege 1644-5,1648,1745 King, p.83

Owners
Period Crown on 6 April 1308 C.C.R. 1307-1313, p.29
Anthony de Lucy & Heirs from 4 June 1323 C.Ch.R. 1300-1326, 452
Superior Custodian John Halton, bishop of Carlisle from 6 April 1314 C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.103
Andrew de Harclay from 8 April 1319 C.P.R. 1317-1321, p. 325

Constables
Roger de Leybrun not by 20 April 1268 C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.257
Eustace de Balliolo not by 30 May 1269 C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.738
Ranulph de Dacre not by 8 May 1272 C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.1919
Richard de Crepping to 17 Oct 1274 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.31
Robert de Hampton from 17 Oct 1274 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.31
Thomas de Normanvill to 27 Oct 1277 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.84
John de Swyneburn from 27 Oct 1277 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.84
to 25 Oct 1278 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.103
to 14 April 1282 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.160
William de Boyvill on 10 April 1282 C.C.R. 1279-1288, p.151
from 14 April 1282 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.160
to 2 May 1283 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.183
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<tr>
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<th>From</th>
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<tr>
<td>Robert de Brus</td>
<td>2 May 1283</td>
<td>28 July 1285</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.183</td>
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<tr>
<td>Michael de Harclay</td>
<td>28 July 1285</td>
<td>6 Oct 1295</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1281-1292, p.186</td>
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<td>6 Oct 1295</td>
<td>30 September 1296</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.361</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert de Bruce, lord of Annandale</td>
<td>6 Oct 1295</td>
<td>30 September 1296</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.151</td>
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<tr>
<td>Michael de Harclay</td>
<td>6 Oct 1295</td>
<td>6 Oct 1295</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.204</td>
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<td>25 February 1298</td>
<td>29 March 1298</td>
<td>C.C.R. 1296-1302, p.144</td>
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<td>21 October 1299</td>
<td>1301-1302</td>
<td>C.C.R. 1296-1302, p.152</td>
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<td>'Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers', ed. James Raine, <em>Rolls Series 61</em> (1873), item LXXXV</td>
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<tr>
<td>William de Mulcaster</td>
<td>26 March 1307</td>
<td>10 April 1310</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.552</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alexander de Bastenthwayt</td>
<td>26 March 1307</td>
<td>10 April 1310</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.60</td>
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<tr>
<td>John de Castre</td>
<td>10 April 1310</td>
<td>15 October 1311</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.60</td>
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<td>Andrew de Harclay</td>
<td>15 October 1311</td>
<td>15 December 1311</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.118</td>
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<tr>
<td>John de Castre</td>
<td>15 December 1311</td>
<td>25 January 1312</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.120</td>
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<td>Andrew de Harclay</td>
<td>25 January 1312</td>
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<td>C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.123</td>
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<tr>
<td>John de Castre</td>
<td>11 March 1312</td>
<td>12 March 1313</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.128</td>
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<tr>
<td>John de Weston</td>
<td>11 March 1312</td>
<td>13 March 1312</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.128</td>
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<td>Piers de Gaveston</td>
<td>13 March 1312</td>
<td>13 March 1312</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.129</td>
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<td>John de Weston</td>
<td>15 March 1312</td>
<td>5 September 1312</td>
<td>C.C.R. 1307-1313, p.411</td>
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<td>5 September 1312</td>
<td>12 March 1313</td>
<td>C.C.R. 1307-1313, p.471</td>
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<td>12 March 1313</td>
<td>12 March 1313</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.164</td>
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<td>Andrew de Harclay</td>
<td>12 March 1313</td>
<td>23 May 1313</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.164</td>
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<td>23 May 1313</td>
<td>6 April 1314</td>
<td>C.C.R. 1307-1313, p.537</td>
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<td>6 April 1314</td>
<td>July 1314</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.103</td>
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J.E.Morris, 'Cumberland and Westmorland Military Levies in the time of Edward I and...
on 20 November 1314
Robert de Leyburne
on 12 February 1316
John de Castre
on 22 January 1316
on 4 February 1316
on 1 April 1316
on 30 July 1316
John de Castre & William de Dacre
from 1 November 1317
to 8 June 1318
then to 20 July 1318
Andrew de Harclay (perhaps never taken up?)
from 8 June 1318
revoked 10 July 1318
Anthony de Lucy, P. P.
from 20 July 1318
on 20 July 1318
to 8 April 1319
Richard de Lymesey
from 8 April 1319
Andrew de Harclay
from 24 January 1320
on 26 May 1321
on 30 Oct 1322
to 11 February 1323
Anthony de Lucy, P. P.
from 11 February 1323
on 19 July 1323
and from 30 July 1323
on 23 August 1324
on 11 April 1324
on 26 May 1324
and from 12 June 1324
on 14 June 1324
on 12 February 1326
and from 10 February 1327
on 11 February 1327
on 7 June 1327
and from 4 September 1327
20 May 1328
given back on 12 November 1328
on 20 December 1328
Peter Tyliol
to 10 December 1330
Randolf de Dacre, P. P.
from 10 December 1330
on 8 January 1333
temp 1334
to 30 November 1335
John de Glanton
for life from 30 November 1335
on 30 January 1336
on 20 March 1336
on 8 March 1337
on 15 June 1337
on 12 July 1337
Edward II’, Transactions of the C.&W. A.&A.S.
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C.R. 1327-1337, p.110
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on 8 February 1338 C.F.R. 1337-1347, p.64
on 12 March 1338 C.C.R. 1337-1339, p.319
dead by 20 May 1338 C.C.R. 1337-1339, p.369
 Rolland de Vaux to 12 May 1338 C.F.R. 1337-1347, p.78
 on Anthony de Lucy, P.P. from 12 May 1338 C.F.R. 1337-1347, p.78
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 on 19 November 1341 C.C.R. 1339-1341, p.316
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 Anthony de Lucy, P.P. from 25 June 1343 C.F.R. 1337-1347, p.334
 and from 24 March 1344 C.F.R. 1337-1347, p.363
temp 1345 C.49/46/16
 Hugh de Moriceby from 8 September 1345 C.F.R. 1337-1347, p.438
 on 8 September 1345 C.C.R. 1343-1346, p.608
to 18 Oct 1345 C.F.R. 1337-1347, p.441
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 on 16 Oct 1348 C.C.R. 1346-1349, p.565
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 Richard de Denton from 16 April 1350 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.229
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 Hugh de Louthre from 3 November 1351 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.307
 to 4 March 1354 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.408
 William de Lye from 4 March 1354 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.408
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 Matthew de Redman from 1 Oct 1359 C.F.R. 1356-1368, p.102
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 Robert Tilliol from 10 December 1361 C.F.R. 1356-1368, p.154
 Christopher de Moriceby from 20 November 1362 C.F.R. 1356-1368, p.236
 and from 20 November 1363 C.F.R. 1356-1368, p.268
and from 17 November 1365 to 20 May 1367
Robert Tillioll

from 16 November 1366 to 20 May 1367
William de Windsor, P.P.

from 20 May 1367 to 27 November 1368
Adam Parvyng

from 27 November 1368 on 4 May 1369 and from 5 November 1369 and from 28 March 1370
John de Denton

from 5 November 1371 to 7 November 1373
John de Derwentwater

from 7 November 1373 to 12 December 1374
John de Denton

from 12 December 1374 to 4 Oct 1375
John de Derwentwater

from 4 Oct 1375 to 26 October 1376
John Bruyn

from 26 October 1376 to 9 March 1377
Roger de Clifford, P.P.

from 9 March 1377 to 24 June 1377
John de Derwentwater

from 24 June 1377 to 26 November 1377
William Stapelton

from 25 November 1378 to 5 November 1379
Gilbert Culwen

from 5 November 1379 to 18 October 1380
John de Derwentwater

from 18 October 1380 to 26 November 1381
Richard le Scrope

keeper temp 18 February 1381 1381
Amand Mounceux

from 1 November 1381 to 29 May 1382
Roger de Clifford

from 29 May 1382 to 24 November 1382
Robert Parvyng

from 24 November 1382 to 29 May 1383
Roger de Clifford, P.P.

temp 1382-1383 on 26 May 1383 to 29 May 1383
John Neville of Raby

on 26 January 1385 to 28 July 1385
Ralph son of Lord Neville & Thomas son of Lord Clifford

from 26 October 1385 to 8 November 1389
Ralph de Neville & John de Ros

on 1 March 1390
John Beaumont, P.P.
Henry de Percy 'le fitz' 16 Oct 1390 C.P.R. 1388-1392, p.305 E.101/41/19
warden 1390-1396

John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, King's brother 28 February 1397 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.86
on

Henry de Percy, earl of Northumberland 24 December 1400 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.406 (Warden)
on 20 March 1401 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.456 (Warden)
on 17 August 1401 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.539 (Warden)
on 15 April 1402 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.61

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Gatekeepers
John de Ispania, elder 5 June 1319 C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.86
on
Peter de Routhe for life from 13 March 1343 C.P.R. 1343-1345, p.19
Robert de Strangways for life from 14 February 1408 C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.386
confirmed 13 June 1413 C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.50

Porters
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to
Robert Bele for life from 2 May 1392 C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.73
William Ferrou for life from 12 April 1402 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.61
Robert Blacburne of Bywell for life from 13 August 1403 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.253
Robert de Strangways for life from 17 Oct 1405 C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.85
vacated 9 Henry IV

Janitors
Robert Strangways on 4 Oct 1405 C.C.R. 1405-1409, p.1 (For life)

COCKERMOUTH

History
built temp. Normans King, p.84
modified C12 King, p.84
mentioned 1221 King, p.84
modified mid-late C14 King, p.84
siege 1648 King, p.84

Owners
Isabella de Forz, countess of Aumale temp late 13th century Powicke, p.364
died 1293

Piers Gaveston
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to 5 August 1309 C.Ch.R. 1300-1326, 131
to 5 August 1309 C.C.R. 1307-1313, p.225

Anthony de Lucy, P.P. from 4 June 1323 C.Ch.R. 1300-1326, p.452
on 20 April 1327 C.M.R., no.31
to death 10 June 1343 G.E.C. VIII, p.250

Thomas de Lucy, son of above, P.P.
inherited 1343 G.E.C. VIII, p.250
4 December 1365 I.P.M. XII, no.17 (R.I.P.)
Anthony de Lucy, son of above
4 December 1365 I.P.M. XII, no.17
20 May 1368 I.P.M. XII, no.233 (R.I.P.)
Joan, daughter and heir to Anthony de Lucy
20 May 1368 I.P.M. XII, no.233
30 September 1369 I.P.M. XII, no.374 (R.I.P.)
Gilbert de Umfraville, earl of Angus, P.P., from Maud his wife, sister & heir of Anthony de Lucy
30 September 1369 I.P.M. XII, no.374
6 January 1381 I.P.M. XV, no.433 (R.I.P.)
Maud, widow of above
6 January 1381 I.P.M. XV, no.433
8 February 1381 C.C.R. 1377-1381, p.434 (Her own right)
Maud, wife of Henry earl of Northumberland & heir to Lucy
2 September 1393 I.Misc I, no.50
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1 April 1398 C.C.R. 1396-1399, p.255
18 December 1398 I.P.M. XVII, no.1247 (R.I.P.)
Henry de Percy
18 December 1398 I.P.M. XVII, no.1247
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Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland
27 June 1405 C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.40
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November 1266 Denholm-Young, p.39
August 1267 Denholm-Young, p.39
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1280-1283 Denholm-Young, p.36
Constables
John de St. John
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20 Oct 1303 C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.160
John de Kirkeby
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Robert de Leyburn
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Edmund de Mauley
7 April 1314 C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.102
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25 December 1317 E.101/20/41
24 August 1318 E.101/20/41
10 December 1318 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.386
Anthony de Lucy, P.P.
10 December 1318 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.386
8 April 1318 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.395
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Andrew de Harclay
from 8 April 1318 to 26 May 1321

Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland
from 15 June 1405

DACRE
History mentioned 1354

DRUMBURGH
History licence to crenellate 24 August 1307
licenced 24 August 1307
rebuilt c.1500

Owners
Robert le Brun licence to crenellate 24 August 1307

DUNMALLOCH
History licensed 24 August 1307
destroyed by 1485

Owners
William de Dacrc - Licence licence to crenellate 24 August 1307

EGREMONT
History built early C12
mentioned 1203,1218,1246,1338,1363
modified early C14

Owners
Thomas de Multon, P.P.
on 15 May 1318 to 8 February 1322
John de Multon, P.P. son of above from 8 February 1322 to 23 November 1334
Joan, widow of Robert fitz Walter, daughter of above from 23 November 1334 to 20 June 1363
Walter fitz Walter, her grandson from 20 June 1363 to 4 November 1375
Edmund Lorence, Thomas Thelwall, clerk, and John Breitby, clerk. from 4 November 1375 to 26 September 1386
Walter fitz Walter, above to 26 September 1386
Walter fitz Walter, Kn., son of above from 26 September 1386 to 15 August 1386
died 1406
Humphrey fitz Walter, son of above inherited 1406

Wardships
## VOLUME II - CHAPTER 12 - CUMBERLAND

### John de Multon, 1322-1329

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<td>Robert Leyburn</td>
<td>10 June 1323</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.212</td>
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<td>Anthony de Lucy</td>
<td>10 June 1323</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.212</td>
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### GREYSTOKE

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<th>Date</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<tr>
<td>licenced</td>
<td>5 Oct 1353</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1350-1354, p.495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siege</td>
<td>1648</td>
<td>King, p.86</td>
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<tr>
<th>Owner</th>
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<th>Source</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William lord Greystoke, P.P.</td>
<td>5 Oct 1353</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1350-1354, p.495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>died</td>
<td>1359</td>
<td>G.E.C. VI, p.192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralph lord Greystoke, son of above, P.P.</td>
<td>1359</td>
<td>G.E.C. VI, p.195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from</td>
<td>1418</td>
<td>G.E.C. VI, p.195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>died</td>
<td>1436</td>
<td>G.E.C. VI, p.196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John de Greystoke, son of above, P.P.</td>
<td>1418</td>
<td>'Bishop Langley's Register, vol. 4', Surtees Society 170, no.1229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>10 September 1431</td>
<td>'Wills and Inventories, part 1', Surtees Society 2 (1835), p.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>16 October 1436</td>
<td>G.E.C. VI, p.196</td>
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### HARDRIG HALL

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>built</td>
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<td>King, p.86</td>
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### HAY (HAYESCASTLE, AYKHURST)

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<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>13 March 1322</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.82</td>
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<th>Owner</th>
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<th>Source</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robert de Leyburn</td>
<td>13 March 1322</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.82</td>
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### HIGH HEAD

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<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>1322</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>mentioned</td>
<td></td>
<td>King, p.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>should be dismantled</td>
<td>25 February 1331</td>
<td>I.Misc II, no.1249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>licenced</td>
<td>6 Oct 1342</td>
<td>C.R. 1340-1343, p.536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>1744-8</td>
<td>King, p.93</td>
</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Owner</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John de Harclay</td>
<td>16 November 1322</td>
<td>I.Misc II, no.1072 (R.I.P.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ermeiarde, wife of above</td>
<td>22 November 1322</td>
<td>I.P.M. VI, no.378 (From Andrew de Harcla)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/3 on</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>William Lengleys, Kings Yoeman</td>
<td>6 Oct 1342</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1340-1343, p.536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>licence to crenellate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William, son of Ralph Restwold</td>
<td>Oct 1374</td>
<td>I.P.M. XIV, no.49 (R.I.P.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to</td>
<td>Oct 1374</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard, his son from</td>
<td>18 March 1324</td>
<td>I.P.M. XIV, no.49 (Age 10+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constables</td>
<td></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Owner</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas de Fethirstanbalgh</td>
<td>18 March 1324</td>
<td>C.C.R. 1324-1327, p.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to</td>
<td>29 November 1326</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.426</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Randolf de Dacre, P.P.  
from 29 November 1326  
for 10 years from 3 February 1327  
taken back by 27 Oct 1328  
John de Cromwell, P.P.  
from 6 August 1328  
to 16 November 1328  
William Lengleys  
from 16 November 1328  
Thomas del Clogh  
on (for life) 28 February 1351

HUTTON-IN-FOREST

Description  
Peel tower c. 1362

History  
built by 1362

Owners  
Thomas de Hoton to 1362

IRTON HALL

History  
built C14

KIRKOSWALD

History  
licensed 1201  
modified C14  
modified pre 1485?

LANERCOST NO 2

History  
built C13

LIDDEL

History  
siege 1174  
abandoned by 1281-2  
a manor called the castle 10 April 1300  
in use 1300  
siege 1319  
four day siege by David de Bruce before October 1346  
just before 28 January 1347  
siege 1346

Owners  
Baldwin Wake extent 18 March 1282  
John Wake, P.P. to 10 April 1300  
Thomas Wake of Liddel, son of above, P.P. from 10 April 1300  
jointured 10 April 1326  
on 3 July 1348

C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.426  
C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.16  
C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.111  
C.C.R. 1327-1330, p.307  
C.C.R. 1327-1330, p.342  
C.C.R. 1327-1330, p.342 (K's yeo)  
C.P.R. 1350-1354, p.43  
Pevsner p.140  
Pevsner p.140  
Pevsner p.140 (R.I.P.)  
King, p.87  
King, p.87  
King, p.87  
King, p.87  
King, p.88  

I.Mise II, no.2051  
King, p.88

Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers', ed. James Raine, Rolls Series 61 (1873), item CCXLIII

I.P.M. III, no.597

I.P.M. II, no.439  
I.P.M. III, no.597 (R.I.P.)  
I.P.M. III, no.597  
C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.258 (With Blanche)  
C.P.R. 1348-1350, p.111

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VOLUME II - CHAPTER 12 - CUMBERLAND

Blanch, widow of Thomas Wake from 31 May 1349 to 31 May 1349; Reversion to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster on 20 May 1357. Reversion to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster on 10 June 1357.

MELMERBY

Description
A Tower 1307-1327

History
mentioned temp. Edward II

Owner
John de Denum temp Edward II

Garrison for John de Denum
Twelve men temp Edward II

MILLUM

History
licence to crenellate 24 August 1335

Owners
John de Hodleston

MUNCASTER

History
built c.1325

 Owners
Pennington family temp 'ancient residence of'

NAWORTH

History
licenced 27 July 1335

Owners
Ranulf de Dacre, P.P. licence to crenellate died 20 April 1339
Margaret de Dacre, widow of Randolph de Dacre to 10 December 1362
Randolf de Dacre, 4th son of above, P.P. from 8 March 1362

References:
V.C.H. vol. II, p.255
C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.167
C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.168
I.P.M. IX, no.219 (R.I.P.)
I.P.M. IX, no.210 (Jointure)
C.C.R. 1349-1354, p.42
C.P.R. 1354-1358, p.562
"Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers", ed. James Raine, Rolls Series 61 (1873), item CCXLIII
V.C.H. vol. II, p.255
C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.167
King, p.93
C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.168
G.E.C. IV, p.1
I.P.M. XI, no.317 (R.I.P.)
C.C.R. 1360-1364, p.323
dead by 12 November 1375 C.F.R. 1369-1377, p.305
Hugh de Dacre, brother of above, P.P.
to 24 December 1383 I.P.M. XV, no.972 (R.I.P.)
William Dacre, kn, son of above, P.P.
from 24 December 1383 I.P.M. XV, no.972
 to 20 July 1399 I.P.M. XVII, no.1324 (R.I.P.)
Thomas Dacre, son of above, P.P.
died 5 January 1457/8 G.E.C. IV, p.7

Constables
Roger Lord Clifford
from 12 November 1375 C.F.R. 1369-1377, p.305

Wardships
Minority of Thomas Dacre, 1399-1408
Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland
from 19 October 1399 C.C.R., 1399-1402, p.122

PENRITH

History
/licenced 1397,99 King, p.89
modified 1470-84 King, p.89

Owners
William de Strickland, future bishop of Carlisle, archbishop of Canterbury
licence to crenellate 12 February 1397 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.66
licence to crenellate 2 April 1399 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.524

ROSE

History
destroyed 1314, J. Stevenson, ed., Chronicon de Lanercost, 1839,
destroyed by Scots 1322 Edinburgh, p.246
licence 9 April 1336 C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.245
licence 25 June 1355 C.P.R. 1354-1358, p.252
damaged 1337 King, p.90

Owners
John Halton, bishop of Carlisle
licence to crenellate 9 April 1336 C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.245
Gilbert, bishop of Carlisle
licence to crenellate 25 June 1355 C.P.R. 1354-1358, p.252
William, bishop of Carlisle
on 20 November 1408 C.P.R. 1408-1413, p.28
on 4 June 1414

Constables for the Church
John de Dokwra, esquire
for life from 1 December 1404 C.P.R. 1408-1413, p.28
on 20 November 1408 C.P.R. 1408-1413, p.28
William Louthre, son of Sir Robert de Louthre
for life from 4 June 1414 C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.202
confirmed 30 June 1414 C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.202

SCALEBY

History
/licenced 24 August 1307 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.8
build late C14 King, p.90
siege 1645, 1648 King, p.90
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>History</th>
<th>Owners</th>
<th>Licence Date</th>
<th>Reference</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Triermain</td>
<td>licenced 4 February 1340</td>
<td>Roland de Vaux</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.471</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ruined 1580</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>King, p.91</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wolsy</td>
<td>licenced 13 Oct 1348</td>
<td>Holmcultram Abbey</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1348-1350, p.194</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>siege 1652</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>King, p.91</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Workington</td>
<td>licenced 4 March 1380</td>
<td>Gilbert de Culwen, Kn.</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.447</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wythope</td>
<td>licenced 12 July 1318</td>
<td>Hugh Lowther</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.189</td>
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</table>
## CHIRK

### History
- **built**: 1282  
  King, p.102
- **modified**: C17  
  King, p.102

### Owners
- **Roger de Mortimer of Chirk, P.P.**
  - **built**: soon after 1282  
    King, p.102
  - **imprisoned**: 22 January 1322  
    G.E.C. IX, p.251
  - **not by**: 25 March 1322  
    C.Ch.R. 1300-1326, 441
- **Edmund, earl of Arundel**
  - **from**: 25 March 1322  
    C.Ch.R. 1300-1326, 441
  - **executed**: 17 November 1326  
    McKisack, p.86
- **Roger Mortimer, earl of March**
  - **forfeited by**: 29 March 1332  
    I.Misc II, no.1314
- **Richard, earl of Arundel**
  - **from**: 22 September 1334 (Fee simple)  
    C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.519
  - **confirmed**: 28 August 1337  
    C.P.R. 1354-1358, p.69
- **Roger de Mortimer**
  - **not by**: 12 May 1354  
    March 1354
  - **granted to below**: 28 September 1359  
    C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.274
- **Richard, earl of Arundel**
  - **on**: 6 November 1386  
    C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.462
  - **on**: 20 January 1388  
    I.Misc VI, no.233
  - **on**: 18 July 1396  
    I.Misc VI, no.233

### Constables
- **Griffin ap Res**
  - **to**: 22 January 1322  
    C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.90
- **Peter Giffard**
  - **from**: 22 January 1322  
    C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.90
  - **on**: 14 February 1322  
    C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.520
  - **on**: 18 February 1322  
    C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.422
  - **on**: 25 March 1322  
    C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.113
  - **to**: 25 March 1322  
    C.Ch.R. 1300-1326, 441
  - **to**: 22 April 1323  
    C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.205(R.I.P.)
- **William de Ercalewe**
  - **to**: 4 February 1331  
    C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.230
- **Thomas de Cloune**
  - **from**: 4 February 1331  
    C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.230
- **John Inge & Thom. de Wynnesbury, yng**
  - **from**: 2 December 1331  
    C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.290
  - **to**: 13 September 1333  
    C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.373
- **Richard earl of Arundel**
  - **for life from**: 13 September 1333  
    C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.373
- **John Whethales**
  - **not by**: 6 November 1397  
    I.Misc VI, no.233
- **Peter ap Dutton**
  - **on**: 6 November 1397  
    I.Misc VI, no.233
- **John Over**
  - **on**: 21 February 1420  
    C.P.R. 1416-1422, p.68

### Deputies
- **John ap William temp.**  
  John Whethales
DENBIGH

History
built 1282
siege 1294 (unfinished)
modified post 1294
siege 1646

Tenant in Chief
Prince of Wales on 20 February 1335

Owners
David ap Griffin from
Crown to
Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln from
on to
Thomas de Lancaster & Alice de Lacy his wife, daughter of above from
from
Edmund, earl of Kent, king's brother from
Hugh le Despencer, snr from
on
before
Roger de Mortimer from
from
William de Montague, earl of Salisbury from
on
on
to
to
William de Montague, son of above heir on
from
to
Roger de Mortimer, earl of March recovered
from just before
on
on
on
to
Edmund de Mortimer, son of above from
Phillipa, widow of Roger, in dower on
not by
Roger de Mortimer, earl of March under age
on
to
Edmund de Mortimer, son of above
from 20 July 1398 I.P.M. XVII, no.1197
under age 17 May 1400 I.Misc VII, no.1

Receivers of Issues while in royal hands
Walter de Burncestre
from 29 April 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.125

Constables
Roger de Mortimer of Chirk, P.P.
from 24 April 1311 C.C.R. 1307-1313, p.309
to 1 June 1311 C.C.R. 1307-1313, p.314
Giles de Beauchamp
on 26 March 1322 I.Misc II, no.507
Hugh le Despenser, earl of Winchester
on 4 August 1322 C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.195
Richard Damory, P.P.
to 15 December 1326 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.428
Roger Mortimer of Wigmore
from 15 December 1326 C.C.R. 1319-1327, p.428
to 23 June 1328 C.C.R. 1327-1330, p.300
Sir William de Erkalwe
on 9 February 1331 I.Misc II, no.1135
Henry de Percy
on 6 November 1399 C.F.R. 1399-1405, p.38
on 14 December 1401 C.C.R. 1399-1402, p.437 (Jnr)

Deputies
Sir Robert de Pievlesdon
on 9 February 1331 I.Misc II, no.1135

Wardships
Minority of Edmund de Mortimer, earl of March, 1360-1373
Edward, Prince of Wales
from 23 May 1360 C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.32
Thomas de Statham, appointed by above
from 5 June 1360 B.P.R. III, p.383
on 15 February 1361 B.P.R. III, p.405
on 3 July 1361 B.P.R. III, p.420
on 2 May 1362 B.P.R. III, p.442
on 27 May 1362 B.P.R. III, p.446
Minority of Roger de Mortimer, earl of March (1381-1395)
Philip Holgoyt
from 16 December 1382 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.65 (Steward)
Henry de Kirkested
for life from 3 February 1382 C.P.R. 1381-1385, pp.92 & 100
on 20 March 1382 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.104
on 22 March 1383 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.261
Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, John lord Neville & Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland
from 16 December 1383 C.F.R. 1383-1391, p.22
Minority of Edmund de Mortimer, earl of March (1398-1412)
William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire
from 11 August 1398 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.408
Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland
from 2 March 1400 C.F.R. 1399-1405, p.50
Henry de Percy, son of the earl of Northumberland
from 17 May 1400 I.Misc VII, no.1

DINAS BRAN

History
built C13 King, p.103
burnt by Welsh by 18 May 1277
captured by Welsh 25 March 1282
abandoned 1282?

Owners
Gruffydd Ap Madog Gfychan
lost by 1282
John de Warenne, earl of Surrey
from 7 October 1282
from 7 October 1282
to 5 August 1284
William de Warenne, gift from above
from 5 August 1284
to 21 December 1286
John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, son of above
from 21 December 1286
to king & back 1 July 1316
to 1 January 1319
Thomas de Lancaster
from 1 January 1319
John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, as two above
on 12 December 1346
dead by 6 July 1347
Joan de Bars, countess of Surrey
jointured 24 August 1347
enfeofed away 1 December 1347
Richard earl of Arundel
granted reversion 12 December 1346
enfeofed with 1 December 1347
on 23 January 1366
on 12 April 1366

Constables
Roger le Strange of Ellesmere, P.P.
on 18 July 1277
on 27 July 1279

GLYN
History
burnt c.1282

Owners
John de Warenne, earl of Surrey
in 1282

HOLT (CASTLE LIONS)
History
built 1280s
mentioned 1311
siege 1643,1646

Owners
John de Warenne, earl of Surrey
built 1280s
died 1304
John de Warenne, earl of Surrey
to king & back 1 July 1316
to 1 January 1319
Thomas, earl of Lancaster

C.A.C.W., XVIII.186
Morris, p.153
King, p.103

J.P.M. I, no.633 (R.I.P.)
C.W.R., p.240
Morris, p.178

C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.264
C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.264
C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.221
C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.39
C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.314
C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.434
C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.221
C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.434
C.P.R. 1364-1367, p.198 (Granted out..)
C.P.R. 1364-1367, p.237 (.and back)

C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.398 (Keeper?)
C.W.R., 178

King, p.105
King, p.107 n.32a

King, p.104
King, p.104

John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, as two above requests its return 1318-1322

from 1 January 1319  
not by 13 May 1322  

John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, as two above requests its return 1318-1322

from 13 May 1322  
on 12 December 1346  
to 4 July 1347  
dead by 6 July 1347  

Joan de Bars, countess of Surrey  
jointure 24 August 1347  
enfeoffed away 1 December 1347  

Richard earl of Arundel  
granted reversion 12 December 1346  
enfeoffed with 1 December 1347  
on 23 January 1366  
on 12 April 1366  

Roger de Mortimer, earl of March  
to 27 December 1381  
Richard, earl of Arundel  
forfeited by 3 November 1397  

Constables  
Bart de Badlesmerce, P.P.  
to 5 December 1314  
Roger de Peuelesdon  
on 6 March 1322  
Oliver de Ingham, P.P., Kn.  
to 27 May 1322  
David de Eyton  
on 5 March 1389  
William Bagot, king's kn  
for life from 22 October 1397  
to 29 May 1398  
William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire  
for life from 29 May 1398  
Roger Corbet  
on 4 July 1422  

LLANSILIN  
History  
destroyed 1403  

Owners  
Owen Glendower  
to 1403  

RUTHIN  
History  
built 1277  
captured by Eelsh 25 March 1282  
captured by English September 1282  
siege 1294,1644,1646  

Owners  
Wentheliana de Lascy  
not by 23 October 1282  
Reynold de Grey of Ruthin and Wilton, P.P.  
from 23 October 1282  
to 5 April 1308  
John de Grey, son of above, of Wilton, P.P.  
from 5 April 1308  

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<td>27 December 1323</td>
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<td><em>I.P.M. VI</em>, no.517</td>
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<td>Roger de Grey of Ruthin, son of John and brother of Henry above, P.P.</td>
<td>6 June/August 1328</td>
<td>6 March 1353</td>
<td><em>C.C.R. 1327-1330</em>, p.398</td>
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<td>1 October 1353</td>
<td><em>C.F.R. 1347-1356</em>, p.379</td>
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<td>Reynold de Grey, son of above, P.P.</td>
<td>1 October 1353</td>
<td>4 August 1388</td>
<td><em>I.P.M. XVI</em>, no.696 (R.I.P.)</td>
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<td>John de Grey, son of Reginald, already of age (1308-)</td>
<td>14 April 1308</td>
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<td>Richard le Jouene</td>
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<td>Sir Roger, son of John</td>
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<td>Roger de Grey</td>
<td>11 March 1324</td>
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Owners
Crown
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Queen Eleanor, wife of Edward I
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died 28 November 1290

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from 12 November 1290 C.P.R. 1272-1307, p.285
from 12 November 1290 C.P.R. 1281-1292, p.394
Master John de Everdon to 8 June 1310 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.230
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from 12 December 1325

to 1 April 1353
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from 1 April 1353
on 30 May 1354
Thomas de Mowbray, duke of Norfolk
to 22 September 1399
Margaret, duchess of Norfolk
to 24 March 1399
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from 24 March 1399
Elizabeth, widow of Thomas, duke of Norfolk.
from 27 November 1400
confiscated because she married Robert Goushill without permission
on 19 August 1401
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14 December 1392
1 August 1418
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inherited 1 August 1418
14 September 1430
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G.E.C. VI, p.127
G.E.C. VI, p.129

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modified early C13

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on 1274  
on 12 September 1275  
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to 27 July 1309  
John de Warenne, earl of Surrey
from 15 June 1310  
becomes owner 7 September 1310  
Robert de Clithroce
to 28 April 1315  
Richard Damory, P.P. & Robert de Mauley
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John Chaundos
to 18 February 1370  
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from 18 February 1370  
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- Modified before: 1136
- Modified: 1169-1187
- Siege: 1215
- Into disrepair: 1274-

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- John Wyger: From 15 October 1274 to 15 December 1274 (C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.30)
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- John Bikkebury: From 15 May 1318 to 29 November 1318 (C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.381)
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<td>2 March 1327</td>
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<td>19 February 1328</td>
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<td>5 December 1330</td>
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<td>7 October 1335</td>
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<td>3 November 1335</td>
<td>C.F.R.</td>
<td>1327-1337, p.460 (R.I.P.)</td>
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<td>11 December 1335</td>
<td>C.F.R.</td>
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<td>John de Raleigh of Beadeport</td>
<td>25 September 1337</td>
<td>28 January 1340</td>
<td>C.F.R.</td>
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<td>28 January 1340</td>
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<td>William Pipard</td>
<td>27 March 1342</td>
<td>29 July 1343</td>
<td>C.F.R.</td>
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<td>William Chambernourn</td>
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<td>William Pipard</td>
<td>C.F.R.</td>
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<td>John de la Ryvere</td>
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<td>James de Cokynton</td>
<td>4 November 1344 to 9 November 1344</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1337-1347, p.397</td>
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<td>Walter de Horton</td>
<td>9 November 1344 to 26 November 1345</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1337-1347, p.445</td>
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<td>John Dabernoun</td>
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<td>Gatekeeper</td>
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<td>John de Badderby</td>
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<td>Richard de Paulesholte</td>
<td>c.1288</td>
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<td>Robert Person</td>
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from to 22 March 1386
confirmed 22 March 1386
8 July 1406
William Parl
for life from 15 November 1399
William Hampstead
for life from 8 July 1406
for life from 28 February 1408

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Owners
John de Courtenay
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from 11 May 1274  I.P.M. II, no.71

to 3 January 1341  I.P.M. VIII, no.273 (R.I.P.)
Hugh de Courtenay, earl of Devon, son of above
heir on 3 January 1341  I.P.M. VIII, no.273
from 20 January 1341  C.C.R. 1339-1341, p.606

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Minority of Thomas de Courtenay, earl of Devon, 1422-1435
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PLYMPTON

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Owners
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from 13 November 1293  I.P.M. III, no.156
Hugh de Courtenay, earl of Devon
to 3 January 1341  I.P.M. VIII, no.273 (R.I.P.)
Hugh de Courtenay, earl of Devon, son of above
heir on 3 January 1341  I.P.M. VIII, no.273
from 20 January 1341  C.C.R. 1339-1341, p.606

to 2 May 1377  I.P.M. XIV, no.325 (R.I.P.)
Edward de Courtenay, grandson of above
from 2 May 1377  I.P.M. XIV, no.325

Wardships
MINORITY OF EDWARD DE COURTENAY, EARL OF DEVON, 1377-1378
Edward de Courtenay, earl of Devon & William Latimer
from 21 August 1377 C.F.R. 1377-1383, p.8

MINORITY OF THOMAS DE COURTENAY, EARL OF DEVON, 1422-1435
Walter Colles & John Copleston of Devon
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OWNERS
Courtenay Earls of Devon
temp period

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Edward de Courtenay, earl of Devon & William Latimer
from 21 August 1377 C.F.R. 1377-1383, p.8

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Walter Colles & John Copleston of Devon
from 3 July 1422 C.F.R. 1413-1422, p.438

SAMPFORD PEVEREL

HISTORY
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OWNERS
Courtenay earls of Devon
temp period

WARDSHIPS
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Edward de Courtenay, earl of Devon & William Latimer
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MINORITY OF THOMAS DE COURTENAY, EARL OF DEVON, 1422-1435
Walter Colles & John Copleston of Devon
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TORRINGTON

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OWNERS
Richard de Merton
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<td>29 September 1340</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1340-1343, p.39</td>
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<td>licence to crenellate to</td>
<td>6 January 1347</td>
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<td>Four daughters</td>
<td>25 September 1370</td>
<td>I.P.M. XIII, no.42</td>
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<td>To be split four ways</td>
<td>25 September 1370</td>
<td>I.P.M. XIII, no.42</td>
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<td>Peter Veel &amp; Eleanor his wife</td>
<td>14 June 1371</td>
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<td>John Cary, Kn. &amp; Thomas Cary</td>
<td>30 May 1386</td>
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<td>John Cary, Kn.</td>
<td>17 April 1388</td>
<td>I.misc V, no.61</td>
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<td>John Cary, Kn.</td>
<td>26 November 1388</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.555</td>
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<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peter Veel &amp; Eleanor granted the</td>
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<td>castle to the Cary's to clear</td>
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<td>their debts of 550 marks, with 4</td>
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<td>years to pay it back.</td>
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**TOTNES**

**History**
- built temp. William I
- repairs post 1273
- Owners
  - William de Cantilupe to 25 April 1273 C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.8 (R.I.P.)
  - George de Cantilupe from 25 April 1273 to 4 November 1273 I.P.M. II, no.17 (R.I.P.)
  - Eudo de Zouche, brother in law of above from 1 March 1274 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.17
  - Ralph le Zouche of Harringworth away & back 26 March 1326 C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.254
  - William la Zouche of Harringworth, P.P. on 30 April 1326 C.C.R. 1323-1327, p.476
  - died 1351/2 G.E.C. VII (ii), p.938
  - William la Zouche of Harringworth, grandson of above, P.P. to 23 April 1382 I.P.M. XV, no.630 (R.I.P.)
  - William la Zouche, Kn., son of above from 23 April 1382 to 13 May 1396 I.P.M. XV, no.630 I.P.M. XVII, no.720 (R.I.P.)
  - William Lord La Zouche, son of above from 13 May 1396 on 30 April 1405 I.P.M. XVII, no.720 I.P.M. XIX, no.55
  - on 30 December 1415 C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.386

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  - Ralph le Ussher from 5 November 1273 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.13

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  12 December 1344  C.P.R. 1343-1345, p.384

CHIDEOCK

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confirmed 2 June 1380  C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.491

Owners
John de Chideock, kn
licence to crenellate 9 February 1370  C.P.R. 1367-1370, p.371
confirmed 2 June 1380  C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.491

CORFE

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Owners
Crown
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to temp Charles I
Thomas de Holland, earl of Kent
from 25 April 1397  I.P.M. XVII, no.822
Thomas, son of above
from 25 April 1397  I.P.M. XVII, no.822
Alice de Holland, countess of Kent
livery 16 August 1401  C.C.R. 1399-1402, p.370

Constables
Hugh Paynel
on 17 October 1240  C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no. 2275
Matthias de la Mare
on 4 January 1261
on 10 June 1261
paid 26 June 1262  C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no. 2331
Alan de Plokenet, P.P. & Henry de Allemanne, king’s nephew
on 2 April 1270  C.Lib.R. 1287-1272, no. 1059
Alan de Plogenet, P.P.
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?on 22 June 1278  C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.464
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?on 15 November 1279  C.Ch.R. 1257-1300, p.217
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Richard de Bosco
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from 10 June 1280
from 29 June 1280
on 27 February 1281
on 30 August 1281
on 4 January 1282
on 20 July 1283
on 10 October 1283
in 1288-1289
on 6 June 1293
on 10 October 1293
on 22 April 1299
to 16 September 1299

Richard de Bosco & Simon de Montague, P.P.
from 16 September 1299
to 1 February 1301

Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln
from 1 February 1301
to 20 March 1305

Robert fitz Payn, P.P.
from 20 March 1305
on 4 April 1305
on 28 September 1311
on 15 March 1312

Richard Lovel and Muriel his wife
from 1 September 1315

to 1 November 1317

Richard Lovel
from 1 November 1317
to 20 February 1318

Roger Damory, P.P.
from 20 February 1318
on 28 July 1318
on 8 May 1321
to 3 December 1321

John de Ryther
from 3 December 1321
on 8 May 1321
on 11 May 1321

Roger Damory to 3 December 1321

John le Latimer
from 3 December 1321
temp 1322
in January-February 1322
to 16 December 1325

John Pecche, P.P.
from 16 December 1325
on 15 December 1325

John Mautravers
on 26 August 1329
from 24 September 1329

William de Montague
from 28 December 1330
keeper (garrison?)
not by 15 March 1339
15 May 1340

Walter de Wydecombe

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<td>on 20 October 1339</td>
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<td>Ralph de Ufford</td>
<td>for life from 28 October 1341</td>
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<td>to 13 January 1344</td>
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<td>Philip de Weston</td>
<td>from 13 January 1344</td>
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<td>to 28 October 1346</td>
<td>E.101/36/6 m.1</td>
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<td>John de Grey of Ruthin</td>
<td>from 28 October 1346</td>
<td>E.101/36/6 m.1</td>
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<td>Ralph de Bagley</td>
<td>on 14 March 1351</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1350-1354, p.82</td>
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<td>Roger Mortimer, earl of March</td>
<td>from 3 November 1354</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1354-1358, p.134</td>
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<td>on 26 May 1359</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.204</td>
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<tr>
<td>John de Elmbrugg</td>
<td>on 22 February 1363</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1361-1364, p.142</td>
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<td></td>
<td>on 18 November 1363</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1361-1364, p.362</td>
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<td></td>
<td>on 8 October 1366</td>
<td>C.258/13 m.34 (i)</td>
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<td>on 1 May 1368</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1364-1367, p.315</td>
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<td>on 20 January 1373</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1367-1370, p.101</td>
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<td>on 2 June 1374</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1370-1374, p.483</td>
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<td>on 29 January 1376</td>
<td>C.C.R. 1374-1377, p.290</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bernard Brocas</td>
<td>from 9 September 1376</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.339</td>
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<td>for life from 16 October 1376</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.358</td>
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<td>to 14 May 1377</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.463</td>
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<td>John de Arundel, P.P.</td>
<td>from 14 May 1377</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.463</td>
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<td>Philip Walwayn</td>
<td>for life from 3 February 1380</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.436</td>
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<td>on 15 November 1380</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.436</td>
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<td>on 11 March 1381</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.607</td>
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<td>on 9 February 1384</td>
<td>C.C.R. 1381-1385, p.369</td>
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<td>on 15 July 1384</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.441</td>
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<td>C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.190</td>
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<td>on 20 April 1385</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.554</td>
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<td>to 8 July 1388</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.484 (R.I.P.)</td>
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<td>Morgan Gogh</td>
<td>requests appointment before 8 July 1388</td>
<td>C.A.P.W., p.376</td>
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<td>for life from 8 July 1388</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.484</td>
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<td>to 1 May 1391</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1388-1392, p.402</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alesia, widow of earl of Kent</td>
<td>for life from 25 April 1397</td>
<td>I.P.M. XVII, no.822 (R.I.P.)</td>
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<td>John Lord Lovell, P.P.</td>
<td>to 19 January 1400</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.182</td>
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<td>John de Beaufort, earl of Somerset</td>
<td>died 10 September 1408</td>
<td>G.E.C. VIII, p.219</td>
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<td>for life from 7 May 1407</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.335</td>
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<td>to 16 March 1410</td>
<td>I.P.M. XIX, no.773.</td>
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Henry de Beaufort, son of above
under age 20 April 1410 C.P.R. 1408-1413, p.198
2/3 Margaret widow of above
on 1 October 1413 C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.39

Deputy Constables
William de Thwayt
to 13 January 1344 C.F.R. 1337-1347, p.404; C.60/144 m.7
Walter de Turpeton for Philip de Weston
to 14 April 1346 E.101/36/6 m.2
Thomas de Bridport for Philip de Weston
from 14 April 1346
on 18 September 1346 C.C.R. 1346-1349, p.160
to 28 October 1346 E.101/36/6 m.1
Ralph de Bagley for John de Grey of Ruthin
from 28 October 1346 E.101/36/6 m.1
John de Elmerugg
from 3 November 1354 C.P.R. 1354-1358, p.134
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John de Moulham for John de Elmerugg
on November 1363 C.258/13 m.34
William Tybenham, esq
from 19 September 1408 (For E. Somerset)
from 20 April 1410 C.P.R. 1408-1413, p.198 (Minority of Henry, heir of E. Somerset)

Wardships
minority of Henry, son & heir of John, earl of Somerset
Margaret, John's widow & Thomas duke of Clarence her husband
from 16 July 1412 C.P.R. 1408-1413, p.422

CRANBORNE

History mentioned? 1241, 1322 King, p.127

Constables
John de Botiller of Lanultit
from 22 February 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.101

DORCHESTER

History
built 1070 King, p.129
mentioned 1138 King, p.129
mentioned temp. John King, p.129

Owners
Crown to 1290 H.K.W. II, p629
John Gervase of Bridport from 1290 H.K.W. II, p629
To Franciscan friars ? H.K.W. II, p629

SHERBORNE (SHIRBORNE)

History
built 1107-35 King, p.128
modified C13 King, p.128
modified 1592 King, p.128

Owners
Roger, bishop of Salisbury to 1139 H.K.W. II, p.832
Roger, earl of Gloucester
William, earl of Gloucester, son of above

to 1183
Crown
from 1183
to 1331

William de Montague, earl of Salisbury

from 18 January 1331
on 24 April 1338
to 30 January 1344
dead by 15 April 1344

Katherine, widow of William de Montague

from 30 January 1344
on 15 April 1344
to 23 April 1349

Roger, son of above

from 23 April 1349

Bishop of Salisbury
decision to claim 11 April 1342
poss. from 7 February 1355
by 12 February 1355

Robert bishop of Salisbury

on 3 February 1363

Constables
Matthias de la Mare

on 4 January 1261
on 10 June 1261
paid 26 June 1262

John de St. Valery, with Dorset & Somerset

from 6 May 1273
to 7 November 1274

Richard de Coleshull, with Dorset & Somerset

from 7 November 1274
to 19 January 1278

Archbishop of Canterbury

from 19 January 1278

John de Somerset

on 30 December 1279
to 5 April 1282

John de Cormaylles

to 17 August 1282

Elias de Rabayn

from 17 August 1282

to 18 February 1283

William Favelore

to 18 February 1283

John de St. Laudo

from 18 February 1283

Walter de Skydemor

from 16 March 1308
from: with counties 25 October 1311
on 28 January 1312
to: with counties 14 January 1313

John de Chidiok, with Dorset & Somerset

from 14 January 1313
to 20 November 1314

John de Erle, with Dorset & Somerset

from 20 November 1314
to 20 October 1315

Matthew de Fumeux, with Dorset & Somerset

H.K.W. II, p.832 (R.I.P.)
H.K.W. II, p.832
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C.Ch.R. 1327-1341, p.443
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C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no. 2331
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C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.221
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<td>Nicholas de Cheygn, with Dorset &amp; Somerset</td>
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<td>Thomas de Marlborough, with Dorset &amp; Somerset</td>
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<td>John de Erle, with Dorset &amp; Somerset</td>
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<td>Thomas de Marlborough, with Dorset &amp; Somerset</td>
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<td>William de Whitfeld, with Dorset &amp; Somerset</td>
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<td>William de Montague For life from</td>
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<td>William de Whitfeld with Dorset &amp; Somerset</td>
<td>5 December 1330</td>
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<td>Hugh de Langelonde with Dorset &amp; Somerset</td>
<td>5 December 1330</td>
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<td>John de Wroxtale with Dorset &amp; Somerset</td>
<td>28 January 1332</td>
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<td>Hildebrand of London with Dorset &amp; Somerset</td>
<td>7 November 1333</td>
<td>p.378</td>
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**Viewers of the Works**

