

YORK: THE STORY OF ITS WALLS AND CASTLES



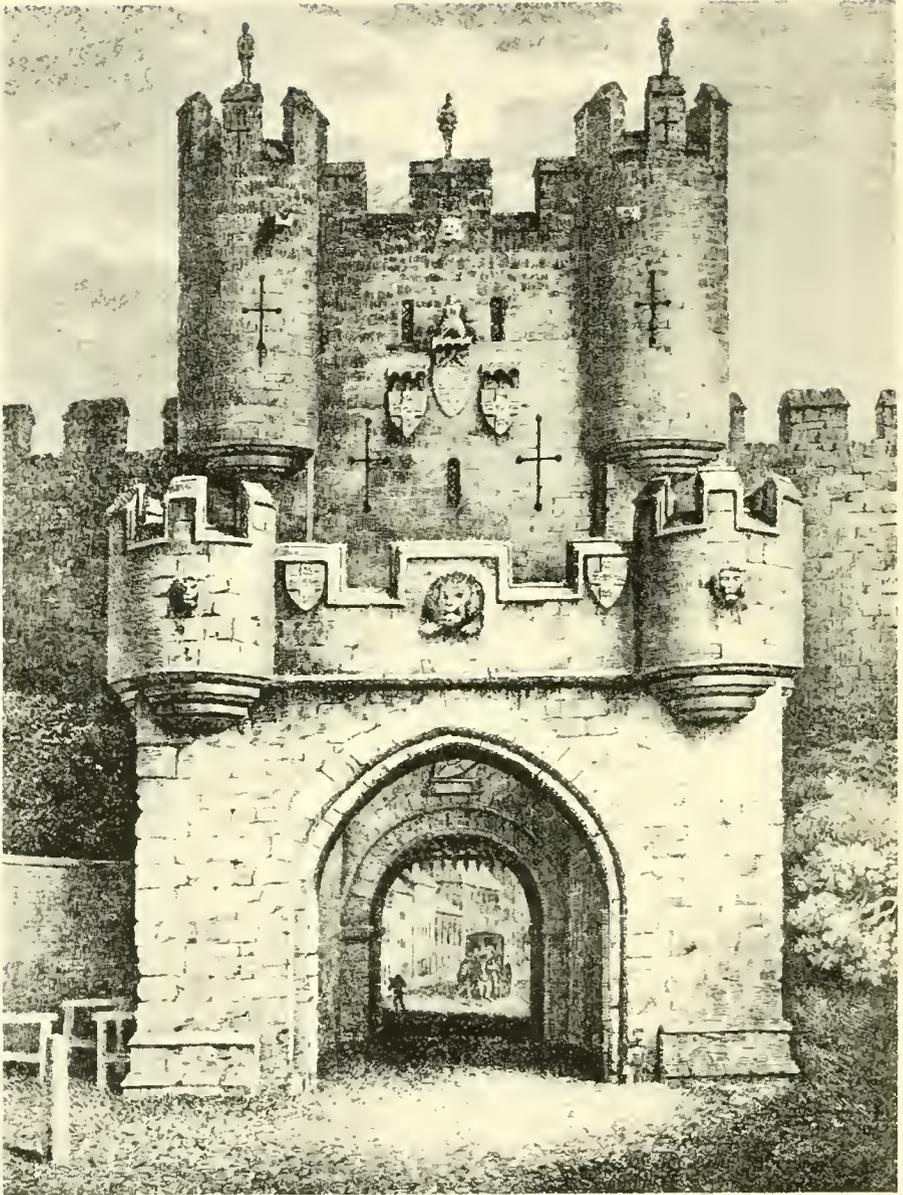
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YORK : THE STORY OF ITS WALLS, BARS,
AND CASTLES



MICKLEGATE BAR, WITH THE BARBICAN DESTROYED BY THE CORPORATION IN 1826.

From an Etching by Joseph Halfpenny, 1807.

YORK:

THE STORY OF ITS WALLS, BARS, AND CASTLES

BEING A COMPLETE HISTORY, AND PICTORIAL RECORD
OF THE DEFENCES OF THE CITY OF YORK, FROM
THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

T. P. COOPER

AUTHOR OF THE "OLD INNS AND INN SIGNS OF YORK"

WITH ORIGINAL DRAWINGS BY THE AUTHOR, NUMEROUS
ILLUSTRATIONS, PLANS, FACSIMILES, AND APPENDICES.

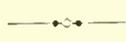
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PREFACE



THE subject-matter of the present volume has occupied my leisure thoughts and time for the last seven years, and during that period I have explored all available sources for information from which fresh light might be expected on this particular aspect of York.

Previously the subject has not been so exhaustively treated. The documents searched have never been so thoroughly worked before on these lines; hence much of the matter is quite new to the reading public.

As the whole of the history of the City of York, based on facts contained in the Close and Patent Rolls and other State Papers, will inevitably have to be re-written, this volume will, I hope, be acceptable, notwithstanding its obvious defects, as a preliminary and specialised study of local history.

From the wealth of historic data it was only possible in one volume to refer, except incidentally, to the Castle and Clifford's Tower. I propose, at a future date, to issue separately a complete history of the Castle of York.

For the ready access afforded me to the Calendars of State Papers and other records in the Cathedral Library, York, my acknowledgments are due to the Rev. Canon Watson. I am indebted for valuable aid to Mrs. E. Armitage, Rawdon, Leeds, an archæological enthusiast who has done very much to further my

researches. My thanks are tendered to the following gentlemen of York, who have helped me in various ways during the progress of my work—the Rev. John Solloway, M.A., B.D., Mr. Alfred Gibbons, F.S.A., Mr. George Benson, A.R.I.B.A., and Mr. John Henry Hill.

To Dr. Evelyn's kindness I owe the reproduction of the pencil drawing of Micklegate Bar. For most of the photographs, which were specially taken, I have to thank Mr. F. G. P. Benson; and for the plans Mr. Ernest W. Wray. The copyright views, taken by the late Mr. Joseph Duncan, are reproduced by permission of his daughter, Mrs. Lewin, Minster Gates. Mr. W. Watson, the Museum, and Mr. W. Dutton, have also granted me the use of photographs. Thanks are also due to the Proprietors of the *Yorkshire Gazette* for allowing me to search their files of early York newspapers.

T. P. COOPER.

16, WENTWORTH ROAD, YORK.

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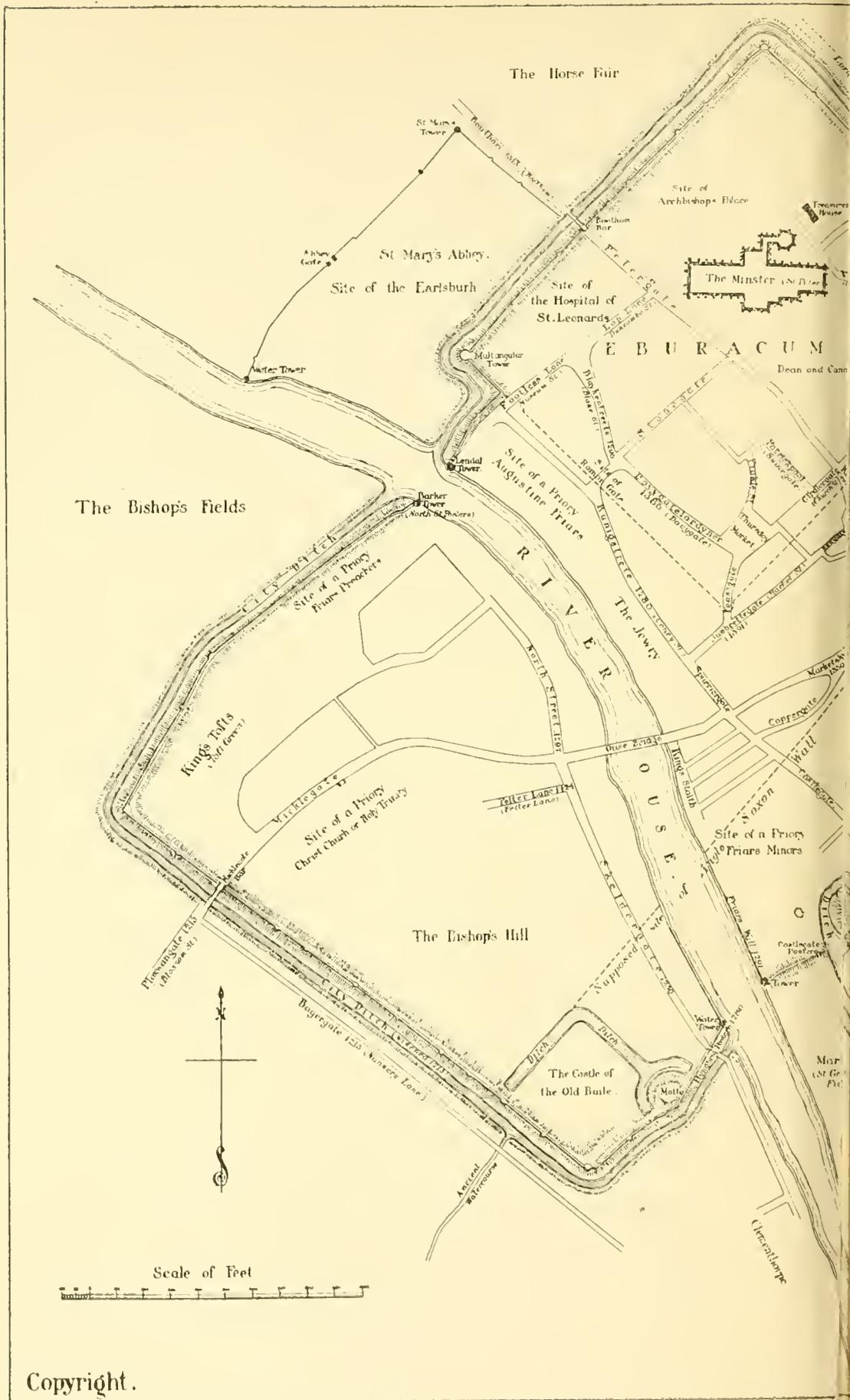
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PART I

*THE GENERAL HISTORY OF THE
WALLS AND EARTHWORKS, MURAGE
GRANTS, ETC.*

CHAPTER I

CELTIC SETTLEMENT AND ROMAN EBURACUM

Celtic settlement—The Brigantes—Eburacum—Roman occupation—First military fixed camp—Early castrametation—Walls of masonry—Fortifications of Eburacum described—Angle mural towers—Roman wall—Gates and roads—Multangular tower—Area of Eburacum—Wall constructed.

THERE is, perhaps, no city in Great Britain associated with such illustrious memorials of the past as the ancient, war-worn City of York. Its important archaeological vestiges invest the venerable place with an irresistible charm; and dwelling on them, the mind is carried, intuitively, down the centuries to its original founders, builders, and occupiers.

Numerous records of events illustrating the detailed story of its walls and castles have here been assiduously collected from original authorities. In this attempt to arrange these details in sections as a history of the martial defences of York, they necessarily appear rather detached. To obviate this, on any such plan, would be impossible; but by attaching to existing landmarks all associated events, the imagination and memory are alike assisted.

The origin of the habitable site is involved in great obscurity. It is extremely probable that where York now is there existed, before the subjugation of the country by the Romans, a tribal settlement of the

Brigantes. Such a favourably secure position in the centre of a well-watered plain, and near the confluence of two streams—the Ouse, at that time, being a tidal river to beyond the junction of the Foss—must have commended itself to the Celtic Britons. There are not, nor could there be expected, any visible traces of this early settlement—a hamlet formed while wolves and other beasts of prey prowled round the huts of our remote ancestors.

Most of the early English chroniclers have pretended to relate the origin of York, some assigning its foundation to fabulous creatures and peopling it with the descendants of Immortals. Rejecting the “fairy tales” and fanciful conjectures of monkish historians, sufficient undoubted evidence of its early existence can be gleaned from the records of the conquering Romans.

Julius Cæsar, and Strabo, the geographer, writing of the ancient Britons, tell us that their dwelling-places were in the woods—settlements surrounded by a high bank and ditch, in which enclosure they placed their huts and the sheds for their cattle.

The discovery of human bones buried below those of the Roman and English periods, in and about the city, has established, beyond doubt, the existence of such a pre-Roman settlement. By the earliest British inhabitants it was probably called Eburach, or Eborach, a significant appellation, supposed to denote its situation on the banks of a river, or at the meeting of the waters.¹

The shape and dimensions of the present castle mound do not appear to be very natural, and a point just at the confluence of two tidal streams, liable to heavy floods, is a very unlikely place for a mound of nature’s formation to have remained intact so as to have been appropriated by the Celtic Britons. Besides,

¹ Wellbeloved, p. 46.

on other grounds this hillock is not thought to be of such high antiquity ; and its certain elevation by the Normans is fully explained in a later chapter.

From the records of the Roman conquerors of Britain, which are generally reliable, and from the monuments of their progress in arms, especially in the north, we are enabled to gather satisfactory information concerning ancient Eburacum.

It was in 55 B.C. that the first Roman fleet appeared on the southern coast. Julius Cæsar made a descent on the shores of Kent, and, after a brief and harassing warfare, withdrew with his legions to Gaul. During the next year he made a second descent, accompanied by more soldiers, and a further advance was made into the country ; but before the approach of winter this army was likewise withdrawn.

Cæsar wrote a short but interesting account of the country, the earliest ever given. He indiscriminately describes all the Britons as "barbarians," and tells us that they were divided into many separate independent tribes, each having its own chieftain or king.

About a century elapsed before the Romans again attempted the conquest. In A.D. 43 the Emperor Claudius visited the island in person, having previously sent over a considerable army, some legions of which continued in the island until it was finally abandoned by the Romans.

A succession of generals and legions carried on a warfare of varying triumphs and defeats. Ostorius Scapula took over the command A.D. 50, and it was "during his government that we first meet with any notice of the Brigantes, who inhabited the district of which Eburacum was afterwards the capital."† The province of this tribe is supposed to have been very populous, and extended from Derbyshire towards the

† Wellbeloved, p. 6.

river Tees. We learn, however, that the Brigantes¹ were governed by a queen, Cartismandua, a woman of infamous memory. In what city she held her court is not stated, but in all probability Eburach was her capital.

Several great commanders and well-appointed armies, as time went on, arrived in Britain, and more determined efforts were made to subjugate the country. Julius Agricola, a general of great military skill, about the year 79 of the Christian era, conquered the Brigantes, and is reputed to have occupied, and fortified as a stationary camp, Eburacum.

During Agricola's campaigns, which covered a period of about six years, the Roman dominion was carried to its utmost extent. Thirty-five years after the recall of Agricola, Hadrian the emperor arrived, A.D. 120. We have no exact testimony that he visited Eburacum, but it is not improbable that he passed through the city. It is during the reign of Antoninus Pius that we find "the first clear and certain evidence of the existence of Eburacum."² The name is mentioned by Claudius Ptolemy, the Greek geographer of Alexandria. His account of the geography of the ancient world, supposed to have been written between A.D. 138 and A.D. 161, distinctly mentions Eburacum³ as the headquarters of the Sixth Legion.

¹ *Brigantes*. "Some would have it that this name meant mountaineers or hill-men from the same origin as the Welsh *bre*, a hill, and *bryn*, the same. But there are other words which seem to offer a better explanation, such as Welsh *bri*, renown, eminence; *braint*, privilege, formally written *bryeint* for *brigeint*, representing an early *brigantia* or *brigantion*, according as the word was fem. or neuter.

"On the whole, then, *Brigantes* would seem to have meant the free men or privileged race as contrasted with the Goidelic inhabitants, some of whom they may have reduced under them." Rhys, "Celtic Britain," pp. 282-283.

² Wellbeloved, p. 13.

³ Professor Rhys says, in a letter to the author: "It seems to

About the year A.D. 206 or 207, Septimus Severus arrived at Eburacum, then the chief city of the North, if not of the whole province of Britain. He marched against the Caledonians, and other northern tribes, in 208, and with considerable difficulty defeated them. The Emperor Severus returned to Eburacum, where he died, February 4, 210, worn out by vexation, fatigue, and disease. According to some historians he was buried where he died; others say his ashes were taken, with much ceremony, to Rome.

The natural mounds near York, known as Severus Hills, it is surmised derived their names from the Emperor's funeral pile—on which the body was reduced to ashes according to custom—having been erected on one of these eminences.

In A.D. 306 Constantius died at York, and his son Constantine, afterwards surnamed the Great, obtained the purple.

During the remainder of the time the Romans were in possession of Britain, very little more than the names of the governors of the province are mentioned, and no distinct notice of York occurs.

According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Britain was abandoned by the Romans in the year 418; but Horsley, in his "Britannia Romana," dates the withdrawal 446.

A more comprehensive and detailed account of the Roman occupation of York will be found in Wellbeloved's "Eburacum," a valuable work which contains memorials of Roman York in all its phases.

me that the natural explanation of the name *Eburacum* is a place abounding in yew-trees. I have in mind more particularly the old Irish word *ibur*, 'a yew-tree.' How far this would be compatible I do not know with reference to such Gaulish names as Eburones, Eburovices, and the like; but Eburo-vic-es might accordingly be explained *yew-fighters*, which would seem to suggest bows of yew."

Site of Eburacum and its Fortifications.—It is generally agreed that the site of Eburacum was first occupied as a military fixed station by Agricola about the year A.D. 79, although it probably had been selected and used as an occasional camp by his immediate predecessors.

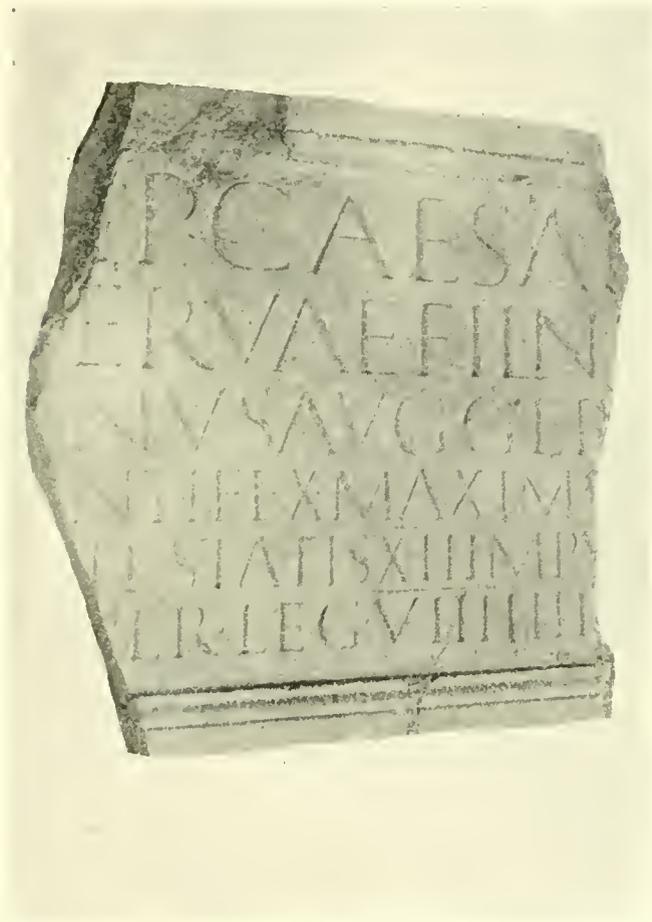
What works of castrametation Agricola performed is not known, and we are scarcely justified in assuming that he or his legates were the builders of stone fortifications. This illustrious commander, during his five or six years' administration in Britain, was occupied most of his time in subjugating the Caledonians to Roman rule. His base camp at Eburacum, it is premised, would merely be surrounded by a deep fosse and a rampart formed of earth, fortified with stakes or palisades.

This camp—rectangular in shape, having on each side an opening or gate through the rampart—his successors would use; and, whilst adhering to the general form and arrangement, they would in time erect, as a more durable bulwark, an elevated wall of stone.

Agricola was the most successful Roman general that visited Britain. From motives of jealousy alone was he recalled by the Emperor Domitian. During the reigns of Nerva and Trajan little respecting Britain is recorded. To the administration of the latter emperor we may, perhaps, assign the rebuilding of one of the gates of Eburacum. Although the Romans lavishly used inscriptive tablets, only one contemporary mural inscription has been found at York that may be regarded as alluding to their works of defence. In 1854, whilst some workmen were digging for a drain in King's Square, at a depth of about 28 feet they discovered a large inscribed tablet of limestone. The inscription is not quite complete, but the fragmentary lettering is very perfect, and records some work of magnitude and importance executed by the Ninth Legion by order of Trajan. This is considered to be, with but one or two

exceptions, the earliest dated Roman inscription found in Britain. According to the reading of it:—

“The Emperor Cæsar Nerva Trajan, son of the deified Nerva, Augustus, Germanicus, Dacicus, Chief Pontiff; invested the twelfth time with the Tribunitian Powers; Consul the fifth time; Father of his country;



Photo]

[H. Watson.

INSCRIBED TABLET FOUND IN KING'S SQUARE.

caused this to be performed by the Ninth Legion (called the Spanish).”¹

¹ Yorkshire Philosophical Society's Handbook, p. 47. Cf. “The Reign of Trajan,” illustrated by a monument found in York, Archæological Papers by Kenrick.

The precise work thus performed by the Ninth Legion at the bidding of the Emperor Trajan cannot with certainty be ascertained. As the tablet was found near the site of the south-east gate, which stood somewhere in the vicinity of King's Square, very possibly it was displayed on the front of this entrance. The incidents in the life of Trajan mentioned on the tablet synchronise with the years A.D. 108-109, and it may be assumed, therefore, that this gate was built at that period.

The circuit or line of the walls of Eburacum has been clearly ascertained by various excavations from time to time. Its four principal angles were strengthened with towers similar to the multangular tower, the finest Roman structure remaining in England—a relic of Eburacum which has withstood the ravages of war and the mouldering fingers of nearly two thousand years. Adjoining this angle-tower, in the Museum Grounds, a portion of the original wall is still visible, proceeding in nearly a south-eastern course towards St. Leonard's Hospital. Following the line of this wall onwards, massive foundations have been traced, plainly indicating its continuance. Crossing Museum Street, the foundations run underground behind the Abbey Restaurant. At certain distances the wall had a series of minor towers and turrets.

In November, 1901, when the Abbey Restaurant premises were being extended in Lendal, a mass of rubble work was unearthed, in excavating a cellar, which extended some feet outside the line of the wall and appeared to be part of the foundation of an obtuse-angled tower or bastion. Such a tower, at this point, would be half-way between the multangular tower and the foundations of a gate which were discovered in 1811, when the premises in the possession of the Yorkshire Insurance Company at the other end of

Lendal were erected. The position of a corresponding tower would be near where New Street passes over the line of the wall, in which locality the substructure may some day be unearthed.

In 1770 an important discovery was made when some workmen were laying a drain from the end of Davygate towards the corner of Lendal. About 7 feet below the surface of the street the remains of walls or buttresses were found, the foundations, doubtless, of the gate on this side, which stood at the end of a street in line with Stonegate, and from which a road proceeded across a bridge over the Ouse at this point. Nearly opposite the Guildhall, traces of a Roman street have been observed leading from the south-west bank of the river in the direction of Tanner Row and through the suburbs towards Tadcaster (Calcaria).

At various periods vestiges of the wall have been detected whilst workmen were digging for drains and cellars on the north-east side of Coney Street. In 1832 the disposition of one of the principal angular towers of the wall was determined by excavations in Feasegate. In the York Subsidy Roll, 15 Henry VIII., the Church of St. Peter the Little, which was situated near Peter Lane, Market Street, is described as near the walls. This reference to walls in that vicinity suggests that the Roman wall close by had not been destroyed even as late as 1524.¹ At right angles to the wall, behind Coney Street, similar indications have been traced of the south-east wall along Market Street, crossing Patrick Pool, then proceeding north-east of St. Andrewgate, terminating in Aldwark, not far within the present wall of the city, where some remains of an angle tower have been discovered.²

¹ See "The Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Society," vol. iv. p. 178.

² Wellbeloved, p. 50.

The north-east enceinte wall ran in a straight line towards an angular tower, near the site of the present tower, or bastion, at the end of Lord Mayor's Walk. It underlies the post-Roman earthen rampart upon which the mediæval wall is built, and, near Monk Bar, it is slightly within the present wall, which deviates from the straight in some places. Remains of the Roman wall



ROMAN WALL WITH MEDIÆVAL WALL ABOVE,
AS SEEN IN MR. LUND'S YARD, NEAR
MONK BAR.

have been discovered in the yard on the east side of the bar, where about 120 feet of the wall of Eburacum may be seen; it is faced with the original ashlar blocks, and until recently was covered by the earth-bank, which was cut away when the adjoining premises were erected in 1875. The wall exposed above the surface is about 6 feet high, and as the level of the Roman city is much

below the present ground line, several lower courses of the wall are buried.

About one hundred yards west of Monk Bar, in Mr. Gray's garden, another fragment of the wall is exposed to view. The vestiges found at this point are supposed to be part of the substructure of the north-east gate. The modern angle-tower or bastion opposite Archbishop Holgate's School is unquestionably built upon, or near, the site of a similar Roman tower. From this angle of the walls, in the direction of Bootham Bar, we are warranted in concluding that the Roman wall is buried in the earth-banks which bound the gardens of the Deanery and the Residence, as on the north-east side of the bar a small portion of the inner face of the wall of Eburacum is visible, the rampant mound having been cleared away.

Bootham Bar is erected upon the site of a Roman gate, a fact which has been proved by excavations.¹ At a distance of 11 feet from the south-west side of the bar was found the outer face of a wall, 3 feet in thickness, at right angles to the rampart wall. On searching just within the archway of the bar, another wall, of the same breadth, corresponding with the former in character and direction, was found. The space enclosed by these two walls was about 20 feet, and extended from the face of the rampart wall towards the city. It is highly probable, not to say certain, that this was a remnant of one of the gates of Eburacum.² Whether the gate extended outwards could not be ascertained, but it is reasonable to suppose that it did, so as to correspond with the projection of the multangular tower.³

¹ Wellbeloved, p. 51.

² Wellbeloved, p. 51.

³ Mr. Loftie, describing the arrangement of the city gates of Roman London, says: "Roman roads seldom or never issued from a gate at right angles to the adjacent wall—as may very

The Roman wall has been traced from this gateway to the multangular tower. When the regrettable breach was made in the city walls for the laying out of St. Leonard's Place, a considerable portion of the rampart and mediæval wall was cleared away. On the earth-banks being removed, a most extensive and interesting discovery was made. There was found a remnant of a Roman right-angled tower, extending inwards from the face of the rampart wall. Subsequently the remains of other two towers, or mural chambers, were found in the rampart behind the houses in St. Leonard's. The Roman wall is embedded in this portion of the earth-bank, but, further on, is uncovered for some little distance from where it emerges to join the multangular tower.

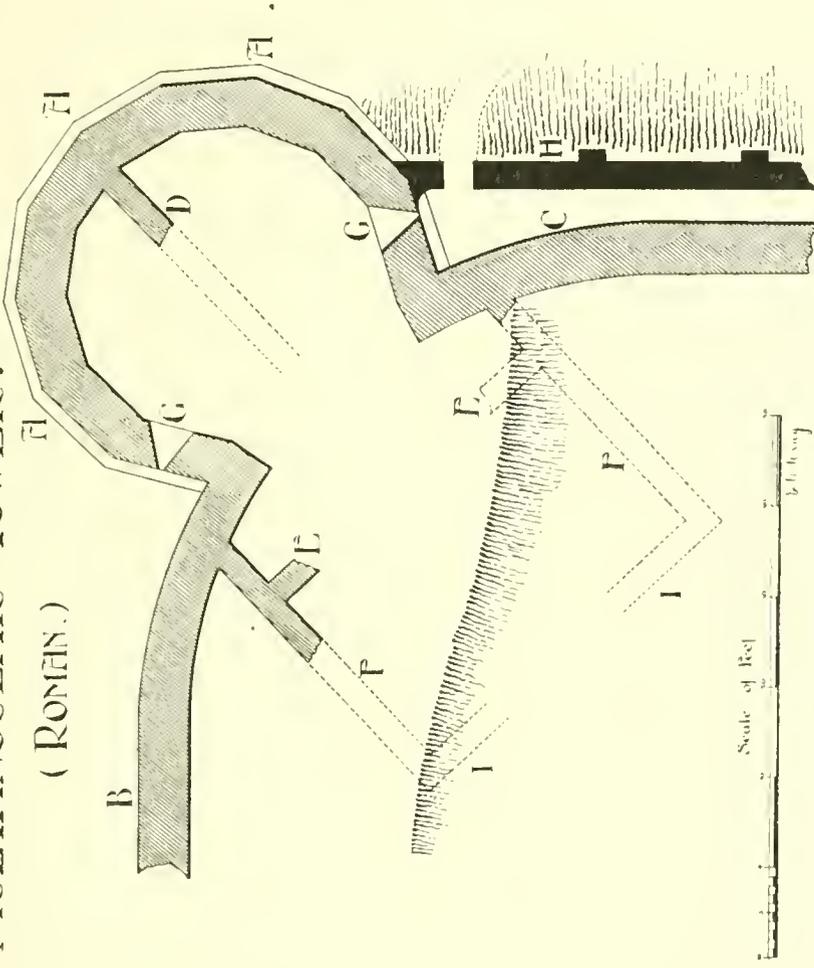
This obtuse-angled tower is one of the most notable and interesting relics of Eburacum, and the remains are in a remarkably good state of preservation. In mediæval works such towers merely capped the junction of two walls that met at a right angle; but, as in Roman camps, this tower stands in the centre of a curve of about 50 feet radius. Originally it had ten sides, forming nine obtuse angles—whence it derives its name—but the shell of masonry only shows nine faces. The tenth side was destroyed when the mediæval city walls were erected, which abut on the tower a few feet without the line of the Roman rampart wall.

The tower is built of rubble, faced with ashlar within and without, the blocks being 4 to 5 inches cube. The exterior has been much damaged, and rudely patched and repaired. The careful observer will easily discriminate between the mediæval and the original work.

plainly be seen at such a place as Pompeii. We find both the Watling and the Ermin Streets going off as if at a tangent when they have passed out" ("London," by W. J. Loftie, "Historic Towns," p. 4).

MULTANGULAR TOWER.

(ROMAN.)



PLAN OF THE ROMAN MULTANGULAR TOWER.

A A The Multangular wall of the Tower. **B** Roman wall proceeding from the Tower in the direction of Lendal and Coney Street. **C** Roman wall proceeding from the Tower in the direction of Bootham Bar. **D** Wall dividing the Tower into two portions. **E E** Wall at the entrance into the Tower. Traces of a similar wall have been seen at **I I**. **F F** Walls built for the purpose of supporting the interior ramparts. **G G** Apertures in the upper rooms of the Tower, which commanded a view of the exterior of the walls. **H** The mediæval city wall.

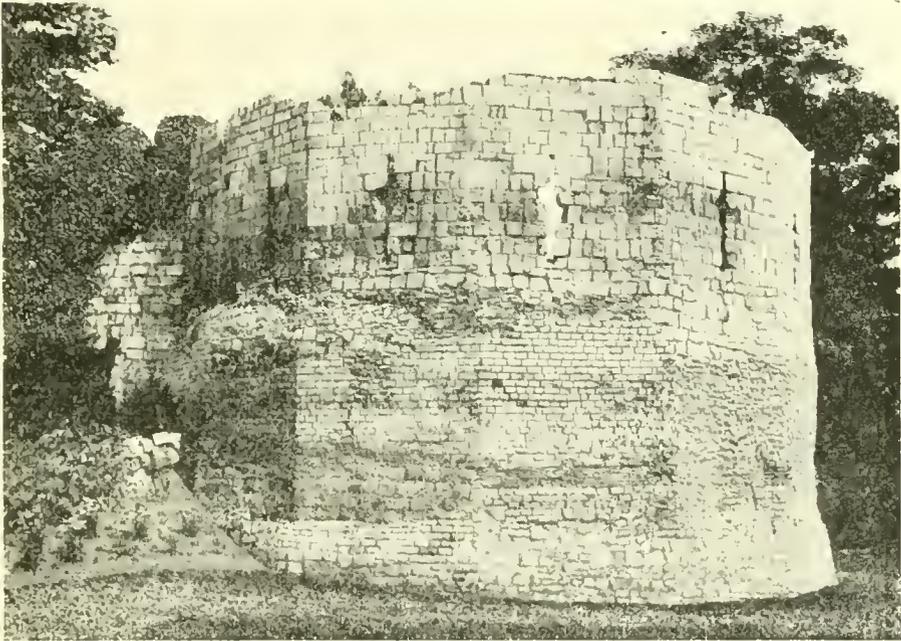
The Roman masonry is about 16 feet high from the concrete foundation. There is a band of five courses of bricks, each brick about 17 inches by 11 by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with thirteen courses of stone below and twenty-one above. Upon the latter has been placed a mediæval upper story composed of larger stones, which is about 3 feet thick and 12 feet high. Each of the nine sides is pierced by a cruciform loop, covered within by a pointed arch.

“The walling of the interior of the tower is formed of ashlar stones and bricks, of the same size as those of the exterior wall of the tower and the general wall. Fifteen courses of stones from the foundation form a perpendicular face about 5 feet 4 inches in height; then the upper portion recedes, leaving an offset of about 3 inches. Above this, five more courses of stone are laid, which raise the wall to about 7 feet from the concrete foundation. Upon these are laid five courses of bricks, as in the general wall, and upon these twenty-two courses of the squared stones, carrying up the wall 7 feet 9 inches higher. On the upper course the wall again contracts about 17 inches, when it is further raised by seven more courses of squared stones about 2 feet 7 inches, making the internal height of what remains 18 feet 6 inches from the foundation.

“Above this the wall is imperfect, and is coped with an average eleven feet of the more modern structure before mentioned.

“The diameter of the interior of the tower at the base, or floor, is about 33 feet 6 inches, and the plan consists of ten close sides of a nearly regular thirteen-sided figure, the whole of the ten sides being retained internally and externally by the rampart walls, which are curved about 4 feet 7 inches from the exact line. The interior has been divided into two equal portions by a wall 2 feet 11 inches in thickness. At the height

of about 5 feet there seems to have been originally a timber floor ; and above this, at the height of 9 feet 5 inches, there are evidences of another floor, the whole size of the interior. The lowest rooms of the tower appear to have had a mortar floor laid upon sand, and no aperture but the entrance to each. At present, in the second floor, which has apparently been also divided by the same wall into two apartments, there are only fragments of two apertures, and these have a direction



THE ROMAN MULTANGULAR TOWER FROM NORTH-WEST.

outwards merely for the purpose of surveying the general line of the rampart wall on each side and a portion of any forces that might be approaching, without exposing those in the tower to any annoyance, the outer opening being no more than 6 inches in width, but expanding inward to about 5 feet. The height of these apertures, owing to the imperfect state of the wall, cannot be ascertained.

“The wall dividing the interior of the tower appears

to have extended inwards, and also a wall on each side, and parallel to it; but these could not be traced to their full extent. Two offsets from these, at right angles, appear near the entrance of the tower, to which it is probable the doors of the lower rooms were fixed.”¹

From the remains and traces of the Roman walls that have been discovered and unearthed, it may be considered as established that Eburacum, in the second century of the Christian era, was a city of a rectangular form. By scaling the Ordnance Map the length of Eburacum, from east to west, is found to be about 540 yards, and from north to south about 470 yards. The area enclosed would be about $52\frac{1}{4}$ acres.

We may conclude that the wall had four principal angular towers, and a series of minor towers, and in the centre of each side an entrance gate.

The walls are not of solid masonry throughout, but constructed of concrete or rubble, faced with cut stones laid in regular courses. About half-way up the wall were placed five courses of bricks or tiles,² to strengthen and bind together the ashlar and rubble walling. The bricks are flush with the face of the masonry but do not extend through the wall, although they are seen at the same height on both sides.³ The ashlar, both on the exterior and interior face of the wall, is similarly worked.

The level of Eburacum seems to have been fairly even throughout, and in places is so much below the present somewhat uneven surface of the city that it is

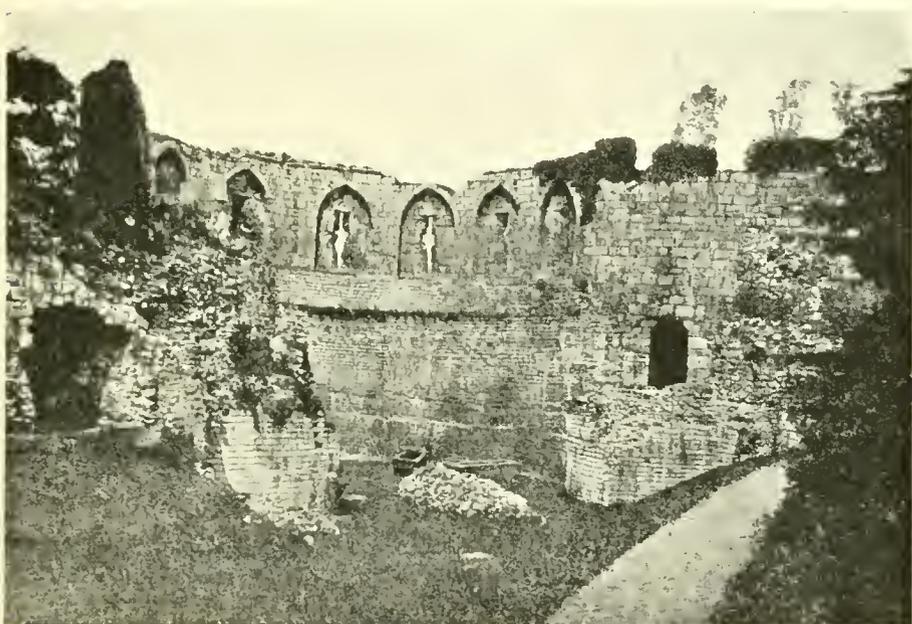
¹ Wellbeloved, pp. 57-58.

² There appears to have been three bands of bricks in the London Wall. See "Illustrations of Roman London," by Charles Roach Smith, pp. 14-19.

³ Cf. The London Wall, *The Antiquary*, vol. iii. pp. 62-65; cf. Roman Wall, "London," Loftie, p. 10.

difficult to decide whether the Roman wall stood on a natural plain of the level of the streets, or on the crest of the earth-bank that enclosed the earlier camp. From appearances it may be conjectured that the exterior slope of the old embankment was in part cut away, and the wall built on the outside, forming a revetment facing a ditch.

No inscription has been found that will help us in deciding definitely the date of erection of the stone wall



Photo

[7. *Duncan.*

ROMAN MULTANGULAR TOWER (INTERIOR).

that protected Eburacum. The Romans were very thorough in everything they undertook, and the remains of their wall, preserved to our day—after a lapse of nearly two thousand years—bear evidence of very superior workmanship. Earthworks were, undoubtedly, constructed around their temporary camps, but at what precise period such were superseded by masonry at Eburacum can only be conjectured. We have proof that the wall was executed by the Sixth Legion, as the

bricks used in its erection bear the impress of the legion.

This body of troops came into Britain with Hadrian, A.D. 117. In the reign of Antoninus Pius, about A.D. 190, we find its headquarters were at Eburacum, and continued to be there as long as the Romans remained in the island. The wall is considered to be late Roman work, and was most probably raised during the third century.

It is impossible to determine in what part of Eburacum the imperial palace was situated, or which was the Decuman or Prætorian gate. The chief streets in the camp were from gate to gate. Petergate and Stonegate run in the direction of the original ways. About 6 feet below the pavement of Stonegate the old Roman paved and concreted road has been discovered, and there was found a channel of grooved stone running down the centre of it as if for a skid-wheeled trolley or waggon. The original street level of Eburacum, in a line with Stonegate, was laid bare in Chapter House Street during the restoration and alteration of the Treasurer's House in 1899.

The military occupied quarters on the left bank of the Ouse, within the fortified area already described, and the civil portion of the community resided outside the camp, on the opposite side of the river. The inhabitants of this large suburb, with the soldiery, enjoyed the rights and privileges of Roman citizens. As the pagan portion of the populace had their temples, it is not unreasonable to suppose the Roman Christians possessed their own place of worship. As their church would not be within the confines of the fortified camp, it is assumed that it stood on the Bishop's Hill, near the present church of Holy Trinity.¹

¹ Mr. W. Harvey Brook, in a lecture delivered at York on the 16th of March, 1904, on the Benedictine Priory Church of

The original camp or station, it is thought, became too small, and its boundary was extended southwards, about twenty additional acres being enclosed by a later mural defence, although no remains indicating the certain existence of the wall of this enlarged area have been discovered, or at any rate recorded.

The suburbs of Eburacum extended some distance beyond the fortifications on all sides ; the south-west of the station and of the river seems to have been the most important. In this district numerous remains of public and domestic buildings, as well as of tombs, have been found. The most recent discovery of Roman remains occurred in 1899, when the Co-operative Society dug out their foundation in Railway Street. A number of stone columns and other vestiges of an extensive building, possibly a temple or residence, were brought to light.

Innumerable Roman remains, unearthed in the suburbs, are tabulated by Wellbeloved ; and a map of Roman, Mediæval, and Modern York, published by Mr. Robert H. Skaife in 1864, in an admirable manner indicates the site of each important archæological relic or discovery.

The stone employed in building the wall is magnesian limestone, probably procured from the Huddleston Quarries, which have been worked from very remote times. How the stone was conveyed to Eburacum is also conjectural. It was possible to bring it by the Roman road connecting Calcaria (Tadcaster) with Eburacum, or ship it in lighters on the Wharfe or Ouse, as was done in mediæval days.

the Holy Trinity, stated that he had discovered, by excavation on the site, some remains of early walling, which were considered to be Roman work.

CHAPTER II

ANGLO-SAXON AND DANISH DEFENCES

Arrival of the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons—Caer Ebrauc, Eoforwicceaster—Anglo-Saxon conquests—City occupied by Teutonic settlers—King Edwin and York—Ravages of war—Alcuin's account of York—Anglo-Saxon feuds—Arrival of the Danes, York captured—Anglo-Saxon defences—Stone Bow Gate—Danish Kings and Earls—English reaction—Ethelfleda's burhs—Burhs described—Burh-bót, a tax—Clan burhs—Asser and York—Danes retake York—Athelstan and Brunanburh—Earlsburh, York, a quasi-regal Residence—Coney Street the Cyning's or King's Street—Earl Siward—Tostig banished—Conflict at Fulford—York seized by Harold Hardrada—Battle of Stamford Bridge—Harold of England leaves the North.

SOON after the Romans had withdrawn their armies from Britain, the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons arrived on our shores. Whether the Britons, who were harried and plundered by the Picts and Scots and unable to defend themselves, had, in despair, invited these Teutonic tribes to come over and help them to drive off their Pictish enemies is not certain. But about the middle of the fifth century, the Jutes, Angles and Saxons seem to have effected a landing in considerable numbers on the south and east coasts. These plundering pirates brought their families, and from invaders they became permanent settlers, colonising several strips of land along the seaboard. Their first colonies were perched on steep headlands and by the side of the estuaries of the

greater rivers, or on some long spit of land like Holderness. They were rude barbarians, and it is said, in their advance inland, they destroyed and obliterated every trace of Roman civilisation. How far this is fact or fiction will never be decided, but it is true that traces of Roman occupation are few where these people first dwelt.

The occupation of Yorkshire by the Angli, or English, took place about the middle of the sixth century; but not one authentic word has come down to us as to how they captured *Caer Ebrauc* (York), the most important of about thirty British *caers*, or places of security, held by them.

This name of the city, as previously given to it by the post-Roman British, is descriptive of its fortified nature. *Caer* enters into many place-names in Wales, places of defence or security; and perhaps the terminal *Ebrauc*, in a more or less clipped or altered form, had allusion to its Roman predecessor *Eburacum*.

During the Anglian and Danish period the city was known by many aliases, such as *Eoferwic-ceaster*—*ceaster* from *castrum*, also representative of its fortifications—*Eoferwic*, *Heoferwic*, and *Euerwic*. The *Eoferwicingas* were the men or inhabitants of *Eoferwic*. The Danes subsequently changed the name to *Jorvik*, or *Yorwic*, and from this its present-day designation came by easy stages—*Jork*, *Zork*, *Yourke*, *York*—the *J* in *Jork* having the sound of the English *Y*. The early chroniclers used various spellings, as above, but it is, for clearness, desirable to adhere to its modern form all through in describing the city's many vicissitudes.

The legends of the Anglo-Saxon conquests are very meagre, and little or nothing is said about the origin of the chief English kingdoms of the North, or of the subjugation of the Roman city of *Eburacum*. From the coast they gradually conquered and annexed

adjacent districts, spreading westwards slowly but surely. We are told that in A.D. 547 Ida began to rule in the province of the Bernicians, and reigned twelve years. From him was descended the royal line of the Northumbrians. Ida's chief town or burh (fortress) was Bebbanburh (Bamborough, Northumberland), which he "timbered, and betyned with a hedge," but whether he was the first king of this province is uncertain.

The people of Deira occupied the country from the Humber to the Tees. Their frontier inland was probably the Wold Hills, overlooking the plain of York, a debatable and desirable boundary we can imagine often contested. Whether they conquered the Roman capital, or its citizens made terms with the invaders, historians have omitted to state. It is hardly probable the Anglo-Saxons subjugated Eburacum and devastated its fortifications, because from savage pirates they seem to have quite settled down into agriculturists and landmen by the time the old Roman city came under their direct influence. "It must have been a great boon to the Saxons to have cities ready built for them, as the Britons had too great a regard for the Romans to destroy their works."¹

We have no evidence that when the Britons were their own masters again they became utterly demoralised. Roman military discipline must have given them some experience and skill in the art of war. They may not have constructed any new defensive works, in masonry, upon Roman models, but those that were left to them in stone and brick were probably repaired, as subsequently the Anglo-Saxons appropriated the Roman defences of Eburacum.

The Celtic people of the plain of York cannot have been entirely exterminated; they may have held out

¹ "Fasti Ebor.," p. 3.

stubbornly for many decades, as there seem to have been some elements of a continuous political existence at York, and it was "almost certainly inhabited without interruption from the Roman period onward."¹ The Celtic inhabitants and the neighbouring Teutonic settlers most likely coalesced, and the city and its vicinity was conjointly occupied, rather than conquered, by the Angles and Saxons.²

During the six centuries that intervened between the departure of the Romans and the arrival of the Normans, the original walls of Eburacum partly protected those dwelling in the old capital.

When we consider the state and height of the existing remains of the Roman walls, and calculate the approximate level of the platform of the city during the centuries preceding the Norman Conquest, it would be a mistake to take it for granted the old walls were demolished. Although many Roman towns were depopulated and their communicating roads obliterated, there is no reason to suggest that the fortifications of York were destroyed, or indeed altered very materially, before the first coming of the Danes in 787.

Though the Anglo-Saxons had a great capacity for order and peaceful government, the historical records of the period are full of wars and slaughters. The petty kingdoms of the North were ever changing their boundaries, as one chief or king gained the ascendancy over another by the prowess of his arms or fell by the sword of a victorious neighbour.

York is not mentioned as the chief town of an English king before the days of Edwin,³ the founder of Edinburgh. The advent and influence of Christianity wrought great changes in the land. The baptizing of

¹ Grant Allen, "Anglo-Saxon Britain," p. 161.

² Cf. Wright, "The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon," p. 456.

³ Grant Allen, "Anglo-Saxon Britain," p. 35.

Edwin at York, on Easter Day, A.D. 627, by Paulinus, was an epoch-making event. An enormous incentive was given to progress and the arts of peace. Northumbria, under Edwin, became the chief English state; political and commercial life advanced; religious teachers and scholars congregated at York for social intercourse and mutual intellectual improvement.

Penda, the fierce pagan king of Mercia, hated the Christianised Northumbrians and their king, and in 633 he allied himself with Cadwallia, the king of North Wales, in a war against Edwin and his people. The Northumbrians suffered a defeat at Heathfield (probably Hatfield Chase, near Doncaster), where they lost their leader. The year after, 634, Edwin's cousin Osric, king of Deira, besieged York; but he and his followers were slain before the walls by Cadwalla's men, who made a sudden sally.

Christianity, education, and commerce for a time were under a cloud, and the pagans "undid all Northumbria"; but in 635 Oswald collected a force, engaged Cadwalla in battle near Hexham, and was victorious. The conqueror then became king of Northumbria, and rebuilt the minster at York on Edwin's foundations. For a considerable time the vicissitudes of York and its people are almost unrecorded. The feuds of unprincipled chiefs gradually disintegrated the kingdom of Northumbria. During this factious and unsettled period there was a succession of bishops at York,¹ and study and learning, almost without hope, struggled on in spite of the many elements of civil discord.

Alcuin, one of the most learned men of the eighth century, was born about A.D. 735, probably in the city of York. He tells us he received his education in the cloister school of York, where he had for his

¹ See "Lives of the Archbishops of York," Dixon and Raine.

masters Egbert and Albert, who successively filled the bishop's chair. He afterwards became himself master of the school, where he taught till A.D. 780. He was also appointed keeper of a celebrated library at York, of the contents of which he has given a curious account in one of his poems. He wrote many works, and his Latin poems¹ contain valuable information. He was of opinion that York was originally founded by the Romans, whose circumvallation of the city must have been preserved to his days, and with which he was familiar, and described as follows :—

“ This city, first, by Roman hand was form'd,
 With lofty towers and high-built walls adorn'd,
 To give their leaders a secure repose,
 Honour to the empire, terror to their foes.”

Although Northumbria was the dominant state in England, and its capital city the most important seat of learning in the whole country, no settled principle for the succession of its kings was adhered to. The elements of permanent stability were often assailed, and adventurous and self-willed warriors made it their zealous business to foment the spirit of unrest and banish or assassinate their rulers. “ Out of fourteen kings who reigned over Northumbria during the eighth century, no less than seven were put to death and six expelled by their rebellious subjects.”²

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle briefly mentions some of these feuds. Under the date A.D. 741 we read, “ In

¹ “ Hanc Romana manus muris et turribus altam
 Fundavit primo, comites sociosque laborum
 Indigenas tantum gentes adhibendo Britannas,
 Ut foret emporium terræ commune marisque ;
 Et fieret ducibus secunda potentia regni
 Et decus Imperii, terrorque hostilibus armis.”

ALCUIN, tom. i., p. 242, v. 19-29.

² Grant Allen, “ Anglo-Saxon Britain,” p. 125.

this year York was burnt"; in such a laconic manner a disastrous conflagration is recorded, perhaps the result of a sacking and wasting foe. In 758, during the Archbishopric of Egbert, brother to Eadbert, the Northumbrian king, the city was wasted again by fire. At Eastertide, 774, the Northumbrians drove their king Alchred from York, and took Ethelred, son of Moll, for their lord, who reigned four winters.

It was in 787 that the Scandinavian hordes began to ravage the shores of England. Meanwhile we hear very little of the North. Perhaps the almost utter destruction of its records by the heathen hordes has restricted our knowledge of Northumbria and the city of York.

The incursions of the Danes became more frequent; and in 866, emboldened by successes, they arranged a great attack upon the North. The following year York fell into their hands. Northumbria was then divided into two provinces, each having its own king, Osbert and Ella. Osbert had possession of York when the Danes arrived, from which he made a sally, and was slain with many of his brave followers. Soon afterwards Ella arrived before York and attempted to retake the city, but he was killed and his army nearly decimated by the Danes.

The capture of York was a great event for the aggressive Vikings, who plundered and destroyed wherever they went. After collecting much spoil they went back to East Anglia, but probably left a garrison in York, for they returned in 870 and reoccupied the city without any opposition, and in it they remained a whole year.