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Richard Nele, Everard Troye</td>
<td>13 May 1270</td>
<td>C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no. 1095</td>
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**Constable for archbishop of Canterbury**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<th>Source</th>
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**WOODSFORD**

**History**

<table>
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<th>Licence to crenellate</th>
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<td>8 October 1335</td>
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<td>C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.221</td>
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**Building**

Probably started by William de Whitefield and finished by Guy de Brian. Small, strongly fortified mid fourteenth century house

R.C.H., pp.387-8

**Owners**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<td>Belet family</td>
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<td>R.C.H., p397</td>
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<tr>
<td>William de Whitefield</td>
<td>8 October 1335</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.221</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guy de Brian</td>
<td>1367</td>
<td>R.C.H., p397</td>
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Durham

BARNARD CASTLE

History
built early C12 King, p.134
modified C13 King, p.134
shrank c.1308 King, p.134
siege 1569 King, p.134

Owners
John Balliol
doing homage 1279 C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.579
forfeited in 1295 D. Austin, 'Barnard Castle co. Durham, 2nd
forfeited by Bishop of Durham
from 1295 2 February 1307 C.Ch.R. 1300-1326, p.79
Crown
to 1306 Austin, p.54
from 1306 Austin, p.54
Guy de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick
from 2 February 1307 2 February 1307 C.Ch.R. 1300-1327, p.79
on 4 February 1307 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.492
I.P.M. V, no.615 (R.I.P.)
to 16 August 1315
dead by 26 July 1323 C.C.R. 1323-1327, p.10
Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, son of above
from 16 August 1315 I.P.M. V, no.615
of age 1335
Bishop of Durham
on 9 December 1321 C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.39
Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick
jointured 24 April 1344 C.P.R. 1343-1345, p.251
'Feet of fines relating to Wiltshire'
foot of fine 29 May 1344 Wiltshire Record Society vol.29 (1973): no.292
I.P.M. XII, no.326 (R.I.P.)
to 13 November 1369
Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, son of above
from 13 November 1369 I.P.M. XII, no.326
from 7 February 1370 C.C.R. 1369-1374, p.126
on 13 November 1387
I.Misc IV, no.346
to 1397
William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire
from 29 September 1397 C.P.R. 1396-1399, pp. 200 & 267 (Tail Male)
Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick
enfeoffed away 28 October 1399 Ancient Deeds vol. I, A.659
enfeoffed away 18 December 1399 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.163
Richard de Beauchamp, son of above
enfeoffed with 28 October 1399 Ancient Deeds vol. I, A.658
enfeoffed with 18 December 1399 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.163

Wardships
Minority of Thomas de Beauchamp (1315-1335)
John de Castre
on 3 December 1315 C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.256
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on 4 February 1316 C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.263
on 13 February 1316 C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.391
on 1 March 1316 C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.276
on 25 August 1316 C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.360
on 26 June 1317 C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.416
to 27 September 1319 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.4

William Ridel
from 27 September 1319 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.4
on 16 July 1320 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.30 (Wardship)
on 25 May 1321 C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.302 (Wardship)
on 9 December 1321 C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.39 (for Bishop)
on 26 September 1322 Ancient Deeds vol. III, D.1190
to 6 July 1323 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.219 (Wardship)

Richard de Bernyngham
from 6 July 1323 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.219
on 26 July 1323 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.10

Ivo de Aldeburgh
from 7 December 1326 C.C.R. 1323-1327, p.622
on 8 March 1327 C.C.R. 1327-1330, p.11
to 9 June 1327 C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.46

Roger de Mortimer of Wigmore
from 9 June 1327 C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.46
to 15 July 1327 C.C.R. 1327-1330, p.144

Bishop of Durham
from 15 July 1327 C.C.R. 1327-1330, p.144

Wardships
Minority of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (1401-1403)
Thomas de Aldebury & William Beauchamp of Abergavenny & John Owdeby
from 12 May 1401 C.F.R. 1399-1405, p.135

Private Constables
Thomas Chancellor
temp Balliol Austin, p.54
temp Bishop of Durham Austin, p.54

Constables
William Ridel
from 22 May 1321 C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.304
on 13 February 1322 C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.418

John Ros
from 13 November 1387 I.Misc IV, no.346 (For Beauchamp)

William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire
from 4 August 1397 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.176
to 29 September 1397 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.200

BISHOP AUCKLAND

History
built 1283-1310 King, p.134

Owners
Bishop's of Durham
from 12th Century Pevsner p.101
Bishop Anthony Bek of Durham
temp. 1283-1310 King p.140

BRANCEPETH

History
mentioned 1216 King, p.135
modified 1398 King, p.135
.Owners
Neville family, eventual earls of Westmorland from c.1216 to 1569  
Randolf Neville of Raby to 1331  
Ralph Neville of Raby, son of above from 1331 to 5 August 1367  
John Neville, lord Neville of Raby, son of above from 5 August 1367 to 17 October 1388  
Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland, son of above from 17 October 1388 to 1425  

DURHAM
History built modified 1072 temp Edward III  
Owners Bisphons of Durham  
Constables for the bishop’s of Durhan Philip Darcy on 22 June 1301  
Constables while void Robert de Sapy to 20 November 1316  
Henry de Beaumont from 20 November 1316 to 7 May 1406  
William Chaunceller, esq. from 4 May 1317 to 7 May 1406  

HYLTON
History mentioned c.1450  
Owners William de Hylton, kn., probable builder inherited 1376  
died 1435  

LUDWORTH
History licence to crenellate 1422  

LUMLEY
History licenced 1389 by Bp. Skirlaw  

Pevsner, p.101  
Pevsner, p.101  
G.E.C. IX, p.487 (R.I.P.)  
G.E.C. IX, p.487  
I.P.M. XII, no.160 (R.I.P.)  
I.P.M. XII, no.160  
I.P.M. XVI, no.734 (R.I.P.)  
I.P.M. XVI, no.734  
King, p.135  
King, p.135  
‘Records of Anthony Bek, Bishop and Patriarch, 1283-1311’, ed. C.M.Fraser, Surtees Society, (1953), 82  
C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.563  
C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.563  
C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.644  
C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.175  
King, p.136  
W. Hutchinson, History of the County Palatine of Durham, vol. I, Durham, 1823, p.408  
licenced 24 October 1392 \textit{C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.188}

** Owners**
Sir Ralph de Lumley, P.P.
licence to crenellate. 24 October 1392 \textit{C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.188}

**Royal Constables**
John de Beaufort, earl of Somerset
from 22 January 1400 \textit{C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.173}

**RABY**

**History**
licensed 1378 by Bishop of Durham \textit{King, p.141 n.16}
siege 1648 \textit{King, p.137}

**Owners**
Ralph de Neville, earl of Westmorland
on 10 April 1404 \textit{Ancient Deeds vol. III, D.1163}
on 18 October 1424 'Wills and Inventories, part 1', \textit{Surtees Society 2 (1835), p.73}

**RAVENSWORTH**

**History**
built C14 \textit{King, p.137}

**Owners**
Henry fitz Hugh, kn
on 6 April 1391 \textit{C.P.R. 1388-1392, p.395}

**STANHOPE**

**History**
mentioned as place 1283-1310 \textit{King, p.138}

**WITTON LE WEAR**

**History**
license to crenellate. 23 September 1410 \textit{W. Hutchinson, The History of the County Palatine of Durham, vol. 3, Durham, 1823, pp.304-6}

**Owned**
Sir Ralph Eure
license to crenellate. 23 September 1410 \textit{W. Hutchinson, The History of the County Palatine of Durham, vol. 3, Durham, 1823, pp.304-6}
## Essex

### Colchester

#### History
- **Built**: temp. William I, King, p.143
- **Siege**: 1216, King, p.143
- **Modified**: C13, King, p.143

#### Owners
Crown - entire period

#### Constables

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<th>Name</th>
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<td>John de Burgo</td>
<td>18 December 1273 to 20 November 1274</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.41</td>
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<td>before 20 November 1274</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.36</td>
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<td>Thomas de Sandwich</td>
<td>20 November 1274 to 7 November 1275</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.36</td>
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<td>Laurence de Scaccario</td>
<td>7 November 1275 to 17 May 1276</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.57</td>
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<td>Richard de Holebrok</td>
<td>17 May 1276</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.141</td>
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<td>Simon de Bradenham</td>
<td>22 October 1299 to 22 October 1299</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.419</td>
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<td>on 14 April 1300</td>
<td>C.C.R. 1296-1302, p.349</td>
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<td>John de la Lee</td>
<td>22 October 1299</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.419</td>
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<td>on 29 November 1318</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.381</td>
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<td>Richard de Perers</td>
<td>8 October 1314</td>
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<td>to 8 October 1314</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.220</td>
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<td>John de Dover</td>
<td>29 November 1318 to 27 May 1319</td>
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<td>to 25 October 1320</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralph Giffard</td>
<td>27 May 1319</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.397</td>
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<td>to 25 October 1320</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John de Dover</td>
<td>25 October 1320 to 24 October 1321</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.36</td>
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<td>to 24 October 1321</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholas Engaigne</td>
<td>24 October 1321 to 15 January 1323</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.73</td>
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<td>to 15 January 1323</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.192</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas Gobioun</td>
<td>15 January 1323 to 24 November 1324</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.192</td>
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<td>to 24 November 1324</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.321</td>
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<tr>
<td>Richard de Perers</td>
<td>24 November 1324 to 4 February 1327</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.321</td>
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<td></td>
<td>and from 4 February 1327</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.16</td>
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<tr>
<td>William de Baud</td>
<td>26 September 1327 to 26 October 1327</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.64</td>
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<td>to 26 September 1327</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.64</td>
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<tr>
<td>Richard de Perers</td>
<td>26 October 1328 to 5 December 1330</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.107</td>
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<td>to 5 December 1330</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.107</td>
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<tr>
<td>John de Wauton</td>
<td>5 December 1330</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.200</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
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<td>To Date</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>John de la Haye</td>
<td>5 May 1332</td>
<td>9 June 1333</td>
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<td>Adam le Bloye</td>
<td>9 June 1333</td>
<td>8 March 1334</td>
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<td>William Baud</td>
<td>8 March 1334</td>
<td>15 November 1334</td>
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<td>John de Cogeshale</td>
<td>15 November 1334</td>
<td>28 September 1339</td>
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<td>William de Wauton</td>
<td>28 September 1339</td>
<td>6 May 1340</td>
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<td>4 December 1341</td>
<td>29 July 1342</td>
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<td>Henry Gernet</td>
<td>29 July 1342</td>
<td>22 November 1343</td>
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<td>John Cogeshale</td>
<td>22 November 1343</td>
<td>4 November 1344</td>
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<tr>
<td>and from</td>
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<td>28 November 1347</td>
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<tr>
<td>to</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peter de Boxstede</td>
<td>12 May 1348</td>
<td>12 November 1348</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Bret</td>
<td>12 November 1348</td>
<td>7 July 1349</td>
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<td>Humphrey de Walden</td>
<td>7 July 1349</td>
<td>12 December 1349</td>
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<tr>
<td>to</td>
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<td>(R.I.P.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peter de Boxstede</td>
<td>12 December 1349</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert de Benhale</td>
<td>5 April 1350</td>
<td>16 October 1350</td>
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<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>16 June 1364</td>
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<td>John de Hevenyngham</td>
<td>5 November 1369</td>
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<td>William Wauton</td>
<td>6 December 1369</td>
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<td>Roger Keterich</td>
<td>22 January 1370</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Baude, elder</td>
<td>28 March 1370</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas de Bassingbourn</td>
<td>16 December 1370</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Baud</td>
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</table>
from 5 November 1371
John Bataillc
from 18 November 1371
George Felbrig
from 6 October 1376
to 17 July 1384
Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford
from 17 July 1384	on 17 July 1384
on 18 July 1384
on 1 October 1386
Walter atte Lee
for life from 23 March 1388
for life from 10 February 1393
on September 1393
on 4 June 1394
to 22 June 1396
John Littelbury
for life from 26 July 1395
Robert Teye
for life from 22 June 1396
confirmed 3 November 1399
Humphrey duke of Gloucester, temporary grant to clear debts
to 1 July 1418
on Annunciation 1419
Master of the Works
Robert de Benhale
on 25 November 1350

HADLEIGH

History
licenced 1230
rebuilt 1365-6
King, p.144

Owners
Hubert de Burgh
licence to crenellate 1230
Queen Eleanor
on 23 August 1273
Queen Margaret
from 10 September 1299
confirmed 19 March 1310
on 28 September 1311
Queen Isabella
for life from 1 February 1327
on 20 April 1327
to December 1330
Reversion to Edmund de Langley, duke of York
on 9 February 1391
Joan, countess of Hereford
not by 27 January 1400
Aubrey de Vere, earl of Oxford
livery 27 January 1400
to 23 April 1400
Richard de Vere, earl of Oxford, son & heir
under age 23 April 1400
Edmund de Langley, duke of York
for life from 17 July 1400
to 1 August 1402
Humphrey, duke of Gloucester

to 1 July 1418  

C.P.R. 1416-1422, p.129

temporary grant to clear debts

Constables
Robert fitz Walter, P.P.
on 10 July 1293  
C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.325
from 29 September 1311
on 4 February 1312  
C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.103
C.C.R. 1307-1313, p.394

Alan de Clavering
from 23 June 1321  
C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.599
to 22 July 1321  
C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.66

Roger de Blakesale
from 22 July 1321  
C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.66

Roger de Wodeham
on 22 February 1327  
C.C.R. 1327-1330, p.49

Henry Swan
to 28 August 1334  
C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.415 (R.I.P.)
for life 28 August 1334  
C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.415
for life on 14 January 1337  
C.P.R. 1334-1338, pp. 350 & 385

Roger de Wodham
from 25 July 1343  
C.F.R. 1337-1347, p.335
to 26 August 1354  
C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.405 (R.I.P.)

Walter Whithors, yeoman
for life from 26 August 1354  
C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.405
and again from 30 September 1374  
C.F.R. 1369-1377, p.262
on 4 January 1375  
C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.63 (Keeper)

George Felbrigg
from 15 July 1376  
C.F.R. 1369-1377, p.357
to 10 November 1376  
C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.397

Walter Whithors, yeoman
for life from 10 November 1376  
C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.397
on 1 July 1377  
C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.2
confirmed 17 March 1378  
C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.170
not by 2 February 1378  
?

Aubrey de Vere, earl of Oxford
on 2 February 1378  
C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.193 ?
for life from 1 February 1378  
C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.112
for life from 30 November 1381  
C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.68
keeper 18 February 1385  
C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.531
on 26 February 1385  
C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.536
on 9 February 1391  
C.P.R. 1388-1392, p.375

King's Stewards
Humphrey de Waleden
from 26 April 1320  
C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.20
Humphrey de Waleden & Richard de Ikene
from 8 March 1324  
C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.259
Richard de Wynferthyng & Richard de Ikene
from 20 August 1324  
C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.295

HEDINGHAM (HENGHAM)

History
built 1130-40  
King, p.145
siege 1216,1217  
King, p.145
rebuilt 1485-1513  
King, p.145
demolished 1592  
King, p.145
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Owners

Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford

to 7 September 1296
Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, son of above from 7 September 1296
dead by 19 April 1331
dead by 17 May 1331
John de Vere, earl of Oxford, nephew of above from 19 April 1331
on 15 March 1330
livery on 24 July 1341
to 23 January 1360
Thomas de Vere, earl of Oxford, son of above from 23 January 1360
died

Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, son of above inherited

of age c. 1383

granted away.. 10 June 1385

forfeited by 1 July 1388

Maud de Vere, countess of Oxford

for 20 years from 1 July 1388

Aubrey de Vere, earl of Oxford

from 10 February 1393

to 23 April 1400
Richard de Vere, earl of Oxford, son & heir from 23 April 1400

died

Wardships

Minority of Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, heir of Thomas de Vere, earl of Oxford (1371-1383)

Thomas Tirell and John James

from 1 October 1377

Minority of Richard de Vere (1400-1406)

Alice, wife of Aubrey de Vere

from 11 May 1400

Gerard Braybrok, Thomas Feriby & Joan de Bohun, countess of Hereford

from 9 May 1401

ONGAR

History

built mentioned

C11 1156

KING, p.146

KING, p.146

Owners

Hugh de Audley, younger, earl of Gloucester before 14 May 1321

Ralph, earl Stafford to 31 August 1372

Hugh, earl of Stafford from 31 August 1372

Constables

Sheriff of Essex to 14 May 1321

Henry atte Ree from 14 May 1321

on 27 March 1322

to 13 May 1322

John le Porter of Stebbyng
### Pleshey
#### History
- **Built:** C11, King, p.146
- **Dismantled:** 1158, King, p.146
- **Licensed:** 1166-1180, King, p.146
- **Sieged:** 1215, 1216, King, p.146
- **In use:** C15, King, p.146

#### Owners
- **John de Bohun, earl of Hereford & Essex**
  - **On:** 28 March 1330, C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.558
  - **To:** 26 January 1337, I.P.M. VIII, no.55 (R.I.P.)
- **Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex, brother of above**
  - **On:** 26 January 1337, I.P.M. VIII, no.55
  - **To:** 15 October 1361, I.P.M. X, no.485 (R.I.P.)
- **Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford & Essex, son of above**
  - **On:** 15 October 1361, I.P.M. X, no.485
  - **To:** 17 January 1373, I.P.M. XIII, no.167 (R.I.P.)
- **Thomas earl of Buckingham, duke of Gloucester & Eleanor his wife**
  - **Livery:** 22 June 1380, C.C.R. 1377-1381, p.390
  - **On:** 13 November 1387, I.Misc IV, no.243
  - **On:** 30 September 1393
  - **On:** 28 January 1398, C.Ch.R. 1341-1417, 19
  - **On:** 3 December 1396, C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.545
  - **To:** 15 September 1397, I.P.M. XVII, no.1032 (R.I.P.)
- **Eleanor, duchess of Gloucester**
  - **On:** 30 November 1397, C.C.R. 1396-1399, p.182
  - **From:** 21 March 1398, C.C.R. 1396-1399, p.253
  - **To:** 3 October 1399, I.P.M. VII, no.127 (R.I.P.)
- **Anne, daughter of Eleanor**
  - **On:** 20 February 1374, C.P.R. 1369-1377, p.245
  - **On:** 22 February 1374, C.P.R. 1370-1374, p.476
  - **To:** 21 July 1403, I.P.M. XVIII, no.816 (R.I.P.)

#### Constables
- **Nicholas de la Beche, kn.**
  - **On:** 30 December 1321, C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.84
  - **To:** 13 May 1322, C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.128
- **John de Porter of Stebbyng**
  - **On:** 13 May 1322, C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.128
- **John L'isle**
  - **To:** 26 September 1326, C.P.R. 1319-1327, p.322
- **Stephan de Abyngdon**
  - **On:** 26 September 1326, C.P.R. 1319-1327, p.322

#### Wardships
- **Minority of Humphrey de Bohun, 1361-1363**
  - **Stephen atte Roche, William, abbot of Walden & Thomas de Walmesford**
    - **On:** 26 November 1361, C.P.R. 1361-1364, p.133
- **Minority of Eleanor & Mary de Bohun, 1373-1377**
  - **Thomas Maundevill**
    - **On:** 20 February 1374, C.F.R. 1369-1377, p.245
    - **On:** 22 February 1374, C.F.R. 1370-1374, p.476
  - **Thomas Woodstock**
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>from</td>
<td>6 October 1376</td>
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<td>confirmed</td>
<td>17 July 1377</td>
<td><em>C.P.R. 1377-1381</em>, p.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from</td>
<td>6 October 1377</td>
<td><em>C.P.R. 1374-1377</em>, p.407</td>
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**Chantry of the Chapel**

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<tr>
<td>John Dirland</td>
<td>28 October 1374</td>
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*C.P.R. 1374-1377*, p.19
## Flint

### CAERGWRL (HOPE)

#### History

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<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Year</th>
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<tr>
<td>built</td>
<td>1278</td>
<td>King, p.151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rebuilt</td>
<td>post 1282</td>
<td>King, p.151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burnt</td>
<td>1283</td>
<td>King, p.151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ruined'</td>
<td>29 June 1308</td>
<td><em>C.P.R. 1307-1313</em>, p.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uninhabitable</td>
<td>1335</td>
<td>King, p.151</td>
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#### Tenant in Chief

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<td>Prince Edward (II)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>from</td>
<td>7 February 1301</td>
<td><em>C.P.R. 1292-1301</em>, p.576</td>
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#### Owners

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<tr>
<td>November 1277</td>
<td>David ap Griffin</td>
<td><em>Morris</em>, p.142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to 16 June 1282</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Morris</em>, p.161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forfeited by</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>C.W.R.</em>, p.265 (A rebel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from 1282</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to 7 October 1282</td>
<td>English</td>
<td><em>C.W.R.</em>, p.240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to 1282</td>
<td>Crown</td>
<td><em>C.W.R.</em>, p.265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by 24 February 1283</td>
<td>Queen Eleanor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on 7 February 1301</td>
<td>John de Warenne, earl of Surrey</td>
<td><em>C.P.R. 1292-1301</em>, 576 (for life)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on 7 February 1301</td>
<td>John de Warenne, earl of Surrey</td>
<td><em>C.Ch.R. 1300-1326</em>, p.6 (From Prince Edward)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to king on 1 July 1316</td>
<td>John de Warenne, earl of Surrey</td>
<td><em>C.P.R. 1307-1319</em>, p.483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and back 6 July 1316</td>
<td>John de Warenne, earl of Surrey</td>
<td><em>C.P.R. 1307-1319</em>, p.484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to Lancaster 1 January 1319</td>
<td>John de Warenne, earl of Surrey</td>
<td><em>C.P.R. 1317-1321</em>, p.264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from 1 January 1319</td>
<td>Thomas of Lancaster</td>
<td><em>C.P.R. 1317-1321</em>, p.264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on 12 December 1346</td>
<td>John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, as two above</td>
<td><em>C.P.R. 1345-1348</em>, p.221</td>
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<tr>
<td>dead by July 1347</td>
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<td><em>C.F.R. 1347-1356</em>, p.39</td>
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#### Reversions

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<tr>
<td>from 24 November 1312</td>
<td>Prince Edward</td>
<td><em>C.Ch.R. 1300-1326</em>, p.202</td>
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#### Constables

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<th>Period</th>
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<th>Source</th>
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<tr>
<td>from 16 June 1282</td>
<td>Hugh de Pulford</td>
<td><em>Morris</em>, p.161</td>
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#### DYSEERT

#### History

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<td>1241</td>
<td>King, p.152</td>
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<tr>
<td>siege</td>
<td>1245</td>
<td>King, p.152</td>
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<tr>
<td>destroyed</td>
<td>1263</td>
<td>King, p.152</td>
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#### Owners

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<th>Period</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<tr>
<td>Crown</td>
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<tr>
<td>from 1241</td>
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<td><em>H.K.W. II</em> p.645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to 1254</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>H.K.W. II</em> p.645</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crown - Lord Edward</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from 1254</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>H.K.W. II</em> p.645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to 1263</td>
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<td><em>H.K.W. II</em> p.645</td>
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Notes
destroyed by Llwelyn ap Gruffydd, very thoroughly

**FLINT**

**History**

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<tr>
<td>Built</td>
<td>1277</td>
<td>King, p.152</td>
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<tr>
<td>Attacked before</td>
<td>25 March 1282</td>
<td><em>C.W.R.</em>, p.212</td>
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<tr>
<td>Siege</td>
<td>1282</td>
<td>King, p.152</td>
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<tr>
<td>Siege</td>
<td>temp. Civil War</td>
<td>King, p.152</td>
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**Owners**

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<th>Royal</th>
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<th>Source(s)</th>
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<td>Prince Edward</td>
<td>2 January 1278</td>
<td><em>C.P.R.</em> 1272-1281, p.296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crown - Edward the Black Prince</td>
<td>24 November 1312</td>
<td><em>C.Ch.R.</em> 1300-1326, p.202</td>
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<tr>
<td>on</td>
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Emma, widow of above from 1 January 1330 C.C.R. 1327-1330, p.512 (Livery)
Queen Isabella from 23 November 1331 C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.218
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William de Montague, earl of Salisbury from 12 July 1338 C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.114
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from 10 February 1363
on 27 March 1382
to 3 June 1398
Elizabeth, widow of above
from 27 November 1397
from 6 November 1399
John earl of Salisbury
forfeited before 27 April 1415
Elizabeth widow of William de Montague
restored to 6 November 1399
restored to 6 November 1399
dead by 27 April 1415
Thomas duke of Clarence
reversion granted 2 February 1412
from 27 April 1415

MOLD

History
mentioned 1146
siege 1146,1199,1245,1256

Owners
Robert de Mohaut, P.P.
on 8 April 1327
died 26 December 1329
death by 1 January 1330
Emma, widow of above
from 1 January 1330
Queen Isabella
on 1 October 1337
on 1 October 1337
on 6 October 1337
to 12 July 1338
William de Montague, earl of Salisbury
granted reversion 1 October 1337
from 12 July 1338
to 10 February 1341
William son of William de Montague
from 10 February 1341
jointured 5 February 1363
William de Montague, earl of Salisbury
to 3 June 1398
Elizabeth, wife of above
livery on 8 November 1397
from 6 November 1399
John Earl of Salisbury
forfeited before 27 April 1415
Elizabeth widow of William de Montague
restored 6 November 1399
dead by 27 April 1415
Thomas duke of Clarence
from 27 April 1415

OVERTON

History
mentioned 1138,1201

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# RHUDDLAN (ROTHELAN?)

## History
- **Built:** 1277-82
- **Joint to Flint County:** 23 March 1284
- **Siege:** 1646

## Owners

### Royal
- **On:** 2 January 1278
- **From:** 24 November 1312
- **From:** 18 March 1333
- **On:** 10 May 1333
- **On:** 24 September 1334
- **On:** 3 July 1346
- **On:** 1353-1360
- **On:** 1 December 1377

### Prince Edward
- **From:** 1300-1326

### Crown - Edward the Black Prince
- **On:** 1330-1334
- **On:** 1333-1337
- **On:** 1337-1341
- **On:** 1341-1353

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### Reynold de Grey of Ruthin and Wilton, P.P.
- **On:** 30 June 1290
- **On:** 20 August 1295

### Robert de Holland, P.P.
- **From:** 1 October 1307
- **To:** 24 October 1309
- **From:** 1 October 1333
- **On:** 19 September 1334
- **On:** 3 July 1346
- **On:** 1353-1360

### Payn Tybotot, P.P.
- **From:** 24 October 1309
- **On:** 15 October 1310
- **On:** 19 December 1311
- **On:** 19 January 1312
- **Not by:** 30 January 1312
- **From:** 26 December 1311
- **On:** 25 January 1312
- **On:** 30 January 1312

### Thomas le Blund
- **On:** 6 September 1314

### Oliver de Ingham
- **From:** 19 February 1322
- **From:** 29 November 1328

### Richard de Pembrugg
- **To:** 20 December 1330
- **To:** 20 December 1330
- **On:** 6 October 1331

### Res ap Griffith
- **From:** 20 December 1330
- **To:** 14 February 1341

### Henry de Ferrers, P.P.
- **To:** 14 February 1341

### Alan Cheyne
- **On:** 15 February 1377
- **On:** 18 March 1381
- **On:** 8 May 1385
- **On:** 8 June 1385

### Henry Conway, kn
- **Reversion:** 8 June 1385
- **To:** 28 June 1385

### William de Drayton, kn

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*C.P.R. 1272-1281,* p.296
*C.Ch.R. 1300-1326,* p.202
*C.Ch.R. 1327-1341,* p.300
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*C.F.R. 1307-1319,* p.5
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*C.F.R. 1307-1319,* p.122
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*C.F.R. 1337-1347,* p.214
*C.P.R. 1377-1381,* p.613
*C.C.R. 1381-1385,* p.549
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### Glamorgan

#### ABERAVON

**History**  
mentioned 1246  
Notes  
A welsh castle  

**Notes**  
A welsh castle  

#### BAGLAN

**History**  
built C13  

**Notes**  
A welsh castle  

#### BARRY

**History**  
built early C14  

**Notes**  
A welsh castle  

#### BRIDGE END (NEWCASTLE)

**History**  
mentioned 1106  
modified late C12  

**Notes**  
A welsh castle  

#### CAERPHELLY

**History**  
built 1268  
siege 1270  
modified 1271-  
modified early C14  
modified mid C14  
in use 1403  

**Owners**  
Crown  
temp. on 22 November 1271  
Gilbert de Clare to 14 December 1295  
Joan, widow of Gilbert Clare to 1 May 1307  
Gilbert de Clare, son of above from 1 May 1307  
Hugh le Despenser, younger, through Eleanor, sister of above from 15 November 1317  
Taken into king's hands on 15 February 1327  
Queen Philippa from 18 April 1330  
Hugh de Despenser, P.P. to 8 February 1349  
Edward le Despenser, Kn., son of brother of above, P.P. from 8 February 1349  
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I.P.M. IV, no.435 (R.I.P.)  
I.P.M. IV, no.435  
I.P.M. V, no.538 (R.I.P.)  
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Minority of Gilbert Clare, 1307-1312
William son of Richard le Flemmyng to 24 June 1307 Ralph de Montemner, earl of Gloucester from 24 June 1307
After death of Gilbert de Clare, 1312
John Giffard from 20 April 1316

Constables
Richard de Chyverton, king's serjeant on 22 November 1271 Roger de Chaundos, P.P. from 30 December 1326 John de Felton to 15 February 1327 William la Zouche de Mortimer, P.P. from 15 February 1327

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CARDIFF
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to 12 November 1375 I.P.M. XIV, no.209 (R.I.P.)
Thomas le Despenscr, son of above
from 12 November 1375 I.P.M. XIV, no.209
forfeited 5 January 1400 I.Misc VII, no.492

Wardships
Minority of Gilbert Clare, 1307-1312
Henry de Lancarvan to 24 June 1307 C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.534
from Ralph de Montemer, earl of Gloucester 24 June 1307 C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.534
After death of Gilbert de Clare, 1314-
Payn de Turbervill to reside in the castle 1 December 1315 C.A.C.W., XXXI.154
John Giffard from 10 February 1316 C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.433
from 20 April 1316 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.270

Minority of Thomas Despenser, 1375-1394
Richard Storey from 19 March 1376 C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.251
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in c.1403 The Chronicle of Adam Usk, 1377-1421, ed. C.

Private Constables
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CASTELL COCH
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Joan, Widow of Gilbert Clare to 1 May 1307 I.P.M. IV, no.435 (R.I.P.)
Gilbert de Clare, son of above from 1 May 1307 I.P.M. IV, no.435
to 10 July 1314 I.P.M. V, no.538 (R.I.P.)
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Elizabeth, Widow of Hugh Despenser (& Giles de Badlesmere). from above
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<td>from 12 November 1375 to 6 April 1405</td>
<td>I.P.M. XIV, no.209 (R.I.P.)</td>
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<td>Roger de Lyt</td>
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<td>History</td>
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<td>Owners</td>
<td>Gilbert de Clare</td>
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<td>Hugh le Despenser, younger, through Eleanor, sister of above</td>
<td>from 15 November 1317</td>
<td>Davies, p.24</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hugh de Despenser, P.P.</td>
<td>to 8 February 1349</td>
<td>I.P.M. IX, no.428 (R.I.P.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elizabeth, widow of Hugh Despenser (&amp; Giles de Badlesmere) from above</td>
<td>from 8 February 1349</td>
<td>I.P.M. IX, no.428</td>
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and from 25 October 1344 C.F.R. 1337-1347, p.397

and from 27 November 1346 C.F.R. 1337-1347, p.463

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John de Wynton

from 18 March 1351 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.280

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Walter Haywood

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Nicholas Wodelok
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Roger Colrithe
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from 16 May 1366 and from 27 November 1368
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Thomas Warner
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Philip de Popham
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Theobald Gorge
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Thomas Bokelond
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John Buttesthorn
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from 18 October 1380
Hugh Crean
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John Shone
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inherited 27 June 1335 G.E.C. VI, p.62
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abandoned by 1374 King, p.203

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to 23 October 1299 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.421 (R.I.P.)
Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln
from 23 October 1299 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.421 (from wife)
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Thomas of Lancaster and Alice de Lacy, his wife, daughter of above
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Alice de Lacy
for life from 12 July 1322 C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.179

Ebulio le Strange, P.P. & Alice de Lacy his wife
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Roger Mortimer
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Ralph Spigurnell, kn, from Roger Mortimer
for life from 24 January 1356 C.P.R. 1354-1358, p.328
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Edmund Mortimer, earl of March & Ulster
from 1372 I.P.M. XIII, no.201

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Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, son of above
from 27 December 1381 I.P.M. XV, no.560
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John de Bromwich
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Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, John lord Neville & Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland
from 16 December 1383 C.F.R. 1383-1391, p.22

John de Bromwich
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Minority of Edmund de Mortimer, earl of March, 1398-1412
Edward, duke of York
from 11 August 1398 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.408

Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland
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Robert Whitenev
### DORSTONE

**History**
- mentioned: 1390
- in use: 1403

**Owners**
- Richard de Burley, Kn. to 7 June 1387
- Beatrice, widow of above not yet 1 August 1388
- from 20 November 1388
- not by 22 November 1388
- Walter fitz Walter, Kn. on 8 September 1403
- to 16 May 1406
- Joan, widow of above from 16 May 1406
- on 1 June 1407
- to 10 May 1409
- Humphrey fitz Wauter, son of above from 10 May 1409

**EARDISLEY**

**History**
- mentioned temp. Domesday
- in use 1263
- ruinous 1374
- in use 1403

**Tenant in Chief**
- Henry de Ferrers on 15 November 1374

**Owners**
- Roger de Clifford forfeited 29 September 1276
- restored 29 October 1276
- granted to King 24 June 1278
- restored 25 June 1278

**Constables**
- John de Geyton from 29 September 1276
- to 15 October 1276

**Private Constables**
- Peter le Taillur
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licensed 14 December 1308 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.203

Owners
William de Grandison, P.P.
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died 27 June 1335 G.E.C. VI, p.60

Piers de Grandison, son of above, P.P.
from 27 June 1335 G.E.C. VI, p.60
died 10 August 1358 G.E.C. VI, p.62

John de Grandison, brother of above, Bishop of Exeter,
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Elizbeth, widow of John de Penbrugge
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Alice, sister of John de Penbrugge
from 23 August 1400 I.P.M. XVIII, 58

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Owners
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to 6 September 1300 I.P.M. III, no.603 (R.I.P.)
to 26 November 1300 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.435 (R.I.P.)

John la Ware, grandson of above, P.P.
from 26 November 1300 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.435

died 9 May 1347 G.E.C. IV, p.141

Roger Le Warre, Kn., P.P.
inherited 9 May 1347 G.E.C. IV, p.141
on May 1368 C.C.R. 1364-1368, p.472

to 27 August 1370 I.P.M. XIII, no.57 (R.I.P.)

John la Warre, Kn, his son, P.P.
from 27 August 1370 I.P.M. XIII, no.57

to 12 February 1373 C.P.R. 1370-1374, p.246

Lewis de Clifford
from 12 February 1373 C.P.R. 1370-1374, p.246 (for life)
on 27 August 1373 I.Misc III, no.886
from 18 June 1387 C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.310 (& heirs)
granted away 20 February 1393 C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.227

William de Beauchamp, lord of Abergavenny, P.P.
on 20 February 1400 C.C.R. 1399-1402, p.116
on 8 September 1403 C.C.R. 1402-1405, p.111
on 28 April 1407 C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.319
to 1411 I.P.M. XIX, no.854 (R.I.P.)

Joan, widow of above
from 6 July 1411 C.C.R. 1409-1413, p.144
on 23 March 1413 C.C.R. 1413-1419, p.11

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History
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modified C12 King, p.206
modified early C13 King, p.206
modified c.1300 King, p.206

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William de Valence
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on 8 February 1282  C.P.R. 1281-1292, p.44
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Joan de Valence, countess of Pembroke
 to 20 September 1307  I.P.M. V, 56 (R.I.P.)
Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, son of above
 from 20 September 1307  I.P.M. V, no.56
 to 26 June 1324  I.P.M. VI, no.518 (R.I.P.)
Crown
 from 15 November 1324  C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.319
Elizabeth Comyn, heir of Aymer de Valence
 from 22 March 1325  C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.338
 to 6 April 1325  C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.116
Hugh Despenser, yng, P.P.
 from 6 April 1325  C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.116
Richard Talbot
 jointured on 12 March 1337  C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.395
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 from 23 October 1356  I.P.M. X, no.326 (Jointure)
 before 12 February 1357  C.P.R. 1354-1358, p.338
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Thomas Neville of Furnyvale, kn
 on 8 September 1403  C.C.R. 1402-1405, p.111
Elizabeth, widow of Warin Lerchedeken, kn
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Gilbert Talbot, above, P.P.
 on 1411  I.P.M. XIX, no.892

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Philip de la More
 from 1 February 1397  C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.392
 confirmed 5 December 1400

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Minority of Gilbert, son & heir of Richard Talbot, 1396-1404
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Thomas de Mowbray, earl of Nottingham from 20 May 1397 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.211
John Skydmore of Kentchurch from 22 February 1398 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.249
on 8 May 1398 C.C.R. 1396-1399, p.264
Hugh de Waterton, kn. from 4 June 1402 C.F.R. 1399-1405, p.161

HEREFORDSHIRE

HEREFORD

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<td>Henry de Grey, son of above, P.P.</td>
<td>from 27 December 1323</td>
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<tr>
<td>on 10 July 1337</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>I.P.M. VIII</em>, no.391 (R.I.P.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>to 20 December 1342</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>C.C.R. 1343-1346</em>, p.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>dead by 1 February 1343</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reynold de Grey of Wilton, son of above, P.P.</td>
<td>from 20 December 1342</td>
<td><em>I.P.M. VIII</em>, no.391</td>
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<tr>
<td>heir on 1 February 1343</td>
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<td><em>C.C.R. 1343-1346</em>, p.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>on 14 May 1352</td>
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<td><em>C.P.R. 1350-1354</em>, p.261</td>
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<tr>
<td>to 4 June 1370</td>
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<td><em>I.P.M. XIII</em>, no.30 (R.I.P.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Henry Grey, kn, son of above, P.P.</td>
<td>from 4 June 1370</td>
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<tr>
<td>to 22 April 1396</td>
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<td><em>I.P.M. XVII</em>, no.648 (R.I.P.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elizabeth, wife of above</td>
<td>from 22 April 1396</td>
<td><em>I.P.M. XVII</em>, no.648 (Jointure)</td>
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Hertfordshire

Unknown Licenses
BYGRAVE for John de Thornbury, kn
31 October 1386 C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.235

ANSTEY
History
built 
post Conquest

to be shrunk 
1218

mentioned 
1377

Owners
Mary de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke
on 
8 October 1376

to 
16 March 1377
Edmund de Langley, duke of York & Isabel his wife
from 
25 May 1377

confirmed 
20 November 1377

to 
1 August 1402
Edward, duke of York, son of above
from 
1 August 1402

BERKHAMSTED
History
built 
temp William I

modified 
1155-86

modified 
1254

Owners
Richard, earl of Cornwall
from 
1227

to 
1272
Edmund, earl of Cornwall
from 
1272

on 
16 May 1296
The King, his heir
from 
1298

from 
1300
Crown - Queen Margaret
from 
20 February 1303

from 
21 June 1304

to 
16 March 1308
Piers Gaveston
from 
16 March 1308
Crown - Queen Margaret
confirmed 
19 March 1310

on 
28 September 1311

to 
1317
Crown - Queen Isabella
from 
1317

from 
5 March 1318

on 
6 April 1318
from 
8 August 1318

on 
10 February 1319
from 
10 July 1319
on 
20 April 1327

to 
1328
John of Eltham, earl of Cornwall, king's brother
from 
1329

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I.P.M. XIV, no.339 (R.I.P.)
C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.469 (tail male)
C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.84
I.P.M. XVIII, no.637 (R.I.P.)
I.P.M. XVIII, no.637
H.K.W. II, p561
H.K.W. II, p561 (R.I.P.)
H.K.W. II, p561
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I.P.M. III, no.605
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C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.18
C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.216
H.K.W. II, p562
C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.216
C.C.R. 1307-1313, p.375
H.K.W. II p562
C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.115
C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.131
C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.201
C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.57
C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.149
C.M.R., no.47
H.K.W. II, p.561
H.K.W. II p562
on 1 December 1330 C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.51
from 4 December 1330 C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.51
to 1336 H.K.W. II p562
Edward, the Black Prince, as duke of Cornwall
from 1337
on 12 September 1346 B.P.R. I, p.12
on 16 November 1346 C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.106
on 18 May 1375
Richard II as Prince
on 25 February 1377
Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland
for one year 1 November 1387 C.P.R. 1281-1292, p.366
Crown - Prince Henry
from 15 October 1399 C.C.R. 1399-1402, p.22
Constables
William Merre
on 13 October 1301 C.C.R. 1296-1302, p.468
Hugh de Beaurepair
to 29 September 1311 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.103
William de Montague
from 29 September 1311 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.103
on 28 September 1311 C.C.R. 1307-1313, p.375
Henry Norman
on 8 December 1321 C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.412
on 9 November 1325 C.C.R. 1323-1327, p.422
to 1 October 1326 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.418
John de la Haye
from 1 October 1326 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.418
John de Shobangre
to 1 December 1330 C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.51
for 2 years from 26 September 1336 C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.493
Henry de Berkhamsted
from 16 November 1357 C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.223
confirmed 25 February 1377 C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.223
confirmed 22 March 1378 C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.223
on 16 May 1381 C.C.R. 1377-1381, p.450
John de Holland, earl of Huntingdon
for life from 24 January 1391 C.P.R. 1388-1392, p.369 (at no rent)
William Cresshill, esq.
for life from 24 March 1397 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.276
confirmed 30 January 1398 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.13
Robert Corbet, kn.
from 14 October 1399 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.416
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Wincelaus Dorsteynour, kn.
on 8 June 1421 C.P.R. 1416-1422, p.365
Private Constables
William de Hampton
in 1296-1297 'Ministers’ Accounts of the Earldom of
Cornwall', L.M.Midgley, Surtees Society,
Third Series 66 (1942), p.21
Roger le Graunt, prince’s yeoman
on 14 September 1346 B.P.R. I, p.12
on 12 September 1346 B.P.R. I, p.12
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on 16 November 1347 B.P.R. I, p.149
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<th>Source</th>
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<td>on</td>
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<td>10 March 1351</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>B.P.R. IV, p.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 July 1351</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>B.P.R. IV, p.19</td>
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<td>8 November 1351</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>B.P.R. IV, p.30</td>
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<td>23 March 1352</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>B.P.R. IV, p.42</td>
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<td>10 July 1352</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>B.P.R. IV, p.57</td>
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<tr>
<td>22 August 1352</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>B.P.R. IV, p.61</td>
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<tr>
<td>19 December 1352</td>
<td>not by</td>
<td>B.P.R. IV, p.79</td>
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<tr>
<td>21 December 1352</td>
<td>from</td>
<td>B.P.R. IV, p.79</td>
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<td>6 February 1353</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>B.P.R. IV, p.81</td>
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<td>14 March 1353</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>B.P.R. IV, p.84</td>
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<td>13 July 1353</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>B.P.R. IV, p.96</td>
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<td>8 January 1354</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>B.P.R. IV, p.109</td>
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<td>18 November 1354</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>B.P.R. IV, p.121</td>
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<td>2 January 1355</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>B.P.R. IV, p.123</td>
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<td>8 August 1355</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>B.P.R. IV, p.145</td>
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<td>27 November 1356</td>
<td>for life from</td>
<td>B.P.R. IV, p.27</td>
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<tr>
<td>26 March 1359</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>B.P.R. IV, p.286</td>
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<tr>
<td>16 November 1357</td>
<td>from</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.223</td>
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<td>5 February 1361</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>B.P.R. IV, p.373</td>
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<tr>
<td>8 July 1365</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>B.P.R. IV, p.559</td>
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<td>25 February 1377</td>
<td>confirmed</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.223</td>
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<td>5 November 1347</td>
<td>from</td>
<td>B.P.R. I, p.141</td>
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<td>18 April 1351</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>B.P.R. IV, p.11</td>
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<td>25 March 1353</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>B.P.R. IV, p.85; wages 2d./day</td>
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<td>26 March 1359</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>B.P.R. IV, p.286</td>
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<td>5 February 1361</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>B.P.R. IV, p.373</td>
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<tr>
<td>8 July 1365</td>
<td>on</td>
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<td>22 August 1352</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>B.P.R. IV, p.61</td>
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<td>20 November 1386</td>
<td>from</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1383-1391, p.155</td>
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<td>18 July 1414</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.229</td>
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<tr>
<td>11 February 1417</td>
<td>from</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1416-1422, p.65</td>
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<tr>
<td>14 July 1414</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.231</td>
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<tr>
<td>14 July 1414</td>
<td>from</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.231</td>
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<tr>
<td>16 December 1396</td>
<td>from</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.48</td>
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<td>7 April 1413</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.11</td>
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<td>18 July 1413</td>
<td>from</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.59</td>
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**Notes**

Hugh de Waterton, kn to dwell here and govern the king's children John & Philippa and the earl of march & his brother, until the king returned from wales
BISHOP'S STORTFORD

History
mentioned temp. William I King, p.219
siege 1137 King, p.219
dismantled 1211 King, p.219
to be repaired 1213-14 King, p.219
licenced 12 March 1346 C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.61

Owners
Bishop of London licence to crenellate 12 March 1346 C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.61
Robert, bishop of London on 5 April 1392 C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.45
on 20 May 1401 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.501

HERTFORD

History
built C11 H.K.W. II, p.678
modified 1170-4 King, p.220
modified 1461-5 King, p.220

Owners
William de Valence, half brother of Henry III to 1296 H.K.W. II, p.678
Crown from 1296 C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.451
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Queen Margaret from 10 September 1299 C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.451
not by 4 March 1309 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.153
but confirmed 19 March 1310 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.216
Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke by 4 March 1309 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.153
on 4 November 1317 C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.47
to 26 June 1324 L.P.M. VI, no.518 (R.I.P.)
Mary de St. Pol, widow of Aymer de Valence released by 13 March 1327 C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.37
released by 13 March 1327 C.C.R. 1327-1330, p.109
Queen Isabella for life from 1 February 1327 C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.66
on 20 April 1327 C.M.R., no.47
from 11 July 1331 C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.153
from 15 November 1331 C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.195
from 1 March 1334 C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.529
on 13 March 1345 C.P.R. 1343-1345, p.447
dead by 1358 C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.97 (R.I.P.)
John of Gaunt from 20 May 1360 C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.428
from 1360 D.L.27/242
in tail male from 8 October 1376 C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.359
on 24 March 1377 C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.441
on 15 September 1377 C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.25
on 1383 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.814
on 6 February 1394 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.537
on 1395-7 Somerville p.370
on 3 April 1399 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.537
on 14 June 1397 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.148
Queen Joan
Constables
John de Blomvill
on 28 May 1408
on 14 November 1414  C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.256

Thomas Wake, P.P.
to 9 December 1326  C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.424
from 9 December 1326  C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.424
again 4 February 1327  C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.4

John bishop of Ely
from 14 December 1330  C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.214

Robert de Louth
for life from 19 July 1358 (For Queen)  C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.97 (For King)
for life from 24 August 1358  C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.97 (For King)
Edward Beauchamp
confirmed 3 April 1399  C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.537

Private Constables
Robert de Louth
for life 1383  J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.814
Edward Beauchamp (For Lancaster)
for life from 6 February 1394  Somerville p.370
on 1395-7
on 14 June 1397  C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.148
confirmed 3 April 1399  C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.537

Head Carpenter
William de Wyntringham
on 28 April 1380  J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.276
on 12 May 1381  J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.521
Being payed 100 marks/years for works at the castle

Bailiff
Rich. del Newyn
on 31 March 1382  J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.707

Porter
Walter de Multon
for life from 20 January 1359  C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.148
HUNTINGDON

History

built 1068
dismantled and abandoned 1174
court held in the chapel 1293

Owners

Judith, niece of William the Conqueror

Fry, p.153

Matilda, daughter of above & David I, king of Scotland & earl of Huntingdon, her husband

Fry, p.153

William the Lion, king of Scotland
to 1174

Fry, p.153

John de Hastings, earl of Pembroke

C.F.R. 1377-1383, p.89

Mary de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke

for life to death C.F.R. 1377-1383, p.89

died 16 March 1377

John de Hastings, earl of Pembroke, heir of John above

underage 12 May 1378 C.F.R. 1377-1383, p.89

underage 21 July 1380 C.F.R. 1377-1383, p.211

died 1389

Wardships

minority of John de Hastings, 1375-1389

John de Wykes

from 12 May 1378 C.F.R. 1377-1383, p.89

from 21 July 1380 C.F.R. 1377-1383, p.211

after death of John de Hastings, 1389-

John de Wykes

for ten years from 4 July 1390 C.F.R. 1383-1391, p.328

John Bekeley & William Routh

from 5 November 1414 C.F.R. 1413-1422, p.79

Justices of Goal Delivery

Roger de Kirketon & John de Holt

on 2 February 1375 C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.74

on 28 February 1376 C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.288

KIMBOLTON

History

mentioned 1217 King, p.225

siege 1221 King, p.225

mentioned 1275,1364,1373

Owners

Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Essex & Hereford
to 27 September 1275 I.P.M. II, no.100 (R.I.P.)

Humphrey de Bohun, , earl of Hereford and Essex, grandson of above
from 27 September 1275 I.P.M. II, no.100

to 29 January 1299 I.P.M. XII, no.454

Maud, widow of John de Bohun, earl of Hereford & Essex
from 16 April 1336 C.C.R. 1333-1337, p.568

Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford & Essex
to 15 October 1361 I.P.M. XI, no.485 (R.I.P.)

Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford & Essex, his son
from 15 October 1361 I.P.M. XI, no.485

to 17 January 1373 I.P.M. XIII, no.167 (R.I.P.)
Joan, widow of above from 29 March 1373 C.C.R. 1369-1374, p.495

Constables
William de Risceby from 19 February 1373 C.F.R. 1369-1377, p.206

Wardships
Minority of Humphrey de Bohun, 1361-1363
Stephen atte Roche, William, abbot of Walden & Thomas de Walmesford on 26 November 1361 C.P.R. 1361-1364, p.133
Unknown Licenses

BOCTONE ALUPH BY WY for Thomas de Aledon
12 May 1339 C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.253

BOGHTON MALHERBE for Robert de Corby, king's yeoman
6 January 1363 C.R. 1341-1417, p.174

BROMLE for William de Bliburgh, king's clerk
26 August 1310 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.278

CHERITON, A CHAMBER for John de Mereworth
22 October 1332 C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.365

ORKESDENE for Reginald de Cobham
18 October 1341 C.P.R. 1340-1343, p.304

PENSHURST for John de Pultney
6 October 1341 C.P.R. 1340-1343, p.331

PENSHURST for John Devereux, P.P.
21 September 1392 C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.164

SHOFORD (MAIDSTONE PARISH) for William de Topclyve
18 June 1382 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.132

STANSTEDE for Robert Burghcher (Possibly in Essex)
3 June 1341 C.P.R. 1340-1343, p.225

ALLINGTON

History
licensed 25 May 1281 C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.437
mentioned 1340,1341 King, p.228
in bad condition 1398-9 King, p.228

Tenant in Chief
heir of Roger de Kirkby
minor on 14 June 1340 I.P.M. VIII, no.272

Owners
Stephen de Pencestre
license to cren. 25 May 1281 C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.437
Margaret, widow of Stephen de Pencestre to 1308 I.P.M. V, no.134 (R.I.P.)
Avice, widow of Stephan de Cobham to 14 June 1340 I.P.M. VIII, no.272 (R.I.P.)
John de Cobham of Rundale to 14 September 1361 I.P.M. XI, no.240 (R.I.P.)
Thomas de Cobham, son of above from 14 September 1361 I.P.M. XI, no.240
to 8 February 1394 I.P.M. XVII, no.308 (R.I.P.)
Reynold de Cobham, son of above from 8 February 1394 I.P.M. XVII, no.308

CANTERBURY

History
mentioned 1169 King, p.228
modified 1173 King, p.228
modified 1191-3 King, p.228
siege 1215 King, p.228

Constables
Henry Malemeyns to 20 March 1273 C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.7
William de Heure from 20 March 1273 C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.7
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<td>William de Valoynes</td>
<td>17 October 1274</td>
<td>17 October 1274</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.31</td>
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<td>3 February 1278</td>
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<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.92</td>
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<td>Ralph de Sandwich</td>
<td>3 February 1278</td>
<td>11 February 1278</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.92</td>
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<td>Henry Pyrot</td>
<td>11 February 1278</td>
<td>25 October 1278</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.103</td>
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<td>Robert de Scothen</td>
<td>25 October 1278</td>
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<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.103</td>
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<td>Peter de Huntingfield</td>
<td>12 January 1283</td>
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<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.178</td>
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<td>with county from</td>
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<tr>
<td>John de Blund</td>
<td>18 February 1313</td>
<td>2 April 1313</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.163</td>
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from 8 November 1401 to 29 November 1402
John Digge
from 8 November 1401 to 29 November 1402
Thomas Chicche of Balverlegh
from 29 November 1402 to 5 November 1403
Richard Clitheroe
from 5 November 1403 to 22 November 1406
Valentine Baret
from 22 November 1406 to 29 November 1402
Henry Horne
from 22 November 1406 to 5 November 1403
Edmund of Haute
from 2 October 1408 to 2 October 1408
William Snyth
Gatekeepers
Geoffrey Gilmyn of Canterbury
from 30 May 1327

CHILEHAM

History
built late C12

Owners
Alex. de Balliol of Chileham, P.P.
dead by June 1311
not by 6 October 1314
Bart. de Badlesmere, P.P.
on 16 March 1310
on 6 October 1314
on 6 October 1314
David de Strabolgi, earl of Athol
from 28 November 1321 to 8 January 1327
David de Strabolgi, son of above
from 8 January 1327
Giles de Badlesmere, P.P.
to 16 July 1338
William de Ros of Helmsley, P.P. & Margery his wife, sister of above
from 20 November 1338 to 16 February 1343
Thomas de Arundel, kn
on 28 October 1351 jointured 26 November 1351
William de Ros of Helmsley
holds reversion 28 October 1351
Margary, widow of William de Ros & Thomas de Arundel
from 18 October 1363 to 18 October 1363
Thomas de Ros of Helmsley, kn., her son
from 18 October 1363 to 10 November 1364
on 10 November 1364 to 21 May 1383
Beatrice, widow of above
livery 24 October 1384
Richard de Burley, kn.
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William de Ros of Helmsley, P.P.

inherited 6 August 1393

died 1 September 1414

John de Ros, kn., son of above,

inherited 1 September 1414

not by 22 November 1421

Margery, wife of above from 22 November 1421

John de Ros (1414-1419)

Thomas Beaufort, earl of Dorset, duke of Exeter from 22 September 1414 to 8 July 1419

COOLING

History
licenced 10 February 1381
built 1381-5
pulled down 1363?

Owners
John Lord de Cobham, P.P.
licence to crenellate 10 February 1381
away 1 October 1395
forfeited by 11 May 1398
to 10 January 1408
Nicholas Hawberk through Joan de Cobham, his wife from 10 January 1408
John Oldcastle, P.P. in the right of Joan lady Cobham forfeited by 12 July 1418
Joan lady Cobham from 22 November 1418

Constables while in King’s Hands
Reynold Braybrooke from 11 May 1398

DOVER

History
built pre 1066 modified 1066 modified 1167-
modified temp. John modified temp. Henry III

Owners
Crown on 6 April 1308
Constables

Bertram de Criol
- 6 June 1235, C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.2227 (400m/year)
- 17 July 1235, C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.2251

Matthias Bezill
not by 23 January 1268, C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.97

Stephen de Penchester
- 1267
- 5 December 1267, C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.38
- 8 November 1268, C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.503
- 31 March 1269, C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.648
- 29 April 1270, C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.1082
- 18 October 1270, C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.1248
- 25 July 1271, C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.1487
- 27 March 1271, C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.1484
- 4 December 1271, C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.1737
- 21 January 1272, C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.1767
- 5 April 1272, C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.1886
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- 20 July 1299, C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.427
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- 7 January 1303, C.C.R. 1302-1307, p.3
dead by
- 16 October 1306, C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.347

during pleasure
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to
- 20 July 1306, C.F.R. 1302-1307, p.46
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- 28 April 1305, C.F.R. 1302-1307, p.542 (R.I.P.)

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| William de Leybourne                | 30 May 1307 | I.P.M. IV, no.410 |

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| Thomas de Leybourne                  | 17 March 1308 | C.C.R. 1307-1313, p.26 |
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| Walter de Maidstone                  | 16 July 1310 | C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.271 (Maydenstan) |

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<td>6 April 1395 to 21 July 1402</td>
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from 16 January 1329  
to 6 February 1329
John de Montague
from 22 March 1399

TONGE
History
mentioned temp. John  
mentioned 1448
Owners
Giles de Badlesmere, P.P.
to 7 June 1338
Edmund Mortimer, earl of March & Ulster
to 27 December 1381
Roger de Mortimer, son of above
from 27 December 1381

WESTHANGER
History
licence to crenellate. 18 August 1343
Owners
John de Kiriel
license to crenellate 18 August 1343
Lettice, widow of John de Kiriel, kn.
on 11 February 1382
on 22 September 1383

Notes
Commission of O&T into an attack here
11 February 1382
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**Unknown Licenses**

- **HOLLAND** for Robert de Holland
  - 24 March 1308
  - *C.P.R. 1307-1313*, p.57

- **NEWTON IN MAKERFELD** for Robert de Langeton
  - 18 October 1341
  - *C.P.R. 1340-1343*, p.304

**BORWICK HALL**

**History**
- built
  - C14
  - King, p.244

**Broughton in Furness**

**History**
- built
  - C14
  - King, p.244

**Owners**
- Nicholas de Broughton
  - by 1299
  - *V.C.H. vol. 8*, p.402-4
- Christiana, wife of above
  - alive 1340
  - ibid.
  - dead by 1346
  - ibid.
- Christopher de Broughton
  - inherited by 1346
  - ibid.
- Christopher II de Broughton
  - inherited by 1378
  - ibid.
  - alive 1404-5
  - ibid.

**Clitheroe**

**History**
- mentioned 1186-7
  - King, p.245
- built just before 1186
  - King, p.245

**Tenant in Chief**

- Thomas of Lancaster
  - to 6 February 1311
  - *I.P.M. V*, no.279

**Owners**

- Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln
  - on 25 August 1294
  - *C.F.R. 1272-1307*, p.343
  - to 6 February 1311
  - *I.P.M. V*, no.279 (R.I.P.)
- Thomas of Lancaster & Alice de Lacy, his wife, da. of above
  - from 6 February 1311
  - *I.P.M. V*, no.279
  - confiscated on 13 March 1322
  - *C.F.R. 1319-1327*, p.105
- Queen Isabella
  - on 20 April 1327
  - *C.M.R.*, no.57
  - from 15 November 1331
  - *C.P.R. 1330-1334*, p.195
  - on 2 December 1333
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  - from 1 March 1334
  - *C.P.R. 1330-1334*, p.529
  - on 30 March 1334
  - *C.C.R. 1333-1337*, p.210
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  - *C.P.R. 1343-1345*, p.447
- Alice de Lacy, countess of Lincoln
  - to 2 October 1348
  - *I.P.M. IX*, no.107 (R.I.P.)
- Henry duke of Lancaster
  - from 2 October 1348
  - *I.P.M. IX*, no.107
  - livery 15 November 1348
  - *C.C.R. 1346-1349*, p.576
  - to 23 March 1361
  - *I.P.M. XI*, no.118 (R.I.P.)
- Earls of Lancaster
  - to
  - Crown
  - 1399
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from 1399

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While confiscated 1322-1323
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William de Tatham from 15 July 1323 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.222
on 16 April 1324 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.272
on 18 November 1323 C.C.R. 1323-1327, p.146
from 3 December 1330 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.201
on 5 December 1330 C.C.R. 1330-1333, p.76
on 8 May 1331 C.C.R. 1330-1333, p.233
on 26 April 1331 C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.104

Serjeant bailiff
Henry le Barber from 28 December 1330 C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.32

DALTON IN FURNESS

History
built C14 King, p.245

Owners
Furness Abbey temp from building V.C.H. vol. 8, pp.308-9

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History
built mid C14

Owners
Harrington family temp entire period V.C.H. vol. 8, p.321

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John de Harrington, P.P., grandson of above from 2 July 1347 G.E.C. VI, p.314
died 28 May 1363 G.E.C. VI, p.316
Robert de Harrington, P.P., son of above from 28 May 1363 G.E.C. VI, p.316
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Owners
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John de Neville from 20 February 1319 I.P.M. VI, no.175
extent 20 February 1335 I.P.M. VII, no.710
to 1 December 1335 I.P.M. VII, no.682 (R.I.P.)
Robert de Neville, grandson of above from 1 December 1335 I.P.M. VII, no.682
to 6 July 1351 C.C.R. 1349-1354, p.372
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to 23 March 1361 I.P.M. XI, no.118 (R.I.P.)
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Michael de la Pole to hold for 3 years unless Neville clears his debts 20 May 1362 C.C.R. 1360-1364, p.390
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MELLING WITH WRAYTON

History
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Owners
Ralph de Neville, kn
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History
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Owners
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modified 1218-25 King, p.247
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Owners
Edmund, earl of Lancaster
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Unknown Licenses
BAGGEWORTH for Robert de Holland, P.P.
15 July 1318

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History

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licensed 1267  King, p.256
siege 1461  King, p.256

Owners

Isabel de Ros

to 23 June 1301  I.P.M. IV, no.25 (R.I.P.)
William de Ros of Helmsley, son of above, P.P.
from 23 June 1301  I.P.M. IV, no.25

died May-August 1316  G.E.C. XI, p.96
William de Ros of Helmsley, son of above, P.P.

inherited May-August 1316  G.E.C. XI, p.96

to 16 February 1343  I.P.M. VIII, no.474 (R.I.P.)
William de Ros, son of above, P.P.
from 16 February 1343  I.P.M. VIII, no.474

to 29 September 1352  I.P.M. V, no.45 (R.I.P.)
Thomas de Ros of Helmsley, Kn., brother of above
from 29 September 1352  I.P.M. X, no.45

on 3 December 1364  I.Mise III, no.572

to 21 May 1383  I.P.M. XVI, no.50 (R.I.P.)
John de Ros of Helmsley, Kn., son of above, P.P.
from 21 May 1383  I.P.M. XVI, no.50

on 5 May 1388  C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.434

to 6 August 1394  I.P.M. XVII, no.413 (R.I.P.)
William de Ros of Helmsley, Kn., brother of above, P.P.
from 6 August 1394  I.P.M. XVII, no.413

on 7 November 1408  C.P.R. 1408-1413, p.25

died 1 September 1414  G.E.C. XI, p.102
John de Ros of Helmsley, son of above

inherited 1 September 1414  G.E.C. XI, p.103

died 22 March 1420/1  G.E.C. XI, p.103
Thomas de Ros of Helmsley, brother of above, P.P.

inherited 26 September 1406  G.E.C. XI, p.104

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Private Constables

Richard Shropshire
confirmed 5 May 1388  C.P.R. 1385-1388, p.434 (For life)

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Ralph de Neville
from 15 May 1343  C.F.R. 1337-1347, p.330

Minority of Thomas, brother of William de Ros (1353-1359)
Simon de Thorneley
from 20 January 1353  C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.352
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Roger de Mortimer, earl of March
from 15 July 1355  C.P.R. 1354-1358, p.271
to 8 November 1356  C.P.R. 1354-1358, p.475
Minority of William de Ros
Thomas de Ros, brother and heir
from 8 June 1356

Minority of John de Ros (1414-1419)
Thomas Beaufort, earl of Dorset, duke of Exeter
from 22 September 1414
on 6 February 1416
to 8 July 1419

Minority of Thomas de Ros (1421-1427)
William Heton
from 17 May 1421

CASTLE DONNINGTON

History
built early C12
mentioned 1213
siege 1216
mentioned 1266,1311

Owners
Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln
to 6 February 1311
Thomas, earl of Lancaster and Alice de Lacy, his wife, da. of above
from 6 February 1311
forfeited by 12 March 1322
Hugh le Despenser, yng, P.P.
from 16 July 1322
on 16 March 1323
Alice de Lacy, countess of Lincoln
before 11 February 1325
Hugh Le Despenser, earl of Gloucester
from 11 February 1325
Edmund de Woodstock, earl of Kent
from 27 February 1327
forfeited by 25 April 1330
dead by 20 December 1330
Geoffrey de Mortimer
from 25 April 1330
Edmund, earl of Kent, son of Edmund of Woodstock
underage 21 May 1331
John, earl of Kent, son of above
to 27 December 1352
Thomas de Holland, earl of Kent, brother in law of above
to 26 December 1360
Thomas de Holland, son of above
from 26 December 1360
Joan, Princess of Wales
to 8 July 1385
Thomas de Holland, earl of Kent
from 8 July 1385
to 25 April 1397
forfeited
Thomas de Holland, earl of Kent, duke of Surrey
from 25 April 1397
on 17 February 1398
to 7 January 1400
forfeited
Edmund de Holland, earl of Kent, brother of above
from 7 January 1400
Crown
from

Private Constables
Roger de Pickering
in

Constables
Nicholas de Grey
to
Ralph Basset of Drayton
from
Roger Beler
on
Edmund de Woodstock, earl of Kent
on
Hugh Shirley
on

Steward
Thomas Barsc, esq.
on

Wardships
minority of Edmund, earl of Kent, 1330-1331
Margaret, countess of Kent, mother of above
from

LEICESTER

History
built
destroyed
siege
modified

Owners
Simon de Montfort
in
Edmund, earl of Lancaster, Brother of Edward I
on
on
dead by

Thomas, earl of Lancaster
writ

Henry, earl of Lancaster
restored
heir on
on
died

Henry of Grosmont, duke of Lancaster
to

dead by

Maud, his daughter, wife of duke of Bavaria (R.I.P.)
from
to

John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster
from
to

Constables while in Royal hands
Robert Beler
to
Roger de Belgrave
from 4 July 1323
Restored to Henry de Lancaster
on 29 March 1324
Thomas Walshe
on 10 April 1394
Edward, future duke of York
from 20 March 1399

WHITWICK

History
mentioned 1149-53, 1204-5
licenced 12 March 1321

Owners
Henry de Beaumont
licence to crenellate 12 March 1321
Unknown Licenses

**ERESBY** for John Beke, P.P.
- 6 August 1276
- *C.P.R. 1272-1281*, p.158

**FRISKENEYE** for Ranulph de Friskeneye
- 30 January 1303
- *C.P.R. 1301-1307*, p.103

**LA BRUERE MANOR** for The Knight's Templers
- 10 September 1306
- *C.P.R. 1301-1307*, p.462

**LEE** for John de Brehous
- 22 October 1330
- *C.P.R. 1330-1334*, p.17

**NETTLEHAM** for Henry Burghersh, bishop of Lincoln
- 16 November 1336
- *C.P.R. 1334-1338*, p.330

**ST. MARY'S LINCOLN** for bishop of Lincoln
- 6 December 1318
- *C.P.R. 1317-1321*, p.257

**STOW ST. MARY** for Henry Burghersh, bishop of Lincoln
- 16 November 1336
- *C.P.R. 1334-1338*, p.330

**BOLINGBROKE**

**History**
- **built** early C13
- **mentioned** 1232
- **modified** 1451

**Owners**
- Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln
  - to 6 February 1311
  - *I.P.M. V*, no.279 (R.I.P.)
- Thomas, earl of Lancaster, & Alice de Lacy, his wife, daughter of, of above
  - from 6 February 1311
  - *I.P.M. V*, no.279
  - from 27 May 1311
  - *C.P.R. 1307-1313*, p.350
  - forfeited by 12 March 1322
  - *C.F.R. 1319-1327*, p.106
- Alice de Lacy for life from 12 July 1322
- Ebulo le Strange, P.P. & Alice de Lacy his wife on 14 March 1325
- from 22 January 1331
- from 16 February 1331
- to 17 September 1335
  - *I.P.M. VII*, no.681 (R.I.P.)
- Alice de Lacy, countess of Lincoln
  - from 17 September 1335
  - *I.P.M. VII*, no.681
  - on 9 October 1335
  - *C.C.R. 1333-1337*, p.444
  - on 23 February 1337
  - *C.C.R. 1337-1339*, p.18
  - on 4 May 1337
  - *C.P.R. 1334-1338*, p.450
  - to 2 October 1348
  - *I.P.M. IX*, no.107 (R.I.P.)
- Henry, duke of Lancaster
  - from 2 October 1348
  - *I.P.M. IX*, no.107
  - returned to 24 October 1348
  - *C.F.R. 1347-1356*, p.97
  - on 16 March 1361
  - *C.P.R. 1358-1361*, p.575
  - dead by 4 December 1364
  - *C.P.R. 1364-1367*, p.50
- John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster
  - from 1361
  - *D.L. 27/242*
  - from 18 November 1361
  - *C.P.R. 1361-1364*, p.118
  - from 4 December 1364
  - *C.P.R. 1364-1367*, p.50

**Royal Stewards**
- Sheriff of Lincoln
  - from 12 March 1322
  - *C.F.R. 1319-1327*, p.106

**Constables**
- Philip de Kyme, P.P.
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Alan de Cubbeldyk
from 24 March 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.119
Edward, future duke of York
from 20 March 1399 C.F.R. 1396-1399, p.308

Private Constables
Geoffrey de Villers for Thomas, earl of Lancaster
on 9 June 1318 Somerville, p.350

BOURNE

History
built temp. Henry I King, p.260
mentioned temp. John King, p.260
mentioned 1349 King, p.260

Owners
Thomas Wake of Liddel, P.P.
to 31 May 1349 I.P.M. IX, no.219 (R.I.P.)
Blanche, Widow of Thomas Wake
from 31 May 1349 I.P.M. IX, no.219
to 3 July 1380 I.P.M. XV, no.445 (R.I.P.)
Joan, princess of Wales
from 3 July 1380 I.P.M. XV, no.445
to 8 July 1385 I.P.M. XVI, no.328 (R.I.P.)
Thomas Holland, earl of Kent
from 8 July 1385 I.P.M. XVI, no.328
died 1397

BYTHAM

History
built temp. William I King, p.260
mentioned 1216 King, p.260
demolished? 1221 King, p.260

Tenant in Chief
Enguerrand de Coucy, earl of Bedford & Isabel his wife
on 27 January 1368 I.P.M. XII, no.218

Owners
Robert de Coleville
to 1350 (R.I.P.)
Robert de Coleville of Bytham, P.P.
on 2 July 1351 C.P.R. 1350-1354, p.116
to 27 January 1368 I.P.M. XII, no.218 (R.I.P.)
Cicely, widow of Robert de Coleville
from 27 January 1368 I.P.M. XII, no.218 (Jointly)
on 6 May 1368 C.C.R. 1364-1368, p.427
Ralph Basset of Sapcote, Kn.
from 1369 G.E.C. II, p.7
to 1378 I.P.M. XV, no.86 (R.I.P.)
Alice, widow of Ralph Basset
livery 27 September 1378 C.C.R. 1377-1381, p.159 (Jointure)
to 12 October 1412 I.P.M. XIX, no.1035 (R.I.P.)
Elizabeth, granddaughter of above
from 12 October 1412 I.P.M. XIX, no.1035
Elizabeth, widow Richard lord Grey of Codnor
from 10 November 1418
Chaplain
Gerard de Wenge
from 13 June 1291
Private Constables
William de Corby for Sir Robert Coleville
on 1 October 1366

'Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral
Church of Lincoln, vol. 1', Lincoln Record
Society, 27 (1931)

'Records of some Sessions of the Peace in
Lincolnshire, 1360-75', Lincoln Record
Society 30 (1933), pp.167-8

CAISTOR
History
built 1143
Owners
Joan, Princess of Wales
to 8 July 1385
Thomas de Holland, earl of Kent
from 8 July 1385
to 25 April 1397
Thomas de Holland, son of above, earl of Kent, duke of Surrey
from 25 April 1397
Edmund de Holland, earl of Kent, brother of above
from 1403

King, p.264

CAITHORPE
History
mentioned 1385
Owners
Elizabeth de Burgo
on 25 September 1340
William Bardolf, kn (of Wermgaiy)
on 23 November 1383
dead by 18 July 1385
not by 26 October 1386

King, p.264

FOLKINGHAM
History
licensed 26 April 1312
mentioned 1340,1372
Owners
Gilbert de Gaunt, P.P.
temp. Henry III
\textit{died} 5 January 1273/4
Gilbert de Gaunt, P.P.
\textit{inherited} 1273/4
\textit{died} 17 March 1297/8
Henry de Beaumont
1. to cren.
Isabel de Vescy
to 1332
Peruzzi of Florence
from 1332 (Four year lease)
on 1 November 1334
to 1336

I.P.M. XVI, no.328
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I.P.M. VII, no.622
I.P.M. VII, no.622
Henry de Beaumont, earl of Bogham

heir on 1 November 1334 I.P.M. VII, no.622

to 16 April 1340 I.P.M. VIII, no.271 (R.I.P.)

John de Beaumont, son of above, P.P.

from 16 April 1340 I.P.M. VIII, no.271

died May 1342 G.E.C. II, p.60

Richard earl of Arundel & Eleanor his wife, mother of below (from Eleanor)

granted away 12 November 1367 C.P.R. 1367-1370, p.31

Henry de Beaumont, son of Eleanor and John above, P.P.

from 12 November 1367 C.P.R. 1367-1370, p.31

died 17 June 1369 G.E.C. II, p.61

Eleanor, countess of Arundel, mother of above

to 12 January 1373 I.P.M. XIII, no.239 (R.I.P.)

John de Beaumont, kn, P.P.

from 12 January 1373 I.P.M. XIII, no.239

to 25 December 1396 I.P.M. XVII, no.763 (R.I.P.)

Henry lord of Beaumont, son of above, P.P.

from 25 December 1396 I.P.M. XVII, no.763

died June 1413 G.E.C. II, p.61

John de Beaumont, son of above, P.P.

from June 1413 G.E.C. II, p.61

died 10 July 1460 G.E.C. II, p.61

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Henry, bishop of Winchester

from 6 November 1413 C.F.R. 1413-1422, p.42

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LINCOLN

History

built 1068 King, p.262

modified C12 King, p.262

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siege 1644 King, p.262

Owners

Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln

to 6 February 1311 I.P.M. V, no.279 (R.I.P.)

Thomas de Lancaster and Alice de Lacy, his wife, da. of above

from 6 February 1311 I.P.M. V, no.279

from 5 March 1311

from 27 May 1311

on 28 May 1319 C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.340

confiscated on 24 February 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.98

Alice de Lacy, countess of Lincoln

from 20 September 1322 C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.596

Ebulo le Strange, P.P. & Alice de Lacy, countess of Lincoln

on 25 September 1327 C.C.R. 1327-1330, p.169

from 22 January 1331 C.Oh.R. 1327-1341, p.199

on 4 August 1331 C.C.R. 1330-1333, p.255

to 17 September 1335 I.P.M. VII, no.681 (R.I.P.)
Alice de Lacy, countess of Lincoln
from 17 September 1335
on 9 October 1335
on 23 February 1337
in 1341
to 2 October 1348
Henry, duke of Lancaster
from 2 October 1348
on 24 October 1348
John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster
on 3 March 1372
on 1383-4
on 8 March 1390
on 1392-3
Judged to be a Royal Castle
on 13 November 1408

Constables
Thomas de Wyberton
in 1295

Alan de Cubebeldy
from 24 March 1322
William de Paunton
to 20 September 1322
Alesia de Lacy
from 20 September 1322
Reynold de Donnington
to 5 February 1327
Ebulo & Alesia le Strange
from 4 February 1327
from 16 February 1331
William Fraunk
from 5 February 1327
John de Boys
from 20 November 1362
William de Hauley the elder
from 20 November 1363
and from 17 November 1365
Thomas de Fulnetby
from 27 November 1368
and from 5 November 1369
and from 10 November 1370
and from 28 March 1370
Oliver de Barton
on 28 October 1375
on 1383-4
on 1392-3
John de Stafford
on 11 November 1397
Edward, future duke of York
from 20 March 1399
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Constables during voidances
Sheriff of Lincoln
Robert Darcy
from 8 February 1322 to 8 February 1322
on 1 March 1322 to 1 March 1322
on 13 March 1322 to 13 March 1322

Constables for the Church
John de Cotesmor
on 30 September 1338 to '1341 Royal Inquest in Lincolnshire', ed. B.W. McLane, Lincoln Record Society 78 (1987), no.102

Reginald Courtoys
for life from 14 July 1398 to C.R. 1401-1405, p.462
confirmed by sub-dean 6 September 1404 to C.R. 1401-1405, p.462
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Owners
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Thomas de Grey from 4 June 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.133 from 30 June 1322 C.F.R. 1321-1324, p.143

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Henry de Barryntun from 3 June 1323 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.210

John de Barryntun on 17 August 1323 C.C.R. 1323-1327, p.12

Henry de Barryntun on 13 March 1327 C.M.R., no.78


Simon de Spense not by 28 February 1348 C.P.R. 1348-1350, p.73

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Robert de Tattershall, son of above, P.P. from August 1273 I.P.M. II, no.4

to 8 September 1298 I.P.M. III, no.476 (R.I.P.)
Robert de Tattershall, son of above, P.P. from 8 September 1298 I.P.M. III, no.476

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to 30 December 1303 C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.26 (R.I.P.)
Robert de Tattershall Jr., son of above from 28 July 1303 I.P.M. IV, no.163

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Joan de Driby from 30 January 1306 I.P.M. IV, no.391

from 25 November 1306 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.547

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John de Driby, son of above from 15 October 1329 I.P.M. VII, no.241

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Robert le Brut
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Walter de Birton
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Thomas de la Vache
  on 23 November 1365
Robert Ruthyn
dead by 14 September 1371
Walter de Chippenham
  on 14 September 1371
Robert Neuton
  on 20 November 1381
William Lye
  on 14 April 1395
Robert Thorle, esq.
  on 9 January 1400
Robert German
  on 8 August 1400
Henry Mulsho
to 4 August 1411
Simon Kampe
  from 4 August 1411
not by 24 May 1414
Robert de Morley
  from 8 July 1413
on 13 July 1413
John Dabriclevourt, kn.
  from 28 October 1413
on 16 November 1413
Clerk and Keeper of the privy wardrobe in the Tower
William de Rothewell, king’s clerk
  from 24 March 1359
on 15 November 1359
Master of the Works
Master Robert de Beverlaco
  on 14 February 1278
Brother John of the Order of St. Thomas of Acre
  on 14 February 1278
Viewers of the Works
Philip de Otington
  from 9 July 1267
on 26 January 1270
on 20 July 1270
on 6 November 1271
on 7 November 1271
Keeper of the Works
Giles Audenard
  on 14 February 1278
  on 26 June 1278
John de Ditton
  from 20 February 1320
Richard de Kenebrok
  from 13 March 1327
Clerk of the Works
Walter de Weston
  on 18 March 1337
Peter de Brugge
from 8 October 1347 C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.413 (& Surveyor)
Thomas de Stapelford from 21 September 1354 C.P.R. 1354-1358, p.104 (& Surveyor)
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on 4 June 1380
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Keeper of the Exchange
John de Flete on 10 February 1344 C.C.R. 1343-1346, p.274
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Keeper of the King’s Arms in the Tower
John de London
on 24 February 1354
William de Garderobe
to 7 November 1381
John de Evesham
from 7 November 1381
Robert Penford, yeoman
from 17 April 1409
John de Evesham.
from 7 November 1381
Robert Penford, yeoman
from 17 April 1409
William de Garderobe
to 7 November 1381
John de Evesham
from 7 November 1381
Robert Penford, yeoman
from 17 April 1409
Keeper of the King’s Bed in the Tower
Adam atte Wode
to 22 August 1409
William Hert, king’s yeoman
from 22 August 1409
Keeper of the Bows
Adam Bowyer
to 20 November 1396
Robert Bridford
from 20 November 1396
Thomas Coton of London
from 19 November 1399
Artiller
John Alblaster
from 2 April 1406
Artiller of the King’s Crossbows
Master Conrad
on 10 July 1269
Master Thomas de St. Sepulcro
on 11 November 1272
Artiller of the King’s Quarrels
Richard de Hereford, smith
on 6 November 1272
Yeoman of the King’s Armour
William de la Garderobe
on 6 March 1369
King’s Serjeants at Arms
William Bigod
on 1 April 1266
on 16 July 1267
Robert de Clopton
on 16 July 1267
Merioneth

CARNDOCHELAN

History
built C13

CASTEL-Y-BERE

History
built 1221? siege 1283 destroyed 1294

Owners
Llywelyn ap Griffin temp 1267-75 to 25 April 1283 to 20 March 1284 Walter de Huntercumbe, P.P., Kn from 21 October 1284 to 5 October 1285 Hugh de Turbervill from 5 October 1285 on 20 June 1290 dead by 28 November 1292 Joan de Turbervill & Roger de Verduno custody to 28 November 1292 Rob de Staundon custody from 28 November 1292 Robert fitz Walter, P.P. from 28 June 1292 from 28 June 1293 Roger le Strange on 18 October 1293

Constables
Roger le Strange, of Ellesmere, P.P. to 20 March 1284 Walter de Huntercumbe, P.P., Kn from 20 March 1284 from 21 October 1284 to 5 October 1285 Hugh de Turbervill from 5 October 1285 on 20 June 1290 dead by 28 November 1292 Joan de Turbervill & Roger de Verduno custody to 28 November 1292 Rob de Staundon custody from 28 November 1292 Robert fitz Walter, P.P. from 28 June 1292 from 28 June 1293 Roger le Strange on 18 October 1293

CYM PRYSOR

History
mentioned 1284

HARLECH (HARDELagh?)

History
built 1285-90 modified 1323-4 siege 1294-5,1404,1408 siege 1468,1646,1647

Owners
Prince Edward from 12 May 1343 to 13 October 1376 on 13 October 1376 Joan, widow of Prince Edward

Constables
Hugh de Wlonkeslowe
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<td>12 September 1295</td>
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<td>c.1316</td>
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Monmouthshire

ABERGAVENNY

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dead by 28 October 1273 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.12
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on 26 February 1281 C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.426
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John de Hastings, son of above, P.P.
from 28 February 1313 I.P.M. V, no.412

to 27 January 1325 I.P.M. VI, no.612 (R.I.P.)
Laurence de Hastings, earl of Pembroke, son of above
from 27 January 1325 I.P.M. VI, no.612
under age 2 February 1332 C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.244
under age 10 December 1336 C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.349
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John de Hastings, son of above
from 28 August 1348 I.P.M. IX, no.118
Agnes, widow of Laurence Hastings
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John Hastings earl of Pembroke
from 25 July 1368 I.P.M. XII, no.226
granted away and back 3 March 1369 1 May 1372 (Jointure)
to 16 April 1375 I.P.M. XIV, no.148 (R.I.P.)
Anne, countess of Pembroke
from 16 April 1375 I.P.M. XIV, no.148 (Jointure)
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John de Hastings, son of John de Hastings, earl of Pembroke
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to 30 December 1389 I.P.M. XVI, no.889 (R.I.P.)
Richard de Grey of Ruthin, P.P.
from 30 December 1389 I.P.M. XVI, no.889
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Another Six Men
from 26 April 1396 C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.697
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- from 7 January 1299: Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford & Essex
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Crown, as has no heir
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Gilbert de Clare, son of above
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Roger de Mortimer, earl of March
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  from 20 July 1398  I.P.M. XVII, no.1207

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Minority of Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, 1381-1395
Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, John lord Neville & Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland
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John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, duke of Exeter
from 11 August 1398 C.P.R. 1396-1399, pp.408 & 514
Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland
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Owners
Joan, widow of Gilbert Clare
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Gilbert de Clare, son of above
from 1 May 1307 I.P.M. IV, no.435
to 10 July 1314 I.P.M. V, no.538 (R.I.P.)
Matilda, widow of above
from 5 December 1314 C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.132
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9 July 1322 C.Ch.R. 1300-1326, p.449
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17 October 1368 I.P.M. XII, no.332
Edmund Mortimer, earl of March & Ulster
27 December 1381 I.P.M. XV, no.558 (R.I.P.)
Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, son of above
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Edward Cheriton of Powis, husband of Eleanor, above, in dower right
by 18 October 1401 'Records of some Sessions of the Peace in Lincolnshire, 1360-75', ed. Rosamond Silleem, Lincoln Record Society 30 (1933), p.147
8 September 1403 C.C.R. 1402-1405, p.111

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Ralph Hatheway
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on 25 January 1332 C.C.R. 1330-1333, p.432
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to 2 January 1403 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.184

Henry, prince of Wales
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not by 10 March 1315  C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.315
William de Chauldon on 8 August 1318  I.Misc II, no.386
William Gunneys on 26 June 1334  C.C.R. 1333-1337, p.228

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minority of Edmund, son of Roger de Mortimer, 1360-1373
Edward, Prince of Wales
from 22 November 1360  C.C.R. 1360-1364, p.80

Minority of Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, 1381-1395
Roger Wigmore
from 9 September 1383  C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.309
Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, John lord Neville & Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland
from 16 December 1383  C.F.R. 1383-1391, p.22

minority Edmund de Mortimer, earl of March, 1398-1412
William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire
from 11 August 1398  C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.408
Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland
from 2 March 1400  C.F.R. 1399-1405, p.50
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from 24 November 1401  C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.22
from 9 March 1402  C.F.R. 1399-1405, p.155
Thomas Talbot, kn.
from 2 January 1403  C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.184
temp 1402-3
    to 7 August 1405  E.101/43/20
Thomas Neville Lord of Furnivall
from 7 August 1405  C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.36
John Talbot, earl of Salisbury, esq.
from 25 April 1407  C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.315

Viewers of the works
William Baudewyne & Alexander de Montgomery
from 28 July 1279  C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.322

Captain of the Garrison
Roger de Mortimer of Wigmore
on 13 July 1282  C.W.R., p.231

POWIS (CASTELL COCH; POOL; TRALLWNG)

History
built? temp. Edward I King, p.300
mentioned C13 King, p.300
siege 1274 King, p.300
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held against king 18 January 1322  C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.48

Owners
Llewelyn ap Griffin holding c.1274 Morris, p.111
Gruffyd ap Gwenwynwyn restored Feb-May 1277 Morris, p.123
Owen de la Pole alias Owen ap Gruffyd not by 28 September 1294  C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.88
Hawisia de la Pole on 1 April 1299  C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.464
on 1 April 1299  C.C.R. 1296-1302, p.238
Griffith de la Pole, son of Owen to 25 June 1309  I.P.M. V, no.147 (R.I.P.)
Hawis, sister of above

John de Cherleton of Powis, P.P.
- from 25 June 1309
- on 12 April 1312
- on 30 April 1312
- on 2 August 1313
- jointured 26 April 1317
- restored 2 July 1323
- away & back 17 February 1344
- to 1354

John de Cherleton II, P.P.
- from 20 January 1354
- to 30 August 1360

John de Cherleton, Kn., son of above, P.P.
- from 30 August 1360
- to July 1374

John de Cherleton, his son, P.P.
- from July 1374
- to 19 October 1401

Edward de Cherleton, kn., brother of above, P.P.
- from 19 October 1401
- delivered to 26 November 1401
- on 26 November 1401
- to garrison for 3 months 23 July 1402
- died 14 March 1420

Constables
Robert Sapy
- from 19 January 1322
- on 5 February 1322
- on 18 February 1322

Res ap Griffith
- on 26 October 1326

John Gomound
- on 29 September 1375

Edward Cherleton of Powys
- from 31 July 1402
- Hugh Say
- on 3 April 1411
- on 16 July 1411

Wardships
Minority of heir of Owen de la Pole
- Roger le Strange of Ellesmere
- from 28 September 1294
Norfolk

Unknown Licenses
BLAKWORTH and LYNG for John de Norwich, P.P.
21 August 1343 C.P.R. 1343-1345, p.106
EDGEFIELD for Thomas Rocelyn
18 May 1334 E.156/28/6; C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.10
GAYWODE for Henry, Bishop of Norfolk
29 December 1387 C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.381
SCULTON for Constantine de Mortimer
16 October 1319 C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.395

BUCKENHAM, NEW

History
built c.1146 King, p.308
siege 1263 King, p.308
mentioned 1306,1316 King, p.308

Owners
Robert de Tattershall to August 1273 I.P.M. II, no.4 (R.I.P.)
Robert de Tattershall, son of above, P.P. from August 1273 I.P.M. II, no.4
died 8 September 1298 G.E.C. XII(1), p.650
Robert de Tattershall, son of above, P.P. to 28 July 1303 I.P.M. IV, no.163 (R.I.P.)
Robert de Tattershall Jr., son of above from 28 July 1303 I.P.M. IV, no.163
to 30 January 1306 I.P.M. IV, no.391 (R.I.P.)
to 25 November 1306 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.547 (R.I.P.)
Thomas de Cailly, P.P., from 30 January 1306 I.P.M. IV, no.391
from 25 November 1306 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.547
to 30 July 1316 I.P.M. VI, no.48
Adam de Clifton, the elder, Kn., nephew and one heir of above from 30 July 1316 I.P.M. VI, no.48, (one heir)
to 27 January 1367 I.P.M. XII, no.128 (R.I.P.)
John de Clifton, kinsman of above, P.P. from 27 January 1367 I.P.M. XII, no.128
to 10 August 1388 I.P.M. XVI, no.678 (R.I.P.)
Elizabeth, widow of John de Clifton, Kn. from 29 January 1389 C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.562 (Jointure)
to 24 September 1391 I.P.M. XVI, no.319 (R.I.P.)
Constantine de Clifton, P.P. son of John de Clifton above from 24 September 1392 I.P.M. XVI, no.319
on 28 May 1392 C.C.R. 1389-1392, p.467
died 1395 G.E.C. III, p.308
Edmund, duke of York from 2 October 1397 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.213 (Tail male)
vacated by surrender
1/3 Gilbert Talbot to 6 February 1399 I.P.M. XVII, no.1289 (R.I.P.)
1/3 Richard Talbot, son of above from 6 February 1399 I.P.M. XVII, no.1289

Wardship
Minority of Robert de Tattershall, 1303-1306
Minority of Adam de Clifton, heir of Thomas de Cailly (1316-1328)
Walter de Norwich from 4 August 1316 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.297
Minority of Constantine, son & heir of John de Clifton (1391-1393)
Thomas Alnewyk, kings butler
from 15 December 1391 C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.11
on 28 May 1392 C.C.R. 1389-1392, p.467
Robert Bukton
from 8 February 1392 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.35
to 28 May 1392 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.41
Ralph Crumwell
from 28 May 1392 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.41
Constables
Adam de Clifton
not by 1 May 1358 C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.46
John de Merle
before 1 May 1358 C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.46
confirmed for life 1 May 1358 C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.46
dead by 17 December 1391 I.misc V, no.350
Private Constables
For Adam de Clifton
John de Merle
on 27 January 1367 I.P.M. XII, no.128
Constables Wages
104s/year 27 January 1367 I.P.M. XII, no.128

CASTLE ACRE

History
mentioned 1178 King, p.306
built C11 King, p.306
modified to 1150 King, p.306
little occupation after C12 King, p.306
in bad repair 1398-9 King, p.306

Owners
John de Warenne, earl of Surrey
not by 27 December 1316 C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.607
Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke
by 27 December 1316 C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.607
to 26 June 1324 I.P.M. VI, no.518 (R.I.P.)
David de Strabolgi, earl of Athol
on 8 February 1326 C.C.R. 1323-1327, p.446
to 8 January 1327 I.P.M. VI, no.759 (R.I.P.)
David de Strabolgi, son of above
from 8 January 1327 I.P.M. VI, no.759
John de Warenne, earl of Surrey
for life from Arundel on 10 June 1347
‘Feet of fines relating to Wiltshire’
Wiltshire Record Society 29 (1973), no.334
I.P.M. IX, no.54 (R.I.P.)
to 30 June 1347 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.39
dead by 6 July 1347
Richard fitzAlan, earl of Arundel
jointured 1 March 1347 C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.328
foot of fine 10 June 1347 ‘Feet of fines relating to Wiltshire’
Wiltshire Record Society 29 (1973), no.334
I.P.M. IX, no.54
from 30 June 1347
livery 1 September 1347 C.C.R. 1346-1349, p.315
on 22 October 1353 C.P.R. 1350-1354, p.524
on 25 October 1354 C.P.R. 1354-1358, p.131
foot of fine 2 November 1354 ‘Feet of fines relating to Wiltshire’
Wiltshire Record Society 29 (1973), no.421
John, duke of Brittany
from 14 September 1378 C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.284
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to St. Peter & Paul 1396/7 I.Misc VI, no.265
Thomas de Woodstock, duke of Gloucester
reversion 26 October 1397 I.Misc VI, no.265
Thomas de Mowbray, earl Marshall, earl of Nottingham
from 28 September 1397 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.220 (Tail male)

Constables
Thomas Beaufort (POSSIBLE WARDSHIP)
for life from 24 September 1398 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.414

CASTLE RISING

History
modified mid C12 King, p.308
in use 1330-58 King, p.308
in bad repair 1398-9 King, p.308

Owners
Robert de Mohaut, P.P.
to 16 September 1276 I.P.M. II, no.128
Roger de Mohaut, son of above, P.P.
from 16 September 1276 I.P.M. II, no.128 (Age 13)
on 25 June 1294 N.R.A. 12614, MTD/A2/3
died 2 December 1296 G.E.C. IX, p.14
Robert de Mohaut, brother of above, P.P.
inherited 2 December 1296 G.E.C. IX, p.14
died 26 December 1329 G.E.C. IX, p.14
dead by 1 June 1330 C.C.R. 1327-1330, p.512
Emma, widow of above
livery 1 June 1330 C.C.R. 1327-1330, p.512
Queen Isabella
from 23 November 1331 C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.218
on 1 October 1337 C.Ch.R. 1327-1341, p.432
on 6 November 1352

to 22 August 1358 I.P.M. X, no.447 (R.I.P.)
Edward, Prince of Wales
on 21 July 1352 I.P.M. X, no.447
from 22 August 1358 B.P.R. IV, p.261
after 20 February 1359 C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.549
on 21 July 1353
King Richard as Prince
on 25 February 1377

John de Montfort, duke of Brittany
on 26 January 1379 C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.315
on 26 June 1382 C.C.R. 1381-1385, p.142
on 18 May 1384 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.402
on 17 May 1386 C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.147

Thomas, duke of Gloucester
on 9 June 1391 C.Ch.R. 1341-1417, p.323

John de Montfort, Duke of Brittany
on 23 June 1393 C.C.R. 1392-1396, p.155

Edmund de Langley, duke of York
from 8 August 1398 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.404 (Tail Male)
from 28 May 1399 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.144
on 8 June 1399 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.400 (Tail Male)
to 1 August 1402 I.P.M. XVIII, no.636 (R.I.P.)