During the early years of the Danish inroads many towns and monasteries on the sea-coast were wantonly harried and plundered. Some monks, who had escaped the sword of the savage pirates, probably fled inland,

and were befriended by their brethren at York. The Bishop of York, hearing of the irretrievable ruin of monasteries and holy shrines, and being apprehensive lest the Danish incursions might culminate in an attack upon York, would naturally contrive some means of protecting the city and its magnificent churches. The defence of the city even at that period was an important undertaking, but what works were actually executed can only be conjectured.

York, at this epoch, was the noblest place of education in England. The renown of its school had spread through the greater part of Europe, and Alcuin, one of the brightest stars in the Anglo-Saxon Church, was sometime its chief-instructor, or principal. This great scholar has left us an account of the building of a magnificent church, or scholastic monastery. He describes the edifice in Latin verses, stating that a "new and wondrous structure" was erected by himself and Eanbald, at the command of their master, Archbishop Albert, who dedicated the building in the year 782. It is now considered that Alcuin's description does not allude to York Minster, but refers to the monastic establishment of Christ Church—a great Saxon edifice which preceded the Norman Benedictine Priory of Holy Trinity. This "wondrous basilica," as Alcuin describes it, was built at the request of Albert, and doubtless replaced a *monasterium* burnt down in 741. The shire, or ward, of the city, in which it stood, was probably that spoken of in Domesday Book as "the ward of the Archbishop," and this supposition may explain the name of the district known as Bishophill.

As the ravages of the Danes became more frequent, the Archbishop, who exercised a quasi-royal authority over the English burghers, would, we may be sure, devise and superintend the best plan for defending the city. The existence of the great monastery and other

Saxon churches upon the Bishop's Hill, on the south-west of the Ouse, will account for that district being included within the fortifications erected at the time of the Danish inroads. The Walmgate suburb, although a populous neighbourhood possessing some Anglo-Saxon churches, does not appear to have been protected until A.D. 1215, when it was enclosed by a ditch and its accompanying bank.

No distinguishing features in or about the city ramparts enable us to decide, at a glance, whether they were erected by the Anglo-Saxons, the Danes, or the Normans. It is only by piecing together the scraps of archæological and historical evidence that the defences of York are understood. Clark attributes to the post-Roman Britons the earthworks added to the Roman works at York ;¹ we shall, however, endeavour to show that the earthworks, as we see them, were not completed until early in the thirteenth century.

In considering what defensive works the Anglo-Saxons erected there is reason for believing that the utmost was made of the Roman walls. The new arrangement of castrametation was governed by existing defences, and the disposition of the extended area of the city. Two sections of the Roman wall, the north-east and north-west, seem to have been retained intact, and the appended district, on the opposite side of the Ouse, appears to have been enclosed by a wall of similar construction. "It is well known that the English were from a remote period conversant with masonry,"² and, if they constructed magnificent churches of stone, nothing is more natural than that they should have employed stone bulwarks to resist attack. The new wall was no doubt built upon the natural surface of the ground, and, like the Roman wall on the north side of the river, was

¹ Clark, "Mediæval Military Architecture," vol. i. p. 12.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 27.

subsequently buried in the high earthen bank upon which the mediæval wall is erected.

Commencing at what is now called North Street Postern, it is assumed the Anglo-Saxon wall was built round the Bishop's Hill or Micklegate district. At the commencement of this wall the Roman bulwarks, on two sides of the city no longer needed, would be partially demolished, and the materials may have been employed in the erection of the Anglo-Saxon wall. This inference is supported by the fact that some remains of the foundations, which have been exposed on the site of the old Roman wall, appear to have been at some time stripped of the ashlar. The Anglo-Saxon walls were turned towards the River Ouse near the half-hexagonal bastion, a few yards beyond Victoria Bar, just taking in the site of St. Mary's Church, which was apparently founded in Anglo-Saxon times, as sculptured stones of this period have been found within its precincts.

Baile Hill and its appended court, and the castle mound at the confluence of the Foss and Ouse, formed no part of the Anglo-Saxon defences, and were erected at the Norman Conquest outside the walls, as we afterwards hope to prove.

On the opposite side of the Ouse, we may safely assume, there was a wall or rampart pierced by an entrance gate, and surrounded by a ditch for the protection of the south-east side of the city. Commencing at the brink of the river, somewhere about where Peckitt Street is, it is conjectured a bulwark was erected passing over the high ground behind Coppergate and skirting The Pavement, with a continuation towards the angle-tower of the city walls, beyond St. Anthony's Hospital, where it would, presumably, be connected with the existing earthbank. The non-existence at the present day of a wall, ditch, or rampart on this side of the city does not prove that it was undefended. When the

Castle was built, and the Foss Basin formed by William the Conqueror (see Chapter III.), such a wall of defence, being no longer necessary, might be easily levelled, the ditch filled up, and its site appropriated for streets and dwelling-houses.

Soon after the Friars Minors became located below the Castle they extended their domains, and were permitted by the king to enclose and fill up a ditch, probably the old city ditch.

The great gate, the outlet for this side of the city, stood near the end of Fossgate, and the byway called Stone Bow Lane is eloquently reminiscent of the early existence of a stone gateway in this vicinity. The word *bow* is not actually exemplified in Old English, but it enters into numerous compounds, *stone-bow*¹—an arch of masonry—being the most common.² It has been suggested that this old stone-bow, or gateway, was the entrance to the monastery of the Carmelite Friars, but we find that the archway was a well-known landmark, and in existence long before the Carmelites abandoned their earlier dwelling-place outside the city walls. It is not generally known that the first religious house of the Friars of Mount Carmel of York was situated in the Horse Fair,³ without Bootham Bar (at present Clarence Street, &c.). As the raiding Scots frequently plundered this suburb and menaced the city in this neighbourhood, the friars sought safer and more peaceful quarters within the security of the city walls.

All the low ground lying between the River Foss and

¹ Beowulf, A.D. 1000.

² One of the mediæval gates of Lincoln is still known as the Stonebow. "I need hardly mention the name of the Stonebow, as it will have occurred to every one, the least conversant with such matters, that it is the old English name for an arch, preserved also in the name of Bow Church, or St. Mary-le-Bow, St. Mary-with-the-Arch" (Francis C. Massingberd).

³ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1313-17. pp. 177, 213.

The Pavement and St. Savioursgate in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was "void" land, or marshy ground, that had been reclaimed as silted up by the Foss Pool. The Patent Rolls contain many grants to various persons of this waste land. William de Vesey appears to have had in his possession a plot that extended from "le Stainbogh" towards the Foss, which was bounded on one side by the Mersks or marshes—boggy land, now appropriated by the Hungate district—and on the other side by the street of Fossgate. This piece of ground he gave ¹ to the Carmelites for their new monastery, and in a charter of confirmation ² by Edward I., dated at York, A.D. 1300, the stone gateway of the city is described as "le Stainbogh."³

This stone-bow was then the Anglo-Saxon outlet on the south-east front of the city. At the erection of the Castle at the confluence of the Foss and Ouse, and the formation of its circumscribing wet ditch or *fosse*, the original bed of the rivulet we now call the Foss was obliterated, and a large pool or lake formed. This pool overflowed, thus doing away with the roadway connecting this gate with the ancient road leading in

¹ "Oct. 16, 1295. License for the alienation in mortmain by William de Vesey, who is going to Gascony on the king's service, for the saving of his soul and the souls of his ancestors, to the prior and Carmelite Friars at York, of a messuage in *Staynbogh* in that city" (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1292-1301, p. 154).

² Drake, "Eboracum," Appendix, p. li.

³ The friars granted the site of their old monastery to Robert de Pykering, Dean of York, who built a chantry chapel thereon dedicated to St. Mary, wherein a chaplain celebrated "divine service daily for the souls of the king's progenitors, kings of England, for the soul of the king and the souls of the said Master Robert de Pykering and his ancestors and heirs and of all Christians" (Cal. Pat. Rolls, Edward II., 1313-17, pp. 177, 213).

After the dissolution of chantries, St. Peter's Grammar School was established in the disused building, which stood where Union Terrace now is.

the direction of the Humber. Domesday Book records that "the King has *three ways* by land and a *fourth by water*. In these all forfeitures belong to the King and the Earl, whichsoever way they go, either through the land of the King, or of the Archbishop or of the Earl." The "way by water" was the waterway of the River Ouse, and the three great ways by land were reached by the outlets at Micklegate, Bootham, and Monk Bars. The road leading up to the city gate called the Stone Bow must have been flooded and effaced for some distance, hence we read in Domesday of only "three ways by land." The King's Pool, also mentioned in Domesday, which covered an immense area in Norman times, completely defended the city on its south-east side; therefore the wall described, whether made of stone or earth and timber, was no longer needed, and its disuse and obliteration would date from the Norman Conquest.

During the ninth century Northumbria was ruled by Danish kings or princes, and their chief residence was at York. This is proved by the fact that their coins were minted in the ancient capital.¹ Guthfrith Cnut, who was a Christian, reigned at York from A.D. 884 to 896. Sigfrith, or Sigfrid, who first appears as a leader of the Northumbrian Danes in 893, and was associated with Guthfrith towards the close of his *régime*, must have reigned for some years after him, as most of Sigfrith's coins bear the name of York.

The Norsemen gradually formed permanent settlements in the land, and the Saxons, whenever a prince or leader of ability or restless enterprise arose among them, attacked the Danes, strenuous efforts being made from time to time to reduce the interlopers to submission.

A great English reaction began with the dawn of the

¹ Rev. D. H. Haigh, "Yorkshire Mints under Danish Kings," *Yorks. Archl. Journal*, vol. iv. pp. 75-77.

tenth century, and the West-Saxon king, Edward the Elder, the son of Alfred, was acknowledged as overlord of Northumbria. He, with his sister Ethelfleda, who had been trained in the exercise of authority, with a deliberate will turned to the complete conquest of the North. Abandoning the older methods of battle and raid for that of siege and fortress building, they, with masterly methods, devised a new plan of holding their territory by fortifying towns, or surrounding them with *burhs*, and using these as bases for fresh operations against the enemy. They bravely attacked and defeated the Danes in several of their strongest positions, and some of their garrisons quietly surrendered. Edward worked up the east side of the island and Ethelfleda up the west.

With undaunted courage Ethelfleda compelled the Danes to acknowledge her authority. Her latest victory and her death are quaintly recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: "In this year (918), with the aid of God, in the early part of the year, she got into her power peacefully the *burh* at Leicester; and the greatest part of the army which belonged thereto became subjected to her. And the people of York had also promised her, and some given a pledge, and some confirmed by oaths, that they would be at her disposal. But very soon after they had agreed thereon, she died at Tamworth twelve nights before Midsummer (June 12th), in the eighth year from the time she rightfully held the lordship over the Mercians."

This was a fortress-building epoch; the English were becoming clever engineers as well as keen fighters. The spade and trowel went hand-in-hand with the sword. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle mentions upwards of thirty *burhs* erected at the instigation of Edward and his sister Ethelfleda, and there were probably many others built, of which we have no precise information.

Most of the towns mentioned which were thus defended by a *burh* seem to have been places that had no previous *burh*, or protecting wall.

As York was already well protected by a *burh*, Roman bulwarks, and additional Anglo-Saxon fortifications, this will, perhaps, account for no mention of building, or rebuilding, of its defences by Ethelfleda.¹

It must not be assumed that when we speak of the *burh* of York we mean either of the moated mounds. Clark observed round hillocks in his day, at many places where the records in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tell of *burhs* having been erected, so he prematurely came to the conclusion that a *burh* was a moated mound. In his valuable treatise on English Castles he repeatedly refers to these artificial hillocks as *burhs*. He puts the question, "What, then, is a burh?" and immediately answers it by saying, "A burh is a moated mound with a table top and a base court, also moated, either appended to one side of it or within which it stands."²

Strange to say, for a long time this theory has been unquestioningly adopted by many writers upon antiquarian topics. But, without underrating the great work Clark accomplished, it must be confessed that his conclusions are not final. There is, moreover, strong evidence for believing that most, if not all, of the non-sepulchral artificial mounds of England were the work of the Normans. The philological and historical evi-

¹ "The Danes are usually accused of having destroyed the Roman glories of York, but a biographer of Bishop Oswald, whose Life has been discovered in comparatively recent years in a Cottonian MS., relieves them from this stigma. Oswald was himself a Dane, and his biographer states that the Roman walls were still in existence in 972, and all the chief public buildings and temples, though much battered and decayed."

² Clark, "Med. Mil. Arch.," vol. i. p. 23.

dence of the word *burh*,¹ and the obvious conclusions drawn from the actual defensive remains, have been dealt with by recent competent archæologists,² whose logical inferences clearly prove the nature of an Anglo-Saxon *burh*.

A walled or earthen-bank enclosure, the enceinte wall or vallum of a town or city, or any similar work of defence, was designated a *burh*. Many of these fortified enclosures were built for refuge and safety, whither the people fled on the approach of the marauding Danes. A remarkable charter³ that bears upon this subject was granted by Ethelred of Mercia and Ethelfleda his wife. It states that they commanded the *burh* of Worcester to be built as a protection to all the people. A new town was not built, but the old town was surrounded by a wall or embankment to protect its inhabitants from the Danes. If a moated mound had been erected "all the people" could not have found shelter within its limited defences.

During the ninth and early part of the tenth century a stone wall, palisaded earthbank, or protecting bulwark of a town was designated a *burh*, and subsequently the town or area enclosed or protected got to be called a *burh*, from which the word *borough* is descended, and thus the original meaning of the word has almost been lost sight of. By the laws of Athelstan all *burhs* had to be repaired within fourteen days after Rogations,⁴ and a tax called *burh-bót* was levied for keeping *burhs* or city walls in a state of defence.

Many entries in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle refer to *burhs* being built or repaired. In 886 Alfred repaired Londonburh. In 921 "king Eadweard, with an army

¹ See Murray's New English Dictionary.

² Armitage, "Anglo-Saxon Burhs and Early Norman Castles."

³ J. H. Round, "English Castles."

⁴ Athelstan, II, 13 ; Schmid, p. 138.

of West Saxons, went to Colchester, and repaired and renovated the *burh*, where it had previously been ruined." In 923 the latter king "went, after autumn, with a force to Thelwall, and commanded the *burh* to be built, and inhabited, and manned." These are typical notices of this wall-building epoch ; a time when castles were not so much required as extensive fortifications that would shelter a multitude of citizens, and their suburban neighbours who sought refuge from their common enemy, the Dane.

The English kinsfolk had settled in groups over the country they had conquered, and there are innumerable places whose names end in burgh, bury, or borough ; familiar place-names reminiscent of the early character of these ancient settlements. Scarborough—the *burh* on or by the scaur ; Canterbury (a Roman town)—the Cantwaraburh, a shelter for the Cantware, the people or men of Kent ; Aldborough—the eald or old *burh*, an earlier Roman fortified place appropriated by the Saxons. Many *burhs*, bearing characteristic English clan-names, mark the homes of distinct families of our forefathers ; places whose character as clan retreats are still distinguishable, although their protecting earthworks have disappeared. Hemingborough sheltered the Hemings, or it may have been the royal *burh* of a King Heming, unknown in history, but whose name is recorded on a rare coin of this period.¹ The Benings lived or sought refuge in Beningburh, or Beningborough ; the Gegnes in Gainsborough ; the Glæstinga in Glastonbury ; the Wellings in Wellingborough ; the Scrobsæte (the people of Shropshire) in Scrobbesburh, or Shrewsbury ; Aylesbury was the Ægelesburh.

Asser, the biographer of Alfred the Great, who was some time resident in York, and educated in its celebrated school (a foundation that preceded Holy Trinity

¹ "Yorkshire Mints," &c., p. 75.

Priory), and who wrote at the close of the ninth century, describes the storming of York in 867. He refers to the city walls both as *mania* and *murds*; and from his description ¹ we may safely conclude that the city was defended, at that time, by a stone wall; as such a wall then also existed at Exeter, and probably at many other places. That cities and towns were protected by stone walls at this period there is no room for question; and many of the burhs built in the ninth and tenth centuries must have been of this kind of structure, although the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle does not precisely mention the material used, except in one instance; that of the small town of Towcester, in Northants.

In 921 "before Easter (April 1st), king Eadweard gave orders to proceed to Towcester, and build the burh," but the work was delayed by the unsettled state of the country. A great army "went to Colchester, and beset the burh, and fought against it until they reduced it, and slew all the people, and took all that was there within, except the men who fled over the wall." In the autumn, Edward's men proceeded to surround Towcester with a "stan wealle" as contemplated earlier in the year.

Taking up the thread of Asser's circumstantial narrative again, it is noticed he further alludes to the defences of York; and he makes a rather important statement. He tells us that during the struggle in 867 the walls of York were breached by the Northumbrians

¹ "Pagani confestim fugam arripiunt, et intra urbis mœnia se defendere procurant; quorum fugam et pavorem Christiani cernentes, etiam intra urbis mœnia eos persequi, et murum frangere instituunt: quod et fecerunt; non enim tunc adhuc illa civitas firmos et stabilitos muros illis temporibus habebat; cumque Christiani murum, ut proposuerant, fregissent, et eorum magna pars in civitatem simul cum Paganis intrasset, Pagani dolore et necessitate compulsi, super eos atrociter irrumpunt, cœdunt, fugant, prosternunt intra et extra" (Asser).

themselves, and not by the invading forces of the Danes. This almost suggests that the actual scene of the fighting was at some distance from the city, and that the Northumbrians in their retreat did their utmost to despoil the fortifications before the city was occupied by the Danes.

In 923 York fell once more into the hands of the Danes, led by their chieftain Ragnald, who slew and drove into exile the most influential citizens.

Athelstan, the son of Edward the Elder, following up the successes of his father, in 925 conquered and annexed Northumbria, banishing its petty kings. The restless Danish population soon resented Athelstan's yoke, and in 937 was fought the famous battle of Brunanburh, where the Danes and their allies, the Scots and Cumbrians, were utterly routed by Athelstan and his brother Edmund. Constantine, king of Scots, and Anlaf, king of the Danes, were put to flight, and other five kings and seven earls were slain.

The Danes were not completely crushed, and what fighting and slaughter could not do was eventually accomplished by the effluxion of time, by intermarriage, and political forces; the Anglo-Saxons and Danes becoming an almost united people.

A new form of government was introduced, and earls, or jarls, were placed in authority. This position was held with difficulty, as the many petty jealousies of influential local *thegns* frequently brought about the deposition and assassination of their earl. York was the chief seat of the official earls of Northumbria, an arrangement which continued until the conquest of England by the Normans.

It is very probable that the Danes built themselves some kind of works at York for their own protection. If so, we should naturally expect to find such on that side of the city nearest the sea; but, as the moated

mounds of the two castles are considered Norman defences, we must look elsewhere for Danish fortifications. From the evidence we possess, they seem to have selected a site near where afterwards a church arose dedicated to the Norwegian saint Olave, or Olaf, who was canonised in A.D. 1030. Upon the plot of high ground called Galman-hô, or Galman-how, outside the city walls (upon which in the eleventh century St. Mary's Abbey was founded), appears to have been situated a quasi-regal Danish stronghold, defended by a burh.

The Danish kings and official earls doubtless had their headquarters here. Siward, a valiant soldier of repute, who was earl from 1038 to 1055, resided here. Some little time before his death he built the Church of St. Olaf on the outskirts of his domain. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that in 1055 "Earl Siward died at York, and he lies at Galmanhō, in the monastery which he himself had caused to be built and hallowed in the name of God and St. Olaf; and Tostig succeeded to the earldom which he had had." The fortified residence of these petty kings, and its appended court within the defences, was designated the Earlsburh, and it is very remarkable that this appellation has come down to our day. A terrace of houses in the vicinity has been given the name of Earlsborough Terrace, but perhaps few, if any, of the residents are aware of the historical significance of the name.

Drake (quoting Widdrington) frequently alludes to the Earlsburh as Earlsborough; and, in the light of eighteenth century archæological research, he erroneously concluded that it was a borough, with certain manorial rights and customs. The place, instead, was merely the fortified quarters of the Danish kings and Northumbrian earls, and their hûscarls or immediate followers. Tostig took up his abode here; but ere long he fell into

disfavour, and in 1065 "All the thanes in Yorkshire and in Northumberland gathered together and outlawed their earl, Tostig, and slew all his household-men that they could come at, both English and Danish, and took all his weapons at York, and gold and silver, and all his treasures which they could anywhere hear of, and sent after Morkere, son of earl Ælfgar, and chose him for their earl."¹ During this rebellion Earlsburh was attacked and its treasures carried away. Tostig was at the time in the South of England. Many of his hūscarls were slain, and others were drowned in the river Ouse below the burh.²

This Earlsburh was probably the Danish *castrum* or fortification, said to have been destroyed by Athelstan after the battle of Brunanburh, which Malmsbury speaks of, and which Drake interpreted as referring to the Castle of York.

The chief entrance to the fortified residence of the Saxon and Danish kings and earls was, apparently, approached by Coney Street—a direct route through the heart of the city—which has in its very name some reminiscences of a royal highroad, a cyning's or king's street. In old English the title of cyning, cining, kyning, and kunning appears first as the name of the chiefs of the various Anglian and Saxon "kins," tribes, or clans who invaded Britain, and of the petty states founded by them, as well as of the native British chiefs or princes with whom they fought, and of the Danish chiefs who at a later time invaded and occupied parts of the country.

The street of Lendal or Lendall was originally called Conyngstrete, and subsequently, "Auld Conyngstrete"; its present name is probably a corruption of Leadenhall. When building houses of stone came into fashion, such

¹ Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

² Cf. Symeant of Durham's account.

tenements were, for distinction, according to their roofing, called Tiled Halls, Thatched Halls; and, for difference' sake, those that had a predominance of glazed windows were Glazen Halls. In like manner, those that had leaden gutters, or some portion of their roofs of lead, were styled Leaden Halls, hence such a house in this neighbourhood would give its name to the thoroughfare—Leadenhall, Lendall, or Lendal.

In the Patent Rolls, Coney Street is variously spelt Coningestrete, Conyngestrete, Conigstrete, and Cuningstrete; and later it became Conyngstrete, Conystrrete, Cunnystreet, and Coney Street.

Spurriergate, a name which is of comparatively modern introduction, was always a continuation of Coney Street, and is described in ancient writings as Conynstrete, and Spurryergate alias Little Conystrrete. We thus have proof that the entire length of the highway leading from the Great South Road and the Anglo-Saxon Basilica, along the north-east bank of the river (that is, from Low Ousegate to the entrance to Earlsburh), was known in early times as the cyning's or king's street. Hence this king's highway had a twofold meaning, clearly proving the importance of Earlsburh as a regal residence.

At the Conquest, Earlsburh, with St. Olave's Church, was acquired by Alan the Red, a count of Brittany, one of the Conqueror's most trusted followers, and a soldier of renown. The place did not appeal to Alan as a residential seat. He had vast possessions bestowed on him by the king, including the honour and lordship of Richmond, where he built himself a new and stately castle, on an impregnable rock near the River Swale, and the new town of Richmond sprang up under its protecting walls.

The Earl of Richmond, about the year 1087, granted the Church of St. Olave, and the adjoining site of Earls-

burgh to Stephen, a Benedictine monk from Lastingham. A monastery was founded in the old church, which, eleven years later, was enlarged and re-dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. The original Church of St. Olave, although its use was abandoned, was allowed to remain, and subsequently it became a parish church.

In the history of the foundation of St. Mary's, in Dugdale's "Monasticon," it is said that one of the inducements which Earl Alan held out to the monks to settle there was an already fortified or defended site—"propter loci munitionem." It was evidently a desirable place, protected by a burgh, or wall of earth, surmounted with timber palisades. This latter inference appears correct as the Abbot, Simon de Warwick, is reported to have erected, in 1266, the walls and towers surrounding the close of the abbey—the earthen bank, by which it had been previously enclosed, not being sufficient to protect the monks from the hostile attacks of the citizens, who looked upon the prosperous monastic community with envious and malicious eyes, and frequently quarrelled with them and stormed the abbey. It may also have been found necessary to have a stronger defence to keep out the Scots when, during their plundering incursions, they reached the gates of York.

The memorable year 1066 is marked by great political changes, military invasions, and thrilling exploits. York played a foremost part in the many stirring events, and its old grey ramparts were again beset by foreign foemen. On January 6th Edward the Confessor died, and Earl Harold was immediately elected king and duly crowned. Tostig, the Northumbrian earl, who had been banished by a York *gemôt* in 1065, was the brother of the new monarch, and viewed the accession of Harold with dislike and hatred. Encouraged by sympathetic allies he sought to invade England. He successfully intrigued

with, and secured the aid of, Harold Hardrada, king of Norway. With a host of fighting Northmen they together harried the coast, and eventually entered the Humber.

With the object of seizing York, they sailed up the river, and towards the middle of September anchored their fleet at Riccall, a few miles below the city. Leaving their ships, they marched towards the ancient capital; but the Northumbrians, under Earls Edwin and Morker, had mustered their forces and stood in battle array to oppose the invaders. On September 20th the armies met at Gate Fulford. On the low meadow-land, opposite Bishopthorpe, a fierce battle ended in complete defeat for the Northumbrians. In headlong flight the two earls and their routed followers sought refuge within the walls of York. Four days later the city surrendered with little opposition to Harold Hardrada.

Edwin and Morker's apparent non-resistance was probably due to the dilapidated and weak state of the city's defences. Or, has been supposed, their half-hearted acceptance of Harold Godwinson as king led them to play treacherously into the hands of Tostig and his Norwegian friends.

Tidings of the occupation of York had reached Harold of England as he was busy preparing to resist the impending Norman invasion. With decision, courage, and energy he hurried northwards, arriving at York the day after its capitulation. Without resting, he marched through the city in the wake of the Norwegian army, which had withdrawn to Stamford Bridge, to await the hostages promised by Edwin and Morker. On the Monday morning, September 25th, the forces of Harold Hardrada were surprised at the sudden appearance of Harold and his brave Englishmen. A great battle ensued, which raged most of the day. The king of Norway and Earl Tostig were slain,

and, after severe slaughter on both sides, the Norwegians were put to flight.

Harold returned victorious to York. After a brief rest of two days, he marched hastily southward to resist the invasion by William of Normandy. He fought his last battle at Hastings, and heroically laid down his life for "the dear realm of England," which the conquering Normans so harshly ruled for many decades.

York must have been deserted, desolate, and unguarded whilst Edwin and Morker, with the Northumbrian hosts, were absent in the South of England. The war-worn walls of the old capital which had been so often assaulted greatly needed repair; but, whatever condition the city defences were in then, they were soon to be in the possession of the Normans, who, by their skill and experience in military engineering, added new features to the city's fortifications.

CHAPTER III

THE NORMAN PERIOD

Norman Gates and Masonry—Domesday Survey of York—Domesday Account and the Defences—Norman Military Engineers at York ; Nigel Fossart, Landric the Carpenter, Odo Balistarius—The City Ditch—The King's Ways by Land and Water—Castle Mounds—The King's Pool : the Royal Fishpond of Fosse ; its Norman origin ; Gardens and Water Mills devastated ; early Custodians of the Fishpond ; its bounds ; its site obliterated ; the Mersks, void plots near the Pool ; Leirfordbridge ; subsequent History of the Fishpond—York occupied by the Normans—William Rufus repairs the Castle—King Stephen in York—Battle of the Standard—Stephen's weak Administration—"Adulterine" Castles ; Wheldrake and Drax Castles suppressed.

*"How oft in Dust the hapless Town hath lain?
How oft its walls have chang'd? how oft its men?
How oft the Rage of Sword and Fire has mourn'd?"*

AFTER the many battles and sieges with which York was associated, both before and at the Conquest, its venerable walls must necessarily have been in a shattered, if not in a ruinous, condition. What defences, other than the castles, the Normans executed at York, it is very difficult to decide. In an inspection of the present city walls, through their having undergone so many repairs and patchings, it cannot be accurately stated that they exhibit any masonry attributable to the Normans. Nor can we expect to find any Norman walling left ; for the city ditches were widened, and the

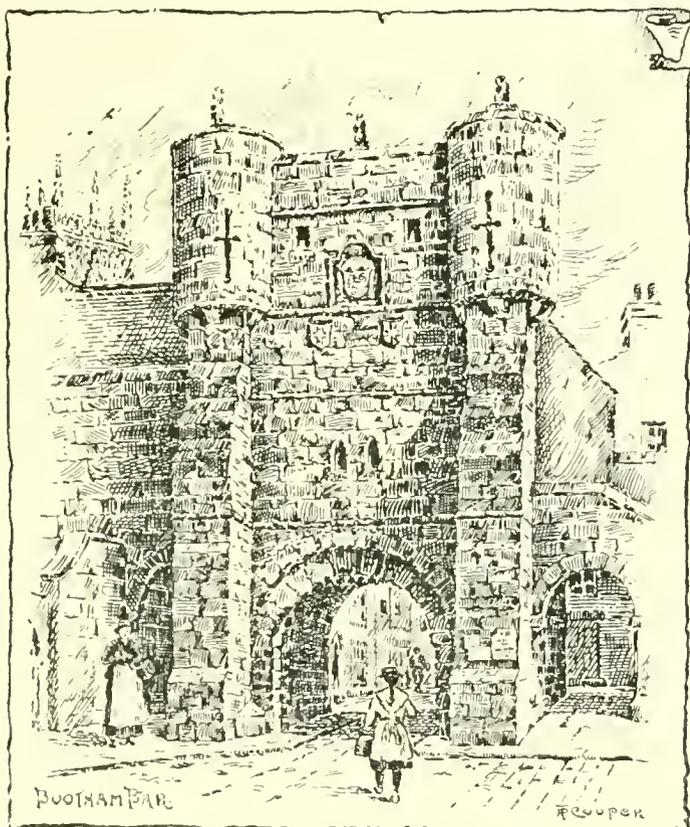
ramparts made higher, at a subsequent date. What mural defences there were then, on the embankments, would be either removed or buried in the execution of the new work.

The only stonework that may, with any degree of certainty, be assigned to this period is the older work in the basements of Bootham and Micklegate Bars. Within the centre passage of these two gates, on both sides, there are a few short courses of ancient masonry observable, which have all the characteristic features of Norman work. When the bars were enlarged and strengthened this older walling was incorporated and roughly bonded with later additions. The outer portal of Bootham Bar especially shows signs of having been erected before the introduction of the portcullis—a protecting drop-gate not known in England before the Plantagenet period—as the portcullis groove apparently formed no part of the original gateway.

The records of the Norman period are very few, and nothing is definitely known about the state of the city walls. The only contemporary writing that has any reference to the defences of York, is the survey of the city in that most priceless of all records—the Domesday Book—and this only alludes to the city ditches and castles.

The valuable historic details, so minutely recorded in Domesday, have not received that attention they deserve; and, until almost recently, this solitary manuscript of the Norman period remained, as it were, a sealed book to the majority of students. This was partly due to the want of a reliable extended version and translation of the whole of the Great Survey. A few counties have now been studied by experts, who have systematised and published their work for future reference. The survey of Yorkshire has been dealt with by that careful and trustworthy antiquary, Mr. Robert H.

Skaife, who has translated that portion dealing with the City of York and the rest of the county. The results of his labour are published in vols. xiii. and xiv. of the Yorkshire Archæological Journal. Turning to vol. iv. of the same journal we find "Biographical Notes on the Yorkshire Tenants named in Domesday Book," exhaustive researches by Mr. Alfred



BOOTHAM BAR.

S. Ellis. These are probably the only conscientious studies of the Yorkshire Survey, if we may except the "Translation of the Record called Domesday, so far as relates to the County of York, &c.," by the Rev. William Bawdwen, Vicar of Hooton Pagnell, published in 1809. The latter was a great undertaking, but as Mr. Skaife's translation is more reliable we take the

liberty to insert the following Survey of the City of York and its Suburbs. There is also a translation of this account in vol. iii. of Baines' "Yorkshire Past and Present."

THE SURVEY OF THE CITY OF YORK IN
DOMESDAY BOOK.

"In **Eboraco** civitate (York City), in the time of King Edward, beside the shire (*i.e.*, ward) of the Archbishop there were six shires. One of these is cleared [†] for the castle works. In five shires there were one thousand four hundred and eighteen inhabited mansions. Of one of these shires the Archbishop has yet a third part. In these no one else had custom unless as a burgess, except Merlesuain in a house which is within the castle, and except the canons wherever they dwelt; and except four judges, to whom the King granted this gift by his writ, and for so long as they lived. But the Archbishop had full custom from his shire. Of all the above-mentioned mansions, there are now inhabited, in the King's hands, rendering custom four hundred, less nine, great and small, and four hundred mansions, uninhabited, which render the better ones one penny and the others less, and five hundred and forty mansions so empty, that they render nothing at all; and foreigners hold one hundred and forty-five mansions. St. Cuthbert has one house which he always had, as many say, quit of all custom; but the burgesses say that it was not quit in the time of King Edward, unless as one house of the burgesses, save, only, that on account of it he had his own toll and that of the canons. Besides this, the Bishop of Durham has, of the gift of the King, the church of All Saints and what belongs to it, and all the land of Uctred and the land of Ernuin;

[†] "Vastata in castellis."

which Hugh the sheriff delivered to Bishop Walcher by the King's writ; and the burgesses who dwell in it say that they hold it under the King.

“The Count of Mortain has there fourteen mansions, and two stalls in the Shambles, and the church of St. Crux. Osbern son of Boson received these and whatsoever pertains to them. These mansions had belonged to these men:—Sonulf the priest, one; Morulf, one; Sterr, one; Esnarr, one; Gamel, with four drenges, one; Archil, five; Leuing the priest, two; Turfin, one; Ligulf, one.

“Nigel de Monneville has one mansion of a certain moneyer's.

“Nigel Fossart has two mansions of Modeva's, and he holds of the King.

“Waldin usurped two mansions of Ketel the priest's for one mansion of Sterr's.

“Hamelin has one mansion in the city ditch; and Waldin one mansion of Einulf's, and one mansion of Aluvin's.

“Richard de Surdeval [has] two mansions of Turchil's and Rauechil's.

“Nigel Fossard usurped two mansions, but he said that he had restored them to the Bishop of Coutances.

“William de Perci has fourteen mansions of these men: Bernulf, Gamelbar, Sort, Egbert, Selecolf, Algrim, Norman, Dunstan, Odulf, Weleret, Ulchel, Godelent, Sonneve, Otbert; and the church of St. Mary. Of Earl Hugh, the same William has two mansions of the two reeves of Earl Harold; but the burgesses say that one of them had not been the Earl's; but that the other had been forfeited by him. The church of St. Cuthbert, also, the same William vouches [or acknowledges himself to hold] of Earl Hugh, and seven small mansions containing fifty feet in breadth. Moreover, concerning one mansion of a certain Uctred, the burgesses say that

W. de Perci included it within the castle [works] after he returned from Scotland. William, himself, however, denies that he had the land of the said Uctred ; but, of the house itself, he said that he had appropriated it for the castle by [direction of] Hugh the sheriff, the first year after the destruction of the castles.

“Hugh the son of Baldric has four mansions of Aldulf’s, Hedned’s, Turchil’s and Gospatric’s, and twenty-nine small hospices, and the church of St. Andrew, which he bought.

“Robert Malet has nine mansions of these men :—Tumme, Grim, Grimchetel, Ernui, Elsi, and another Ernui, Glunier, Halden [and] Rauenchel.

“Erneis de Burun has four mansions of Grim’s, Aluuin’s, Gospatric’s and Gospatric’s, and the church of St. Martin. Two of these mansions render fourteen shillings.

“Gislebert Maminot has three mansions of Meurdoch’s.

“Berenger de Todenii has two mansions of Gamelcarle’s and Aluuin’s, and eight mansions used as lodgings. A moiety of these is in the city ditch.

“Osbert de Archis has two mansions of Brun the priest’s and his mother, and twelve mansions used as lodgings, and two mansions of the Bishop of Coutances.

“Odo Balistarius has three mansions of Forne’s and Orme’s, and one hospice of Elaf’s, and one church.

“Richard, the son of Erfast [has] three mansions of Alchemont’s and Gospatric’s and Bernulf’s, and the church of the Holy Trinity.

“Hubert de Montcanisi [has] one mansion of Bund’s.

“Landric the carpenter has ten mansions and a half which the sheriff made over to him.

“In the time of King Edward the city was worth to the king fifty-three pounds ; now, one hundred pounds by weight.

“In the shire of the Archbishop there were, in King

Edward's time, two hundred inhabited mansions, less eleven; now, there are one hundred inhabited mansions, great and small, besides the court of the archbishop, and the houses of the canons. In this shire the archbishop has as much [power, or right of justice?] as the King has in his shires.

[SUBURBS OF YORK.]

“In the geld of the city there are eighty-four carucates of land, and each of them rendered as much geld as one house in the city, and [was charged with] the three works of the King when the citizens were. Of these, the archbishop has six carucates, which three ploughs may till. These belong to the ferm of his hall. This was not let to inhabitants in the time of King Edward, but cultivated, in places, by the burgesses; now, it is the same. Of this land, the King's pool (*Stagnum regis*), destroyed two new mills worth twenty shillings [a year], and of arable land and meadows and gardens nearly one carucate. T.R.E.¹ it was worth sixteen shillings; now, three shillings.

VILLAGES NEAR YORK.

“In **Osboldeuic** (Osboldwick) [there is] land of the canons [consisting] of six carucates, where three ploughs may be. The canons have now two ploughs and a half there, and six villanes and three bordars having two ploughs and a half. Likewise in **Mortun** (Murton), the canons have four carucates of land, where two ploughs may be, but it is waste. These two vills have (*sic*) one leuga of breadth and one of length.

“In **Stoethun** (Stockton-on-the-Forest) there are six carucates, where three ploughs may be. They are waste. Of these, three are the canons' and three Earl Alan's.

¹ Time of King Edward.

It has (*sic*) half a leuga of length and half a leuga of breadth. In these there is neither meadow nor wood.

“ In **Sa'bura** (Sandburn, *depopulated*), there are three carucates, where one plough and a half may be. It is waste. *Ralph Pagenal* holds it. The canons say that they had it T.R.E.

“ In **Heuuarde** (Heworth), *Orm* had one manor of six carucates of land, which three ploughs may till. Now, *Hugh the son of Baldric* has one homager and one plough. T.R.E. it was worth ten shillings; now, five shillings.

“ In the same vill, *Waltef* had one manor of three carucates of land. Now, *Richard* has it of the Count of Mortain. T.R.E. it was worth ten shillings; now, ten shillings and eightpence. This vill [is] one leuga in length and half a leuga in breadth.

“ In **Fuleford** (Gate Fulford), *Morcar* had one manor of ten carucates of land. Now, *Earl Alan* has it. Five ploughs may be there. In the demesne there are now two ploughs; and six villanes have two ploughs there. It has in length one leuga, and half a leuga in breadth. T.R.E. it was worth twenty shillings; now sixteen.

“ Within the circuit of the city, *Torfin* had one carucate of land, and *Torchil* two carucates of land. Two ploughs may till these.

“ In **Cliftune** (Clifton), there are eighteen carucates of geldable land. Nine ploughs may till this. Now it is waste. T.R.E. it was worth twenty shillings. Of these, *Morcar* had nine carucates and a half of geldable land, which five ploughs may till. Now, *Earl Alan* has two ploughs there, and two villanes and four bordars with one plough. In it there are fifty acres of meadow. Of these, twenty-nine are St. Peter's, and the others are the Earl's. Besides these, the Archbishop has there eighteen acres of meadow. This manor is one leuga in length and another in breadth. T.R.E. it was worth

twenty shillings; now, the same. The Canons have eight carucates and a half. They are waste.

“ In **Roudelif** (Rawcliffe), there are three carucates of geldable land, which two ploughs may till. Of these, *Saxford*, the deacon, had (now St. Peter) two carucates with a hall, and they were worth ten shillings: and *Turber* had (now the King) one carucate, with a hall, and they were worth five shillings. Now, each is waste. Three acres of meadow are there. In the whole, half a leuga in length and as much in breadth.

“ In **Ouerton** (Overton), there are five carucates of land for geld, which two ploughs and a half may till. *Morcar* had a hall there. Now *Earl Alan* has one plough there, and five villanes and three bordars with three ploughs, and thirty acres of meadow, and wood, pasturable, one leuga in length and two quaranteens in breadth. T.R.E. and now, it was, and is, worth twenty shillings.

“ In **Scelton** (Skelton), there are nine carucates of land for geld, which four ploughs may till. Of these, *St. Peter* had, and has, three carucates. T.R.E. it was worth six shillings. Now, it is waste. Of this land, *Torber* held two carucates and six bovates, with a hall. Now, one farmer has it under the King, and two ploughs and six villanes are there. T.R.E. it was worth six shillings; now, eight. Of the same land, two carucates and six bovates belong to **Ouerton** (Overton). *Earl Alan* has one homager there with one plough. In the whole, half a leuga in length and half [a leuga] in breadth.

“ In **Mortun** (Murton, in Galtres, *Lost*) there are three carucates of land for geld, which one plough may till. *Archil* held this land, and it was worth ten shillings. Now, it is waste.

“ In **Wichistun** (Wigginton), there are three carucates for geld, which one plough may till. *Saxford* the

deacon held this ; now, *St. Peter* has it. It was, and is, waste. There is underwood there. In the whole, half a leuga in length and half [a leuga] in breadth.

[CUSTOMS AND LAWS.]

“These had soke and sac and tol and thaim and all customs in the time of King Edward :—Earl Harold, Merlesuen, Ulffenisc, Turgod-lag [man], Tochi, son of Otta, Eduin and Morcar upon the land of Ingold only, Gamel, son of Osbert, upon **Cotingeha**’ (Cottingham) only, Copsi upon **Cucualt** (Coxwold) only, and Cnut. Of these, he who committed trespass [*that is*, incurred forfeiture] made amends to no one, except to the King and the Earl.

“In the demesne manors the Earl had nothing at all, nor the King in the manors of the Earl, except what pertains to the spiritual jurisdiction, which belongs to the Archbishop.

“In all the land of St. Peter of York, and St. John, and St. Wilfrid, and St. Cuthbert, and of the Holy Trinity, in like manner, neither the King, nor the Earl, nor any one else, had any custom there.

“The King has three ways by land and a fourth by water. In these, every forfeiture is the King’s and the Earl’s wherever the ways lead, whether through the King’s land, or the Archbishop’s, or the Earl’s.

“If the King’s peace, given under his hand or seal, should be broken, amend to the King only is to be made by twelve hundreds, each hundred eight pounds.

“Peace given by the Earl, and broken by any one, amend to be made to the Earl himself by six hundreds, each hundred eight pounds.

“If any one should be outlawed according to law, no one, except the King, shall give him peace. But if

the Earl or the Sheriff shall have sent any one out of the district, they themselves may recall him, and give him peace, if they will.

“Those thanes who shall have had more than six manors, give relief of lands to the King only. The relief is eight pounds.

“But if he shall have had only six manors, or less, he gives to the sheriff, for relief, three marks of silver.

“But the burgesses of the city of York do not give relief.”

As the Survey of York was only quoted by Drake, and not altogether understood by this great historian, we venture to add a few notes, so far as the record especially refers to the city defences, and the military engineers who superintended the work at the time of the Norman occupation of the city. The study of Domesday Book has become a science, and as it requires the labour of a life to adequately grasp the subject, these fragmentary notes must not be considered criticisms of deep research, but merely suggestive annotations for further inquiry.

William of Normandy was a veritable conqueror. He seized and confiscated the whole country; and, in his apportionment of the many estates and town property, his mercenary followers, both military and ecclesiastic, received as payment a share of the spoil. Apart from the knightly warriors, there are others mentioned in Domesday whose rewards were for services in various departments of William's military organisation, such as the overseers of the fossors or ditchers, carpenters, and arbalisters.

As we are only concerned with the lore of fortifications, we will briefly refer to those few grantees who can be identified as having taken some share in local fortress building, adding an account of the King's Pool,

which was an integral part of the castle and city defences.

Nigel Fossart or **Fossard**, who took possession of two houses of Modeva's, was one of the great undertenants of the many Yorkshire lordships acquired by Robert, Count of Mortain, the holder of immense estates in other parts of England. In the Bayeux Tapestry the earl is portrayed as sitting on the left of William, Duke of Normandy, at the feast soon after landing. In a subsequent compartment of the pictorial narrative it is supposed Mortain is represented directing an intrenchment (*castellum*) being dug at Hastings. As the Conqueror's great warrior chiefs were rewarded with many possessions for their valour and help in bringing about the Conquest, it may be reasonably inferred that his military engineers also received some compensation for their timely and necessary aid. Nigel Fossard, who was so intimately associated with Mortain, was probably the chief *fossor* or ditcher; and he, doubtless, superintended the important and extensive operations of excavating the great ditches that surrounded the mounds and castles of York.

Landric the Carpenter had "ten mansions and a half which the sheriff made over to him" by the King's writ. At this date castles were chiefly constructed of timber; the look-out tower upon the conical mounds, and the protecting stockades, placed on the earthen ramparts of the baileys, and their counterscarps, were of this material. It would appear that *Landricus Carpentarius* was not merely a carpenter or workman, but a person of authority—perhaps the master-carpenter or engineer who directed this class of work when the castles of York were erected. This overseership, an office of consequence, probably entitled him to be acknowledged as a king's thane. At the time of the Survey, a Landric had property in Badthorpe (?) and

Acaster ; and a person of the same name was holding lands which the jurors said were William Malet's. These references may be to one man, Landric the Carpenter, as Malet, the Sheriff of Yorkshire, had charge of the castle works at York, under whom Landric would plan, prepare, and superintend the fixing of the defensive timber erections.

Odo Balistarius had "three mansions of Forne's and Orme's, and one hospice of Elaf's, and one church." These were Odo's possessions in York, but he had large estates bestowed upon him, situated in other places. We find he held eleven manors in Lincolnshire and fourteen in Yorkshire. This grantee, the *Balistarius* or crossbowman, was no doubt the captain or officer in charge of the arbalisters, and the missile-discharging engines used when the castles of York were besieged. He must have performed valuable services at the siege, and elsewhere, during William's conquering march, to have been rewarded with such extensive manors and estates. In "Testa de Nevil," under the heading "York Castle," and in the "Yorkshire Inquisitions," it is recorded that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Balistarius, or Arblaster family, held lands by sergeanty at Givendale and other villages in the East Riding of Yorkshire, by virtue of the service of an arblaster or crossbowman, part of the duty being—doing ward at York Castle for forty days in time of war at their own charges ; if longer, at the cost of the King, and to conduct the King's treasure through the county at the King's charges.¹

¹ From the following mandate issued by Edward I., during one of his campaigns against the Scots, it is noticed that the same class of men were required for military purposes as were employed by William the Conqueror. "April 4, 1296, Berwick. To the sheriff of Northumberland. As the King needs at present very many ditchers (*fossatoribus*), masons, carpenters and smiths, he orders the sheriff to cause all such suitable artificers or work-

The City Ditch.—One of the most essential parts of the city's defences was the deep and broad external ditch, and it appears rather strange that at the time of the Survey a number of small houses called "*mansions*" were situated "in the city ditch." A house, belonging to Hamelin, with others were located on the slopes of the city ramparts, or, more correctly, as stated, "in the city ditch." By being thus referred to in Domesday, it has been suggested that the ditch was without water—technically, a dry ditch. It could as easily, however, have been a wet ditch, with cottages clustered upon its innerscarp, as we find such encroachments had been permitted, and were removed in King John's reign. Inasmuch as no walls of defence are spoken of in the Great Survey, Clark assumed that, at the Conquest, York was defended only by a ditch.¹ The city ditch is, merely incidentally, mentioned in the account, because particulars of the above houses had to be placed on record for taxation purposes. If the ditch, however, had not been alluded to, we should scarcely have been justified in concluding that York, at that time, was undefended by either ditch or wall.

Some towns were more fully described in the Survey than York; but, as the Great Assessment was essentially a record of tax-paying property, we can hardly expect to find much information about such untaxable works as the Walls of York. In the eleventh century, the customs and privileges of great towns were dissimilar, and we gather from Domesday that at Oxford there were men whom he can find in his bailiwick to come to the King at Berwick-on-Tweed with their tools for the exercise of their crafts aforesaid, as John de Stok, King's clerk, whom the King is sending to the sheriff for this matter, shall say to him fully on the King's behalf" (Cal. Close Rolls, 1288-1296, p. 477).

¹ Clark, "Defences of York," p. 18; "Med. Mil. Arch.," vol. i. p. 36.

several houses called "wall mansions," the owners of which, if the King commanded, were obliged by their tenure to repair the city wall. Chester, Lincoln, Exeter, Hereford, Leicester, Stafford, and Colchester, as well as Oxford were protected by walls at the Conquest; and there are no reasonable grounds for assuming that York was not similarly defended.

Ways by Land and Water.—During the Roman occupation of York, *four* great highroads radiated from the city, and these were connected with the chief military roads and the subordinate network of cross-ways that traversed the whole country. Domesday tells us that at York "the King has three ways by land and a fourth by water," obviously suggesting that the *fourth* way by land was disused, or had by some means been obliterated. Of this we have treated in the account of the King's Pool.

The King's way "by water" was the river Ouse, an important waterway by which Royal Progresses were made, as well as being the route taken by the King's Commissioners. York was thus readily approached from the Midlands, the Ouse and Trent being in direct communication. These were navigable rivers of strong motive power, and trading vessels, with wind to their advantage, sailed along these rivers and landed their merchandise at various points. At Acaster Malbis, a few miles below York, there was a Roman encampment erected to protect the navigation of the Ouse. Its wide landing-place—unused in our time—is suggestive of an inland water trade up to a recent date. There are several roads radiating from this quay; and the early Danish traders would unship their goods here for Copmanthorpe, the Cheapman's Thorpe or merchants' village.¹

From the Domesday account of Torksey, Lincoln-

¹ Taylor, "Words and Places," p. 254.

shire, we learn "that if the King's Commissioners should come thither, the men of the town, with their ships, and other instruments of navigation, shall conduct them as far as York; and the Sheriff should provide the table of the commissioners, and the sailors, at his own expense."¹

When we know that, at the Conquest, the Ouse was of such consequence as a navigable waterway, and had been so for centuries previously, we can easily understand its being expressly called a "King's way." And the Normans, appreciating its capabilities as a trading navigation, would not be slow in utilising it as a means of transit for military purposes. We can, therefore, readily discern the Conqueror's motive when he placed his two castles at York just below the city, and in such close proximity to the River Ouse, which was, at that period, about twice its present width at high tide.

The King's Pool.—In the suburbs (that is, without the walls, but within the limits of the city boundary) was a large tract of fertile land, here and there fenced off and cultivated by the citizens. This area is described so: "In the geld of the city there are eighty-four carucates of land." It was amenable to city taxes, "and each of them"—that is, each carucate—"rendered as much geld as one house in the city. . . . Of this land, the King's Pool [*stagnum regis*] destroyed two new mills worth twenty shillings (a year), and of arable land and meadows and gardens nearly one carucate," which in the time of King Edward the Confessor "was worth sixteen shillings; now, three shillings." A *stagnum* was standing water—left by the overflow of a river—a large pool, or pond. This *stagnum regis*, the King's Pool, was really an artificial lake.

It became known in after years as the fish-pond of

¹ Domesday Book, Bawdwen's translation, p. 146.

Fosse. Drake ¹ was of opinion that this spacious basin was formed by the Romans to afford a safe anchorage for their ships and galleys. There is, however, great reason for doubting this conclusion, and it is as well to at once disabuse our minds of many former opinions about the Fosse, as well as of some about the Walls and Castles of York, since, as we shall show, we have much to unlearn.