Edward, duke of York
from 1 August 1402 I.P.M. XVIII, no.636

Prince Henry
from 6 February 1403 C.C.R. 1402-1405, p.30
Reversion granted
Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester
from 17 May 1386 C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.147 (Fee simple)

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John Talman
from 20 October 1377 C.F.R. 1377-1381, p.84

Royal Constables
Thomas de Stirton (Possibly)
for life on 20 February 1359 C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.549
John Herlyng
confirmed 15 June 1376 C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.284
on 2 July 1377 C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.2
on 26 July 1377 C.C.R. 1377-1381, p.8
confirmed 1 June 1378 C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.234
not by 26 January 1379 C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.315

Private Constables
John Herlyng, wages 12d/day
from 6 November 1352 B.P.R. IV, p.98; for Queen Isabella
confirmed by Prince 21 July 1353 B.P.R. IV, p.98
surrendered 21 September 1359 B.P.R. IV, p.314
Roger de Saham, prince’s yeoman
for life from 1 October 1359 B.P.R. IV, p.317
on 14 February 1360 B.P.R. IV, p.344
on 11 March 1361 B.P.R. IV, p.381
on 8 July 1365 B.P.R. IV, p.559
John Austin
to 15 May 1378 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.402
Richard Fotheringay, for Brittany
from 15 May 1378 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.402
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Richard de Wythermerssh
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CLAXTON

History
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licence to crenellate 4 December 1376 C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.395

Owners
William de Kerdston, P.P.
licence to crenellate. 9 June 1340 C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.529
died 14 August 1361 G.E.C. VII, p.191
Sir William de Kerdston, son of above
inherited 14 August 1361 G.E.C. VII, p.191
licence to crenellate. 4 December 1376 C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.395

GREAT HAUTBOYS

History
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Owners
Robert Baynard of Hautboys, P.P.
licence to crenellate 7 September 1312 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.492
GRESHAM

History
licence to crenellate 4 November 1318
siege 1450

Owners
Edmund Bacon, kn.
licence to crenellate 4 November 1318

MARHAM

History
licence to crenellate 9 June 1271
nuisance in 1277
survived to 1365 or later

Owners
William Belet
licence to crenellate 9 June 1271

NORTH ELMHAM

History
licence to crenellate 29 December 1387

Owners
Henry Despenser, bishop of Norwich
licence to crenellate 29 December 1387

NORWICH

History
mentioned 1075
modified 1268-70
baileys abandoned 1345

Constables
Roger de Coleville
in 3/4 of 51 Henry III
not by 28 January 1271
Robert de Stanhou
11 February 1271
William Giffard
to 25 October 1274
debs 15 May 1275
Robert son of John
from 25 October 1274
to 11 November 1275
Walter de Sheltengre
from 11 November 1275
to 8 April 1277
Walter de Grauncurt
from 8 April 1277
John de Breton
to 15 December 1278
William de Redham
from 15 December 1278
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William de Roynges
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William Lovel
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Thomas de Bucton
from 8 March 1333 to 12 October 1335
Thomas Wake of Alisworth
from 12 October 1335 to 19 November 1341
Thomas de Pabenham
from 19 November 1341 to 12 November 1342
Thomas de Bukton
from 12 November 1342 to 22 November 1343
Rob de Pavely
from 22 November 1343 C.F.R. 1337-1347, p.349
and from 4 November 1344 C.F.R. 1337-1347, p.397
to 5 November 1346 C.F.R. 1337-1347, p.462
Walter Parles
from 5 November 1346 C.F.R. 1337-1347, p.462
and from 13 November 1347 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.57
and from 24 October 1348 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.84
to 11 November 1348 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.84
Richard Blundel
from 11 November 1348 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.84
and from 25 August 1349 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.131
and from 25 October 1349 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.170
to 3 March 1351 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.280
Peter Mallory
from 3 March 1351 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.280
Walter Parles
to 7 October 1351 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.307
Peter Mallory
from 7 October 1351 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.307
to 10 October 1351 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.307
Walter Parles
from 10 October 1351 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.307
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Richard Blundel
from 22 January 1352 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.307
and from 22 November 1352 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.349
and from 22 January 1354 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.388
John Keynes
from 10 November 1354 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.409
to 10 November 1355 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.444
Walter Parles
from 10 November 1355 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.444
and from 20 November 1357 C.F.R. 1356-1368, p.52
Andrew Landwath
from 13 November 1358 C.F.R. 1356-1368, p.80
Walter Parles
from 1 October 1359 C.F.R. 1356-1368, p.102
Richard de Wydevill
from 20 November 1362 C.F.R. 1356-1368, p.236
and from 20 November 1363 C.F.R. 1356-1368, p.268
and from 17 November 1365 C.F.R. 1356-1368, p.316
Thomas de Preston
from 27 November 1368 C.F.R. 1356-1368, p.392
and from 5 November 1369 C.F.R. 1369-1377, p.36
Richard Widevill
from 28 March 1370 C.F.R. 1369-1377, p.98
Robert Hutot
from 5 November 1371 C.F.R. 1369-1377, p.146
Simon Warde
from 12 December 1372 C.F.R. 1369-1377, p.190
John Karnell
from 7 November 1373 C.F.R. 1369-1377, p.222
Thomas de Preston
from 12 December 1374 C.F.R. 1369-1377, p.271
Robert Botevileyn
from 4 October 1375 C.F.R. 1369-1377, p.297
to 26 October 1376 C.F.R. 1369-1377, p.369
from 26 October 1376 C.F.R. 1369-1377, p.369
and from 22 June 1377 C.F.R. 1377-1383, p.2
William de Murrers, kn from 7 October 1377 C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.247
from Thomas de Preston from 26 November 1377 C.F.R. 1377-1383, p.34
from William de Murrers from 7 October 1378 C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.277
from John Lyons from 25 November 1378 C.F.R. 1377-1383, p.113
from John Pavely from 5 November 1379 C.F.R. 1377-1383, p.171
from John Widevyll from 18 October 1380 C.F.R. 1377-1383, p.220
William de Murrers, kn for life from 7 April 1380 C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.480
on 1 July 1384 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.436
to 5 February 1387 C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.276
Nicholas de Exton from 5 February 1387 C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.276
to 23 March 1388 C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.414
Matthew Swetenham for life 23 March 1388 C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.414
temp 1388-1390 E.101/41/9
John Tyndale from 21 October 1391 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.7
John Mallory from 18 October 1392 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.56
John Mulsho from 7 November 1393 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.95
John Harwedon from 11 November 1394 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.132
John Mulsho from 9 November 1395 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.166
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John Warrewyk from 1 December 1396 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.197
John Mulsho from 3 November 1397 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.240
and from 17 November 1398 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.277
William Trussel to 30 October 1399 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.43
Sheriff of Northants from 30 October 1399 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.43
John Warwick to 24 November 1400 C.F.R. 1399-1405, p.93
John Cope from 24 November 1400 C.F.R. 1399-1405, p.93
John Chitewode, kn from 8 November 1401 C.F.R. 1399-1405, p.143
from Warin Lucian, kn to 29 October 1404 C.F.R. 1399-1405, p.271
to Ralph Greve from 29 October 1404 C.F.R. 1399-1405, p.271
to 22 November 1405 C.F.R. 1405-1413, p.18
Richard Wodevyle from 22 November 1405 C.F.R. 1405-1413, p.18
Ralph Grene from 23 November 1407 C.F.R. 1405-1413, p.87
Ralph Parles
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4 November 1410 to 29 November 1410

Thomas Mulsho
from 4 November 1410 to 29 November 1410

Thomas Wydeville
from 29 November 1410

Chaplain

Geoffrey de Melbur
on 5 November 1271

ROCKINGHAM

History
built temp. William I
siege 1220
in bad repair 1250
in use to end C14 at least

Owners
Queen Eleanor
from 22 October 1275

Queen Isabella
on (for life) 20 April 1327
on (for life) 16 August 1327

Queen Philippa
from 1 January 1331
on 12 November 1331
on 20 July 1337
on 20 August 1347

Queen Anne
from 26 April 1391
Queen Joan
from 4 June 1403

Constables
Richard de Holebrok
on 22 February 1284
on 6 June 1285
to 10 March 1291

Ellis de Hauvill
from 10 March 1291
from 10 March 1291
on 12 March 1291
on 28 August 1292
to 19 August 1294
to 19 August 1294

Thomas de Hauvill
from 19 August 1294
from 19 August 1294
to 16 July 1297

William de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick
from 16 July 1297
to 19 July 1298
to 19 July 1298

John Drvel
from 19 July 1298
from 19 July 1298
to 17 January 1299

Adam de Welle, P.P.
from 17 January 1299
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Baldwin de Mancrii

from 20 August 1307 to 12 March 1308

William de Latimer, P.P.

from 12 March 1308 to 1 August 1309

Baldwin de Mancrii

from 1 August 1309 to 20 August 1309

to 1 August 1309

from 1 August 1309 to 26 August 1309

William de Latimer, P.P.

from 12 March 1308 to 1 August 1309

from 1 August 1309 to 20 August 1309

Baldwin de Mancrii

from 20 August 1307 to 12 March 1308

from 1 August 1309 to 20 August 1309

from 1 August 1309 to 20 August 1309

Baldwin de Mancrii

from 20 August 1307 to 12 March 1308

from 1 August 1309 to 20 August 1309

from 1 August 1309 to 20 August 1309

Amaury la Zouche, P.P.

from 18 February 1314 to 1 November 1317

on 1 November 1317

on 25 May 1321

Amaury la Zouche

on 17 November 1323

on 20 December 1324

Amaury la Zouche & John de Miners

to 18 February 1314

John de Morteyn

don 13 October 1331

John de Verdon, P.P. for Queen Philippa

on 4 December 1336

confirmed 24 July 1337

on 20 August 1347

on 20 August 1354

Amauri de St. Amand, P.P.

from 8 June 1373

William de Thorpe, P.P.

from 22 September 1378 for life from 12 November 1379

not by 26 April 1391
dead by 26 April 1391

John de Holland, earl of Exeter for life from 19 April 1391

Deputies

Almaric la Zousche on 25 May 1321

Thomas de Stone on 20 August 1347

Porters

John Cokeram for life from 4 September 1414

C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.422

C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.1

C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.1

C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.18

C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.18

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C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.124

C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.124

C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.46

C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.242

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C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.302

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C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.323

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C.C.R. 1333-1337, p.730

C.F.R. 1337-1347, p.26

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Clerk of the Works
William Dionys, clerk
on 1 October 1399 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.58

THORPE WATERVILLE

History
licence to crenellate 1301 C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.561
siege 1461 King, p.318

Owners
Walter Langton, bishop of Coventry & Lichfield
licence to crenellate. 1 January 1301 C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.561
Thomas, earl of Lancaster
on 20 November 1313 Somerville, p.353
on 3 October 1314 C.Ch.R. 1300-1326, p.242
not by 15 March 1322 C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.87
Robert de Holland, P.P., ally of Thomas of Lancaster
forfeited before 14 March 1322 C.C.R. 1323-1327, p.206
Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke & Mary his wife
from 15 March 1322 C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.87
Mary de St. Pol, widow of above
livery 4 August 1324 C.C.R. 1323-1327, p.206

Notes
Aymer de Valence quitclaims all of his rights
on 3 October 1314 C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.242

Private Constable
John de Barrinton for Thomas, earl of Lancaster
from 20 November 1313 Somerville, p.353
John Bentley

TITCHMARCH

History
licensed 22 November 1304 C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.290
a fortalice 18 July 1314 I.P.M. V, no.520
ruinous 1363 King, p.318

T. in C.
Walter de Langton, bishop of Chester
on 18 July 1314 I.P.M. V, no.520

Owners
John Lovel of Titchmarsh, P.P.
license to cren. 22 November 1304 C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.290
died 1 October 1310 G.E.C. VIII, p.215
John Lovel, son of above, P.P.
inherited 1 October 1310 I.P.M. V, no.520 (R.I.P.)
to Joan, da. of above
from 18 July 1314 I.P.M. V, no.520
John Lovel
to 3 November 1347 I.P.M. IX, no.44 (R.I.P.)
John Lovel II, son of above
from 3 November 1347 I.P.M. IX, no.44
to 18 June 1361 I.P.M. XI, no.358 (R.I.P.)
John Lovel ????
from 18 June 1361 I.P.M. XI, no.358
Sir Thomas Wriothesley
woodcraft

History
built c.1280 King, p.318
Northumberland

Unknown Licenses
BOUTLON HOSPITAL for Thomas de Bamborough
3 June 1336 C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.279

ALNHAM (EARL’S TOWER)

History
mentioned 1405, 1415, 1509, 1541 King, p.325
taken by Henry IV 1405 King, p.325

Owners
Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland
in 1405 King, p.325
Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, grandson of above
on 1415 Bates, p.17

ALNWICK

History
mentioned 1136 King, p.325
siege 1267 King, p.325
rebuilt 1318-52 King, p.325
siege 1405,1462,1464 King, p.325

Owners
John de Vescy to 2 April 1289 I.P.M. II, no.723 (R.I.P.)
William de Vescy, P.P. brother of above from 2 April 1289 I.P.M. II, no.723
 died 19 July 1297 G.E.C XII (ii), p.281
Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham to 13 October 1309 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.197
Henry Percy, P.P. from 13 October 1309 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.197
in 1310 Percy Chartulary, p.96
confirmed 23 January 1310 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.205
on 20 May 1311 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.355
to 10 October 1314 I.P.M. V, no.536 (R.I.P.)
Henry Percy, son of above from 10 October 1314 I.P.M. V, no.536
granted underage 27 Nov 1317 C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.56
on 26 June 1323 C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.663
on 18 May 1324 C.C.R. 1323-1327, p.102
on 29 April 1326 C.C.R. 1323-1327, p.476
on 2 August 1326 C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.303
on 24 September 1334 Percy Chartulary, p.171-173
away & back 30 January 1335 C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.75
to 26 February 1352 I.P.M. X, no.43 (R.I.P.)
Henry Percy, son of above from 26 February 1352 I.P.M. X, no.43
to 18 May 1368 I.P.M. XII, no.242 (R.I.P.)
Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, son of above from 18 May 1368 I.P.M. XII, no.242
on 6 August 1374 C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.111
not by 27 June 1405 C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.40
John, duke of Bedford, son of Henry IV from 27 June 1405 C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.40
Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, grandson of two above on 1415 Bates, p.14
Wardships
Minority of Henry Percy, 1314-1318
John de Felton
from 26 Nov 1314 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.219
temp 1314-1316 E.101/14/39
and from 30 December 1315 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.268
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on 12 February 1316 C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.390
on 20 February 1316 C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.270
on 20 May 1316 C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.463
on 25 September 1316 C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.366
captured 27 Nov 1317 C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.61
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returned to Henry Percy even though a minor on 13 Nov 1318 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.378

Constables
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Chaplains
John de Crayk on 12 December 1334 Percy Chartulary, p.301

AYDON

History
built late C13 King, p.326
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Owners
Robert de Reymes licence to crenellate. 5 April 1305 C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.328
Robert Reymes on 1415 Bates, p.15

BAMBOROUGH

History
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on 6 April 1308 H.K.W. II, p554
to temp James I

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Robert de Neville on 3 May 1264 C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.111
on 27 January 1268 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.70
to 7 June 1276 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.70
Thomas de Normanvill from 7 June 1276
Walter de Camhou, kn.
in 1288
on 6 February 1290
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to 10 August 1293
J.Misc I, no.1523

Hugh Gobioun
to 6 October 1295
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John de Warenne, earl of Surrey
from 6 October 1295
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from 6 October 1295
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John de Warenne, earl of Surrey
from 6 October 1295
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Isabel de Vescy, widow of John de Vescy
for life from 8 October 1305
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on 24 October 1305
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on 30 April 1308
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on 2 June 1310
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on 23 August 1311
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Isabel de Vescy
from 8 October 1305
C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.528

Henry Percy, P.P.
from 18 December 1311
C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.528

Isabel de Vescy
from 28 January 1312
C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.151
from 28 May 1312
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John de Eslington
from 28 May 1312
C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.361
from 20 October 1312
C.C.R. 1307-1313, p.484
on 25 Nov 1313
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Roger de Horsley
on 4 December 1315
C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.256
on 20 December 1315
C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.361

William de Felton
from 20 December 1315
C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.361
from 5 December 1316
C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.361

Roger Heron
from 5 December 1316
C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.361
and from 1 Nov 1317
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John de Fenwick
on 20 March 1318
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on 6 October 1318
C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.361
on 6 February 1319
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Roger de Horsley
from 20 March 1318
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from 6 October 1318
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from 6 February 1318
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on 15 Nov 1320
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on 13 February 1322
C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.418
on 7 September 1322
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on 20 April 1327
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on 30 September 1326
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Robert de Horncliff
from 8 February 1327
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John de Kyngeston
from 12 May 1328 to 14 Nov 1330
from 18 July 1331 to 12 May 1331
from 1 Nov 1331 to 28 January 1332

to 28 January 1332

Walter de Creyk
from 28 January 1332 to 28 April 1332
from 3 August 1333 to 5 August 1333
from 6 October 1333 to 11 June 1333
to 23 September 1334

Ralph de Neville of Raby, P.P.
for life from 29 August 1335 to 29 August 1335
for life from 10 April 1335 to 29 August 1335

Richard de Pembrugg
for life from 15 August 1367 to 15 August 1367
removed by 10 March 1372

Richard Stury
from 6 October 1376 to 10 December 1377

John de Neville of Raby
from 10 December 1377 to 10 December 1377
keeper from 10 March 1385 to 17 October 1388

to 10 March 1372

to 10 December 1377

William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire
for life from 14 February 1389 to 12 October 1397

Stephen le Scrope of Masham, P.P.
from 12 October 1397 to 12 October 1397

Henry de Percy the son
for life from 24 October 1399 to 12 October 1397

Richard de Arundel, kn, custody and supervision
for life from 15 August 1403 to 15 August 1403

John Coppill, esq
for life from 26 July 1403 to 26 July 1403
on 23 January 1404

Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland
purchased post before 6 August 1404

Thomas Grey of Wark, kn, granted by above
by 6 August 1404
for life from 29 August 1404 to 31 May 1408

Richard de Arundel
for life from 10 Nov 1404
for life from 31 May 1408
on 12 July 1413
to 23 May 1415
Alexander de Lounde, kn from 29 May 1415	on 12 June 1416
Sir William de Elmedon from 1419
Deputies Alan de Heton temp c.1367-1372
John de Fenwick temp c.1367-1372
John Heron temp c.1376-1377
Stewards William Scra c.1367-1372
Gatekeepers Robert de Bamborogh from 16 February 1327
Porters Robert le Porter of Bamborogh to 15 April 1288
ment when dead 10 February 1327
Robert Porter of Bamborogh to 15 February 1342
Alexander de Bamborogh from 15 February 1342
William de Hadham, king’s yeoman for life from 22 April 1344
do for life from 3 April 1345
dead by 16 November 1362
Thomas de Hadham, king’s yeoman for life from 16 November 1362
Thomas Frost, esq to 4 December 1388
Robert Kerkeny for life from 4 December 1388
Robert Fynkell from 19 October 1418
Receiver Generals William Elmeden, kn. from 15 Nov 1419
Master of the Works Nicholas de Demeford on 12 Nov 1318
BARM Moor
History licence to crenellate 17 May 1341
in bad repair 1541
Owners Thomas de Muschamps licence to crenellate 17 May 1341
John Preston

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I.Misc II, no.963 (Gatekeeper)
I.P.M. VIII, no.393 (R.I.P.)
I.P.M. VIII, no.393
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History mentioned 1415

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BEAUFRONT

History mentioned 1415

 Owners
John Widdrington on 1415

BELFORD

History mentioned 1415

 Owners
Thomas de Dacre on 1415

BELLINGTON

History mentioned 1263

 Owners
Bellingham family across period temp entire period

BELSAY

History armorial bearing c.1371

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BERRINGTON

History mentioned 1415

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Robert Manners in 1415

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History mentioned 1165

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Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland
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to 16 February 1427

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on 17 September 1299 C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.437
on 16 Nov 1299 C.P.R. 1292-1301 (Bindon)
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in 1301 BL Cotton MS, Vesp. F VII, 1
John de Seagrave, P.P.
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to 26 October 1305 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.529
Edmund de Hastings, P.P.
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Henry de Percy
on 1 August 1333 Percy Chartulary, p.448-9
on 1 March 1334 I.Misc II, no.1425
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on 16 October 1338 C.C.R. 1337-1339, p.506
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on 15 February 1339 C.C.R. 1339-1341, p.14
Richard Talbot
on 13 October 1339 C.C.R. 1338-1340, p.201
from 14 January 1341 E.101/22/21 m.2
to 20 March 1341 E.101/22/21 m.2
Henry Percy
on 6 November 1342 E.403/327 m.8
temp 1342 E.101/23/24
Henry Percy
Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland
- on 24 April 1345 to 1368
- temp 1368-1371
- temp 1376-1378
- temp 1384-1390
- custody 17 February 1385
- on 28 April 1387
- captain 8 Nov 1388
- warden 28 April 1390
- warden 26 May 1390
- keeper 17 November 1394

Henry Percy, 'Hotspur'
- on 12 May 1397
- on 14 March 1400
- on 12 June 1400
- on 10 April 1401
- on 18 July 1401

Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland
- on 1 Nov 1402

John, duke of Bedford, son of Henry IV
- on 6 October 1403
- on 28 January 1407
- from 12 June 1413
- on 16 July 1413

BIDDLESTONE HALL

History
- mentioned 1415
- in good repair 1584

Owners
- John Selby in 1415

BLENKINSSOPP

History
- licence to crenellate 1340
- mentioned 1415
- in bad repair 1541

Owners
- Thomas de Blenkinsopp licence to crenellate 4 February 1340
- licence to crenellate 11 May 1340
- John Blenkinsopp in 1415

BOLTON

History
- siege 1317

BOTHAL

History
- licence to crenellate 15 May 1343
- built soon after 1343
Owners
Robert Bertram
licence to crenellate 15 May 1343 C.P.R. 1343-1345, p.30
Robert Bertram
to Nov 1363 I.P.M. XI, no.487
Robert & John, parsons from Nov 1363 I.P.M. XI, no.487
on 1364
Blanche, widow of Robert Bertram
to 12 July 1366 C.P.R. 1364-1367, p.255
Ellen & John de Hatfield of London, for Bertram’s life
granted by above 12 July 1366 C.P.R. 1364-1367, p.255
Blanche, widow of Robert Bertram
to 28 June 1377 C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.1
Elena & David de Holgrave, for Bertram's life at 80l/year
granted by above 28 June 1377 C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.1

on 18 May 1403 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.230
David Holgrave
to 13 June 1405 I.P.M. XVIII, no.1032 (R.I.P.)
Robert de Ogle, son & heir of Helen wife of David Holgrave
from 13 June 1405 I.P.M. XVIII, no.1032
in 13 February 1406 C.F.R. 1405-1413, p.26
on 17 February 1406 C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.141 (Elder)
not on 1 Nov 1409 I.P.M. XIX, no.734
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in 1415 Bates, p.15

Family Tree
Blanche = Robert Bertram

| Elena = David de Holgrave

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CALLALY
History
mentioned 1415, 1541 King, p.329
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CARTINGTON
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completed by 1348 King, p.330
siege 1536 King, p.330

Tenant in Chief
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Henry Percy, son of above from 18 May 1368 I.P.M. XII, no.242
Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland on 12 June 1388 C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.391
on 25 October 1399 I.P.M. XVIII, no.5
on 27 September 1401 I.P.M. XVIII, no.896

Owners
Thomas de Heton licence to crenellate 27 January 1344 C.P.R. 1343-1345, p.191
Alan de Heton, kn. on 18 May 1368 I.P.M. XII, no.242
on 28 February 1387 C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.321
Henry de Heton, held from Percys from 12 June 1388 C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.391 (Chevelyngham) I.P.M. XVIII, no.5
to 25 October 1399
William de Heton, held from Percys from 25 October 1399 I.P.M. XVIII, no.5 (Age 6)
to 27 September 1401 I.P.M. XVIII, no.896 (R.I.P.)
Three sisters of above (Joan, Elizabeth, Margaret) from 27 September 1401 I.P.M. XVIII, no.896
Heirs of Alan Heton on 1415 Bates, p.14

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COQUET ISLAND

History
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Tynemouth Priory
CORBRIDGE

History
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History
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Edmund Craster in 1415 Bates, p.19

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John Heron licence to crenellate. 20 Nov 1343 C.P.R. 1343-1345, p.143
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DALLEY (DALA)

History
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modified C14 & C15 King, p.331

DETCHANT

History
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History
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confiscated before 12 March 1322  C.F.R. 1321-1324, p.106
Henry, earl of Lancaster
from 1324  Bates, p.172
on 29 April 1326  C.C.R. 1324-1327, p.476
Henry, duke of Lancaster
to 23 March 1361  I.P.M. XI, no.118 (R.I.P.)
dead by 16 July 1361  C.F.R. 1356-1368, p.165
John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster
from 16 July 1361  C.F.R. 1356-1368, p.165
on 17 April 1380  J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.264
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to 2 January 1323  C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.233
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from 2 January 1323  C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.233
to 6 July 1323  C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.219
Roger Heron
from 6 July 1323  C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.219
on 19 August 1323  C.C.R. 1323-1327, p.12
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on 12 March 1325  C.C.R. 1323-1327, p.269
Sir John Fenwick
after 1381  Somerville p.370
Stephen le Scrope of Masham, P.P.
from 20 March 1399  C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.295
Robert Harbottle
temp 1399-1401  E.101/42/38
Ralph de Eure, kn
on 22 September 1402  C.C.R. 1399-1402, p.552
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History
built c.1340
mentioned 1396

Owners
William de Felton
builder c.1340 to 1358
William de Felton
from 1358 to 1368
John de Felton, kn., half brother of above
from 1368 to 31 March 1396
John de Felton, kn, son of above
from 31 March 1396 to 31 January 1403
John Faucomberge, cousin of above
from 31 January 1403
Edmund Hastings of Roxby, Yrks, by marriage to half sister of John de Felton (d.1403)
in 1415

ELSDON NO. 2

History
mentioned 1415
not mentioned 1541

Owners
The Rector
in 1415

ELWICK NO.1

History
mentioned 1415
mentioned 1561

Owners
Thomas Bradford
in 1415

ELWICK NO.2

History
mentioned 1415
mentioned 1561

Owners
Thomas de Elwick
in 1415
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<td><strong>ESLINGTON</strong></td>
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### Wardships

- minority of heir of Sir Robert de Manners (-1355-1368-)
  - Edward de Letham
    - from 10 October 1355
    - Joan, Widow of Edward de Letham
      - on 24 May 1368

- minority of the heir of John Manners (-1408-)
  - John Manners

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Owners
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History
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History
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Owners
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Owners
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on 20 February 1316 C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.400
to 12 April 1325 I.P.M. VI, no.607 (R.I.P.)
Gilbert de Umfraville, earl of Angus, son of above, P.P.
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on 20 March 1336 C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.238
on 22 February 1350 C.P.R. 1350-1354, p.20 (Kt)
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to 6 January 1381 I.P.M. XV, no.434 (R.I.P.)
Thomas de Umfraville to 21 May 1387 I.P.M. XVI, no.470 (R.I.P.)
Thomas de Umfraville II, son of above
from 21 May 1387 to 12 February 1391
Gilbert de Umfraville, son of above
from 12 February 1391 inherited 10 January 1409
in 1415 of age 28 January 1415
Joan de Umfraville not by 24 Nov 1421
Robert de Umfraville, son of above from 24 Nov 1421
Constables John de Penereth on 25 August 1321

HARLE, WEST

History mentioned 1415
Owners John Harley in 1415

HARNHAM

History mentioned 1415
Owners Robert Swinburn in 1415

HAUGHTON

History mentioned 1277 a castle 1373 mentioned 1415 roofs & floors gone 1541
Owners Roger de Widdrington to 13 April 1372 John de Widdrington, son of above from 13 April 1372 John Widdrington in 1415

HEATON COLDSTREAM

History mentioned 1415 destroyed 1496 garrisonable 1509 useless 1541, 1550 only good for farm 1561 decayed 1584
Owners Thomas de Grey of Heton and Wark on 1415
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History
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HEPPLE

History
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History
mentioned 1415  King, p.335
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Owners
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garrisonable 1509  King, p.349
fair repair 1541  King, p.349

HOPPEN

History
mentioned 1415  Bates, p.16

Owners
Robert Hoppen
in 1415  Bates, p.16

HORTON IN GLENDALE

History
mentioned 1415  King, p.336
garrisonable 1509  King, p.336
in disrepair 1541  King, p.336
HORTON NEAR THE SEA

History
- Licence to crenellate: 28 December 1292
- Surrendered: April 1318
- Held against Edward II: 24 March 1354
- Mentioned: 1415

Owners
- Guichard Charrun, kn.: Licence to crenellate 28 December 1292
- Allies of Gilbert de Middleton: To Henry Delaval, April 1318
- William de Wychester: To William de Wychester, from Alice, his mother, sister of above, in 1410

HOWICK

History
- Mentioned: 1415

Owners
- Emeric Hering: In 1415

ILDERTON

History
- Mentioned: 1415
- Useless: 1541

Owners
- Thomas de Ilderton, Kn.: In 1415

KIRKLEY

History
- Mentioned: 1415

Owners
- Sir William Eure: In 1415

KIRKNEWTON

History
- Mentioned: 1415
- Burnt: 1532
- Repaired: after 1532

Owners
- Thomas Strother: In 1415

KYLOE

History
- Mentioned: 1415

Owners
- Sir William Eure: In 1415
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Owners
David Grey
in 1415 Bates, p.19

LANGLEY

History
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siege 1405 King, p.337
mentioned 1415 King, p.337
siege 1464 King, p.337
walls only 1541 King, p.337

Owners
Thomas de Lucy, Kn., P.P.
to 4 December 1365 I.P.M. XII, no.17 (R.I.P.)
Anthony de Lucy, son of above
from 4 December 1365 I.P.M. XII, no.17
to 20 May 1368 I.P.M. XII, no.233 (R.I.P.)
Joan, wife of above
from 9 July 1369 C.C.R. 1369-1374, p.30
Joan, daughter and heir to Anthony de Lucy
heir on 20 May 1368 I.P.M. XII, no.233
to 30 September 1369 I.P.M. XII, no.374 (R.I.P.)
Maud, sister of Anthony, wife of Gilbert de Umfraville
from 30 September 1369 I.P.M. XII, no.374
Umfraville family
to 1381 Bates, pp.38-56
Percy family
from 1381 Bates, pp.38-56
Maud, wife of Henry earl of Northumberland
to 18 December 1398 I.P.M. XVII, no.1246 (R.I.P.)
Henry Percy
from 18 December 1398 I.P.M. XVII, no.1246
forfeited by 7 August 1405 C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.50
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Constables
Alexander Featherstonehaugh
to 20 July 1405 C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.74
Robert Umfraville, kn.
for life on 27 June 1405 C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.40
from 20 July 1405 C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.74
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LANGTON

History
mentioned 1369 King, p.337
destroyed 1496 King, p.337

Owners
Henry Strother
in 1415 Bates, p.17

LEMMINGTON

History
mentioned 1415 King, p.337

Owners
William Bednell
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<td>History mentioned 1415</td>
<td>John Carr in 1415</td>
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<td>in use 1509 useless 1541</td>
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<td>Owners Philip, lord Darcy in 1415</td>
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<td>LOWICK</td>
<td>History mentioned 1338</td>
<td>Philip, lord Darcy</td>
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<td>garrisonable 1541 in decay 1584</td>
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<td>MELDON</td>
<td>History mentioned 1415</td>
<td>Nicholas Heron in 1415</td>
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<td>MITFORD</td>
<td>History built C12</td>
<td>Roger Bertram of Mitford</td>
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<td>mentioned 1216 siege 1217</td>
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<td>in use 1317 destroyed 1323</td>
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<td>'wholly burnt' 8 January 1327</td>
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Owners:
- Roger Bertram of Mitford on 7 June 1267
- Alexander de Balliol and Eleanor, his wife from 22 July 1270 or 1271

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References:
- King, p.337
- King, p.351
- I.P.M. VI, no.759
- C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.363
- C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.34 (R.I.P.)
- A.H. Thompson, ed., 'Northumbrian Pleas from...
in Easter 1275
Robert de Stuteville via Eleanor, his wife
1 April 1306
Elizabeth, widow of Robert de Stuteville
1 November 1306
Eleanor, widow of Robert de Stuteville
27 September 1310
John de Stuteville, their son
27 September 1310
Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke
16 February 1315
on 20 February 1316
on 30 January 1318
to 26 June 1324
David de Strabolgi, earl of Athol
8 February 1326
to 8 January 1327
David de Strabolgi, son of above
heir on 8 January 1327
David de Strabolgi, from his grandmother
29 March 1332
to 1334
Thomas Grey of Heton, kn.
from 1334 (Five year loan)
on 8 January 1336
David de Strabolgi
heir on 8 January 1336
David de Strabolgi, earl of Athol
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Elizabeth countess of Athol, widow of John Malewayn
to 23 October 1375
Philippa, widow of Ralph de Percy, daughter of Strabolgi & above
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from 6 May 1377
Elizabeth, widow of Thomas de Percy, yr
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on 1415
on 16 February 1418
on 6/8 July 1418
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John de Eure
in 1316
Private Constables for earl of Pembroke
John de Lilleburn
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2 Parts, for minority of Elizabeth & Philippa, daughters of David de Strabolgi, earl of Athol
Henry Lord of Percy
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mentioned 1415
well maintained 1538
the De Banco Rolls 1-19', Surtees Society 158
(1943), no.205
ibid.
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Joan, Widow of William, Baron Greystoke
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to 1 September 1403 I.P.M. XVIII, no.902 (R.I.P.)
Ralph de Greystoke, son of above, P.P.
from 1 September 1403 I.P.M. XVIII, no.902
livery 8 Nov 1403 C.C.R. 1402-1405, p.201
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John de Greystoke, son of above, P.P.
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MORPETH NO. 3

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Thomas de Dyveleston
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Thomas Rote
for life from 1 December 1360 C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.509
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NEWSTEAD NEAR BAMBOROUGH

History
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destroyed 1532? King, p.351

 Owners
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NORHAM

History
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besieged by Scots 1327

great tower modified c.1400

modified temp Henry VIII
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**William Rydcl**
- **on**: 30 October 1340
- **to**: 14 August 1314

**Walter de Gosewyk**
- **on**: 11 October 1316
- **temp**: 1316-1317

**Robert de Hastang, P.P.**
- **to**: 20 January 1317

**John Darcy le Cosyn**
- **from**: 20 January 1317
- **to**: 4 May 1317

**Thomas de Grey of Heton**
- **in**: September 1322
- **on**: 24 June 1323
- **on**: 2 October 1323

**Thomas de Richmond**
- **on**: 20 February 1335

## Church Constables

**Robert de Clifford, kn., P.P.**
- **from**: 14 August 1314

**Robert de Manners**
- **on**: 28 July 1333
- **on**: 30 October 1340
- **in**: 1345

**Nicholas de Dagworth, kn.**
- **to**: 20 July 1375

**John Heron, kn.**
- **from**: 20 July 1375
- **in**: 1375
- **on**: 25 February 1381

**Sir Gerard Heron**
- **in**: 1386

**Sir Robert Ogle**
- **in**: 1403

**Ogle family**
- **to**: 1450

## History

**licensed**
- **11 May 1341**

**still standing**
- **1776**

## Owners

**Robert de Ogle**
- **license to crenellate**: 11 May 1341

**Robert de Ogle**
- **to**: May 1362
- **to**: 23 May 1364

**Robert de Ogle, grandson of above**
- **from**: May 1362
- **from**: 23 May 1364
- **to**: 1 Nov 1409

**Robert de Ogle, son of above**
- **from**: 1 Nov 1409

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**I.P.M. XI, no.397**
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- Mentioned: 1415 (King, p.352)
- Not mentioned: 1541 (King, p.352)

**Owners**
- Thomas de Umfraville: dead by 28 September 1403 (I.Misc VII, no.233)
- Gilbert de Umfraville, son of above: under age 28 September 1403 (I.Misc VII, no.233)
- Robert de Umfraville: from 1421 (Bates, p.18)

**Wardships**
- Minority of Gilbert de Umfraville, 1391-1411: forfeited by 28 September 1403 (I.Misc VII, no.233)

**Keepers**
- Peter de Stokhalgh: for 28 September 1403 (I.Misc VII, no.233)

### PONTELAND (VICARS PELE)

**History**
- Mentioned: 1415 (King, p.340)

**Owners**
- The Vicar: in 1415 (Bates, p.19)

### PONTELAND NO. 2

**History**
- Taken by Scots: 1388 (King, p.340)

**Owners**
- Sir Aymer de Athol: in 1386 (Bates, p.12)

### PRESTON BY ALNWICK

**History**
- Mentioned: 1415 (King, p.340)
- Unroofed: 1499 (King, p.340)
- Mentioned: 1570 (King, p.340)

**Owners**
- Robert Harbottle: in 1415 (Bates, p.16)
- To 1419 (Bates, p.195 (R.I.P.))

### PRUDHOE

**History**
- Built: early C12 (King, p.340)
- Siege: 1173, 1174 (King, p.340)
- Modified: C13 & early C14 (King, p.340)
- Siege: 1405 (King, p.340)
- Ruinous: 1596 (King, p.340)
Owners
Gilbert de Umfraville, earl of Angus, P.P.
from 1244 to 13 October 1307 Bates, p.201
Robert de Umfraville, earl of Angus, son of above, P.P.
from 13 October 1307 to 20 February 1316 C.R. 1313-1317, p.400
on 20 February 1316 to 26 June 1323 C.R. 1318-1323, p.663
on 26 June 1323 to 12 April 1325 I.P.M. VI, no.607 (R.I.P.)
Gilbert de Umfraville, earl of Angus, son of above, P.P.
from 12 April 1325 to 18 December 1398 I.P.M. VI, no.607
Maud, widow of Gilbert de Umfraville.
on 10 February 1381 C.R. 1377-1381, p.430 (Jointure)
Maud, wife of Henry earl of Northumberland
dead by 1 April 1398 C.R. 1396-1399, p.255
to 18 December 1398 I.P.M. XVII, no.1246 (R.I.P.)
Henry de Percy
from 1 April 1398 to 27 June 1405 C.R. 1396-1399, p.255
from 18 December 1398 to 27 June 1405 I.P.M. XVII, no.1246
livery 1 April 1399 C.R. 1396-1399, p.482
not by 27 June 1405 C.R. 1405-1408, p.40
John, duke of Bedford, son of Henry IV
from 27 June 1405 to 1415 C.R. 1405-1408, p.40
on 1415 Bates, p.15
Henry de Percy, earl of Northumberland
judgement in favour 5 July 1416 I.Misc VII, no.527
finally regained 1441 Bates, p.204

Constables
Robert L'isle
from 25 December 1403 to 15 June 1405 Bates, p.203
David Trollop
from 15 June 1405 to 15 June 1405 Bates, p.203
John Skipton
to 15 June 1405 C.R. 1405-1408, p.70
David Trollop
from 15 June 1405 to 15 June 1405 C.R. 1405-1408, p.70

Private Constables
John Skipton
to 15 June 1405 Bates, p.203

Wardships
Minority of Gilbert de Umfraville, earl of Angus (1325-1331)
Roger Mauduyt
on 3 September 1325 to 7 September 1326 C.R. 1323-1327, p.399
on 7 September 1326 to 11 February 1327 C.R. 1319-1327, p.412
Gilbert de Boroughdon
to 11 February 1327 C.R. 1327-1337, p.12
from 11 February 1327 to 3 September 1327 C.R. 1327-1337, p.12
Maurice de Berkeley
from 3 September 1327 to 3 September 1327 C.R. 1327-1330, p.160
SCREMERSTON

History
mentioned 1415  King, p.353
in decay 1541  King, p.353
a good tower 1561  King, p.353

Owners
John Swinhoe
in 1415  Bates, p.17

SEATON DELAVAL

History
mentioned 1415  King, p.353

Owners
William de Whitchester, Kn.
from 1402  Bates, p.14
to 1410  Bates, p.14 (R.I.P.)

SEGHILL

History
mentioned 1415  Bates, p.16

Owners
William Delaval
in 1415  Bates, p.16

SEWINGSHIELDS

History
mentioned 1415  King, p.353
an old tower 1541 (abandoned by here)  King, p.353

Owners
Robert de Ogle
on 1415  Bates, p.15

SHAWDEN

History
mentioned 1415  King, p.353
mentioned 1541  King, p.353

Owners
Thomas Lilleburn
in 1415  Bates, p.15

SHILBOTTLE

History
mentioned 1415  King, p.341

Owners
Henry Percy
not by 27 June 1405  C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.40
John, duke of Bedford, son of Henry IV
from 27 June 1405  C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.40
on 1415  Bates, p.19

SHORTFLATT

History
licence to crenellate 5 April 1305  C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.328
mentioned 1415  King, p.341
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Owners</th>
<th>Licence to crenellate</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robert de Reymes</td>
<td>5 April 1305</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.328</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert de Reymes</td>
<td>1415</td>
<td>Bates, p.16</td>
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**SIMONBURN**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mentioned</td>
<td>1415</td>
<td>King, p.341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in repair</td>
<td>1541</td>
<td>King, p.341</td>
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<tr>
<th>Owners</th>
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<tr>
<td>William Heron</td>
<td>1415</td>
<td>Bates, p.18</td>
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**STAMFORDHAM**

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<td>1415</td>
<td>King, p.353</td>
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<th>Owners</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Vicar</td>
<td>1415</td>
<td>Bates, p.18</td>
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**STANTON**

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<tr>
<td>mentioned</td>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Corbet</td>
<td>1415</td>
<td>Bates, p.16</td>
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**STAWARD**

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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>under construction</td>
<td>1314-1316</td>
<td>Northumb Petitions, p.25-26</td>
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<tr>
<td>mentioned</td>
<td>1327</td>
<td>King, p.341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not mentioned</td>
<td>1415</td>
<td>King, p.341</td>
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<th>Owners</th>
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<tr>
<td>Hugh de Louthre</td>
<td>26 April 1326</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.261</td>
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<tr>
<td>Queen Philippa</td>
<td>1337</td>
<td>Bates, p.10</td>
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<tr>
<th>Constables</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas de Featherstonehaugh</td>
<td>26 April 1326</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.261</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Darcy 'Le Cosyn'</td>
<td>25 April 1329</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.385</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edmund de Langley, future duke of York</td>
<td>23 April 1373</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1370-1374, p.288</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hexham Priory</td>
<td>1386</td>
<td>Bates, p.11</td>
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**SWINBURNE, WEST**

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<tr>
<th>History</th>
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<td>licensed</td>
<td>10 May 1346</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.88</td>
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<td>mentioned</td>
<td>1415</td>
<td>King, p.354</td>
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<tr>
<td>in ruin</td>
<td>1541</td>
<td>King, p.354</td>
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<tr>
<td>siege</td>
<td>1596</td>
<td>King, p.354</td>
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<tr>
<th>Owners</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Roger de Widdrington</td>
<td></td>
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license to crenellate. 10 May 1346  
John Widdrington in 1415  

C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.88  
Bates, p.14  

TARSETT  
History  
mentioned 1244  
licence to crenellate 1267  
not mentioned 1415  
garrisonable 1522  
burnt 1525  
derelict 1541  

Owners  
John Comyn  
licence to crenellate. 5 December 1267  
Bates, p.8  

THIRWALL  
History  
mentioned 1369  
mentioned 1415  
mentioned 1541 (fair repair)  

Owners  
Roland de Thirwall in 1415  
Bates, p.15  

THROPTON  
History  
mentioned 1415  
garrisonable 1509  
mentioned 1541  

Owners  
William Green in 1415  
Bates, p.17  

TREVIT, NETHER  
History  
mentioned 1415  
in repair 1541  

Owners  
Hugo Galon in 1415  
Bates, p.17  

TROUGHEND  
History  
mentioned 1415  
not mentioned 1541  

Owners  
William Buticom in 1415  
Bates, p.18  

TWEEDMOUTH  
History  
tower built 1209  
destroyed 1209  
mentioned 1385  

King, p.355  
King, p.355  
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King, p.341  
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King, p.341  
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not mentioned 1415 King, p.355
mentioned 1541 King, p.355

TWIZEL
History
mentioned 1415 King, p.355
siege & destroyed 1496 King, p.355

Owners
John Heron
in 1415 Bates, p.14

TYNEMOUTH
History
possible fortress 1095 King, p.342
licence to crenellate 5 September 1296 C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.197
attacked Winter 1317 Nthumb Petitions, p.135
modified 1390 King, p.342
modified 1545 King, p.342
siege 1644, 1648 King, p.342

Owners
Tynemouth Priory
licence to crenellate 5 September 1296 C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.197; Bates, p.8
in 1415 Bates, p.13

WALLINGTON
History
mentioned 1415 King, p.342
house attached 1541 King, p.342

Owners
William Strother
in 1415 Bates, p.16

WARK ON TWEED
History
built C12 King, p.343
mentioned 1136, 1138 King, p.343
siege 1216, 1318, 1341 King, p.343
siege 1385, 1399, 1419 King, p.343
modified 1519 King, p.343
damaged 1541 King, p.343
repairs 1543 King, p.343
repairs 1592 King, p.343

Owners
Father of Robert de Ros (?) before 7 May 1274 C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.83
Robert de Ros from 7 May 1274 C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.83
Robert de Ros of Wark, P.P. died 1295/6 G.E.C. XI, p.121
not by 2 December 1301 C.Ch.R. 1300-1326, 23
William de Ros of Helmsley, P.P. from 1296
Crown for defence of the border on 13 October 1300 C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.538
William de Ros of Helmsley, son of above P.P. to 25 September 1317 C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.212
Crown
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from 25 September 1317 C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.212
confirmed 22 August 1322 C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.212
William de Montague, earl of Salisbury
from 2 August 1333 (& heirs) C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.162
confirmed 7 June 1335 C.C.R. 1343-1346, p.319
to 30 January 1344 I.P.M. VIII, no.532 (R.I.P.)
to 17 June 1344 C.C.R. 1343-1346, p.319
John de Montague, yr. son of above, P.P.
from 17 June 1344 C.C.R. 1343-1346, p.319
on 23 Nov 1355 C.C.R. 1354-1360, p.168
to 25 February 1390 I.P.M. XVI, no.871
John Montague, kn, son of above
from 25 February 1390 I.P.M. XVI, no.871
to 12 February 1397 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.73
Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland, enfeoffed by Montague
from 12 February 1397 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.73
to 17 September 1398 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.410
Thomas Grey, Kn., of Heton
from 17 September 1398 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.410
to 1401 I.P.M. XVIII, no..P.
Joan, widow of Thomas Gray, kn
from 5 December 1402 C.C.R. 1399-1402, p.11
on 30 Nov 1402 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.182
Thomas Grey of Heton and Wark
on 1415 Bates, p.14

Constables
Thomas le Pestour of Langeton
on 24 August 1300 C.Ch.W 1244-1326, p.113
David de Langeton
from 1 February 1320 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.15
Roger Mauduyt
to 20 May 1328 C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.97
William de Roos of Helmsley, P.P.
from 20 May 1328 C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.97
Robert Ogle
to 1419 Bates, p.342

WARK IN TYNDALE

History
mentioned 1399-1400 King, p.343
mentioned 1415 King, p.343
disused by 1538 King, p.343

Owners
Thomas Grey
in 1415 Bates, p.18

WARKWORTH

History
built C11 King, p.343
modified C12 King, p.343
modified early C13 King, p.343
siege August 1327 Bates, p.93
siege by Robert Bruce late 1327 Bates, p.93
modified c.1330 King, p.343
modified c.1400 King, p.343
siege 1405 King, p.343

Owners
Robert fitz Roger of Clavering, P.P.
John de Clavering, son of above, P.P.
from 29 April 1310
on 20 Nov 1311
on 14 February 1313
on 26 June 1323
on 2 August 1326
reversion granted to king 20 February 1327
for life on 1 March 1328
to 18 January 1332
Henry Percy
granted reversion by king 2 March 1328
from 18 January 1332
on 23 January 1332
on 24 September 1334
away & back 4 January 1335
to 26 February 1352
Henry Percy, son of above
to 18 May 1368
Henry Percy, son of above
from 18 May 1368
on 12 May 1375
to 6 August 1400
Thomas Percy, earl of Westmorland
from 6 August 1400
on 27 June 1405
Crown
from 1 July 1405
to 14 April 1416
Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, grandson of two above
from 14 April 1416
in 1415
Constables
Robert Darreys, possibly private
in 1322
Ralph Neville of Raby, P.P.
on 15 September 1322
William Heron, lord Say
from 7 September 1403
Robert Umfraville
in May 1406
Subconstables
John Hardyng for Robert Umfraville
from May 1406
Private Constables
William de Toggesdene
in 1297
John Cresswell
to 7 September 1403
John de Middleham
to 1 July 1405
Chaplains
John de Crayk
on 12 December 1334
WEETSLADE
History
mentioned 1415
WHITFIELD

History
mentioned 1415 King, p.355

Owners
Mathew Whitfeld
in 1415 Bates, p.19

WHITLEY NEAR TYNEMOUTH

History
licence to crenellate 9 April 1345
mentioned 1415 C.P.R. 1343-1345, p.446

Owners
Gilbert de Whitley
licence to crenellate 9 April 1345
Priory of Tynemouth
in 1415 Bates, p.16

WHITTINGHAM

History
built C14 King, p.344
a pele 1318 King, p.344
a tower 1415 Bates, p.17
garrisonable 1509 King, p.344
in repair 1541 King, p.344

Owner
William de Heron
in 1415 Bates, p.17

WHITTON NEAR ROTHBURY

History
mentioned 1415 King, p.344
in repair 1541 King, p.344

Owners
The Rector
in 1415 Bates, p.18

WIDDRINGTON

History
licence to crenellate 10 September 1341 C.P.R. 1340-1343, p.289

Owners
Gerard de Widdrington
licence to crenellate 10 September 1341 C.P.R. 1340-1343, p.289
John Widdrington
on 1415 Bates, p.19
Nottingham

GREASLEY

History
licence to crenellate 5 April 1340 C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.449
Attacked before 10 March 1366 C.P.R. 1364-1367, p.281

Owners
Nicholas de Cantilupe, P.P.
licence to crenellate 5 April 1340 C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.449
died 31 July 1355 G.E.C. III, p.112
Nicholas de Cantilupe
10 March 1366 C.P.R. 1364-1367, p.281
21 February 1371 I.P.M. XIII, no.97 (R.I.P.)
William de Cantilupe, brother of above
from 21 February 1371 I.P.M. XIII, no.97
livery 26 September 1371 C.C.R. 1369-1374, p.252
to 31 March 1375 I.P.M. XIV, no.108 (R.I.P.)
William la Zouche, uncle of above, Kn.,P.P.
from 31 March 1375 I.P.M. XIV, no.108
23 April 1382 I.P.M. XV, no.641 (R.I.P.)
William la Zouche of Haringworth, kn & Agnes, son of above
from 23 April 1382 I.P.M. XV, no.641
9 men 21 October 1382 C.C.R. 1381-1385, p.220
to 13 May 1396 I.P.M. XVII, no.717 (R.I.P.)
not by 4 July 1396 C.C.R. 1396-1399, p.4 (R.I.P.)
William la Zouche, son of above
from 13 May 1396 I.P.M. XVII, no.717
from 4 July 1396 C.C.R. 1396-1399, p.4
granted away 21 November 1396 C.C.R. 1396-1399, p.66
dead by 13 February 1416 C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.260
Thomas lord Berkeley, Thomas la Warre & Robert Isham
from 13 February 1416 C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.260

LOWDHAM

History
in use to c.1400 King, p.380

NEWARK

History
built c.1130 King, p.380
siege 1139 King, p.380
gate-tower mid C12 King, p.380
modified C13 King, p.380
siege 1643,1644,1645-6 King, p.380

Owners
Bishop of Lincoln
13 April 1149 'Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral
Church of Lincoln, vol. I', Lincoln Record
Society, 27 (1931)
C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.45

not by 2 November 1317 C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.45
Crown
2 November 1317 C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.45
Henry Burghersh, bishop of Lincoln
restored 27 March 1324 C.C.R. 1324-1327, p.85
John Buckingham, bishop of Lincoln
on 28 March 1382 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.143
Henry Beaufort, bishop of Lincoln
Constables during voidances
Robert de Pirpount for Crown
from 2 November 1317 to 27 March 1324

Douenald de Mar
on 30 January 1322 to 27 March 1324

Constables for the Church
Henry Beek (Possibly for the King?)
on 30 April 1354

NOTTINGHAM
History
built on 1068 King, p.381
modified on 1170-86 King, p.381
modified on 1307-25 King, p.381
modified on 1478 King, p.381

Owners
Crown
on 6 April 1308 C.C.R. 1307-1313, p.29
Crown - Queen Anne
for life from 16 November 1382 C.C.R. 1381-1385, p.192

Constables
Roger de Leybourne
on 14 March 1268 C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.207
on 8 October 1268 C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.422

Prince Edward (Edward I)
on 11 April 1269 C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.678

Walter Grey, archbishop of York
on 6 February 1272 C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.1793

Robert de Tipetot
from 3 January 1274 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.39

Richard Tipetot
from 3 December 1274 C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.73

Robert de Tipetot
on 4 February 1275 C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.146
on 10 June 1280 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.129

Gervase de Clifton
on 16 July 1283 C.P.R. 1281-1292, p.70

Robert de Tipetot
on 22 April 1287 C.C.R. 1279-1288, p.447
on 7 June 1288 C.C.R. 1279-1288, p.508
on 27 April 1289 C.P.R. 1281-1292, p.7
on 24 January 1292 C.C.R. 1288-1296, p.215

Richard le Clerk
on 4 January 1296 C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.9

Robert de Tipetot
on 31 August 1297 C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.59
on 16 April 1298 C.C.R. 1296-1302, p.156
to 7 July 1298 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.401 (R.I.P.)

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<td>John Golafre</td>
<td>23 November 1407</td>
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<td>John Willicotes</td>
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<td>Robert Andrewe</td>
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John Willecotes
from 23 November 1419  C.F.R. 1405-1413, p.296

Porters & Gaolkeepers
Andrew de Wauburgh
from 3 October 1340  C.P.R. 1340-1343, p.39

ROOTHERSFIELD GREYS

History
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Owners
John de Grey of Rothersfield, P.P.
license to cren. 22 February 1348  C.P.R. 1348-1350, p.36
died 1 September 1359  G.E.C. VI, p.145
John de Grey of Rothersfield, son of above, P.P.
inherited 1 September 1359  G.E.C. VI, p.147
died 4 June 1375  G.E.C. VI, p.147

SHIRBOURN

History
licence to crenellate 5 March 1377  C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.434
in use ever since  King, p.386

Owners
Warin de L’isle
licence to crenellate 5 March 1377  C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.434

WATLINGTON

History
licence to crenellate 3 March 1338  C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.24

Owners
Nicholas de la Beche, kn.
licence to crenellate. 3 March 1338  C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.24
Pembroke

**BENTON**

**History**
- built: late C13 (King, p.391)
- mentioned: temp. Eliz. I (King, p.391)

**CAREW**

**History**
- built: late C12 or early C13 (King, p.391)
- modified: early C14 (King, p.391)
- modified: temp. Tudors (King, p.391)
- modified: temp. Civil War (King, p.391)

**Tenant in Chief**
- John de Hastings on 5 June 1362 (I.P.M. XI, no.300)

**Owners**
- John de Carew to 5 June 1362 (I.P.M. XI, no.300 (R.I.P.))
- Leonard de Carew, his son from 5 June 1362 (I.P.M. XI, no.300)

**CASTLE MORRIS**

**History**
- mentioned: 1326 (King, p.398)

**CILGERRAN**

**History**
- siege: 1165, 1199, 1201 (King, p.392)
- 1204, 1215, 1223 (King, p.392)
- modified: c.1223 (King, p.392)
- modified: late C13 (King, p.392)
- modified: perhaps C14 (King, p.392)

**Owners**
- William Cantilupe not by 1 May 1273 (C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.9)
- George de Cantilupe from 1 May 1273 to 28 October 1273 (C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.9)
- John de Hastings, son of Joan de Hastings, sister of above from 28 October 1273 to 30 September 1307 (C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.12 (R.I.P.))
- William de Hastings from 30 September 1307 (C.C.R. 1307-1313, p.2)
- John de Hastings, snr, P.P. to 15 March 1309 (C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.108)
- John de Hastings, jnr, son of above, P.P. from 15 March 1309 to 27 January 1325 (I.P.M. VI, no.612 (R.I.P.))
- Laurence de Hastings, son of above heir on 27 January 1325 (I.P.M. VI, no.612)
- Juliana, widow of John de Hastings dower 23 September 1325 (C.C.R. 1323-1327, p.404)
- John Hastings, earl of Pembroke on 20 February 1369 (C.P.R. 1367-1370, p.223)
- on 3 March 1369 (Ancient Deeds vol. III, A.4888)
- to 16 April 1375 (I.P.M. XIV, no.148 (R.I.P.))
John de Hastings, son of John de Hastings earl of Pembroke

- from 16 April 1375
- under age 21 April 1375
- under age 21 April 1375
- on 14 November 1375
- under age 2 July 1377
- on 30 July 1386
- on April 1387
- confirmed 6 November 1387
- to 30 December 1389

Reynold, Lord Grey of Ruthin, P.P.

- from 30 December 1389

Francis de Courte, kn

- from 30 October 1403
- on 6 January 1406

Humphrey the Kings Brother

- from 20 July 1413
- to 1 July 1418

Constables

John Beaufitz

- for life from 1 June 1389

Richard Chelmeswyk, king's esquire

- for life from 12 February 1390

John Golafre, kn.

- for life from 16 September 1390

John Beaufitz

- for life from 17 February 1397

William Beauchamp

- for life from 29 November 1399

Wardships

Minority of John de Hastings, 1273-1283

Henry de Bray

- from 28 October 1273

William de Valence

- from 12 May 1275
- in 1275

Minority of Laurence, son & heir of John de Hastings, 1325-1341

Roger de Mortimer, earl of March

- from 29 July 1330

Minority of John de Hastings, earl of Pembroke, 1348-1368

Minority of John, son of John de Hastings Earl of Pembroke, 1375-1389

Thomas del Castell

- from 16 July 1375

Philip Gyby

- on 2 May 1377

Walter Mille

- from 2 July 1377
- from 9 March 1378

William Beauchamp

- from 9 March 1378
- on 11 October 1386

HAVERFORD WEST

History

- mentioned 1188
- siege 1220
- modified 1289-90
- siege 1405
### Owners

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<td>C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.56 (R.I.P.)</td>
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<td>to 1289</td>
<td>H.K.W. II, p.670</td>
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<td>C.P.R. 1272-1307, p.287</td>
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<td>C.Ch.R. 1300-1326, p.6</td>
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<td>released to 13 March 1327</td>
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<td>from 29 March 1332</td>
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### Constables

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<th>Sources</th>
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<td>Walter Haklut</td>
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<td>C.Ch.R. 1300-1326, p.6</td>
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<td>to 7 February 1301</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.576</td>
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<td>Hugh de Paunton</td>
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<td>to 15 November 1308</td>
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<td>for life 15 November 1308</td>
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<td>from 26 February 1325</td>
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<td>Robert de Penres</td>
<td>from 30 January 1326</td>
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<td>and 3 May 1326</td>
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<td>on 26 June 1326</td>
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<td>Mary, widow of Aymer de Valence</td>
<td>surrendered by 13 March 1327</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.37</td>
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<td>Guy de Brian, kings yeoman</td>
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Robert de Penrice

on 6 February 1332

Thomas de Felton, kn. for life from 5 October 1367 to 20 August 1385

John de Clanvowe, king’s bachelor for life from 5 May 1381 to 9 June 1392

Thomas Percy for life from 9 June 1392

Receiver and Approver

Thomas More from 2 July 1377

HAYSCASTLE

History mentioned 1326 (name)

LLAWHADEN

History mentioned 1175

seige 1192

modified early C14

modified late C14

seige 1403

Owners

Bishops of St. Davids temp entire period

on 8 September 1403

MAENCLOCHOG

History seige 1215, 1257

mentioned 1376

Owners

John de Roche, Kn. to 26 June 1376

John de Roche, son of above from 26 June 1376

MANOBIER

History mentioned 1145

modified C12

modified C13

seige 1324

seige 1403

seige 1645

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John de Hastings, son of earl of Pembroke inherited 1375
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William Jouet from 16 December 1382 C.F.R. 1381-1385, p.65
Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, John lord Neville & Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland from 16 December 1383 C.F.R. 1383-1391, p.22

Minority of Edmund de Mortimer, earl of March, 1398-1412
John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, duke of Exeter from 11 August 1398 C.P.R. 1396-1399, pp.408 & 514
Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland from 2 March 1400 C.F.R. 1399-1405, p.50
NEWPORT (TREFDRAETH) (IN CAMOIS)

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to 26 June 1324 I.P.M. VI, no.518 (R.I.P.)
Laurence de Hastings, earl of Pembroke
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on 14 November 1375  C.F.R. 1369-1377, p.313
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William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire
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PICTON
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ROCH
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Laurence de Hastings, earl of Pembroke
pourparty done 15 May 1322 C.C.R. 1323-1327, p.359
enrolled 1325 C.C.R. 1323-1327, p.359
on 17 January 1348 I.P.M. IX, no.118 (R.I.P.)
to 28 August 1348
John Hastings earl of Pembroke, son of above
from 28 August 1348 I.P.M. IX, no.118
on 20 February 1369 C.P.R. 1367-1370, p.223
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John de Hastings, son of John de Hastings, earl of Pembroke
to 16 April 1375 I.P.M. XIV, no.148 (R.I.P.)
from 16 April 1375 I.P.M. XIV, no.148
under age 16 April 1375 Ancient Deeds vol. III, A.4889
under age 16 April 1375 C.C.R. 1374-1377, p.249
of age 1393...
to 30 December 1389 I.P.M. XVI, no.889 (R.I.P.)
Reynold lord Grey of Ruthin, P.P. 
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on 21 March 1402 
C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.54

Francis de Courte, kn 
from 30 October 1403  
C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.315 (tail male)

on 6 January 1406 
C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.111

Humphrey, the king’s brother 
from 20 July 1413  
C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.170

to 1 July 1418  
C.P.R. 1416-1422, p.129

temporary grant to clear debts

Constables
Richard fitz Simon, after death of Aymer de Valencia 
from 26 February 1325  
C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.332

Thomas Hamme 
for life from 2 January 1390  
C.P.R. 1388-1392, p.171

William Beauchamp 
for life from 29 November 1399  
C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.140 (Custody)

John Stephen, esq. 
for life from 12 October 1400  
confirmed 21 March 1402  
C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.54

Private Constables
William Redhefd 
from 17 January 1348 (For Hastings) 
confirmed 7 November 1348  
C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.200

on 28 December 1348 
C.C.R. 1346-1349, p.577

Roger Abraham for Hastings 
confirmed 24 February 1376  
C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.247 (For Hastings)

John Stephen, esq. 
for life from 12 October 1400  
confirmed 21 March 1402  
C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.54

Wardships
Minority of Laurence, son & heir of John de Hastings, 1325-1341 
Roger de Mortimer, earl of March 
from 29 July 1330  
C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.546

Elizabeth de Burgo 
from 16 November 1331  
C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.286

from 23 October 1339 
C.C.R. 1339-1341, p.209

minority of John de Hastings, earl of Pembroke, 1348-1368 
Thomas de Clopton 
to 24 January 1349 

Richard Talbot, kn, elder 
from 24 January 1349  
confirmed 27 January 1349  
C.P.R. 1348-1350, p.252

John Hakelut and Agnes his wife, widow of Laurence de Hastings 
from 12 November 1351  
C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.317

minority of John, son & heir of John de Hastings, earl of Pembroke, 1375-1389 
Thomas del Castell 
from 16 July 1375  
C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.127

William de Beauchamp 
from 9 March 1378  
J.Misc III, no.375

Receiver and Approver
Thomas More 
from 2 July 1377  
C.F.R. 1377-1383, p.1

UPTON

History
### WALWYN'S CASTLE

**History**
- **in existence**: pre. 1307  
  King, p.398

**Owners**
- **Guy De Brian**
  - **from**: 1307
  - **to**: 17 June 1327
  - **from**: 17 June 1327
  - **on**: 24 February 1358
  - **on**: 4 February 1378

  Guy de Brian, son of above
  - **to**: 17 June 1327
  - **from**: 17 June 1327
  - **on**: 24 February 1358
  - **on**: 4 February 1378

  Guy de Brian, P.P., son of above
  - **to**: 17 June 1327
  - **from**: 17 June 1327
  - **on**: 24 February 1358
  - **on**: 4 February 1378

  *R.C.H., p.403*

  *I.P.M. IX, no.333 (R.I.P.)*

  *I.P.M. IX, no.333 (R.I.P.)*

  *C.P.R. 1354-1358, p.438*

  *C.C.R. 1377-1381, p.122*

### WOLF'S CASTLE

**History**
- **mentioned**: 1229
  King, p.398

- **in use**: 1326
  King, p.398
ABEREDW

History
built 1284 King, p.413 n.1
out of repair 1397 King, p.406

Owners
Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick not by 24 November 1397 I.Misc VI, no.228

BLEDDFA

History
mentioned 1195 King, p.406
siege 1262 King, p.406
abandoned by 1304 King, p.406

BOUGHROOD (BOSKERET)

History
mentioned 1206 King, p.406

Owners
Elizabeth de Penbrugge to 29 June 1309 I.P.M. vol. V, no.165
John de Penbrugge, kn. from 29 June 1309 I.P.M. vol. V, no.165
Elizabeth, widow of John de Penbrugge to 23 August 1400 I.P.M. XVIII, no.58
Alice, sister of John de Penbrugge from 23 August 1400 I.P.M. XVIII, no.58

CEFNLLYS (KEVENETHES)

History
moved 1242? King, p.406
siege 1262 King, p.406
modified 1273-4 C.A.C.W., XIX.35
siege 1295 King, p.406
siege 1322 King, p.406
in use 1403 King, p.406

Owners
Roger de Mortimer of Wigmore on 22 July 1273 or 1274 C.A.C.W., XIX.35
in 1280 Morris, p.147
Edmund de Mortimer of Wigmore, P.P. to 25 July 1304 I.P.M. IV, no.235 (R.I.P.)
Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, son of above from 25 July 1304 I.P.M. IV, no.235
on 24 June 1316 C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.491
confiscated before 23 January 1322 C.P.R. 1319-1327, p.91
Edmund de Woodstock, earl of Kent, brother of Edward II from 30 March 1322 C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.442
Edmund Mortimer of Wigmore, P.P. son of Roger, earl of March from 12 October 1331 C.C.R. 1330-1333, p.345
by 21 October 1331 C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.193
to 21 January 1332 I.P.M. VII, no.387 (R.I.P.)
Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, son of above heir on 21 January 1332 I.P.M. VII, no.387
Elizabeth, widow of Edmund Mortimer
Roger Mortimer, earl of March, son of above
from 8 June 1356
to 4 July 1356

Philippa, widow of Roger de Mortimer, above
from 22 November 1360
to 26 February 1360

Edmund de Mortimer, son of above
from 20 July 1398
to 4 February 1331

Constables
Griffin ap Rees
from 23 January 1322
to 23 January 1322

Walter le Gras
from 23 January 1322	on 4 February 1331

Robert de Harle
to 4 February 1331

Thomas de Cloune
from 4 February 1331

to 2 October 1383

Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland
from 9 March 1402
to 8 December 1407

Richard Grey of Codnor
from 8 December 1407

History
mentioned 1144
in use 1196, 1215

Owners
Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick
not by 24 November 1397

COLWYN
History
mentioned 1309, 1337
in disrepair 1397
Owners
Robert de Tony, P.P. to 28 November 1309 I.P.M. V, no.198 (R.I.P.)
Alice de Leybourne, sister of above from 28 November 1309 I.P.M. V, no.98
Guy de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, husband of above to 16 August 1315 I.P.M. V, no.615 (R.I.P.)
Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, son of above from 16 August 1315 I.P.M. V, no.615
William la Zouche, de Mortimer, P.P. to 1 March 1337 I.P.M. VIII, no.112 (R.I.P.)
Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, as above from 1 March 1337 I.P.M. VIII, no.112
Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick not by 24 November 1397 I.Misc VI, no.228

Wardships
Minority of Thomas de Beauchamp (1315-1335)

CYMARAN
History
rebuilt 1144 King, p.407
rebuilt 1179 King, p.407
rebuilt 1195 King, p.407
siege 1215,1262 King, p.407
abandoned by 1316 King, p.407

GLASBURY
History
mentioned c.1200 King, p.412
seized 1233 King, p.412

Owners
Roger de Mortimer, earl of March on 22 February 1398 C.C.R. 1396-1399, p.278

Wardships
Minority of Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, 1381-1395
Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, John lord Neville & Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland from 16 December 1383 C.F.R. 1383-1391, p.22

KNIGHTON
History
mentioned 1181-2 King, p.408
siege 1262 King, p.408
abandoned by 1400 King, p.408

Owners
Crown to 1207 H.K.W. II, p.692
Thomas de Erdington from 1207 H.K.W. II, p.692
to ? H.K.W. II, p.692
Hugh de Mortimer, exchanged with above from ? H.K.W. II, p.692

Margaret de Fiennes, widow of Edmund Mortimer
KNUCKLAS

History
built 1227-46? King, p.409
mentioned 1246 King, p.409
siege 1262 King, p.409
disused by 1403 King, p.409

Owners
Edmund de Mortimer of Wigmore, P.P.
to 25 July 1304 I.P.M. IV, no.235 (R.I.P.)

Roger de Mortimer of Wigmore, son of above
heir on 25 July 1304 I.P.M. IV, no.235

Margaret de Fiennes, widow of Edmund Mortimer
on 24 June 1316 C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.491

Roger de Mortimer, earl of March
not by 12 October 1331 C.C.R. 1330-1333, p.350

Edmund de Mortimer of Wigmore, P.P., son of earl of March
from 12 October 1331 C.C.R. 1330-1333, p.350

Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, son of above
under age 6 September 1341 C.F.R. 1337-1347, p.239

Edmund de Mortimer, earl of March
heir 26 February 1360 I.P.M. X, no.640

granted away 24 November 1374 C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.37

granted back 14 February 1380 C.C.R. 1377-1381, p.365
to 27 December 1381 I.P.M. XV, no.556 (R.I.P.)

Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, son of above
from 27 December 1381 I.P.M. XV, no.556

Wardship
minority of Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, 1332-1342

William de Bohun, earl of Northampton, & Elizabeth, his wife, widow of Edmund de Mortimer
from 6 September 1341 C.F.R. 1337-1347, p.239

Minority of Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, 1381-1395

Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, John lord Neville & Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland
from 16 December 1383 C.F.R. 1383-1391, p.22

NEW RADNOR

History
built 1233 King, p.410
siege 1322 King, p.410
mentioned 1401,1402,1405 King, p.410

Owners
Roger de Mortimer of Wigmore in 1280 Morris, p.147

Maud de Mortimer

Edmund de Mortimer, of Wigmore, P.P., son of above
from 23 March 1301 I.P.M. IV, no.41

to 25 July 1304 I.P.M. IV, no.41

Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, son of above
from 25 July 1304 I.P.M. IV, no.235 (R.I.P.)

Margaret de Fiennes, widow of Edmund Mortimer
on 24 June 1316 C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.491

from 9 February 1322 C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.422

from 21 March 1323 C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.266

on 5 March 1326 C.C.R. 1323-1327, p.452 (For life)
Edmund de Mortimer of Wigmore, P.P., son of Roger earl of March
from 12 October 1331
C.C.R. 1330-1333, p.350

Roger Mortimer, earl of March
on 2 November 1341
C.C.R. 1339-1341, p.341
on 25 May 1359
C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.202
to 26 February 1360
I.P.M. X, no.640 (R.I.P.)

Edmund Mortimer, earl of March & Ulster, son of above
from 26 February 1360
I.P.M. X, no.640
granted away 24 November 1374
C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.37
granted back 14 February 1380
C.C.R. 1377-1381, p.365
to 27 December 1381
I.P.M. XV, no.561 (R.I.P.)

Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, son of above
from 27 December 1381
I.P.M. XV, no.561

Edmund Mortimer, earl of March
on 28 January 1405
C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.483
on October 1405
I.P.M. XIX, no.49

Constables
Humphrey de Littlebury
on 9 February 1322
C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.419
to 21 March 1323
C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.266

John Greyndor, kn.
from 24 September 1402
C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.120
temp 1401-1405
E.101/43/11 ‘custodis’
on 17 May 1403
C.C.R. 1401-1405, p.69

Private Constables
John Danyel
from 3 January 1326
C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.206
from 20 April 1326
C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.258

Wardships
minority of heir of Roger Mortimer the elder
Roger Springhoese
from 29 October 1282
C.P.R. 1281-1292, p.39

minority of Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, 1332-1342
Hugh Tyrcel
from 27 February 1334
C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.389
temp 1336-1342
E.101/20/8
on 13 September 1342
E.101/20/8 m.1

Roger de Mortimer, earl of March
from 2 November 1341
C.F.R. 1337-1347, p.246

minority of Edmund de Mortimer, earl of March, 1360-1373
John Chirbury, king’s archer
from 7 February 1361
C.P.R. 1361-1364, p.9

Minority of Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, 1381-1395
Minority of Edmund de Mortimer, earl of March, 1398-1412
John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, duke of Exeter
from 11 August 1398
C.P.R. 1396-1399, pp.408 & 514

Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland
from 2 March 1400
C.F.R. 1399-1405, p.50

Richard Grey of Codnor
from 28 January 1405
C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.483

PAINSCASTLE

History
built pre. 1137
King, p.411
rebuilt 1191
King, p.411
rebuilt 1231
King, p.411
siege 1265
King, p.411
in use 1403 King, p.411

**Tenant in Chief**

Beauchamp earls of Warwick on 1 March 1337 *I.P.M. VIII*, no.112 (R.I.P.)

**Owners**

Robert de Toni, P.P.

to 28 November 1309 *I.P.M. V*, no.198 (R.I.P.)

Alice de Leybourne, his sister

from 28 November 1309

Guy de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, husband of above

to 16 August 1315 *I.P.M. V*, no.615 (R.I.P.)

Thomas de Beauchamp, son of above

heir from 16 August 1315 *I.P.M. V*, no.615 (??)

William la Zouche, de Mortimer, P.P. via Alice de Tony, his wife

to 1 March 1337 *I.P.M. VIII*, no.112 (R.I.P.)

Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick

jointured 24 April 1344 *C.P.R. 1343-1345*, p.251

foot of fine 29 May 1344 'Feet of fines relating to Wiltshire'

*Wiltshire Record Society 29* (1973), no. 292

*I.P.M. XII*, no.326 (R.I.P.)

Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, son of above

from 13 November 1369 *I.P.M. XII*, no.326

from 7 February 1370 *C.C.R. 1369-1374*, p.123

not by 24 November 1397 *I.Misc VI*, no.228

William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire

from 30/29 September 1397 *C.P.R. 1396-1399*, pp.196 & 269 (tail male)

Richard de Beauchamp, son of above

from 8 April 1401 *I.P.M. XVIII*, no.506 (R.I.P.)

Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick

on 8 September 1403 *C.C.R. 1402-1405*, p.111

**Constables**

Robert Hilton, esq.

on 5 February 1398 *C.P.R. 1396-1399*, p.285

**Wardships**

Minority of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick (1401-1403)

Thomas de Aldebury, William de Beauchamp of Abergavenny & John Owdeby, clerk

from 12 May 1401 *C.F.R. 1399-1405*, p.135
heir on 25 July 1304
Margaret de Fiennes, widow of Edmund Mortimer
on 24 June 1316
Edmund de Mortimer of Wigmore, son of above, P.P.
from 12 October 1331

STAPLETON

Owners
Brian de Cornwall, kn.
to 17 January 1400
Richard de Cornwall, brother of above
from 17 January 1400

TINBOETH

History
built late C13
mentioned 1304
siege 1322
out of use post 1322

Owners
Roger de Mortimer of Wigmore
on 1280
Edmund de Mortimer of Wigmore, P.P.
to 25 July 1304
Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, son of above
heir on 25 July 1304
confiscated before 23 January 1322
Edmund de Woodstock, earl of Kent, brother of Edward II
from 30 March 1322
Edmund de Mortimer of Wigmore, son of above, P.P.
from 12 October 1331
by 21 October 1331
on 7 December 1332

Constables
Griffin ap Rees
from 23 January 1322
to 23 January 1322
Walter le Gras
from 23 January 1322
on 23 January 1322
Rutland

Unknown Licenses
LYDYNGTON for Henry Burghersh, bishop of Lincoln
16 November 1336 C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.330

BURLEY (ALSTOE)

History
Owners
Roger Burley
not by 6 April 1401 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.86
John Burley, son of above
on 6 April 1401 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.86

Wardship
minority of John Burley
Richard Arundel, kn & Alice
from 6 April 1401 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.86

OAKHAM

History
built 1075 King, p.417
modified 1190-1200 King, p.417
in use 1308 King, p.418
in good condition 1340 King, p.418

Owners
Richard, earl of Cornwall
in 1262 ‘Rottuli Ricardi Gravesend’, ed. F.N.Davies,
Edmund, earl of Cornwall
to 1298 I.P.M. III, no.604 (R.I.P.)
The King, his heir
from 1298 I.P.M. III, no.604
Margaret, widow of Edmund, earl of Cornwall
dower 12 February 1310 C.C.R. 1307-1313, p.426
Margaret, countess of Cornwall, widow of Gaveston
from 20 September 1312 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.497
on 20 December 1316 C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.576
before 23 July 1318 C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.3
Hugh de Audley, earl of Gloucester, husband of above
by 23 July 1318 C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.3
from 20 July 1319 C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.386 (With wife)
from 20 July 1326 C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.540
temporarily royal 6 March 1327 C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.30
restored 6 March 1327 C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.30
forfeited 16 January 1329 C.P.R. 1327-1337, p.116
restored 6 February 1329 C.C.R. 1327-1330, p.434
on 18 April 1334 C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.540
on 20 June 1338 C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.100
on 13 April 1340 I.Misc II, no.1703
on 18 April 1340 C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.460
on 26 January 1341 C.P.R. 1340-1343, p.118
Margaret, wife of Hugh de Audley, earl of Gloucester
from 20 July 1319 C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.49
on 12 January 1331 I.P.M. VIII, no.382 (R.I.P.)
to 15 April 1343
Hugh de Audley, earl of Gloucester
to 11 November 1347 I.P.M. IX, no.56 (R.I.P.)
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William de Bohun, earl of Northampton

from 11 November 1347
livery 26 November 1347
on 15 June 1349
on 8 April 1358
to 16 September 1360

Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex, son of above

from 16 September 1360
on 6 May 1363

Thomas, duke of Gloucester

granted reversion 8 August 1394

Edward, duke of Aumarle, future duke of York

on 12 December 1390
from 15 September 1398
confirmed 20 February 1400

William Burghchier & Anne his wife daughter of Thomas, duke of Gloucester

from I December 1414

Reversions

William de Bohun

on 20 June 1338

Constables while Royal

Gilbert de Holm

from 12 July 1318
to 8 May 1321

John de Whitlebury

from 8 May 1321
to 24 May 1321

Ivo de Aldeburgh

from 24 May 1321	on 25 May 1321
to 4 July 1322

Edmund de Woodstock, earl of Kent

from 4 July 1322

John de Whitlebury
to 17 August 1326

William Howard

from 17 August 1326
to 19 April 1327

Edmund de Woodstock, earl of Kent
to 19 April 1327

Rob. de Stangrave

from 19 April 1327
to 22 April 1327

Hugh & Margaret de Audley

from 22 April 1327
to 22 April 1327

William de Whapelade, king's yeoman

from 11 February 1373

Simon Warde

on 12 June 1372
to 26 July 1373

William de Whapelade, king's yeoman

from 5 December 1373

Simon Warde

on 8 April 1374

William de Whapelade
to 3 November 1377

John Rukwyk

from 3 November 1377
confirmed 9 March 1378
on 26 October 1379

I.P.M. IX, no.56
C.C.R. 1346-1349, p.342
C.C.R. 1349-1354, p.14
C.P.R. 1354-1358, p.449
I.P.M. X, no.639 (R.I.P.)
I.P.M. X, no.639
C.C.R. 1360-1364, p.482
C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.504
C.P.R. 1388-1392, p.354
C.P.R. 1296-1399, p.415 (Tail Male)
C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.204
C.C.R. 1413-1419, p.160
C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.100
C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.367
C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.55
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C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.58
C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.303
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C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.144
C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.405
C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.405
C.C.R. 1327-1330, p.76
C.C.R. 1327-1330, p.76
C.C.R. 1327-1330, p.76
C.C.R. 1327-1330, p.76
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C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.373
C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.183
C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.397
Ralph Porter of Eltham
from 1 December 1376
on 24 October 1382
C.R. 1374-1377, p.411
C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.180

Robert Vere, earl of Oxford
for life from 27 July 1385
on 9 May 1386
forfeited by 23 April 1388
C.R. 1385-1389, pp.7 & 69
C.R. 1385-1389, p.147

Edward, duke of York
on 12 May 1390
C.R. 1388-1392, p.251 (?)
C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.323
on 26 November 1403

Richard Reylegh
on 17 October 1405
C.R. 1405-1408, p.83 (Keeper)
for life from 22 March 1410
on 9 June 1412
C.R. 1408-1413, p.413
for life from 20 June 1412
to 1 December 1414
C.R. 1413-1416, p.269

William Burghchier & Anne his wife
from 1 December 1414
C.R. 1413-1416, p.269

Deputy Constables
Thomas de Wympton (for John de Whitlebury)
on 24 May 1321
C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.58

Receiver
William Flore of Okham
from 22 June 1377
C.F.R. 1377-1383, p.6

Gatekeeper & Gaoler
Thomas Ednesouere
for life from 22 February 1412
C.R. 1408-1413, p.404

Gatekeeper
Richard Rayle
for life from 30 October 1399
to 22 February 1411
C.R. 1399-1401, p.95

Chaplains of the Free Chapel
Richard
to 1262

William
from 1262
'Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend', ed. F.N.Davis,
Lincoln Record Society, 20 (1922), p.101
ibid.
Shropshire

Unknown Licenses
ACTON BURNELL to Robert Burnel, bishop of Bath & Wells
on 28 January 1284 C.P.R. 1281-1292, p.110
HOUSE IN SHREWSBURY for John de Cherleton
on 14 September 1325 C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.178
WHITCHURCH for Fulk le Strange of Blackmere
on 14 July 1322 C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.175

ADDERLY
History built C13 King, p.420

ALBERBURY
History built early 13th cty. V.C.H. vol. 8, p.196
mentioned 1256 King, p.420
in use 17th cty. V.C.H. vol. 8, p.196
modified 19th cty. V.C.H. vol. 8, p.196
Owners Fulk fitz Waryn temp early 13th cty. V.C.H., vol.8, p.196

APLEY
History licence to crenellate 10 July 1327 C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.145
siege 1644 King, p.433
Owners Alan de Charlton licence to crenellate 10 July 1327 C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.145

BISHOP'S CASTLE
History built before 1148 King, p.421
siege 1263 King, p.421
maintained temp. Leland King, p.421
Owners Bishops of Hereford void 20 January 1322 C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.51
restored on 6 February 1322 C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.53
void 4 December 1360 C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.499
void 31 May 1361 C.C.R. 1360-1364, p.192
Constables while void Thomas de Hastang from 20 January 1322 to 6 February 1322 C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.51
John atte Wode, king's yeoman on 10 January 1360 C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.511
from 4 December 1360 C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.499
to 3 January 1361 C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.508
Henry de Molyneux, king's yeoman from 3 January 1361 C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.508
John atte Wode on 31 May 1361 C.C.R. 1360-1364, p.192
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John Brigge

temp 1403-1404 E.101/43/28

Named, undated Constables
John Pencoyt, Thomas Glaas, William Hogeshawe, Walter Drak,
Roger Collyng, William de Hull

31 May 1361 C.C.R. 1360-1364, p.192

BRIDGNORTH

History
built 1101 King, p.421
keep late C12 King, p.421
siege 1264,1321,1646 King, p.421

Owner
Crown
from 1102 H.K.W. II, p.57
on 30 January 1342 I.Misc 1, no.1795 (Town owns outer Bailiwick)

Constables
Hamon le Strange not by
Hugh de Mortimer to
Ralph de Mortimer from
Robert de Trillek to
Bevis de Knowill from
to
Roger Springhoese from
Edmund de Mauley from
Hugh de Audley of Stratton Audley, senior, P.P. to
Hugh de Croft from
to
Hugh de Audley of Stratton Audley, senior, P.P. from
to
Roger de Cheigny from
to
William de Mere from
to
Roger de Cheigny from
to
Ralph de Crophull from
Roger de Cheigny to
Roger Tromewyn from
to
Peter de Lymesy from

CDb. R. 1267-1272, no.770
C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.2 (R.I.P.)
C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.2
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Roger Tromewyn to 29 November 1318 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.381
Robert de Grendon, P.P. from 29 November 1318 to 1 January 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.85
John de Swynnerton from 1 January 1322 to 26 November 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.85
Henry de Bisshebury from 26 November 1322 to 4 February 1327 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.183
William de Ercelewe from 4 February 1327 to 27 June 1327 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.16
Henry de Bisshebury from 27 June 1327 to 20 August 1329 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.51
John de Hinkele from 27 June 1327 to 20 August 1329 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.51
Roger Chaundos, P.P. to 20 August 1329 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.146
John de Cheilmerssh from 20 August 1329 to 20 August 1339 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.146
Roger de Mortimer & heirs granted reversion of constableship on 20 August 1359 C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.267
Leo de Perton for life from 1 January 1341 to 24 April 1344 C.P.R. 1340-1343, p.85
from 24 April 1344 to 20 November 1347 C.P.R. 1343-1345, p.242
on 20 November 1347 to 18 June 1349 C.C.R. 1346-1349, p.124
on 18 June 1349 to 20 August 1359 C.P.R. 1348-1350, p.37
on 20 August 1359 to 15 December 1370 C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.267 (kings yeoman)
John de Beauchamp, of Holt and Kidderminster, king's esquire, P.P. from 15 December 1370 to 6 February 1371 C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.341
on 6 February 1371 to 12 August 1375 C.C.R. 1358-1361, p.207
on 12 August 1375 to 28 September 1375 C.P.R. 1374-1377, p.163
vacated on 28 September 1375 C.C.R. 1374-1377, p.160
Hugh Burnell, P.P. for life from 16 May 1387 to 29 May 1388 C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.292
CALLOWHILL
History mentioned 1274-8 King, p.433
CAUS
History built C11 King, p.422
mentioned 1198 King, p.422
in use temp. Glendower King, p.422
siege 1645 King, p.422

BROMPTON AND RHISTON (BROMPTON HALL)
History includes a tower 28 December 1295 I.P.M. III, no.291
Owners
Brian de Brompton to 28 December 1295 I.P.M. III, no.291 (R.I.P.)
Owners
Peter Corbet, P.P.
on 5 May 1286 I.P.M. II, no.606
10 August 1300 I.P.M. III, no.600 (R.I.P.)
Peter Corbet, son of above, P.P.
from 10 August 1300 I.P.M. III, no.600
on 17 August 1302 C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.55
16 May 1313 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.586
jointured 7 May 1315 C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.226
ordered to keep jointured 14 March 1315 C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.266
died 1321/2
Beatrice, widow of Peter Corbet of Caux
dead by 1 September 1347 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.44
Ralph, earl Stafford
on 1 March 1351 C.P.R. 1350-1354, p.67
to August 1372 I.P.M. XIII, 210 (R.I.P.)
Hugh, earl of Stafford, son of above
from August 1372 I.P.M. XIII, no.210
16 October 1386 I.P.M. XVI, no.452 (R.I.P.)
Thomas, earl of Stafford
from 16 October 1386 I.P.M. XVI, no.452
to 4 July 1392 I.P.M. XVII, no.215 (R.I.P.)
William, brother of Thomas earl of Stafford, brother of above
from 4 July 1392 I.P.M. XVII, no.215
to 6 April 1395 I.P.M. XVII, no.1260 (R.I.P.)
Edmund, earl of Stafford
from 6 April 1395 I.P.M. XVII, no.1260
to 21 July 1403 I.P.M. XVIII, no.825 (R.I.P.)
Humphrey, son of above
from 21 July 1403 I.P.M. XVIII, no.825
in Queen Joan
from 24 January 1404 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.347
in January 1405 C.A.C.W., XLIII.65

Wardships
Minority of Thomas, earl of Stafford (1386-1389)
Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick & William Beauchamp & John lord Neville
from 25 February 1387 C.F.R. 1383-1391, p.173
Minority of William, Brother of Thomas earl of Stafford (1392-1395)
Gloucester, Thomas Woodstock, Duke Of
from 24 July 1392 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.54
Minority of Edmund, earl of Stafford (1395-1399)
Gloucester, Thomas Woodstock, Duke Of
to 23 July 1397 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.219
Edward, earl of Rutland
from 23 July 1397 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.219
Minority of Humphrey, son of Edmund de Stafford (1403-)
William Bromshull
from 21 July 1403 I.P.M. XVIII, no.825
on 29 November 1403 I.P.M. XVIII, no.825
John Prendregest
on 27 February 1404 C.C.R. 1402-1405, p.249
Keepers while in Royal hands
John de Cherleton & John le Strange
from 1 September 1347 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.44
William Bromshull
in January 1405 C.A.C.W., XLIII.65

Chaplains
Hugh Bergan
on 17 August 1302 C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.55
CHENEY LONGVILLE

History
licence to crenellate 1394  C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.500

Owners
Sir Hugh Cheney
licence to crenellate 1 September 1394  C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.500
dead by 5 August 1404  C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.414

CHESWARDINE

History
mentioned 1330  King, p.422
'ruined castle' 16 October 1330  I.P.M. vol. VII, no.280

Tenant in Chief
Fulk le Strange
to 16 October 1330  I.P.M. vol. VII, no.280

Owner
John le Strange of Cheswardine, held for life from below
to 16 October 1330  I.P.M. vol. VII, no.280 (R.I.P.)
from 16 October 1330  I.P.M. vol. VII, no.280

CHIRBURY

Constables
Philip Middleton
inquiry into terms 16 December 1336  Fryde, no.887

CLUN

History
built C11  King, p.423
mentioned 1146 (as 60 years old)  King, p.423
tower mentioned 1272  King, p.423
modified mid-late C13  King, p.423

Owners
Richard, earl of Arundel
to 15 January 1302  I.P.M. IV, no.90 (R.I.P.)
from 15 January 1302  I.P.M. IV, no.90
before 13 September 1327  C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.328
Roger de Mortimer
from 13 September 1327  C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.328
from 13 September 1327  C.Ch.R. 1327-1341, 55
Richard earl of Arundel
away & back 24 June 1345  C.P.R. 1343-1345, p.487
jointured 1 March 1347  C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.328
foot of fines 10 June 1347  'Feet of fines relating to Wiltshire'
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Richard, earl of Arundel
on 22 October 1353  I.Misc IV, no.234
on 25 October 1354  C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.4
foot of fine 2 November 1354
Richard le Despenser
19 November 1386  I.Misc IV, no.234
Thomas le Despenser
dead by 6 April 1405  C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.4
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under age on 6 April 1405 C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.4

Wardship of Edmund fitzAlan, earl of Arundel, 1302-1307
Wardship of Richard le Despenser, 1400-
Edward, duke of York
from 17 May 1403 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.235
Queen Joan
from 6 April 1405 C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.4

Constables
Thomas Hoorde not by 21 November 1397 J.Misc VI, no.234
Robert Menell on 21 November 1397 J.Misc VI, no.234
Edward, earl of Rutland, future duke of York for life from 28 September 1397 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.205

CORFHAM

History
mentioned temp. John King, p.424
mentioned 1233 King, p.424
siege 1262 King, p.424
mentioned 1299 (in bad repair) King, p.424
mentioned 1324 King, p.424

Owners
John Giffard of Brimpsfield, P.P., from Maud Longspey, his wife
to 5 June 1299 I.P.M. III, no.544 (R.I.P.)
to 23 October 1299 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.421 (R.I.P.)
Eleanor Giffard, daughter of above
from 23 October 1299 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.421
Fulk le Strange of Blackmere, P.P., from his wife Eleanor Giffard
to 23 January 1323 I.P.M. VI, no.516 (R.I.P.)
John le Strange of Blackmere, P.P. son of above
from 23 January 1323 I.P.M. VI, no.516
died 21 July 1349 G.E.C XII (l), p.343
Fulk le Strange of Blackmere,
inherited 21 July 1349 G.E.C XII (l), p.343
to 22 August 1349 I.P.M. IX, no.224 (R.I.P.)
John le Strange of Blackmere, P.P. brother of above
from 22 August 1349 I.P.M. IX, no.224
died 12 May 1361 G.E.C XII (l), p.344