That such a pool existed in pre-Norman times is a matter of mere fancy. There is not the slightest evidence to support such a theory, whereas Domesday Book very clearly gives us the story of the origin of the pool. The making of this lake and its subsequent history, form one of the most remarkable chapters in the annals of York. As it was so intimately associated with the Castle, and formed an important part of the city defences, it will perhaps be admissible to give a complete account of it at this juncture.

When William the Conqueror erected his second defensive castle on the tongue of land between the River Ouse and the adjoining rivulet—the original name of which has not come down to us—he made great use of this smaller stream, running close by his castle mound—a natural waterway that drained the Forest of Galtres. This watercourse takes its rise on Yearsley Moor, near Coxwold; flowing past Sheriff Hutton Castle, it runs along by Strensall and Huntington to York, the whole course being about seventeen miles in length.

The Normans placed a strong dam just below their castle, and the pent-up water was thus driven around both the castle and the citadel mound, adding greater security to an already strong position. In damming this stream, according to the military science of the time, to secure water in the castle-ditches or *fosse* a large tract

¹ "Eboracum," pp. 40-41.

of low land and the road leading up to the Stone-Bow city gate were submerged, forming an immense shallow lake. This newly-made pool overflowed nearly one carucate (120 acres) "of arable land and meadows and gardens" bordering the original river, and "two new mills" on the old stream "worth twenty shillings" a year were at the same time destroyed.

The level was probably raised sufficiently to allow of its waters being employed to flood the city ditches from Layerthorpe Postern along the north-east front. Subsequently the pond was connected with a wet ditch near the Red Tower. This protection to the Walmgate ramparts extended towards Fishergate, where the water fell into the pool of the Castle Mill, which was at a lower level than the Fosse. This mill-pool, no longer used for water-power, is now designated Browney Dyke. The river, where it flowed around the castle, was called the *fosse*, a name afterwards given to the King's Pool and to the whole length of the stream.

The large expanse of water in succeeding years became an important royal fishery. With the increasingly rigid rules of ecclesiasticism, as to fasting and abstinence from flesh meat, the supply of fish as an article of diet became a very important matter. Frequently the regal owners of the pond made presents to their favourite courtiers, bishops, and abbots of the bream, pike, and other fish for which the locality became celebrated. Many of these gifts are recorded on the Close Rolls. In 1221 the Sheriff of Yorkshire, by a mandate from the King, presented to Walter de Gray, Archbishop of York, as from his royal master, ten bream (*brevimas*) from "*vivario de Fosse*."¹ In 1228 the Archbishop received another gift of thirty bream. The King, in August, 1256, ordered the Sheriff "to let the Friars Preachers, Toft Green, have six pike out of the royal stew of Fosse, for the occasion

¹ Close Rolls, 1221, p. 515.

of the Provincial Chapters of the Order held at York in that year." Under a like order, sixty bream were given to the Abbot of Fountains in 1229.¹ On the 20th of August, 1285, instructions were given to the Sheriff "to cause Master Geoffrey de Aspehale, master of the Hospital of St. Leonard's, York, to have in the water of Fosse twenty-four bream, of the King's gift."² These are typical presents of fish from the King's Pool. Many such could be enumerated, but these few will help to show the value of the water as a royal stew.

The men who were employed in the fisheries of the Ouse and the regal waters of the Fosse would of course reside in the vicinity, and seem to have given the name of their occupation to the street, Fishergate.

The custodians of the Fosse were appointed by the King, and held the office under the Sheriff of the County, who paid them their wages, and the amount was allowed in that official's account at the Exchequer. As each new sheriff took office he was authorised by writ to pay the stipend of the keeper of the fishery. Many of these documents are entered on the Close and Patent Rolls, from which we have been able to compile a long list of custodians. Particulars of the earliest keepers traceable are given herewith, but the names and dates of appointment of many others are printed at the end of this volume.³

"Grant (on the 5th May, 1280) to Henry le Esqueler ('Squeler' in the marginal title), during good behaviour, of the bailiwick of the custody of the gate of York Castle and the custody of the prison of the said castle, *with the custody of the water of Fosse* there, if the custody of the prison and water aforesaid belong to the said bailiwick, and he is to receive as much as other keepers. By the

¹ Close Rolls, 1227-1231, p. 278.

² Close Rolls, 1279-1288, p. 336.

³ Appendix A

King on the information of Anthony Bek and brother William de Faversham.”¹

The custody of the Castle gate and prison was not always held in conjunction with the keepership of the Fosse. These offices, in later times, were kept distinct and held by separate persons whose names are recorded, with the amount they were paid as wages. Some of the keepers were royal pensioners, and others wealthy persons whose duties were performed by deputy.

On January 20, 1312, an order was given to the Sheriff “to pay to Richard de Alverton and William de Castelay, keepers of the King’s fishpond (*vivarii*) of Fosse, their wages, to wit 2d. daily each, together with the arrears of the same since the sheriff’s appointment. By the King on the information of Edmund de Malo Lacu, Steward of the Household.”²

Eight years later we find the keepership had changed hands, and the wages show a substantial increase. The Sheriff, on January 22, 1320, was instructed “to pay to Oliver de Sambuce, yeoman of the king’s chamber, the arrears of his wages as keeper of the King’s pond of Fosse, the custody whereof the King granted to him for life, on 6th November, in the 12th year of his reign, receiving therefor 6d. a day from the Sheriff of Yorkshire, and to continue to pay the same.”³

One of the duties of the keepers was to detect and arrest trespassers, or poachers, of the King’s fish. It will be seen from the following extract from the Patent Rolls that Thomas de Warthhill, a trespasser, was a person of some estate: “Appointment (June 7, 1293) of Master Henry de Neuwerk, dean of York, to the custody of Alice, late the wife of Gilbert de Luda, and her lands, until Thomas de Warthhill, who was appointed to the

¹ Cal. Patent Rolls, 1272-1281, p. 369.

² Cal. Close Rolls, 1307-1313, p. 408.

³ Ibid., 1318-1323, p. 175.

custody until she should become sane, *and who is now in York gaol for trespasses in the king's stew of Fosse, has done the king's pleasure for the said trespasses.*"¹

The custodians of this great fishpond had peculiar privileges. In the King's name they claimed the exclusive right of a narrow strip of land around the entire circuit of the lake. The bounds of the pool, which were of considerable extent, were from time to time surveyed and set forth in various inquisitions.

In the rugged days of old, when "might was right," it was considered proper—

"That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can."

This grasping spirit was occasionally manifested by the all-powerful sheriffs, who unscrupulously, under the slightest pretext, appropriated lands verging upon the brink of the pond. Robert de Crepping, who was Sheriff of the County from April 22, 1250, to Easter, 1253, appears to have gained an unenviable notoriety in such practices.

One arm of the pool extended between Layerthorpe and Hull Road, and at its extremity Tang Hall Beck flowed into the fishpond. Certain meadows, belonging to the Hospital of St. Nicholas, and others in the possession of the Prebend of Fridaythorpe, pertaining to his Hall of Tang, and bordering the Fosse, were unlawfully seized and occupied by Sheriff Crepping.

The Master and Brethren of the hospital complained to the King of the injustice of Crepping's purpresture. The following judicial inquiries on the subject are printed in vol. i.: Yorkshire Inquisitions, Yorkshire Archæological Journal, but it will be seen that the aggrieved monks, after the proverbial delays of the

¹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1292-1301, p. 20.

law, received little amends for the loss they had sustained.

By writ dated at Windsor, 17 July, 3rd Edward I. (1275), the following inquisition was taken with respect to an alleged encroachment upon the lands of the hospital :

“The King sent to Gwychard de Charrum and William de Northburgh, that whereas it was shown on behalf of the Master and Brethren of the Hospital of St. Nicholas, York, that one carucate of land and one acre and a half of meadow in the suburb of the City of York, were provided for the support of lepers coming to the hospital by the ancestors of the King, and confirmed by them, and that they and their predecessors had peacefully held the land and meadow from the time when they were first enfeoffed, until Robert de Creppinge, sometime Sheriff of Yorkshire, in the late King Henry’s time, ejected them unjustly and without judgment, so that that meadow had been withheld by him and other Sheriffs of Yorkshire for twenty years, to the no mean damage of the said Master and Brethren and their manifest disinhercion—Now Robert de Creppinge, called by the said Gwychard and William, says that while he was Sheriff of Yorkshire, he saw that the acre and a half of meadow abutted upon the King’s vivary, of Fosse, so that at every inundation of the water the meadow was covered ; and because he saw that if the King should wish to move his mills, then beneath the Castle, and to raise the head of his vivary, that meadow would be under water every hour of the year. He believed, as some of the Wapentake of Bulmere gave him to understand, that the meadow appertained to the King, and for that reason he seized it into the King’s hand and held it so long as he was Sheriff of the County, and all the Sheriffs up to now have done the same.

“Inquisition is made by men as well of the City as of the suburb (*suburbio*) of the same, namely, by the oath of Walter de Grymeston, John Verdenel, William de Malton, William de Roston, Peter Walding, Alexander Tailor (*cissoris*), Nicholas son of Hugh, Thomas de Nafferton, Simon Everard, John de Dalton, William Long (*le lung*), and Thomas Clerk (*clerici*), who say upon their oath that the said carucate of land and the meadow are not, and never were, of ancient demesne of the crown; nor were they ever farmed at the King’s Exchequer. They say that the Empress Maud, formerly Queen of England, bought the carucate of land and the meadow, and gave them to the said Hospital and Brethren on this condition—that they would for ever find for all lepers coming to that Hospital, on the eve of SS. Peter and Paul (28th June), the victuals underwritten, that is to say: bread and ale, mullet (*muluellum*) with butter, salmon when it could be had, and cheese. By this service and by no other do they hold that land and meadow.

“Asked whether the meadow appertains to the carucate of land, they say it is so. They say also that the carucate of land is worth every year six marcs and a half, and the meadow every year one marc.”

The King, who was not satisfied with the above decision, requested a second inquisition, which was held in the same year of his reign.

“Inquisition made between the King of the one part, and the Master and Brethren of the Hospital of St. Nicholas, York, of the other part, by Walter (de Grymeston), of York, William de Melton of the same, Alexander Tailor (*cissorem*) of the same, William Long (*longum*) of the same, Thomas de Nafferton of the same, William de Roston of the same, Robert son of Benedict of Hewrde, John Neubonde of the same, Peter de Dicton of the same, and William de Wyues-

towe. They say that the good Queen of England, Maud, gave to the Master and Brethren of the said Hospital, one carucate of land with one acre and a half of meadow in the fields of the suburb of the City of York—which gift was confirmed by King Stephen—to feed all the lepers of the County of York, coming thither by custom on the eve of the Apostles Peter and Paul, for the souls of all their ancestors and successors ; and they were seisin of the meadow aforesaid from the time of the said good Queen Maud, up to the second time that Robert de Creppinge was Sheriff of Yorkshire, when he disseised them thereof, and held it for the use of his own horses ; and so every Sheriff, one after the other, has withheld it. The meadow is worth by the year half a marc ; and the disseisin has continued for twenty years and more.”

The Sheriff of Yorkshire, escheator in the same county, received from the King an “order (dated 27th April, 1276) to cause the brethren of St. Nicholas’s Hospital, York, to have again seisin of $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow in the suburbs of York near the King’s fish-pond, as the King learns by inquisition taken by Guyschard de Charron and William de Norbury that the said $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres are not and were not of the ancient demesne of the Crown, and were never arrented at the Exchequer, which $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres were taken into the King’s hands for this reason, but that the Empress Matilda, sometime Queen of England, bought a carucate of land and the meadow aforesaid and gave them to the hospital and brethren on condition that the brethren should find for ever the following victuals for all lepers coming to the hospital on the eve of SS. Peter and Paul, to wit bread, ale, a mulvel with butter and salmon when in season, and cheese.”¹

The Prebend of Fridaythorpe or Tange, learning of

¹ Cal. Close Rolls, Edward I., 1272-79, p. 280.

the success of the Master of St. Nicholas, would forthwith renew his suit, as his complaint was also the subject of an inquisition.

The writ directed to Thomas de Normanville, the King's Steward beyond Trent, and given by the hand of Master Thomas Beke at Westminster, 13 May, 7th year Edward I. (1279)—Recites that Master Thomas de Hedon, Canon of York, complained that, whereas five acres of meadow between Layrthorpe and Tange appertain to his prebend in Tange, and all his predecessors, Canons of that prebend, were in possession of the same as of right, Robert de Creppinge, formerly Sheriff of Yorkshire, by taking that meadow into the late King's hand, unjustly disseised John de Gayteham his (Thomas) immediate predecessor, and the now Sheriff still detains it. The King to be certified of the truth of the matter.

“Inquisition made at York, before Thomas de Normanville, on the morrow of the Apostles Peter and Paul, 7 Edward (30 June, 1279), concerning five acres of meadow with the appurtenances between Leyrthorpe and Tange, belonging to the prebend of Master Thomas de Hedon, Canon of York, by the jurors under-written, viz.: by William de Holteby, Robert de Bulforde, Richard de Waxande, Nicholas de Rivers (de Riper'), Paulin de Lyllinge, William Burdoun, knights, Thomas de Vespount, Peter de Evercewyke, Robert de Yolton, William de Touthorpe, John de Stoketon, and Richard son of Hugh of the same, who say by their oath that all the predecessors of the said Thomas, Canons of the said prebend, as in right thereof, were in possession of the meadow until Robert de Creppinge, formerly Sheriff of the County, took it into the hand of the late King Henry, and unjustly disseised John de Geytham, the last predecessor of Thomas; and so that disseisin has continued since then from Sheriff to Sheriff until now.

The said Robert took the meadow into the hand of King Henry for his own convenience in order to feed his own horses, and for that reason he appropriated to the King as much soil as was flooded yearly by the Fosse. When during the year the Fosse rises, then a boat of York Castle and the men of the Sheriff for the time being can come and go by water, and at will mow grass, one foot of the mower being in the boat and the other upon the land. When the water goes down, the soil remains to the prebend, and that meadow is worth in all issues by the year, ten shillings."

The result of this inquiry was sent to the King, but fifteen months elapsed before Thomas de Hedon was allowed to have possession of his land, the surrender is authorised by Patent, which is entered on the Rolls under the date of 27th September, 1280.¹

During the lapse of centuries the pool gradually silted up, its area became by degrees contracted, and its newly-formed and consolidated banks were covered with buildings.

Near the head or dam the water laved the tower at Fishergate Postern, and opposite to the Castle it was about seventy yards wide. The present street of Piccadilly, the lower parts of Walmgate, the district of Hungate,² which was called *The Mersks*, a name derived doubtless from the Anglo-Saxon word *mersc*, a marsh, or a tract of land, usually, or occasionally, covered with water; the whole area known as Foss Islands; part of Layerthorpe; and the site of the

¹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1272-1281, p. 398.

² The street named Hundegate (1197), Hundgate (A.D. 1400), or Hungate, doubtless has some connection with *unda*, suggestive of the watery and marshy nature of the land through which the street passed. There are streets named Hungate in other old towns, and it is interesting to note that they also are situated in low-lying districts near rivers.

new Gas Works is all made-ground, and was, at the end of the eleventh century, covered by the waters of the King's Pool. The whole aspect of the lake and its banks has now been entirely changed. The major portion of its site is built upon, and its original boundary utterly effaced.

The lands reclaimed, on the verge of the waters of the Fishpond, were from time to time granted by the Crown to certain citizens of York, "to hold the same in fee simple," the rent of which was paid "at the Exchequer by the hands of the bailiffs of the city of York." The following licence is characteristic of many grants recorded on the Patent Rolls :

"Licence, after inquisition *ad quod damnum* made by the Sheriff of Yorkshire, for Robert le Mek to hold in fee simple, at a yearly rent at the Exchequer of 9d., by the hands of the bailiffs of the city of York, and to build upon a plot in that city adjoining the King's stew of Fosse, on the north side of the bridge of the said stew, lately void, and now, with the assent of the citizens of York, in part built upon by him, containing as it extends in breadth from the first end of the gutter leading from the street of Fossegate to the stew, 140 feet, and in length as it lies near the middle of the water like a weir from the said gutter to a stone column at the end of the said bridge 140 feet on one side, and as it extends in length on the other side near the highway from the end of the said gutter to the said column 90 feet, which plot, before being built upon, was worth 6d. a year. And another void plot in that city near the said bridge on the north side, containing as it extends in length from the lane leading from the highway of Fossegate to the said stew near the middle thereof and everywhere 80 feet, as far as the gutter leading from the highway of Marketskire¹ to the said

¹ That part of the Market Place of York called The Pavement.

stew ; and as it extends in breadth from the tenement of the said Robert, which he acquired from Roger de Thornton, to the said stew, at one end towards the east 45 feet, and at the other end towards the west 25 feet, which plot is worth 3d.”¹

When the pool, or pond, was originally formed by the Normans it was too wide to allow of being bridged, and would at first be forded at the shallowest places, where bridges are now standing. The two most important, Monkbridge and Fossbridge, were built in the twelfth century, but that at Layerthorpe was a subsequent erection. In the Patent Rolls of 1340² the latter bridge is described as Leirford-brig, an appellation reminiscent of an ancient *ford*, which was thus kept in remembrance many years after it had been superseded by a bridge.

The origin of the prefix Leyr, Leir, or Lair, is doubtful. A *ley* was an open space in a wood or forest, hence Leyrthorpe (Torp, 1252), the village in a clearing of the Forest of Galtres. Barns were called *lairs* or *leers*, and in this connection they may have some association with the suburban village and its name. On the 9th of July, 1333, Edward III. sent a mandate to “bailiffs and other ministers not to take for the King’s use 100 quarters of wheat, bought in Yorkshire for the sustenance of himself and the convent, by the Abbot of Rievaulx, and placed in his *houses called Lairthorphalle* in the suburb of York until he can arrange for its carriage thence to the abbey.”³

The site of these early *lairs* or *leers*—store barns—would be in the Hallfield, now Hallfield Road. Although the hall was pulled down centuries ago this name still holds in its tenacious grasp the memory of the ancient site of Lairthorphalle.

¹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1301–1307, p. 150.

² P. 145.

³ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1330–1334, p. 455.

In mediæval days the Fishpond was not utilised for commercial trading purposes, as Drake supposed, and no shipping entered it from the River Ouse. There is no evidence that there ever were lock works, or sluices, to admit boats; since between the head or dam of the Fosse and the Ouse, there existed a large stank or mill pool, affording power for the Castle Mills, which originally stood a few yards above the conjunction of the two streams. In our research, which covers the whole series of published State Papers, we have only discovered two references to craft plying on the Fosse. These were the King's boat from the Castle and a boat belonging to the Carmelites, which was permitted by Royal favour to fetch brushwood and other necessaries to the quay of their monastery. The licence for this privilege was granted by Edward II., October 3, 1314:

“Licence, by reason of the affection which the King bears to the Carmelite prior and friars in the city of York, for them to construct a quay in their own soil within their dwelling-place (*mansum*) upon the bank of the King's stew of the ‘Fosse,’ which they may hold to them and their successors for ever, and further that they may have one boat in the stew to carry to their said dwelling-place stone, brushwood, and other necessaries of theirs, as well under the Bridge of the Fosse as elsewhere in the stew. By the King.”¹

Occasionally the limits and bounds of the Fishpond were surveyed, and on the 9th of July, 1315, King Edward II. sent a “Commission to Master Robert de Pykering (Dean of York), Stephen de Malo Lacu and John de Hothum to survey the King's mills by his castles of York and his stew of the Fosse, and to enquire therein by oath of good men of the county of York, as it is reported that the former are going to ruin through the neglect of the keepers, and that

¹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1313-1317, p. 185.

the fish in the latter have been wasted by certain evildoers.”

In 1323 Oliver de Sambuce, the custodian, complained to the King that he was hindered in taking the profits of the lands belonging to the Fishpond, and that certain persons alleged that they had rights of fishing. A writ was issued, the substance of which was to inquire, survey, and certify the accustomed bounds of the pond, and what profits belonged thereto. This was done by twenty-four knights and other good men. They viewed the fishery, “and found that one head thereof extended to the King’s Mills, under the Castle of York, towards the south; and towards the north and east the fishpond is divided into two arms, whereof that towards the north extends itself to the Water-Mill of the Abbot of St. Mary’s, York; and the other arm towards the east extends itself to a certain wooden Cross, anciently situated at the end of the said arm, between the land of the Prebendary of Tange, and the land of the Hospital of St. Nicholas near York; and the old accustomed bounds of the said Fishpond are so much as the water of the said Fishpond occupies, so that the water be in the channel within the banks everywhere; and that the King hath not any ground of his own without the banks aforesaid, or near the arms aforesaid, or profit, unless it be as much as the keeper of the said Fishpond can mow of the grass and rushes, one of his feet being in a boat and the other foot without upon the ground of the bank, with a little scythe in his hand, in summer time, the water being in the channel within the banks everywhere as aforesaid.”¹

It also appears that several orders were issued by the Crown rigorously prohibiting the throwing of dung and other refuse into the Fishery, or even depositing

¹ Drake, p. 303.

rubbish on its banks. In the reign of Henry IV. such an offence was punishable by a fine of £100. Truly a severe penalty when we remember the buying powers of such an amount at that period.

Our City Archives record that in the eighth year of Henry VI.'s reign "a complaint was made to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, Lord Protector, and Thomas Longle, Bishop of Durham, then Lord Chancellor, both at that time in York, that many roots and seggs, and other weeds, with mud and other rubbish gathered together, did annually increase, and destroy great numbers of fish in the vivary; and that if the same was not remedied, the whole would in time be destroyed. Therefore the said Protector and Chancellor sent for the Mayor and others, to inquire into the occasion of it."

In "Eboracum" we read that in 18 Henry VII. the Fishery "was granted to the Archbishop for the term of twenty-one years." Archbishop Savage died in 1507, and other keepers were immediately appointed.

On the 8th of November, 1513, Thomas, Lord Darcy, and George Darcy, his son, procured a "Grant, in survivorship, of the custody of the water of Fosse, near York, and the fishery of the same, as held by Richard Borowe of Henry VII., and Richard Newton of Henry VIII." Lord Darcy wrote instructions for his steward under date April 15, 1521, "to take the water and commodities of Foss, which I have by patent in fee £9, &c., per annum; to take the same patent not hurted, all the whole water to farm, to use to my best profit, &c., fish, swans, &c., with all other commodities as Bishop Savayge held it, paying so, which I think be £3 6s. 8d. per annum."

The Fishery was leased, for sporting purposes, by Henry VIII. to certain members of his Council of the North, and some of their intimate friends, aldermen of

York. On May 8, 1543, William Babthorp, Robert Chaloner, Leonard Beckwith, and Tristram Tesshe, and John Hogeson and George Gaole, Aldermen of York, obtained a "lease of the whole fishery, fishing, and hawking in the water called Fossedyke, near the city of York, parcel of the Duchy of York; for 21 years at £3 6s. 8d. rent and 3s. 4d. increase."¹ This is the latest grant of the keepership or custody of the Fish-pond that we have been able to find.

The author of "Eboracum" tells us that "the whole river of Foss, and Fishery at York, was granted from the Crown to the Nevils, Lords of Sheriff Hutton, from whence it came to the Ingrams, and is at present (1736) in the right of the Lord Viscount Irwin."² Our learned historian, unfortunately, does not give his authority or any dates for these grants.

The river was made navigable for small vessels, up to or near its source, by a company, formed under the authority of an Act of Parliament, in 1793. In accordance with this Act, locks were built at Yearsley, Haxby, Strensall, and other places on the waterway. The river was deepened and widened, and served very useful purposes to the people in the villages near the navigation until the advent of railways. In 1853 the river and banks were purchased for £4,000 by the Corporation of York from the Foss Navigation Company. An Act of Parliament was obtained for this object, as well as for empowering the city authorities to drain the marshy land on the banks of the river, called Foss Islands.

The traffic was closed on its upper reaches in 1859. Since this date the river has been neglected, and allowed to fill to such an extent that in many places the depth of the water is under six inches. The growth of weeds and rushes often effectually dams the river.

¹ Cal. State Papers, Henry VIII., 1543, Grants, 623 (34), p. 363.

² Drake, p. 303.

The discontinuance of the full flow of water is now apparent in the lower portions of the stream by the existence of the soupy and noxious state of the water, especially during the summer months.

The thoroughfare known as Foss Islands' Road was formed about fifty years ago, where a footpath previously crossed the morass, which could only be traversed in dry weather. Since the making of this road the low, boggy land on the east side of it has been filled in with rubbish and refuse. The site of the historic pool is now almost, if not entirely, obliterated, and its former existence and importance well-nigh forgotten.

We have already spoken of the absence of memorials of this period; indeed, excepting the few isolated references in Domesday, nothing is definitely known of the city defences. The few chronicles of this tumultuous time have been diligently explored; but the history of York during the four Norman kingships is still somewhat involved in obscurity.

Particulars of the taking and occupation of the city by William the Conqueror and his followers are given in the chapter dealing with the castles of York.¹

The ill-fated town had scarcely recovered from the ruinous effects of the Conquestal, when, in 1075, it was attacked and plundered by a band of marauding Danes, all of whom were ultimately slain or captured, and capitally punished.

William Rufus, it is supposed, was at York twice or thrice during his reign. In 1089 he honoured St. Mary's Abbey with a visit. He extended its domains and laid the foundation stone of a new monastery. The King would pass through the city, in 1095, when he marched northwards to subdue Robert of Mowbray. Hoveden,

¹ See "The Castle of the Old Baile," Chap. XIII.

incidentally, mentions in his Chronicle that Rufus restored or rebuilt the castle. Presumably, this work would be ordered on one or other of his sojourns in York.

During the sovereignty of Henry I. little or nothing is recorded of our ancient capital. Almost the only item that we can refer to is that this king granted the citizens a charter of privileges. This solitary fact is distinctly alluded to in a similar grant conferred by his great-grandson, King John.

In 1136 Stephen was in York, where he received the homage of Henry, Prince of Scotland, for the earldom of Huntingdon. The year following, a great fire destroyed the Cathedral, St. Mary's Abbey, St. Leonard's Hospital, and many parish churches.

The Scots, in 1138, under their king, David, invaded England, and ravaged the country north of York. It is to be observed, that in this reign, the close of the Norman period, the fusion of French and English blood had become complete. The barons, knights, clergy, and the inhabitants generally, were now amalgamated into one patriotic people. Stephen was absent in the south. Under the leadership of Archbishop Thurstan, and several local barons, the Yorkshiremen utterly defeated the Scots at the memorable Battle of the Standard, near Northallerton :

“ Still do our very children boast
 Of mitred Thurstan, what a host
 He conquered ! . . .
 . . . While to battle moved
 The standard on the sacred wain
 That bore it, compassed round by a bold
 Fraternity of barons old ;
 And with those grey-haired champions stood,
 Under the saintly ensigns three,
 The infant heir of Mowbray's blood—
 All confident of victory ! ”

The very barons who saved their country from Scottish aggression, through Stephen's continued weak administration, became unruly freebooters. The King visited York in 1142 with the intention of suppressing anarchy, and reducing the district to something like order. His designs in this respect were, however, frustrated by an attack of illness. He disbanded his troops, and things went from bad to worse.

The erection of unlicensed, or "adulterine," castles rapidly increased throughout the land, although the Crown had struggled hard to regulate, control, and suppress the building of such strongholds. One such fortress had been built at Coldric or Queldrick (Wheldrake), a few miles out of York, from which its owner, an arrogant baron, sallied forth and robbed his undefended neighbours.¹ The citizens of York, when travelling in its vicinity, were frequently caught, cruelly handled, and blackmailed. Stephen came again to York in 1149. The inhabitants, who had as a rule been loyal to the King, submitted their grievances, and sought his protection. They secured the destruction of the "adulterine" castle, but the favour was only obtained by a great bribe, which the royal recipient would, we may imagine, accept without any compunction.

A similar fort at Drax, near Selby, was built by Philip of Colville, who dominated and obstructed the passage of the Ouse, robbing and plundering trading vessels. In the year 1154 this stronghold was also demolished at the instigation of Stephen.

¹ John of Hexham, in Symeon of Durham, Rolls Series, vol. ii. p. 326.

CHAPTER IV

THE PLANTAGENET PERIOD

Important Wall-building Period—Dwelling-houses in York fortified—Murage, and Financial Aids for Fortifications—Timber granted to the Mayor and Citizens for fortifying the City—Henry III. grants pecuniary aid—Introduction of Murage Tolls—Earliest Murage Grant to York—Various Murage Grants, 1226 to 1391—Characteristic Murage Grants to other Towns : Southampton, Portsmouth, Rye, Plymouth, Bath, and Norwich—Religious and Monastic Orders and Murage Taxation—Murage Funds misappropriated—Improvement of Land from the Ouse—The Friars Minors erect their Wall, 1291—Citizens dispute with Friars—Quay Wall in Skeldergate built, 1305, cost defrayed from Murage Fund—Palings and Stockades, York and Norwich—Bars or Barriers to protect approach to City Gates.

THE Plantagenet period is, pre-eminently, the most important epoch in the history of the defences of York. It was the great architectural age. During the reigns of Henry III. and the three Edwards many magnificent ecclesiastical buildings were erected in England, and the art of fortification made similar progress.

With the exception of Richard Cœur de Lion, each monarch of the Plantagenet line made frequent visits to York ; and their sojourns, occasionally, were of long duration. Above fifty National Councils, or Parliaments, assembled in its ancient halls ; and the city was at the height of its mediæval importance. One such representative gathering, in 1318, sat deliberating

for fifty-one days. The Courts of Justice were removed from the metropolis to York, and remained here until they were resumed again in London seven years later.

During the reigns of the Edwardian kings our venerable city was the chief rendezvous of the great armies which so often marched northwards to take part in the prolonged and sanguinary struggle with Scotland. It was the bulwark, or barrier, that effectively checked the advance of the Scots in their plundering incursions. The city was converted into a military centre or vast camp; pikemen, bowmen, tentmakers, arrowsmiths, and the various artificers of war came pouring in from all quarters:—

“All was alive with martial show;
At every turn, with dinning clang,
The armourer’s anvil clashed and rang;
Or toiled the swarthy smith, to wheel
The bar that arms the charger’s heel;
Or axe, or falchion, to the side
Of jarring grindstone was applied.”

Extensive additions were made to the city fortifications. The Walmgate district, hitherto unprotected, was surrounded with a broad ditch and its accompanying bank; and the ramparts, enclosing the city on other sides, were raised, and new stockades fixed; which, later, were superseded by walls.

The custom of fortifying dwelling-houses was introduced by embattling, or crenellating, their walls, or otherwise making them secure against the attacks of the Scots, or unruly mobs. The Dean’s residence and other houses in York were of this character. Permission to construct such protective works had to be obtained from the Crown. The earliest licences of this description date from the reign of Henry III.

The workers in masonry must have been incessantly

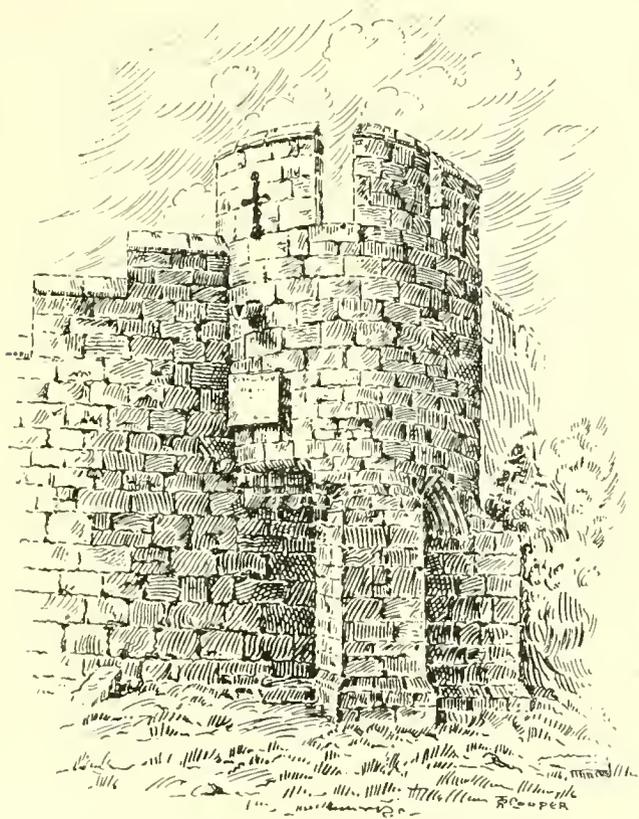
employed, as walls were being erected on all sides. The timber defensive works of the Castle, and those upon the town ramparts, were replaced by stone. The Deanery was crenellated ; and a wall was built around the Cathedral Close. The monastic establishments of St. Mary's and the Friars Minors were also surrounded by embrasured walls of defence.

Before proceeding with the general history of the city walls and the review of the historic incidents and events of civic and martial import of this period, we will briefly consider the different aids for fortifying, and the murage grants obtained by the citizens of York.

MURAGE AND FINANCIAL AIDS FOR FORTIFICATIONS.—Various methods have been employed to obtain the necessary funds for building and repairing the walls of cities and towns. The forms of taxation were numerous. Resourceful expedients were devised, according to the exigencies of the age and the peculiar privileges of the inhabitants whose towns were fortified. At times a tax or assessment was levied ; but the Plantagenet kings originated a system of murage tolls, chargeable upon all kinds of merchandise brought to, or sold in, walled towns. The Crown authorised and granted permits for the collection of such tolls, for limited periods, by royal warrant, and a register of each patent was recorded on the Rolls.

In the tenth century the Anglo-Saxons paid an impost for repairing walls—or burhs as they were called—and the tax was known as burhbote. The Normans assessed persons and property for the maintenance of their fortifications. The citizens of York, when commanded by the King, had to aid in the work of fortifying, both by a monetary tribute and personal service. At Oxford there were houses called “wall mansions,” the owners of which, when it was required of them, had as tenure to do certain repairs to the city walls.

York was esteemed by the Plantagenet kings as one of their most important towns, and of great strategic value. Because of its military consequence they aided the citizens in renewing and strengthening the walls, reparations being frequently needed during the unsettled political condition of the kingdom. Early in the "Magna Charta" year, 1215, King John made strenuous efforts



TOWER NEAR LAYERTHORPE BRIDGE.

to divide, or disable, the growing power of the barons, who were so manfully fighting for the redress of feudal grievances. In the Close Rolls, under date April 19th, we read:—

“The King to the Bailiffs of Hugh de Nevill of the Forest in the County of York: We bid you under the inspection and witness of our beloved and faithful Brian

de Lisle to cause our Mayor and Citizens of York to have what is necessary from the woods of your bailiwick for fortifying the same our city, where it can most easily be taken from the same woods, with the least damage to our forest.”¹

The timber thus granted by the Crown was for fortifying the city ramparts, and not for the Castle, as the Sheriff of the County was responsible for the safe keeping of the latter. This grant seems to suggest that in John's reign the city was protected by a bank and stockade. The ramparts were raised considerably in height a few months after this order; and the old sheltering structures would, of course, be then buried within the newly formed earthbank. As the work of building new walls had to be hurriedly performed, it is very probable only timber palisades were available in the short time allowed for putting the city in a posture of defence.

Henry III., mindful of his fortified towns, gave pecuniary help to many places for fortification purposes. This is shown by several passages in the Rolls. In 1221 he requested the Barons of the Exchequer to “Pay to our citizens of York £100 of the old farm [the old *firma burgi*] and of ancient debts which they owe us, and about which they made an agreement with us for £100 per annum which we gave them for fortifying our town of York.”²

The sum mentioned seems large when we consider the value of money at that period, and indicates very extensive works. The stockades on the earthworks were, probably, being replaced by stone walls. The pecuniary affairs of the city are again referred to in 1225: “The King to the Barons of the Exchequer. Appoint a day and term to our citizens of York as to the debt which they owe us, £50 which remain of

¹ Vol. i. pp. 195-6.

² Close Rolls, vol. i. p. 456.

the last tallage levied in the City of York, in the 7th year of our reign, and £39 10s. 7d. of many debts and arrears, which we conceded to them as an aid to fortifying the City of York.”¹

By these two items it is clear that the King had remitted or made an abatement in the *firma burgi*—a certain financial exaction on the city. York was really leased from the Crown, for which the inhabitants paid an annual rent called the *firma burgi*; and the King had apparently relinquished his vested pecuniary rights for a period that the money might be applied towards the expense of fortifying the city.

The introduction of murage tolls relieved the King of giving pecuniary aid to the citizens for fortification works; and the *firma burgi* was then paid, without deductions, either to the King or his nominees. Tolls were taken on goods, horses, and cattle brought to the city for sale; but the impost, as we have already said, could not be enforced unless authority had been given by the Crown. The following are some of the grants obtained by the citizens of York which appear on the Patent Rolls under their respective dates. The earliest grant is dated May 14, 1226, and as it is very concise we give it *in extenso* :—

“The King to the Mayor and approved men of York, Greeting. Know ye that we have granted to you in aid of the town of York for the security and defence of the same town and the adjacent parts, that you take from the day of Pentecost in the tenth year of our reign until the feast of St. Michael in the eleventh year of our reign, from every cart or waggon of the county of York carrying merchandise into the same town to be sold there, one halfpenny; and from every cart or waggon of any other county carrying merchandise into the same town to be sold there, one penny; and from

¹ Close Rolls, vol. ii. p. 34.

every pack [or sumpter] of merchandise to be sold there except wood-sumpters, one farthing; and from every horse, mare, ox and cow for sale taken thither to be sold, one halfpenny; and from ten sheep or goats or pigs for sale taken thither to be sold, one penny; and from five sheep, or pigs or goats, one halfpenny; and from every boat coming into the town of York by the river Ouse laden with merchandise to be sold there, four pence. So nevertheless that by reason of this our grant nothing shall be taken after the said term shall be ended from such carts, waggons, sumpters, horses, mares, oxen, cows, sheep, goats or pigs, or boat coming into the town of York laden with merchandise, but immediately upon the completion of that term, that custom shall cease and be altogether abolished. And therefore we command you that in aid of the enclosure of the said town you take the said custom until the end of the said term, as is aforesaid.

“Witness the King at Westminster the 14th day of May, in his 10th year [1226].”

“It is commanded to the Sheriff of York(shire) that he shall cause this aforesaid custom to be claimed and firmly observed throughout his whole bailiwick, as is aforesaid.”¹

1284, April 17. Grant to the mayor, bailiffs, and citizens of York, of murage for five years from Ascension Day.

1291, July 1. Grant to the burgesses of York of murage for five years from the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula next.

1299, Nov. 25. Grant to the mayor, bailiffs, and citizens of York, of murage for seven years.

1308, May 24. Grant for four years to the mayor, bailiffs, and citizens of York, of murage, pont-

¹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, Henry III., 1225-1232, pp. 32-33.

age, and pavage upon all wares brought for sale into that city.

- 1319, Oct. 20. Grant to the bailiffs and citizens of York, for a term of ten years, of pavage and murage upon all wares for sale brought into their city.
- 1334, Oct. 22. Grant to the mayor, bailiffs, and citizens of York, of murage for seven years.
- 1341, Aug. 2. Grant to the mayor, bailiffs, and citizens of York, of murage for seven years from Michaelmas next.
- 1377, Nov. 4. Grant to the mayor, bailiffs, and citizens of York, of murage for five years.
- 1382, May 8. Grant to the mayor, bailiffs, and citizens of York, of murage for five years from 4 Nov. next.
- 1386, Nov. 2. Grant to the mayor, bailiffs, and citizens of York, of murage for five years.
- 1391, Nov. 7. Grant to the mayor, bailiffs, and citizens of York, of murage for five years.

Very little definitely has been written about the old fortified towns of England. It is difficult to determine by their present-day appearance which were and which were not defended by walls, but by a perusal of the Patent and Close Rolls a knowledge of them is now easily obtainable.¹

The details of murage grants were dissimilar, every town being treated in a special manner. The taxing of different articles depended upon the trade or peculiar local circumstances of each individual town.² For the reader to better understand the system of mural taxation, and how fortifications were provided and kept in repair, we venture, at the risk of tediousness, to give a few typical forms of murage tolls adopted during the Plantagenet period.

¹ See Appendix B.

² See Appendix C.

The burgesses of Southampton had built a barbican of stone for the defence of their town, and on March 18, 1341, the King renewed his licence for them to levy a custom—which was called barbicanage—of 1d. on every pound of goods and wares passing to or from their town.

Out of compassion for their losses, by reason of war, the men of Portsmouth for eight years, from November 16, 1342, were allowed to be quit of all tallages, taxations, and contributions granted to the King by the commonalty of the realm, on condition that they applied their contingent of the same in the walling and fortification of their town.

The bailiffs and good men of Rye, to aid them in enclosing and fortifying that town, were in 1377 empowered to levy the following customs: For every thousand of wood imported, 2d.; for every seine of fish exported, 2d.; for every pound of any merchandise imported or exported, excepting wools, hides, and wool-fells, 3d.

In 1377 the people of Plymouth, upon their petition, obtained murage for six years, they having already granted, for the purpose of fortifying their town, a fourth part of all rents of their tenements for three years.

During the same year the mayor and bailiffs of Bath obtained a commission by which they could compel by distress all, whether resident or non-resident, who had lands, tenements, or goods in their city, to contribute, each according to his condition and means, for the repair of the walls and ditches of that city.

The bailiffs of Norwich in 1378 could compel all persons who had land, as well as those who had a continuous abode there, or drew profit from trade, to contribute towards the repair of the defences of the town.

Religious and monastic orders were generally free

from murage taxation, and at intervals their charters were inspected and attested. The two great ecclesiastical houses of York held this privilege from an early date down to the Dissolution; and the inhabitants of the Liberty of St. Mary's were exempt from mural aids even in the seventeenth century.

In 1334 an inquisition was held to decide the rights and privileges of St. Mary's Abbey, and it was adjudged "that the abbot and his men shall be quit of murage and stallage for ever."¹

The Hospital of St. Leonard likewise held a release from murage tolls, and on the 12th of June, 1340, an earlier charter of theirs was examined and attested, "granting to the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Leonard, York, that they and their successors shall be quit of pavage and murage and of aids, contributions and tallages."

The Dean and Chapter were specially favoured in their immunity from tolls and other aids, although the Crown, in times of great necessity, ordered that they should contribute a share of the taxes. In 1226 the King requested in the following manner that the custom should be collected from the men of the Archbishop of York:—

"The King to the Dean and Chapter of York, Greeting: We request you, as regards the custom which we have granted to be taken in the City of York for the enclosing of the same city for the protection and defence of the same city and of those parts and for your indemnity and the common utility of all men of those parts, that you permit the same to be taken from your men now until the end of the term which we have granted herein by our letters, understanding that we will that this custom, after that term is ended, shall lapse, [and not be] for a prejudice to you or be drawn into a custom.

¹ See Appendix D.

In witness whereof, we send you these our letters patent. Witness the King, at Nottingham, the 20th day of July [1226].”¹

The liberties of the Dean and Chapter were subsequently set forth in a citation dated April 1, 1340:—

“Notification that among other liberties which Henry III. granted to the dean and chapter of the church of St. Peter, York, it is granted that they and the canons, their successors and all their men shall be quit of toll, tallage, passage, pedage, lastage, stallage, hidage, wardage, works and aids of castles, walls, bridges, and parks, walls, dykes and stews, finding ships, building royal palaces, work and custody of castles, and from finding carriage, and that the king has confirmed the same charter, granting further that none of these liberties shall have lapsed by disuse, and that the dean and chapter, canons and their men shall be quit of murage, pontage, pavage, and panage.”²

Edward II. sent an order on January 1, 1321, to Master Robert de Pykering, Dean of St. Peter's, “to permit the constables of the wards of the city to levy without hindrance the tallage imposed by the mayor, bailiffs, and citizens by unanimous consent upon their rents and chattels in the city in order to repair and strengthen the walls and ditches and other defences (*fortaliciis*) of the city, as the King is given to understand that the dean hinders the constables by ecclesiastical censures from levying the tallage from certain tenements that are held of the King in chief.”³

Often at the present day we read of public funds being applied to a wrong purpose, and we find similar irregularities happened ages ago. The murengers, or collectors of the murage toll at York, on more than one

¹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1225-1232, p. 55.

² Ibid., 1338-1340, p. 444.

³ Cal. Close Rolls, 1318-1323, p. 350.

occasion were charged with the misappropriation of the money they had received for the repair of the walls. In 1305:—

“On the petition of the men of the City of York asking for a remedy for this, that whereas John Lespiecer during the time that he was Mayor of York had been convicted in the Exchequer for having concealed £73 and half a marc of the moneys arising from the Murage granted by the King for enclosing that city, which said moneys are now exacted from them on the summons of the Exchequer to the King’s use, that as those moneys are from the Murage which the King granted to them by his letters patent to enclose their town the said John should be exonerated. . . . Therefore it is answered: Let a Writ issue from the [King’s] Chancery to his Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer that they shall see the charter granting the murage, and thereupon shall see the process made in the Exchequer as to the within written moneys, and the judgment, and if it shall be found that the same moneys were levied from the murage within the time of the grant, &c., then let the said John be exonerated from the same moneys and let them be assigned to the construction of the walls of the aforesaid town, &c.”¹

On May 15, 1343, Edward III. ordered a “Commission of oyer and terminer to Richard de Aldeburgh, Michael de Wath, William Basset and John de Moubray touching the accounts of the murage granted by the late king and the present king to the citizens of York, which is alleged to have been misappropriated.”²

These justices had to hear the citizens’ complaints and determine if their allegations could be substantiated; but how or whether the case was decided has not been discovered.

¹ “Memoranda of Parliament,” 1305 (Rolls Series), p. 64.

² Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1343–1345, p. 86.

If one stands upon any of the three city bridges that span the River Ouse, and looks up or down the stream, pleasant glimpses of the banks are obtained. The most interesting and suggestive features observable are several old stone retaining walls, rather picturesque in outline and mellow with the passage of many years. At a first glance it would appear that these walls, rising from the water's edge, formed some part of the city defences. Although a portion of the walling was built out of murage tolls, we can scarcely consider them as belonging to our ancient fortifications. The circumstances of their erection being somewhat unique, their history will, perhaps, not be considered foreign to our subject.

A curious feature of the boundary walls of the gardens facing the water behind Coney Street is their irregular outline and absence of uniformity. This arrangement of the limits of each plot, or yard, is easily explained by the following inquisition. The Ouse formerly was tidal to beyond York, and its bed very much wider than at present. It appears that in olden times there was a custom of approving, or, as we should say, appropriating land from the channel of the river. Each occupier, or owner of property, extended his boundary by enclosing, filling in, and thus reclaiming a strip of the bed of the stream. The Friars Minors, who were seated beside the river opposite the Castle, added to their domains under such circumstances. The frontage of their monastery to the river was unusually large, and the ground the Friars appropriated was more extensive than any private citizen had had the opportunity of seizing. The inhabitants, therefore, with jealous and envious thoughts, seem to have taken exception to the improvement of their monkish neighbours. A writ dated at Westminster, 16 January, 15 Edward I. (1286-87) and addressed to Henry de Newerke and Nicholas de Seleby, Mayor of York, recites :—

“Whereas of ancient times there has always hitherto been a custom used and spoken about in our city of York, namely, that they who have had their houses or any yards (*placcas*) on the water of Use in the said city, can make lawful acquisition (*debitum conquestum*) against the same water contiguous to those houses or yards for enlarging those yards; but our beloved in Christ the Friars Minors (*Fratres de Ordine Minorum*) propose to enlarge in the aforesaid form, as we have understood, a certain yard which they now inhabit on the aforesaid water, we, desiring to be more fully informed about the aforesaid custom and the other circumstances touching the same matter, have appointed you, &c.”¹

From the date of the writ it might have been expected that the inquisition was taken in the month immediately following, but the record has 16 Edward I. for the latter.

“Inquisition taken at York before Mr. Henry de Newerke and Nicholas de Seleby, mayor of York, on Wednesday after the Purification of the B.V.M., 16 Edward (4 Feb., 1287-8), by John de Cauntebrigge, John le Especer, Thomas de Beningburgh, Laurence de Bouthom, Copin le Fleming, Robert de Akum, Stephen le Tyuler, Stephen de Bowe, Simon le Graunt, Gaudin le Orfever, Adam de Bolingbroke, and Matthew Sampson, who say on their oath that all who in the said city have or had any dwelling-houses or yards against the waters of Use, may and could freely at their own will enlarge those dwelling-houses or yards on both sides of the water. The yard which the Friars Minors inhabit in the city of York towards the Use was formerly of the citizens of York, who in their time were able to enlarge it; and the said Friars who now inhabit it may do the same, if it seem expedient to them. All the antecessors

¹ Yorkshire Inquisitions, Yorks. Archl. Journal, Record Series, vol. ii. p. 55.

of the citizens who had such dwelling-houses or places towards the said water have time out of mind up to now used the same power, and the present citizens do the like.”¹

The King being a great benefactor to the Friars Minors, in whose palatial dwelling-house royalty frequently lodged, naturally countenanced the action of the religious brotherhood. On the 4th of April, 1291, their regal patron granted them a further privilege by giving them license “to complete a stone wall begun by them on the bank of the Use, and to hold it and the space so enclosed for the enlargement of their area.” This stout old wall is still in existence, facing the river, near the landing stage for pleasure boats, and its name, Friars’ Wall, is well known to twentieth century citizens, although they little heed the significance of the appropriate appellation.

The inhabitants of York continued their hostile conduct towards the Friars, and complained that their newly-built wall was a source of annoyance and damage to the shipping trade on the Skeldergate, or opposite side of the river. To settle their grievances the King permitted a wall to be erected facing Skeldergate and contiguous to the Ouse, the cost of which had to be defrayed out of the general fund of murage tolls. The wall is substantially built, and although six hundred years old it is well preserved and in such good condition as to form part of the foundations of the exterior wall of Messrs. Mills, Fairweather & Co.’s mills. The royal order authorising its erection is dated 24th of October, 1305.

“Mandate to Master William de Skeldergate and Roger Basy the younger, on complaint by the citizens of York that the Friars Minors there have raised a wall

¹ Yorkshire Inquisitions, Yorks. Archl. Journal, Record Series, vol. ii. p. 55.

on one side of the water of Use to the damage of the citizens in Skeldergate dwelling on the other side of the water and of merchants touching there with ships, to raise a wall by the side of the water for the safety of the said street and of the citizens dwelling there *out of the issues of the murage of the city*, to be delivered to them by the mayor and bailiffs.”¹

It is generally supposed that the money raised by murage tolls was wholly expended in repairing and maintaining those portions of the city fortifications built of stone. Although the bulwarks of masonry were a great factor in the military works of the city, there were other defences equally important that required periodical reparation.

Upon the ridge of the counterscarp of the city ditch (the earthen bank in times of attack next the enemy) was, doubtless, a line of timber stockades, and these, as they decayed or fell, had to be renewed out of the general murage fund accumulated by the city bailiffs.

We know that similar defences were utilised around other towns, and although they are not specifically mentioned in connection with the fortifications of York, we may safely assume that such an arrangement was adopted. At Norwich palings or stockades were placed on the river bank to defend the town, and these were ordered to be repaired in 1378.² In connection with the Castle of York several requests for the renewal of the stockades are recorded.

Another defensive work, called a bar, which needed occasional attention, was constructed within a bowshot distance outside each city gate, and also from the entrance to the castle.³ These barriers, placed on each side and partially across the highway, obstructed the

¹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1301-1307, p. 387.

² See Appendix E.

³ See Appendix F.

approach of an enemy in force, and the city was thus afforded some protection from sudden attack.