DAWLEY (DALILEY)

History
licence to crenellate 17 November 1316 C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.566
siege temp Civil War King, p.433

Owners
William de Morton licence to crenellate 17 November 1316 C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.566
Richard earl of Arundel forfeited by 21 March 1398 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.253

Constables
William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire for 20 years from 21 March 1398 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.253
Adam de Peshale, kn. for life from 24 April 1399 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.540
ELLESMORE

History
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rebuilt c.1241  H.K.W. II, p646
important C13 & early C14  King, p.424

Owners
Crown
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to 1177  H.K.W. II, p645
David ap Owen
from 1177  H.K.W. II, p645
to 1203  H.K.W. II, p645
Crown
from 1203  H.K.W. II, p645
to 1267  H.K.W. II, p646
Hamon le Strange
from 1267  H.K.W. II, p646
Ebulo le Strange, P.P. & Alice de Lacy his wife
from 16 February 1331  C.Ch.R. 1327-1341, p.213
to 17 September 1335  I.P.M. II, no.681 (R.I.P.)
Alice de Lacy
from 17 September 1335  I.P.M. II, no.681
on 9 October 1335  C.C.R. 1333-1337, p.444 (Prob)
Roger le Strange of Knockin, P.P.
from 17 September 1335  I.P.M. VII, no.716
to 29 July 1349  I.P.M. IX, no.290 (R.I.P.)
Roger le Strange of Knockin, son of above, P.P.
from 29 July 1349  I.P.M. IX, no.290
died 23 August 1382  G.E.C. XII(I), p.354
John le Strange of Knockin, son of above, P.P.
inherited 23 August 1382  G.E.C. XII(I), p.354
died 28 July 1397  G.E.C. XII(I), p.354
Richard le Strange of Knockin, son of above, P.P.
inherited 28 July 1397  G.E.C. XII(I), p.355
died 9 August 1449  G.E.C. XII(I), p.355

Constable
Bevis de Knovill
from 10 December 1274  C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.39
Roger le Strange of Ellesmere, P.P.
for life from 24 November 1275  C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.125
John de Felton
from 8 September 1320  C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.32
to 19 June 1321  C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.61
Oliver de Ingham, P.P., Kn.
from 19 June 1321  C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.61
Thomas de Hastang
to 19 December 1330  C.F.R. 1272-1337, p.215
John de Reppes
from 19 December 1330  C.F.R. 1272-1337, p.215
Joan, widow of Roger le Strange
1/3 from 24 September 1349  C.C.R. 1349-1354, p.111

HODNET

History
mentioned 1223  King, p.425

Owners
Henry, duke of Lancaster
dead by 16 July 1361  C.F.R. 1356-1368, p.165
Maud, his daughter  
from  
16 July 1361  
C.F.R. 1356-1368, p.165

HOLGATE

History  
mentioned  
c.1086 to temp. John  
King, p.425  
old  
1282  
King, p.425  
round tower  
late C13  
King, p.425  
in use  
temp. Civil War  
King, p.425

Owners  
Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath and Wells, private property  
on  
1285  
C.C.R. 1279-1288, p.367  
to  
26 October 1292  
I.P.M. III, no.65 (R.I.P.)  
Philip Burnell, brother of above  
from  
26 October 1292  
I.P.M. III, no.65  
a minor  
8 May 1301  
C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.594  
Edward Burnell, P.P.  
to  
1 September 1315  
I.P.M. V, no.611 (R.I.P.)  
Maud, his sister  
from  
1 September 1315  
I.P.M. V, no.611  
Nicholas Burnell, Kn., P.P.  
succeeded  
1348  
G.E.C. II, p.435  
to  
19 January 1383  
I.P.M. XV, no.726 (R.I.P.)  
Hugh Burnell, Kn, son of above, P.P.  
from  
19 January 1383  
I.P.M. XV, no.726  
died  
27 November 1420  
G.E.C. II, p.435

HOPTON

History  
keep  
Norman  
Pevsner, p.153  
modified  
C14  
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motte raised  
late C16  
King, p.425  
siege  
1644  
King, p.425

KNOCKIN

History  
built  
mid C12  
King, p.426  
mentioned  
1165  
King, p.426  
mentioned  
temp. John  
King, p.426  
mentioned  
1322  
King, p.426

Tenant in Chief  
Richard, earl of Arundel  
on  
23 August 1382  
I.P.M. XV, no.843

Owners  
Hame le Strange  
before  
7 July 1311  
I.P.M. V, no.264  
John le Strange of Knockin, acquired from above  
to  
6 February 1311  
I.P.M. V, no.264  
Isleult, widow of above, in jointure  
from  
7 July 1311  
I.P.M. V, no.264  
on  
20 January 1322  
C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.50  
Robert le Strange, Kn.  
to  
23 August 1382  
I.P.M. XV, no.843 (R.I.P.)  
Alina, widow of above  
from  
23 August 1382  
I.P.M. XV, no.843 (Jointure)  
John le Strange of Knockin, P.P.  
from  
23 August 1382 (843) I.P.M. (JB)
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Maud, widow of John son of Roger le Strange
from August 1397

Richard le Strange, P.P., son of above
from 20 September 1400

LEA
History
built C14
siege 1645

LUDLOW
History
built 1090
modified C12
modified C13
modified C14
taken 1322
modified C15
siege 1646

Tenants in Chief
Sir Geoffrey de Genevill, father of Peter below
on 8 June 1292

Owners
Peter de Genevill
to 8 June 1292

Roger Mortimer of Wigmore
to 23 January 1322
Confiscated by Ralph de Botiller
on 23 January 1322

Roger de Mortimer, earl of March
to 12 January 1331

Joan, wife of Roger Mortimer
acknowledged 6 December 1330
livery on 12 January 1331
on 26 October 1330

Roger de Mortimer, earl of March
from 19 October 1356

Edmund de Mortimer, earl of March
heir 25 February 1360

Edmund Mortimer, earl of March & Ulster
to 27 December 1381

Roger de Mortimer, son of above
from 27 December 1381

John de Hastings & Philippa his wife, daughter of the earl of March
for 8 years from 24 February 1388

Edmund de Mortimer, earl of March
under age on 26 August 1404

Constables
Ralph de Botiller
on 23 January 1322
on 16 February 1322
on 1 November 1322
John de Barewe
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10 October 1324 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.306
John Inge from 10 October 1324 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.306

Wardships

Minority of Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, 1381-1395
Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, John lord Neville & Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland
from 16 December 1383 C.F.R. 1383-1391, p.22
minority Edmund de Mortimer, earl of March, 1398-1412
Edward, duke of York
from 11 August 1398 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.408
Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland
from 2 March 1400 C.F.R. 1399-1405, p.50
John de Lovel, kn
from 31 July 1402 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.140 (For three months)
Thomas Beaufort, kn
from 21 August 1402 C.F.R. 1399-1405, p.140
Hugh Cheyne, kn
from 6 June 1403 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.237
dead by 5 August 1404 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.414
Roger Acton, king's esq.
from 5 August 1404 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.414
from 26 August 1404 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.407
exiled & outlawed by 12 February 1408 C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.394
John Brigge (Captain)
from 12 February 1408 C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.394

MEOLO BRACE

History mentioned 1273 King, p.434

MORTON CORBET

History built c.1200 King, p.427
mentioned 1215 King, p.427
siege 1644 King, p.427

Owners Andrew Corbet
to c.1579 Pevsner, p.204 (R.I.P.)

MYDDLE

History licensed 1 April 1308 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.62

Owners John le Strange of Myddle
on 1 April 1308 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.62

OSWESTRY

History mentioned temp. Domesday King, p.427
siege 1149,1160 King, p.427
destroyed 1216 King, p.427
siege 1644 King, p.427

Owners John son of Alan
dead by 8 August 1282 C.P.R. 1281-1292, p.32
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Richard, earl of Arundel

on 8 August 1282 to 15 January 1302

Edmund, earl of Arundel, son of above

from 15 January 1302 before 13 September 1327

Roger de Mortimer

from 13 September 1327

Richard earl of Arundel

away & back 24 June 1345

jointured 1 March 1347

foot of fine 10 June 1347

on 22 October 1353

on 25 October 1354

foot of fine 2 November 1354

Richard, earl of Arundel

on 19 November 1386

Constable

Robert de Legh, kn

for life from 4 October 1397

Wardships

minority of Richard fitzAlan, earl of Arundel, -1288

John son of Aer

to 7 December 1272

John de Oxendon

from 7 December 1272

Adam de Montgomery

to 10 December 1274

Bevis de Knovil

from 10 December 1274

on 29 October 1276

to 17 July 1277

Roger le Strange of Ellesmere, P.P.

from 17 July 1277

on 18 July 1277

to 28 April 1279

Isabella de Mortimer

from 28 April 1279

Isabella, widow of John son of Alan

on/from? 14 November 1280

Roger Springhoese

to 8 August 1282

Edmund de Mortimer

from 8 August 1282

Chaplains

Adam de Chetewynd

to 28 December 1282

Richard de Bishopston

from 28 December 1282

PONTESBURY

History

ringwork 12th cty.

tower added c.1200

destroyed by fire c.1300

\[ \text{References:} \]

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modified c.1300
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Owners
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TONG

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History  
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son of above  
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P.P.  
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from 15 February 1408 I.P.M. XIX, no.483 (Dower)

Constables
Warin de Rugge
from 27 April 1330 C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.188
8 December 1330 C.C.R. 1330-1333, p.76

Wardship
Minority of Fulk fitz Waryn, 1349-1361
William fitz Waryn
from 4 May 1350 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.236

Minority of Fulk, son of Fulk fitz Waryn
Alice Perrers
to Forfeiture I.P.M. XV, no.765

James de Audley of Heighley
from 26 March 1378 C.F.R. 1377-1383, p.85
lately 20 August 1378 C.C.R. 1377-1381, p.152

John Wykes
from 12 May 1378 C.F.R. 1377-1383, p.89

James de Audley of Heighley
from 7 November 1378 C.F.R. 1377-1383, p.110

Minority of Fulk fitz Waryn, 1391-1407
John Devereux of Maugne
from 17 February 1392 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.38

Thomas de Percy
from 17 March 1393 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.76

Ives fitz Waryn
from 12 February 1394 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.111
on 18 June 1395 C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.577
on 19 March 1403 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.380
on 1 October 1404 C.C.R. 1402-1405, p.387

WROCKWARDINE (CHARLETON)

History
licensed 17 November 1316 C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.566
a fortalice 1374 King, p.433

Owners
John de Cherleton of Powis, P.P.
license to cren. 17 November 1316 C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.566
1353 C.E.C. III, p.160
John de Cherleton of Powis, son of above, P.P.
died 1353 C.E.C. III, p.160
inherited 1353 G.E.C. III, p.160
John de Cherleton of Powis, son of above, P.P.
died 1360 G.E.C. III, p.160
inherited 1360 G.E.C. III, p.160
John de Cherleton of Powis, son of above, kn, P.P.
died 13 July 1374 G.E.C. III, p.161
to 19 October 1401 I.P.M. XVIII, no.650 (R.I.P.)
Edward de Cherleton, kn, brother of above, P.P.
from 19 October 1401 I.P.M. XVIII, no.650
on 26 November 1401 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.21
to garrison for 3 months 23 July 1402 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.139
died 14 March 1420/1 G.E.C. III, p.161

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Unknown Licenses
TORVESTON for Adam le Bret
22 June 1316       C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.480

YERDLINGTON for Simon de Montague, P.P.
20 October 1313    C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.31

BRIDGEWATER
History
licence to crenellate 1200  King, p.441
'in ruins' 26 February 1360 I.P.M. X, no.640
demolished 1645  King, p.441

Reversion
Roger de Mortimer of Wigmore
to 30 June 1316       C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.491
Edmund de Mortimer, of Wigmore, son of above, P.P.
from 30 June 1316 C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.491

Owners
William Brewer the Younger
to 1233       H.K.W. II, p.576 (R.I.P.)
Crown
from 1233 H.K.W. II, p.576

to 1248       H.K.W. II, p.576
William de Cantilupe
from 1248 H.K.W. II, p.576

Roger de Mortimer of Wigmore

to 5 November 1282 I.P.M. II, no.446 (R.I.P.)
Matilda, widow of Roger de Mortimer
from 10 January 1283 C.C.R. 1279-1288, p.200

William de Mortimer

to 30 June 1297 I.P.M. III, no.407 (R.I.P.)
to 14 November 1297 C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.73 (R.I.P.)
Maud de Mortimer, his mother
from 30 June 1297 I.P.M. III, no.407
from 14 November 1297 C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.73
to 23 March 1301 I.P.M. IV, no.41
Edmund de Mortimer of Wigmore, son of above, P.P.
from 23 March 1301 I.P.M. IV, no.41
on 28 April 1302 C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.33

to 25 July 1304 I.P.M. IV, no.235 (R.I.P.)
Margaret de Fiennes, widow of Edmund de Mortimer
from 25 July 1304 I.P.M. IV, no.235 (Jointly)
on 30 June 1316 C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.491

Crown

on 29 October 1322 I.Misc II, no.617
Margaret de Fiennes, widow of Edmund Mortimer, snr, above

to 21 February 1334 I.P.M. VII, no.577
Elizabeth, widow of Edmund de Mortimer, jnr (d.1331)

from 21 February 1334 I.P.M. VII, no.577
from 13 July 1334 C.C.R. 1333-1337, p.237

Roger Mortimer, earl of March

to 26 February 1360 I.P.M. X, no.640 (R.I.P.)
Edmund de Mortimer, son of above
heir on 26 February 1360 I.P.M. X, no.640
Philippa, widow of Roger Mortimer

to 5 January 1382 I.P.M. XV, no.564 (R.I.P.)
Roger de Mortimer, earl of March

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from 5 January 1382 under age 16 December 1382 to 20 July 1398 Eleanor, widow of Roger Mortimer from 16 March 1399 dead by 6 October 1405

Constables
John de Lortye & John de Say from 15 January 1322 to 1 December 1322 to 28 December 1322 John de Beauchamp of Somerset, P.P. from 1 December 1322 from 28 December 1322 to 19 August 1325 Simon de Furneux from 19 August 1325 to 12 October 1326 John de Say & Simon de Furneux from 12 October 1326

Wardships
Minority of Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, 1381-1395 Philip Holgoyt from 16 December 1382 Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, John lord Neville & Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland from 16 December 1383 minority Edmund de Mortimer, earl of March, 1398-1412 Edward, duke of York from 11 August 1398 Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland from 2 March 1400

DUNSTER

History
mentioned temp. Domesday gatekeep 1419 siege 1654-6

Owners
John de Mohun to 14 July 1279 dead by 7 January 1281 John de Mohun, son of above, P.P. from 14 July 1279 dead by 14 December 1330 Sibyl, widow of above livery 14 December 1330 John de Mohun, P.P. from 23 June 1346 granted away to 24 July 1369 to 14 September 1376 Joan, widow of John Mohun, Kn. to 4 October 1404 dead by 26 February 1406 Heirs: Elizabeth, Philippa, Richard on 4 October 1404 Hugh Luterell, kn
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Wardships

minority of John de Mohun, 1271-1291
Ralph de Sandwich to
Francis Accursii from
John de Vescy from

Constables
Patrick Everard on

FARLEIGH HUNGERFORD

History
pardon for crenellating 26 November 1383 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.340
modified c.1425 King, p.443
siege temp. Civil War King, p.443

Owners
Sir Thomas de Hungerford licence to crenellate. 26 November 1383 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.340 (Pardon)

HARPTREE

History
mentioned 1138,1140 King, p.443
mentioned 1296,1343 King, p.443

Owners
Olive de Gournay to
Elizabeth, her daughter from
Thomas de Gournay paying for l. to cren to
John de Gournay, son of above under age

NUNNEY

History
licence to crenellate 28 November 1373 C.P.R. 1370-1374, p.367
siege 1645 King, p.444

Owners
John de la Mare licence to crenellate 28 November 1373 C.P.R. 1370-1374, p.367

STOGURSEY

History
mentioned 1216 King, p.444
siege 1224 King, p.444
destroyed 1455 King, p.444

Owners
Rob. Walrand dead by 1301 I.P.M. IV, no.457
John Walrand, son of above

from 17 February 1405 C.F.R. 1399-1405, p.302
from Joan, Lady de Bohun

to 27 May 1280 C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.374
Francis Accursii from
John de Vescy from 7 January 1281 C.P.R. 1281-1292, p.8

on 16 May 1385 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.599
an idiot 12 May 1301  
mad by 8 May 1308

**Constables**
Ralph de Sandwich to 26 June 1278  
Amisius de Sabaudia from 26 June 1278  
on 10 August 1278

**Wardships**
Madness of John Waleraund  
Robert Fitz Payn, P.P. from 8 May 1308

**TAUNTON**

**History**
mentioned 1138, 1156, 1205  
siege 1455

**Owners**
Bishop of Winchester on 29 January 1269  
void 30 December 1279  
on 8 November 1280  
void 6 August 1323  
on 10 March 1327  
void 20 December 1345

**Constables**
Adam Draycote for Bishop of Winchester before 10 March 1327

**Wardships**
Nicholas de Clere, King's Clerk from 3 March 1280  
William Beaufou from 20 December 1345

**WELLS (BISHOPS PALACE)**

**History**
fortified mid C14

References:
- *I.P.M. IV*, no.457
- *C.C.R. 1307-1313*, p.33
- *C.P.R. 1272-1281*, p.272
- *C.P.R. 1272-1279*, p.472
- *C.C.R. 1307-1313*, p.33
- *King*, p.444
- *C.Lib.R. 1267-1272*, no.579
- *C.P.R. 1272-1281*, p.365
- *C.P.R. 1272-1281*, p.403 (void?)
- *C.C.R. 1323-1327*, p.132
- *C.P.R. 1327-1330*, p.81
- *C.P.R. 1345-1348*, p.19
- *C.P.R. 1327-1330*, p.81
- *C.P.R. 1272-1281*, p.365
- *C.P.R. 1345-1348*, p.19
- *King*, p.445
## Staffordshire

### Unknown Licenses

**BERKMONDESCOTE** for Roger Hillary  
13 February 1345  
*C.P.R. 1343-1345*, p.438

**BRUGHTON** for Hugh de Whytemor (Burton?)  
10 August 1299  
*C.P.R. 1292-1301*, p.139

**CHEBSEY** for John de Hastanges  
1 August 1309  
*C.P.R. 1307-1313*, p.178

**MADLEE** for Ralph, Baron Stafford  
6 February 1348  
*C.P.R. 1348-1350*, p.13

**SWYNNERTON** for Roger de Swynnerton, P.P.  
6 October 1315  
*C.P.R. 1313-1317*, p.356

### ALTON (ALVETON)

**History**
- mentioned 1195  
- siege 1264,1317  
- mentioned 1328,1331,1339,1365

**Owners**
- Theobald de Verdon, P.P.  
  - to 28 August 1309  
  - from 28 August 1309  
  - to 30 July 1316  
- Thomas de Furnivall, P.P. & Joan his wife, da. of above  
  - livery 16 October 1328  
  - on January 1332  
  - to 16 October 1339  
- Thomas de Furnivall, son of above, P.P.  
  - from 16 October 1339  
  - to 21 April 1365  
- William de Furnivall, P.P., brother of above  
  - from 21 April 1365  
  - died 12 April 1383  
- Thomas de Neville, Kn., through Joan, his wife, da. of above  
  - to 14 March 1407  
- John Talbot, through Maud his wife, daughter of above  
  - from 14 March 1407

**Wardship of heir of Theobald de Verdon**
- Roger Damory  
  - from 24 January 1317  

**Constables**
- Thomas de Furnivall, P.P. (Before Livery)  
  - from 10 February 1328  

### CAVERSWALL

**History**
- licence to crenellate 7 November 1275  
- built early C14  

**Owners**
- William de Caverswell  
- licence to crenellate 7 November 1275  

### CHARTLEY

**History**
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mentioned 1192
rebuilt c.1220
siege 1264

Owners
Thomas de Ferrers
before 26 July 1276
Edmund, earl of Lancaster, king's brother
from 26 July 1276

Constables
Roger le Strange of Ellesmere, P.P.
to 6 May 1273
Richard de Clifford
from 6 May 1273
Bogo de Knovill
from 26 July 1276

DUDLEY

History
mentioned temp. Domesday
siege 1138
demolished 1174
rebuilt 1262
licensed 1263
finished early C14
modified C16
siege 1644, 1646

Owners
Roger de Somery
license to cren. 1263
to 26 August 1273
from 26 August 1273
to 11 October 1291
John de Somery, son of above, P.P.
from 11 October 1291
to 24 August 1326
John de Sutton (son of Richard de Sutton) & Margaret his wife, eldest sister of J. de Somery
from 26 November 1222
Hugh le Despenser, yng, P.P.
from 26 November 1222
12 October 1326
15 December 1326
John de Sutton (son of Richard de Sutton) & Margaret his wife, eldest sister of J. de Somery
from 29 March 1227
on 12 April 1327
John de Sutton of Dudley
away & back 28 May 1340
on 22 November 1359
John de Sutton, her great grandson
from 10 April 1397
on 4 March 1400
to 3 September 1406
John de Sutton, son of above
from 3 September 1406
Notes
Release by John de Sutton to Hugh le Despenser, yng
on 12 October 1326

Constables
William de Bermucham
from 15 December 1326
from 15 December 1326
to 9 April 1327
Henry de Bisshebury
from 6 March 1327
to 9 April 1327

ECCLESHALL
History
licence to crenellate 1200
seige 1264,1643

Owners
See of Lichfield & Coventry
licence to crenellate 1200
on 1 November 1317
on 16 November 1321
restored to 12 April 1322
See of Chester
on 6 May 1330
See of Lichfield & Coventry
void 2 June 1359
void 12 July 1359
void 12 August 1359

Wardships
Roger de Swynnerton
from 16 November 1321
on 6 March 1322
to 12 April 1322
Richard de Hampton, king's yeoman
from 2 June 1359
on 12 August 1359
Peter de la Hay
from 14 October 1385

Private Constables
Gilbert de Cottesmor
not by 12 July 1359

HEIGHLEY
History
mentioned 1227
built C13
demolished 1645

Tenant in chief
Theobald de Verdon
on 22 April 1276
on 25 December 1282
William de Betteleye
on 28 August 1299

Owners
Henry de Audley of Heighley
to 22 April 1276
William de Audley of Heighley, brother of above
from 22 April 1276

to 25 December 1282
Nicholas de Audley of Heighley, brother of above
from 25 December 1282

to 28 August 1299
Thomas de Audley of Heighley, son of above
from 28 August 1299

to 16 January 1308
Nicholas de Audley of Heighley, brother of above, P.P.
from 16 January 1308

to 6 December 1316
James de Audley of Heighley, son of above, P.P.
from 6 December 1316

on 10 December 1322

in August 1342

on 10 August 1352

on 17 September 1352

to 1 April 1386
Nicholas de Audley of Heighley, son of above, P.P.
from 1 April 1386

to 22 July 1391
John Tuchet, lord Audley, P.P.
from 20 May 1392

Ralph de Cammoys
from 10 December 1322

5 November 1324

5 November 1324

1 April 1386
1 April 1386
10 July 1322
3 July 1297
6 February 1292
3 July 1297
10 July 1322

NEWCASTLE UNDER LYME

History
built 1142-6

'not built' 3 July 1297

in repair to end C15

Owners
Edmund, earl of Lancaster

on 6 February 1292

not by 3 July 1297

Alice de Lacy

on 10 July 1322

Henry, duke of Lancaster

in March 1356

on 18 September 1359

to 23 March 1361

dead by 16 July 1361

Maud, his daughter

from 16 July 1361

to 14 May 1362
Leased to Sir Godfrey Foljaunbe

for life from 20 May 1362

John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster
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on 2 January 1381 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.970
on 3 January 1381 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.449

Private Constables
John de Rocheford
in March 1356 Somerville, p.362

Porter
Thomas de Hanselape
for life from 2 January 1381 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.970
on 3 January 1381 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.449

STAFFORD

History
destroyed pre. Domesday King, p.451
mentioned 1102 King, p.451
licence to crenellate 6 February 1348 C.P.R. 1348-1340, p.13
demolished 1643 King, p.451

Owners
Ralph Baron Stafford
licence to crenellate 6 February 1348 C.P.R. 1348-1340, p.13
Ralph, earl Stafford
to August 1372 I.P.M. XIII, no.210 (R.I.P.)
Hugh, earl of Stafford, son of above
from August 1372 I.P.M. XIII, no.210
to 16 October 1386 I.P.M. XVI, no.453 (R.I.P.)
Thomas, earl of Stafford
from 16 October 1386 I.P.M. XVI, no.453
to 4 July 1392 I.P.M. XVII, no.214 (R.I.P.)
William, brother of Thomas earl of Stafford
from 4 July 1392 I.P.M. XVII, no.214
to 6 April 1395 I.P.M. XVII, no.1261 (R.I.P.)
Edmund, earl of Stafford, brother of above
from 6 April 1395 I.P.M. XVII, no.1261
to 21 July 1403 I.P.M. XVIII, no.829 (R.I.P.)
Humphrey, son of above
from 21 July 1403 I.P.M. XVIII, no.829
Queen Joan
from 24 January 1404 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.347

Constables
Ralph Basset, P.P.
from 1 November 1317 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.344

Wardships
Minority of Thomas, earl of Stafford (1386-1389)
Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick & William Beauchamp & John lord Neville
from 25 February 1387 C.F.R. 1383-1391, p.173
Minority of William, Brother of Thomas earl of Stafford (1392-1395)
William de Walsall, esq.
from 19 July 1392 C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.124
Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester
from 24 July 1392 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.54
Minority of Edmund, earl of Stafford (1392-1399)
Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester
to 23 July 1397 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.219
Edward, earl of Rutland, future duke of York
from 23 July 1397 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.219
TAMWORTH

History

existed C11  
orders to destroy 1216  
siege 1644

Owners

Philip Marmion

on 19 June 1275  
to 5 December 1291
Joan de Moreteyn, daughter of above

to 3 January 1295  
13 August 1295
Alexander de Freville (From his wife Joan)

from 3 January 1295  
jointured 30 December 1323

to 18 March 1328
Joan de Freville, widow of Alexander

from 18 March 1328  
from 25 August 1328

to 27 October 1339
Baldwin de Freville, Kn., son of above

from 27 October 1339  
from 7 April 1340

to 4 November 1343
Baldwin de Freville, son of above

from 4 November 1343  
jointured 14 October 1346

to 23 March 1375
Baldwin de Freville, Kn., son of above

from 23 March 1375  
to 30 December 1387
Baldwin de Freville, Kn., son of above

from 30 December 1387  
to 4 October 1400
Baldwin, son of above

from 4 October 1400

Wardships

minority of Baldwin, son of Baldwin de Freville, 1387-1389

Thomas Grene

from 8 May 1388

TUTBURY

History

mentioned 1070  
siege 1174  
siege 1264  
siege 1322  
gate late C14  
two towers C15  
siege 1646

Owners

Robert de Ferrers

in 13 November 1278

Edmund, earl of Lancaster

on 5 May 1277  
on 13 November 1278

not by 3 July 1297
Confiscated from Lancaster

before 12 March 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.106
John of Eltham to hold after Edward II’s death from 9 July 1322 C.Ch.R. 1319-1327, p.448
Thomas. earl of Lancaster writ 5 February 1327 I.P.M. VII, no.82
Henry, earl of Lancaster heir on 5 February 1327 I.P.M. VII, no.82
on 23 April 1327 C.C.R. 1327-1330, p.78
Henry, duke of Lancaster on 16 March 1361 C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.575
John of Gaunt, earl of Lancaster from 1361 DL.27/242
from 18 November 1361 C.P.R. 1361-1364, p.118
on 10 July 1362 C.P.R. 1361-1364, p.232
on 11 January 1380 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.207
on 22 July 1381 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.570 & 987
on 23 July 1381 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.569
Henry Bolingbroke, future Henry IV on 18 October 1388 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.547

Constables

Ralph Basset of Drayton from 12 March 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.106
to 24 March 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.118
Roger Beier from 24 March 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.118
on 1 May 1322 C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.540
on 7 July 1322 C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.475
to 4 July 1323 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.220
John de Leke from 4 July 1323 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.220
on 11 September 1323 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.238
and from 16 April 1324 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.272
on 26 June 1325 C.C.R. 1323-1327, p.297
on 30 July 1325 C.C.R. 1323-1327, p.396
accounting 13 March 1327 C.M.R., no.77
Henry, earl of Lancaster from 7 December 1326 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.424
Walter Blount, kn. confirmed 26 April 1399 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p./547
on 21 January 1400 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.330 (For life)

Private Constables

Philip de Barrington in 1313-14 Somerville, p.352
to 1322 Somerville, p.352
Walter Blount, kn. for life from 8 January 1373 J.G.R. 1372-1376, no.606
on 11 January 1380 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.207
on 22 July 1381 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.570
from 18 October 1388 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p./547

Porter

John de Haytefeld from 22 July 1381 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.987
on 22 July 1381 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.570
on 23 July 1381 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.569

Chaplain

John de Tamworth dead by 19 February 1380 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.239
TYRLEY

History mentioned 1281 as incomplete King, p.452
Unknown Licenses
HERKESTEDE for Nicholas Bonde
12 April 1335  
C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.96
HUNTYNGFELD for Michael de la Pole, elder
27 April 1385  
C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.555
LE PONDE at HADDELEGH for Helming Leget
1 March 1371  
C.P.R. 1370-1374, p.54
SMALBRIGG in ST MARY BURES for Richard Walgrave
10 May 1384  
C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.410
STERNEFELD for Michael de la Pole, elder
27 April 1385  
C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.555

BUNGAY
History
built 1070  
King, p.456
keep mid C12  
King, p.456
siege 1140  
King, p.456
dismantled 1174  
King, p.456
licensed 20 April 1294  
C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.68
Owners
Roger le Bigod, earl of Norfolk
license 20 April 1294  
C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.68
Roger le Bigod, earl of Norfolk & Marshal
to 6 December 1306  
I.P.M. IV, no.434 (R.I.P.)
Crown, as has no heir
from 6 December 1306  
I.P.M. IV, no.434
Alice, widow of Roger le Bigod, as part of dower portion
from 20 February 1307  
C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.551
Thomas of Brotherton, earl of Norfolk
on 24 October 1317  
C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.504
Edward de Montague, P.P.
to 14 July 1361  
I.P.M. XI, no.140 (R.I.P.)
Joan, his da., and William de Ufford, her husband
from 14 July 1361  
I.P.M. XI, no.140
William de Ufford, earl of Suffolk
to 15 February 1382  
I.P.M. XV, no.605 (R.I.P.)
Margaret Marshal, countess of Norfolk, da. of Thomas of Brotherton
from 15 February 1382  
I.P.M. XV, no.605

CLARE
History
built C11  
King, p.457
mentioned 1314, 1319  
King, p.457
Owners
Gilbert de Clare
to 14 December 1295  
I.P.M. III, no.371 (R.I.P.)
Joan, widow of Gilbert Clare
to 1 May 1307  
I.P.M. IV, no.435 (R.I.P.)
Gilbert de Clare, son of above
from 1 May 1307  
I.P.M. IV, no.435
10 July 1314  
I.P.M. V, no.538 (R.I.P.)
Roger Damory, P.P., husband of Elizabeth., third daughter of above
from 15 November 1317  
I.P.M. VI, no.129
Elizabeth de Burgo
to 4 November 1360  
I.P.M. X, no.637 (R.I.P.)
John Bardolf, P.P. from Elizabeth da. of above, from 4 November 1360 I.P.M. X, no.637
Lionel, Duke of Clarence to 17 October 1368 I.P.M. XII, no.332 (R.I.P.)
Philippa, da. of above from 17 October 1368 I.P.M. XII, no.332
Edmund Mortimer, earl of March & Ulster to 27 December 1381 I.P.M. XV, no.555 (R.I.P.)
Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, son of above from 27 December 1381 I.P.M. XV, no.555 under age 21 January 1381 C.P.R., p.88 to 20 July 1398 I.P.M. XVII, no.1191 (R.I.P.)
Edmund de Mortimer, earl of March, son of above from 20 July 1398 L P. M XP71, no. 1191 on 16 October 1414 C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.291

Constables
John de Haustedc, P.P. from 19 November 1321 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.79 to 13 May 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.129
William Aylemer on 12 July 1371 C.P.R. 1370-1374, p.173 on 20 October 1373 C.P.R. 1370-1374, p.400

Private Constables
John de Toucester temp 1273-1274 Denholm-Young, p.42

Wardships
Minority of Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, 1381-1395
Adam Ramsey from 21 January 1381 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.88 Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, Roger de Mortimer, earl of March, John lord Neville & Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland from 16 December 1383 C.F.R. 1383-1391, p.22 minority Edmund de Mortimer, earl of March, 1398-1412

EYE
History built temp. Domesday King, p.457 mentioned temp. John King, p.457

Owners
Margaret, widow of Edmund, earl of Cornwall dower 12 February 1301 C.C.R. 1296-1302, p.426 Margaret, countess of Cornwall
Hugh de Audley, earl of Gloucester, husband of above
by
23 July 1318
C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.3
Royal
from
20 July 1319
C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.2
Queen Isabella
from
12 December 1332
C.H.R. 1327-1341, p.198
Robert de Ufford, earl of Suffolk
from
18 August 1339
C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.204
on
18 July 1340
C.C.R. 1339-1341, p.498
on
4 February 1348
C.P.R. 1348-1350, p.61
on
1 August 1348
C.P.R. 1348-1350, p.137
Robert de Ufford, earl of Suffolk
to
4 November 1369
I.P.M. XII, no.424 (R.I.P.)
William de Ufford, earl of Suffolk, son of above
from
4 November 1369
I.P.M. XII, no.424
I.P.M. XV, no.606 (R.I.P.)
Crown
prob. from
15 February 1382
I.P.M. XV, no.606
Queen Anne
for life from
24 May 1382
C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.125
C.P.R. 1366-1392, p.359
Michael de la Pole
forfeited before
5 January 1391
C.P.R. 1388-1392, p.359
Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk
dead by
12 July 1398
C.C.R. 1396-1399, p.318
Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, son of above
from
12 July 1398
C.C.R. 1396-1399, p.318
on
27 January 1405
J.Miss VII, no.316
C.C.R. 1413-1419, p.263
Elizabeth, widow of above
from
1 March 1416
C.C.R. 1413-1419, p.263
Constables
Roger de Morwode
from
28 November 1312
C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.152
Gilbert de Risheton
from
18 September 1313
C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.179
and from
20 June 1316
C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.284
Nicholas de Fayrford
from
6 July 1318
C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.365
Aymere de Boteville
from
16 October 1318
C.F.R. 1317-1321, p.218
John Stillego
on
12 April 1330
C.F.R. 1327-1330, p.512
on
12 December 1332
C.F.R. 1330-1334, p.378
Walter Fakoun
to
1 December 1330
C.F.R. 1330-1334, p.51
Bartholomew de Burgerssh, snr., P.P. & William de Cusaunce
to 26 March 1337 C.C.R. 1337-1339, p.60
Robert Bucton, esq for life from 29 September 1394 C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.495

Wardships

After the death of Michael de la Pole (1415-1416)
Robert Bolton and William Phelpyp & Thomas Erpyngham
from 8 December 1415 C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.383
to 1 February 1416 C.C.R. 1413-1419, p.263

FRAMLINGHAM

History
built c.1100 King, p.457
dismantled 1174-5 King, p.457
rebuilt c.1190 King, p.457
siege 1215 King, p.457
altered temp. Tudors King, p.457

Owners
Roger le Bigod, earl of Norfolk & Marshal to 6 December 1306 I.P.M. IV, no.434 (R.I.P.)
Crown, as has no heir from 6 December 1305 I.P.M. IV, no.434
Thomas, earl of Norfolk from 12 May 1338 C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.61 (And heirs)
on 22 April 1340 C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.506
dead by 1 August 1362 C.F.R. 1356-1368, p.218
Mary, Countess of Norfolk from 16 December 1338 C.C.R. 1337-1339, p.582
to 9 June 1362 I.P.M. XI, no.397 (R.I.P.)
William de Ufford, husband of Joan, second heir from 1 August 1362 C.F.R. 1356-1368, p.218
from 12 February 1363 C.C.R. 1360-1364, p.444
William de Ufford, earl of Suffolk to 15 February 1382 I.P.M. XV, no.605 (R.I.P.)
Margaret Marshal, Duchess of Norfolk, da. of Thomas de Brotherton, earl of Norfolk from 15 February 1382 I.P.M. XV, no.605
on 10 May 1382
on 1 April 1390

to 24 March 1399 I.P.M. XVII, no.258 (R.I.P.)
Thomas de Mowbray, earl Marshal, great grandson of above from 24 March 1399 I.P.M. XVII, no.258 (Age 14)
Elizabeth, widow of Thomas duke of Norfolk livery 10 July 1400 C.C.R. 1399-1402, p.165
to 5 December 1400 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.392
Thomas de Mowbray, earl Marshal, as two above from 5 December 1400 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.392 (Under age)
to 4 June 1405 I.P.M. XVIII, no.310 (R.I.P.)
forfeited by 12 June 1405 C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.26
Crown on 6 October 1405 C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.86
John de Mowbray, brother of above from 4 June 1405 I.P.M. XVIII, no.310

Constables
John de Thord to 18 March 1308 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.19
Walter de Muncy, P.P. from 18 March 1308 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.19
dead by 29 September 1308 G.E.C. IX, p.427
John de Thorpe to John Botetourt, P.P. from Simón Felbrigge, kn from confirmed Thomas Erpyngham, kn for life from on John Lancaster on Private Constables William atte Lee from confirmed Constables while in Crown hands after forfeiture of Thomas de Mowbray, earl Marshal Henry Prince of Wales from Wardships Wardship Elizabeth, widow of Thomas de Percy, ynr on Minority of Thomas de Mowbray, earl Marshal, 1399-1405 Thomas Erpyngham for life from on Thomas Erpyngham, king’s knight on METTINGHAM History licence to crenellate newly built abandoned Tenant in Chief John de Lynne, Clerk on Owners John de Norwich licence to crenellate died not by Margery, widow of above by John de Norwich, kn, grandson of above from to Katherine de Brews, his heir and kinswoman from to The Chantry of John de Norwich at Norton Soupeccers from
**ORFORD**

**History**
- built 1165-74
- surrendered 1216

**Owners**
- Queen Eleanor from 22 October 1275 to 9 September 1298
- Robert de Ufford, P.P. son of above from 9 September 1298 to 9 September 1316
- John de Sturmy from 20 April 1327 to 4 March 1327
- Robert de Ufford died 9 September 1316
- John de Sturmy on 20 April 1327 to 18 January 1331
- Robert de Ufford from 1 May 1330 to 9 September 1298
- Robert de Ufford from 1 May 1330 to 21 March 1336
- Robert de Ufford, earl of Suffolk from 4 November 1369 to 4 November 1369
- William de Ufford, earl of Suffolk, son of above from 4 November 1369 to 4 November 1369
- Michael de la Pole on 14 June 1382 to 23 February 1400
- Michael de la Pole on 14 June 1382 to 24 November 1403
- Michael de la Pole, son of above dead by 1 February 1416
- Elizabeth, widow of above from 1 February 1416 to 16 November 1416
- Robert de Willoughby, P.P. from 16 November 1416 to 16 November 1416

**Constables**
- Hugh de Digneton from 3 March 1274 to 15 May 1275
- Robert de Ufford from 15 May 1275 to 15 May 1275
- Richard de Holebrok from 17 May 1276 to 27 June 1280
- Robert de Ufford from 27 June 1280 to 27 June 1280
- Roger le Bigod, earl of Norfolk for life from 28 December 1280 to 28 December 1280
- for life from 4 October 1304 to 4 October 1304

**References**
- King, p.459
- C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.192
- I.P.M. III, no.469 (R.I.P.)
- G.E.C. XII (ii), p.150
- C.M.R., no.45
- C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.36
- C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.41
- C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.522
- C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.475
- I.P.M. XII, no.424 (R.I.P.)
- C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.659
- C.C.R. 1399-1402, p.49
- C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.331
- C.C.R. 1413-1419, p.263
- C.C.R. 1413-1419, p.263
- C.F.R. 1413-1422, p.180
- C.P.R. 1272-1279, p.161
- C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.89
- C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.89
- C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.141
- C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.141
- C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.384
- C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.421
- C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.261
- C.C.R. 1302-1307, p.177
Nicholas de Seagrave of Barton Seagrave, P.P. to 7 October 1315 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.262
William de Cleidon from 7 October 1315 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.262
John de Sturmy from 2 August 1317 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.337
and from 1 August 1318 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.371

Wardships
After the death of Michael de la Pole (1415-1416)
Robert Bolton and William Phelpyp & Thomas Erpyngham from 8 December 1415 C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.383
to 1 February 1416 C.C.R. 1413-1419, p.263

WINGFIELD

History licence to crenellate 27 April 1385 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.555

Owners Michael de la Pole, elder licence to crenellate 27 April 1385 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.555
Surrey

BETCHWORTH

History
licence to crenellate 26 July 1379 C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.380
destroyed c.1690 King, p.466

Owners
John de Arundel, Kn., P.P.
licence to crenellate 26 July 1379 C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.380

FARNHAM

History
built c.1138 King, p.465
dismantled 1156 King, p.465
modified C12 King, p.465
modified C13 King, p.465
modified C15 King, p.465
siege temp. Civil War King, p.465

Owners
Owned by Bishops of Winchester for entire period
on 29 January 1269 C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.579
void 6 August 1323 C.C.R. 1323-1327, p.132
on 5 January 1369 C.C.R. 1369-1374, p.502

GUILDFORD

History
mentioned 1173 King, p.465
siege 1216 King, p.465
into disrepair C14 King, p.465

Owners
Crown - Queen Eleanor
from 1272 to 1291 H.K.W. II, p.658
Crown - Queen Margaret
from 10 September 1299 C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.451
from 1299 H.K.W. II, p.658
confirmed 19 March 1310 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.216
to 1317 H.K.W. II, p.658
Crown - Queen Isabella
from 1327 H.K.W. II p.658
on 20 April 1327 C.M.R., no.49
to 1330 H.K.W. II p.658

Constables
Oliver de Burdega, king’s yeoman
on 25 September 1318 C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.11
on 30 September 1326 C.M.R., no.6
from 13 January 1331 C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.219
John de Brocas
for life from 20 November 1335 C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.464
Hugh Bouscy, with Surrey & Sussex
to 3 January 1342 C.F.R. 1337-1347, p.256
Andrew Peverel, with Surrey & Sussex
from 3 January 1342 C.F.R. 1337-1347, p.256
John de Brocas
on 28 June 1359 C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.235 (Keeper)
Andrew de Sakevyll, sheriff of Surrey & Sussex
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from 25 September 1367 C.P.R. 1367-1370, p.15
Robert Echyngham on 16 April 1391 C.P.R. 1388-1392, p.389 (Unwilling)

REIGATE

History
seige 1216 King, p.466
well maintained 1397 King, p.466

Owners
John de Warenne, earl of Surrey on 26 November 1302 C.C.R. 1302-1307, p.1
John de Warenne, earl of Surrey to king & back to 30 June 1347 C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.221
on 6 July 1346 I.P.M. IX, no.54 (R.I.P.)
on 12 December 1346 C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.221
on 30 June 1347 I.P.M. IX, no.54 (R.I.P.)
to 6 July 1347 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.39
Joan de Bar, widow of above jointure 24 August 1347 C.C.R. 1346-1349, p.314
Richard earl of Arundel granted reversion 12 December 1346 C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.221
from 30 June 1347 I.P.M. IX, no.54
on 23 January 1366 C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.221
on 12 April 1366 C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.221
Richard, earl of Arundel, son of above on 19 November 1386 C.R. 1391-1399, p.219
to 1397 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.467 (Tail male)

Seized by King
on 14 July 1397 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.219
John de Holland, earl of Huntingdon, duke of Exeter from 15 January 1399 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.467 (Tail male)

Constables while in Kings hands
William de Arundel from 13 July 1397 C.C.R. 1396-1399, p.138
from 14 July 1397 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.219
from 27 July 1397 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.175
for life from 7 October 1397 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.207 (+Porter)
for life from 23 February 1398 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.289
on 20 May 1398 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.354
John Fethcre of Reigate, gentilman on 18 April 1415 I.Misc IV, no.367

STERBOROUGH

History
licence to crenellate 18 October 1341 C.P.R. 1340-1343, p.304
mentioned 1370

Owners
Reynold de Cobham of Sterborough, P.P. licence to crenellate 18 October 1341 C.P.R. 1340-1343, p.304
died 5 October 1361 G.E.C. III, p.353
Reynold de Cobham, Lord Sterborough, P.P. inherited 5 October 1361 G.E.C. III, p.353
seisen 5 February 1370 G.E.C. III, p.353
on 18 June 1404 C.C.R. 1405-1409, p.469
Sussex

Unknown Licenses

BATTLE ABBEY for The Abbot

9 June 1338

C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.92

BURNE for Matthias de Monte Martini

24 April 1307

C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.522

DACHESHAM for Thomas Tregoz, P.P.

30 September 1329

C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.495

LA MOTE for Edmund de Passeye

10 December 1318

C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.255

PERCHYNG for Robert de Arderne

25 January 1329

C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.357

PETTEWORTH for Henry de Percy

4 October 1308

C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.144

AMBERLEY

History

licence to crenellate

10 December 1377

C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.76

Owners

Bishop of Chichester

licence to crenellate

10 December 1377

C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.76

ARUNDEL

History

mentioned

1071

King, p.469

siege

1102,1139

King, p.469

modified

C11 or early C12

King, p.469

modified

1295?

King, p.469

Owners

John son of Arundel

dead by

8 August 1282

C.P.R. 1281-1292, p.32

Richard fitz Alan, earl of Arundel

on

2 June 1285

C.P.R. 1281-1292, p.169

to

15 January 1302

I.P.M. IV, no.90 (R.I.P.)

Edmund, earl of Arundel, son of above

from

15 January 1302

I.P.M. IV, no.90

Before

26 Feb. 1327

C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.332

Edmund de Woodstock, earl of Kent

from

27 February 1327

C.Ch.R. 1300-1326, p.4

from

26 Feb. 1327

C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.332

forfeited by

20 March 1330

C.C.R. 1330-1333, p.14

dead by

20 December 1330

I.P.M. VII, no.300 (R.I.P.)