The intervening area between the city gate and the bar in mediæval times was maintained as an open space, so that the archers defending the gates had an unobstructed view and a free sweep for their projectiles. No houses were allowed to be built between the bar and the gate that would shelter an enemy, but beyond this outer barrier buildings could be put up anywhere. The bar was originally formed of stockades and posts, and a chain was probably linked across the roadway at nightfall.

After the discontinuance of these palisaded barriers the name bar was applied to the gates which they had formerly covered, hence Micklegate Bar, Bootham Bar, and, in London, Temple Bar. Holborn Bars, it is conjectured, is the identical site of the exterior bars, or barriers, that protected a gateway in the London wall.

CHAPTER V

THE PLANTAGENET PERIOD (*continued*)

Henry II. visits York—Massacre of the Jews—Timber Tower on the Castle Mound—The Jewry in York—Jewbury—King John and York ; his many Visits, and Fortification Works—Walmgate District inclosed by a Ditch and Earthbank—The new Ditch choked with earth and mud—The older City Ditch widened—Citizens claim Compensation for Gardens and Cottages devastated by the enlarging of the Ditch—Henry III. grants Land near the ramparts to the Friars Preachers—Timber Stockades employed for Fortification Works—Oaks from Galtres Forest sent to Nottingham Castle—Henry III.'s Monetary Aids for fortifying the City—Rebuilding of the City Walls—The Castle Keep, Henry's work—St. Mary's Abbey Boundary Wall—City Gates to be closed, watch and ward—Grant of Land near the walls by Henry III. to Archbishop Giffard.

THE accession of Henry II. marked a new era in the history of England. Throughout his reign he endeavoured to establish and administer just and honest laws for all sections of his people. The King was, moreover, a great builder, especially of military works, although he abolished scores of castles which were centres of feudal lawlessness. No documentary evidence has been found to show that Henry initiated any restoration of the walls of York ; but the fortifications of the city would, assuredly, not be neglected, as this king visited his northern capital at least five times.

He was at York in February, 1155; January, 1158; June, 1163; August 10, 1175; and August, 1181.¹

The 1175 visit was the most significant. The King, on this occasion, was accompanied by Prince Henry; and William, the humiliated King of Scots, his brother David, and the bishops, abbots, and nobles of Scotland, all did homage to both father and son. In token of submission, the King of Scots placed his spear and shield upon the altar of St. Peter in the Cathedral, where they remained for many years.

Richard I. was never at York. During his ill-fated reign of ten years, indeed, he was only five months in England.

Soon after he ascended the throne, York was associated with one of the most lamentable events in the annals of England. The King, imbued with the prejudices of the age against the Jews, and with a view to obtain the favour of the populace, strictly commanded that none of the hated sect should be allowed to attend his coronation at Westminster, September 3, 1189.

Disregarding the King's injunctions, two wealthy Jews, Benedict and Jocenus of York, journeyed to London with valuable presents for the new sovereign. On the day of the ceremonial these two, with several other Jews, were recognised in the crowd of spectators; and the London populace attacked them in a frenzied manner. Benedict and Jocenus were severely maltreated. The former, being threateningly exhorted to renounce his religion, and terrified lest his life would not be spared, reluctantly abjured the faith of his fathers. With cruel irony, he was compelled to receive baptism at the hands of his Gentile neighbour, Prio.

¹ "Court, Household and Itinerary of King Henry II.," by the Rev. R. W. Eyton, M.A., 1858.

William¹ of St. Mary's Abbey, York. He subsequently re-embraced Judaism, and shortly after died on his homeward journey. His companion, Jocenus, arrived at York, where a worse fate awaited him and his co-religionists.

The anti-Semitic wave of persecution, in passing over the country, reached York in March, 1190, when a lawless rabble, with callous injustice, attacked the Jewish community and put to death about five hundred Hebrews. The simple account of the riotous proceedings given by a contemporary annalist² is, no doubt, the most authentic narrative extant of the affair, although it lacks the many harrowing details imaginative historians have associated with the inhuman butchery.

The Jews at York, fearful that a general massacre was about to be perpetrated upon them, sought protection from the Sheriff of the County, and by his permission and advice placed their families in a tower—presumably the wooden tower that preceded the present stone keep of the castle. The governor of the fortress, having business to transact without its precincts, left an official in charge for a short time; but the suspicious refugees, fearing further treachery, must have overpowered the guard, for they refused to re-admit the governor. Being thus obstructed, he immediately went to the High Sheriff and told him of the insult to his authority. The Sheriff, enraged at this indignity, himself demanded admittance, and, upon being refused, instantly raised a force to besiege and retake the castle. The citizens, reinforced by a multitude of

¹ Benedict of Peterborough, *Rolls Series*, vol. ii. pp. 83-84. In describing the ceremonial Benedict states that amongst the bishops and abbots that attended the crowning of this sovereign were Geoffrey, Archbishop elect of York, and prior William, who represented St. Mary's Abbey, York.

² Roger de Hoveden, *Rolls Series*, vol. iii. pp. 33-34.

armed retainers led by the county knights, surrounded the fortress, and for several days and nights a strenuous effort was made to effect the submission of the Jews. The besieged offered the infuriated populace a large sum of money, praying to be allowed to depart with their lives, but the mob would not accept their terms.

The Jews saw their position was hopeless, and, in their extremity, a Rabbi exhorted his brethren to voluntarily sacrifice their lives, saying—"Ye men of Israel, hear my counsel! It is better that we should kill one another, in turn, than that we should fall into the hands of the enemies of our Law."

The majority, both men and women, gave assent to his advice. The head of each family as he came forward was handed a large knife, with which he cut the throats of his wife, and sons and daughters, and, lastly, his own. Before the dire sentence of self-destruction was completely carried out some of the survivors threw several bodies of the slain over the wall upon the besiegers, whilst others shut up their dead in the king's house,¹ and a fire having been laid, the building with its ghastly contents was consumed.

A few of the Jews, who refused to carry out the awful compact, fell into the hands of the relentless mob and were put to death. In the meantime many of the "Christians" fired the houses of the Jews in the city, seizing the remaining occupants, whom they massacred; and the bonds of all debtors to the money-lenders were burnt.

When King Richard heard of the calamitous riots, he sent his Chancellor and Regent, William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, to York, with certain troops, to punish those citizens who had taken a prominent part in the atrocious anti-Semitic outbreak. The Bishop

¹ Other buildings (*domos regis*) in the courtyard were also fired.

declared John de Marshall the Sheriff,¹ and the Governor of the Castle, the principal offenders ; they, in their official capacity, having countenanced the spirit of persecution and otherwise encouraged the enraged mob in their deeds of violence. For these gross enormities both officials were deposed. The Chancellor then made his brother, Osbert de Longchamp, Sheriff of the County of York, and ordered him to strengthen and repair the castle in the old fortifications, which King William Rufus had built there.

The scene of this terrible occurrence is not precisely stated, and Clifford's Tower has been generally accepted as the spot where the deed of blood took place ; but the present tower is an erection of later date than the massacre. It is certain that the slaughter was enacted within the precincts of the castle ; and the King's *turris* on the mound with other buildings was fired. The citadel-fort would offer such a retreat described as a *turris*.²

Most early Norman keeps were made of timber, and such an one, no doubt, was still in existence at the time of the massacre.

After the outrage the Jews seem to have recovered their social position, as some of the wealthiest of their community subsequently dwelt in York. The Jewry—that part where the Jews resided—was situated on the south-east side of Coney Street. Here they had a school. The members of the colony suffered from no special disabilities in acquiring or disposing of lands

¹ John de Marshall being removed from the Sherifffdom, he accounted for Yorkshire for half a year, and Osbert de Longchamp for the other half (Pipe Roll, 2 Richard I.). Cf. Stubbs, "Historical Introduction to the Rolls Series," pp. 218-219.

² *Turris* is the regular word for a castle keep, a distinction frequently met with in the Close Rolls. The name "Clifford's Tower" is not recorded until the sixteenth century, and the theory that a Clifford was its first governor is mere fiction.

and houses. From several grants and licenses, dated at the close of the thirteenth century, the Jews appear at that period to have been selling much of their property in the city.¹ Jubrettegata, or Jubbergata—now Market Street—it would seem was the chief *gata* or way by which the Jewry was approached.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the word “bury” was used to imply a mansion, hence we must look upon the district of Jewbury, outside the walls, as the site of a large dwelling-house, probably of stone, that belonged to some wealthy Jew. A plot of land adjoining the house was, in all probability, appropriated as a burial ground, but the suffix *bury*, we should think, is not associated with the sepulchral rites of the site.

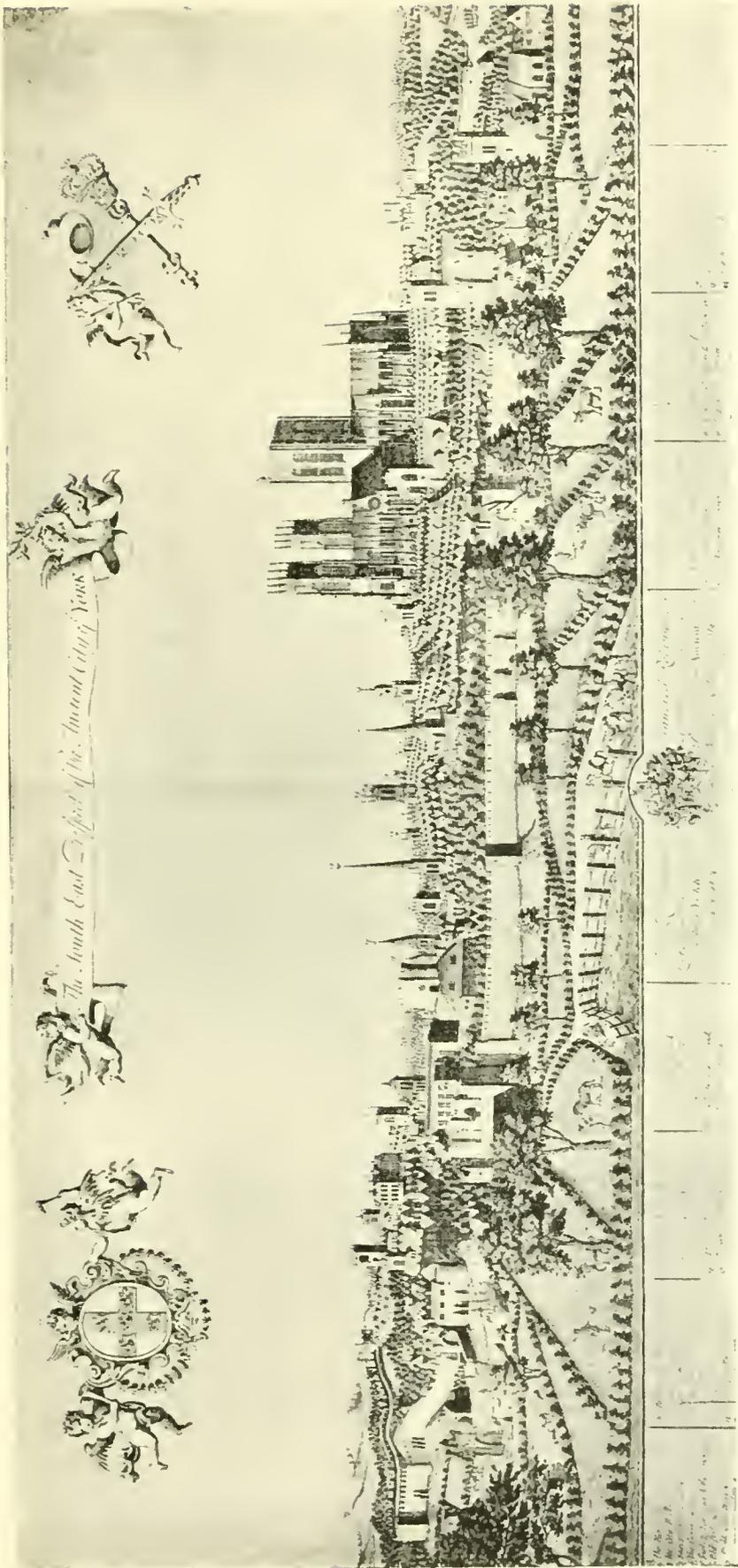
King John, during his short and wretched reign, was ever on the move, and his visits to York were many and significant. He was in the city on no less than sixteen occasions. In the months of February and March, 1204, his sojourn lasted at least ten days. In succeeding years some of his visits were for four, five, and six days.²

John’s tyranny and despotic government became proverbial. To render York better able to resist any attack from the combination of the northern baronage, he had the old defences of the city greatly strengthened, and new lines of earthworks thrown up to protect part of the district of Walmgate, then a populous suburb without the older walls.

In October, 1215, John was at Lincoln, and with him was Geoffrey de Neville, one of his most trusted and faithful adherents. Geoffrey was the recipient of many favours at the hands of his royal master, and, from 1205, was a constant witness of regal charters. In 1207 he was King’s Chamberlain, a function he retained until

¹ See Appendix G.

² See Appendix H.



THE SOUTH-EAST PROSPECT OF THE CITY OF YORK, 1718.

Showing—A The Baile Hill, B Skeldergate Postern, C The Old Castle Gate, D Fishergate Bar, E Clifford's Tower, F Walmgate Bar.

his death in 1225. On the 4th of February, 1216, he was appointed Sheriff of Yorkshire, and held that office until Michaelmas, 1223. At the time of the King's visit to Lincoln, Neville received the grant of Scarborough Castle, and he employed himself during the winter of 1215-16 in defending it and York against the defiant barons. He was also keeper of the King's castles in Yorkshire.

The south-eastern extra-mural district (Walmgate) was reached from the city by the gateway known as the Stone-Bow, and, previous to 1215, appears to have been unprotected by either earthbank, mound, ditch, or wall. The inclosing of this area with a rampart and its external deep and broad wet ditch, must have formed part of the extensive military works executed by Neville. In fact, the undertaking may have been performed under the personal superintendence of the King himself, as he was in York during January and February, 1216.

Commencing at a point near the present Red Tower, a ditch was dug to connect with the Foss Pool. Passing in a curved line half round the space enclosed, it terminated at Fishergate, the water, when admitted, falling into the mill-pond below the head, or dam, of the fish-pond of Foss.¹ The earth excavated from the ditch was, in part, thrown inwards and upwards so as to form a bank. Where the natural surface of the ground was highest² (opposite to where the Spotted Cow Hotel now stands), the trench had to be dug deeper to allow a flow of water, hence a higher rampart is observable at this point. The bulk of the adjacent earthbank, we conclude, would be practically equal to the displaced contents of the ditch.

It has been supposed that the outwork fencing in the

¹ Close Rolls, 1226, vol. ii. p. 120.

² *Bench marks*.—Red Tower, 30·8; Walmgate Bar, 42·4; Spotted Cow Hotel, 46·7; Fishergate Bar, 44·6; Fishergate Postern, 34·3.

district of Walmgate is of much earlier date¹ than that we have here assigned to its formation; but from the following mandate and other evidence our contention must be correct. The Foss Pool, as we have stated, was formed by the Normans when they first occupied the city. This earthbank, from its appearance, is decidedly a subsequent work. Both ends of the rampart rest upon the site of the original margin of the lake. We consequently cannot allow the claim, so often made, that the sub-structure of Walmgate Bar is Norman. The existence of a round-headed arch to the gateway is not sufficient proof of its being of that period, since such arches, it is well known, were employed in military architecture in the thirteenth century, and even later.

In the account of Domesday Survey we have noted how the King had only *three* high roads (ascertained) leading from York, positive evidence that an outlet at Walmgate through a bar was non-existent at that time. Soon after the outwork had been completed we find the newly enclosed area spoken of as Walmegarth, a name suggestive of its having been recently walled round.

The earthbank when new, not being of sufficient firmness or solidity to allow of a stone wall being forthwith erected, would temporarily be surmounted by timber palisades. Some time afterwards these erections were superseded by a wall of masonry, and the fact that the rampart had not settled sufficiently when the foundations were laid will account for the method of construction. It is built upon piers and arches, and not upon the surface of the bank, as it could have been if the rampart were a natural one or of any great age.

The talus of the new embankment was not even solidified enough to allow of water being run through

¹ Clark, "Defences of York," p. 14.

the ditch with impunity, therefore, we learn, the loosened soil fell into the channel, partially choking it up. The stank, or pool, of the Castle Mills was, henceforward, chiefly supplied with water by this ditch.

New Ditch at York.—"The King to Martin de Pateshill and his colleagues, Justices in the County of York. The Master of the Templars in England has shown us that when Geoffrey de Nevill, formerly our Chamberlain, at the time of the War between King John our father and his barons, for the protection and security of the city of York and the district outside, caused a certain ditch to be cut, descending from the water which is called Foss to the water which is called Ouse, upon which the same Master has a certain mill; this ditch through the falling in of earth and mud flowing in has become choked with earth and mud, so that the water is prevented from flowing into the mill, whereby the said Master suffers great detriment to his aforesaid mill; hence he intreats us that he may be allowed to open out the aforesaid ditch and clean it of mud, provided this opening and cleaning is of no damage to our City of York. We therefore order you that if this emptying and cleaning can be done without damage to our aforesaid city, you shall permit him to do it as seems expedient."¹

One of Geoffrey's chief defensive works during the winter of 1215 was the widening and deepening of the old city ditch. The soil excavated in this operation was thrown inwards upon the older ramparts that surrounded the city, thus raising them considerably in height. The Roman wall under the earthbank on the north side of the city, and possibly an Anglo-Saxon wall on the Micklegate side, would inevitably be buried at the time these great works were in progress.

The enlarging of the city ditch necessitated the

¹ Close Rolls, 1226, vol. ii. p. 120.

appropriation, or purpresture, of several strips of land bordering the ditch, and an inquisition was taken in 25 Henry III. to ascertain the loss the citizens had sustained by this encroachment upon their property.

Inquisition Concerning Loss sustained by the Men of York by the enlarging of the City Ditch.—“Writ dated at Westminster, 3 May, 25th year Henry III., inquiry to be made what damage the King’s men of York have suffered by the purpresture which Geoffrey, formerly King’s Chamberlain, made in enlarging the ditch (*fossatum*) of the city for its safeguarding in war-time.

“Inquisition made by the oath of Paul de Mubray, Walter Basi, Ralph de Muro, Henry de Fiskergate, William Tanner, Philip de Acum, Roger Kinseman, Thomas son of Uting, Robert son of Baldewyn, Robert brother of Walter, Herbert Tanner, Thomas de Acum, to inquire how much damage the honest men of the City of York have suffered by the purpresture which Geoffrey, formerly the King’s Chamberlain, made to widen the ditch of the City of York, and for the guarding of the same in time of war, and how much is lost yearly thereby.

“They say that Herbert de Holdernes had seven houses upon the bank of the ditch of Ploxwangate (Blossom Street), which were thrown down by the said Geoffrey to widen the ditch in time of war, and he lost the annual rent of 20s. Also Robert de Merston one plot upon the ditch-bank (*super duzwam fossati*) of Mikellit, which was thrown down for the same cause, and he lost the annual rent of 12d. Also the following, viz. :—

Roger Ithny for one plot (<i>placeâ</i>)	lost 2s.
Robert de Hayton „	„ 12d.
Franco Clerk „	„ 3s.
Rayner Palmer (<i>Palmerius</i>) for one plot	„ 3s.

John de Bagergate ¹ for one plot	lost 18d.
Nicholas de Hunsingouer „	„ 3s.
Paul de Mubray for two plots	„ 4s.
Stephen Lurdenan for one plot	„ 18d.
Robert de Hoton „	„ 3s.
Matthew Tailor (<i>Cissor</i>) „	„ 3s.
William Sergeant (<i>Serviens</i>) for one plot	„ 12d.
John Blunde lost annual rent of 7s. from two houses.	
William Ferur lost annual rent of 2s. from one plot.” ²	

From this inquiry we gather that several plots were in close proximity to the ramparts that extend from the bottom of Queen Street and along Nunnery Lane (Bagergate). The enlarged earthbank terminates at a point near the half-hexagonal bastion, the boundary of the Old Baile.

Some of the plots mentioned certainly were located on the south-western (Micklegate) side of the city, but others, it is thought, were those appropriated for the new embankment and ditch fencing in the south-eastern (Walmgate) district.

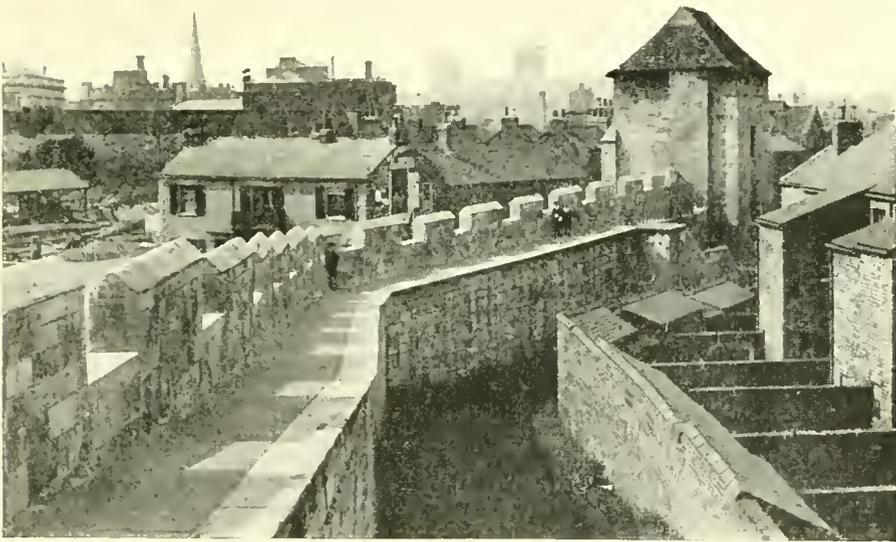
As the city ramparts had been made much higher by Neville's work in 1215-16, the erection of masonry of any kind upon the bank immediately after was obviously out of the question. Until the enlarged earthbank had become consolidated, stockades would have to be employed. In 1228 Henry III. granted some land contiguous to the ramparts, on Toft Green, to the Friars Preachers, which is described as near "the bank of the city ditch." As no wall of stone is mentioned, it may be inferred that the earthbank was only defended by palisades, and that no curtain wall was at that time erected on the crest of the earthen ramparts.³ During

¹ Nunnery Lane was called Baggergate until the middle of the eighteenth century.

² Yorkshire Inquisitions, Yorks. Archl. Journal, Record Series, vol. xii. p. 1.

³ See Appendix I.

John's troubles with the baronage woodwork must necessarily have been largely used, as the city ditches were widened and the embankments strengthened with great rapidity. Timber in abundance, fortunately, was always at hand. The famous oak trees of the Forest of Galtres, near York, were felled, and at times conveyed great distances for fortification works. We find some were even sent as far as Nottingham Castle.¹



THE CITY WALLS AND FISHERGATE POSTERN TOWER.

The liberal annual monetary aids and murage tolls granted by Henry III. to the citizens of York for defensive purposes, as previously mentioned, were evidently spent in rebuilding the city wall. As Henry reigned a little over fifty years, and visited York several times, much wall-building may safely be attributed to this period.

The keep of the Castle of York is unquestionably the

¹ Cal. Close Rolls, 1272-79, p. 79.

work of this king—a very important undertaking indeed, upon which he expended nearly £2,000, an amount equivalent to about £40,000 of our time. Several substantial part-payments were made during the progress of this great work. The earliest, for stone and work done, appears on the roll of his thirtieth year (No. 90, 1245–46). Periodically these items appear duly entered on the Rolls; the final payment for “finishing the works of the Castle of York” is dated 1258–59.

In 1266 Simon de Warwick, Abbot of St. Mary’s, obtained permission to defend his monastic establishment by the erection of an embattled wall. The obvious conclusion to be drawn from this grant is that the rebuilding of the city walls must have been completed before the above date, or the King, it is to be presumed, would not have granted such a concession to the abbey.

The stone used in the re-erection of the city walls was brought from the Tadcaster district. The Crown always had the first claim to such a commodity, especially when required for military purposes.

The country at intervals was terribly disturbed by robbery and lawlessness, hence some of Henry’s statutes contained many precautions against ruffianism. For the security of towns he ordained that their gates should be closed from sundown to sunrise, and watch and ward kept within and without.¹

In 1268 Henry III. granted a piece of ground to Archbishop Walter Giffard, contiguous to his palace in the cathedral precincts, and close to the city walls. In time of war the guards of the city had to have a way through, and free access to man the numerous towers and turrets on this section of the walls.²

¹ The Ordinances of 1225.

² See Appendix J.

CHAPTER VI

THE PLANTAGENET PERIOD (*continued*)

Walls of York, the most important in the kingdom—Lawlessness in York—Minster Close inclosed, 1285—Houses crenellated—Master of St. Leonard's appropriates a lane near the Walls—Edward I. visits York—Custody of the Walls—Edward and the Scots—Invasion of Scotland—Wallace defeated—Parliament at York—Bruce's resistance, and death of Edward I.—Mobilisation of Edward II.'s Army at York—Successes of the Scots—Battle of Bannockburn—Edward's flight to York—Crossbowmen of the City chosen for War—Berwick lost—All men of Yorkshire to join the King's Standard—Archbishop Melton appointed Lieutenant of the Marches—The Scots plunder to the gates of York—The Castle defended—Melton defends the Castle of the Old Baile—The Scots again before York—Battle of Myton—Nicholas Fleming, Mayor, slain—Extraordinary Murage Taxation; the Dean of York compelled to pay his quota—Bastioned Towers increased—Desertion of Edward's fighting men—Panic-stricken inhabitants alleviated—Edward II. almost captured—Edward deposed and assassinated.

THE walls of York and their accompanying earthen ramparts are, pre-eminently, the most important mediæval fortifications of their kind in the United Kingdom. During England's prolonged struggle with Scotland, carried on with intermittent success and failure by the Edwardian kings, it was a supreme factor that the strength and completeness of York's military defences should be efficiently maintained, constituting as they did a fighting base. They were frequently

strengthened, and especial care was bestowed on their restorations. New forms of fortifications were added as found necessary by the ever-changing exigencies of warfare.

Our city, war-worn with resisting Danes and Normans, was occasionally menaced by the Scots, and for this reason alone its walls, fortalices, and ramparts were made more formidable and kept in better repair than the fortifications of cities and towns remote from the scene of these hostilities; hence we have had preserved to us such unique memorials of city castrametation.

The populace of England, during the early years of Edward I.'s reign, was discontented and restless. Robbery and violence were very prevalent. Many disturbances, up and down the country, are on record. Locally, we find the clergy and laity were in antagonism, leaving undesirables to commit crimes in and about the city with impunity.

Lawlessness in York became so unbearable that on February 24, 1286, the King issued a "Commission to Simon le Conestable and John Sampson to inquire touching certain vagabonds in the city of York, who commit homicides and other crimes there, so that certain of the king's loyal subjects dare not leave their houses without escorts of armed men." ¹

On account of the fierce, unfriendly conditions of society, the Cathedral dignitaries sought to protect themselves from the attacks of stealthy assassins and unruly mobs by the erection of a defensive wall around the Minster Close.

In 1285, the Crown granted a license dated May 18, "for the Dean and Chapter of St. Peter's, York, to enclose the churchyard and precinct of their church with a stone wall, 12 feet high all round, for the better

¹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1281-92, p. 256.

security of the canons and the prevention of nocturnal incursions of thieves in the streets and lanes in the said precinct, and of night wanderers committing homicides, fornications, and other evil there; the said wall to be provided with competent gates and posterns, which are to be left open from dawn to night.”¹

Although the clergy were, apparently, safely housed within their own defensive wall, further protection was allowed them. In 1298, John de Cadamo was permitted “to crenellate” or otherwise embattle and fortify “his houses within the close of the church of York.” A similar privilege is recorded, under date February 16, 1302, granting a “Licence for William de Hamelton, Dean of St. Peter’s, York, to crenellate his dwelling-place adjoining the churchyard for himself and the deans his successors.”²

The master and brethren of the Hospital of St. Leonard had remarkable and exclusive privileges and rights, the possession of which probably encouraged them in acts of indiscretion towards those in authority over the city. It appears that, between their dwelling-place and the city walls, there was a public footpath bounded by a retaining wall, by which the bailiffs of the city were accustomed to approach the walls and ramparts to survey them and make good any defects. With covetous thoughts the brethren of the hospital took possession of this lane, and pulled down the retaining wall. Complaint was forwarded to King Edward I., and he ordered the matter to be investigated. For some unknown reason, the inquiry was not concluded during his lifetime. In 1308, a further “Commission to William de Bereford, Gilbert de Roubury, and Geoffrey de Hertelpool, as under a like commission (oyer and terminer) of the late king to William de Bereford and

¹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1281-92, p. 164.

² Ibid., 1301-7, p. 19.

William Howard nothing has been done, to inquire into the petition of the commonalty of the city of York alleging that Walter de Langeton, master of the Hospital of St. Leonard, York, and his predecessors had appropriated divers tenements held of the King, set up crosses in the same to the King's prejudice, encroached upon the jurisdiction of the court of their city, appropriated part of the stone wall and ditch of the city between the hospital and the Abbey of St. Mary, broken down the wall, carried away the stones, and had closed up a public path leading to the city wall." ¹

The affair was not settled by this inquisition. In the following year other itinerant justices had to continue the inquiry.

It will be gathered from the foregoing particulars how desperate were the disturbers of the peace, and how defensive erections were being built on every hand. We can easily, in imagination, picture the city encircled by its silvery-grey walls and turrets, with its monasteries and cathedral residences similarly protected. Here and there stood a large mansion, built of stone to the first floor, with its upper stories finished in picturesque timber-work. The majority of the dwelling-houses were timber and plaster erections throughout, many of which were thatched, as only the more important were tiled or roofed with lead.

Edward I. visited York in 1280, staying three days in the month of August. Our city records give us a little information as to how the walls were guarded during this year, probably at the time of the King's sojourn in the city. At the end of the volume of the earliest Freeman's Roll, commencing in 1272 and continuing to 1671, are a few pages bound up with the Register occupied by an imperfect account of the "*custodia*" of

¹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1307-13, pp. 86, 130.

the walls. Folios 353 and 353b, "Walls of the City of York" (in Latin), commences: "From the Bridge of Layrethorp and from the said Bridge to the Gate of Munkgate"—opposite this is a column containing the names of the parishes included in this portion of the circuit, which are: [St.] Saviour in the Marsh, St. Cuthbert, [All] Saints in Havergate, [St.] John in Hundegate, St. Andrew, [St.] Elen in Werkdyk," and so on round the walls, except a short distance near Walmgate. Possibly it is not quite complete, as this and other folios at the end of the book have apparently been bound in afterwards. It is dated "9 Edward son of Henry III., and *temp.* Nicholas Flemyng, Mayor."

The year 1290 witnessed the commencement of Edward I.'s intrigue and quarrel with the Scots, which resulted in a desultory warfare carried on for many decades.

On January 1, 1291, the King renewed a former grant, permitting the burgesses of York to collect the murage toll for keeping the city fortifications in repair.

Although Edward had been acknowledged as overlord of the Scots, and several castles were delivered up to him, Balliol revolted in 1296; but, by the English king's consummate generalship, the King of Scotland was compelled to make his submission. In 1297, a national rising of the Scotch peasants, under William Wallace, resulted in a victory over the English, commanded by the Earl of Surrey, near Stirling.

A great representative gathering of commoners was summoned to a Parliament, or council, to meet at York in 1298, an expedition against the Scots being the chief subject for consideration. The Exchequer and the King's Bench were transferred hither on this occasion for the convenience of the Crown officials and the King,

whose presence in his northern capital was necessary as a stimulus to his knightly warriors in the campaign against Scotland. John, Earl of Warren, equipped an army for active service, and the city became the military headquarters.

Edward's army invaded Scotland once more and Wallace was defeated at Falkirk, July 22, 1298, by the King in personal command. The year following another Parliament was held in York, and the King issued a Patent to the mayor, bailiffs, and citizens granting them power to continue the collection of murage for seven years from November 25, 1299. Parliament sat again at York in 1300, under the presidency of the King. Edward also spent some time in the city in 1306.

The Scots, under Robert Bruce, persevered in their resistance to English authority, and Edward, determined to punish them, marched towards the border, but his intention was frustrated by his death at Burgh-upon-Sands, July 7, 1307.

The rule of Edward II. was one of incompetence. Throughout his reign he was the sport, or tool, of contending factions of his baronage. One of his father's final injunctions, that he should promptly and persistently follow up the Scottish war, was set at naught almost from the first. Although the divided Scots were at times left to settle their own differences, spasmodic attempts were made to check their increasing power.

As part of the general mobilisation of an army of English defence, we read that in 1308 the King ordered the sheriffs of certain counties to provide carts for his commissariat and transport service. Yorkshire had to equip thirty, Northamptonshire twelve, Nottinghamshire ten, and Derbyshire ten. The text of the mandate was somewhat as follows: "Order to provide without delay

with at least four horses to each cart and sufficient gear, to be ready at the Abbey of St. Mary, York, on the morrow of the Assumption next at the latest, for the carriage of victuals and other necessities for the King and his army going to Scotland against his enemies and rebels there.”¹

No effectual military resistance was organised by the English. The “rebels” achieved success after success, until Edward II. was dispossessed of all the strongholds beyond the border held by his father, the late king.

The brave burghers of York, who had to bear the brunt of many predatory attacks, received a grant of murage on the 28th of May, 1308, specifying that the toll could be taken upon all wares brought for sale into the city.

During the next few years several Privy Councils and Parliaments were held in York, Scottish affairs being the chief subject of discussion.

The patriotic zeal of Robert Bruce united the Scots under his leadership, and he ultimately swept away all traces of English supremacy over his country. Whilst the King was quarrelling with his barons Bruce raided and plundered the North of England. Edward was at last compelled to bestir himself. Taking command of his forces, he marched towards Stirling with the intention of raising the siege, but his efforts were futile, and ended in a disastrous defeat on the field of Bannockburn, June 24, 1314.

So inglorious was the result of the conflict that Edward only saved his life by a hasty flight. He arrived safely within the walls of York, and sought refuge with the archbishop in his palace, near the Minster, where he lodged until the middle of October.

On September 9th he held a Parliament to discuss the unhappy outlook for Scottish affairs. Edward’s

¹ Cal. Close Rolls, 1307-1313, pp. 39, 40.

army had lost confidence in its humiliated Royal commander, and his orders to raise 4,000 chosen foot were reluctantly obeyed. The Mayor and Bailiffs of the city of York, on November 19, 1314, received a Royal mandate "to cause forty crossbowmen to be chosen out of their city and to be provided with arms, to wit aketons and breastplates, or plates bacinets, and other arms, so that they be ready to set out thence at the King's wages on the morrow of St. Andrew next for Berwick for the defence thereof, and to pay them their wages for forty days, to wit 4d. a day each, and to cause them to have carriage for their armour to Berwick, certifying the King by the bearer hereof of their proceedings."¹

Berwick was surrendered to the Scots, and they plundered and ravaged the north country far and wide. The story goes that Yorkshire and neighbouring counties were relentlessly devastated by freebooters and marauding bands. The inhabitants of the North Riding were sorely outraged; misery, want, and discontent prevailed in many towns and villages.

Every able-bodied male inhabitant of Yorkshire, from the age of sixteen to sixty, had to take up arms and share in a great effort to rid the country of the aggressive and unrestrained raiding hordes from beyond the border. Edward, on the 8th of June, 1318, issued a "Writ of aid direct to all men in the county of York for the sheriff of the county, whom the King has commanded, with his entire *posse*, to resist and drive back the Scots, who are reported to have invaded the county."²

William de Melton, Archbishop of York, was authorised by his Royal master, in the following terms, to use his military skill in checking the

¹ Cal. Close Rolls, 1313-18, p. 122.

² Ibid., 11 Ed. II., p. 157.

marauders: "In consequence of the Scots after the publication of the truce having occupied the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed and certain castles within England in the Marches of Scotland, and having invaded the realm and advanced into the county of York, to check which the King purposes to be at York on the morrow of St. James the Apostle to set out against them, to be keeper of those parts until the King shall arrive or order otherwise."

During the early part of the year 1319 the King was continuously at York. The aggressions of the Scots became so intolerable that, at a Parliament which sat in York for twenty days from May 6th, the earls and barons granted an eighteenth of their movables, and the burgesses a twelfth from the towns for carrying on the Scottish campaign.

So audacious were the "rebels" that they hovered in the vicinity of York committing depredations. The King, apprehensive of their movements, issued an order, dated September 4, 1319, to the Sheriff of Yorkshire "to cause York Castle to be defended with men-at-arms and other things, and to pay the men their wages out of the issues of his bailiwick so long as they stay in garrison there, as the Scotch rebels have entered the county of York, and lie in wait for the city and castle."¹

The English forces, and their leaders also, were apparently utterly disorganised, and hence failed to check the Scots in their maraudings. Archbishop Melton, who had possession of the Old Baile Castle, strengthened its walls, and consented to defend that part of the city with his men on condition that, if the Scots should make a combined attack in the neighbourhood, the guards of the city would aid in repelling the onslaught.

¹ Cal. Close Rolls, 1318-1323, p. 156.

A great army, numbering about 15,000 men, under the Scottish leaders the Earl of Moray and Sir James Douglas, outflanked the English army and rushed into Yorkshire. They hurriedly advanced to the vicinity of York, and having defiantly plundered and burned the suburbs, made an attack on the city gates; but, fortunately for the citizens, they were unable to effect a breach in the defences.

When the invaders turned homewards, the Primate gathered together an inexperienced, but brave little army, numbering about 10,000 men. With these he ill-advisedly pursued the Scots, and overtaking them there, marshalled his forces in battle array at Myton, a village on the Swale. The enemy, fit and seasoned by continuous fighting, easily routed their would-be captors. There was a great slaughter. Nicholas Fleming, the Mayor of York, who doubtless was one of the commanders, was slain, and Melton himself narrowly escaped being captured.

Very soon after this disaster Edward was again in York, and lodged with the Friars Minors, beneath the Castle walls. He made a further grant of murage to the citizens, for a term of ten years, commencing from October 20, 1319.¹

The embarrassed sovereign found he could not carry on a successful warfare against the Scots; therefore, in 1320, he was impelled to make another truce, which the Scots, with their characteristic perfidy, again soon violated.

The ordinary murage toll, or custom, paid on wares brought into the city for sale, was evidently insufficient to maintain the city walls and gates in a proper state of defence. The citizens, consequently, in 1321, resolved that an extraordinary rate—as we should call it—should

¹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1317-1321, p. 395.

be levied to augment the funds for strengthening the city fortifications.

In the collection of the tallage the Dean, Robert de Pickering, refused to pay his quota on certain tenements in the city. His non-compliance brought down a mandate from the King requesting him "to permit the constables of the wards of the city to levy, without hindrance, the tallage imposed by the mayor, bailiffs, and citizens by unanimous consent upon their rents and chattels in the city in order to repair and strengthen the walls and ditches and other defences of the city."¹

The bastioned-towers on the city walls, from Bootham Bar towards the tower at the north angle of the fortifications (behind Gillygate that is), were no doubt increased in number at this period. As the Scots continually approached and menaced the city on this side, it was necessary that these walls should be strengthened, and more accommodation provided for those who manned the bulwarks in time of danger.

These projecting mural towers added to the passive strength of the walls. When erected within a bowshot distance of each other, the protected defenders ensconced therein could enfilade the intermediate curtain with safety and effectiveness. By this arrangement the maximum number of projectiles could be showered upon any enemy who might endeavour to breach the curtain with a ram. In the building-up, also, material was economised. It was not necessary that the walls should be so thick.²

¹ Cal. Close Rolls, 1318-1323, p. 350.

² "Dec. 30th, 1322. Protection until Michaelmas for Benedict de Grymeston and others sent by the mayor and commonalty of the city of York with four carts to carry stone from the quarry of Thenesdale to the water of Tadecastre to repair the walls of the city" (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1321-1324, p. 233).

The fighting men of Edward's army deserted with impunity, and stealthily tramped back to their homes. To prevent such irregularities, and for the detection and punishment of those that fled from active service in the field, the sheriff of every county was ordered "to appoint spies upon all the armed footmen of the towns in his bailiwick that answer for townships in the eyre of justices, and upon others chosen for the expedition of the Scotch war, whose names the sheriff ought to know, appointing for his purpose as well constables of the said towns as others specially sworn for this purpose, and to arrest and imprison all those who have returned home without licence from the King, the constables, or marshals of his army aforesaid, certifying the King of the names of those arrested in execution of this order, as many of the men have eloigned themselves from the King's service after receiving their wages and have, it is believed, returned home."¹

The Scots continued their depredations. Towns, villages, monasteries, and churches of North Yorkshire were plundered, and immense booty was carried away. Writ after writ was issued by the King in his feeble attempt to reassure and alleviate the panic-stricken inhabitants, who fled helplessly before the enemy, which ever and anon appeared in greater numbers.

The Sheriff of Yorkshire, in October, 1322, received an "Order to cause proclamation to be made prohibiting any from damaging or annoying the men fleeing with their beasts and other goods from the Scots, enjoining them to give aid to the fugitives, and to permit the fugitives' beasts to depasture in their pastures without taking anything from them therefor, the King having ordered that the like shall be done in his forests, chaces, and other pastures."²

¹ Cal. Close Rolls, 1318-1323, p. 674.

² Ibid., 1318-1323, p. 680.

In 1322 Edward was nearly captured by the Scots on the Howardian Hills, near York. With difficulty he escaped. As it was, his treasure fell into the hands of the raiders. By these repeated successes of the Scots, it almost appeared as if England was likely to become tributary to Scotland. During the month of May, 1323, a truce for thirteen years was arranged between the two countries. Brave Robert Bruce was allowed to adopt the title of King of Scots in the negotiations.

Soon after, Edward II. left York, never to visit it again. The burghers of the old city and their rural neighbours now enjoyed a few years' respite from insult, slaughter, and pillage.

Although a short peace was brought about with Scotland, other difficulties shadowed the career of the ill-fated King of England. His hitherto trusted adherents deceived and deserted him. He was deposed January 29, 1327, and ended a miserable and tragic life at the hands of an assassin a few months later.

CHAPTER VII

THE PLANTAGENET PERIOD (*concluded*)

Walls of York continually being strengthened—Bruce's defiance—Edward III. musters his Army at York—Mandate from the King to repair the Walls—Edward Balliol crowned King of Scots—The Scots again aggressive—Men of the City and County of York arrayed for war—Pavilioners and other craftsmen make busy preparations for war—Manner of obtaining Transport Waggons—All Abbeys provide waggons and muster at York—Edward advances and retakes Berwick—Balliol does liege homage—Restoration of Walmgate Walls—Battle of Neville's Cross—King David brought to York—Queen Philippa superintends the fortifying of the City—Barbicans added to the City Gates—The Art of Fortification and the Three Edwards—Richard II. visits York—Richard's Murage Grants.

THE lengthy allusions to the unfriendly political relations with Scotland, and the warfare carried on between the two countries, cannot conveniently be omitted, as these relations are intimately associated with York and its defences. The frequent references to the various stirring episodes of the struggle help us to understand the conditions of those far-off times, and afford contemporary reasons why the walls of York were continually being renewed, strengthened, and remodelled.

If England had been at peace with the Scots during the Edwardian period, it is practically certain the fortifications of the city would not have received that unceas-

ing attention they did at the hands of its kings and their liegemen, the mayor, bailiffs, and citizens of York.

Although Edward III. had inherited the legacy of a smouldering quarrel with Scotland, his earliest councillors issued orders that the thirteen years' truce made in 1323 had to be duly observed. But the marauding veteran, Robert Bruce, taking advantage of the new king's youthfulness, was induced to re-assert the independence of Scotland. It is said the English did their utmost on this occasion to avert hostilities, but the Scots were resolved in their determination to plunder. In 1327 Bruce sent a defiant message to Edward, declaring that he would "enter England and burn it," as he had done on previous occasions.

Edward mustered a great army at York, and, believing the enemy was advancing through Northumberland marched in that direction, leaving his mother, Queen Isabel, at York.

The wily and nimble Scots, however, evaded and outwitted the English army, and after a successful raiding campaign recrossed the border. During this expedition Edward issued an important mandate for repairing the walls of York :—

"The King to his well-beloved the Mayor and Bailiffs of his city of York, greeting—

"Since the Scotch, our enemies and rebels, have thought fit to enter our kingdom in an hostile manner near Carlisle, with all their power, as we are certainly informed, and kill, burn, destroy and act other mischiefs as far as they are able, we have drawn down our army in order, by God's assistance, to restrain their malice, and to that end turn our steps towards that country and those enemies.

"We—considering our aforesaid city of York, especially whilst Isabel, Queen of England, our most dear mother,

our brother and sisters, abide in the same, to be more safely kept and guarded ; lest any sudden danger from our enemies' approach should happen to the said city ; or fear affright our mother, brother, and sisters, which God avert, for want of sufficient ammunition and guard ; we strictly command and charge you, upon your faith and allegiance, and on the forfeiture of every thing you can forfeit to us, immediately at sight of these presents, without excuse or delay, to inspect and overlook all your walls, ditches and towers, and ammunition, proper for the defence of the said city ; taking with you such of our faithful servants as will be chosen for this purpose ; and to take such order for its defence that no danger can happen to the city by neglect of such safeguards.

“ And we, by these presents, give you full power and authority to distrain and compel all and singular owners of houses or rents in the said city, or merchants, or strangers, inhabiting the same, by the seizure of their bodies or goods, to be aiding towards the security of the walls, bulwarks or towers, as you in your own discretion shall think fit to ordain for the making other useful and necessary works about it ; punishing all those that are found to contradict or rebel against this order, by imprisonment, or what other methods you think fit.

“ Study therefore to use such diligence in the execution of the premises, that we may find it in the effect of your works ; and that we may have no occasion from your negligence, should danger happen, to take severe notice of you. Dated at Durham, July 15, 1327.¹

“ BY THE KING.”

The English Government, still desiring peace with Scotland, made overtures which were accepted, and a treaty was signed by both kings, and confirmed by

¹ Rymer's "Fœdera," ii. 709-11.

Parliament, at York early in 1328. Before the stipulations of the contract had been fulfilled King Robert Bruce died, leaving his young son David under the protection of a regent.

Edward Balliol, son of the ex-king of Scots, now put forward his claim to the throne. Without Edward's assistance he landed in Scotland, and eventually was crowned King of Scots, September 24, 1332. Balliol had only a short-lived tenure of royalty. He acknowledged English suzerainty; but the exasperated and patriotic inhabitants of Scotland expelled him six months after his coronation.

The recommencement by the Scots of their old depredations early in 1333 was a pretext for Edward to renew hostilities. Determined to subdue the aggressors, the English king issued orders for a great levy of troops. The mayor and bailiffs of York received a mandate "to cause 100 men of that city to be elected and arrayed without delay, and supplied with proper arms, so that they may be ready to set out with the King against the Scots, if they shall presume to invade the kingdom, as the King has learned that the Scots are preparing to invade the kingdom, and he wishes to provide for the defence of his people."¹

Beverley had to provide 80 men, Kingston-upon-Hull 60, Ripon 40, Pontefract 40, and Scarborough 30. These composed part of the levies from Yorkshire. Orders were given that all men in the Bishopric of Durham "between the ages of 16 and 60 years, both horse and foot, to be arrayed with all speed and placed in their thousands, hundreds, and scores, so that they may be ready to set out with the King."

Master John de Yakesle,² the King's pavilioner, was charged to provide several smiths, carpenters, and

¹ Cal. Close Rolls, 1333-1337, p. 90.

² Ibid., 1333-1337, p. 100.

tailors, craftsmen of York, "to do divers and arduous affairs." The armourers and smiths carried on their busy preparations for war in some houses in St. George's Field, which formerly were in the possession of the Templars.

The manner of obtaining transport waggons was very unlike present-day methods of equipping military forces. The abbots of twenty-six religious houses south of York were requested to provide waggons, and to muster in our city. The Abbot of St. Mary's, York, received orders "to send a strong waggon well bound with iron and made ready, with other necessary things, with five sufficient horses, to the King at Durham, to be there on the octaves of Easter next (1333), to carry to the North the tents and other things necessary for the King's expedition against the Scots."

Other six Yorkshire Abbeys received a like order. The King's bailiffs and marshals during the preparations for the campaign, seized the horses used for the carrying of stone from Tadcaster to York Minster. This inconvenience retarded the building of the fabric, and the Cathedral dignitaries quickly obtained a grant of exemption from such service, and the release of their horses.¹

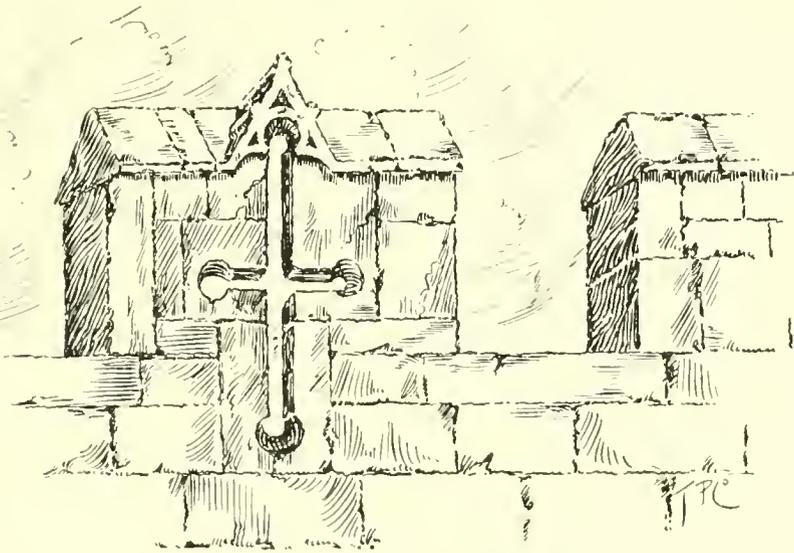
When all was ready, the King advanced with a numerous army, marching direct to Berwick-on-Tweed, the key to Scotland. After a two months' siege, and gallant resistance, this strategic border position and fortress was taken on July 19th. Henceforward Berwick formed part of the English dominion.

Balliol, Edward's nominee and vassal, was acknowledged as the King of Scotland, but had to do liege homage to the English Crown. Several strong fortresses beyond the border were at the same time ceded to Edward.

¹ Cal. Close Rolls, 1333-1337, p. 109.

The citizens of York obtained a grant of murage for seven years from October 12, 1334.

In the Archives¹ of York Guildhall there are some particulars referring to the restoration of that section of the walls that inclose the Walmgate district. The document, a folio page written in Norman-French, is faded and difficult to read. It is dated "the year of the reign of King Edward of England the 19th, and of his kingdom of France the 6th," and the account is designated "A Composition made as to the work of the Walls in the Circuit of Walmgate."



ONE OF THE CANOPIED LOOPHOLES, WALMGATE WALLS.

The walls mentioned were thus restored in 1345, and the interesting canopied cruciform loopholes that pierce the battlements, which are Decorated in character, would form part of the work executed at this date.

Balliol, only a titular king, was not acceptable to the Scottish nation, and he had again to seek refuge in England, as his countrymen considered David Bruce their rightful sovereign.

¹ Miscellaneous records bound up with the earliest Register of the Freemen of York, folios 351 to 356.

The chronic warfare and national antagonism between the two countries lingered on, and truce after truce was made, to be as often broken. Edward frequently attempted to subdue Bruce's followers, but his efforts were of no avail, and he was compelled to abandon his pretensions of suzerainty over Scotland.