Queen Isabella

for life from

3 April 1330

C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.519

Richard, earl of Arundel

from

16 October 1331

C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.194

on

4 June 1336

C.C.R. 1333-1337, p.679

on

19 March 1337

C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.406

jointured

1 March 1347

C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.328

foot of fine

10 June 1347

'Feet of fines relating to Wiltshire'

Wiltshire Record Society 29 (1973), no.334

away & back

24 June 1345

C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.487

on

22 October 1353

C.P.R. 1350-1354, p.524

on

25 October 1354

C.P.R. 1354-1358, p.131

foot of fine

2 November 1354

'Feet of fines relating to Wiltshire'

Wiltshire Record Society 29 (1973), no.421

Richard, earl of Arundel
Forfeited by 24 October 1397
Seized by King on 13 July 1397
John, duke of Exeter from 28 September 1397

Constables
Robert Aguilon on 8 September 1272
William de Hevere from 28 October 1274
to 7 November 1275
John de Wauton from 7 November 1275
to 13 December 1276
Ralph de Sandwich from 13 December 1276
Henry de Novo Burgo / Heuburg on 29 July 1278
to 25 March 1279
Emery de Chaunceus / Cancellis from 25 March 1279
Edmund de Woodstock, earl of Kent on 2 December 1236

Constable while in Kings hands
Robert de Aguillon on 8 September 1272
Roger atte Assh from 16 March 1330
on 20 March 1330	on 28 April 1330	on 8 December 1330
John, earl of Huntingdon, duke of Exeter from 13 July 1397
from 7 August 1397
on 29 September 1397
John Assheburnharn on 30 August 1403

Wardships
minority of Richard fitzAlan, earl of Arundel, -1288
Henry de Novo Burgo from 29 July 1278
Emeric de Cancellis from 25 March 1279
to 27 May 1280
Isabella widow of John son of Alan from 27 May 1280
Isabella de Mortimer to Edmund de Mortimer from 8 August 1282
Isabella de Mortimer to R. bishop of Bath & Wells from 2 June 1285

BODIAM
History

- licence to crenellate: 1386, King, p.469
- siege: 1483, King, p.469

Owners

- Edward Dalyngrugge, licence to crenellate: 21 October 1385, C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.42
- John Dalyngrugge, kn
- granted away: 25 January 1396, C.C.R. 1392-1396, p.499
- on: 3 May 1398, C.C.R. 1396-1399, p.341

BRAMBER

History

- mentioned: 1073, King, p.470
- out of repair: late C14, King, p.470
- siege: 1643, King, p.470

Owners

- William de Brewose, Kn., P.P.
  - on: 21 March 1291, C.C.R. 1281-1292, p.195
  - to crown for life: 5 September 1324, C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.21
  - Crown by: 5 September 1324, C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.21
  - John de Mowbray of Axholme, P.P. through his wife Aline, eldest da. of William de Braose
    - to: 4 October 1361, I.P.M. XI, no.144 (R.I.P.)
    - John de Mowbray of Axholme, P.P. son of above from 4 October 1361 I.P.M. XI, no.144
    - dead by: 28 April 1369, C.P.R. 1367-1370, p.240
    - dead by: 3 May 1369, C.F.R. 1369-1377, p.8
    - to: 17 June 1368, I.P.M. XII, no.397 (R.I.P.)
  - John de Mowbray of Axholme, earl of Nottingham, earl of Nottingham
    - from: 17 June 1368, I.P.M. XII, no.397
    - died 1383
  - Thomas de Mowbray, duke of Norfolk
    - on: 16 September 1398, I.Misc VI, no.390
    - to: 22 September 1399, I.P.M. XVII, no.288
  - Thomas de Mowbray, earl Marshall, son of above
    - from: 22 September 1399, I.P.M. XVII, no.288
    - to: 4 June 1405, I.P.M. XVIII, no.300 (R.I.P.)
    - forfeited by: 11 June 1405, C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.26
  - John de Mowbray, brother of above
    - from: 4 June 1405, I.P.M. XVIII, no.300

Wardships

- Minority of John Mowbray of Axholme, earl of Nottingham, 1368-1383
  - Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland on 5 November 1378, C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.293

Minority of Thomas de Mowbray, earl Marshal (1399-1405)

- Thomas Tutbury
  - from: 1 November 1399, C.F.R. 1399-1405, p.29
  - Richard Burgh, John de Lancaster, John Lewes, Richard fitz Nicholl, John Rome, John Staverton,
    - Thomas Burham
    - from: 10 May 1403, C.F.R. 1399-1405, p.209

After death of Thomas de Mowbray, earl Marshal

- John Dalyngrugge
  - from: 11 June 1405, C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.26
  - dead by: 6 October 1408, C.P.R. 1408-1413, p.3
  - Richard Fitz Nichol
    - from: 6 October 1408, C.P.R. 1408-1413, p.3

Minority of John, brother of Thomas de Mowbray, earl Marshal
Nicholas Ledewichh, Richard Steresacre & John Wilcotes
from 12 March 1410 C.F.R. 1405-1413, p.200

Constables for the Mowbrays
John de Derby
from 20 February 1362 C.P.R. 1367-1370, p.240
confirmed 28 April 1369 C.C.R. 1369-1374, p.253
on 8 October 1371
Richard fitz Nichol
temp 1404 C.P.R. 1408-1413, p.3

HASTINGS
History
built 1066 King, p.471
modified 1171-83 King, p.471
modified early C13 King, p.471
to clergy 1331 King, p.471
siege 1339 King, p.471
burgled before 30 March 1343 C.P.R. 1343-1345, p.79

Constables
William de Dover
to 8 April 1301 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.440
Stephen Sprot
from 8 April 1301 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.440
on 9 April 1301 C.C.R. 1296-1302, p.442
Richard de Elsefeld
from 2 November 1312 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.152
10 August 1325 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.357
Robert de Holden
from 10 August 1325 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.357
William de Percy
from 6 July 1339 C.P.R. 1337-1347, p.271

Chapel
Edmund de London
on 15 September 1321 C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.24

LEWES
History
mentioned temp. Domesday King, p.472

Owners
John de Warenne, earl of Surrey
to king & back 1 July 1316 C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.483
on 6 July 1316 Ancient Deeds vol. III, A.5917
on 4 June 1336 C.C.R. 1333-1337, p.679
on 12 December 1346 C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.221
12 December 1346 I.P.M. IX, no.54 (R.I.P.)
to 30 June 1347 C.F.R. 1347-1356, p.39
dead by 6 July 1347
Richard earl of Arundel
granted reversion 12 December 1346 C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.221
30 June 1347 I.P.M. IX, no.54
Jean de Bars, widow of Warenne
jointure 24 August 1347 C.C.R. 1346-1349, p.314
Richard, earl of Arundel
on 23 January 1366 C.P.R. 1364-1367, p.198 (Granted out..)
on 12 April 1366 C.P.R. 1364-1367, p.237 (.and back)
Richard, earl of Arundel, son of above
on 9 July 1381 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.73
on 20 February 1383 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.259
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on 19 November 1386 I.Misc IV, no.367
Thomas de Mowbray, earl Marshal, earl of Nottingham from 28 September 1397 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.220 (Tail Male)
John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, duke of Exeter from 23 September 1398 C.P.R. 1396-1399, pp. 421 & 458 (Tail Male)

Constables
Thomas de Mowbray, earl of Nottingham from 26 July 1397 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.175
to 28 September 1397 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.220

PEVENSEY

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mentioned 1130 King, p.473
siege 1147 King, p.473
destroyed? 1216 King, p.473
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modified mid C13 King, p.473
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Owners
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confirmed 19 March 1310
Queen Isabel on 20 April 1327 C.M.R., no.49
Queen Philippa on 12 March 1339 C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.208
on 25 August 1351 C.P.R. 1364-1367, p.9
on 19 July 1364 C.P.R. 1364-1367, p.9
John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster from 25 June 1372 Charters of the Duchy of Lancaster,
on 3 December 1372 W. Hardy, London, 1845, p.28
on 1376-7 J.G.R. 1372-1376, no.205
Somerville p.380
on 21 May 1379 Somerville p.380
on 22 June 1380 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.1099
on 3 December 1381 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.1106
on 6 October 1395 Somerville p.380
Katherine, widow of John of Gaunt from 9 March 1398 C.C.R. 1396-1399, p.365
from 9 March 1399 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.516

Constables
Walter de Berstan to 8 June 1294 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.339
to 8 June 1294 C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.71
from 8 June 1294 C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.71
Robert de Kendal to 13 August 1312 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.485
Robert de Sapy from 27 July 1312 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.141
from 13 August 1312 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.485
on 1 November 1317 C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.505
for life from 3 October 1319 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.5
on 26 March 1322 C.C.R. 1319-1323, p.429
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Henry Romyn (For Queen) on 30 September 1326. C.M.R., no.6  
Henry Romyn (For Queen) on 3 July 1336. C.C.R. 1333-1337, p.601
John de Saham, queens yeoman, (For Queen) from 12 March 1339. C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.208
confirmed 10 January 1352. C.P.R. 1350-1354, p.195
Nicholas de Lovaigne for life from 19 July 1364. C.P.R. 1364-1367, p.9 (For Queen)
Roger Newent on 26 June 1372. C.P.R. 1370-1374, p.183
John Pelham on 15 July 1396. C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.14
John Pelham on 7 October 1405. C.C.R. 1405-1409, p.2
John Pelham on 27 May 1422. C.C.R. 1419-1422, p.242

Private Constables
Nicholas Loveyne to 3 December 1372. J.G.R. 1372-1376, no.1110
John de Colepeper, esq. from 3 December 1372. J.G.R. 1372-1376, no.1110
from 3 December 1372. J.G.R. 1372-1376, no.205
on 1376-6. Somerville p.380
on 21 May 1379. Somerville p.380
not by 22 June 1380. J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.1099
William Batesford from 22 June 1380. J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.1099
John de Colepeper for life from 3 December 1381. J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.1106
Roger Newent on 8 July 1389
John Pelham on 6 October 1395. Somerville p.380

Guards
William de Fyenes & William de Batteston on 22 June 1381. C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.72

Porter
John de Winchester for life from 13 August 1372. J.G.R. 1372-1376, no.452

SEDGEWICK
History
built C11  
licensed 1258,62  
modified C13  
mentioned 1263  

Owners
John Mansel license to cren. 1258, 1262  
John le Savage to 1272  
William de Brawose II, peaceful exchange with above from 1272  
died 1290  
William de Brawose III from 1290


King, p.474
ibid.
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Brawose family to Sixteenth Century

1326?

ibid.
Warwickshire

Unknown Licenses
LANGELE for Edmund de Bereford, king's clerk
7 October 1327 \textit{C.P.R. 1327-1330}, p.179

ASTLEY
History licensed 1266 King, p.480

ASTON CANTLOW
History mentioned 1274 King, p.481

BAGINTON
History mentioned 1398 King, p.481
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 Owners
Sir William Bagot in 1398 King, p.487, n.4

BEAUDESERT
History mentioned 1141 King, p.481
rebuilt 1262 King, p.481
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licensed 16 September 1306 \textit{C.P.R. 1301-1307}, p.462

Tenant in Chief
William de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick on 11 May 1296 \textit{I.P.M. III}, no.364
Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick foot of fine 20 October 1361 ‘Feet of fines relating to Wiltshire’ \textit{Wiltshire Record Society 29} (1973), no.495 \textit{I.P.M. XII}, no.326 (R.I.P.)
to 13 November 1369
Thomas de Beauchamp, son of above from 13 November 1369 \textit{I.P.M. XII}, no.326

Owners
John de Montfort, P.P. to 11 May 1296 \textit{I.P.M. III}, no.364 (From Beauchamp)
John de Montfort, son of above, P.P. from 11 May 1296 \textit{I.P.M. III}, no.364
\textit{died} 24 June 1314 \textit{G.E.C. IX}, p.128
Walter de Langeton, bishop of Lichfield & Warwick license to cren. 16 September 1306 \textit{C.P.R. 1301-1307}, p.462
Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick on 29 July 1361 \textit{C.P.R. 1361-1364}, p.48
Peter de Montfort, P.P. son of John de Montfort above from 1350 ‘Feet of fines relating to Wiltshire’ \textit{Wiltshire Record Society 29} (1973), no.495 \textit{I.P.M. XII}, no.326 (For life)
\textit{died} 24 January 1369/70 \textit{G.E.C. IX}, p.128
Baldwin de Freville, K.n., to 23 March 1375 \textit{I.P.M. XIV}, no.136 (R.I.P.)
Baldwin de Freville, son of above
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from 23 March 1375 I.P.M. XIV, no.136
William Beauchamp, lord of Abergavenny, P.P.
for life to 8 May 1411 I.P.M. XIX, no.846 (JB)
Richard de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick
on 7 June 1412 I.Misc VII, no.434

BRANDON

History
mentioned temp. Stephen, 1195 King, p.481
keep early C13, burnt c.1265
T. in C.
Guy de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick
on 28 August 1309 I.P.M. V, no.187

Owners
Theobald de Verdon, P.P.
to 28 August 1309 I.P.M. V, no.187 (R.I.P.)
Theobald de Verdon, P.P. son of above
from 28 August 1309 I.P.M. V, no.187

CALUDON

History
licence to crenellate 2 February 1305 C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.314
a fortalice surrounded by water
12 December 1325 I.P.M. VI, no.700

Owners
John de Seagrave elder, P.P.
licence to crenellate 2 February 1305 C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.314
Stephen de Seagrave, son of above
to 12 December 1325 I.P.M. VI, no.700 (R.I.P.)
John de Seagrave, son of above
from 12 December 1325 I.P.M. VI, no.700

CASTLE BROMWICH

History
modified C14 King, p.482

FILLONGLEY

History
licence to crenellate 2 February 1301 C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.564
a fortalice 27 January 1325 I.P.M. VI, no.612

Owners
John de Hastings, P.P.
licence to crenellate 2 February 1301 C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.564
died 1313 G.E.C. I, p.23
John de Hastings, son of above, P.P.
inherited 1313 G.E.C. I, p.23
to 27 January 1325 I.P.M. VI, no.612 (R.I.P.)
Laurence de Hastings, son of above
heir on 27 January 1325 I.P.M. VI, no.612
Juliana, widow of John de Hastings
dower 23 September 1325 C.C.R. 1323-1327, p.404

Minority of Laurence, son & heir of John de Hastings, 1325-1341
Roger de Mortimer, earl of March
from 29 July 1330 C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.546
KENILWORTH

History
mentioned temp. Henry I King, p.482
built C12 King, p.482
modified 1203-16 King, p.482
modified late C14 King, p.482
ruined temp. Civil War King, p.482

Owners
Edmund, earl of Lancaster not by 3 July 1297 I.P.M. III, no.423 (R.I.P.)
Thomas, earl of Lancaster confiscated 12 March 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.107
writ 5 February 1327 I.P.M. VII, no.82
Henry, earl of Lancaster heir of 5 February 1327 I.P.M. VII., no.82
Henry, duke of Lancaster on 18 September 1359 C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.264
to 23 March 1361 I.P.M. XI, no.118 (R.I.P.)
dead by 16 July 1361 C.F.R. 1356-1368, p.164
John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster from 16 July 1361 C.F.R. 1356-1368, p.164
on 10 July 1362 C.P.R. 1356-1364, p.232
on 11 January 1380 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.208
on 4 December 1380 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.1083
on 26 March 1381 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.486
on 4 February 1382 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.1110
on 11 February 1382 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.668
on 18 April 1383 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.880
on 1388/9 Somerville p.371
on 8 July 1391 C.P.R. 1388-1392, p.449

King's Stewards
John de Somery & Ralph Basset of Drayton from 12 March 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.107
Humphrey de Waleden & Richard de Ikene from 8 March 1324 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.259
Richard de Wynferthyng & Richard de Ikene from 20 August 1324 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.295

Constable
Randolf Charun from 16 March 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.109
on 2 August 1322 C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.586
to 23 January 1323 C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.240
John de Hastings, P.P. to Easter from 23 January 1323 C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.240 (Keeper)
Randolf Charun to 11 March 1324 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.259
Odo de Stoke from 11 March 1324 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.259
on 12 February 1326 C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.241 (Eudo)

Private Constables
Richard de Wandeshaf before 26 November 1281 Somerville, p.347
Walter de Bath from October 1298 Maddicott, p.340
Edmund de Wasteneys
in September 1307 Maddicott, p.340
Ralph de Schepeye
in 1313/14 Somerville, p.350
Hugh Cuilly
before August 1322 Maddicott, p.340
John Deyncourt (for Lancaster)
on 11 January 1380 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.208 (Esq.)
on 11 February 1382 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.668
on 18 April 1383 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.880
on 1388/9 Somerville p.371
on 8 July 1391 C.P.R. 1388-1392, p.449
Lieutenant
John Herley
on 18 April 1383 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.880
Keeper of outlying woods
Rande de Tynneslœwe
on 11 February 1382 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.668
on 18 April 1383 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.880
Surveyor of works
John Herley
on 4 December 1380 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.1083 (Fee 10 marks/year)
on 26 March 1381 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.486
on 11 Febr 1382 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.668
William Hales
from 4 February 1382 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.1110

KINGSBURY

History
built C14 King, p.483

MAXSTOKE

History
licence to crenellate 12 February 1345 C.P.R. 1343-1345, p.444
Tenants in Chief
John Dodyngselles, Kn.
to 4 December 1403 I.P.M. XVIII, no.902 (R.I.P.)
Edward, son of above
from 4 December 1403 I.P.M. XVIII, no.902
Owners
William de Clinton
licence to crenellate 12 February 1345 C.P.R. 1343-1345, p.444
John de Clinton, nephew of above, P.P.
from 12 February 1345 C.P.R. 1343-1345, p.444
on 24 October 1357 C.P.R. 1354-1358, p.651
on 7 June 1359 C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.226
on 15 July 1369 C.P.R. 1367-1370, p.290
on 29 January 1370 C.P.R. 1367-1370, p.358
to 6 September 1398 I.P.M. XVII, no.1140 (R.I.P.)
William de Clinton, grandson of above, P.P.
heir 6 September 1398 I.P.M. XVII, no.1140
holds reversion 4 December 1403 I.P.M. XVIII, no.902
Elizabeth, widow of above, wife of John Russell
on 12 February 1399 C.C.R. 1396-1399, p.433
on 4 December 1403 I.P.M. XVIII, no.902 (R.I.P.)

Notes
Broken into by Alex Ferour, Monday after close of Easter 30 Edw III (1356), pardoned 24 October 1357

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RAGLEY

**History**
- pardon for crenellating: 8 December 1381

**Owners**
- John Rous: licence to crenellate: 8 December 1381

WARWICK

**History**
- built: 1068
- modified: late C14
- modified: 1483-5
- siege: temp. Civil War

**Owners**
- William de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick: to 12 June 1298
  - Guy de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, son of above: from 12 June 1298 to 16 August 1315
  - Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, son of above: from 16 August 1315 jointured: 24 April 1344
    - foot of fine: 29 May 1344 to 13 November 1369
  - Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, son of above: from 13 November 1369 to 7 February 1370 on: 13 November 1387 on: 10 May 1393
- Thomas, earl of Kent: from 28 September 1397 to 28 September 1397
- Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick: to 8 April 1401
- Richard de Beauchamp, son of above: from 8 April 1401

In wardship for Beauchamps

Minority of Thomas de Beauchamp (1315-1335)
- Walter de Beauchamp: on: 10 June 1317 on: 1 November 1317 to: 9 June 1321
- William de Sutton: from: 9 June 1321
- John Pecche: from: 6 November 1321 on: 23 July 1326
- Thomas le Blount: from: 25 July 1326 to: 18 October 1326
- Peter de Montfort: from: 18 October 1326

Minority of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick (aged 19 in 1401)
- Thomas de Aldebury & William Beauchamp of Abergavenny & John Owdeby: from: 12 May 1401
Conostales
John de Clinton
from 3 August 1397 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.176

Under Constable
William de Sniton
on 4 March 1322 C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.520

WOOLEY

History
licence to crenellate 1264 King, p.485
slighted early C14 King, p.485

Owners
Roger de Somery
licence to crenellate 1264 King, p.485
John Buttetourt, kn.
to 4 April 1386 I.P.M. XVI, no.205
Hugh Burnell, kn. & Joyce his wife, daughter of above?
from 4 April 1386 I.P.M. XVI, no.205
away & back 22 May 1386 C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.149
Joyce, wife of Hugh Burnell, Kn.
to 1 January 1407 I.P.M. XIX, no.264 (R.I.P.)
Hugh Burnell, above, kn., husband of Joyce, P.P.
from 1 January 1407 I.P.M. XIX, no.264
livery 10 May 1407 C.C.R. 1405-1409, p.204
APPLEBY

History
mentioned 1130  King, p.489
sieve 1174  King, p.489
modified late 12th cty.  King, p.489
modified 12th and 13th cty.  King, p.489
rebuilt 15th cty.  King, p.489

Owners
Roger de Clifford, kn
on 3 January 1280  I.Misc I, no.1207
Isabel de Clifford, d. & heir of Robert de Veneri Ponti
to 14 May 1292  I.P.M. III, no.70 (R.I.P.)
Robert de Clifford, son of above, P.P.
from 14 May 1292  I.P.M. III, no.70
to 28 July 1314  I.P.M. V, no.533 (R.I.P.)
Roger de Clifford, son of above, P.P.
from 28 July 1314  I.P.M. V, no.533
forfeited 8 February 1322  C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.94
Robert de Clifford, brother of above, P.P.
restored 12 February 1327  I.P.M. VII, no.77
on 24 May 1327  I.P.M. VII, no.77
to 20 May 1344  I.P.M. VIII, no.531 (R.I.P.)
Roger de Clifford, son of above
heir on 20 May 1344  I.P.M. VIII, no.531
 died 1345  G.E.C. III, p.292
Roger de Clifford, Kn., brother of above, P.P.
Inherited 1345  G.E.C. III, p.292
of age c.1354  G.E.C. III, p.292
Inherited 1373  I.P.M. XVI, no.836 (R.I.P.)
Thomas de Clifford, Kn., son of above, P.P.
from 13 July 1389  I.P.M. XVI, no.836
To 4 October 1391  I.P.M. XVI, no.13
John lord Clifford, son of above, P.P.
From 4 October 1391  I.P.M. XVI, no.13
On 7 May 1415  C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.320
Died 13 March 1421/2  G.E.C. III, p.293
Thomas de Clifford, son of above, P.P.
Inherited 13 March 1421/2  G.E.C. III, p.293
Of age c.1435  G.E.C. III, p.293
Died 22 May 1455  G.E.C. III, p.293

Private Constables
Geoffrey de Melkengthorp
On 3 January 1280  I.Misc I, no.1207

Constables while in Royal hands
Walter de Stirkeland
From 31 October 1322  C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.182
To 30 December 1322  C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.193
Anthony de Lucy, P.P.
From 30 December 1322  C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.193
To 3 July 1323  C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.218
Patrick de Colewenn
From 3 July 1323  C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.218
Henry de Wardecop
To 22 May 1324  C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.278
Henry de Threlkeld
From 22 May 1324  C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.278
Wardships

minority of Roger de Clifford, 1345-1355
William de Langwathby
from 17 March 1345
C.F.R. 1337-1347, p.412

ASBY

History
built C14
King, p.490

ASKHAM HALL

History
built C14
King, p.490
burnt c.1326
King, p.490

Owners
Owned by Sanfords
from 1375
R.C.H., p.21

BEETHAM NO. 2 (HAZELSLACK TOWER)

History
built C14
King, p.490

BEWLEY

History
built C14
King, p.490

Owners
Bishops of Carlisle
Period R.C.H., p.43

BROUGH (BURGH UNDER STAYNESMORE)

History
walled C11
King, p.491
keep C12
King, p.491
modified C13, C14
King, p.491

Owners
Roger de Leybourne
to 21 February 1284
I.P.M. II, no.525 (R.I.P.)
Idoea, widow of above
from 21 February 1284
I.P.M. II, no.525
Robert de Clifford, P.P.
to 28 July 1314
I.P.M. V, no.533 (R.I.P.)
Matilda or Maud, widow of above
from 27 September 1314
I.P.M. VÍ, no.52 (R.I.P.)
to 24 May 1327
C.C.R. 1313-1318, p.117
Robert de Clifford III, P.P.
from 24 May 1327
I.P.M. VII, no.52
to 20 May 1344
I.P.M. VIII, no.531 (R.I.P.)
Robert de Clifford, son of above
heir on 20 May 1344
I.P.M. VIII, no.531
died 1345
G.E.C. III, p.292
Isabel, widow of Robert Clifford III
to 25 July 1362
C.P.R. 1361-1364, p.312
Roger de Clifford, Kn., her son, P.P.
to 13 July 1389
I.P.M. XVI, no.836 (R.I.P.)
Thomas de Clifford, Kn., son of above, P.P.
from 13 July 1389
I.P.M. XVI, no.836
to 4 October 1391
I.P.M. XVI, no.13
Elizabeth, mother of John de Clifford, widow of Thomas

Constables
Sir Ralph fitz William, P.P.

Private Constable for the Cliffords
Robert de Clitheroe (from context)

Robert de Crakanthorpe (from source)

BROUGHAM

History

keep late C12
licence to crenellate 1309 C. Ch. W. 1244-1326, p.291
modified C13, C14 King, p.491

Owners
Robert de Clifford, P.P.

Roger de Clifford, P.P. son of above

Robert de Clifford, brother of above, P.P.

Robert de Clifford

heir on 20 May 1344 I.P.M. VIII, no.531 G.E.C. III, p.292

died 1345

Roger de Clifford, Kn., P.P.

inherited 1345 G.E.C. III, p.292

to 13 July 1389 I.P.M. XVI, no.836 (R.I.P.)

Thomas de Clifford, Kn., son of above

reversion to 4 October 1391 I.P.M. XVI, no.13

Maud, Widow of Roger Clifford, Kn.

on 4 October 1391 I.P.M. XVI, no.13

to 28 February 1403 I.P.M. XVIII, no.779 (R.I.P.)

John de Clifford, her grandson, P.P.

HARTLEY (HARCLA)

History

licence to crenellate 4 October 1353 C.P.R. 1350-1354, p.493

Tenant in Chief
Clifford family

Owners
Thomas de Musgrave, P.P.

licence to crenellate 4 October 1353 C.P.R. 1350-1354, p.493
HOWGILL

History
built C14 King, p.492

KENDAL

History
mentioned 1216 King, p.492
modified C13 or C14 King, p.492

Owners
Peter de Bruce
dead by 16 December 1272 C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.4
Robert de Ros of Wark
from 16 December 1272 to 20 April 1274 C.C.R. 1272-1279, p.4
Margaret, his wife, daughter of Peter de Bruce
from 20 April 1274 to 20 August 1297 I.P.M. II, no.70 (R.I.P.)
William de Ros of Kendal, her son
from 20 August 1297 to 12 March 1310 C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.304
Thomas de Ros of Kendal
from 12 March 1310 to 1391 I.P.M. V, no.218 (R.I.P.)
William de Parr, husband of Elizabeth, granddaughter of above
from 1391 to 1405 Curwen, pp.84-5
John de Par, son of above
from 1405 to 1408 Curwen, pp.84-5
Agnes, widow of above
from 13 January 1409 to I.P.M. XIX, 667 (One tower)
Thomas del Par, son of John and Agnes above
from 1408 to 1464 Curwen, pp.84-5

KENTMERE

History
built C14 King, p.492

LAMMERSIDE

History
built C14 King, p.493
Late C14 peel tower, probably part of larger building R.C.H. p.240

PENDRAGON

History
tower C12 King, p.493
mentioned 1228 King, p.493
licence to crenellate 1309 C.Ch.W. 1244-1326, p.291
destroyed 1341?, 1541? King, p.493
restored 1660 King, p.493

Owners
Roger de Leybourne
to 21 February 1284 I.P.M. II, no.525 (R.I.P.)
Idonea, widow of above from 21 February 1284 to Robert de Clifford, P.P. Licence to crenellate 1309 to 28 July 1314 to Roger de Clifford, son of above, P.P. from 28 July 1314 to 28 July 1322 to Robert de Clifford, brother of above, P.P. from 12 February 1327 to 24 May 1327 to 20 May 1344 to Roger de Clifford, Kn., P.P. Inherited 1345 to 13 July 1389 to Thomas de Clifford, Kn. (R.I.P.), son of above, P.P. from 13 July 1389 to 1392 (R.I.P.) to John de Clifford, son of above, P.P. from 4 October 1391 to grandmother) to 13 March 1421/2 to Constables while in Royal hands Anthony de Lucy, P.P. from 8 July 1323 to Thomas de Synythwayt from 8 July 1323 to 20 May 1324 to Robert de Welle from 20 May 1324 to SIZERGH History built late C14 to probably built c.1340 to Owners Strickland family from C13 to from 1239 to C17 (At least) to STRICKLAND ROGER History built C14 to Owners Burnesheads then Bellinghams to temp period R.C.H., p.223 to YANWORTH HALL History built C14, poss 1322 to Owners John de Sutton R.C.H., p.250 to Threlkeld family temp early fifteenth century R.C.H., p.250
Wiltshire

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FALLARDESTON for Nicholas Benton
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CASTLE EATON
History
licence to crenellate 28 May 1311 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.361

Owners
Nicholas de Seymour licence to crenellate 28 May 1311 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.361

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Owners
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from Queen Margaret 1299 H.K.W. II, p.627
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on 12 March 1308 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.51
confirmed 19 March 1310 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.216
Queen Isabella from 5 March 1318 C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.115
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from 1 August 1318 C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.201
on 10 February 1319 C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.57
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on 5 December 1321 C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.40
on 20 April 1327 C.M.R., no.51
Queen Philippa from 1 January 1331 C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.55
on 20 July 1335 C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.206
on 25 October 1340 C.P.R. 1337-1381, p.182
on 26 May 1344 C.P.R. 1343-1345, p.270
on 20 June 1344 C.P.R. 1348-1350, p.571
on 2 October 1350
Queen Anne on 4 May 1372 C.P.R. 1370-1374, p.207
on 22 October 1372 C.C.R. 1381-1385, p.192
for life from 16 November 1382 C.C.R. 1381-1385, p.329
on 15 October 1383 C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.4
on 29 August 1385 J.Misc VII, no.315
'held' 27 January 1405
Queen Joan from 1 June 1405 C.C.R. 1402-1405, p.455
from 20 May 1408 C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.438
to 1437 H.K.W. II, p.628
Crown to C16  

**Constables**

**Philip Basset**
- on 6 January 1270
- on 15 October 1270

**John de Havering, P.P.**
- to 8 December 1275

**Ralph de Sandwich**
- from 8 December 1275

**Walter Lillcbon**
- on 29 February 1276

**Walter L'isle**
- on 14 October 1278

**Ralph de Sandwich**
- to 17 May 1287

**Matthew son of John (Kn.)**
- for life from 18 March 1287
- for life from 17 May 1287
- from 17 May 1287
- on 4 July 1287
- for life from 32 October 1287
- on 18 July 1290

**John Bluet**
- to 12 March 1308

**Hugh le Despencer**
- from 12 March 1308
- to 2 December 1308

**Robert Lewer**
- from 5 December 1321

**Gilbert de Berewyk**
- from 14 December 1330

**Roger de Beauchamp, P.P.**
- for life from 25 October 1340
- confirmed 26 October 1340
- for life from 26 May 1344
- confirmed 20 June 1344
- on 4 May 1372
- on 22 October 1372
- on 12 July 1373
- on 6 October 1376
- on 13 January 1377
- on 14 January 1377
- on 1 October 1377
- on 21 January 1378
- on 4 March 1378
- on 1 October 1378
- on 16 March 1379
- before 30 January 1380

**Nicholas de Sharnesfeld, Kn.**
- for life from 30 January 1380
- on 4 April 1380
- on 8 June 1380
- on 13 October 1381
- to 28 November 1381

**John Lovel, kn., P.P.**

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1 Appointed by Queen Philippa, and here confirmed by the king
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Deputies
John Flavel
29 December 1287
I.Misc I, no.1450

Gatekeepers
Robert
20 July 1364
C.P.R. 1364-1367, p.8

Porters
Robert Ranger
4 November 1364
C.P.R. 1364-1367, p.39

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John Hotte
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Owners
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from 1317
H.K.W. II, p.731
to 1332
H.K.W. II, p.731

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History
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looted 1321
C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.51
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from 17 September 1273
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C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.71
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C.P.R. 1281-1292, p.218
on 14 July 1290
C.P.R. 1281-1292, p.374
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Ancient Deeds vol. III, A.4815
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Queen Isabella
from 5 March 1318
C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.115
on 6 April 1318
C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.131
from 1 August 1318
C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.201
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on 10 February 1319 from 10 July 1319 on 5 December 1321 issues only from 2 May 1321 on 20 April 1327 Queen Philippa from 1 January 1331 on 20 July 1335 on 6 November 1376 Humphrey Hungerford and his heirs from 1 December 1403

Constatles
Roger de Clifford not by 25 April 1266
Roger de Cheyne on 20 February 1270 on 14 February 1270 on 14 November 1270 on 28 December 1270
Roger de Mortimer of Wigmore on 2 January 1272 on 3 January 1272 to 17 September 1273
John de Bradenham not by 3 June 1290
Eustace de Hache, P.P., on 29 March 1299 on 18 November 1299 on 24 January 1302
John Abel to 12 March 1308 Hugh le Despenser, elder, P.P., for Edward II from 12 March 1308 from 12 March 1308 to 2 December 1308
William de Rammeshill on 11 February 1313
Hugh le Despenser, elder, P.P., from 2 May 1321
Oliver de Ingham, P.P., Kn. from 5 December 1321 William de Rammeshill on 15 February 1325 on 17 May 1327 Isabel de Hastings from 19 February 1326 William de Rammeshill from 14 December 1330
Robert Russell on 8 April 1345 on 22 September 1345 on 7 July 1347 on 12 July 1349
Thomas de Hungerford on 20 October 1359 on 8 February 1360 Nicholas de Tamworth, knight for ten years from 20 March 1370 Roger de Beauchamp, P.P. from 6 November 1376


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on 17 May 1391 Ancient Deeds vol. I C.340
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Garrisons
4 Knights, 4 Serjeants at arms, 12 serjeants, 54 footmen before 25 April 1266 I.Misc I, no.319
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Richard Bentele for life from 9 March 1400 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.256
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not by 18 February 1382 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.133
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History
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abandoned by 1398 King, p.500
Owners
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Edmund, earl of Cornwall
The King, his heir to 1298 I.P.M. III, no.604 (R.I.P.)
from 1298 I.P.M. III, no.605
Crown - Queen Margaret from 20 February 1303 C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.118
from 21 June 1304 C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.240
on 12 March 1308 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.52
confirmed 19 March 1310 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.217
died 1318
Crown - Queen Isabel from 5 March 1318 C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.115
on 6 April 1318 C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.131
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on 10 February 1319 C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.57
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from 16 November 1347 B.P.R. I, p.147
on 13 July 1358 C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.82
to 22 August 1358 I.P.M. X, no.447 (R.I.P.)
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Crown - Edward Prince of Wales
from 22 August 1358 I.P.M. X, no.447
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Constables
Richard de Chuseldem
on 4 February 1303 C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.113
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John de Mere
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William de Cusancia
for life from 9 March 1337 C.F.R. 1337-1347, p.6
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on 28 September 1337 C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.529
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Reginald Rede
for life from 17 March 1376 C.P.R. 1381-1385, p.403
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Ivo fitz Waryn
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on 1 July 1400 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.309

Private Constables for the Black Prince
Sir John de Mere
on 16 November 1347 B.P.R. I, p.148

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from 19 October 1361 B.P.R. IV, p.396

Walter del Hay, yeoman of the prince’s spicery
for life from 24 May 1364 B.P.R. IV, p.528

OLD SARUM

History
mentioned 1069-70 King, p.500
walled in stone early C12 King, p.500
reducing in import from 1220 King, p.500
no importance after C14 King, p.500

Constables
Robert de Glaston
on 18 November 1267 C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.24 (20l/year)

William Dun
on 12 December 1269 C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.943
on 3 February 1270 C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.988

Hildebrand de London
to 2 April 1281 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.145 (R.I.P.)
John de Wotton
from 2 April 1281
Andrew de Grynstede
to 12 March 1308
Alexander Cheveryol
from 12 March 1308
John Mauduyt
to 1 December 1311
Adam Walraunt
from 1 December 1311
to 4 May 1313
John de Kyngeston
from 4 May 1313
to 16 November 1314
John de Holte
from 16 November 1314
to 28 April 1315
Philip de la Beche
with County from 28 April 1315
to 15 May 1318
Adam Walraund
from 15 May 1318
to 29 November 1318
Walter de Rysum
from 29 November 1318
to 19 February 1320
Philip de la Beche
with county from 19 February 1320
to 8 October 1321
John de Tycheborne / Ticheburn
from 8 October 1321
to 20 May 1322
Adam Walraund
from 20 May 1322
to 4 February 1327
Philip de la Beche
with county from 4 February 1327
to 1 December 1329
John Maudut
from 1 December 1329	on 18 March 1330
to 5 December 1330
Hildebrand de London
from 5 December 1330
to 3 May 1332
John Mauduyt
from 3 May 1332
to 26 November 1333
John de Tichebourn
from 26 November 1333
to 22 October 1334
Gilbert de Berewyk
from 22 October 1334
to 12 October 1335
Reynold de Pavely
from 12 October 1335
to 24 June 1336
Gilbert de Berewyk
from 24 June 1336
to 14 August 1337
Peter Doynel from 14 August 1337 to 20 February 1338
John Mauduyt from 20 February 1338 to 12 March 1338
Peter Doynel from 12 March 1338 to 23 April 1338
John Mauduyt from 23 April 1338 to 15 January 1341
Thomas de Seymour from 15 January 1341 to 15 December 1341
John son of Richard de la Ryvere from 15 December 1341 to 18 November 1342
Thomas de St. Mauro from 18 November 1342 to 22 November 1343
John de Roches from 22 November 1343 to 4 November 1344
John Mauduyt from 4 November 1344 to 15 December 1341
and from 15 December 1341 to 18 November 1342
and from 18 November 1342 to 22 November 1343
and from 22 November 1343 to 4 November 1344
John de Roches from 4 November 1344 to 21 April 1347
and from 21 April 1347 to 4 November 1344
and from 4 November 1344 to 12 November 1346
and from 12 November 1346 to 21 April 1347
Thomas de St. Mauro from 21 April 1347 to 15 December 1341
and from 15 December 1341 to 18 November 1342
and from 18 November 1342 to 22 November 1343
and from 22 November 1343 to 4 November 1344
and from 4 November 1344 to 12 November 1346
and from 12 November 1346 to 21 April 1347
John Mauduyt from 21 April 1347 to 10 November 1354
Robert Russell from 10 November 1354 to 30 September 1348
Thomas de la Ryvere from 30 September 1348 to 16 October 1351
and from 16 October 1351 to 22 November 1352
and from 22 November 1352 to 17 January 1354
John Everard from 17 January 1354 to 20 November 1365
Thomas de Hungerford from 20 November 1365 to 24 November 1355
and from 24 November 1355 to 20 November 1357
and from 20 November 1357 to 3 November 1358
and from 3 November 1358 to 1 October 1359
Henry Stumpy from 1 October 1359 to 21 November 1360
and from 21 November 1360 to 20 November 1362
and from 20 November 1362 to 20 November 1363
and from 20 November 1363 to 17 November 1365
Walter Haywode from 17 November 1365 to 16 November 1366
and from 16 November 1366 to 27 November 1368
and from 27 November 1368 to 5 November 1369
and from 5 November 1369 to 28 March 1370
William de Workton from 28 March 1370 to 5 November 1371
Henry de Stumpy from 5 November 1371 to 14 August 1337
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<td>12 December 1372</td>
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<td>William de Worston</td>
<td>22 June 1377</td>
<td><em>C.F.R. 1369-1377</em>, p.3</td>
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<td>Ralph de Norton</td>
<td>26 November 1377</td>
<td><em>C.F.R. 1369-1377</em>, p.34</td>
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<td>Laurence de St. Martin</td>
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<td>Hugh Cheyne with county</td>
<td>5 November 1379</td>
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<td>Nicholas de Wodehull</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### TROWBRIDGE

**History**
- mentioned: 1139, 1215  
  - said to be disused from early C14  
  - repaired: 1375  
  - derelict: by 1468

**Reversions**
- William de Montague, earl of Salisbury from 16 March 1337  
  - *C.P.R. 1334-1338*, p.426

**Owners**
- John de Warenne, earl of Surrey on 16 March 1337  
  - for life on 6 December 1355  
  - Joan, widow of Warenne, in dower not by 20 December 1361  
  - William de Montague, earl of Salisbury by 20 December 1361  
  - in 1363  
  - John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster and Blanche, his wife
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Date/Year</th>
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<td>Jointured</td>
<td>2 November 1366</td>
<td>'Feet of fines relating to Wiltshire'</td>
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<td><em>Wiltshire Record Society</em> 29 (1973), no. 548</td>
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<td><strong>WARDOUR</strong></td>
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<td><strong>History</strong></td>
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<td>27 February 1393</td>
<td><em>C.P.R. 1391-1396</em>, p.261</td>
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<td>Rebuilt</td>
<td>c. 1578</td>
<td><em>King</em>, p.501</td>
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<td>John 5th Lord Lovel, P.P.</td>
<td>licence to crenellate</td>
<td><em>C.P.R. 1391-1396</em>, p.261</td>
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<td>19 October 1414</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Lovel, son of above, P.P.</td>
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<td>10 September 1408</td>
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<td>19 October 1414</td>
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<td>William Lovel, son of above, P.P.</td>
<td>inherited</td>
<td><em>G.E.C. VIII</em>, p.221</td>
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<td>19 October 1414</td>
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<td>c. 1418</td>
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<td>13 June 1455</td>
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## Worcestershire

### Unknown Licenses

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<th>Place</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<td>DORMESTON for Sir John Russell</td>
<td>12 February 1388</td>
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<td>EVESHAM ABBEY for Abbot &amp; Convent</td>
<td>15 March 1336</td>
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<tr>
<td>WODEMANTON for John de Wysham</td>
<td>26 November 1332</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.242</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### ELMLEY

#### History
- mentioned: 1216
- siege: 1322
- inhabited: 1398-9
- rebuilt: early C15

#### Owners
- William de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick
  - to: 12 June 1298, I.P.M. III, no.477 (R.I.P.)
  - from: 12 June 1298
  - to: 16 August 1315, I.P.M. V, no.615 (R.I.P.)
  - Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, son of above
    - from: 16 August 1315
    - on: 1 December 1315, I.P.M. V, no.615
  - Hugh le Despenser
    - from: 2 August 1317
    - Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick
      - on: 28 August 1369, C.C.R. 1369-1374, p.108
      - away & back: 5 July 1370, C.C.R. 1369-1374, p.453
      - away & back: 6 August 1372, C.C.R. 1369-1374, p.455
      - on: 13 November 1387, I.Mise IV, no.302
  - Seized by King
    - on: 20 July 1397, C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.219
  - Thomas le Despenser, earl of Gloucester & Constance
    - from: 28 September 1397
  - Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick
    - to: 8 April 1401, I.P.M. XVIII, no.502
    - Richard de Beauchamp, son of above
      - from: 8 April 1401, I.P.M. XVIII, no.502
    - Margaret, widow of Thomas de Beauchamp
      - on: 27 June 1401
      - to: 22 January 1407
    - Richard de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick
      - livery: 1 March 1406
      - from: 22 January 1407
- Richard de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick
  - livery: 1 March 1406
  - from: 22 January 1407

### Constables while in King's hands
- Thomas lord le Despenser
  - from: 20 July 1397, C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.219
  - from: 9 August 1397, C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.186
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Wardships

Minority of Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick (1315-1335)
Hugh le Despenser, Snr

from 2 August 1317 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.336
on 18 March 1318 C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.123

Minority of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick (1401-1403)
Thomas de Aldebury, William Beauchamp of Abergavenny & John Owdeby

from 12 May 1401 C.F.R. 1399-1405, p.135

Warden of the chapel
William de Wellesbourne

on 14 February 1312 Ancient Deeds vol. I, B.803

HANLEY

History

built 1207-12 King, p.507
seige 1264, 1322 King, p.507
rebuilt early C15 King, p.507

Owners
James de Audley not by 7 November 1273 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.14
Crown by 7 November 1273 C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.14
Gilbert de Clare to 10 July 1314 I.P.M. V, no.538 (R.I.P.)
Matilda, widow of above from 1314 H.K.W. II, p.667
Hugh Despenser, yng from November 1317 H.K.W. II, p.667
to May 1321 H.K.W. II, p.667
Crown from May 1321 H.K.W. II, p.667
to 1322 H.K.W. II, p.667
Hugh Despenser, yng from 1322 H.K.W. II, p.667
to 1326 H.K.W. II, p.667
Queen Isabella
for life from 10 February 1330 C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.500
for life from 3 April 1330 C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.519
to 12 July 1330 C.Ch.R. 1327-1341, p.178
Roger de Mortimer, earl of March for life from 12 July 1330 C.Ch.R. 1327-1341, p.178
Eleanor, widow of Hugh Despenser to 9 July 1337 I.P.M. VIII, no.132 (R.I.P.)
Hugh de Despenser, son of above, P.P.
from 9 July 1337 I.P.M. VIII, no.132
on 1 April 1347 C.P.R. 1348-1350, p.519
to 8 February 1349 I.P.M. IX, no.428 (R.I.P.)
Elizabeth, widow of Hugh Despenser
from 8 February 1349 I.P.M. IX, no.428
from 24 February 1349 C.C.R. 1349-1354, p.11
on 30 April 1349 C.C.R. 1349-1354, p.31

414
to 30 May 1359  I.P.M. X, no.523 (R.I.P.) (Dower)
Edward le Despenser, Kn., P.P.  from 30 May 1359 I.P.M. X, no523
to 12 November 1375 I.P.M. XIV, no.209 (R.I.P.)
Thomas le Despenser, son of above heir on 12 November 1375 I.P.M. XIV, no.209
Elizabeth, widow of above from 22 February 1376 C.C.R. 1374-1377, p.305
on 6 February 1400 C.C.R. 1399-1402, p.54
Richard Beauchamp of Abergavenny, P.P., through Isabel his wife on 1 September 1414 I.Misc VII, no.489

Constables
Hugh le Despenser, Yng. P.P. to 21 May 1321 C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.585
Malcolm Musard & William Payn from 21 May 1321 C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.585
Alexander de Lilleford on 11 October 1326 C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.331
Thomas de Hanley to 20 June 1327 C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.49
Robert de Bracy from 20 June 1327 C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.49
Thomas de Blount from 17 August 1327 C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.145
Richard de Haukeslowe from 19 December 1330 C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.215

HARTLEBURY
History licensed 1268 King, p.507
captured 1646, and demolished King, p.507

Owners
Walter de Cantilupe, bp. of Worcester began building 1255 Pevsner, p.190
Bishop Giffard of Worcester license to crenellate 1268 Pevsner, p.190

STRENSHAM
History licence to crenellate 12 February 1388 C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.446

Owners
Sir John Russell licence to crenellate 12 February 1388 C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.446

WORCESTER
History built 1069 King, p.508
burnt 1113 King, p.508
siege 1150, 1151 King, p.508
captured 1216, 1264 King, p.508
Owners
William de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick
to 12 June 1298
Guy de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, son of above
from 12 June 1298
to 16 August 1315
Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, son of above
from 16 August 1315
In wardship for Beauchamps
on 1 December 1315
Hugh le Despencer
from 2 August 1317
wardship 18 March 1318
Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick
on 29 July 1361
foot of fine 20 October 1361
to 13 November 1369
Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, son of above
from 13 November 1369
on 7 February 1370
restored 11 February 1400
to 8 April 1401
Richard de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, son of above
from 8 April 1401

Wardships
Minority of Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick (1315-1335)
Hugh le Despencer, snr
from 2 August 1317
on 18 March 1318
Minority of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick (1401-1403)
Thomas de Aldebury & William Beauchamp of Abergavenny & John Owdeby
from 12 May 1401