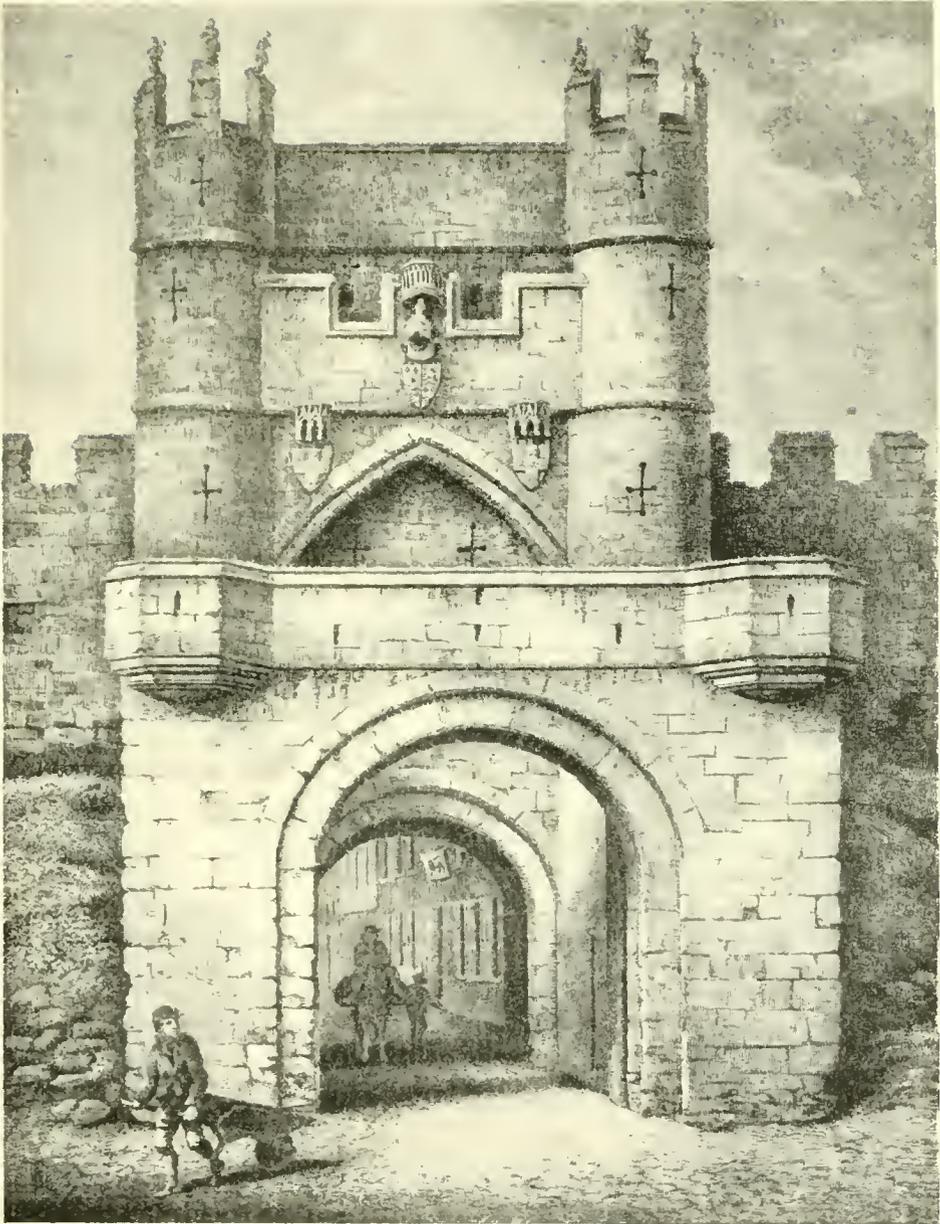
Whilst the English king was successfully warring in France, the Scots, under Bruce, audaciously raided our northern counties. Unaware of the presence of an English army in the vicinity, they were surprised and beaten at Neville's Cross, near Durham, October 12, 1346. King David was captured and triumphantly brought to York. Queen Philippa was in the city, where she received the royal prisoner. During her stay, we are told, she was ever busy in aiding the citizens to maintain their fortifications in a complete state of defence.

We have very little precise information as to what reparations, or additions, were executed during the long reign of Edward III. To the early years of this King's administration may be attributed the embattled enclosures called barbicans,¹ erected in front of the four chief gates of the city.

The bartisaned superstructures of the bars may also safely be assigned to this period. These new-featured defensive works added greater security to the city. An enemy invariably sought to gain entrance at its gates. It was a much more arduous and risky undertaking crossing the wide and deep ditch that surrounded the city, and then having to mount the rampart to obtain ingress by breaching the walls.

Besides, the few great highways that led to the city

¹ The burgesses of Southampton obtained the King's licence, March 18, 1341, to levy a custom for five years to make a *barbican* of stone for the defence of their town. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1340-1343.



MONK BAR, WITH THE BARBICAN DESTROYED BY THE CORPORATION
IN 1825.

From an etching by J. Halfpenny, 1807.

were bounded on either hand in many places by low, marshy land, through which troops were unable to find a passage, even in summer.

On the accession of the youthful king, Richard II., the walls of York, with their accompanying gates, mural towers, and posterns had been made as strong and perfect in arrangement and character as it was possible to design them. The encircling defences of the city had been constructed on a fitting scale of mediæval grandeur and strength, that royalty and their loyal lieges might feel secure when residing within their protecting bulwarks.

During the reigns of the three Edwards the art of fortification had made great progress. These sovereigns travelled afar, and during their warring expeditions visited many fortified towns upon the Continent. Their observations, coupled with the experience gained by the skilled military commanders that accompanied them, resulted in the adaptation of home defences to the changed circumstances of the times.

Richard's reign, though fraught with internal troubles, had fewer indications of Scottish warlike activity than those of his immediate predecessors ; therefore, fortress building was, obviously, of not so much importance. There are, however, a few circumstances of this king's association with York ; of which the civic honours he bestowed upon its chief citizens were, perhaps, the most significant.

The King was again in York in 1389, and presented his sword to William-de-Selby, the Mayor, to be borne before him and his successors. With this he dignified the office henceforth with the title of Lord Mayor. On a subsequent visit he supplemented his former gift by providing a silver mace and a cap of maintenance for the sword-bearer.

The citizens of York were strong partisans of Richard,

as, to them, he granted valuable charters, immunities, and privileges. Amongst other things, the mayor and citizens were to have the custom, or toll, on merchandise brought into the city for sale "for the closure and supportation of the walls" for ever, without rendering any account to the Crown.

For the repair of the fortifications Richard granted murage tolls on the following occasions, which are recorded on the Patent Rolls under their respective dates:—

- 1377. November 4. Murage for five years.
- 1382. May 4. Murage for five years from November 4.
- 1386. November 2. Murage for five years.
- 1391. November 7. " "

CHAPTER VIII

THE LANCASTRIAN PERIOD

Murage Grant by Henry IV.—The King in York—Edinburgh Castle besieged—Failure of the Expedition—Scots raid Northumberland—Battle of Humbleton Hill—Traitors' heads placed upon the Gates of York—Battle of Shrewsbury—Hotspur's head brought to York—Local rising in 1405—Henry before the Walls of York—The citizens' submission—Archbishop Scrope and others beheaded—Fortifications of towns neglected—Lord Scrope's head fixed on Micklegate Bar—Henry V. visits York in 1421—Henry VI. at York—Walls near Fishergate repaired—Defeat of the Lancastrians at Towton—Flight of Henry VI.—Edward IV. enters York.

THE fortifications of York do not appear to have received much attention during the Lancastrian Period, if we may judge by the infrequency of allusions in contemporary chronicles. We only find entries of the usual murage grants for their repair. No works of any importance have been recorded.

Henry of Bolingbroke, who had by intrigue and usurpation mounted the English throne, issued a licence of murage to the Mayor of York for three years on February 16, 1400.¹

The new king, Henry IV., arrived in York at the end of June,² and remained in the city during most of the succeeding month. Having ordered the mayors

¹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1399-1401, p. 224.

Ramsay, "Lancaster and York," vol. i. p. 24.

of several ports and towns on the East Coast to purchase the necessaries of war for an expedition against Scotland, he obtained for the same purpose a large sum of money from the inhabitants of York. On the 18th of July he granted "to the Mayor and citizens of York, in repayment of 500 marks lent by them to the King and delivered to him in person in his necessity before he undertook the governance of the realm, and 1,000 marks lent by them to him for the expenses of his household in his present journey to Scotland, and delivered to the king's clerk, John Leybourne, that they shall have payment of the same from the customs and subsidy of wools, hides, and wool-fells shipped in their names in the port of Kyngeston-on-Hull."¹

The King, with his forces, subsequently marched to Edinburgh and besieged the Castle. His attempt to obtain the submission of the Scots was futile, and they persistently rejected his claim of overlordship. He returned to England, adding nothing but discredit to his reputation by the failure of the expedition, which was the last invasion of Scotland led by a King of England in person.

In the summer of 1402 the Scots made an inroad into Northumberland. The English peasantry fled before the raiders in great alarm; and, at Newcastle, one hundred armed men watched on the walls every night.

After the enemy had gathered together much spoil, they turned homewards; but when they reached the border they were dismayed to find their retreat barred by a strong English force. On Humbleton Hill,² an outlying spur of the Cheviots, the Scots were hopelessly beaten on September 14th. Eighty Scottish knights and barons laid down their arms and surrendered. Sir William Stewart, of Teviotdale, and Thomas Kerr were

¹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1399-1401, p. 354.

² Ramsay, "Lancaster and York," vol. i. pp. 47-48.

summarily tried as traitors, and executed. Their bodies were quartered and brought to York, and formed a ghastly spectacle upon the gates of the city for many months.

Insurrection and rebellion prevailed on all sides. After the Battle of Shrewsbury, fought July 21, 1403, Henry Percy, better known as Hotspur, was ignominiously beheaded; and his head was sent to York and placed upon Micklegate Bar. His aged father, the Earl of Northumberland, who had been greatly instrumental in King Henry's success against Richard, was compelled to seek the clemency of the king.¹ The heart-broken veteran rode into York on Saturday, August 11th, through the very bar on which his favourite son's head was exposed.

Early in the year 1405, the populace of York were surprised to find that a "seditious" manifesto had been secretly posted on the city gates, and church doors, by the leaders of a disaffected section of the people. Archbishop Scrope took a prominent part in the movement, and the citizens were constrained to join the rebellion.

The insurgent band mustered on Shipton Moor, in the Forest of Galtres;² but they soon dispersed, being beguiled by the crafty persuasions of Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland. Henry hastened to the North vowing vengeance against the citizens of York, who became panic-stricken when they heard of the King's rage. The city was seized, and occupied under martial law. On the 6th June, the King arrived before the walls of York, and the inhabitants went out to meet their dreaded sovereign. The dresses they wore were characteristic of submission; ungirt and barefoot, with halters round their necks, they abjectly begged for the King's pardon.

Archbishop Scrope, Thomas Mowbray, the Earl

¹ Ramsay, "Lancaster and York," vol. i. p. 65.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 89.

Marshal, and Sir William Plumpton, the reputed instigators of the plot, a few days later, were sentenced to death at Bishopthorpe.¹ They were brought to a field belonging to the Nunnery of Clementhorpe, a few hundred yards without the postern of Skeldergate, and there executed.²

The fortifications of many walled towns and castles at this time were decayed and in ruins.³ At Canterbury, Yarmouth, Carlisle, Cambridge, Colchester, and other places, the inhabitants were ordered to put their defences in a state of repair. We conclude that the walls of York did not require repairing, as no similar specific orders were given for the carrying out of any reparations.

During the reign of Henry V. (the hero of the memorable Battle of Agincourt) there are few records associated with our subject. In 1415, just before the King sailed for France on August 11th, he confirmed the sentence of death passed upon Henry, Lord Scrope, and others, who had been implicated in a treasonable rising in the North.⁴ A royal precept was issued authorising the Lord Mayor of York to fix the head of Scrope upon Micklegate Bar.

In the course of a brief interval from campaigning in France, Henry and his Queen made a royal progress to the north of England in 1421. They passed through York early in April, on their way to Beverley, to pay their devotions at the shrine of St. John.

If we except the bitter struggles of the partisans of the rival Houses of York and Lancaster, the annals of

¹ Ramsay, "Lancaster and York," vol. i. p. 90.

² For an authentic and detailed account of this event, see Wylie's "History of England under Henry the Fourth," vol. ii. pp. 228-244.

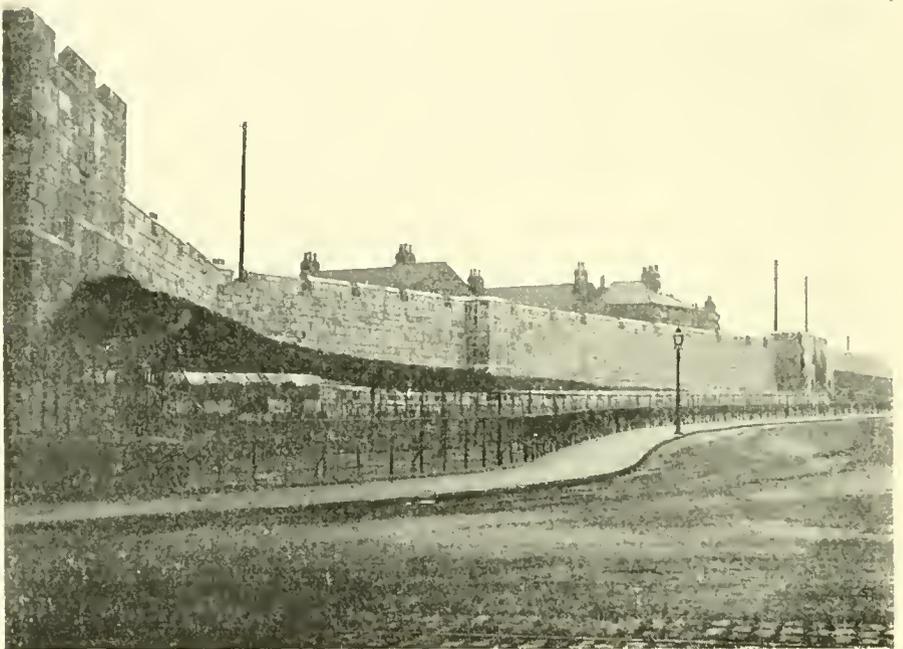
³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 472-475.

⁴ Ramsay, "Lancaster and York," vol. i. pp. 198-199.

the reign of Henry VI. embody very few incidents of local interest.

Henry granted murage to the citizens of York for three years on the 5th of September, 1427.

In 1442, the city walls appear to have been renovated, near Fishergate, as in the *Comptuses*, or city accounts, are recorded some payments for building materials brought to the city at this time.



THE CITY WALLS FROM FISHERGATE.

Twelvepence was paid for cartage of stone from a quarry to the quayside on the Ouse at Cawood; and Robert Sawman received 6s. 8d. for the freight of it to York in his barge; and 8d. was paid for unloading the same at "St. Andrewland." This was a landing-place near the modern Blue Bridge, which belonged to the adjoining Priory of St. Andrew. Four shillings was paid for the carriage of $20\frac{1}{2}$ tons of stone from "St. Andrewland to Fysshergate Barr, and 10d. for three measures of lyme."

The King visited York, in 1448, when on a pilgrimage to St. Cuthbert's shrine at Durham. He was given a hearty reception, which he described in laudatory terms, little thinking that his next visit would terminate in the ill-fated disaster to his regal position.

The strife of civil war, once begun, for a long time raged fiercely, and the adherents of the White and Red Roses at last engaged in a most sanguinary conflict at Towton, near York, on Palm Sunday, March 4, 1461. Henry's followers were utterly routed and the hopes of the Lancastrian party finally crushed. Immediately after the battle, Henry and Queen Margaret, who were in York, hastily fled towards Scotland. On Monday, the victorious Edward triumphantly entered the city.

CHAPTER IX

THE YORKIST PERIOD

Edward IV. witnesses the Execution of Rebels at York, 1464—Grant to the Citizens for loss sustained by Wars—Rebellion encouraged by Robert Hillyard, 1469; the Leader executed; his head placed on Walmgate Bar—Henry VI. reinstated; Flight of Edward IV.—Edward returns and appears before Walmgate Bar—Parley at the Gate—The City without a Mayor—Edward visits York in 1478—Richard III. popular in York—Fee-farm of the City remitted—Murage Tolls abolished—Battle of Bosworth—Corporation Minutes—York Men defensibly arrayed, to Fight for Richard—Death of Richard—Mural Chambers.

EDWARD IV., after his victory at Towton, remained in the North a little over two months, and his sojourn was marked by vigorous measures. When all was quiet he commenced his journey towards London, leaving York on the 14th of May, 1461.

On the 26th of May, 1464, the King was again at York, and witnessed¹ the execution of a batch of Lancastrian prisoners, captured at the battle of Hexham. A few days later Edward issued a "Grant to the mayor and citizens of York, in consideration of the losses they have sustained by reason of the wars and dissensions in the north, of £40 yearly for 12 years from

¹ Ramsay, "Lancaster and York," vol. ii. p. 304.

the subsidy of the 3s. in the tun and 12d. in the pound in the port of Kyngeston-on-Hull." ¹

In the year 1469 a rebellion, somewhat Lancastrian in character, broke out in Yorkshire. Many farmers, who resented the exaction of tithes on corn demanded by the Hospital of St. Leonard, York, gathered together in a rebellious mood. They were under the leadership of Robert Hillyard, or Hildyard, who had assumed the name of Robin of Holderness.² He led the disorderly force to the walls of York; but John Neville, Earl of Northumberland, quickly met and suppressed the movement. Hillyard, the captain of the revolutionary band, was beheaded in The Pavement; and his head and banner were afterwards displayed on Walmgate Bar.³

Edward, who had not gauged Warwick the King-maker's talents for intrigue, was deposed by that all-powerful baron. England, strange to say, at this time had two kings, and both in prison. Henry VI. was liberated from the Tower of London, and reinstated with regal powers, October 9, 1470. Edward IV., who had fled to the Continent, returned early the next year, and landed with a few followers at Ravenspurn, on the Yorkshire coast; nominally, as he avowed, to recover his hereditary duchy of York. He resolved to march by way of York to London. On the 18th of March news was brought into the city of his approach, and Thomas Conyers, styled "Recorder," and others, on behalf of the citizens, went out to meet him.⁴ These delegates endeavoured to persuade Edward to turn from York, but he resolutely advanced to Walmgate Bar, and there found the gates closed against him. The city was

¹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1461-67, p. 334.

² Ramsay, "Lancaster and York," vol. ii. pp. 338-339.

³ Cf. Gent, p. 190.

⁴ Ramsay, "Lancaster and York," vol. ii. p. 366; Davies, "York Records," note, pp. 293-5; Drake, p. 113.

without a mayor, the burgesses having been unable to agree in an election,¹ therefore he parleyed for his admittance with some persons who were in authority. Thomas Clifford, who probably was the keeper of the city during the civic dissensions, is said to have admitted Edward and his partisans. They tarried one night, and next day went on their way towards Tadcaster. Edward soon regained his kingly authority, and his rival, Henry, died a prisoner in the Tower May 21st.

In 1478 Edward was again in York, and 16d. was "paid for 100 torches, bought for the firepans for the lights within the city in the evening at the time of the King being within the city."²

Edward V. succeeded to the throne April 9, 1483; and shortly afterwards his uncle, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, was appointed Protector. Gloucester almost at once assumed regal powers; and subsequently the youthful sovereign and his brother were mysteriously put to death in the Tower.

The new king, Richard III., was intimately known by the citizens of York, he having on many occasions in preceding years been a visitant to the city. He almost considered himself a Yorkshireman; and during Edward IV.'s reign his influence was often employed in advancing the interests of the old capital—"acts of grace" which enhanced his popularity in the north.

At the end of August, 1483, the King and Queen came to York, and were heartily welcomed by the jubilant inhabitants.³ The royal pair, richly apparelled and wearing their crowns, went to the Minster. After the service Richard knighted his son Edward, and created him Prince of Wales. Before leaving the Cathedral the King held an audience with the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and others, on which occasion he conferred a benefit

¹ See Appendix L.

² Davies, "York Records," p. 65.

³ Ramsay, "Lancaster and York," vol. ii. p. 501.

upon the citizens by abolishing murage and other tolls, also remitting the fee-farm rent of the city.

Particulars of the interview are quaintly recorded in the Minutes of the Corporation, as follows:—

“Memorandum that the 17th day of the moneth of Septembir, in the ffurst year of the reign of King Richard the thyrd, John Newton, then beyng Mair of the Cite of York, our said sufferayn (sovereign) lord the Kyng, of hys most speciall good grace, remembering the gude service that the said cite haith done to hys good grace, ffurst in the yorney made to Dunffreys, and seth then in the yorney made the same yere to Edynburgh, yorney late made to London to the coronation of hys good grace, Callid afore hys good grace the said day into the Chapitour howse of the Cathederall Church of Saint Petir at York, the said mair, hys bredyr the aldermen, and many odir of the comuns of the said cite, and then and there our said suffereyn lord opynly rehersid the said service to hys good grace done, and also the dekey (decay) and the grete poverty of the said cite, of hys most speciall good grace, withowt eny peticion or askyng of any thyng by the said mair, or of any odyr, our said sovereyn lord, onely of hys most abundant grace, most graciously and haboundauntly grauntid and gave, in releve of the said cite, in esyng of the tolls, murage, bucher penys,¹ and skaitgyld,² of the said cite yearly for ewyr, £58 11s. 2d., that is to say, for the murage £20, and the resedew to the Sheryffs, so that from then forwerd it shold be lefull (lawful) to every person frely to come to the said cite with thar goods and catell, and tham frely to sell in the same without onythyng gyffing or paying for toll or murage of ony of the said goods; and owyre (over) that most graciously grauntyd to the mair and commonaltie of the said cite yerly £50 for ewyr, to the behove (behalf) of the comunalte and

¹ See Appendix M.

² See Appendix N.

chambyr of the said cite, and yerly to the mair for the tym beyng as hys cheffe serjaunt of Ayrms 12d. of the day, that is to say, by the yere £18 5s. od.”¹

Some months elapsed before the King's grant was formally ratified.²

During the reign of Edward IV. no York murage grants appear to have been bestowed, and it is most likely the citizens had ceased requisitioning the Crown for such concessions, as they had become of doubtful benefit. The system of taxing merchandise and cattle brought into the city for sale, although found expedient in Plantagenet times, was now very unpopular, as this mode of raising money for mural works seriously interfered with the trade and manufactures of York. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there were few markets; and of necessity merchants, under the protection of their guilds, congregated in the market city in the pursuit of their business. As the population of the country increased, and the great landowners and their tenants became less militant in their avocations, market charters were one by one granted to adjacent growing towns. These towns had no fortifications of any magnitude to keep in repair. Therefore markets, where no mural tolls were taken, had advantages appreciated by traders and others, to the inevitable check and partial ruin of the commerce of York.

Richard, quick in discerning the situation, and anxious to secure the goodwill of the citizens, abolished this older form of local mural taxation. He arranged the above new and generous alternative more suited to the changed circumstances of the age; which still retained the principle that the citizens should keep the walls and ditches—although Crown property—in good repair and effectiveness.

¹ Davies, “Records of York,” pp. 173-5.

² See Appendix O.

We have already stated that Richard had early won the affections of Yorkshiremen generally ; and, notwithstanding his many failings, his generous disposition increased the goodwill with which he was regarded. The Council of York, very carefully, got entered upon their minutes every particular letter and message they received, or sent, to his majesty. From these unique records, we are able to follow with a certain degree of accuracy the sequence of tragic events



Photo]

[T.P.C.]

BASEMENT OF A TOWER AT THE ANGLE OF THE OLD BAILE.

culminating in his final overthrow, in 1485, and his death, upon the field of Bosworth.

On the 8th of July, the Corporation decided that all men of every craft, within the city, had to be ready "defensibly areyed to attend upon the mayre of this citie and his brethren, for savegard of the same to the King's behove, or other ways at his commaundment." ¹

The political horizon became more cloudy ; and, on the 16th of August, the Council issued a further order

¹ Davies, "Records of York," pp. 214-219 ; Drake, p. 120.

“that every warden of this citie serch the inhabitunts within his ward, that they have sufficient wapens and aray for the defence and well of this citie.” At the same meeting, it was also resolved to send “up any of his subgietts within this citie to his said grace for the subduying of his ennemyes.”

Three days later, it was ordained that a company of men, defensibly arrayed, should be mustered immediately, and march, with all possible haste, to the King; each soldier to be paid at the rate of 12d. per day. These warriors were sent off too late to fight in defence of their sovereign, and were met, when only a few days' march from York, by the news that the King had been defeated. Tidings of the disaster were reported to the York Council, assembled on the 23rd of August, and it was duly entered in the City Archives, “that King Richard, late mercifully reigning upon us, was pitiously slane and murdered, to the grete hevynesse of this citie.”

In the present circuit of the walls are several sunk mural chambers, in which, during the fifteenth century and later, military stores were probably kept.¹

¹ See Appendix P.

CHAPTER X

THE TUDOR PERIOD

York Corporation petition Henry VII.—The King's reply—The Fee-farm and murage—Symnell's Insurrection—City Walls greatly decayed—Watch and Ward kept—Alderman Wells assassinated at Bootham Bar—Henry VII. at York. William Todd and Richard Yorke knighted—Fishergate Bar assaulted and burnt—Riotous Mob led by John Chambers—The King requests the mayor to strengthen the Walls and cleanse the City Ditch—Red Tower built—Bootham and Walmgate Bars repaired—Leland's description of the Walls—The Pilgrimage of Grace—York surrenders to Robert Aske—The Rebellion suppressed—Aske executed on the summit of Clifford's Tower—Walls near the Red Tower restored—The Rebellion of 1569-70—Earl of Northumberland beheaded.

HENRY was acknowledged king on the field of Bosworth immediately after the defeat and death of Richard.

The mayor and citizens of York, feeling some anxiety lest the exemption of murage, and other privileges, granted by the vanquished monarch, should be withdrawn, at once petitioned Henry VII. in their behalf. The letter, which is studiously phrased, is of historical importance, and records many stirring events of those turbulent times. It also refers to the injury the city had sustained by the frequent internecine struggles, so closely associated with its walls. Their supplication mentions the civic benefits already enjoyed by the inhabitants in the following manner:—"first, that evere persone resorting unto the said citie shuld be toll free,

wherby grete recourse shuld be had to the said cite, and so the sheriffes, by reason therof, discharged for ever of £40 due yerely for the toll ; also that the maier for the tyme being shuld be sargiant at armez, receyving of the fee ferme of the cite 12d. by the day in his releve toward his charges of maraltie ; also that the said fee ferme shuld be paide yerely unto the use of the cite toward the reparacion of the walls, £20.”¹

In reply, the citizens were assured of Henry's good grace, and the Corporation had no further cause for alarm.

We have no certain evidence that Richard's grant, abolishing the payment of the fee-farm or *firma-burgi*, was rescinded by succeeding monarchs ; from the two subsequent notices it would appear that it was not. The mayor and sheriffs were persistent in their petitions that that portion of the fee-farm, allotted for mural repairs, should not again be paid into the Exchequer. In writing (April 30, 1487) to the mayor, and his brother officers, Henry VII. distinctly alludes to the question :—

“As for the discharge in our Eschequir that ye desire to have there for certeyneoure fefermes of our said cite, We seeing well the true acquittail ye be of, with your good devours, diligence and hertines anempst us, be content to send and write that of the same fee ferme, ye shall have due allowance in all goodly hast as apperteyneth.”²

In a letter,³ dated January 27, 1528, preserved at the Record Office, from the Corporation of York to Wolsey, thanks are given him for the pains he has often taken “for the preferment and maintaining of your poor city of York, whereby we trust now that it shall

¹ Davies, “Records of York,” pp. 295-6.

² Davies, “Symnell's Rebellion,” p. 15.

³ Cal. State Papers, vol. iv., part ii., 1526-28, p. 1717.

be and continue a city"; and it is also asked that the corporation be allowed to conclude with Thomas Roos,¹ Earl of Rutland, by writing of the certainty that they shall pay to him yearly from the fee-farm of the city.

In the early part of the year 1487, the insurrectionary movement in favour of the impostor, Lambert Symnell, caused the municipal authorities of York some alarm. The City Archives contain several documents of considerable interest which throw much light on the rebellion, particularly showing how Symnell's advisers and supporters were unfavourably received by the people of Yorkshire and its capital.

The Lord Mayor, loyal to a degree, being uneasy under the apprehension of impending danger, addressed the subjoined letter to the King, wherein his lordship specially alludes to the weak state of the city defences—

"To moost highe and mighty cristen prince and oure moost redoubtid souverain liege lord the Kinge.

"Moste highe and mighty cristen prince and oure moost redoubtid souverain liege lord, We in oure moost humble wise recomendes us unto youre moost royall majesty, besuchinge almighty god to send your grace good and prosperoux life with the abbonndaunces of perseveraunt fortunes. Pleasit the same to be acertayned we er and evermore shal be your true and feithful subgiettes redye tobbey with oure bodis and godes any your high comaundementes aswell for the safegard of youre moost royall persone as this youre realme and in especiall in sure preservyng of this youre citie unto youre grace singularly ayenst all othre entending the contrary. Albeit, souverain lord, *your said citie is soo greteley decayed aswell by fallyng down of the walles of the same and by takyng downe of youre Castell there by*

¹ This was the residue of the fee-farm that had not been abolished, a payment which had been rendered to the Roos family from an early date.

King Richard and as yet not reedified as othre in diverse wise that without the same bee more largely manned may ne cannot wel be kept ayenst youre ennymes and rebelles if they shuld as God defend approche and move werre ayenst the same; And also howe your said citie is not inhabit by the whiche ther is not half the nombre of good men within your said citie as ther hath beene in tymes past, Wherfor it wold pleas your moost noble grace if the case require that your said ennymes approche unto the same, to provide and ordane that your true citicyns therof may be conveniently assisted and releved at youre propre costes and charges, whereby we trust to God to withestond your said ennymes and kepe this youre said citie unto you souverain lord, And where also youre said citie is not well furnessed with artilment and stuff of ordnaunce for the more diffence of the same as it hath beene heretofore soo it hath beene charged of lait in that behalve, we besuche youre moste noble grace that some of youre ordnaunce and artilment of werr might be sent hidder to the same entent, which wer a thing unto us of grete comforth and make us encouraged the more largely to withstand your said ennymes. Further to the berer herof John Vavasour, your servant at the lawe and our Recordour, we besuch your moost noble grace to geve credence in suche thinges as shall shewe unto the same upon oure behalve concernyng the premissez. And the blisshed Trinitee preserve you most highe and mighty cristen prince and our moost redoubtid souverain liege lord evere in felicitee. From your said Citie the xxiiij day of April the secunde yere of youre moost graciouse reigne.

“Your most humble subgiettes and true liegemen
the Maier Aldremen Shereffes and Comune
Counsail of your Citie of York.”¹

¹ Davies, “Lambert Symnell’s Rebellion,” pp. 10–11.

No sooner had the messenger departed with this letter than the city authorities received a royal missive, dated April 20th, requesting them to "kepe due watch and warde for the suretie" of the city "as well by day as by night."¹ The council immediately appointed proper persons to be wardens of each of the six wards, into which the city was then divided, viz., "Walmgate, Monkebarr, Bowtham, Castlegate, Mickillyth, and the posterne of Northstreet." During the time the city was being guarded, Alderman William Wells, an ex-Lord Mayor, acting as warden or captain of the watch at Bootham Bar, was assassinated by a treacherous and disloyal citizen. News of the dastardly affair was forwarded to the King on the 14th of May, which is referred to in the following manner:—"We have kept due watche and warde for the surty of this your said citie as well by day as by night, and from tyme to tyme and so we shall continue unto we have othrewise in commaundement from your said grace; And where, souverain lord, oure welbeloved brothre William Wells late mayre of this your said citie and alderman of the same, being at youre said watche as wardan and ruler therof, to oure grete hevynesse and discomforth was striken to deth by oone John Robson milner and citicyn of this youre said citie, whom we have in sure ward to be inquired of according to youre lawes and punysshed after his demeriticz in example of all othre."²

The rebellious malcontents, gaining no sympathy in York, marched southwards, and were effectually crushed at Stoke, near Newark; and Symnell, the pretender, fell into Henry's hands. His majesty soon after visited York, and to show his appreciation of the loyalty displayed by the citizens and their civic leaders, knighted

¹ Davies, "Lambert Symnell's Rebellion," p. 12.

² Ibid., p. 20.

William Todd, the Lord Mayor, and Richard Yorke, an opulent merchant and alderman of the city.

In 1489 a riotous mob, incited by their seditious leader, John Chambers, assaulted the city and damaged the fortifications at Fishergate Bar. Henry, being cognisant of the injury done to the walls in this revolt, was probably reminded of it when he addressed the following letter to John Ferriby, Lord Mayor, in 1491, charging him and his brother aldermen to repair the fortifications and cleanse the protecting ditch that surrounded the city.

“By the King,

“Trusty and welbeloved we grete you well and forasmoche as we calle to our remembrāuce that our citie ther for lake of sufficient ordenances and habilyments of werre fortifying and repairing of your walles and clensying of your dykes was late lightly invaded to ye great daunger therof and of o^r true subjects and inhabitants within the same We fully entending our seid citie to be kept and presarved from all suche perill hereafter woll and comaunde you to see in all convenient hast yo^r walles to be suffisantly amended yo^r dikes caste and clensed and suche competent habiliments of werre harness gones and gonpoudre as shal be thought metely and convenient for the suertie and defens of o^r seid citie And that this be don w^t al celerite and diligence as ye entende to please us and as noo default be arrected unto you if any inconvenients happen herafre. Geven und our signet at o^r palors of Westm^r the iijjth day of Marche.

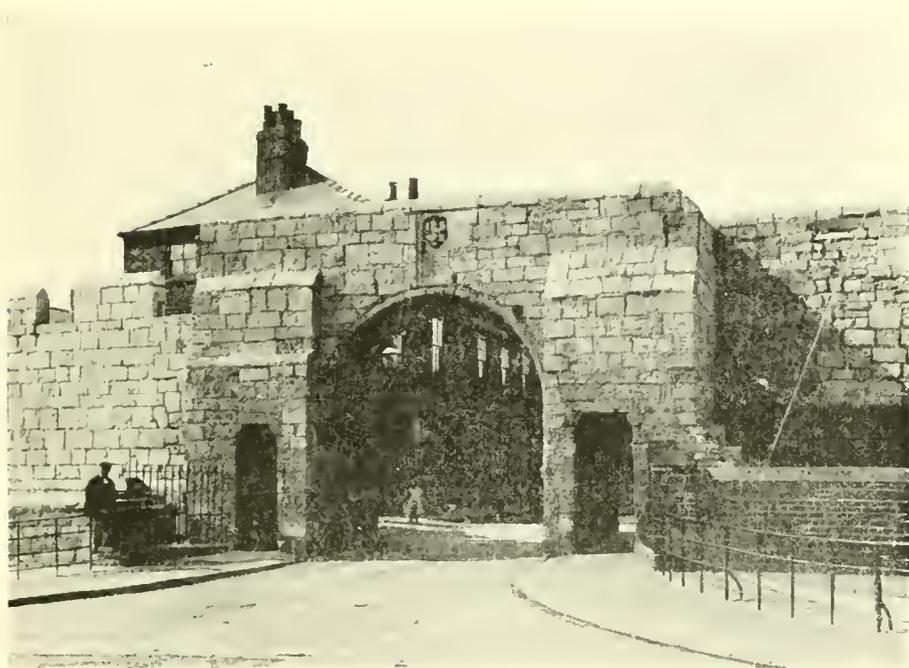
“To our trusty and welbeloved the Maire Aldremen Comune Counsaill of our Citie of York.”¹

The stout old walls of York, which had by their

¹ Lockwood and Cates, “Fortifications of York,” pp. 31-32.

strength, and passive resistance, protected the burghers from hostile attack for centuries, do not appear to have received much attention at the hands of the restorer, or builder, during the reign of Henry VIII. The Red Tower and the bartisaned upper parts of Bootham and Walmgate Bars seem to be the only renewal works of any importance of this period.

The Scots were no longer pouring into Yorkshire in



FISHERGATE BAR (WITHOUT).

marauding hordes. The inhabitants of York were only threatened by minor local insurrections, or by discontented bands of Yorkshiremen, who, when needs be, bravely took up a rebellious attitude in defence of their outraged religious opinions.

Leland gives a very interesting and quaint description of the Defences of York, in his celebrated and oft-quoted "Itinerary," a remarkable tour, which he accomplished at the instigation of the King, during the years 1534-36.

“ The Towne of Yorke stondith by West and Est of Ouse Ryver, renning thorough it: But that Parte that lyith by Est is twis as great in Buildinges as the other.

“ Thus goith the Waul from the Ripe (bank) of Owse of the Est Parte of the Cite of York.

“ Fyrst a great Towre (Lendal) with a Chein of Yren to caste over the Ouse: then another Tower, and so to Boudom Gate: From Boudom Bar or Gate to Goodrome Gate or Bar X Toures. Thens 4. Toures to Laythorp a Posterngate: and so by the space of a 2. flite Shottes (bow-shots) the blynde and depe Water of Fosse cumming oute of the Forest of Galtres defendith this Part of the Cyte without Waulle. Then to Waume Gate 3. Toures, and thens to Fisscher Gate stoppid up sins the Communes burnid it yn the Tyme of King Henry the 7. And yn the Waul by this Gate is a Stone with this Inscription:

L X Yardes yn length Anno D. 1445 (?) (1487).

William Todde Mair of York did this Coste.

“ Sum say that Waume Gate was erectid at the stopping up of Fischer Gate: but I dout of that.

“ Thens to the Ripe of Fosse a 3. Toures, and yn the 3. a Posterne.

“ And thens over Fosse by a Bridge to the Castel. Fosse Bridge . . . Arches bove it: Lairthorpbridge on Fosse of 3. Arches. Monke Bridge on Fosse of 5. Arches withoute Goodrome Gate.

“ The Area of the Castelle is of no very great Quantite. There be a 5. ruinus Toures in it.

“ The arx (keep) is al in ruine: and the roote of the Hille that yt stondith on is environid with an Arme derivid out of Fosse Water.

“ The West Part of the Cite of York is this enclösid: first a Turret, and so the Waul rennith over the side of

the Dungeon (Baile Hill) of the Castelle on the West side of Ouse right agayn the Castelle on the Est Ripe. The Plotte of this Castelle is now caullid the old Baile and the Area and Diches of it do manifestley appere. Betwixt the Beginning of the firste Part of this West Waulle and Michel Gate be IX. Toures : and betwixt it and the Ripe again of Owse be a XI Toures. and at this lower Tower of the XI. ys a Posterne Gate : and the Toure of it is right again the Est Toure to draw over the Chaine on Owse betwixt them.”¹

The Act of Supremacy, of 1534, investing Henry with authority over all ecclesiastical matters, and the Suppression, in 1536, of all monasteries and nunneries under £200 yearly revenue ; occasioned the Rising in Lincolnshire, followed by a similar outbreak in Yorkshire, called the Pilgrimage of Grace.² The insurrection, as events show, only brought destruction on its leaders, and on all those who were engaged in it.

It is remarkable that the fortified city of York, and the town of Hull, similarly defended, should have fallen into the hands of Robert Aske of Aughton, Lord Darcy, Sir Robert Constable, and other zealous leaders of the rising, before any effectual steps could be taken by the Government to crush the revolt.

The Lord Mayor of York, William Haryngton, on behalf of the City Council, having advice of the movements of the insurrectionists, on the 14th of October, 1536, wrote to the King acquainting him that “The commons of Beverley, Cottyngham, Holdenshire, Marcheland, Richmondshire, etc., some willingly and many by coercion, have rebelliously assembled to take York ;” adding that “York is ill provided for defence ; they therefore desire the King to aid them and to write

¹ Leland’s “Itinerary,” fols. 60-62.

² For a full account of the rising see Gasquet’s “Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries.”

to the noblemen of Yorkshire and elsewhere to help them.”¹

Before Henry had received this letter, the rebels, without any apparent resistance on the part of the burghers, many of which no doubt secretly clung to the old faith, gained possession of the city. On the 16th of October, “Grand Captain Aske, of the Commons of Yorkshire,” with 20,000 men, harnessed, entered York; the citizens met them in procession “and offered them all their goods, some very willingly, but others from fear.”²

A half-hearted defence of the city was probably attempted, as Richard Bowier, a servant of Cromwell, the Vicar-General, and Keeper of the Fishpond of Fosse, wrote saying: “It was determined to send for the gentlemen of the Ainsty to come and help keep the city after the old custom, Captains were appointed at every ward and bar, Bothumbar ward being assigned to me. So I put on my harness ‘with red cross as they wear and bear at Nottingham,’ and did all I could for the keeping of the city.”³

Before the rebels marched into York they promised the Lord Mayor that there should be no plundering, and that no one should be hurt. The King’s treasure was seized, and an attempt was made to reinstate those deprived of their monastic positions.

The rebellion spread throughout Yorkshire and Durham, and many of the nobility joined the insurgents, but its further progress was checked by protracted negotiations and intrigue. Subsequently the disaffected were cajoled by fair promises, concessions, and pardons. After the malcontents had dispersed, the towns of the north were garrisoned by the King’s troops, his concessions were withdrawn, and a ruthless series of executions

¹ Cal. State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. xi. p. 271.

² Ibid., vol. xi. p. 346.

³ Ibid., vol. xii., part 1, p. 137.

followed. The leaders of the insurrection were arrested, and subsequently suffered the extreme penalty of the law. Lord Darcy was beheaded at Tower Hill, London; Sir Robert Constable was hanged in chains over Beverley Gate, Hull; Lord Hussey was executed at Lincoln; and many others were hanged at Tyburn, London. Robert Aske was ignominiously brought to York, with gruesome severity; and, as a conspicuous example to the disloyal people of the neighbourhood, he was hanged on a gallows specially set up on the summit of Clifford's Tower, on a Thursday Market Day, early in July, 1537.

As the mode and place of Aske's execution have been variously guessed at by previous historians, the following notices of it by contemporary officials concerned in the matter, which have only recently been brought to light, definitely decide the question.

Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, the King's Lieutenant in the North, was commissioned to see that the executions were carried out, and on the 3rd of July, 1537, he wrote to Cromwell as follows: "Also my lord I perceive by the schedule in the box that you sent me a writ for the sheriffs of the city of York to see execution done. . . . Please send me a new writ to the sheriff of Yorkshire, and not the Sheriffs of the city of York; for execution shall be done on the height of the Castle dungeon where the sheriffs of the city have no authority. Let it be with me at York on Wednesday or Thursday week at furthest."¹ A few days later Cromwell himself alluded to the affair in a missive he sent to Sir Thomas Wyatt. "The traitors have been executed, Lord Darcy at Tower Hill, and Lord Hussey at Lincoln, *Aske hanged upon the dungeon of York Castle*, Sir Robert Constable hanged at Hull, and the rest at Thyfbourne; so that all the cankered hearts are weeded away."²

¹ Cal. State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. xii. part ii. p. 87.

² Ibid., vol. xii. part ii. p. 96.

A portion of the walls was substantially restored in 1562-3, in pursuance of an order made by the City Council, for the "good and speedy amendment and repair of certain decayed walls of the city nigh the Red Tower in Walmgate Ward." ¹ The arches adjoining the tower, supporting the interior platform of the curtain wall, are evidently of this period, and would doubtless form part of the work executed at the above date.

The conspicuous reign of Queen Elizabeth, which was long and prosperous, was characterised by vigorous persecution of those who still adhered zealously to Romanism, or of those who had the courage to worship according to their convictions. Calvinists, Puritans, and Roman Catholics, who would not conform to the State religion, were imprisoned and visited with severe penalties, and many suffered death in the cause of religious liberty.

In the month of November, 1569, the Roman Catholics of the North made an abortive attempt to restore their religion. A multitude of armed persons assembled under the command of Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and Charles Neville, Earl of Westmoreland. The insurgents, as stated in an old ballad—

"At Wetherbie they mustred their host,
Thirteen thousand fair to see,"

with the intention of first capturing York. How they were persuaded to alter their military plans we gather from a letter written to the King's Council by a person named Thomas Bishop. He says: "Your worships' pleasure was, I might from time to time write my knowledge of the late rebellion, and in other matters." In conversation with the Earl of Westmoreland, he remarked: "You know York; we intend upon the side next Todcastle (Tadcaster) to assault it. What is your opinion?" I answered, it was evil counsel, that was *the*

¹ Lockwood and Cates, "Fortifications of York," p. 34.

strongest bar, the highest and strongest wall. "If ye get repulse, having no ordnance, it will discourage your people; if ye win that part it shall be with great loss of men; the inhabitants be your friends as I hear say, and being spoiled and sacked, ye shall be cried out upon not only of them but of all England as robbers and destroyers of the second town of this realm. And yet, getting this part of the town, ye win but a 'streit,' having the bridge and river to win, beyond which standeth the three best parts of the town."¹



ARCHES ADJOINING THE RED TOWER.

Reinforcements soon arrived in York for the Earl of Essex, who held the city. Before overwhelming forces the conspirators retreated, and, panic-stricken, dispersed. Northumberland and Westmoreland escaped to Scotland, but their misguided and miserable adherents paid for their disloyalty in bloodshed and ruin. Northumberland was captured "as he was wandering alone disguised

¹ Cal. Cecil MSS., part i. p. 471.

in simple apparel,"¹ and on the 23rd of August, 1572,² was beheaded at York.

As all early topographical descriptions of York are of interest, especially to antiquarian readers, we will appropriately close this chapter with an account of the city written by Camden, which was first published in 1586.

"The West part of the City is less populous, and lies in a square form, enclosed partly with stately walls, and partly by the river, and has but one way to it, namely by Mikell-barr, which signifies a *great* Gate, from whence a broad fair built street on both sides leads to the very bridge, with fine gardens behind them, and the fields for exercise extended to the very walls. In the South part of the fields, where the river forms an angle, I saw a mount which has probably been cast up for some Castle to be built there, now call'd the *Old Baile*, which William Melton the Archbishop (as we find in the lives of the Archbishops) fortified first with thick planks eighteen foot long, and afterwards with a stone wall; whereof there remains nothing now visible.

"The East part of the City (where the buildings are thick, and the streets but narrow) is shap'd like a lentil, and strongly wall'd. On the South-east tis defended by a *Foss* or Ditch, very deep and muddy, which runs by obscure ways into the very heart of the City, and has a bridge over it so throng'd with buildings on both sides, that a stranger would mistake it for a street: after which it falls into the Ouse. At the confluence, over against the Mount before mention'd, William the Conqueror built a prodigious strong Castle, to keep the Citizens in awe. But this, without any care, has been left to the mercy of time, ever since fortified places have grown in disrepute among us, as only fit for those who want courage to face an enemy in the open field."³

¹ Cal. State Papers, 1547-1580, p. 356.

² Cal. Cecil MSS., part v. p. 70.

³ Camden's "Britannia," p. 717.

CHAPTER XI

THE STUART PERIOD

James I. receives the Keys of the City at Micklegate Bar, 1603—Mure-masters discontinued—Charter of Charles I. and Mural Repairs—Charles I. visits York, 1640, superintends Works of Fortification—Political troubles—Lord Herbert's reasons for fortifying York—Citizens meet at the Guildhall, order to put the City in a posture of defence—Sixteen hundred men work daily repairing the Walls and Ditches—Assessment for restoration of defences—Mural Chambers altered—Blockade of York, 1644, the strongest fortified town in England—Damage inflicted by the besiegers—Sir H. Vane's despatch from the leaguer before York—Prince Rupert's advance—St. Mary's Tower blown up and the Walls breached—Manchester's account of the storming of the King's Manor—Parliamentarians raise the siege—Arrival of Rupert before the gates of York—Struggle on Marston Heath—Account of the battle by the Parliamentary Generals—York beleaguered again—Capitulation of the garrison—Walls repaired with £5,000, a Royalist fine—Survey of the Walls—Charter of Charles I. and taxation for mural repairs—Stringent watch and ward—Conduct of Lord Frescheville, the Governor, resented—Governor Reresby and the City Gates—Various Repairs of the Walls, 1661-1673—Paved Walk made on the Walls—Citizens appropriate Ramparts and destroy Walls—Reward offered by City Council, 1710.

NO mention of the defences of York has been found in the records of the early part of this period, and this may be accounted for on the grounds, as Camden observes, that "fortified places" had "grown in disrepute." The city gates would, according to custom, still

be regularly closed at sunset and opened at dawn. When James I. was on his way southwards, he was received at Micklegate Bar on the 16th of April, 1603; and, after the usual obsequious civic welcome of royalty, the lord mayor delivered into the King's hands the keys of the city gates and posterns.

Prior to 1625 there were Mure-Masters, or Murengers, whose duties were to inspect and superintend the repairs of the city walls. These officials were discontinued in the first year of the reign of Charles I., and a City Steward was appointed in their stead.¹

Charles, by a Charter dated 19th of July, 1631, confirmed all former charters, and inserted in his new grant of privileges a special clause in aid of mural repairs, "because the walls of the said city are at present in great decay and not capable of being supported or repaired but by a Taxation of the Inhabitants of the said city for repairing the same, furthermore we will and by these presents for us our heirs and successors we grant to the beforesaid Mayor and Commonalty of the said city of York and their successors that the Mayor, Recorder, Sheriffs, and those who have been Sheriffs of the said city or the major part of them for the time being may and shall have full power and authority from time to time hereafter whenever and as often as to them shall seem necessary for ever hereafter to assess and tax all the inhabitants and residents within the city of York beforesaid as well within the liberties of Saint Peter as elsewhere within the present liberties and precincts of the same city in any reasonable sums of money according to their sound Discretions and the Qualities of the persons to and for the amending and repairing the walls of the said city and the stone Bridges and wharf called the King's Staith and if it so

¹ "History and Antiquities of the City of York," 1785, vol. ii, p. 30.

happens that any Inhabitant or resident within the liberties or precincts of the said city refuse to pay any sum of money so laid upon them for the reasons and in the form aforesaid that they the said Mayor and Commonalty of the said city and their successors for the time being by any officer appointed and authorised for that purpose by them may and shall be at liberty to distrain the goods and chattels of the person so refusing which are found within the said city and the precincts



THE CITY WALL AND RAMPART INCLOSING THE OLD BAILE.

and liberties of the same for the sum of money so laid or imposed upon him and expose them for sale to any person for the best price that can be got and pay to the Mayor and Commonalty for the time being so much out of the sale of the said goods as was assessed upon him towards amending and repairing the Walls, Bridges and Wharf aforesaid restoring the remainder to the owner of the goods and chattels aforesaid.”¹

MS. Translation of Charter in the Cathedral Library, York.

The year 1640 witnessed the commencement of the momentous political struggles which culminated in the Great Civil War. Charles, by his ill-advised resistance to the will of Parliament, divided his subjects into violent factions. He came to York, and was welcomed with the customary greetings, on the 23rd of August. The King, fearful of impending danger, and "for his greater security at York, rode about the city accompanied with the Marquis of Hamilton, several general officers, some aldermen and citizens, and with pickaxes, spades and shovels marked out several intrenchments and fortifications."¹

On the 7th of September the royal army, under Sir Jacob Astley, arrived before the city, encamping in Clifton Fields on the left bank of the Ouse, and in Bishop's Fields on the opposite side of the river, and a bridge of boats was utilised for communication. Also "there came into York at this time fifty odd pieces of ordnance great and small, six score and twelve waggons laden with powder, match and shot, with several other carriages full of pickaxes, spades and shovels, all from the King's magazine at Hull. Many of the cannon were planted before the camp, where several ramparts and bulwarks were thrown up. The rest of the cannon and carriages stood in Almonry-yard. There was a court of guard kept at every bar and every postern in the city, day and night, for the space of nine weeks; for notwithstanding the open pretences of the Scotch, the King had been secretly informed that they intended to surprise him in York; and therefore it behoved him to make these preparations to receive them."²

The Royal despotism of Charles, and his hatred of freedom of election and debate, encouraged the Scots to rise in defence of the liberty of conscience in religious

¹ Drake, "Eboracum," p. 138.