LP. M. 111, no. 477 (R.I.P.)
LP. M. V, no. 615 (R.I.P.)
LP. M. XII, no. 326 (R.I.P.)
Yorkshire

Unknown Licenses
A HOUSE IN THE CATHEDERAL CLOSE, YORK for John de Cadamo
21 August 1298  C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.358
BURTON CONSTABLE for Geoffrey le Scrope
8 June 1338  C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.94
CLIFTON-UPON-YORE for Geoffrey le Scrope
25 September 1317  C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.26
HERSEWELL IN SPALDINGMOOR for Gerard Salvayn
20 October 1303  C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.160
LERMITAGE in TANFELD for John Marmion
24 September 1314  C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.177
MONKETON ON THE MOOR & KEXBY BY STAYNFORDBRIDGE for Thomas Ughtred
25 February 1342  C.P.R. 1340-1343, p.388
SCULCOATES for John de Grey of Rotherfeld
2 February 1348  C.P.R. 1348-1350, p.36
SPOFFORD for Henry de Percy
4 October 1308  C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.144
BOULTON & SUTTON for Robert de Percy
22 February 1293  C.P.R. 1292-1301, p.6
WALTON for Thomas de Burgh
28 February 1334  C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.519
WHETELE for John de Sandal, king's clerk
2 April 1311  C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.340
WILTON IN PYKERYNGLITH for John de Heslarton
3 February 1335  C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.88
WEST TANFELD for Maud, widow of John de Marmion
18 November ember 1348  C.P.R. 1348-1350, p.210

ALMONSBURY

History
mentioned temp. Stephen  King, p.512
deserted temp. Edward II  King, p.512

Owners
De Lacy earls of Lincoln to 1310  J.K. Walter, ‘Almondbury in Feudal Times’
Yorkshire Arch. Journal 2 (1873), p.7
Earls and dukes of Lancaster from 1310  J.K. Walter, ‘Almondbury in Feudal Times’
to 1399  Yorkshire Arch. Journal 2 (1873), p.7
Crown from 1399  J.K. Walter, ‘Almondbury in Feudal Times’
Yorkshire Arch. Journal 2 (1873), p.7

ARMLEY

History
mentioned 1300 as place  King, p.529

AYTON

History
built late C14  King, p.513
built c.1400  D.G.Hunt, 'Medieval Britain in 1961', Medieval Archaeology, 6-7 (1962-3), p.336

Owners
Ralph Eure
BOLTON

History

licence to crenellate 4 July 1379
built 1379-97
siege 1645

Owners

Sir Richard le Scrope, P.P.
licence to crenellate 4 July 1379
died 30 May 1403

Roger le Scrope, son of above, P.P.
from 30 May 1403
died 3 December 1403

Richard le Scrope, son of above
from 3 December 1403
died 29 August 1420

Henry le Scrope, son of above, P.P.
from 29 August 1420
died 14 January 1458/9

Wardships

minority of Henry le Scrope of Bolton, 1420-1439
Richard Neville
from 19 September 1420
don 5 September 1421

BOWES

History

built 1171-4
siege 1322

Owners

Peter de Sabaudia
to 15 May 1280
John de Brittany, earl of Richmond
to 17 October 1285
Alice, his granddaughter
from 17 October 1285
John duke of Brittany
to 15 October 1306
John, duke of Brittany & earl of Richmond
from 15 October 1306
to 5 May 1331
Mary de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke
from 5 May 1331
on 16 May 1341
John of Brittany earl of Richmond
to 16 May 1341
Queen Anne
to 3 November 1388
Henry Fitz Hugh, leased for twelve years
from 3 November 1388
confirmed 23 March 1391
to 1394
Thomas Arundel, archbishop of York, Edward, earl of Rutland & John Waltham, bishop of Salisbury
from 1394
Ralph de Neville, earl of Westmorland, granted by above for 12 years
from 1394 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.11
on 11 July 1396 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.11

Constables
Guichard de Charrun, kn. on 15 May 1280 I.P.M. II, no.381
William de Felton
3 years from 21 February 1326 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.377
on 24 February 1326 C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.244

Private Constables
John Nowel on 18 May 1322 C.P.R.1321-1324, p.157

BRADFORD
History built 14th cty. King, p.514

BURTON-IN-LONSDALE
History mentioned 1130 King, p.515
abandoned 1173? King, p.515

Constable while in Royal hands
Henry de Malton from 24 March 1322 C.F.R. 1318-1327, p.118

CASTLETON
History mentioned 1242
ruined peel 1336

Owners
Peter de Bruce
from 1200 V.C.H. North Riding vol. II, p.336
to 1222 V.C.H. North Riding vol. II, p.336
Peter de Bruce, son of above
from 1222 V.C.H. North Riding vol. II, p.336
to 1240 V.C.H. North Riding vol. II, p.336
Peter de Bruce, son of above
from 1240 V.C.H. North Riding vol. II, p.336
to 1272 V.C.H. North Riding vol. II, p.336
Marmaduke de Thweng through Lucy, his wife, sister of above
from 1272 V.C.H. North Riding vol. II, p.336
Lucy, granddaughter of above
underage 1285 V.C.H. North Riding vol. II, p.336
William, son of William Latimer, husband of above
by 1295 V.C.H. North Riding vol. II, p.336
received manor February 1311 V.C.H. North Riding vol. II, p.336
died March 1327 V.C.H. North Riding vol. II, p.336
William Latimer, son of above
from March 1327 V.C.H. North Riding vol. II, p.336
William Latimer, son of above
from 1335 V.C.H. North Riding vol. II, p.336
Elizabeth, widow of John lord Neville of Raby
from 1381 V.C.H. North Riding vol. II, p.336
died 1396 V.C.H. North Riding vol. II, p.336

Robert lord Willoughby de Eresby, her second husband
CAWOOD

History

built 1378-88  
siege 1642, 1644  

Owners

Archbishops of York

first reference to site 1181  
Archbishop Neville rebuild by 1391  

CONISBOROUGH

History

mentioned 1174-8  
built late C12  
repaired 1482-3  

Owners

John de Warenne, earl of Surrey

to king & back to 1 July 1316  
to 1 January 1319  
Thomas, earl of Lancaster from 1 January 1319  
before 19 March 1322  
writ 5 February 1327  

Henry, earl of Lancaster, brother of above

heir on 5 February 1327  

John de Warenne, earl of Surrey requests its return 1318-1322  

on 2 March 1328  
to 30 June 1347  

Edmund de Langley, duke of York gift from the King 6 August 1347  
on 23 June 1358  
on 23 November 1358  
to 1 August 1402  

Edward, duke of York, son of above from 1 August 1402  

Constables

Frank de Bresnes on 23 October 1240  

Adam le Bloy & Peter de St. John to 19 March 1322  

Simon de Wodeham from 19 March 1322  
to 24 March 1322  
Thomas Deyvill from 24 March 1322  

Simon de Wodeham to 8 November 1322  

Roger de Flete, king's yeoman from 8 November 1322  
on 11 September 1323  
to 16 April 1324  

Richard de Mosele from 16 April 1324  

V.C.H. North Riding vol. II, p. 336
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on 20 May 1324 C.C.R 1323-1327, p.104
20 May 1324

20

Roger de Flete
to 4 November 1324 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.313
4 November 1324

4

Roger de Flete
from 20

from 4 November 1324 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.313
7 December 1324 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.322
7 December 1324

7

Richard de Mosele
from 20

from 7 December 1324 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.322
7 December 1324

7

Richard de Mosele
on 7

on 7 December 1324 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.322
17 December 1324 C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.60
17 December 1324

17

Richard de Mosele
on 18

on 18 December 1324 C.C.R 1323-1327, p.247
4 January 1326 C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.205
4 January 1326

4

Richard de Mosele
on 19

on 13 April 1326 C.C.R 1323-1327, p.463
16 July 1334 C.C.R 1333-1337, p.241 (Moseley)
16 July 1334

16

William de Montague
on 14

on 14 February 1339 C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.203 (For life)
4

William de Montague
Walter Whithors, yeoman for life from 10 July 1347 C.P.R. 1345-1348, p.545
10 July 1347

10

Walter Whithors, yeoman for life from 10

Thomas Lord de Fournival from 21

from 21 March 1405 C.F.R. 1399-1405, p.307
21 March 1405

21

Thomas Lord de Fournival from 22

Edmund fitz William from 23

Edmund fitz William from 23

on 16

on 1 December 1415 C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.377
1 December 1415

1

Edmund fitz William from 24

Edmund fitz William from 24

Wardships
minority of Edmund de Langley, duke of York
Queen Philippa from 4

Queen Philippa from 4

4

C.P.R. 1348-1350, p.164
C.P.R. 1348-1350, p.164

COTTINGHAM

History mentioned 1201, 1327 King, p.516
mentioned 1201, 1327

1201

licensed licence to crenellate 6 March 1327 C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.31
licensed licence to crenellate 6 March 1327

6

Owners
William de Stuteville licence to crenellate 1201 King, p.516
William de Stuteville licence to crenellate 1201

1201

Thomas Wake, P.P. licence to crenellate 6 March 1327 C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.31
Thomas Wake, P.P. licence to crenellate 6 March 1327

6

CRAYKE

History mentioned 1217 King, p.516
two tower C15 King, p.516

1217

1217

Owners
Bishops of Durham temp entire period W.M. I'Anson, 'The Castle of the North Riding',
temp entire period W.M. I'Anson, 'The Castle of the North Riding',

W.M. I'Anson, 'The Castle of the North Riding',

Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 22 (1913),

Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 22 (1913),

p.343

p.343

CROPTON

History mentioned 1334 King, p.516
mentioned 1334

1334

Owners
Stuteville family temp Edward I V.C.H. vol. II, p.30
Stuteville family temp Edward I

Edward I

Stuteville family temp Edward I

'Yorkshire Inquisitions of the reign
of Henry III and Edward I, vol. I', W. Brown,
'Yorkshire Inquisitions of the reign
of Henry III and Edward I, vol. I', W. Brown,

Yorkshire Archaeological & Topographical
Baldwin Wake  
6 April 1276  

**DANBY**  

History  
not mention built  
1388 late 14th ct.  

Owners  
John Neville, lord Latimer, probable builder, P.P.  
inherited site  
died  
1396  
1430  

**ELSLACK**  

History  
licence to crenellate  
24 November 1318  

Owners  
Godfrey Dawtrey  
licence to crenellate  
24 November 1318  

**FLAMBOROUGH**  

History  
licence to crenellate  
1351, 1352  

Owners  
Marmaduke Constable  
licence to crenellate  
24 May 1351  
licence to crenellate  
11 February 1352  

**GILLING EAST**  

History  
built late C14  

Owners  
Etton family  
temp. entire period  

**HAREWOOD**  

History  
licence to crenellate  
27 December 1366  

Owners of the site  
Countess of Devon & Albermarle  
from  
1280  

to  
1293  
L'Isle family  
from  
1293  

to  
1366  

Owners of Castle  
William de Aldeburgh, P.P.  
licence to crenellate  
27 December 1366  
dead by  
1388  

William de Aldeburgh of Harewood, son of above  
from  
1388  
dead by  
1391  

Association Record Series, 12 (1891), p. 170  
Brown, p. 170  

V.C.H. North Riding vol. II, p. 334  
King, p. 516  

V.C.H. North Riding vol. II, p. 336  
V.C.H. North Riding vol. II, p. 336  

C.P.R. 1317-1321, p. 242  

C.P.R. 1317-1321, p. 242 (Estlake in Craven)  

C.P.R. 1350-1354, p. 75  
C.P.R. 1350-1354, p. 225  

J. Bilson, 'Gilling Castle', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 19 (1907), pp. 106-192  

J. Parker, 'Some notes on the lords of Harewood Castle', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 22 (1913), p. 150  
Parker, p. 150  
Parker, p. 152  
Parker, p. 152  

C.P.R. 1364-1367, p. 355  

G.E.C. I, p. 101  
G.E.C. I, p. 101  

422
## HAVERAH PARK

### History
- Converted from house: 1316
- Repaired: 1391-2
- Repaired: 1437-8

### Owners
- Crown:
  - From: 1316
  - To: 1399

### Constables
- John de Newsum:
  - In: 1333
  - To: 15 November 1335
- Edmund de Tidemersh:
  - From: 15 November 1335
  - To: 22 September 1343
- Roger de Normanvill:
  - From: 22 September 1343
  - To: 25 February 1350
- John de Barton:
  - From: 25 February 1350
  - To: 14 April 1358
- Thomas del Bothe, king's yeoman:
  - From: 14 April 1358
  - For life: 20 August 1360
  - For life: 27 January 1361
  - To: 29 April 1369
- Peter de Routhre, king's Yeoman:
  - For life: 29 April 1369

## HAZLEWOOD

### History
- Licence to crenellate: 28 August 1290
- Tower: C15

### Owners
- William de Vavasour, P.P.:
  - Licence to crenellate: 28 August 1290
  - Died: 22 March 1312/3
  - Walter le Vavasour, son of above:
    - Inherited: 22 March 1312/3
    - Died: 7 December 1315

## HELMSLEY

### History
- Built: early C12
- Recast: c.1200
- Modified: C13
- Siege: 1644

### Owners
- Robert de Ros of Belvoir:
  - To: 4 June 1285
- William de Ros, son of above, P.P.:
  - I.P.M. II, no. 580 (R.I.P.)
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from 4 June 1285
William de Ros of Helmsley, P.P.
away & back 10 September 1326
on 2 November 1327

on 16 April 1327
William de Ros, son of above, P.P.
heir on 16 February 1343
to 29 September 1352
Thomas de Ros of Helmsley, kn, brother of above
from 29 September 1352
to 21 May 1383
Beatrice, widow of above
livery 24 October 1384
John de Ros of Helmsley, P.P.
away & back 30 May 1386
Richard de Burley
on 4 November 1385
John de Ros of Helmsley, Kn, P.P.
to 6 August 1394
William de Ros, Kn, Brother of above
from 6 August 1394
died 1 September 1414
John de Ros, kn, son of above
from 1 September 1414
not by 22 November 1421
Margaret, widow of above
from 22 November 1421

Wardships
Minority of William son of William de Ros (1343-1349)
Ralph de Bevyll
from 15 May 1343

Minority of Thomas, brother of William de Ros (1353-1359)
Robert de Flaynburn
from 20 January 1353
Roger de Mortimer, earl of March
from 15 July 1355
to 8 November 1356

Minority of John de Ros (1414-1419)
Thomas Beaufort, earl of Dorset, duke of Exeter
from 22 September 1414
on 6 February 1416
to 8 July 1419

Porter
John de la More
for life on 16 February 1343

Staff
Constable 3d/day
Parker 1.5d/day
chaplain 5 marks/year stipend

Notes
Needs 6l. 13s. 4d./year to maintain the building
16 February 1343
HOOD

History
mentioned 1218  King, p.518
licence to crenellate 1264  King, p.519

Owners
John de Eyvill
licence to crenellate 1264  King, p.518

HORNBY

History
tower late C14  V.C.H. North Riding vol. I, p.313
modified late C15  King, p.519

Owners
William St. Quintin
temp. after 1332  V.C.H. North Riding vol. I, p.315
John St. Quintin, son of above
alive on 28 November 1386  C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.263
Anthony St. Quintin, son of above, probable builder
died end 14th cty.
Margaret, da. of above & John Conyers
Christopher Conyers, son of above
temp 1422-1429  V.C.H. North Riding vol. I, p.315

KELLERBY

History
licence to crenellate 20 September 1291  C.P.R. 1281-1292, p.445

Owners
Brian Fitz Alan, P.P.

MILTON

History
walled late C12  King, p.519
mentioned 1265  King, p.519
'a little castle' 22 April 1344  I.P.M. VIII, 525
modified C14  King, p.519
mentioned 1374  King, p.519
abandoned early C16  King, p.519

Tenant in Chief
Henry de Percy
on 22 April 1344  I.P.M. VIII, no.525
on 6 June 1374  I.P.M. XIV, no.58
on 31 December 1374  I.P.M. XIV, no.76

Owners
Robert de Thweng
to 22 April 1344  I.P.M. VIII, no.525 (R.I.P.)
Thomas de Thweng, brother of above
from 22 April 1344  I.P.M. VIII, no.525
to May? 1374  I.P.M. XIV, no.58 (R.I.P.)
Four potential heirs
Robert de Lumley
to 31 December 1374  I.P.M. XIV, no.76 (R.I.P.)
Ralph de Lumley, bro of above, P.P.
from 31 December 1374  I.P.M. XIV, no.76
Thomas de Lumley, son of above
to 31 May 1400  I.P.M. XVIII, no.955 (R.I.P.)
John, brother of above from Ralph de Lumley
forfeited by 31 May 1400 I.P.M. XVIII, no.955
forfeited by 11 January 1400 I.Misc. VII, no.54
27 February(1 Henry IV?) I.Misc. VII, no.57

Private Constables
John de Mowbray, esq from temp Ralph de Lumley
still alive 11 January 1400 I.Misc. VII, no.54

Royal Constables
John de Beaufort, earl of Somerset from 22 January 1400 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.173
William de Lambeton on 27 February(1 Henry IV?) I.Misc. VII, no.57

KIRKBY FLEETHAM
History licence to crenellate 20 September 1314 C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.175

Owners Henry le Scrope licence to crenellate 20 September 1314 C.P.R. 1313-1317, p.175

KIRKBY MOORSIDE
History built C13 King, p.520

Owners Stuteville family
temp 13th cty. King, p.520
Neville family, when not fortified
temp 16th cty King, p.520

KIRKBY SIGSTON
History licence to crenellate 10 February 1336 C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.221

Owners John de Sigston, as BERESENDE licence to crenellate 10 February 1336 C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.221

KNARESBOROUGH
History mentioned 1130 King, p.520
rebuilt 1204-13 King, p.520
rebuilt 1307-12 King, p.520
taken in night 3 November 1317 C.P.R. 1313-1318, p.46
siege 1317-8, 1644 King, p.520

Owners Edmund, earl of Cornwall to 1298 I.P.M. III, no.605 (R.I.P.)
The King, his heir from 1298 I.P.M. III, no.605
Piers Gaveston from 5 August 1309 C.Ch.R. 1300-1326, 131
on 5 August 1309 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.131
to 26 July 1309 C.CR 1307-1313, p.225
from 5 August 1309 C.CR 1307-1313, p.225
Thomas of Lancaster

426
to 3 November 1317 C.C.R 1313-1318, p.575
Queen Isabella on 10 March 1327 C.C.R 1327-1330, p.124
on 20 April 1327 C.M.R, no.33
Crown - Queen Phillipa from 1 January 1331 C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.55
from 20 July 1331 C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.161
on 10 June 1335 C.C.R 1333-1337, p.495
on 20 July 1335 C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.206
on 30 September 1351 I.P.M. XII, no.434 (R.I.P.)
to 25 December 1369
Crown from 25 December 1369 I.P.M. XII, no.434
from John of Gaunt 25 June 1372
from 25 June 1372
Charters of the Duchy of Lancaster,
on 20 July 1377 W. Hardy, London, 1845, p.28
Katherine, widow of John of Gaunt from 9 March 1398 J.G.R 1372-1376, no.13
from 9 March 1399 C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.294
Constables
Miles de Stapleton, P.P. on 11 July 1302 C.C.R 1302-1307, p.535
on 4 June 1303 C.C.R 1302-1307, p.35
on 28 July 1303 C.C.R 1302-1307, p.47
on 27 November 1304 C.C.R 1302-1307, p.228
on 14 May 1305 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.518
on 6 October 1305 C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.382
on 15 October 1305 C.C.R 1302-1307, p.291
on 28 March 1306 C.C.R 1302-1307, p.494
on 26 March 1307 C.P.R. 1301-1307, p.508
Piers de Gaveston for life from 7 June 1308 C.F.R. 1307-1313, p.78
William de Vaus from 10 December 1311 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.119
William de Vallibus from 26 June 1312 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.136
on 26 June 1312 C.C.R 1307-1313, p.428
on 27 June 1312 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.466
on 13 September 1312 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.493
on 23 May 1313 C.C.R 1307-1313, p.534
on 16 September 1316 C.C.R 1313-1318, p.473
to 5 January 1315 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.224 (R.I.P.)
Roger Damory, P.P. from 5 January 1315 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.224
on 5 March 1315 C.C.R 1313-1318, p.160
on 16 May 1316 C.C.R 1313-1318, p.285
on 25 September 1316 C.C.R 1313-1318, p.365
Nicholas de Grey from 28 January 1318 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.351
from 28 January 1318 C.C.R 1313-1318, p.523
to 4 March 1318 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.255
Roger Damory, P.P. from 4 March 1318 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.355
on 6 March 1318 C.C.R 1313-1318, p.529
to 27 May 1318 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.362
John de Wysham
from 27 May 1318  
C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.362  
on 28 May 1318  
C.R. 1313-1318, p.544  
on 5 September 1318  
C.R. 1318-1323, p.11  
on 20 December 1318  
C.R 1318-1323, p.43 (Keeper)  
on 25 January 1319  
C.R. 1318-1323, p.53 (Keeper)  
to 2 February 1319  
C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.269  

Edmund de Woodstock, earl of Kent  
from 2 February 1319  
C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.269  
to 6 November 1319  
C.P.R. 1319-1327, p.11  
John de Wysham  
from 6 November 1319  
C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.11  
on 6 November 1319  
C.R. 1318-1323, p.169  
on 24 January 1320  
C.R. 1318-1323, p.177  
on 3 October 1320  
C.R. 1318-1323, p.269  
on 3 October 1321  
C.R. 1318-1323, p.407  
on 13 February 1322  
C.R. 1318-1323, p.418  
on 1 June 1322  
J.Misc II, no.489  
on 22 November 1322  
C.R. 1318-1323, p.611  
accounting 30 September 1326  
C.M.R., no.23  

John de Wauton  
from 6 March 1325  
C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.106  
Queen Isabella  
on 3 March 1328  
C.R. 1327-1337, p.249  
John de Wauton  
from 3 December 1330  
C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.201  
William Fitz Warin  
on 7 October 1332  
C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.344  
on 18 March 1337  
C.P.R. 1334-1338, p.441  
on 23 July 1337  
C.R. 1337-1339, p.147  
on 16 February 1338  
E.101/20/19 m.1  

William de Nessefeld (For queen)  
for life from 30 September 1351  
C.P.R. 1350-1354, p.152  
confirmed 2 October 1351  
C.P.R. 1350-1354, p.152  
to 5 January 1356  
C.P.R. 1354-1358, p.561  
Thomas de Alberton, yeoman of queen’s son (For queen)  
for life from 5 January 1356  
C.P.R. 1354-1358, p.561  
confirmed 20 May 1357  
C.P.R. 1354-1358, p.561  
William Gamdon, kings servant  
from 10 September 1370  
C.P.R. 1370-1374, p.4  

John Marmion  
for life from 20 July 1377  
C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.294  
confirmed 12 January 1379  
C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.294  
Robert Rocle  
on 27 June 1396  
C.R. 1396-1399, p.2 (Keeper)  

Private Constables  
William Gamboun  
confirmed 25 June 1372  
J.G.R. 1372-1376, no.13  
from 11 August 1372  
J.G.R. 1372-1376, no.272  

Wardship until inherited by Henry Bolingbroke  
William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire  
from 2 April 1399  
C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.502  

Sub-constables  
William de Burbrigge  
dead by 6 March 1325  
C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.106  
Henry du Boys  
on 6 March 1338  
E.101/20/19 m.3  
on 6 March 1338  
E.101/21/19 m.4  
on 7 July 1338  
E.101/21/19 m.4  
Robert Dowbygynge
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MALTON (THE LODGE)

History
mentioned 1138
dismantled 1214, but rebuilt
destroyed 1322

Constables
John de Mowbray, P.P. on 30 September 1317

Notes
Being held by 'ill-disposed people', preventing new constable from taking over. Order to Sheriff of York to retake it

30 September 1317

MIDDLEHAM

History
mentioned temp. John
keep late C12
modified late C13
modified C14

Tenant in chief
lord of Richmond Castle on 17 October 1388

Owners
Ralph de Neville of Raby, P.P.
on 20 July 1357
to 5 August 1367
John Neville of Raby, son of above
from 5 August 1367
to 17 October 1388
Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland, son of above
from 17 October 1388

MULGRAVE

History
built c.1220
modified c.1300
'ruinous' 1309
modified C14

Owners
Peter de Mauley III, P.P.
to 25 August 1309
Peter de Mauley IV, P.P., son of above
from 25 August 1309
ton 2 August 1326
don 13 February 1327
died May 1348
Peter de Mauley, V, P.P., son of above
to 18 January 1356
Margaret, widow of above
from 18 January 1356
ton 18 March 1355
to 8 August 1382
Peter de Mauley VI, P.P., son of both above
from 8 August 1382
on 23 September 1382
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Peter de Mauley, VIII, grandson of above, P.P.
under age 8 December 1383
from 20 March 1383
died 6 September 1415
Maud, widow of Peter Mauley, kn
from 27 November 1415
to 20 March 1383

NORTHALLERTON NO.2

History
built pre 1200
refortified 1314

Owners
Bishops of Durham
temp. entire period

Owners
Edmund, earl of Lancaster
from temp. Henry III
on 6 February 1292
not by 3 July 1297
Thomas earl of Lancaster
confiscated before 13 March 1322
writ 5 February 1327
Henry, earl of Lancaster
heir on 5 February 1327
on 23 April 1327
Henry, duke of Lancaster
on 13 November 1352
to 23 March 1361
dead by 16 July 1361
John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster
from 16 July 1361
on 8 March 1393
not by 12 December 1393
Henry Bolingbroke, future Henry IV
by 12 December 1393

Constables
Thomas de Ughtred, P.P.
from 13 March 1322
on 29 March 1322
on 20 July 1322
on 27 September 1322
to 8 November 1322
John de Kyluyngton
from 8 November 1322
on 22 November 1322
on 20 August 1323
on 30 August 1323
and from 16 April 1324
Henry, earl of Lancaster

Maud, widow of Peter Mauley, kn
from 27 November 1415
to 20 March 1383

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from 7 December 1326 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.424
David de Rouclyf, kn. confirmed
William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire from 20 March 1399 C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.295
David de Rouclyf on 2 June 1403 C.C.R 1402-1405, p.5
Stewards
Henry de Percy from 12 March 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.106
Private Constables
David de Rouclyf for life from 8 March 1393 C.R. 1396-1399, p.500
confirmed 12 December 1393 C.R. 1396-1399, p.500

PONTEFACT

History
mentioned temp Domesday King, p.523
modified C14, C15 King, p.523

Owners
Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln
on 28 December 1292 C.Ch.R. 1257-1300, p.427 (fee tail)
on 4 January 1293 C.R. 1292-1301, p.3
to king 16 November 1292 C.R. 1281-1292, p.511
on 20 April 1306 C.C.R 1302-1307, p.375
to 6 February 1311 I.P.M. V, no.279 (R.I.P.)
Thomas, earl of Lancaster & Alice de Lacy his wife, daughter. of above
from 6 February 1311 I.P.M. V, no.279
from 27 May 1311 C.R. 1307-1313, p.350
forfeited before 13 March 1322 C.R. 1319-1327, p.105
writ 5 February 1327 I.P.M. VII, no.82
Henry of Lancaster, brother of above
heir on 5 February 1327 I.P.M. VII, no.82
Queen Isabella
on 20 April 1327 C.M.R., no.33
on 8 March 1328 C.R. 1327-1330, p.248
to 10 February 1330 C.R. 1327-1330, p.500
Queen Philippa
from 12 February 1330 C.R. 1327-1330, p.500
from 1 January 1331 C.R. 1330-1334, p.55
from 20 July 1331 C.R. 1330-1334, p.161 (Partly)
on 20 July 1335 C.R. 1334-1338, p.206
on 12 June 1338 C.R. 1338-1340, p.92
not by 18 November 1348 C.R. 1345-1348, p.217
Henry, duke of Lancaster
restored to 20 November 1348 C.R. 1347-1356, p.102
to 23 March 1361 I.P.M. XI, 118 (R.I.P.)
dead by 16 July 1361 C.R. 1356-1368, p.164
John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster
from 16 July 1361 C.R. 1356-1368, p.164
on 10 July 1362 C.R. 1361-1364, p.232
on 17 June 1381 J.G.R. 1379-1393, no.551

Private Constables
Oliver de Stanefeld in September 1296 "Two Compoti of the Lancashire and Cheshire Manors of Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln", trans P.A. Lyons, Chetham Society, 112 (1884), p.147

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Constables

Prior of St. Oswalds

William le Vavasour, P.P.

from 16 November 1292

to 27 May 1311

C.P.R. 1281-1292, p.511

C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.346 (Keeper)

Simon de Draby

from 13 March 1322

to 24 March 1322

C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.105

C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.118

Thomas Deyvill

from 24 March 1322

on 20 April 1322

on 1 May 1322

on 2 June 1322

on 9 August 1322

on 22 August 1322

on 5 June 1323

on 18 November 1323

to 3 July 1323

C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.118

C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.541

C.C.R. 1318-1323, p.456

I.Misc II, no.618

C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.197

C.C.R 1318-1323, p.652

C.C.R 1323-1327, p.146?

William Grammary & Thomas Dcvill

to 3 July 1323

C.P.R. 1321-1324, p.306

Richard de Moscle

from 3 July 1323

on 12 August 1323

on 9 September 1323

on 1 October 1323

on 28 October 1323

on 1 April 1324

to 16 April 1324

on 21 April 1324

C.C.R 1321-1324, p.306

I.Misc II, no.2103

C.C.R 1323-1327, p.141

C.C.R 1323-1327, p.28

C.C.R 1323-1327, p.81

C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.272

C.C.R 1323-1327, p.93

Thomas Deyvill

from 16 April 1324

on 17 December 1324

on 18 December 1324

on 12 July 1325

to 3 January 1326

C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.272

C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.60

C.C.R 1323-1327, p.247

C.C.R 1323-1327, p.388

C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.205

Simon Warde, P.P.

from 3 January 1326

to 3 January 1326

C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.205

Thomas Deyvill

on 20 February 1326

on 9 February 1327

on 13 February 1327

Edward, duke of Aumale

from 20 March 1399

C.F.R. 1391-1399, p.297

Robert Waterton

on 28 July 1405

on 21 November 1415

C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.74

C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.237

Private Constables

Oliver de Stanesfeld

on 20 April 1306

C.C.R 1302-1307, p.375 (For Lacy)

Ralph de Beeston

in March 1322


Robert de Bosevill for Queen Isabella

on 8 March 1328

on 11 June 1338

on 12 June 1338

on 28 July 1338

C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.248

C.P.R. 1338-1340 p.92

C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.139

Maker of Bows, springalls, crossbows and cannons

Robert Walys

for life from 15 November 1399

C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.100

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Notes
Dukes Chapel moved here from 17 June 1381 J.G.R. 1379-1383, no.551

RAVENSWORTH

History
modified early C14 King, p.523

Owners
Fitz Hugh family
temp entire period P.T.Ryder, 'Ravensworth Castle, North Yorkshire', Yorkshire Archaeological Society 51 (1979), p.81

Henry fitz Hugh, Kn., P.P.
to 29 August 1386 I.P.M. XVI, no.396 (R.I.P.)
Henry fitz Hugh, son of above, P.P.
from 29 August 1386
from 6 November 1386 I.P.M. XVI, no.396 C.P.R. 1385-1389, p.182

RICHMOND

History
mentioned temp. Domesday King, p.524
modified C11,C12 King, p.524
attacked before 20 July 1340 C.P.R. 1340-1343, p.91

Owners
John de Brittany, earl of Richmond in c.1281-1286

to 17 October 1285 I.P.M. II, no.579 (R.I.P.)
Alice, his granddaughter from 17 October 1285
John, duke of Brittany to 15 October 1306 C.Ch.R. 1300-1326, p.69 (R.I.P.)
John of Brittany, earl of Richmond from 15 October 1306
John of Brittany, earl of Richmond to 2 August 1310 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.275
Arthur, duke of Brittany, brother of above from 2 August 1310 C.P.R. 1307-1313, p.275
C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.197
John of Brittany, earl of Richmond to 2 August 1310
Mary de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke from 1 January 1328
John III, duke of Brittany, earl of Richmond on 5 May 1331 C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.150
C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.150
John, duke of Brittany, count of Montfort from 4 July 1334
on 20 July 1340 C.P.R. 1330-1334, p.235
John of Gaunt, earl of Richmond to 16 May 1341 C.P.R. 1340-1343, p.89
His children on 4 July 1334 I.P.M. VIII, no.335 (R.I.P.)
John of Gaunt, earl of Richmond, duke of Lancaster on 20 November 1342 C.P.R. 1340-1343, p.197
on 27 June 1358 C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.61
on 20 May 1362 J.G.R. 1372-1376, no.13
to 25 June 1372
John, duke of Brittany, count of Montfort from 20 July 1372 C.P.R. 1370-1374, p.183
from 20 July 1372 C.Ch.R. 1341-1417, p.224
Queen Anne
before 14 December 1391 C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.13
not by 10 July 1394 C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.469 (R.I.P.)
to 3 November 1388 C.P.R. 1388-1392, p.13

Henry Fitz Hugh, leased for twelve years
from 3 November 1388 C.P.R. 1388-1392, p.13
confirmed 23 March 1391 C.P.R. 1388-1392, p.393
to death of Queen Anne

Thomas Arundel, bishop of York, Edward, earl of Rutland & John Waltam, bishop of Salisbury
from death of Queen Anne

John, duke of Brittany & earl of Montfort
on 14 December 1391 C.P.R. 1388-1392, p.13

Ralph de Neville, earl of Westmorland, granted by above for 12 years
from death of Queen Anne
on 11 July 1396 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.13

Edward, duke of Aumale
on 22 January 1398 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.350

Joan, sister of John earl of Richmond duke of Brittany, widow of Ralph de Neville, earl of Westmorland
for life from 20 October 1399 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.24
on 7 July 1400 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.318
on 25 January 1406 I.P.M. XIX, no.137

Constables
William de Felton
3 years from 21 February 1326 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.377
on 24 February 1326 C.F.R. 1324-1327, p.244

Robert de Byncestre
on 8 December 1326 C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.342

Roger de Quassington

on 24 April 1338 C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.29

Peter de Richmond
to 25 May 1341 C.P.R. 1340-1343, p.197

Thomas de Metham
from 25 May 1341 C.P.R. 1340-1343, p.197

Walter de Urswyk
on 30 August 1394 C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.499 (K.n.)

John Parker, esq.
granted reversion 30 August 1394 C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.499

John Lyttelbury
reversion for life 5 April 1395 C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.563
for life from 25 July 1395 C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.612
confirmed 26 July 1395 C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.612

Ralph Basset of Drayton; Anthony Ricz; Nicholas Alderwych

custody from 28 April 1398 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.350

William Newesom
from 12 August 1399 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.546
confirmed 26 August 1401 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.546

Private Constables
Roger de Quassington (from context)
on 24 April 1338 C.P.R. 1338-1340, p.29

Walter de Urswyk, duke’s esquire
for life from 20 May 1362 C.P.R. 1367-1370, p.77
confirmed 30 January 1368 C.P.R. 1367-1370, p.77

William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire
for life from 22 January 1398 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.317
confirmed 23 February 1398 C.P.R. 1396-1399, p.317

Wardships
for minority of John of Gaunt
Queen Philippa
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from 20 November 1342 C.P.R. 1340-1343, p.569

SANDAL

History
built 1190? King, p.524
mentioned 1240 King, p.524
modified mid C13 King, p.524
damaged 1317 King, p.524
in use 1328 King, p.524
siege 1460, 1645 King, p.524

Owners
John de Warenne, earl of Surrey
  to king & back 1 July 1316 C.P.R. 1313-1317, pp.483 & 485
  to 1 January 1319 C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.264
Thomas earl of Lancaster
  from 1 January 1319 C.P.R. 1317-1321, p.264
  before 19 March 1322 C.F.R. 1321-1324, p.112
  writ 5 February 1327 I.P.M. VII, no.82
Henry earl of Lancaster, brother of above
  heir on 5 February 1327 I.P.M. VII, no.82
John de Warenne, earl of Surrey
  requests its return 1318-1322 C.A.P.W., p.293
  on 2 March 1328 Ancient Deeds vol. I, A.351
  to 30 June 1347 I.P.M. IX, no54 (R.I.P.)
Edmund de Langley, duke of York
  gift from the King 6 August 1347 C.Ch.R. 1341-1417, p.63
  on 23 November 1358 C.P.R. 1358-1361, p.128
  on 10 September 1368 to 1 August 1402 I.P.M. XVIII, no.641
Edward, earl of Rutland, duke of York, son of above
  from 1 August 1402 I.P.M. XVIII, no.641
Henry le Scrope
  on 15 May 1413 C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.65
Joan, widow of Edmund, duke of York
  from 28 November 1415 C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.245

Constables while in Royal hands
Frank de Bresnes
  on 23 October 1240 C.Lib.R. 1267-1272, no.2279
William de la Beche
  from 19 March 1322 to 24 March 1322 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.112
  C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.118
Thomas Deyvill
  from 24 March 1322 to 16 April 1324 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.118
  C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.275
Laurence de Castellay
  on 3 March 1324 C.C.R 1323-1327, p.71
Richard de Moseley
  on 20 May 1324 C.C.R 1323-1327, p.104 (Muscle)
  on 4 January 1326 C.P.R. 1324-1327, p.205
  on 13 April 1326 C.C.R 1323-1327, p.463
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on 18 October 1424 Castle', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 22
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to be destroyed 1221
abandoned by 1350

Owners
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on 8 May 1389
to 13 July 1389
Thomas de Clifford, Kn., son of above, P. P. from 13 July 1389
on 29 October 1389
to 4 October 1391
John Lord of Clifford, son of above, P. P. from 4 October 1391
on 7 May 1415
died 13 March 1421
John de Rithe 2 November 1317
from 2 November 1317
from 6 November 1317
on 21 November 1317
on 6 July 1318
on 6 July 1318
not by 2 August 1318
Private Constables John Sampson temp 1267-1269
Constatbles John de Crokesle on 11 August 1293
John de St. John for life from 26 September 1300
dead by 20 October 1303
Richard Oysel (Skipton in Craven) on 8 March 1303
on 4 June 1303
on 28 March 1306
to 18 August 1307
Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln from 18 August 1307
on 28 October 1307
Gerard Salvayn on 10 August 1308
Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln from 14 September 1309
to 8 June 1310
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<td>John de Rythre</td>
<td>13 September 1322</td>
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<td>8 May 1389</td>
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<td>Ralph de Hastings</td>
<td>28 January 1344</td>
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<td>Ralph de Hastings, Knt. (Held of Thomas son of Duke of Norfolk)</td>
<td>27 October 1397</td>
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<td>John de Sutton, P.P.</td>
<td>4 February 1352</td>
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<tr>
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<td>5 October 1363</td>
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from to
5 October 1363 5 October 1363
I.P.M. XI, no.531 (R.I.P.)
Constance, wife of Peter de Mauley VI (R.I.P.)
from to
9 June 1401 9 June 1401
I.P.M. VIII, no.419
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from to
livery 23 June 1401
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27 November 1415
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TICKHILL

History
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temp. Domesday
modified
1178-9
modified
Cl4
siege
1322

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Amaneus de le Bret
from 24 August 1299
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<td>From 12 November 1276</td>
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<td>C.F.R. 1272-1281, p.305</td>
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<td>Constance, widow of Henry</td>
<td>From 11 March 1279</td>
<td>C.P.R. 1272-1281, p.305</td>
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<td>On 23 August 1301</td>
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<td>John de Doncaster</td>
<td>From 30 October 1304</td>
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<td>John de Staynton</td>
<td>From 27 June 1312</td>
<td>C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.499</td>
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<td>On 17 July 1312</td>
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<td>J.G.R. 1372-1376, no.23</td>
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confirmed 25 June 1372  
from 12 August 1372  
Sir Walter Irsewyk  
on 18 June 1381  
William Crishill  
on 16 May 1398  
Keepers  
Hugh de Totehill  
on 16 June 1347  
King's Stewards  
Master William Miremonte  
on 12 November 1279  
Humphrey de Waleden  
from 26 April 1320  
Humphrey de Waleden & Richard de Ikene  
from 8 March 1324  
Richard de Wynferthyng & Richard de Ikene  
from 20 August 1324  
Chaplains  
John Clarel  
to 11 May 1295  
Boniface de Saluciis  
from 11 May 1295  
Notes  
The Duchess of Brittany was kidnaped from here by Warmer de Giston and her men and taken to the 
honour of Pontefract  
28 November 1347  
Garrisons  
20 men at arms & archers  
on 18 June 1381  
UPSALL  
History  
built mid 14th cty.  
Owners  
Scrope family  
from c.1327  
WAKEFIELD  
History  
mentioned 1174-8  
mentioned 1323  
Constables  
Roger de Flete  
to 16 April 1324  
Richard de Modele  
from 16 April 1324  
WHORLTON  
History  
mentioned 1214,1216  
in bad repair 1343  
modified C14  
Tenant in Chief  
Abp Canterbury
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 Owners
John Darcy, the son, Kn., P.P.
to 5 March 1356 I.P.M. X, no.310 (R.I.P.)
John Darcy, son of above, died underage
from 5 March 1356 I.P.M. X, no.310
Elizabeth, widow of Peter de Mauley 'Le sisme'
to 9 July 1368 I.P.M. XII, no.240 (R.I.P.)
Philip Darcy, P.P. son of John Darcy above and Elizabeth
from 9 July 1368 I.P.M. XII, no.240
died 24 April 1399 G.E.C. IV, p.63
John Darcy, son of above, P.P.
inherited 24 April 1399 G.E.C. IV, p.63
died 9 December 1411 G.E.C. IV, p.63
Philip Darcy, son of above
from 1411 G.E.C. IV, p.63
underage 1413 G.E.C. IV, p.63

WRESSLE

 History
built late C14 King, p.528
built 1380-1390 J.Bilson, 'Proceedings in 1912, Wressle Castle',
demolished 1648 Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 22 (1913),

 Owners
Percys
from 1380-1390 J.Bilson, 'Proceedings in 1912, Wressle Castle',
Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland
forfeited by 10 August 1405 C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.46
Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland
on 27 June 1405 C.P.R. 1405-1408, p.40
Queen Joan
from 10 August 1405 Jacob, p.63

 Constables
Robert Badthorpe, esq.
for life from 8 August 1403 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.247
Queen Joan
for life from 10 September 1403 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.259
for life from 10 August 1405 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.46

WILTON-IN-CLEVELAND (BISHOP'S WILTON)

 History
licence to crenellate replaced 12 May 1330 C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.519
1807 King, p.531

 Owners
Ralph de Bulmer, P.P.
licence to crenellate 12 May 1330 C.P.R. 1327-1330, p.519
Ralph Bulmer, Kn.
to 24 April 1406 I.P.M. XIX, no.107 (R.I.P.)
Ralph Bulmer,
age 23+ on April 1406 I.P.M. XIX, no.107
to 5 August 1406 I.P.M. XIX, no.107 (R.I.P.)
Ralph Bulmer
heir, age 3 on August 1406 I.P.M. XIX, no.107
Agnes, widow of Ralph Bulmer, kn.
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from 8 November 1406 C.C.R 1405-1409, p.164 (Jointure)

YORK (CLIFFORDS TOWER)

History
built 1068, 1069 King, p.528
burnt 1190 King, p.528
rebuilt 1246-72 King, p.528
keep damaged 1684 King, p.528

Constables
Roger le Strange of Ellesmere, P.P.
on 12 July 1273 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.8
to 18 October 1274 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.31
Alexander de Kirton
from 18 October 1274 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.31
to 25 October 1278 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.103
Ranulf de Dacre
from 25 October 1278 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.103
to 29 May 1280 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.127
John de Lithegraynes
from 29 May 1280 C.F.R. 1272-1307, p.127
and from 15 November 1280 C.F.R. 1272-1281, p.404
John de Eure
to 5 March 1311 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.86
Gerard Salvayn
to 1 October 1314 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.212
John Malebys
from 1 October 1314 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.212
to 24 May 1315 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.249
Nicholas de Meinill, P.P.
from 24 May 1315 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.249
to 20 October 1315 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.261
Simon Warde, P.P.
from 20 October 1315 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.261
to 21 January 1317 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.316
Nicholas de Grey
from 21 January 1317 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.316
to 15 May 1318 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.360
Simon Warde, P.P.
from 15 May 1318 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.360
to 29 November 1318 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.382
Robert de Rithre
from 29 November 1318 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.382
to 19 December 1318 C.F.R. 1307-1310, p.387
Simon Warde, P.P.
from 19 December 1318 C.F.R. 1307-1319, p.387
to 15 June 1323 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.213
Roger de Somervill
from 15 June 1323 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.213
after 9 November 1324 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.317
to 26 February 1325 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.332
Henry de Faucomberge
from 26 February 1325 C.F.R. 1319-1327, p.332
Roger de Somervill
to 4 February 1327 C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.15
Henry de Faucomberge
from 4 February 1327 C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.15
to 30 September 1327 C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.64
John Darcy le Neveu, the son, P.P.
from 30 September 1327 C.F.R. 1327-1337, p.64
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<td>C.R. 1405-1413, p.221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Etton</td>
<td>3 November 1412</td>
<td>3 November 1412</td>
<td>C.R. 1405-1413, p.221</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Harington, P.P.</td>
<td>6 November 1413</td>
<td>6 November 1413</td>
<td>C.R. 1405-1413, p.221</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas Brounfile</td>
<td>12 November 1414</td>
<td>12 November 1414</td>
<td>C.R. 1405-1413, p.221</td>
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<tr>
<td>Richard Redeman</td>
<td>1 December 1415</td>
<td>1 December 1415</td>
<td>C.R. 1405-1413, p.221</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edmund Hastings</td>
<td>30 November 1416</td>
<td>30 November 1416</td>
<td>C.R. 1405-1413, p.221</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert Hilton</td>
<td>10 November 1417</td>
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<td>John Bygod</td>
<td>4 November 1418</td>
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<td>C.R. 1405-1413, p.221</td>
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from 4 November 1418 C.F.R. 1413-1422, p.261
Thomus Brounflcte 16 November 1420 C.F.R. 1413-1422, p.358
to
Alnath Maweleverer 16 November 1420 C.F.R. 1413-1422, p.358
from 2 April 1422 'York Memoranda Book, I (1376-1419)', ed.
in Maud Sellels, Surtees Society, 120 (1912), p.203
Gatekeeper 1300
John
in

Henry Miles
from 16 November 1420 C.F.R. 1413-1422, p.358
Porter
Richard Sutton
dead by 20 February1392 C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.33
Simon de Elvyngton
for life from 20 February1392 C.P.R. 1391-1396, p.33
Gaoler
William de Tyryngton
for life from October 1377 C.P.R. 1377-1381, p.27
Gaoler, keeper & Porter
Henry Maunsell, esq
for life from February1400 C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.192
vacated 1402
12 May 1402 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.92
to
William de Hoton 12 May 1402 C.P.R. 1401-1405, p.92 (Vacated)
for life from 6 June 1413 C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.39
John Manfeld 27 March 1411 C.P.R. 1413-1416, p.289
for life from 4 May 1414
John Leventhorpe
confirmed