² Ibid., p. 139.

matters. They crossed the border and occupied Newcastle. From that town they sent proposals to the King, praying that their grievances should be considered. His Majesty, in a despairing manner, summoned a Council of Peers to meet at York on the 24th of September.

During its deliberations, Edward, Lord Herbert, dissatisfied with the Scots' demands, advised Charles to refuse them, and fortify York. The reasons he gave in his speech were as follows :—

“First, that Newcastle being taken, it was necessary to fortify York ; there being no other considerable place betwixt the Scots and London, which might detain their army from advancing forwards.

“Secondly, that reasons of state having admitted fortification of our most inland towns against weapons used in former times ; it may as well admit fortification against the weapons used in these times.

“Thirdly, that towns have been always averse to wars and tumults, as subsisting by the peaceable ways of trade and traffick. Insomuch that when either great persons for their private interests, or the commons for their grievances have taken arms, townsmen have been noted ever to continue in their accustomed loyalty and devotion.

“Fourthly, that this agreeth with the custom of all other countries, there being no town any where in Christendom, of the greatness of York, that hath not its bastions and bulwarks.

“As for the charges, the citizens of York might undertake that by his majesty's permission ; for since it is a maxim of war, that every town may fortify its circumference, within the space of two months, the expenses cannot be great.

“And for the manner of doing it, nothing else is needful, but that at the distance of every twenty-five paces round about the town, the walls should be thrown

down, and certain bastions or bulwarks of earth be erected by the advice of some good engineer.

“For the performing whereof every townsman might give his helping hand, digging and casting up earth, only where the said engineer should appoint. And for ordnance, ammunition and a magazine the townsmen, likewise for their security, might be at the charge thereof in these dangerous times; it being better to employ some money so to prevent the taking of the town, than to run the hazard of being in that estate in which Newcastle-men now are. I could add something concerning an antient law or custom called murage, by which money was raised for fortifying of inland towns; but because I know not of what validity this law or custom is at this time, I shall refer the further consideration thereof to the learned in our antiquities.

“I shall conclude therefore, with your majesty’s good favour, for the fortifying of York, as assuring myself that if for want of such fortification it fall into the Scotchmen’s hands, they will quickly fortify it as they have already done Newcastle.”¹

Lord Herbert’s advice, however, was not immediately adopted; but, a few months later, the city defences were materially altered and thoroughly restored.

Nothing, satisfactorily, was concluded with the Scots; they returned to their homes, and the King left the North for London. Charles’s drifting policy only brought about misunderstanding, mistrust, and unseemly disputes. The unfortunate monarch helplessly moved from one place to another; and, in November, 1641, was back in his “beloved city of York,” as he was wont to call it. Early in 1642, he paid the city another visit, which was of longer duration.

The times became more critical and unsettled, and

¹ Drake, “Eboracum” (quoting Rushworth), p. 141.

the two great parties, Royalist and Parliamentarian, hurried on warlike preparations. On the 2nd of September, 1642, the Lord Mayor of York summoned the citizens to the Guildhall, "where the commission of Henry, Earl of Cumberland, was read; and, according to the tenure of it, the city was immediately ordered to be put in a posture of defence, and ordnance mounted on the gates." ¹

The Earl of Cumberland had command of all the military forces in Yorkshire, and Sir Thomas Glemham, acting under him, was governor of York. The work of fortification was vigorously pursued, and "by the general's orders the magistrates were to find eight hundred men to work daily at the repair of the walls, and securing the ditches of the city; and they had likewise eight hundred more out of the county to help them." ²

The defences of the city were at this time, no doubt, in a dilapidated state; and required remodelling, to suit the requirements of the age. For a long period, it would appear, little care had been bestowed upon the decayed and ruined battlements. The once formidable deep and broad city ditch was no longer a guarantee of safety; its protecting earthbanks had been neglected; and it was choked with refuse and marshy plants. The work termed "securing the ditches" was an effectual scouring and cleansing of the ditch; and its innerescarp and counterscarp would be recast, shaped or modelled anew.

The citizens and residents had to bear the cost of repairing the walls and fortalices, and they were taxed, or assessed, according to the clause inserted in the Charter of King Charles. In the Register Book (1585-1652) of the Parish of Holy Trinity, Micklegate, some person, probably the clerk at the time of the

¹ Drake, "Eboracum," p. 160.

² Ibid. p. 162.

Civil War, inserted a memorandum concerning "A Sessment made for the Citie Walls, where I was sest 1s. and the house 1s. 6d. to be allowed in my rent."

The art of war had materially changed since the Edwardian period, and significant modifications in the fortifications were now found necessary. It has been said that the bays and bastions of the city walls "probably were always much as at present" (1877).¹ There is, however, reason for doubting this; as on a careful examination of some of the mural chambers, there are indications which suggest that these bastioned towers formerly had two apartments, one above the other. A good local example of such a tower—which has escaped the destructive hands of thoughtless vandals—may be seen on the defensive wall of St. Mary's Abbey, between Bootham and the Exhibition building.

During the great repair of the city walls, prior to the 1644 siege, there would necessarily be a local scarcity of stone; although the remains of ruined monasteries were largely utilised. The bastioned towers alluded to seem to have been denuded of their superstructures, and the material re-used in repairing the walls and battlements adjoining. The third bastion, or bay, on the walls, south of Micklegate Bar, is particularly interesting, as there are, within the mural chamber, remains of an early groined roof. The curvature of the vaulting shafts shows that the complete arch would originally be some feet above the modern platform, which is sufficient evidence that this tower, and probably others, were once very much higher than at present.

The Earl of Cumberland having resigned his commission, the Earl of Manchester took over the command of the Royalist forces. Sections of the Parliament army were successful in a guerilla warfare carried on in the

¹ Clark, "The Defences of York," p. 30.

West Riding, which eventually led up to the blockade of York.

Clifford's Tower had been strengthened and repaired; its circumscribing ditch was cleared and deepened, and great military defensive precautions had been taken in the city. Ere the besieging army appeared before the walls York was considered the most strongly fortified town in England, and secure against hostile attack, although famine might bring about ultimate surrender.

By the end of April, 1644, the Parliamentarians and their allies, the Scots, took up their leaguer before York. The forces at first were inadequate to effectually invest the city, and on the 2nd of June Manchester's contingent came to the assistance of the besieging army. The Royalist garrison had the advantage, but the strength of their works was tested by the many desperate assaults made upon them by the combined attacking forces.

The outlying forts and the suburbs were seized, but the Cavaliers in a sally succeeded in setting fire to the houses without the gates, thus depriving the aggressors of close shelter. Serious damage was eventually inflicted upon the city defences. Walmgate Bar was very much shattered, as was also the forebuilding of Clifford's Tower by the incessant fire from the batteries placed on the ridges of high ground, such as Garrow Hill and Lamel Hill, and upon Nun Mill Hill on the opposite side of the river.

The Cathedral was almost untouched during the cannonading; and when we consider how convenient the hillocks around York were for hostile artillery, it is surprising that the Minster escaped with such little injury. It is said that Lord Fairfax issued an order that no cannoner had to level his gun against it, under the pain of death.¹

¹ Torr's "Antiquities of York," 1719, Preface.

The following is a dispatch from Sir H. Vane, junr., to the Committee of both Kingdoms, dated June 11th:—

“Leaguer before York.

“It appears to me very evident that if Manchester had not brought up his foot to the siege the business would have been very dilatory, whereas the siege is now made very strait about the city, the Earl’s forces lying on the north side, where they have advanced very near to the walls, and are busy in a mine of which we expect a speedy account, if by a treaty we be not prevented. The Scotch forces under Sir James Lumsdale’s (Lumsden’s) command united with those of Lord Fairfax, possess the suburbs at the east side, and are within pistol shot and less of Walmgate. The Scots hold that fort on the south side, which they very gallantly took in on Thursday last, and are very busy in their approaches on that side. Yesterday two hundred horse attempted an escape or intended a sally on the north side, but were speedily beaten back again, and eighty at the same time came out on the south-west toward Acham with the like (ill) success.”¹

On the 8th of June, advice had been secretly brought into the city that Prince Rupert was advancing to the relief of York. The King had requested Rupert to march to its assistance, adding that “if York be lost I shall consider my crown little less.” The effect of the news of coming succour was to greatly increase the confidence of the besieged. Although Newcastle had been diplomatically feigning for a surrender of the city, the blockaders, with renewed activity, made some fearless and final attempts to breach the fortifications. The most destructive operation was an attack which took place on Trinity Sunday whilst many of the garrison were attending the morning service at the Minster.

¹ Cal. State Papers, 1644, p. 234.

The besiegers blew up St. Mary's Tower, adjoining the bowling green and orchard attached to the King's Manor. Manchester's own account of the assault is still preserved, and from this authentic record we gather that the attack was disastrous to the Parliamentarians. The General, in a letter dated June 18th, writes:—

“ I believe that the besieged cannot but be in straits,



Photo]

[W. Dutton.

ST. MARY'S TOWER, MARYGATE, BLOWN UP BY THE PARLIAMENTARIANS.

though they are not willing to express it, being in daily expectation of Prince Rupert's relieving them; these last two nights they have made fires upon the top of the Minster, and have been answered with the like signals from Pontefract. . . . Yesterday within my quarters I sprang a mine, which did great execution upon the enemy, blowing up a tower which joined the Manor-

yard, and this mine taking so great effect my Major General commanded 600 men to storm the Manor House, who beat the enemy and took 100 prisoners, but, being over confident, 2,000 of the enemy's best men fell upon them and beat them back. I lost nearly 300 men, but still maintain the breaches, and the enemy dare not make any sally out ; we are now so near them, that we are very ill neighbours." ¹

The blockaders, although they had breached the walls, were overpowered and repulsed. The prisoners taken in this particular conflict, numbering upwards of 200, were jeeringly told by their Royalist guard that "They were caught in the Manor whilst stealing the King's apples."

Towards evening, on the 30th of June, the Parliamentary Generals were surprised to learn that Rupert and his army were within fifteen miles of York. They hastily held a council of war, and resolved to raise the siege. In an orderly manner they evacuated their trenches before York, and marched in the direction of Marston, with the intention of intercepting the Royalist forces. Rupert adroitly avoided them. Leaving the bulk of his men to watch the enemy, he, with a squadron of horse, pushed on to York, and amid joyous acclamations arrived before its gates on the 1st of July.

The daring and impetuous Prince, without entering the city,² sought an interview with the Marquis of Newcastle, whom he eagerly persuaded to unite with him in giving the Parliamentarians immediate battle. Newcastle, conscious of the precipitancy of such an undertaking, it is generally supposed, reluctantly acquiesced in engaging the enemy so soon, as Royalist reinforcements were expected almost daily from the north.

¹ Cal. State Papers, 1644, p. xxxiii.

² Ibid., 1644, p. xxxvi.

The major portion of the garrison joined Rupert's contingent, and towards the close of a summer's day, the 2nd of July, the memorable and desperate struggle on Marston Heath was fought—

“Fired was each eye, and flushed each brow,
On either side loud clamours ring,
‘God and the cause!’—‘God and the King!’”

The momentous civil encounter unexpectedly commenced a little before sunset; musketeers, pikemen, and horsemen furiously assailed each other, and by midnight the fortunes of the Royalists were irretrievably shattered.¹ Rupert with a few of his followers escaped from the dread carnage, and, by the fleetness of their steeds, gained a temporary refuge within the walls of York.

The Marquis of Newcastle, despairing of the royal cause, and disgusted with the imperious conduct of Prince Rupert, immediately left for Scarborough, and thence embarked for the Continent. Rupert withdrew the remnant of his army from York, and hurriedly retreated into Lancashire. He left the city almost defenceless, and at the mercy of the Parliamentarians, who appeared before its walls and continued the siege.

“Leaguer before York, July 5, 1644.

“The Earls of Leven, Lindsay, and Manchester, Ferdinando, Lord Fairfax, and Thomas Hatcher to the Committee of both Kingdoms.

“Since our last the condition of affairs is not a little changed, for on Monday last, upon notice of Prince Rupert's march from Knaisburgh (Knaresborough) towards us, we resolved and accordingly drew out the armies to have met him, and for that end did march the same night to Long Marston about four miles west of

¹ For a detailed account of the battle, see Gardiner's "History of the Great Civil War," vol. i. pp. 374-382.

York, but the Prince having notice thereof passed with his army at Boroughbridge, and so put the river Ouse betwixt him and us, whereby we were disabled to oppose his passage into York, the bridge we built on the west side of the town being so weak that we durst not adventure to transport our armies over upon it. This made us resolve the next morning to march to Tadcaster for stopping his passage southward. And the armies being so far on their way that the van was within a mile of it, notice was sent us by our horsemen, who were upon our rear, that the Prince's army, horse and foot, were advanced the length of Long Marston Moor, and was ready to fall upon them, whereupon we recalled the armies and drew them up on a corn hill at the south side of the moor in the best way we could, so far as the straitness of the field and other disadvantages of the place could permit. Before both armies were in readiness it was near seven o'clock at night, about which time they advanced the one toward the other, whereupon followed a very hot encounter for the space of three hours, whereof by the great blessing and good providence of God the issue was the total routing of the enemy's army, with the loss of all their ordnance to the number of 20 (pieces), their ammunition, baggage, about 100 colours, and 10,000 arms. There were killed upon the spot about 3,000 of the enemy, whereof many were chief officers, and 1,500 prisoners taken, among whom there are above 100 officers, in which number is Sir Charles Lucas, Lieut.-General to the Marquis of Newcastle's horse, Major-General Porter, and Major-General Tillyer, besides diverse colonels, lieut.-colonels, and majors. Our loss is not very great, being only one lieut.-colonel, a few captains, and 200 or 300 common soldiers. The Prince, in great distraction, with only a few horsemen and scarcely any foot, marched the next morning from York

northward. We have now lain down again in our old leaguer before York, which we hope within a few days to gain. We are resolved to send a great part of our cavalry after Prince Rupert. We have nothing to add, but that as the glory of all success belongs to God, and the benefit we hope will redound to the whole kingdom, we have appointed this next Sabbath for a day of public thanksgiving throughout the armies, so your Lordships would appoint a day for the same to be kept throughout the kingdom, and notice sent to us thereof, that we may all together join in it.”¹

The leaguers, flushed with victory, peremptorily summoned the garrison to surrender, unconditionally. Sir Thomas Glemham, the brave governor, who had only about a thousand men to aid him in keeping the city, declined to yield on such tyrannical terms. Vigorous assaults were renewed by the blockaders, who, advancing boldly, prepared to scale the walls in many places. The besieged, seeing that they were about to be overwhelmed by superior numbers, and recognising that their position was untenable, expressed a desire to treat for surrender.

Ultimately the intrepid commander obtained most favourable and generous conditions of capitulation, both for soldier and citizen.² On the 16th of July the remnant of the garrison marched out through Mickle-gate Bar with colours flying and other military privileges. The city was handed over to Lord Fairfax, who, on behalf of the Parliament, was afterwards appointed its governor.

As the defences of the city had been greatly shattered during the siege, measures were early taken after the surrender for a general and complete restoration. The

¹ Cal. State Papers, 1644, p. 311.

² Drake, "Eboracum," p. 170.

House of Commons ordered, on the 3rd of October, 1646, that the cost of repairs of the walls, gates, and bridges should be paid out of the fines of delinquents in the city and county. On the 12th of November following, a warrant was issued for a payment to Thomas Dickinson, the Lord Mayor, for £5,000, penalties mulct from Yorkshire Royalists.¹

In 1664-5, a survey of the walls was taken by a Mr. John Raine or Maine,² and we find the circumference of the city measured about three and three quarter miles :—

	Perches.
From the Red Tower to the Walmgate Bar	60
From thence to Fishergate Postern	99
" " Castlegate "	58
" " Skeldergate "	34
" " Micklegate Bar	136
" " North Street Postern	140
" " Bootham Bar	86
" " Monk "	116
" " Layerthorpe Postern	66
" " Red Tower	80
Total	875

Although the walls had been repaired at considerable expense, by the order of Parliament, during the years 1645-8, a Charter of Charles II., granted to the citizens of York in his sixteenth year, mentions that "the walls of the said city are at present in great decay, and can by no means be supported and repaired but by taxing the inhabitants."³ The Charter grants to the Lord

¹ "Acts for Compounding" (Rolls Series), vol. i. p. 798.

² Torr's "Antiquities of York," p. 5; Drake, "Eboracum," p. 261.

³ MS. Translation of Charter, Cathedral Library, York.

Mayor and Sheriffs similar powers of assessing and collecting a mural tax to those which were conferred in Charles I.'s charter; in fact, the document is almost a literal copy of the King's predecessor's patent.

During the reign of Charles II. the guards kept watch and ward, and the gates were rather strictly secured, which the freedom-loving citizens found cause to resent. Lord Frescheville, the governor and commander of the King's Forces, received a com-



THE CITY WALLS RUNNING BETWEEN ALDWARK AND JEWBURY.

mission on the 18th of June, 1667, which specifically recites and charges him "to keep the keys of the gates and posterns at York, as has been done by all former officers, and to open and shut the gates as he finds cause, for the King's service and the security of the place."¹

Frescheville was evidently aware that his rigorous administration had found disfavour in the city, and he

¹ Cal. State Papers, 1667, p. 209.

excused his over-zealous conduct in the fact that he was not a Yorkshireman. On his resigning the governorship he wrote to Lord Arlington, the Secretary of State, saying: "I hope the King will not be displeased that I am disabled from serving him at York. During my six years' service I have found the humour of the people impatient of a stranger."¹ Sir John Resesby, a subsequent governor, in his Memoirs, under date August 14, 1682, states that he "took exact care in the locking of the city and castle gates."

The walls between Monk Bar and Layerthorpe Postern were restored in 1666; and, in 1669, those near Bootham Bar were repaired. In 1673, the walls between Walmgate Bar and the Red Tower "were taken down and repaired."²

Drake does not narrate much about the city fortifications, but the following extract from his admirable history tells how the platform of the walls was first utilised as a public promenade. "But what adds most to the ornament, if not to the strength of the city, are the reparations of the walls from North Street to Skeldergate Posterns; and again from Fishergate Postern to Walmgate Bar. These were of late years (about 1700) levelled upon the platform, paved with brick, and made commodious for walking on for near a mile together; having an agreeable prospect of both town and country from them. This makes it to be wished that the ramparts on the inside were nowhere leased out for private gardens; for then, where the rivers would permit, a walk of this kind, like that on the walls of Chester, might be carried quite round the city."³

During the eighteenth century civil strife within our borders had almost ceased, and little thought or care

¹ Cal. State Papers, 1671, p. 238.

² Drake, "Eboracum," p. 262.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

was given to the city fortifications. The Corporation were remiss in the exercise of their authority, permitting adjoining property owners to encroach upon the ramparts. Some persons, noticing the laxity of city control, even appropriated certain sections of the walls, and added them to their gardens and pleasure grounds. But this unauthorised use and occupation of the earth-banks and walls did not give them, as they fondly hoped, an indefeasible title. As the earthworks and defences are and have always been Crown property—under the care of our city authorities—the virtue of many years' possession could not alienate the ownership of the Crown.

As there were no police to watch the walls on the city's behalf, certain citizens, unable to restrain their thieving propensities, clandestinely carried away the loosened stones for the erection of pig-sties and other buildings. This irregularity came to the notice of the Common Council, and on the 3rd of February, 1709–10, that body ordered, "That a Reward shall be given to those who shall discover the persons that pull down the City's Wall or take away the stones thereof." [†]

[†] Extracts from the "House Books of the Corporation of York," by R. H. Skaife, *Yorks. Archl. Journal*, vol. xiv. p. 445.

CHAPTER XII

THE HANOVERIAN PERIOD

The Walls described by Defoe in 1727—The Jacobite Rebellion, defensive precautions at York—Walls neglected and ruinous—Restoration of the Walls, North Street Postern to Skeldergate in 1831-2, by the influence of a Footpath Association—Fishergate Walls restored in 1834—Suggested demolition of the Walmgate Walls, and sale of site 1855; the vandalic suggestion rejected by the City Council—Decision to repair Walls from Bootham Bar to Monk Bar, 1886; Report on the proposed work by Mr. G. T. Clark; the Restoration delayed by residents in the vicinity; Grants of land near the Wall; the Liberty of St. Peter; the Walls restored and opened 1889—Gates fixed to the approaches; the public right of access—Literary Associations—Proposed obliteration of a remnant of the old City Ditch—The value and importance of the Ramparts of York.

THE unique "walk on the walls," which Wilkie Collins describes as "one of the most striking scenes which England can show,"¹ was only indifferently appreciated by the citizens, and it appears that soon after the aforesaid reparations (by about 1736) the battlemented promenade was again falling to decay. Neglect and weather, with Time, wrought greater ruin than even the batteries of active besiegers or the vengeance of a conqueror upon the city.

¹ See the novel, "No Name," which has many of its scenes laid in York.

“Those martial terrors long were fled,
 The battlements, the turrets gray,
 Seemed half abandoned to decay;
 On barbican and keep of stone
 Stern Time the foeman's work had done.”

Defoe, writing in 1727, notices our ancient bulwarks in the following appreciative terms: York “is a pleasant and beautiful city, and not the less beautiful for the (modern) works and lines about it being demolished,



THE CITY WALLS FROM VICTORIA BAR TO MICKLEGATE BAR.

and the city, as may be said, being laid open, for the beauty of peace is seen in the rubbish; the lines and bastions and demolished fortifications have reserved secret pleasantness in them, from the contemplation of the public tranquillity that outshines all the beauty of advanced bastions, batteries, cavaliers, and all the hard-named works for the engineers about the city.”¹

¹ “Tour of a Gentleman through the Whole Island of Great Britain,” vol. iii. p. 154.

In the year 1745 the Jacobite Rebellion in favour of the Young Pretender at its first outbreak threatened to assume the character of another civil war. In November the disaffected levies marched southward to Carlisle, and later to Derby. The citizens of York, apprehensive that possibly they would be attacked and plundered, made preparations to resist any armed forces that might appear before the city.

The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and City Council held several meetings, and decided to form local military trained bands for the defence and protection of the neighbourhood. Their deliberations and decisions are carefully recorded in the Corporation Minutes,¹ and amongst their many orders of a martial character we find that the city fortifications were from time to time inspected and certain repairs effected.

“28th September, 1745.

“Agreed, That my Lord Mayor, Mr. Recorder, and Aldermen view the Barrs, posterns, City Walls, and Ditches, and give proper directions for the repairing them, and safety and defence of this City.”

“1st October.

“Ordered that the City Walls at the Red Tower be repaired by building a wall, and that Mr. Wilton get the same done immediately.”

“And now, the justices order that the Rampires be cut down so as to be Ten foot from the Battlements, and that Mr. Wilton and Mr. Wharton are desired to see the same immediately done.”

“4th October.

“And now, Mr. Telford on behalf of Mr. Perrott agreed that this Corporation shall have stone of the old Building of Clementhorpe (Nunnery of St. Clement)

¹ See Caine's "Martial Annals," pp. 204-236.

for the repairing of the City Walls, paying for the same, the part proposed to be taken down, being in length eighty-five feet, in height nine feet."

The Jacobites failed to secure much favour and support in England, and, retreating to Scotland, they were ultimately defeated and scattered at the battle of Culloden, April 16, 1746.

For nearly a hundred years following the rebellion little or no attention was bestowed upon the city's defences. During the first two decades of the nineteenth century the rage for spoliation was at its height. Several most interesting portions were entirely swept away for doubtful improvements, when reasonable alternative schemes, if they had been adopted, would have preserved for future generations many unique historical and architectural objects, so rare that no other city in the whole world could claim the like.

It is regrettable that all the noble vestiges of York's former greatness might be utterly destroyed and buried in oblivion for aught the general public care. The historian, topographer, artist, and kindred spirits have always had great difficulty in arousing the inhabitants to discern the educational advantages to be derived from the preservation of their world-renowned antiquities.

In 1808 Skeldergate Postern was demolished; in 1825 the Barbican of Monk Bar was taken down; in the succeeding year Castlegate Postern was removed, and the Barbican of Micklegate Bar was also considered of no historic value and carted away. Layerthorpe Postern Tower shared a similar fate in 1829. Bootham Bar was deprived of its Barbican in 1831, and a most lamentable breach in the City Wall was made for the formation of St. Leonard's Place at that time.

So flagrant became the movements to deprive York

of its memorials of the past that a determination was aroused amongst some of the principal citizens to check the spirit of vandalism. One gentleman published his protest in forcible rhyme:—

“Lay not thy ruthless grasp on these fair walls,
But leave us something that may serve to show
Our bygone glory—something that recalls
The time when monarchs held their banquets in our halls.”¹

Early in 1829 a complete restoration of the remaining walls to their pristine state was suggested. The unfortunate conflagration at the Minster, for a time, however, checked the progress of this very desirable proposal. Such substantial support was given to the restoration of the Cathedral that the promoters of the scheme for repairing the fortifications were encouraged to proceed. We owe a debt of gratitude to the few spirited citizens who originated the desire for preserving the City Walls from further destruction. As the means adopted for securing the public's aid for their projected reparations—which terminated with such signal success—is not generally known, it is perhaps desirable to place the particulars upon permanent record.

Their first notification to the citizens appeared in the local newspapers. The following interesting advertisement is taken from the *Yorkshire Gazette* of the 27th of June, 1829:—

“YORK

“FOOTPATH ASSOCIATION.

“THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MEMBERS OF THE YORK FOOTPATH ASSOCIATION, WILL BE HELD AT MR. CHAPMAN'S THE RED LION INN, NEAR MONK BAR, ON MONDAY THE 29TH INSTANT, AT TWELVE O'CLOCK IN THE FORENOON.

“*At this Meeting those Gentlemen who are friendly to*

¹ “*Lyra Eboracensis, or Native Lays,*” by Thomas Hollins.

the Repairs of the BAR WALLS, are particularly requested to attend, as their present dilapidated state will be taken into consideration, with a view to adopt such measures as shall be deemed most conducive to the restoration of the same.

“By Order,

“JAS. RICHARDSON,

“Secretary to the Association.”



LAYERTHORPE POSTERN AND BRIDGE.

From old engraving, 1829.

The report of their deliberations was printed in an issue of the same journal dated July 4th:—

“The Annual Meeting of the Members of the York Footpath Association was on Monday last held at Mr. Chapman’s, pursuant to the advertisement which appeared in our last. The accounts were audited, and several encroachments on the rights and privileges of the pedestrians of York, were taken into consideration. Various resolutions were also passed connected therewith, which the Secretary to the Association was instructed to carry into effect.

“The most important part of the business of this meeting was, however, connected with the intended restoration of the Bar Walls. It having been publicly requested that all those gentlemen who are friendly to the Repairs of the said Walls would attend, a numerous meeting was expected. This was not, however, the case; but want of numbers was fully compensated by the zeal, determined perseverance, and confident anticipations of success, in those who were present.”

The recommendations of the meeting were drafted in a memorial and presented to the Corporation of the City of York on the 27th of July, 1829, of which the following is a copy:—

“To the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor of the said City, the Worshipful the Aldermen his Brethren, the Sheriffs, and Twenty-Four, in Council assembled;”

“The Memorial of us, whose names are subscribed,

“Sheweth,

“That the Walls and Bars of York have been long the ornament of the City; and that no other place in the Kingdom retains so complete a specimen of these interesting Remains of Antiquity.

“That the mouldering and dilapidated state of these remains has long been the subject of general regret.

“That your Memorialists have observed, with much satisfaction, the perfect and substantial manner in which Micklegate and Monk Bar have been recently restored by the Mayor and Commonalty, at the expense of their Corporate Funds.

“That, taking into consideration the various other Public Improvements which the Mayor and Commonalty have lately effected, and are understood to have in contemplation, your Memorialists are sensible that the repairs of the City Walls is an undertaking which they

cannot hope to see accomplished by means of the funds of the Mayor and Commonalty.

“That it nevertheless, in the opinion of your Memorialists, is highly desirable, and would be for the ornament of the City, that the whole of the Bar Walls, on the South Side of the River, should be restored; and that it would be a great public accommodation if a firm and secure flagged Footpath was made thereon.

“Your Memorialists have the pleasure to know that in such an undertaking they would be following up that restoration of these ancient Remains, of which the Mayor and Commonalty have set the example.

“Your Memorialists propose to enter into a Public Subscription for raising a Fund to effect the above objects.

“Your Memorialists, therefore, most respectfully request permission to carry their design into effect, under such superintendence as the Mayor and Commonalty may think fit. And they further solicit the sanction and co-operation of the Mayor and Commonalty in the undertaking.

(Signed)

E. EBOR,	WILLIAM GRAY,
WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM,	JAMES RICHARDSON,
MILTON,	GEORGE GOLDIE, M.D.
GRANTHAM,	JONATHAN GRAY,
BEILBY THOMPSON,	ANTHONY THORPE,
WILLIAM COCKBURN,	JOHN GRAHAM,
DAWSON R. CURREN,	EUSTACE STRICKLAND,
THOMAS PRICE,	H. S. BELCOMBE, M.D.
WILLIAM DUFFIN,	JOHN BROOKE,
BALDWIN WAKE, M.D.,	SAMUEL TUKE,
T. SIMPSON, M.D.,	THOMAS SWANN,
J. TWEEDY,	ROBERT SWANN,
HENRY BLAND,	JAMES ATKINSON,
CHARLES WELLBELOVED,	JAMES DALLIN,
JOHN BELL,	JAMES RICHARDSON
	JUNR.”

On the reading of the Memorial it was resolved by the City Council—

“That the proposal of the Memorialists, to raise by Public Subscription a Fund for Restoration of the Walls, is entitled to the approbation of the Mayor and Commonalty.

“That, in the event of an adequate Sum being obtained by that means, this meeting entertains no doubt that the Corporation will readily adopt such arrangements as may be proper and necessary, in order to carry the measure into effect.”

The members of the Footpath Association, being unable to secure sufficient support from the citizens in their laudable object, persevered in their efforts, and sought the patronage and assistance of the Nobility and Gentry of the county.

“YORK CITY WALLS.

“Notice is hereby given,

“THAT A MEETING of such Noblemen and Gentlemen, connected with the County and City of York, as are desirous of the Perfect Restoration of the whole of the City Walls, on the South Side of the River Ouse, will be held at the YORK TAVERN, on THURSDAY, the 26th of November instant, at Twelve o'clock at noon, for the purpose of adopting measures for carrying that object into effect.

“HIS GRACE the Archbishop of York,

“Has consented to take the Chair.

“York, November 9, 1829.”¹

At this meeting it was unanimously resolved that the walls be repaired, and that the committee should obtain estimates, and then proceed with the collection of subscriptions.

¹ *Yorkshire Gazette*, November 14, 1829.

As soon as a report of these resolutions appeared in the Press, an anonymous writer, still bent on spoliation, appealed to the public as follows:—

“That the walls and ramparts southward of the Ouse alone be repaired, and that the citizens join the Corporation in petitioning the Crown for permission to sell the walls and ramparts northward of the Ouse in lots to the highest bidders, and to apply the proceeds in repairing the walls and ramparts southward of the Ouse. By this means a large fund might be obtained for the present and future maintenance of the latter; much valuable building ground would be provided; new roads might be formed to the city from Lord Mayor’s Walk and other parts of the suburbs; and the general value of all the contiguous property greatly increased.”¹

Fortunately these suggestions were unheeded, and plans were prepared to carry out the work. On the 10th of March, 1831, the Restoration Committee assembled and resolved to call a general meeting at the York Tavern, and Lord Dundas, the Lord Mayor, consented to take the chair.

In consequence of an application from the committee to the Corporation, to obtain an assurance that in the event of a sufficient sum being raised to effect the desired repairs to the walls, arrangements would be made for preserving them in future, a meeting of the Corporation was held on this subject on Monday, March 14th, at which the following resolutions were passed:—

“That, although this meeting is very desirous to avoid throwing any impediment in the way of the Subscription for the Restoration of the Bar Walls, they conceive that the Corporation have it not in their power to give *an assurance* that such parts of the Bar Walls as may be restored will be kept in repair in future at the expense of the Corporate Funds.”

¹ *Yorkshire Gazette*, November 28, 1829.

“That it is the opinion of this meeting that, in case the Walls be repaired as proposed by the intended subscription, it will be the duty of this Corporation to use their best efforts to preserve the same, and to prosecute any persons who may be detected in destroying the parts so repaired.”

The Corporation's reply was submitted, with other details, at a general meeting of the approvers of the scheme held at the York Tavern, March 25, 1831, the Right Honble Lord Dundas in the chair, and the following resolutions were agreed to:—

“1. It was resolved that the Report of the Committee be received and approved by this meeting.

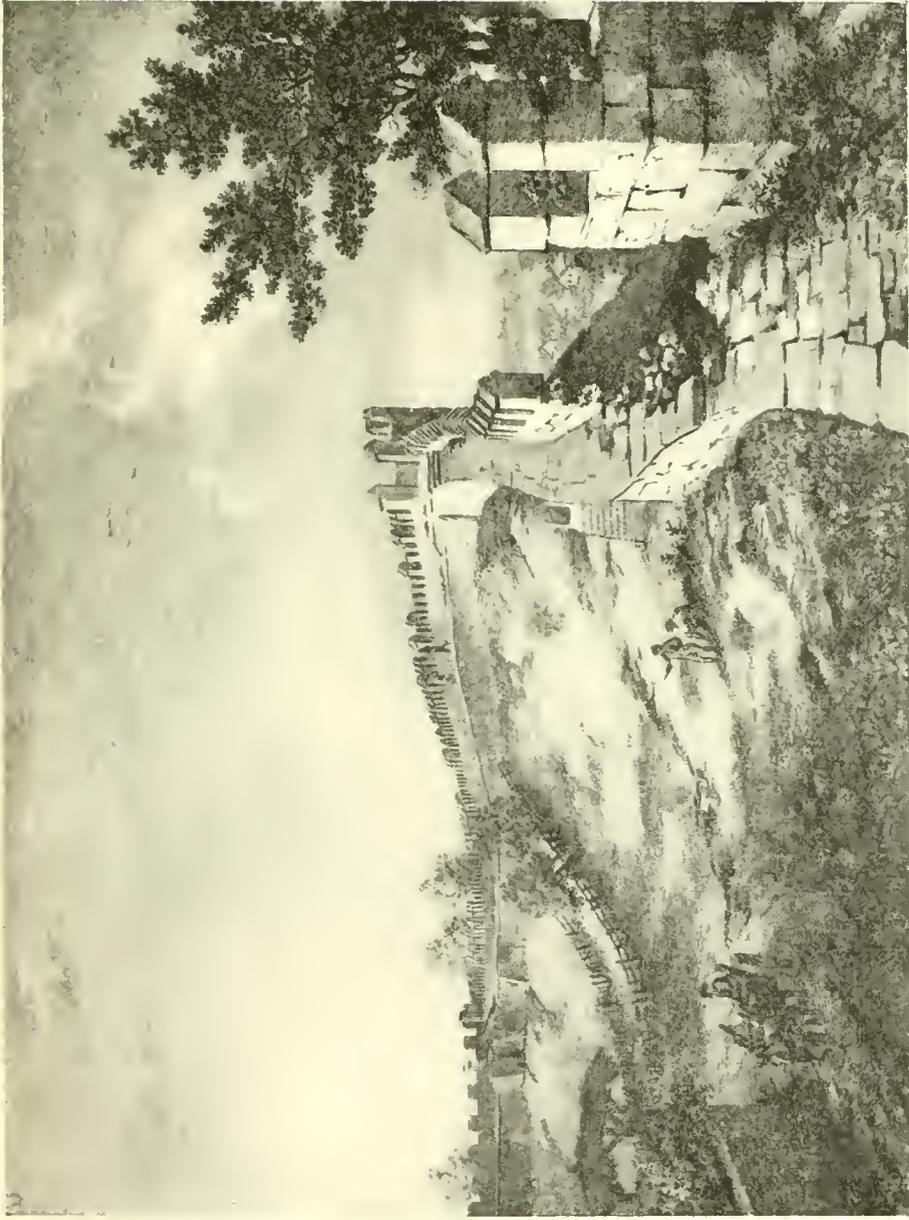
“2. That it is satisfactory to this meeting to be assured that the Walls can be restored for a sum which, there is reason to hope, the liberality of the public will be ready to contribute; and that a subscription be now entered into.

“3. That it is desirable to commence with the repairs between North Street Postern and Micklegate Bar; that the repairs between Micklegate Bar and Skeldergate Postern should be next undertaken; and that those parts of the Walls on the north side of the River, which are accessible to the public, be afterwards repaired, provided sufficient funds should be raised.

“On the motion of Col. Cholmley, seconded by William Gray, Esq.—

“4. That the Provisional Committee already appointed, with the addition of all Subscribers of £10 and upwards, be a Committee for promoting and managing the Subscription, for conferring with the Lord Mayor and Corporation, and carrying into effect the object of the Subscription.

“(Signed) DUNDAS, Chairman.”



THE CITY WALL, TOFT GREEN, AS IT APPEARED IN 1807.

From an etching by J. Hallpenny.

The following sums were subscribed at the meeting:—

The Archbishop	...	...	...	£500	0	0
Earl Fitzwilliam	...	...	...	300	0	0
Lord Dundas	...	...	...	100	0	0
George Cholmley	...	...	...	50	0	0
Hon. E. R. Petre	...	...	...	26	5	0
Rev. W. V. Harcourt	...	...	...	20	0	0
William Etty, R.A.	...	...	...	52	10	0
William Gray	...	...	...	50	0	0
„	„	the surplus of an old				
		subscription for enforcing the re-				
		pairs of the walls	...	36	7	0
Martyn Stapylton	...	...	...	100	0	0
Jonathan Gray	...	...	...	25	0	0

In February contracts were invited for repairing the walls. On the 18th of the following month the city authorities approved the plans and granted permission for the commencement of the work. The section between North Street Postern and Skeldergate was restored at a cost of £2,793, the Corporation granting £100 towards the restoration fund. In 1834 the walls from Fishergate Postern to a little beyond Fishergate Bar were restored. The requisite funds were greatly augmented by the proceeds of a County Ball, given at York under the direction of the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, which occasioned the following lines:—

“ In days of yore, the city walls
 Were battered and laid waste by *balls*,
 But Lady Mayoress, through your care,
 A *Ball* will now the walls repair.”

Although a great portion of the walls had been restored by public subscription, the citizens of the period were not sufficiently interested in their unique possessions to permit the remaining sections to be restored by Corporate funds. A learned writer in 1837, in his attempt to create a larger appreciation of York's silvery-grey ramparts, says the Minster “is seen like a

noble forest tree amidst a shrubbery from every approach to the city. It is difficult to point out any single spot that commands it to the greatest advantage, yet from the rampart between Micklegate and the water tower, it may be regarded as peculiarly magnificent and fine. Hence the three towers, with their pinnacles, open parapets, and bold sculpture, are seen to rise sublimely above the houses. Indeed, it may be compared to a mountain starting out of a plain: and thus attracting all the attention and admiration of a spectator. The petty, humble dwellings of men appear to crouch at its feet: whilst its own vastness and beauty impress the observer with awe and sublimity. It aspires heavenwards, and thus denotes its pristine appropriation. From the station now alluded to is seen a congregated mass of houses, with the Guildhall, and two or three towers, to the right of the cathedral; whilst in the middle distance is presented the busy traffic of the navigable Ouse; to the left the eye is pleasingly relieved and soothed by an open lawn, with the picturesque ruins of St. Mary's Abbey, beyond which is a peep into a distant tract of country. The foreground is both curious and picturesque."¹

The same author adds: "As the fortified Walls of York constitute not only a peculiar, but a highly interesting historical feature to the city, it is truly lamentable to witness the wanton and vulgar dilapidations to which they are daily (1836) subjected. Instead of being cautiously protected and preserved by those persons whose duty it is to guard and uphold them, and who are invested with an annual income for that purpose, they are suffered gradually to moulder away. Indeed they are sometimes battered down for the materials to be appropriated to a hog-stye, or for some other equally

¹ John Britton, F.S.A., "The History and Antiquities of the Metropolitan Church of York," pp. 36-37.

trivial purpose. The four ancient fortified gates, or bars, are also fast approaching to ruin."

In 1855 a suggestion was made to destroy the walls enclosing the Walmgate district. The Local Board of Health, at the instigation, it is said, of an interested person, recommended that the portion of walls from Walmgate Bar to the Red Tower should be pulled down. The chief reason given by the despoilers for the proposed act of vandalism was that their removal would improve the health of the locality, and that the site of the walls, being made available for building purposes, might be sold for from £2,000 to £3,000.

Such a recommendation, and coming from such a quarter, very naturally aroused the feeling of some citizens, who were anxious to preserve them. The Yorkshire Antiquarian Club, the Yorkshire Architectural Society, and others interested in the protection of the ancient remains of the city, lost no time in memorialising the Council. The memorial of the latter Society was signed by the Archbishop of York and no less than eight peers of the realm, besides a great number of influential gentlemen connected with the city and county. At the meeting of the City Council on Monday, February 12, 1855—a day to be held memorable by the local antiquary—these memorials were read, and the whole subject of the proposed act of spoliation was fully discussed. Honour to those members of the Council who supported the resolution, "that the minutes of the Board of Health Committee, recommending the removal of the walls, be *not* confirmed, but that the walls be repaired and retained, provided their restoration can be effected by public subscription"!

"To the delight of all the lovers of antiquities in the city and country, that spirit of vandalism, which at former periods sanctioned the destruction of the beautiful ruins of the Abbey of St. Mary's, even allowing its

elegantly carved stonework to be burnt into lime; the same spirit which had contemplated the removal of Clifford's Tower, and the cutting down of the magnificent trees on the New Walk; and which would have swept away these venerable ramparts; was suppressed at the above-mentioned meeting by a majority of twenty-one."¹

It was agreed that a subscription should be at once entered into in order that the resolution which had been passed might be carried into effect. The Walmgate Walls were, as the outcome, eventually thoroughly repaired, and opened to the public.

In 1871-2 the walls from Layerthorpe Bridge to Monk Bar were renovated, and the embattled footway made available for the citizens to walk upon.

Another section of the city wall, from Monk Bar to Bootham Bar, yet remained unrestored, and was allowed to fall into a very dilapidated condition. Several gardens and pleasure grounds attached to the residences in the Minster Close adjoined this portion of the wall, and the suggestion of opening it to the public unfortunately annoyed the occupiers of these premises, who quite naturally resented what looked like an interference with the privacy and seclusion of their gardens.

The City Council resolved, at their monthly meeting held September 6, 1886, "that the Walls from Bootham Bar to Monk Bar should be restored and opened to the public." The members felt it was their duty to the city, and in its highest interests, that the whole circuit of the walls should be fittingly restored. They believed these quaint vestiges of olden times would be more and more appreciated by following generations, and also by the ever-increasing number of tourists who annually visit our venerable city.

¹ Sheahan and Whellan, "York and the East Riding," vol. i. pp. 326-327.

“To the dull spirit there may be something ridiculous in the thought of a man standing at some point on the walls of York for hour after hour, his eyes fixed on the prospect stretched out before him. But that, after all, is the first way to see York.”¹ From this, as a beginning, may be born a reverence for the sacred past, and a patriot’s hope for the future of our people.

Several letters were received by the City Council protesting against the carrying out of the desired improvement. These appear on the Minutes of the Corporation. Although the city authorities regretted that the restoration would interfere, to some extent, with the privacy of a few houses in the vicinity, they were reluctant, on behalf of the general public, to postpone the renovation and enjoyment of the walls. Before commencing the work they consulted a distinguished authority, Mr. G. T. Clark, the author of “Mediæval Military Architecture.” His detailed report is highly interesting, and we therefore append a copy of it *in extenso*.

“PROPOSED RESTORATION OF THE BAR WALLS BETWEEN BOOTHAM BAR AND MONK BAR.

“TALYGARN, LLANTRISSANT,

“November 6, 1886.

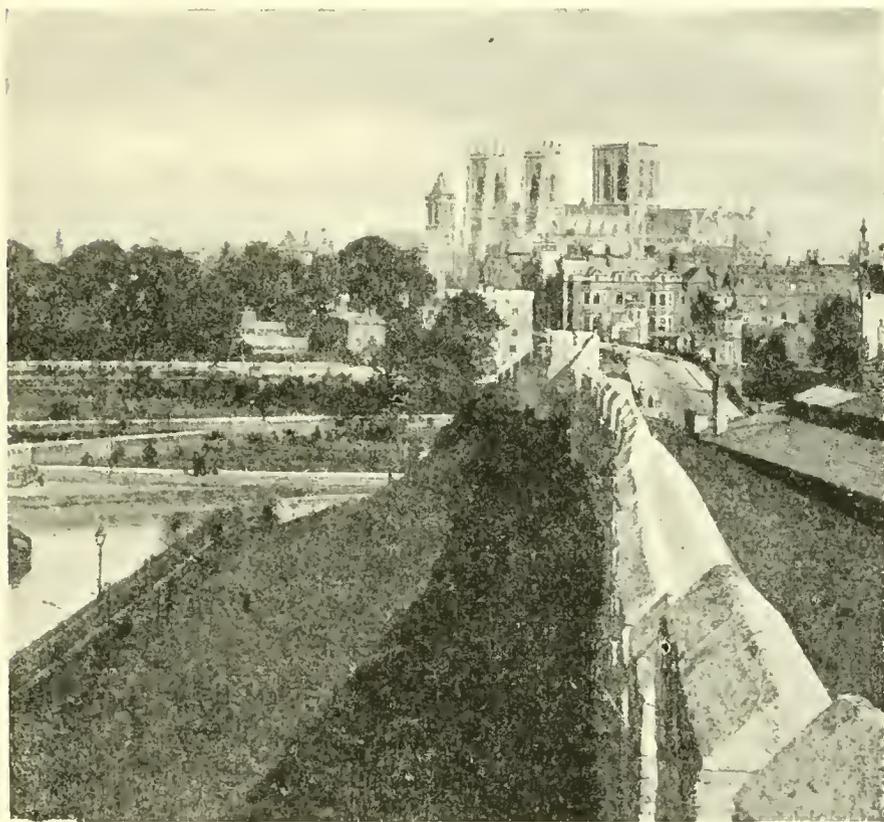
“DEAR SIR,—Your letter of the 4th of October has had my careful attention, and I hope my reply will meet the wants and wishes of the York Corporation.

“The question under consideration of that body I understand to be the putting in repair that portion of the City Walls facing Gillygate, and extending from Bootham Bar to the northern angle, and thence a short distance towards Monk Bar where the wall faces Lord

¹ J. S. Fletcher, “A Picturesque History of Yorkshire,” vol. i. p. 101.

Mayor's Walk, the object being to place the decayed wall in a good state of repair, and the restoration of the battlement and of the rampart wall behind it, technically the 'allure,' so that the whole circuit of the Walls may be open to the public.

"The division of the Walls under consideration possesses a peculiar interest, seeing that it rests, gene-



Photo]

[J. Duncan.

THE CITY WALLS OPPOSITE THE RAILWAY STATION.

rally, upon the line of so much of the wall of the Roman Eboracum as covered one quarter of the Station, and contained its northern angle. At two points, near to Monk Bar and beyond it, the Roman foundations have actually been laid open; elsewhere if, as is most probable, in existence, they are covered up by the later

earthbank, along the crest of which the still later wall has been constructed.

“Of the precise age of the Wall nothing is certainly known, but the Conqueror attached great importance to the defence of York, and Norman work, though late in style, may be detected in the central part or core of the Bars. Nothing, certainly, so old has been observed in the Walls, which are, I believe, attributed to the reign of Edward the Third, since which time they have been much injured, almost as much by restoration as by destruction.

“The curtain wall, from Bootham Bar to the northern angle, varies in height from 12 to 15 feet, and in thickness from 3 to 4 or 5 feet. It is reinforced by five bastions—that is to say, mural towers—not rising, or rising but a foot or two, above the crest of the wall. The two next to Bootham Bar are mere half-hexagonal bays; the other three are in plan, about a quarter of a circle. Besides, and between these, the curtain is stiffened by twenty-nine buttresses, placed at unequal distances upon its exterior face, of different widths and projections, but all dying into the wall at about the level of the base of the parapet. These buttresses, though fatal to the defence of the curtain from the flanking bastions, are nevertheless old, and some perhaps original, and should they require removal the stones should be replaced and reset.

“No doubt the whole upper part of the wall, that is, the parapet, will have to be renewed; but the old stones should be preserved, and their weathered faces placed in evidence. Part of the parapet towards Bootham Bar, though rotten, is old, and the embrasures have been walled up, and the whole capped by a later coping. In other parts the whole battlement has been replaced by a plain parapet. This must be rebuilt, and of course crenellated, that is, notched with embrasures, and care

should be taken to give the embrasures the same depth, breadth, and distance apart, with those still remaining, though closed up.

“The bastions should be raised about 2 feet above the wall level, so as to give greater command for the flanking defence, and the lower tier of loops should be clean cut and restored to the old cruciform pattern, a plain cross, with short cross arms, and oilettes at the four extremities.

“Also, the merlons of the bastions, that is, the pieces of wall between the embrasures, should be pierced with smaller loops of the same pattern.

“The bastion capping the north angle is entirely gone, and its gorge, once open, is walled up, but the plan of 1756 shows this bastion as a segment of a circle, and, though by no means accurate, may so far be depended upon. This bastion should be built up from the ground as three-quarters of a circle, but so as not to destroy the two ends of the adjacent curtains, which are chamfered to meet it. Perhaps it would be well to raise this bastion 3 feet above the wall level. It should be quite plain, with a chamfered plinth, but without machicolations, or ‘tourelles,’ or pepper boxes, or any similar attempts at ornament.

“The curtain wall opposite Gillygate has at present only a fragment of the rampart walk. No doubt here, as at Lincoln Castle, the original intention, to save masonry, was either to construct a distinct arcade behind the wall, or to support the walk upon a scaffold or brétasche of timber. The arcade seems to have been in favour at York, and is seen behind the wall near Walmgate, and about Monk Bar. Such an arcade is here proposed to be erected; if so, it should be of the pattern of the fragment remaining towards Bootham Bar.

“The arches should be covered over with large York landings, projecting about 12 inches over the inner

face of the wall, and, if it be desired to maintain the privacy of the Cathedral Gardens, a rear wall, 12 inches thick, may be raised upon the edge of the landing to the height of 5 feet. This would leave a free passage, conceal the gardens, but not obstruct the view of the Cathedral, which on this side is peculiarly fine, and from a much nearer point than elsewhere upon the walls.

“I observe that it is proposed to place the steps leading up to the new ramparts at Bootham and Monk Bars on the outside of the wall. This would be a great mistake. In all restorations, especially those of a military work, regard should be had to the original intention of the work to be restored. Steps in front of a wall would not only be of no use to the defenders, but would assist the attacking party. The steps should be inside the wall, as in other parts of the circuit, and if the space cannot at once be obtained, it would be in better keeping to construct the steps of timber, showing them to be of a temporary character.

“Should it be thought desirable to introduce any kind of ornament in the new work, such should, I think, be confined to the battlements of the bastions. Some of the merlons in the wall near Walmgate, opposite to the Cattle Market, are pierced with small cruciform loops, and the top of each loop rises under a little gable into the coping, with a trefoiled head of simple and elegant design. This might with propriety be introduced into the battlements of the bastions, but certainly nothing further in the way of ornament should be allowed.

“I remain, dear Sir,

“Very truly yours,

“GEO. T. CLARK.

“J. Wilkinson, Esq.,

“Town Clerk, York.”¹

¹ Minutes of York Corporation, 1887, pp. 162-4.

At the City Council meeting, held March 7, 1887, the City Surveyor submitted his report and estimate, and it was proposed: "That, considering that the estimate submitted by Mr. Styan, based on the suggestions of Mr. Clark, for the restoration of the City Walls between Bootham and Monk Bars amounts to £2,200, and that the money at present in hand ¹ is less than £1,020, the Council be recommended to defer the work for about four years, or until the fund for the purpose of restoring the walls shall have accumulated to nearly sufficient to cover the proposed expense of restoration."²

The Estates Committee recommended at this meeting that the commencement be deferred for two years instead of four. Those members of the Corporation who had so enthusiastically laboured for the restoration were not disposed to again defer a work which had been postponed, for various reasons, so many years. As an indefinite and prolonged period might elapse before similar unanimity on the subject prevailed in the City Council, it was moved, as a further amendment, by Mr. Councillor Thomas Clayton, and seconded by Mr. Councillor Lancelot Foster:—

"That this Council instructs the Estates Committee to proceed with the work of the restoration of the City Walls from Monk Bar to Bootham Bar at the earliest possible time after the necessary notices have expired, and that if any further sum is required for the purpose than was estimated at the meeting of the Council held on the 6th day of September last, the Treasurer be authorised to advance the same."

Twenty-five members of the Council voted for the amendment, eight against, and three were neutral.

The beginning of the restoration was, however, for

¹ The accumulated rents of the ramparts devoted to the repair of the walls.

² Printed Minutes of the Corporation, p. 277.

some time delayed, the cause of which will be gathered from the following entries which appear upon the Minutes of the Corporation, under date February 6, 1888:—

“3rd August, 1887. The Town Clerk accepted service of a Writ of Summons on behalf of the defendants in an action thereby commenced by Mr. Edwin Gray against the Corporation and certain members of the Estates Committee of the Municipal year 1886, the plaintiff claiming damages for wrongful entry upon his house and garden situate in the parish of St. John-del-Pyke.”

“The alleged wrongful entry took place in the autumn of 1886, when the members of the Estates Committee, above referred to, made an inspection of the Bar Walls from Bootham Bar to Monk Bar, and Mr. Gray’s object in commencing the action was to substantiate a claim which he has put forward to the absolute ownership of that portion of the rampart and wall immediately behind the garden of his house in Gray’s Court.”

The Estates Committee “instructed the Town Clerk to enter an appearance to the action on behalf of all the defendants, and, after this had been done, they approached Mr. Gray with a view to the consideration of his claim in an amicable spirit. Mr. Gray has laid before the Town Clerk documentary evidence in support of his cause of action, basing his claim upon a grant of devise of lands, now in his possession, to the Master, Brethren and Sisters of Hemsworth Hospital, by Archbishop Holgate (1544–1555), since which time it seems that the occupiers for the time being enjoyed the lands in question, by lease from the said Master, Brethren, and Sisters, until the year 1847, when Mr. Gray purchased the fee simple.”

“The Town Clerk has searched the City Records and referred to various historical works relating to the City, and has communicated the results of his investigations to your committee.”

“Your Committee have now the satisfaction to report that the continuation of litigation has been avoided, terms having been agreed upon with Mr. Gray, subject to the approval of the Council. These terms will be found set out in the subjoined correspondence,¹ Mr. Gray having expressed himself satisfied with the concluding letter of the series, and your Committee have unanimously agreed to recommend the Council to approve their action in the matter.”

Mr. Gray, in his letters to the Town Clerk, placed great importance and stress upon an alleged grant by Henry II. ; and “quotes” a supposed document “in explanation of the origin of” his “indefeasible rights to both properties,” that is, the earthen rampart and the city wall behind the old Treasurer’s House. As we are closely concerned with historical data relating to the walls, we confidently assert that no such grant was made by Henry II. to the Archbishop of York and that no authoritative evidence whatever can be cited in support of such a gift.

Significantly enough, there is a grant enrolled, by which King Henry III., in 1268, gives Archbishop Giffard² a piece of land contiguous to his palace, which stood on the west side of the present Deanery. Over this newly presented plot the armed men of the city had authority to pass, during wartime and tumult, when they were required to guard the city defences. Of further import is the fact that Henry III. did not convey *the land* on the north side of the Cathedral to the Archbishop, but merely *a plot* adjoining the palace grounds. Neither did the King by his grant specifically give the rampart or wall behind the Treasurer’s House (which was then standing) to the Archbishop or the Treasurer.

The angle of the city fortifications from Bootham Bar

¹ See the Minutes of York Corporation.

² See Appendix No. J.

to Monk Bar was formed hundreds of years before the foundation stone of York Minster was laid, and, although not taxable property, has always been legally outside the Minster precincts. The Roman wall is still buried in the earthen rampart that partially surrounds the old Liberty of St. Peter, and a mediæval city wall was built long before the liberty was formed. After the first Minster was erected, lands adjoining the sacred fane were from time to time granted to the Church, until it became possessed of a substantial area within this corner of the city's defences. The archbishops never owned this part of the walls, neither did they keep any of it in repair, except probably for private reasons during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The work they did was in all likelihood the filling in of some embrasures to further enhance the seclusion of the gardens hereabouts. The archbishops, in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, held and had jurisdiction of the Old Baile¹—the site of William the Conqueror's first castle—and the wall surrounding the bailey they frequently, albeit very reluctantly, were compelled to keep in repair.

The ward, shire, or liberty of St. Peter was conveniently bounded on two sides by the city's ancient fortifications, and in 1285 it was thought desirable to enclose this area with a wall on its unprotected sides. On the 18th of May, the King, Edward I., under Royal Letters Patent, allowed "the Dean and Chapter of St. Peter's, York, to enclose the churchyard and precinct of their church with a stone wall 12 feet high all round, for the better security of the canons and the prevention of nocturnal incursions of thieves in the streets and lanes in the said precinct, and of night wanderers committing homicides, fornications, and other evil there; the said wall to be provided

¹ See Chapter XIII., The Castle of the Old Baile.

with competent gates and posterns, which are to be left open from dawn to night.”¹

This grant does not alienate the city wall on the north-east side of the liberty from the ownership of the Crown. The ward wall erected on the south-west side was always kept in repair by the Cathedral authorities, until its removal early in the last century.

The restoration of the city walls between Bootham Bar and Monk Bar was proceeded with during 1888, and completed the following year. On the 12th of June, 1889, the interesting ceremony of opening to the public the hitherto inaccessible elevated walk was performed. The Lord Mayor and Corporation attended in state, and the occasion was made a day of civic festivities.² Considerable pleasure was manifested by the citizens, as from this portion of the city's mural environment some of the most picturesque glimpses of York and its Cathedral are obtained. The charming views which are obtainable of the north and east aspects of the Minster tend to make this one of the most delightful of promenades.

A bronze tablet bearing the following inscription was subsequently fixed on that portion of the walls immediately behind the Treasurer's House:—

This tablet was placed here by the Council of the City of York, October, 1898, to record that this portion of the Walls (37 lin^l yds.) was in the year 1889 restored to the City by Edwin Gray, who served the office of Lord Mayor in 1898.

Although a short section of the city walls behind the houses in St. Leonard's Place yet remains to be opened

¹ Cal. Patent Rolls, 1281-1292, p. 164.

² See the *Yorkshire Herald*, June 13, 1889.

to the public, it is gratifying to record that the Corporation have time and again done so much towards maintaining and preserving these striking specimens of mediæval military architecture. We hope in future no cause of blame will arise, and that our City Council will always cherish and uphold the walls as some of the proudest mementoes of the ancient celebrity of Old Ebor.

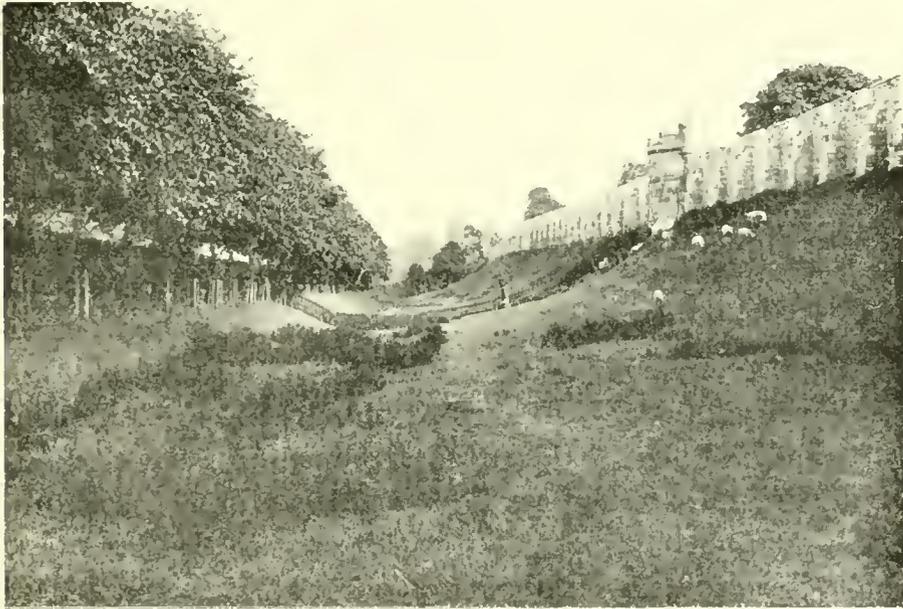
In 1889 the City Council adopted the minutes of the Estates Committee, which contained the following item: "Your Committee recommend the Council to order gates to be fixed at all the approaches to the Bar Walls, and that these be closed in the following months at the undermentioned hours: October and February at 5 p.m., November, December, and January at 4 p.m."

The walls on the south-west side of the city were thoroughly repaired in 1831-2 in response to an appeal of a Footpath Association, and the unnecessary and strict closing of the walls seems rather an arbitrary proceeding, when we remember also that the citizens had enjoyed the right of access to this section of the walls at all times without interruption, for nearly two hundred years. The public are sometimes debarred admittance even during the daytime, as some of the gates, for reasons unknown, are occasionally found locked at 9 a.m. and later, causing inconvenience to tourist and citizen alike.

Apart from the picturesqueness of the ancient walls, they possess an attraction to the literary student in the fact that they are particularly associated with the work of Wilkie Collins. Like many others of kindred feelings, the great novelist rapturously enjoyed the walk on the walls at eventide. He realistically, and with inimitable power, described the surrounding scenery and the slumbering city below. The gifted author was well acquainted with the curiously winding streets and quaint

gabled alleys of York, which he portrays with such force in his novel "No Name." The ardent admirer of his writings will find much in that book that will arouse an interest and regard for the battlements and old-world pictures in the venerable city.

The short stretch of moat parallel with Lord Mayor's Walk is the only portion of the old city ditch that has not been entirely obliterated. This distinguishing part of the mediæval defences had no charm, interest, or



THE CITY WALL, WITH REMNANT OF THE RAMPART AND DITCH,
LORD MAYOR'S WALK.

historic value for the members of the Estates Committee of the York Corporation, who in October, 1902, for purely utilitarian purposes, proposed to allow the destruction of this essential feature of the city's ancient fortifications. The Report of the Committee to be submitted to the City Council contained the following: "The City Engineer having requested that he may be allowed to deposit the spoil from the making of the new road through the Minster Yard, 'Deansgate,' in the

moat adjoining Lord Mayor's Walk, the present sods being taken up and relaid upon the spoil, your Committee have acceded to his request."

Although the Committee exhibited so little veneration or regard for York's memorials of the past, fortunately a few citizens, remembering the many acts of vandalism previously perpetrated in York, made a timely protest against the old ditch being used as a dumping ground. Several letters deprecating the objectionable suggestion appeared in the *Yorkshire Herald*,¹ and that paper also, in its editorial articles, advocated that the existing features of the ditch should be rigidly maintained. The scheme of spoliation was adversely commented upon by the Press in different parts of the kingdom, and the Committee's indifference to the vestiges of York's past greatness was generally viewed with amazement.

At the City Council meeting, held November 10, 1902, the reprehensible proposal was rejected by an overwhelming majority. Four members only voted for the scheme, and thirty-two fittingly brought about a decision to find a more suitable dumping place. Thus was preserved a remnant of the city ditch which had protected the burghers of old from hostile attack.

When our schoolmasters in York give their pupils a lesson on the period of the Great Civil War, the memorable Siege of York will certainly form a part. What better example to illustrate their remarks than the ditch near Lord Mayor's Walk? The children's idea of a defensive ditch from verbal description will only be vague. They will think of the ditches on Bootham Stray or Hob Moor; but here we have a veritable ditch at one period defended by their forefathers, to which the teacher can appropriately direct their attention.

It appears that the proposed filling in of the ditch

¹ October 21 to November 15, 1902.

was part of a contemplated project to terrace the ramparts, arrange walks, and plant them with shrubs, and then throw them open for the purposes of a public playground for children. It is very desirable that gardens and open places should be arranged in and around the city, but the limited space the moats afford is scarcely suitable for such playgrounds. The spending of £600, the estimated cost, in modernising and destroying the unique contour of the ramparts might be better expended in adapting more extensive areas for such a laudable object.

Besides, there are special reasons why the definite outline of the earthbanks should not be disturbed. The earthen ramparts of York are the finest specimens of their kind in this country, and are celebrated as being the most remarkable of the few examples of city circumvallation in England.

The embankments have been thrown up and enlarged at different periods, and we see them to-day almost in the same condition as finally fashioned by our warlike and turbulent ancestors. The original contour of the interior and exterior slopes should be preserved, so that those interested in earthworks may have the opportunity of comparing these important defensive embankments with others of similar construction and disposition. Unfortunately a rampart of earth is not generally so much thought of as many other relics of antiquity. But the investigation of our ancient earthworks up and down the country is slowly becoming more popular, and the mystery in which they are wrapped is interesting the minds of experts. There are some persons who would level or obliterate the ramparts of York, about whom one might parody Wordsworth's lines on Peter Bell, and say—

An earthbank on the rampart's rim,
A ditch of dirt it is to him,
And it is nothing more.

In Germany the Government have formed a Commission for the study of earthworks, and even sent its members to this country for the purpose of comparison. "We have not risen to this level yet in England, and in the meantime we have to deplore the fact that our earthworks are daily disappearing . . . before public interest has been sufficiently awakened in them for any but the very few to ask what they were and who made them." ¹

The greater portion of the city walls is built on the surface of the banks, and the only terraced garden we have on the ramparts is opposite the Nunnery. If the careful observer examines the foundations of the wall at this point, recently repaired with concrete, he will notice the damage already done to the substructure of the walls by gardening and terracing operations. By molesting the sward on the ramparts the earthbank and the walls must of necessity suffer, and their characteristic features will be irretrievably damaged.

No proposal should be entertained by the citizens that will in any way interfere with or alter the present contour and formation of the singularly effective grass-grown ramparts of mediæval erection. York is famous because it *was* York before many of its eager commercial competitors of to-day were heard of. This sentiment of pride in her history, leading to the careful preservation of the evidences of her past greatness, is not only praiseworthy, but becomes absolutely of value to the city, if the very practical-minded persons will only consent to see it in that light. Public concern should be stimulated in our ancient bulwarks, for it is only by a widespread increase of public interest in archæology that we can hope for the preservation of these otherwise despised monuments of our venerable city.

¹ Mrs. Armitage, "The Non-Sepulchral Earthworks of Yorkshire," p. 14.

PART II

*THE CASTLE OF THE OLD BAILE, THE
BARS, POSTERNS, AND TOWERS*

CHAPTER XIII

THE CASTLE OF THE OLD BAILE

William the Conqueror's first Castle at York

The Norman Conquest—Castles built to ensure possession of the country—Two Norman Castles erected at York, outside the City Walls—Alleged Castle destroyed by Athelstane—Land devastated for Norman Castles—Norman origin of the Castle Mounds—Area and bounds of the Castle—Castles at York destroyed by Northumbrians and Danes—Trial by wager of Battle in the Old Baile, 1268—The Archbishops of York and the custody of the Castle—Archbishop Greenfield's steward makes a Foss in the Old Baily, 1309—The Castle Mill—Archbishop Melton agrees to defend the Castle, 1322, and reluctantly repairs its Walls in 1326—Archbishop Bowet declines to restore the Castle, 1423—Site of Castle in the possession of the Corporation, 1487—Rendezvous of the City Guards during Lambert Symnell's Rebellion—Leland describes the Old Baile, 1535—The Siege of York, cannons placed on the mound—The Bailey as a Recreation Ground—House of Correction built on the site, 1802-7—The Old Baile sold for building purposes, 1882—The Curtain Wall described—Masons' Marks.

DURING the progress of the Norman Conquest the disaffected people of England were continually in a state of revolt. Although William the Norman gained an unequivocal victory at Hastings, and had crowned himself King of England within four months of his initial success, four years at least elapsed before the subjugation of the country could be called complete.

In the north, York was the centre of a hotbed of insurrection, and the rebellious Northumbrians were

only subdued by the severest acts of bloodshed and tyranny. As the Conqueror quelled the various revolts and risings in different parts of the country he invariably erected a castle, and garrisoned it with picked warriors to keep the discontented inhabitants in subjection. During these years of "Conquest" two castles were thus built at York.

At the south-east corner of the ramparts of the city was erected the Castle of the Old Baile. The only remains of this early Norman fortress at present are the citadel mound and two sides of the rampired and moated stronghold, which now form part of the city's ancient fortifications. This castle was situated on a sort of natural ridge, and must have been a strong post in the warring days of York's early history. It figures prominently in old-time records. Being associated with various historical personages and remarkable events, it is linked with not a few memories suggestive of the political and social life of mediæval days.

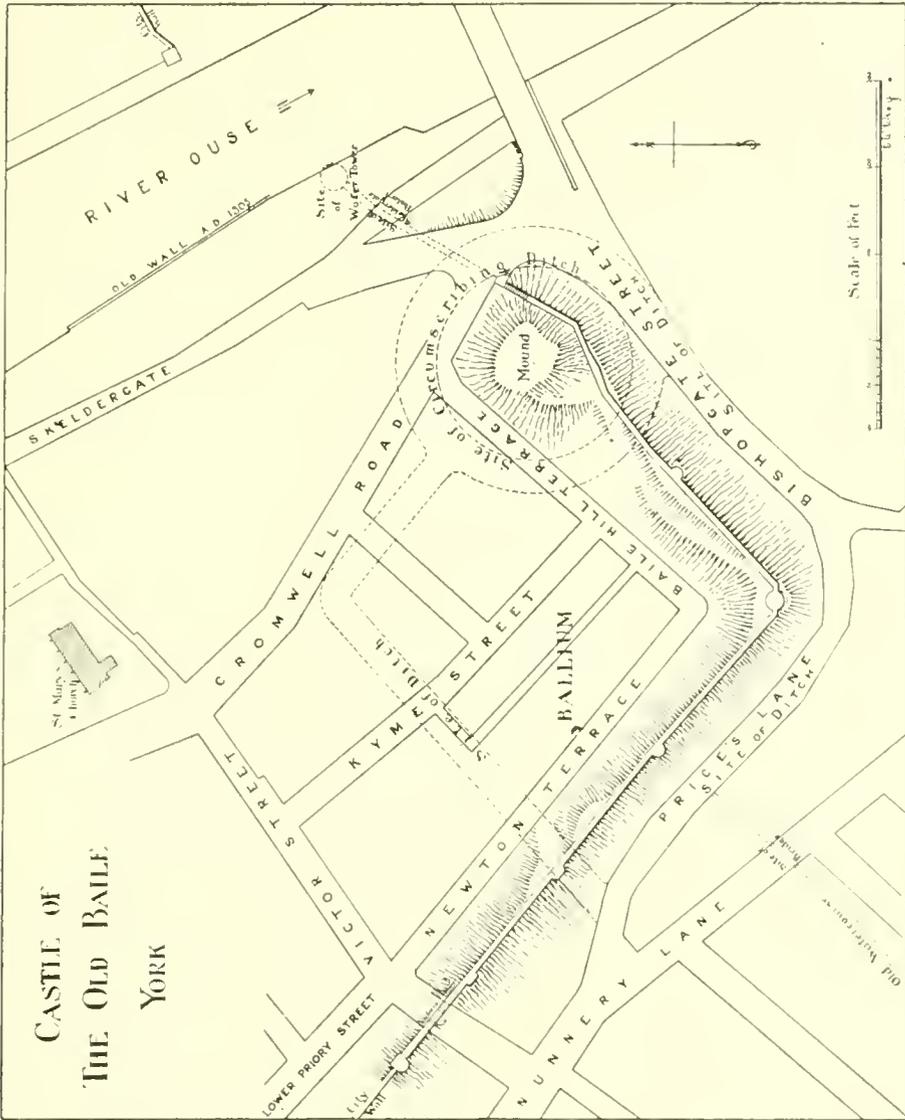
Drake was of opinion that there was a castle here in pre-Norman days. He writes: "Athelstane after his decisive victory of Brunanburg returned to York" and "razed the castle to the ground lest it should be any more a nursery of rebellion."¹ In thus assuming the existence of a castle at York in Anglo-Saxon times, the author of "Eboracum" takes as his authority William of Malmesbury, who wrote in the twelfth century. He is the first to mention such a castle, and from his record the whole theory of a pre-Norman castle has been deduced.

Recent investigations into the origin of the many moated mounds and castles of England point to the fact that neither the Anglo-Saxons nor the Danes built such castles. Malmesbury, who tells of a *castrum*² at

¹ Drake, "Eboracum," p. 79.

² "Ethelstanus castrum, quod olim Dani in Eboraco obfirmaverant ad solum diruit, ne esset quo se tutari perfidia posset" (William of Malmesbury, ii. 134). -

York in the time of Athelstane, was doubtless following an earlier annalist who had used the word *castrum* for a walled town or city. There is no mention of a castle in any of the Saxon Chronicles that have been preserved to us.



In Malmesbury's time *castrum* was used interchangeably with *castellum*.¹ The exact etymon of

¹ Cf. Mrs. E. S. Armitage's paper "On Some Yorkshire Earthworks," *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, vol. viii. p. 162.

the former word had been lost sight of. Hence mediæval writers employed it when speaking of either a walled city, a castle, or a fortress.

“The idea that Arundel Castle was mentioned in Domesday as extant in the Confessor’s time, formerly held by Freeman, Clark, Parker, and others, is probably now advocated by no one; the ‘Castrum Harundel’ of the record is certainly the fortified town. *This* was in all probability a genuine example of a Saxon burh.”¹

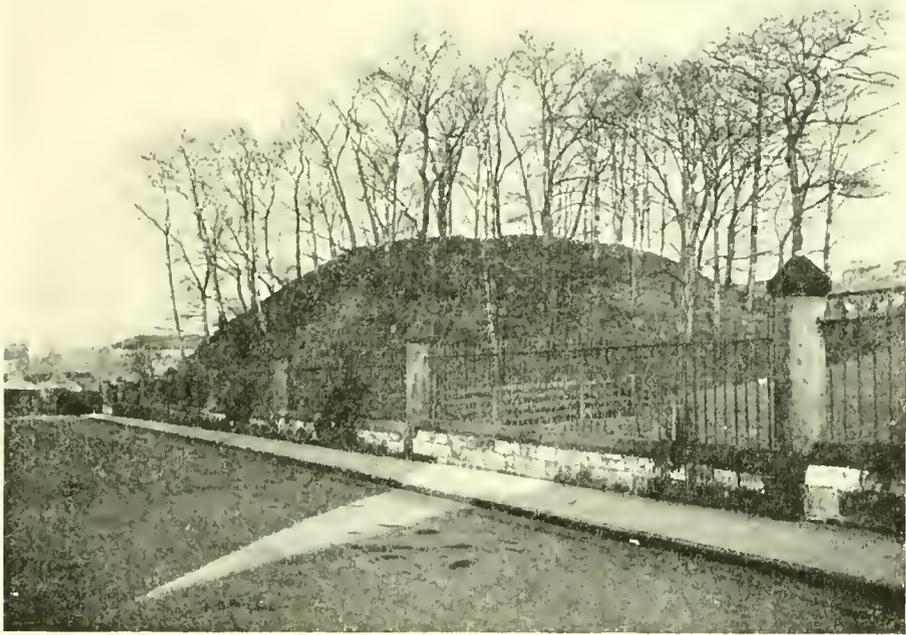
Domesday Book does not mention a pre-Norman Castle at York, but it records that the city was divided into seven shires, or wards, one of which was laid waste “for the castles.” As a whole ward was thus devastated to make room for the castles, we may conclude that nothing worthy of the name of a castle existed previously.

The origin of the two castle mounds has been variously explained; some writers believe them to be Roman earthworks, whilst others regard them, from their situation, as early defences raised against the attacks of the marauding Vikings who menaced York from the river. It is hardly probable that the sturdy Danish warriors from across the sea would bring their ships quite near the city; they would, as recorded, disembark lower down the Ouse and attack the city at its weakest point; leaving their galleys moored at a safe place where they could be easily reached in the event of defeat and retreat.

Whilst William, in 1068, was busy with his stringent military measures in the south, the people of Northumbria assumed a defiant, rebellious attitude

¹ J. A. Rutter, “Moated Mounds,” *The Antiquary*, vol. xxxviii. p. 239. Cf. “The Early Norman Castles of England,” by Mrs. E. S. Armitage, *The English Historical Review*, April and July, 1904.

towards the tyrannical Norman invaders. As the King, at the head of an army, approached the northern metropolis, the citizens reluctantly sent out representatives with the keys of the city, the emblems of their submission, to meet the hated Conqueror. York was immediately occupied, and orders were given for the erection of a castle. "William's chief object, having conquered, was to secure his conquest ;



BAILE HILL FROM THE WEST.

and his first care, on obtaining possession of each division of the kingdom, or each capital city, or town, was to regard it from a military point of view, and to order the construction of such strong places as might be necessary for the holding of it." ¹

This fortress, when built, was garrisoned with five hundred picked men, under the combined command

¹ G. T. Clark, "Mediæval Military Architecture," vol. i. p. 39.

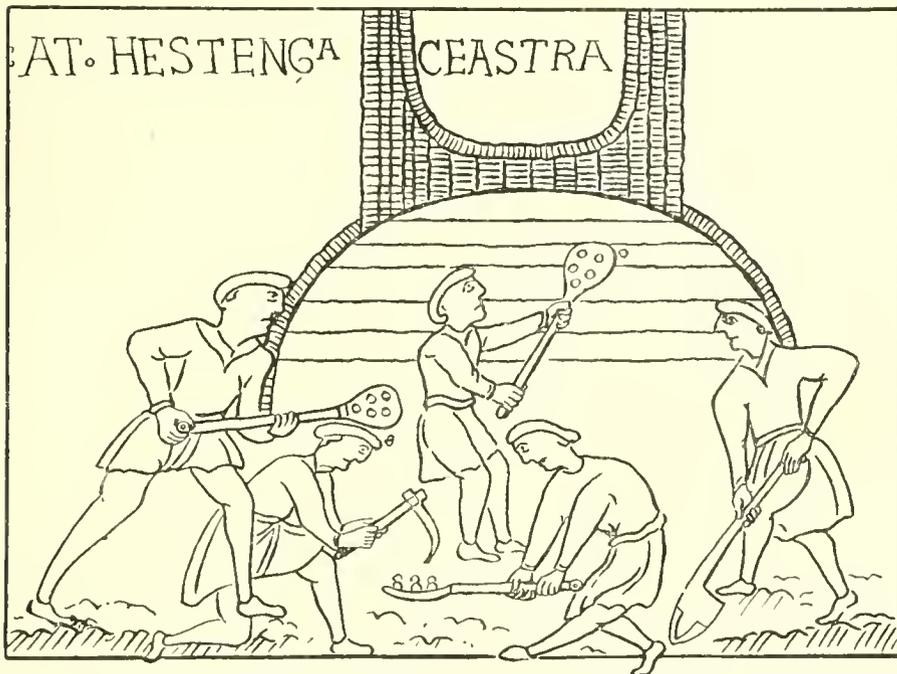
of Robert Fitz-Richard, Gilbert of Ghent, and the Sheriff of the county, William Malet, a Norman knight who had distinguished himself at Hastings. William marched southwards believing, no doubt, the citizens were now bridled and resigned to his authority.

A position on the right bank of the river was selected for this castle, so that in an emergency the Norman soldiery, approaching the city from the south by the Great North Road, could easily relieve the garrison; a proceeding which would have been attended with great risk if the river had interposed as an obstacle in their march. This earliest fortress was just the sort of castle needed by the Normans. The site was chosen where an entrenchment could be dug out, and a mound for their look-out station quickly thrown up. The present motte, or mound, we think, is not wholly an artificial erection, but probably was formed on high ground, isolated by cutting through the ridge, of which what is now called Cherry Hill formed part.

The mound is situated about one hundred yards from the Ouse, its base being at present about 40 feet above the level of the river. It was surrounded by a deep ditch and bank, and was thus separated from the bailey-court. The circumscribing ditch communicated on the outside with, and formed a part of, the regular ditch of the place. When the castle was besieged the garrison, in the last extremity, could seek refuge in the citadel keep, which was approached by a bridge over the ditch.

The platform of the summit is about 70 feet diameter, upon which a look-out tower, or keep, was erected when the motte was levelled up. After the usual early Norman custom, a wooden keep would, doubtless, be built. Various types of such keeps are figured in that valuable contemporary record of the

Norman Conquest, the Bayeux Tapestry.¹ In the picture of the taking of Dinant by William of Normandy a typical moated hillock and a wooden keep are there represented, and the Conqueror's soldiery, with pick, spade, and shovel, are also portrayed, in another compartment of the pictorial narrative, entrenching and throwing up a motte or mound at Hastings. The torch was as familiar as the sword to the soldier of the Norman age, and in the picture



WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR ERECTING A CASTLE AT HASTINGS.

From the Bayeux Tapestry.

on page 223 two warriors are shown with torches trying to set fire to the timber stockade and wooden keep.

There are no remains of masonry on the summit of Baile Hill, and it is not recorded that the wooden keep was ever superseded by one of stone. If excavations

¹ "The Bayeux Tapestry, a History and Description," by Frank R. Fowke, 1898.

were now permitted possibly the shaft of a well would be discovered, as several have been found on similar moated hillocks.

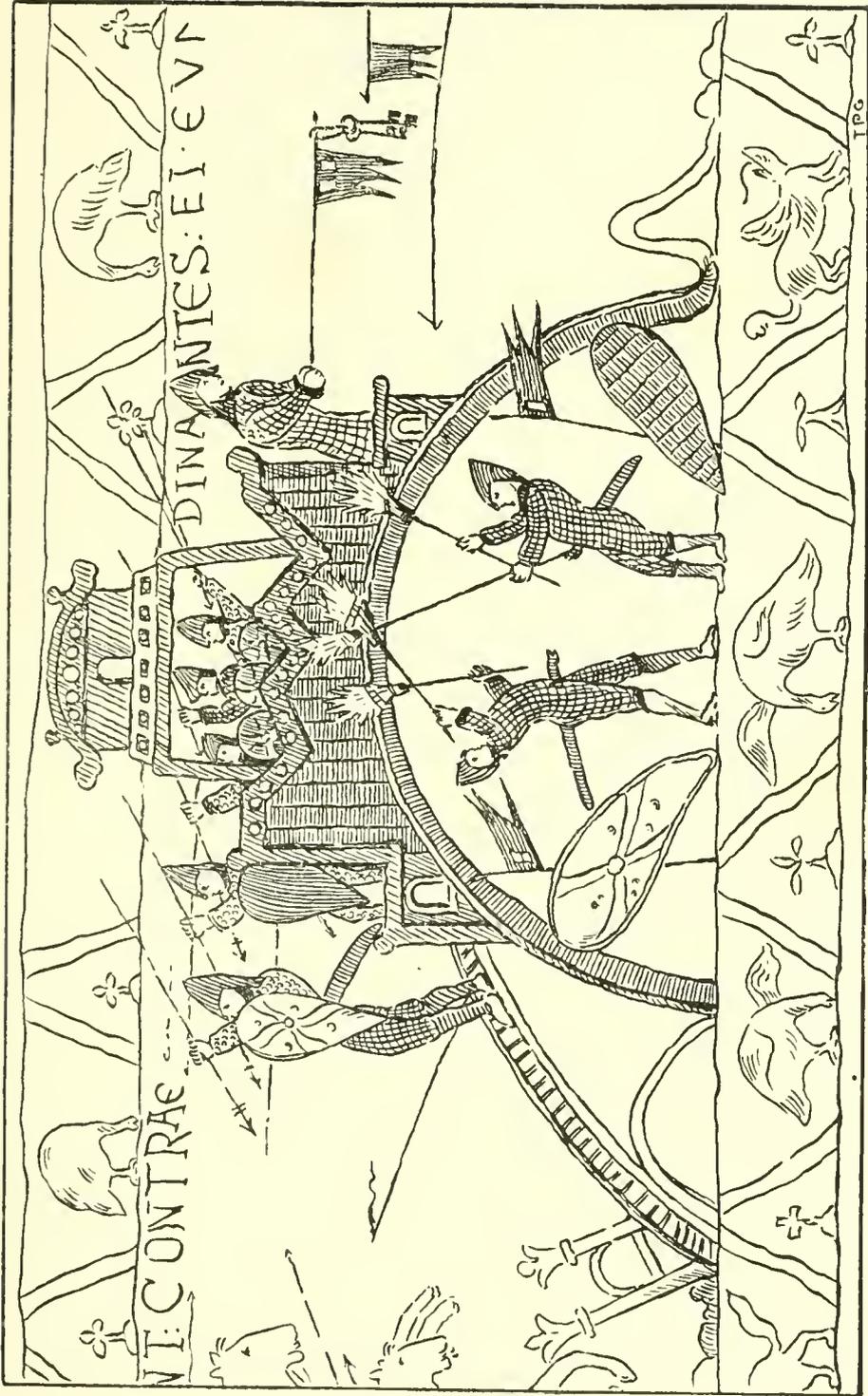
None of the early chronicles definitely say which of York's two castles was erected first, but as the Castle of the *Old Baile* in ancient records is also called *Vetus Ballium*, it is unquestionably the older of the two and the one first erected by William the Conqueror. The Castle of the Old Baile was one of the many early Norman strongholds known as the motte-and-bailey type, of which others are scattered throughout the country. It was by a system of such fortified posts, dispersed all over England, that William and his liegemen held the kingdom in subjection. A mound, or motte, is found in connection with almost all English castles known to be of early Norman origin, and all of "these castles, without exception, when in towns, are placed, not in the middle of the town, but on the line of the walls; frequently even, in the case of some of the most important cities of the kingdom *outside* the walls."¹

This castle appears to have been erected wholly outside the Anglo-Saxon fortifications; the motte of the castle, on the left bank of the Ouse, was also thrown up without the city *vallum*.

"Castles, I take it, were placed on the enceinte of towns, as keeps were placed on the enceinte of castles, and from the same motive—viz., a wish to preserve communication with the open country to the last. Had the citadel been enveloped by the outworks, the capture of the latter would have imprisoned the former in a ready-made contravallation, and rendered either escape or relief almost impossible."²

¹ Mrs. E. S. Armitage, "Anglo-Saxon Burhs and Early Norman Castles," p. 278.

² J. A. Rutter, "Moated Mounds," *The Antiquary*, vol. xxxviii., p. 274.



THE SURRENDER OF THE CASTLE OF DINANT.

From the Bayeux Tapestry.

The Old Baile Castle had a spacious courtyard, which in Norman speech is known as the *bayle* or *bailey*; in Low Latin *ballium*. The area of the court was nearly three acres, and the boundary line can still be traced. The two sides, banked and moated citywards, are shown on Speed's Plan of York, published in 1611. A depression on the inner slope of the city ramparts, about 124 yards from the south-east angle, and adjoining a semi-hexagonal bastion, indicates the line of the moat—now filled up—that flanked the stronghold towards the city. There are indications, apparent on the exterior of the city walls, that they have sunk at this point, where they cross the line of this ditch. The dwelling-houses, Nos. 8 and 9, Newton Terrace, and houses in Kyme Street, which were built upon the made-up ditch, also show signs of subsidence.

This ditch and its rampart formed, no doubt, the extremity of the Anglo-Saxon fortifications in this direction, and their line running towards the Ouse terminated on the brink of the river.

Although the Conqueror strongly garrisoned this castle, the submission of York was only superficial, and the discontented Northumbrians, a second time, dared to dispute the stern rule of the Normans. They revolted, and attacked this castle, slaying Robert Fitz-Richard. Malet hurriedly sent messengers to the King with news of the rebellion; and, strengthening his position, he held out till William came to his assistance. The King soon appeared before the city, and fell upon the besiegers in their trenches; many were killed and captured, and the city was ruthlessly plundered.

After this work of merciless revenge, the King erected a second and much stronger castle on the opposite side of the river, on the tongue of land at the junction of the Ouse and Foss. Before he left the north, he

strengthened the castle of the Old Baile, and garrisoned both fortresses. As soon as the dreaded Conqueror had departed, the courage of the disaffected people revived. During the month of September, 1069, the Northumbrians, aided by the Danes, attacked both castles. The Norman soldiery were overpowered and slain, and their commanders were taken prisoners. When William, who was in the West of England, heard of the revolt, he hastened towards York. On his arrival, at the close of the year, his enemies had dispersed; the Northumbrians had crept quietly to their homes, and the Danes had sailed away with their plunder.

We have been unable to find any twelfth-century notice of this castle; but, in 1268, a trial by wager of battle took place in the castle bailey.

Among the many customs introduced by the Normans was that of *wager of battle*, or trial by combat, for the decision of disputed causes between aggrieved parties. These armed contests were generally held before several justices, and jurymen, in an enclosed space. The combatants were bound to fight till the stars appeared, unless the death, or adjudged defeat, of one party sooner ended the conflict, when the victor was declared the gainer of his cause in law. Trial by *wager of battle*¹ was greatly disliked by the English; and, among the privileges frequently granted to burgesses in borough charters, was one exempting them from trial by battle;

¹ Though trial by wager of battle had long fallen into desuetude, it remained as a valid and legal mode of trial in England down to its abolition in 1819. Two years previously, one Abraham Thornton, being on his trial for murder, ingeniously demanded this mode of arbitrament. As it was found that the defendant could legally select this mode of trial, and the prosecutor naturally refused to comply, Thornton was discharged. To prevent any further miscarriage of justice, wager of battle was abolished by Act of Parliament in 1819.

but York does not seem to have enjoyed this immunity. In 1268, within the encircling walls of this fortress on "the day before the Ides (13th) of June, there did sit four Justices and many other great men in the Old Baile of the City of York. There was to be tried by duel which concerned a certain pasture between the bounds of the towns of De Sexdecem Vallibus (Thixendale) and of Bridesdale (Birdsall), distinguished by metes and measures in a chirograph made thereof and publicly debated by the Justices of Assize, and adjudged to the Plaintiffs, who were three, that is to say, the Abbot of St. Mary's of York, the Prior of Kirkham, and the Lady Geneser, as belonging to their town De Sexdecem Vallibus."¹

By some means this castle passed into the possession of the Archbishops of York, probably at the instance of some king, who had appointed a warlike prelate as governor. Many of the northern primates of olden days were tinged with the martial spirit, and frequently led the citizens of York to battle, hence some were constituted military lieutenants to guard the marches, *i.e.*, the northern borders.

In 1195, Geoffrey Plantagenet, Archbishop of York, acquired the shrievalty of the county of York, and paid the King 3,000 marks and a rent of 100 marks per annum for this important office. By this means he united the temporal to the spiritual authority, and flourished with all the power and dignity of a sovereign prince. The office of High Sheriff, then, was one of great responsibility, and, as keeper of the King's peace, he was the highest crown official in the county. In his custody were all the royal castles as well as the fortified towns; hence we may date from this prelate the archiepiscopal jurisdiction and possession of the Castle of the Old Baile.

¹ "Analecta Eboracensia," p. 271.

THE CASTLE OF THE OLD BAILE 227

It remained in the custody of the northern primates for several centuries, and the district on one side of it, especially, bears evidence of the archbishops' holding. A considerable portion of the adjacent locality is still known as "Bishophill," a name this district has probably borne since Anglo-Saxon times. In the ancient registers of York the accounts of the constableries of the city are described, and the officer of this district, "*vetus ballium in custodia Archiepiscopi Ebor.*" was nominated by the



THE BAILE HILL FROM THE EAST, WITH TOWER ERECTED IN 1878.

archbishop. The fields immediately without the Old Baile, the city walls and those beyond Blossom Street, were the property of the See before the Norman Survey, and down to our day they have been known as Bishopsfields.

During the archiepiscopate of William de Greenfield, this prelate's steward, on the 25th of January, 1309, paid "to Giles le Morton, servant at our granges at

York, the money necessary for making a foss in the Old Baily, for procuring plants to put in the said foss, and for repairing the road to the mills.”¹ Probably, the early registers of the Archbishops contain many items that allude to the Old Baile; if a transcript of these valuable documents were published their varied and important contents would be of inestimable value to the historical student.

From the latter portion of the above entry we may assume that this fortress, like York Castle, possessed a mill for grinding corn by water power. There are no remains or foundations that we can identify as the site of this early mill; but the not too incredulous reader can easily imagine such a place when he considers how greatly the physical aspect of the neighbourhood has been altered since the pristine days of fortified York. The ditch, which was high above the river, was fed by land waters, and the force that worked the mill was probably obtained from water penned back in the castle ditches, which seems to have flowed back upon the city ditch. A stream in the locality that fed the moats has now disappeared, but its course is still traceable. For some distance it formed the boundary line of the two parishes of St. Mary’s, Bishophill Senior and Junior, and drained the high ground of which Nun Mill Hill, Scarcroft Hill, and The Mount form parts. Modern sewerage schemes may account for the total obliteration of the stream. In the eighteenth century it was an unfordable waterway and passed over Nunnery Lane about a dozen yards west of Victoria Street. It was crossed by a bridge; and the Corporation, on the 13th of September, 1734, “ordered that a Rail be put to the Bridge in Baggergate (Nunnery Lane), and the same paid out of the Common Chamber.”²

¹ “Fasti Eboracensis,” p. 390.

² “Extracts from the House Book of the York Corporation,” p. 453.

Mills were an invariable accompaniment of feudal castles, and the "soke" of the Archbishop's mill was, no doubt, an important source of revenue. All the inhabitants of his shire or ward would be compelled to grind their corn there, and, of course, pay for the privilege.

It is doubtful whether the earthwork that surrounded the bailey-court was crowned with defences of stone during the Norman occupation of the castle. The great height and breadth of the earthen rampart, and the wide and deep exterior ditches were a sufficient security against an enemy who fought with weapons and engines of war of far less destructiveness than those of the present day. A timber stockade on the ridge of the embankment added sufficient strength to the fortress. At what period a stone wall was erected there, is uncertain.

As the second castle, built by William I., on the opposite bank of the river was larger and stronger than the fortress of the Old Baile, the latter becoming of less and less importance was allowed to fall into decay. The cost of keeping its fortifications in repair was borne by successive archbishops, and they, finding the possession of the castle not merely unproductive but an encumbrance, were indifferent as to its condition.

Who should undertake its defence in time of war was a vexed question between the citizens and the archbishops. William de Melton in 1322 agreed to defend the fortress on condition the citizens would help his men if a special assault was made upon it by the enemy. Both parties acquiesced, and an indenture¹ of the arrangement was drawn up.

In 1326 the encircling walls of the stronghold were in such a dilapidated state that the civic authorities were afraid the Scots, who frequently menaced the city

¹ Appendix Q.

might breach the fortifications at this point and thus jeopardise the safety of the city. The Mayor requested the Archbishop, William de Melton, to do the necessary repairs, but this prelate would not accept the liability and refused, pleading that the portion of the wall in dispute was *infra fossata civitatis*, within the city ditches, and therefore repairable by the citizens.

The controversy ended in an appeal to Queen Isabella, then resident in the archiepiscopal palace in the city, where she heard the case in council. The Mayor, Nicholas de Langeton, alleged that the *vetus ballium* was within the jurisdiction of the archbishop, and therefore he ought to keep its defences in repair. The complaint was not decided by the Council, but the archbishop agreed to garrison the place with his men under certain conditions. Drake says the case "was given against the archbishop, who was obliged to repair these walls," but a perusal of the following memorandum of the proceedings before the Council, the original of which is preserved at the Record Office, London, shows that what Melton did was of his free will, or "liberality and grace," as it is described.

“Memorandum, that on Wednesday before St. Peter ad Vincula, 1 Edward III., before the king’s council, in the palace of William de Melton, Archbishop of York, wherein queen Isabella was lodged, in the presence of the archbishop and of John de Hothum, bishop of Ely, the chancellor, and Henry de Burgherssh, bishop of Lincoln, the treasurer, and John de Stratford, bishop of Winchester, Geoffrey le Scrop and others of the king’s council, Nicholas de Langeton, mayor of the city of York, and Nicholas de Sexdecim Vallibus, the clerk of the city, sought in person from the archbishop that he would cause his place called ‘the old bailey’ to be kept at his charge against the Scots, in the same way as they cause the walls of the city to be kept, asserting

that he and his predecessors were wont to keep and guard that place in time of war in the past; and the archbishop asserted that the mayor and community of York hold the city of the king at perpetual ferm, to be kept at their peril both in time of war and in peace, no place within the city being excepted, to wit neither the bailey aforesaid nor any other place, and that the bailey is parcel of the city aforesaid, and is within the ditches of the city, and that he is not bound to keep it, and that his predecessors were not wont to keep it, but that upon another occasion, by reason of the great peril then threatening the city, he caused that place to be enclosed, and placed certain men for the defence of the same during the peril, and concerning this an indenture was made between the archbishop and the mayor and bailiffs and community of the city, containing that what the archbishop had thus done of his liberality and grace should not prejudice him or his successors in the future, and should not be drawn into a precedent; and the mayor and clerk did not deny the said indenture, but said that the place aforesaid is not parcel of the city or within the ditches of the city, but that the ditches about the said place are the archbishop's own ditches, and that the mayor and community of the city have not to intermeddle with that place in any way, and that the archbishop and his successors ought to keep the place at their peril and (that he and his predecessors) were wont to keep it at all times past. And afterwards the archbishop, because the premises could not be then discussed and determined, said that he would place some of his men to keep the said place upon this occasion, because of the stay of the queen and her son and daughters within the city; provided that, if peril should threaten the city from the Scots, the mayor and men of the city shall ordain for the defence of that place with his men, as for the defence of the other places of the

city, as shall seem fit; provided also that what he thus does of his grace at this time for the aforesaid reason shall not prejudice him or his successors in future. And the mayor and clerk granted that they will ordain concerning the custody of the said place with the archbishop's men, if great peril shall threaten, as shall seem best for the security of the city, and that what the archbishop thus does shall not prejudice him or his church or his successors hereafter; saving the mayor and citizens their claim in this behalf when they will speak concerning it."¹

Stubbs, in his *Life of William de Melton*, mentions the restorations executed by the Archbishop, and from his record we learn how the rampart of the bailey was defended. The first works Melton erected in 1322 were stout planks 18 feet long; and his second reparations in 1326 were of a more permanent nature—a wall of stone.²

About a century later the defences of the Old Baile, which had become an integral part of the city fortifications, were again in a ruinous condition. In 1423, the first year of Henry VI.'s reign, the citizens, who had put the adjoining walls in good repair, petitioned the archbishop, Henry Bowet, to do the necessary reparations to a portion of the walls described as "*parcellam murorum . . . vocatam le Oldebayll*." The archbishop did not comply with the city's request, therefore legal proceedings were commenced against him. Some particulars of the case are recorded on the Roll of the Court of Common Pleas.³ The Lord Mayor

¹ Cal. Close Rolls 1327-30, p. 214.

² "Locum in Eboraco qui dicitur Vetus Ballium, primo spissis et longis XVIII., pedum tabulis, secundo, lapideo muro fortiter includebat" (Stubbs, "Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops" (Record Series), vol. ii. p. 417).

³ Appendix R.

and Corporation held that it was the custom and duty of the archbishop's predecessors from time immemorial to mend and repair a certain portion of the walls called the Old Baile whenever they required it for the resisting of the Scots, the enemies of their Lord the King and his ancestors. Neither the archbishop nor his attorney appeared before the court, but an order was made that the prelate or his steward attend at a subsequent hearing of the case. How the action was decided has not been discovered, but the Court, we should conclude, compelled the archbishop to restore the walls. Some agreement also was probably arrived at whereby the occupants of the See relinquished their rights and jurisdiction in this part of the city, for we have evidence that the Old Baile was in the possession of the Mayor and Commonalty before the close of the fifteenth century.

Several writers assert that the northern primates had a prison within the precincts of the Old Baile, but we have not found any authentic mention of such a place, neither can it be decided with certainty to what use they appropriated the old castle.

During the insurrectionary movement in favour of the impostor, Lambert Symnell, in 1487, the City Council, anxious to guard and defend the city, "appointed proper persons to be wardens of each of the six wards into which the city was then divided, viz., Walmgate, Monkebarr, Bowtham, Castlegate, Mickillyth, and the posterne of Northstreet; and they ordered that the wardens of every ward should bring their ward in harness before the lord mayor in the Old Baile, that 'he might take a view of the whole body of the city for the defence of the same.'" ¹

¹ R. Davies, "Lambert Symnell's Rebellion," *Memoirs illustrative of the History and Antiquities of the County and City of York*, 1846.

About the year 1535 Leland visited the City of York, and in his "Itinerary" he gives a quaint description of the city walls. He writes: "The West Part of the Cite of York is thus enclosed: first a Turret, and so the Waul rennith over the side of the Dungeon of the Castelle on the West side of Ouse right agayn the Castelle on the Est Ripe. The Plotte of this Castelle is now caullid the old Baile and the Area and Diches of it do manifestley appere."

Previous to the siege of York, in 1644, two cannons were placed on the summit of the motte, which, when hostilities commenced, operated against a Parliamentarian battery stationed upon Nun Mill Hill. The mound was first planted with trees in 1726 by Mr. Henry Pawson, a merchant of the city, whilst he was occupier of the ground as a tenant of the Corporation.

When the area of the old castle came into the possession of the citizens in the fifteenth century, they appropriated it for their sports and outdoor pastimes. During the eighteenth century the Corporation partially deprived the citizens of the use of the Old Baile as a place of recreation, and let the ground upon lease. "Old customs," like old faiths, "die hard," and despite this letting and leasing, every Shrovetide, down to our day, a numerous and hilarious throng assembled in "The Hollow," as it was called, to engage in games and amusements.

A further encroachment was made in 1802-7, when a prison was erected in the bailey-court to supersede the gaol that stood on old Ouse Bridge. The entrance was from Jail Lane, and over the gateway were the words, "House of Correction," in large letters. This dread inscription was impaled by a pair of massive leg-irons. The new prison was intended for the debtors and felons of the City and Ainsty, but the latter district

being added to the county in the year 1835, the prisoners for the Ainsty were sent to York Castle. Subsequently, the gaol was condemned by Government inspectors, and arrangements were made with the county magistrates for the safe custody of the city prisoners in the Castle.

The buildings were demolished, and the undamaged stones were used for the masonry of Skeldergate Bridge, the first stone of which was laid on the 12th of June, 1878.

During the excavations for the foundations of the "House of Correction" in 1802, the workmen unearthed about one hundred silver pennies of the earliest coinages of William the Conqueror; whilst, in a vessel of clay, was discovered a still greater prize, viz., many hundreds of the silver pennies of Edward the Confessor. These deposits of money, the modest fortunes of valiant soldiers, would be purposely concealed before their owners rushed out into the fight, or were besieged in battle, with the intention to unearth the treasure when the danger was over. If our assumption be correct, their owners never came back to reclaim them. Or they may have died fighting on the very ground in which their treasure was deposited.

In 1839 two ancient iron daggers were found in the garden of the gaol. Spear heads, broken fragments of bronze, and iron weapons have at various times been dug up, which suggest the significance of the struggles that have taken place beneath the frowning battlements of the Old Baile Castle.

The public were at last effectually deprived of the use of the bailey-court as a recreation ground, when, in 1882, the Corporation sold the land to speculative house-builders, who forthwith erected thereon Baile Hill Terrace, Newton Terrace, Kyme Street, and Falkland Street.

The old wall that still remains on two sides of the

Old Baile, and which now forms a part of the ancient fortifications of the city, is somewhat interesting. Commencing at the half-hexagonal bastion the wall shows seven or eight courses of mediæval masonry—the work, no doubt, carried out during Henry Bowet's archiepiscopate.

The wall is built of good masonry, and for a distance of 125 yards there is only one small buttress. The two or three higher courses of the wall, and the merlons and embrasures, form part of the restorations effected by Charles I. previous to the battle of Marston Moor. Almost every block of stone in the lower courses of older stonework has incised upon it the monographical or personal device of the mason who worked the stone. The most numerous and varied collection of these peculiar and interesting marks are found upon this portion of the City Walls.¹ They are not displayed in such profusion on other parts of these military defences.

The wall of the Old Baile is flanked by three bastions which were formerly much higher. Two are semi-circular, the old mural chambers of which are filled with rubble. At the south angle of the fortifications are the remains of a massive circular tower denuded of its ancient superstructure. The peculiarity of this tower is that, instead of effectually flanking the curtain, it is set back a little from its line. It may have been in existence when the enceinte between the bastions was only defended by a timber stockade, and later a stone curtain was built connecting the towers. The tower is about 25 feet diameter, and its seven courses of stonework about 12 feet high.² The platform of the tower is raised two steps higher than the adjoining modern foot-way, and has an embattled parapet nearly 6 feet in height. A basement chamber is entered by

¹ See Appendix S.

² See illustration, p. 147.

a door from the gorge ; the apartment is $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, 8 feet broad, and 7 feet high. It contains a fireplace, and the roof of brick barrel-vaulting is of comparatively modern erection.

The bastion, or tower, on the south-east side has at some time been burnt out, as is evidenced by the calcined appearance of the stonework on the inside of the parapet at a point immediately above the rampart walk.

From this bastion the wall has been carried across



MASONS' MARKS ON THE EXTERIOR FACE
OF THE CITY WALLS INCLOSING THE
OLD BAILE.

the site of the ditch that surrounded the motte, and it is seen to be slightly diverted outward in plan as it passes over the slope of the mound, leaving the summit free and a little in the rear of the line of the wall.

The view from the top of the mound is very extensive, and those that kept watch and ward in its ancient look-out tower could easily discern foemen as they approached the city. A good view of the city is embraced in the prospect, and on a clear day the roads that traverse the Wold Hills are distinctly seen.

The mural footway attached to the wall on its inner side is of comparatively recent erection. The soldiers that defended the fortifications in early warlike times, it is supposed, were stationed in the towers that flanked the walls at various places. The facing-stones of the footway wall have been brought from the sites of numerous demolished mediæval buildings in the city; some of them are fragments of inscriptive funeral slabs, and masons' marks are also inscribed on several of the stones.

From the mural walk, the street level is now reached by a flight of stone steps, terminating in a small tower, which was erected when the approach to Skeldergate Bridge was made.

The site of the entrance to the castle has not been ascertained, but the limits and bounds of the bailey are easily discernible, and its conservation to our days is rather remarkable. It will be noticed that the two modern streets, Bishopgate Street and Price's Lane, run along the old ditch.



MASONS' MARKS ON EACH SIDE OF STAIRWAY UP
TO THE BAILE HILL WALL.

CHAPTER XIV

MICKLEGATE BAR

Historic Associations—The Bar described—Barbican removed, &c.—Exposure of Traitors' and Rebels' Heads: Hotspur's, 1403; Sir W. Plumptre's, 1405; Lord Scrope's, 1415; Duke of York's, 1460, and Shakespeare's allusion to the derisive treatment—Battle of Towton; Lancastrian Leaders executed and their Heads placed on the Bar—Roman Catholic Rising, 1569; Earl of Northumberland's Head spiked—Last Heads exposed (1746) clandestinely removed; Reward offered for discovery of Offenders—Civic welcomes of Royalty and Nobility at the Gate; Duke of Gloucester, 1482—Richard III. welcomed, 1483—Princess Margaret passes through the Gate, 1503—James I. arrives and loyally welcomed, 1603; second reception in 1617—Charles I. enters, 1633, and in 1639—Battle of Marston Moor; wild confusion at the Gate—Garrison surrender and march out—Cromwell passes through, 1650.

MICKLEGATE BAR, the entrance from the great south road, is the most important of the four city gates. Historically, this time-honoured monument is rich in associations. Through the long lapse of centuries it has played many parts in the significant scenes and heroic events so closely associated with the history and romance of the "North."

Its portals have re-echoed with the tramp of ten thousand squadrons. Plumed conquerors and warriors arrayed in gleaming mail have passed through it to the most decisive battle scenes in our country's annals.

This stately gate cannot fail to excite soul-stirring

recollections in the minds of those who love to muse upon departed days, especially when it is remembered that almost every sovereign that has reigned over old England, from William the Conqueror to Edward VII., has passed through this identical doorway. No other place in Yorkshire—if in England—can claim such a remarkable record.

The bar has all the evidences of antiquity, and although now—

“No glory attends it, no pomp, no display,
No brilliant pageant, no martial array,”

one cannot gaze upon the imposing gateway without, in imagination, hearing the echoes of far-off chivalric and warlike times that centre round the once important and well-guarded fortification.

In early times the rampart mounds that encircled the city, it is thought, had no extensive mural defences. They were merely strengthened by palisades, but entrance to the city was only obtained through massive stone gateways that preceded and are incorporated in the bars.

The basement and the outer portal of the bar have the appearance of Norman work. The limestone superstructure is generally supposed to have been added about 1332. Drake erroneously states that the gritstone archway of this bar was of Roman origin.

The general form of the bar is square, and, originally, it was doubtless simply an arched gate without any superstructure, and had the appearance which Fisher-gate Bar now has. From a Pipe Roll record, it appears that in the eighth year of Richard I.'s reign, Benedict Fitz-Engelram paid half a mark for license to erect a dwelling-house upon Micklegate Bar, and he also paid an annual rent of sixpence to secure it as an hereditary possession. During the early wars with Scotland the

walls and gates were materially strengthened, and the building which had first been erected as a habitation was, about the year 1332, converted into a substantial means of defence.

The bar has three upper floors, and, from the second, the two outer angles are capped by circular bartizans. These graceful turrets, which rise considerably above the



MICKLEGATE BAR (WITHOUT)

parapets, are embattled and pierced by cross-loops. Over the outer gate is a square-headed loop, and above it a second, flanked by two of cruciform shape. On the topmost coping are placed three stone figures. A massive gargoye, which would drain the old platform, projects from the front of the bar.

The time-worn and shattered masonry of the outer

front is relieved by sculptured coats of arms and gilded canopies—

“With heraldry's rich hues impress'd,
Ancient shields glow with pictured crest.”

Over the archway is a modern shield surmounting the inserted inscription:—

<p>RENOVATA A.D. MDCCXXVII</p>
--

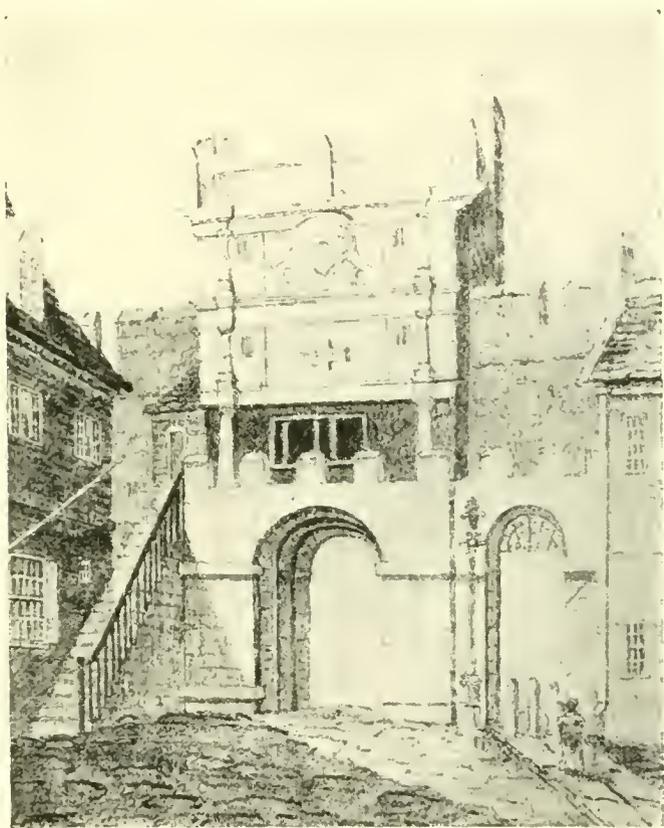
At some few feet above these are the arms of England, as used by Edward III., Richard II., and Henry IV., placed between two York shields. The three latter shields are emblazoned, and are adorned with small gilded canopies, of which the centre one supports a helmet, crested by a sculptured lion. The modern shield bears the arms of Sir John Lister-Kaye, Bart.,¹ who was Lord Mayor of York in 1737, the year the bar was, we assume, restored. By some unaccountable incongruity the date 1727 is carved on the panel under the shield, as just stated.

The Royal shields were probably fixed on the bar in the year 1347. At that time, Edward the Third's Queen, Philippa, resided in the city, the King being absent with the Black Prince prosecuting a war in France. The Scots, who had invaded England, were the same year defeated at Neville's Cross, and their king, David, was taken prisoner. Queen Philippa, during her stay in York, turned her attention to the fortifications, and to the restoring of its gates.

Drake, writing in 1736, says, “The bar is strengthened by an outer gate, which had a massy iron chain

¹ Sir John was M.P. for Yorkshire in 1734.

across it, then a port-cullis, and lastly, a mighty strong double wooden gate, which is closed in every night at the usual hours. It has the character altogether as to antient fortification, to be as noble and august a port as most in Europe." Previous to the destruction of the Barbican in 1826, this historic gate must have



"NORTH-EAST VIEW OF MICKLEGATE BAR, YORK, AS IT STOOD IN MARCH, 1827, DRAWN BY R. DOUGLAS, JUN."

had a very imposing and venerable appearance. The demolition of this outwork was greatly deplored by many people. Sir Walter Scott is reported to have said that if walking from Edinburgh to York would induce the Corporation to preserve the barbican he would gladly undertake the journey.

The two doorways, which opened from the first floor of the bar to the battlements of the barbican, still remain. This bar, like the other three bars, was strongly portcullised; but about the year 1820, the large wooden grating fell from its fastenings and was subsequently destroyed. The central passage has a timbered roof, and on the west side is a blocked-up doorway, the old opening to the guard-room. The three lateral arches for traffic did not form part of the original structure; the one on the east side being erected in 1826-7; on the other side one archway was opened in 1754, and a second in 1863.

In the seventeenth century a lath-and-plaster erection was attached to the inner front of the bar, and displayed on it were the Royal Arms of Queen Elizabeth, with the motto, "God Save the Queen." This side of the bar "was renewed and beautified" in 1716, during the mayoralty of Richard Townes. The extraneous mass of wood and plaster was taken down in 1827 and replaced by the present stone front. A sculptured shield, France and England quarterly, adorns the inner side.

In mediæval days the inhuman practice of affixing the heads of traitors, rebels, and enemies on spiked poles, and ignominiously exposing them on the gates and towers of York, was of frequent occurrence. This cruel and loathsome custom was thought a necessity in those old savage times. Many unfortunate offenders against the laws and desires of kings thus suffered, and were made public examples to overawe the people and suppress rebellion and discontent, but in the righteous struggles for freedom

" . . . They never fail who die
In a great cause; the block may seek their gore,
Their heads may sodden in the sun, their limbs
Be strung to city gates and castle walls,
But still their spirits walk abroad, though years
E lapse, and others share as dark a doom."

The heads and mutilated limbs of traitors were exposed in barbarous derision in many prominent positions—upon the old Castle Gates, the Bars and old Ouse Bridge. Princely birth did not avail much; royalty and nobility suffered alike with the commonalty—in fact, the nobler born very often were treated with a special severity. In Edward I.'s reign the right arm of David, the Welsh prince, with his ring upon one of the fingers, was hung upon one of the towers at York as a warning against rebellion.

Micklegate Bar being the most important city gate, its graceful turrets were often polluted by these hideous spectacles.

One of the most cruel and melancholy instances of this offensive practice was perhaps that which occurred after the battle of Shrewsbury, in 1403. In this year, Sir Henry Percy, a brave and headstrong soldier, surnamed "Hotspur" from his impetuosity and fiery valour, headed an insurrectionary force against the authority of King Henry IV. In the desperate conflict fought at Shrewsbury "Hotspur" was shot through the head and mortally wounded. After the battle his body was interred at Whitchurch by Lord Furnival. The victor, Henry IV., rampant with rage, however, had it rudely torn from the grave; and, as was the brutal custom of that warlike age, it was crushed between two mill-stones in the market-place of Shrewsbury. It was then beheaded, drawn, and quartered; and, in a despicable manner, three quarters were sent for contemptuous exhibition to London, Chester, and Newcastle; the fourth being retained at Shrewsbury. The head was brought to York, and placed upon Micklegate Bar, where it remained, exposed to rain and storm for several months. During the autumn of 1403, Hotspur's father, the Earl of Northumberland, was summoned to York, where the King received the Earl's abject submission.

As the aged warrior came in sight of the city gate he was quite broken down as he looked upon the ghastly head of his favourite son.

Sir Henry's sorrowing widow entreated the King to allow her to collect the remains of her husband that she might give them Christian burial. Henry yielded to the solicitations of the bereaved lady, and issued writs authorising the mayors and sheriffs of the several cities to deliver up to her the respective portions they held in charge, for burial. The writ for the delivery of the head of the gallant knight was made out in the following form:—

“The King to the mayor and sheriffs of the city of York, greeting. Whereas of our special grace we have granted to our cousin Elizabeth, who was the wife of Henry de Percy, chevalier, the head and quarters of the same Henry, to be buried: we command you that the head aforesaid you deliver to the same Elizabeth, to be buried according to our grant aforesaid.

“Witness the King at Cirencester, the 3rd day of November, 1403.”

The disconsolate widow, after collecting the remains of her husband, thus cruelly scattered according to the inexorable fashion of the times, finally had them laid to rest in York Minster.

Sir William Plumpton's head was set up on the Bar at “Mykkylyth,” June 8, 1405, and remained until the 17th of August. It was then given up to his wife Alice, and buried in the church at Spofforth.¹

In 1415, a short while before King Henry V. embarked from Southampton for France, he sent a mandate to the Lord Mayor of York requesting him to seize and confiscate the estate and effects of Henry, Lord Scrope, Lord Treasurer of England. This unfortunate noble had been executed at Southampton for high treason, and

¹ “History of England under Henry the Fourth,” vol. ii. p. 242.

his head was brought to York along with the King's mandate which strictly ordered the Lord Mayor to place it "super portam de Mickellyth."¹ This was truly a sad fate for a popular Yorkshire man ; one who had so often passed through the gate in all the pomp and dignity of his high position in the state.

During the fierce and bitter struggles for pre-eminence between the partisans of the White and Red Roses, the turrets of Micklegate Bar were "adorned" with the heads of the defeated leaders alternately, as the varying fortunes of war gave each contending faction the victory. Lancastrian and Yorkist suffered alike in this respect ; the bodies of the chiefs of both parties were cruelly mutilated in the same odious manner. After the battle of Wakefield, which was fought on the 31st of December, 1460, the head of Richard, Duke of York, in company with those of his principal adherents, was spiked on this bar.

Richard, who had aspired to a kingly crown, received specially derisive treatment ; his head was contemptuously crowned with a wreath of twisted rushes, and put up with the face turned towards the city from whence he derived his title. Shakespeare, in the historical tragedy of "Henry VI."² makes the haughty Queen Margaret reproachfully exclaim :—

"Off with his head and set it on York gates ;
So York may overlook the town of York"—

and in the succeeding act of the play further allusion is made to the ill-fated duke in the following words :—

"And, after many scorns, many foul taunts,
They took his head, and on the gates of York
They set the same : and where it doth remain,
The saddest spectacle that e'er I view'd."

¹ Drake, Appendix XVI.

² Act i. Scene iv.

In the early stages of the Wars of the Roses the citizens of York zealously supported the Lancastrian cause; and, "unto the lamentable batell of Tolton, called Palmeson feld," the city equipped and sent "at ther owne costs about 1,000 men defensible araied, of the which many was slayne and put in exile." At the terrible battle of Towton, fought on Palm Sunday, 1461, the fortunes of the Red Rose faction were completely shattered, and the bearers of the pure White Rose gained the ascendancy. A calamitous time it was for many a home.

"The Fathers of the City
They sat all night and day,
For every hour some horsemen came
With tidings of dismay."

Upwards of thirty-six thousand Englishmen fell on the fatal field, and Drake says it was the most "bloody battle ever fought in the whole world." When morning dawned the road towards York was strewn with dead and dying almost to the city walls. The Duke of York, Edward IV., accompanied by the remnant of his victorious army, with—

"Pennons and flags defaced and stain'd,
That blackening streaks of blood retain'd,"

hastened to York, hoping to capture Henry VI. and his Queen. On his arrival at Micklegate Bar—

"The city gates were open flung,
The quivering drawbridge rock'd and rung,"

and, hurriedly entering, he learnt that Henry had escaped and fled towards Scotland. He immediately took down the grisly and bleached head of his father, along with others, from the frowning gateway by which he entered, and, continuing the gruesome exhibition, he substituted those of the Lancastrian leaders who had

just died or been taken prisoners at Towton. The unfortunate chiefs who thus suffered were the Earl of Devon, Lord Kyme, Sir William Hill, and Sir Thomas Foulford. Edward's retaliatory treatment of his foes is noticed by Shakespeare in "Henry VI." :—

" From off the gates of York fetch down the head,
Your father's head, which Clifford placed there :
Instead thereof, let this supply the room ;
Measure for measure must be answered."

In 1569 the Roman Catholics of the north made an abortive attempt to restore their religious ascendancy, and after the dispersion of the malcontents, one of their chiefs, the Earl of Northumberland, fled to Scotland. For three years he lived in seclusion under the protection of Hector of Harlaw, an Armstrong ; but the unfortunate earl was ungratefully betrayed and given up to James Douglas, Earl of Morton, who handed him over to Lord Hunsden at Berwick. A ballad describing the treacherous action of Douglas, written by some northern bard soon after the event, closes with the following verse :—

" Then he at Yorke was doomde to dye,
It was, alas ! a sorrowful sight :
Thus they betrayed that noble earle,
Who ever was a gallant wight." †

Northumberland was brought a prisoner to York, and, on August 22, 1572, was beheaded on a high scaffold specially erected in The Pavement. The body of the earl was interred in the adjoining church of St. Crux by two of his faithful men-servants and three women. His head was ignominiously spiked and placed upon Micklegate Bar for all men to see.

The earl's head did not remain on the bar very long ; the loathsome spectacle roused the indignation of some

† Percy's " Reliques of Ancient English Poetry."

of his bold co-religionists, and during one dark night, in 1574, some unknown persons stealthily took it down and secretly carried it away. The memory of the earl is still revered by devout Roman Catholics, and at no distant date his name may be expected to appear amongst the canonised martyrs of Yorkshire.

The earl's chief supporters in the rising were taken prisoners and, in 1570, eleven of them were sentenced to capital punishment, but only four were put to death. These four were Simon Digby, of Askew; John Fulthorpe, of Iselbeck; Robert Pennyman, of Stokesley; and Thomas Bishop, the younger, of Pocklington. They were conveyed on sledges from the Castle of York to the scene of execution, on Knavesmire, and there hanged, beheaded, and quartered. Their heads were set up on the four principal gates of the city as a warning to the rebelliously inclined.

At frequent intervals, all down the centuries, the heads of notorious rebels, mostly valiant warriors and famous champions of religious and civil freedom, have been exposed at York. To dwell at length upon this subject is not desirable, but as we search our country's annals we discover that many of the heroic Englishmen, who unflinchingly ended their days at the headsman's block, were men whose spirits were not broken by oppression or tyranny, men who would not—

“Bow to a toy, and cringe before a crown,
And kneel and tremble at a tyrant's frown.”

The bodies of criminals were not as a rule decapitated, neither were they exposed on city gates. Spiking of heads was a punishment reserved for traitors, rebels, and brave men who fought and bled for the freedom we, as Englishmen, enjoy to-day.

To give a complete list in this work of those persons whose heads were exposed upon this frowning gateway

is not our purpose ; many instances, varying in importance, are recorded in the "Criminal Chronology of York Castle."

The last heads exposed upon Micklegate Bar were those of the Jacobite rebels after the battle of Culloden, in 1746. Associated with the event are a few particulars of some interest. Many of the malcontents, who were captured in arms, were brought to York for trial, and convicted of high treason. Twenty-two rebels were executed at Tyburn—ten on the 1st of November, and twelve seven days later. The head of Captain James Hamilton was put in a box and sent to Carlisle. For some special cause, two of the rebels, named William Conolly and James Mayne, were chosen for a more conspicuous example than the remainder, who were all buried behind the Castle walls near the Foss. By strict injunctions from the Government the heads of these two traitors were set up at Micklegate Bar.

For over seven years, the grim and hideous spectacle met the eyes of all who entered or passed this much frequented approach to the city. During one stormy and snowy night, in the month of January, 1754 :—

"When all was wrapt in dark midnight,
And all were fast asleep,"

except the solitary watchman, who was, probably, snugly sheltered under some welcome overhanging cave or wide-porticoed doorway, the heads were stealthily removed from the bar. When some citizens commenced their avocations on the following morning, and found the bar denuded of its ghastly ornaments, the whole city was quickly thrown into a state of great consternation. The Lord Mayor was early at the bar, and ascended to the top to inspect the scene of the treasonous theft. Immediate steps were taken for the detection of the offenders. A reward was offered for

information that would inculcate the miscreants. The subjoined notice was issued by the Corporation :—

“YORK, GUILDHALL, *February 4, 1754.*

“Whereas on Monday night, or Tuesday morning last, the heads of two of the rebels, which were fixed upon poles on the top of Micklegate Bar, in this City, were wilfully and designedly taken down and carried away :

“If any person or persons (except the person or persons who actually took down and carried away the same) will discover the person or persons who were guilty of so unlawful and audacious an action, or anywise hiding or assisting therein, he, she, or they shall, upon the conviction of the offenders, receive a reward of Ten Pounds from the Mayor and Commonality of the City of York.

“By order of the said Mayor and said Commonality, John Raper, Common Clerk of the said City and County of the same.”

The Government looked upon the occurrence as an act of Jacobite treason, and the following letter, written by the Duke of Newcastle, one of His Majesty's Secretaries of State, was received by the Lord Mayor of York :—

“WHITEHALL, *February 19, 1754.*

“MY LORD,—His Majesty having been informed that on the 28th or 29th of January last the heads of two rebels, attained and executed for high treason, which had been placed by order of the Government on the top of Micklegate Bar, in the City of York, were taken down and carried off by wicked and disaffected persons in contempt of the King's authority and in defiance of the laws of the kingdom : His Majesty is pleased to direct you to make forthwith the strictest inquiry after

the person or persons, authors, contrivers, or abettors of this wicked, traitorous, and outrageous proceeding, that the same may be forthwith proceeded against according to law for this their heinous offence: And the King is pleased to require you to transmit to me an account of what you, pursuant of your duty as chief magistrate of the City of York, may have already done in order to find out and detect the same.

“ I am, my lord,
 “ Your lordship’s most ob^l hb^{le} servant,
 “ HOLLES NEWCASTLE.”¹

The city authorities, together with the Government and the members of the Rockingham Club, imbued with a spirit of anti-Jacobinism, increased the amount of the reward to £112 10s.

Soon afterwards a journeyman cooper, named Thomas Wake, probably with no desire for the reward but in a drunken freak, being at a cobbler’s shop near the bar, pointed towards the turrets and boastingly exclaimed that he was the man who had taken down the rebels’ heads. He was at once put under arrest, and committed for trial at the Assizes. He proved he was not the chief offender and, subsequently, the King’s most gracious pardon was offered to any one of the persons concerned in the “audacious” act who would confess who was the man that actually removed the heads.

After strict investigation the real offenders were detected, and at the York Assizes in July, 1754, the jury found a true bill against William Arundel, a tailor of York, “for traitorously and seditiously taking down from Micklegate Bar the heads of two rebels there affixed.” He was fined £5, and imprisoned for two years, and, till he found sureties in £200 penalty for his good behaviour, for two years more.

¹ Davies, “Antiquarian Walks through York,” p. 124.

The two heads had been spiked on high poles, and the exact place where they were exposed was behind the centre merlon of the bar, overlooking the old barbican—one on each side of the stone warrior there represented. The iron sockets, or holdfasts, by which the poles were secured, still remain on the inner side of the merlon. The original spiked poles were only chopped up for firewood, a few years ago, by a tenant of the bar chambers.

King Edward IV., in the last year of his reign, mustered an army "to levy war against his capital enemy, the King of Scots," and appointed his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester, Lieutenant-General of the forces. The duke in his march to the north passed through York; he was treated with great respect and hospitality, and added to his army a company of the city's brave bowmen.

The following quotation from contemporaneous chronicles in the language of the times, tells us how the mighty prince and his companion-in-arms, the Duke of Albany, were received on their arrival at Micklegate Bar, in the month of June, 1482:—

"It was agreid that all the aldermen, in skarlet, and all the xxiiij in cremesyn, and every odyr man of craft of the Cite in thar best aray, shalbe to morn, that is to say, the aldermen and xxiiij be iiij of klok, and every odir of the Cite be iij of klok, at Miklyth Barr, to atend of my lorde of Glowsitor gude grace, and of the Duke of Albony, apou the payn of every alderman, and xxiiij, that make default xijd. and every comuner that make default vjd." ¹

What a picturesque and strange scene the mingled throng must have presented as they assembled in the grey dawn of that midsummer morning of long ago; the craftsmen and honest burghers in twos and threes

¹ Davies, "Extracts from York Records," p. 128.

arriving at the gate just as the stars, one by one, were disappearing where the first faint streaks of yellow light shot upwards from the eastern horizon!

At four o'clock, a few minutes after sunrise, the aldermen and councillors appeared on the scene.

“And see! upon the crowded street,
In motley groups what masquers meet!
Banner and pageant, pipe and drum,
And merry morrice-dancers come.”

At what precise time the duke and his retinue arrived is not recorded, but the city waits and minstrels, who were there to take a part in the welcome, by way of rehearsal discoursed popular melodies to beguile the waiting moments.

Richard III., who spent much time in the county of broad acres, frequently visited his loyal city of York, where he was much respected and honoured. In 1483, during the King's progress northwards, the citizens were in constant expectation of the “Kyng's cumyng.” The frequent entries in the Corporation minutes of this period evince a desire to give his majesty a noble welcome. They also show how anxious the citizens were to propitiate the favour of their sovereign. The date of the King's arrival was uncertain, but on the 4th of August an entry tells us how the Lord Mayor and his brother aldermen should appear in “skarlet” and the city “chamberlayns and all those that have beyn chamberlayns,” wearing “reid gownys, on horsbak” should “meit” their “most dred lege lord the Kyng.” The order further adds “that all odir persons, of every occupacion, in blew violet and musterdivyles, shall on fote meit our said sufferain lord at Saint Jams Chyrch.”¹

¹ Davies, “Extracts from York Records,” p. 160.

The King, accompanied by his queen and Prince Edward and a noble train, arrived on August 29th, and entered the city by Micklegate Bar.

The crooked and narrow streets were gaily decorated. The picturesqueness of the quaint gabled houses was enhanced by rich tapestries and painted cloths hung from every available window. The royal party, wearing diadems, richly apparelled, with a number of liveried henchmen carrying processional banners and heraldic insignia, made a tour through the chief streets of the old city, that all persons might behold the King, his Queen, and the Prince, in their "high estates and degrees," and they—

"Were ev'rywhere hailed with the loudest acclaim!
And wherever they went, or wherever they came,
Far and wide,
The people cried,
Huzzah! for the Lord of this noble domain."

Micklegate Bar is linked with a thousand historical associations; many are suggestive of sad and darksome memories; but in bright contrast numerous joyous incidents are quaintly and graphically recorded on the pages of local history, which have a certain charm and romance, even to twentieth-century citizens, for they smack of that fine touch of nature which makes all ages kin.

In bygone times, persons of noble and even royal rank frequently gratified the old untravelled burghers of the city by appearing amongst them superbly attired, accompanied with all the magnificence of mediæval pageantry. The Lord Mayor and other civic officers, with belted knights and opulent merchants, richly costumed, joined in the gay cavalcades accompanied with all the pomp of heraldry's curious and bewildering devices.

The citizens went forth to see on these occasions in their best array ; and we gather from oldtime chronicles, that these pompous and gorgeous displays were a source of gratification and delight to all classes of the community.

One of these pleasureable and "brave shows" took place on July 14, 1503, on the occasion of Henry VII.'s daughter, Princess Margaret, passing through the city on her way to be married to the ill-fated James IV. of Scotland.

In the fair lady's train were "lords, ladies, knyghtes, and esquyers, and gentlemen, to the number of five hundreth persons." The Sheriffs of York in "crymsyn gownes," attended by one hundred persons on horseback, met the Princess at Tadcaster Bridge, as was the custom, to conduct the royal party to the entrance of the city. The Lord Mayor, Sir John Gilliot, "cloathed in fine crymsin sattin engrayned, having a collar of gold of his majesty's livery about his neck, being on horseback his saddle of fine crymsin velvet, and the trappis of the same, with gilt bullion, his footmen apparelled in green sattin, with the armes of the city and his own armes, accompanied with the recorder and aldermen in scarlet together on horseback, their sadles being covered with fine cloth bordered with black velvet, and their trappis of the same with gilt bullion, the twenty-four in their red gownes on foot, with the tradesmen and commoners honestly cloathed, standing on the north side of the bar, made low obeysance unto her grace." ¹ The cavalcade halted at the gate, and the Lord Mayor in his most "heartiest wise" welcomed the Princess and her noble companions.

Her Highness, pleased with the welcome, offered a few felicitous words of thanks, and then moved forwards preceded by the Lord Mayor on his caparisoned palfrey

¹ "Eboracum," p. 126.

carrying the city mace and escorted by two serjeants-at-arms—

“While all along the crowded way
Was jubilee and loud huzza.”

This was a typical welcome given to royalty of mediæval times; and an eye-witness, a “then officir of armes,” has left us his description of the ceremonial and reception. Drake has printed the lengthy narrative in “Eboracum” from which we quote two or three paragraphs:—

“A mylle^e owte of the said cite the said quene apoynted hyr in hyr horse letere rychly besene, hyr ladys and gentelwomen right freshly array’d. . . . Also all the nobles, lordes, knyghts and gentylnen and others of her company apoynted in so good manere and so ryche that a goodly sight it was to beholde.”

“In the stat as before in fayr order she entred in the sayd cyte” to the joyful strains of “trompetts, mynstrells and sakebowtts.”

“Within the streytts on fowte and in good order the honnests bourges and habitanns of the sayd cite honestly besene in ther best aray, all the wyndowes so full of nobles ladyes gentylwomen damsells bourgesys and others in so grett multitude that it was a fayr sight for to see.”¹

The bar is historically associated with the accession of James VI., of Scotland, to the English throne in 1603. That monarch, when on his way to London to take possession of the crown of England, visited York, and was welcomed with demonstrations of loyalty. Howes, the continuator of “Stowe’s Annals,” describes the King’s journey towards the metropolis and gives a laudatory account of the proceedings at York. He says:—

“And when the king came to the cittie, which was well prepared to give his highness and his royal trayne

¹ “Eboracum,” appendix, p. xviii.

entertainment, then the lord-mayor with the twelve aldermen in their scarlett robes, and the foure and twenty in crimosin gownes, accompanied with many others of the gravest menne, met the king at Micklegate Bar, and his majesty going between the duke of Linneox and the lord Hume, and when the king came near to the scaffold where the lord-mayor with the recorder, the twelve aldermen and the foure and twentie all kneeling, the lord-mayor said, 'most high and mightie prince, I and my brethren do most heartilie wellcome your majestie to your highness' cittie, and in token of our duties, I deliver unto your majestie all my authoritie of this your highness' cittie,' and then rose up and kissed the sword and delivered it into the kinge's hand, and the king gave it to the duke of Linneox, who according to the kinges appoyntment delivered it unto the earle of Cumberland to bear it before his majestie."¹

The reception of the King by the Lord Mayor and Corporation at Micklegate Bar, on Saturday, April 16, 1603, is depicted upon one of the windows in the time-honoured Guildhall of York. This beautiful stained-glass picture was added to the historic series, in September 1899, through the munificence of Mr. Thomas Porter Bulmer, who was Sheriff of the city in 1877.

King James I. visited York again in 1617, and was received at Micklegate Bar by the Lord Mayor and other civic dignitaries, and the customary formal obsequious proceedings were repeated.

The first visit Charles I. paid to York, after ascending the throne, took place on May 24, 1633. As the King entered the city gate the Lord Mayor in a grandiloquent speech to his "dread sovereign lord" eclipsed the loyal orations of former occasions. His lordship spoke of the gay Charles "as the light of his subjects' eyes, the glory and admiration of the known world."¹

¹ "Eboracum," p. 131.

Charles I. paid a return visit to York, under altered circumstances, on March 30, 1639. The political horizon was dark and ominous, and the kingdom in a state of unrest and rebellion. For the King's safety, and other causes, six hundred soldiers, belonging to the trained bands of the city and Ainsty, formed a protecting guard of honour, and were drawn up on each side of Blossom Street as the King approached the bar.

These musketeers had a picturesque appearance "clad in buff-coats, scarlet breeches with silver lace, russet boots and black caps and feathers." As Charles passed along they gave him a "handsome volley." The King halted at the old gateway, and the Lord Mayor delivered up the sword, mace and keys of the city, after which the Recorder, Sir Thomas Widdrington, humbly kneeling before his majesty, greeted him with a long oration of vain-glorious phraseology which commenced in the following servile manner:—

"Most gracious and dread Sovereign,—Be graciously pleased to pardon this stay that we the least and meanest notes in the firmament of your majesty's government, should thus dare to cause you, our bright and glorious sun, to stand." ¹

In September, 1835, during the great Musical Festival at the Minster, her late Majesty, then Princess Victoria, visited York. Her Royal Highness was the guest of the Archbishop during her stay in the city, and upon each of the four days the royal party drove to and from Bishopthorpe by way of Micklegate Bar. Their Majesties King Edward VII. and Queen Alexandra passed through the venerable gate during their visit to York on the 19th and 21st June, 1900, when they attended the Show of the Royal Agricultural Society.

During the stirring times of the Civil War, in addition to the strong guard kept at Micklegate Bar, the plat-

¹ "Eboracum," p. 134.

form of the tower was used by the Royalist artillery, which kept the Parliamentarians at bay during the protracted siege that preceded the memorable battle on Marston Moor. The city was beleaguered by an army of forty thousand men for about ten weeks, but on the arrival of the impetuous Rupert on June 30, 1644, the besiegers left their trenches and retired to the vicinity of Marston. Two days later, Prince Rupert, against the wishes of the Marquis of Newcastle, rashly persisted in pursuing the Parliamentarians, and overtook them as they were marching towards Tadcaster. The leaders of the Parliamentary army immediately drew up their men in battle array, and in the fading light of that summer evening—

“ . . . On Marston Heath
Met, front to front, the ranks of death.”

The story of the fierce struggle is familiar to every Englishman, and we fear its detailed repetition will be lacking in interest, as the martial picture has been graphically described by numerous writers. Without cessation the conflict was obstinately fought as the red afterglow of the sunset faded in the western sky. By nightfall the Cavaliers were completely routed, and in wild confusion the scattered forces of Rupert fled towards York. Cromwell's victorious Ironsides followed in pursuit to within a mile of the city walls.

At midnight the scene at Micklegate Bar was one of dreadful confusion. Through the one narrow arch of the gate the wounded poured into the city, and during the tedious entry great numbers fainted with fatigue and loss of blood. None were allowed to enter but those belonging to the garrison, and the midnight hour was made hideous by the pitiful cries and bewailings of the seething mass of maimed and dying fugitives who were unable to gain admittance.

Rupert and Newcastle, with other Royalist leaders,

fled from York, leaving brave Sir Thomas Glemham as governor of the city. The victorious forces of the Parliament regarded the fall of York as inevitable, and taking up their former positions in the trenches before the city the siege was recommenced. For some time Glemham and his stout defenders fearlessly resisted all attacks, but had finally to capitulate.

By wise and undaunted diplomacy the governor obtained extraordinarily lenient terms of surrender, which were particularly favourable and honourable to the city. On July 16th he delivered up the city to the deputies of the Parliamentarians. The garrison marched out by Micklegate Bar with "their arms, drums beating, colours flying, match lighted, bullet in mouth," with all their "bag and baggage," thus associating another momentous incident with the old gate so romantically interwoven with the varied fortunes of old Ebor. The besiegers were drawn up on each side of Blossom Street and the Mount, towards Dringhouses, as the gallant defenders marched away towards Skipton.

The victors of Marston Heath entered the city, and in solemn procession went direct to the Minster, where a Presbyterian divine conducted a service of thanksgiving for their recent success. The Generals, Leven, Manchester, and Fairfax were present, and Cromwell, it is said, also attended the service.

General Cromwell visited York a second time on July 4, 1650. To compliment the Commander-in-Chief, and to show their zeal in the cause of Puritanism, the city dignitaries decided to take down the Royal Arms at Micklegate and Bootham Bars and put up the armorial ensign of the Commonwealth. It is doubtful whether this obsequious decision was carried out at Micklegate Bar; if it was, the Royal Shield would no doubt be refixed, as we now see it, at the Restoration of Charles II. in 1660.

CHAPTER XV

BOOTHAM BAR

A weather-worn Mass of Masonry—Erected on the site of a Roman Gateway—Norman parts described—Mediæval Restorations—Modern Repairs—Stone Figures, the gift of a citizen—Edward III. commands the Gates and Walls to be overhauled—Threatened destruction of the Bar, 1832 ; Barbican removed—Historic Associations—Barons and Citizens march forth to the Battle of the Standard, 1138—The raiding Scots appear before the Gate ; the Battle of Myton, 1320—Battle of Nevill's Cross, 1346 ; King David Bruce captured, arrival at the gate—Lord Scrope "assaults" the Bar, 1487—Battle of Flodden, 1513 ; the body of James, King of Scots, brought to York—Cromwell at the Gate—Bye-law to prevent Scots entering without permission—Spiked heads placed on the Bar ; the Earl Marshal's, 1405 ; Rebels in 1663.

THE searching northern wintry blasts of many successive seasons have wasted the gritstone portals of this ancient gateway-tower ; and silently, slowly, imperceptibly, the ravages of time have shorn it of its mediæval grandeur. As some compensation, the picturesqueness born of decay gives to the bar an impressive appearance ; and the weather-worn mass of masonry has acquired an indescribable charm, which is recognised by artist and tourist alike, who oftentimes admiringly linger near to sketch or photograph the old gate, or take a mental picture of the view which is

enhanced by having the grand old cathedral for a background.

Formerly, the bar was important as the only outlet to the "Great North Road" of pre-railway memory. Who can gaze upon its dark, yawning arch, and its mouldering turrets without recalling the strange and eventful scenes enacted here in the times long past? We may almost read, as if recorded in the very massiveness of its walls, the fascinating tale of its early existence; or hear its stones rehearsing the perils and the hospitality of the feudal days during which it was erected.

The lower part of the gateway is composed of grit-stone; and some stones, hewn no doubt by Roman masons, are to be seen built into the external walls. Although the roadway is now some feet above the level of the streets of old Eburacum, there is evidence that this bar is built on the site of a Roman gate. The foundations of the Roman gateway were recently discovered during excavations;¹ and, at the same time, large fragments of carved work were found, which probably formed part of the pediment of this early gate.

The old gate of the Middle Ages, at intervals during the centuries, has been strengthened and enlarged to meet the ever-changing exigencies of war and commerce. The bar now presents a combination of different architectural styles. The semi-circular Norman portals of the gateway are evidently composed of materials selected from some older work.

The stonework in the central passage is characteristic of early Norman masonry, a distinctive feature of which was the great thickness of the mortar joints. It will be noticed that the crevices between the stones vary from one to nearly two inches wide, distinguishing

¹ Wellbeloved, "Eburacum; or, York under the Romans," p. 51.



BOOTHAM BAR, SHOWING THE PICTURESQUE BARBICAN DESTROYED BY
THE CORPORATION IN 1831.

From an etching by J. Halfpenny, 1807.

the mode of construction peculiar to early Norman work.

The upper part of the bar, with its four circular bartizan turrets at the angles, is chiefly fourteenth-century work, with some indications of later restorations, in part executed during the reign of Henry VIII.,¹ and the early years of the Commonwealth.

The two outer turrets are pierced by long, cross-loops, and the curtain wall between them has two diminutive square-headed openings. In the lower stage, two small slits in front of the raised portcullis give a dim light to the under chamber. The heraldic shield, within a garter, displays three lions, the ancient armorial device of England; and below are figured the arms of the city.

The inner front was rebuilt in 1719. In 1738, the Corporation ordered that the image of Ebraucus, the legendary founder of York, which, prior to 1501, stood at the corner of St. Saviourgate and Colliergate, but had been removed to the east end of the Guildhall Chapel, be fixed in the niche at Bootham Bar. This ancient figure has wholly disappeared; how long ago, no one knows.

In former times, the bar had chambers on three floors. This internal arrangement was altered, in 1889, to allow of a passage through the bar to the rampart walk, on the walls; to give access to which, an exterior stone stairway was erected. In the newly-formed lower chamber the strong, iron-plated portcullis is seen to advantage. The side grooves below have been built up to prevent the heavy machine from sliding down.

The parapet of the bar is not battlemented. In February, 1894, three decayed figures which stood on the coping were replaced by new statues, through the

¹ In Thomas Cromwell's Remembrances, amongst the bills to be signed was one, "Robinson for Bothombar," State Papers, 1536, p. 358.

generosity of a York gentleman, Mr. Hy. Cowling, whose identity, until now, has not been divulged, and whose name the author is gratified to associate with this valuable and enduring gift to his native city.

The commission to carve the new figures was entrusted to Mr. George W. Milburn, who has successfully designed statues appropriately remindful of the chivalric days of yore. Apart from their clever modelling, the figures have an additional interest, as the sculptor has associated them with the following significant historical events:—In the year 1327, the King, Edward III., whilst at Durham, had knowledge of the hostile invasion of his realm by the Scots. The enemy had advanced towards Carlisle, and the King, apprehensive of their further movements, sent a mandate “to his well-beloved the mayor and bailiffs of his city of York,” to repair their fortifications. He writes: “We, considering our aforesaid city of York, especially whilst Isabel, queen of England, our most dear mother, our brother and sisters, abide in the same, . . . strictly command and charge you, upon your faiths and allegiance, and on the forfeiture of every thing you can forfeit to us, immediately at sight of these presents, without excuse or delay, to inspect and overlook all your walls, ditches, and towers, and ammunition, proper for the defence of the said city.”

Catching inspiration from these old-time incidents, the sculptor has depicted the figures in the costumes and armour of the period. The central figure represents Nicholas Langton—seventeen times Mayor of York—who received the King's mandate. He is officially robed, and bears in his hands a scroll, with the inscription, “Restored 1894.” On the north turret is portrayed a fourteenth-century builder or mason, holding a model of the bar in his hands. On the opposite turret is the representation of a knight of the

period, one of the defenders of the city, his shield being heraldically charged with a cross patonce. The figures are worked in Portland stone, and are about 3 feet 6 inches in height. The original statues were probably images of the three popular Yorkshire saints, St. John of Beverley, St. William of York, and St. Wilfrid, it being the custom in the Middle Ages to place figures of saints on city gates.

This bar, prior to the demolition of its barbican, must have presented a formidable appearance to the invader. The barbican was considered the finest in York; and it is to the eternal discredit of the city that the Corporation ever permitted its removal. At a meeting of the City Council, February 3, 1832, the formation of the new thoroughfare of St. Leonards was discussed; and a Mr. Cattle presented a petition "most *respectably* signed," for the removal of the barbican, and he also moved that it should immediately be taken down. After lengthy deliberations, the petition was referred to the General Committee. The rampant vandalism of the period characterised their decision. Subsequently the bar itself was threatened with destruction, the Corporation passing a resolution "that the entrance to Petergate would be greatly improved by the removal of the Bar." The remonstrance from a public meeting of the citizens, held on the 15th of February, 1832, at the York Tavern, saved this venerable and interesting relic from the vandalic hands of the so-called progressionists. Eventually subscriptions were raised for the restoration of the bar, and the Corporation tardily voted £100 towards the fund, provided that the citizens raised £200. The money was subscribed, and the bar repaired.

In 1889, further repairs were found necessary, and the portcullis, at this recent date, was only saved from mutilation by the timely protest of a citizen.

The ancient burghers of York, who valued highly

their hearths and homes, and knew only too well the ravages wrought by fire and sword, trusted largely to their well-kept strong walls and massive gates to protect the things that were so dear to them.

The many historical associations gathered round this age-worn gate form a chapter of stirring memorials, pregnant with interesting and romantic touches of detail.

The reign of King Stephen was characterised by misrule and disorder. The terrors of factious revolt were sorely felt throughout the land. His right to the throne was forcibly contested by his cousin, Matilda, the daughter of Henry I., and her adherents. Amongst the first to espouse her cause was her uncle, King David of Scotland. Thrice did his army cross the border to enforce her claim, and each time the fierce hordes of men—from Galloway and the Highlands—laid waste the country almost to the very gates of York. The devastation, slaughter, and pillage wrought by these expeditions, roused the resentful spirit of the people of the north. So incensed and exasperated were the barons, the clergy, and even the Saxon-English, that their common hatred of each other was forgotten, and all—

“From the grey sire, whose trembling hand
Could hardly buckle on his brand,
To the raw boy, whose shaft and bow
Were yet scarce terror to the crow”—

with one accord rallied round the mutually-adopted standard to take vengeance upon such cruel enemies. The martial spirit of the times pervaded all classes, and York citizens played a prominent part in the great and momentous struggle. The Archbishop, Thurstan, who was then Lieutenant-Governor of the North, in spite of his age and infirmities, succeeded in gathering together a formidable army, which went forth to repel the invaders, accompanied by many powerful barons

renowned for their prowess in arms. York was the rendezvous of this great army. After each man had sworn before the aged prelate to be true to the cause—

“ Four hundred trumpets sounded
A peal of warlike glee,
As that great host, with measured tread,”

marched slowly out in stern array through Bootham Bar, all avowedly declaring vengeance upon the heartless despoilers of their lands and homes. On the 22nd of August, 1138, the two armies met near Northallerton, and the ever-memorable and decisive Battle of the Standard ensued, the Scots and their allies being completely routed.

At other periods in the stirring days of old the marauding Scots, in their frequent expeditions southwards, plundered many a peaceful hamlet and undefended monastery, and despoiled several small towns between Tweed and Ouse. Although these hardy northerners audaciously appeared at times before the gates of York, they never were formidable enough to blockade or lay siege to the city, or even surreptitiously get within its walls.

In 1320 they daringly ravaged the immediate vicinity of York, and after burning the suburbs of the city turned northwards with a vast amount of booty. The then archbishop, William de Melton, indignant at their insolent boldness, and imbued with a warlike spirit, hastily summoned every available man to arms. Hundreds of the citizens of York, tradesmen, artificers, and husbandmen, arrayed themselves under the command of the Mayor, Nicholas Fleming. This motley assemblage, brave but undisciplined, was joined by a great number of ecclesiastics, carried away by the popular feeling of indignation. The Archbishop and the Mayor led their forces out by Bootham Bar, and hurrying forward in search of the enemy overtook them at Myton-upon-

Swale on the 12th of October. Their patriotic ardour and rashness led them into an ambushade of the Scots, who were aware of the pursuit. The enemy were drawn up for battle on the north bank of the river, where several "hay kockes bushed" were fired.

"Scarce could they hear or see their foes,
Until at weapon-point they close.
They close in clouds of smoke and dust,
With sword-sway and with lance's thrust."

The English were completely routed and defeated. The Scots lost very few, but the slain of their unprepared antagonists numbered two to three thousand. The Mayor of York fell bravely in the thickest of the fight, and such was the fall of clerical warriors that for years the encounter was called the *White Battle*, whilst many old Scottish writers derisively chronicled it as the *Chapter of Myton*.

In 1346, during Edward III.'s warring campaign in France, where he and his son the Black Prince gained the memorable victories of Crécy and Poitiers, the Scots, taking advantage of the King's absence, invaded the northern counties of England. David II., at the head of a large army, ravaged the country with fire and sword as far south as York, and actually set fire to the suburbs of the city. Queen Philippa, Edward's brave consort, who was in York at the time, aided by Archbishop Zouche, Lord Percy, and others, organised an army of defence. A large and gallant force was quickly got together, and, encouraged by the Queen's heroic and brave spirit, boldly marched out through Bootham Bar to attack the Scots, who were retiring northwards.

The Scottish army was overtaken and surprised at Neville's Cross, near Durham, and being unprepared for immediate action were defeated in battle. The English gained a signal victory and captured David Bruce, the

Scottish king. He was brought in triumph to York, and at Bootham Bar, with much ceremony and rejoicings, was delivered over, a prisoner of war, to England's queen.

Philippa remained in York a little time longer; then, after seeing the fortifications of the city repaired and strengthened, set out for London, taking the royal captive to present to her husband on his return from France.

During the warring days of the Plantagenet kings, glittering military parades, pageants and religious processions were almost of every-day occurrence. A little distance outside the bar, near the "Burton Stone," in mediæval days, stood a wayside hospital and chapel designated the "Maudlin Spital." This hospice was near the extremity of the then city boundary, and interesting as the place where the Lord Mayor and his brother aldermen, with all the pomp of civic pageantry, accompanied by many citizens assembled to bid farewell and wish success to the sturdy bowmen of York, who were always in the vanguard of the armies that so frequently marched to the North to resist the incursions of the ever-restless and marauding Scots—

"Each at his back (a slender store)
His forty days' provisions bore,
As feudal statutes tell."

During the sanguinary battle fought at Towton, nine miles from York, on Palm Sunday, March 29, 1461, Henry VI., Queen Margaret, and their son, were staying in York, awaiting the issue of the day. At this, the most terrible battle ever fought on English soil, the Lancastrian faction was completely shattered. Of the few illustrious warriors who escaped were the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter; and they, with the utmost speed, galloped to York carrying the unpropitious news of defeat. The King, on hearing of the irretrievable overthrow of his loyal supporters, and fearing capture by the partisans of "The White Rose," fled from the city

by way of Bootham Bar and hastened to Scotland, where the royal party placed themselves under the protection of the Scottish king.

In 1487, during the insurrection of Lambert Symnell, the citizens of York in many ways proved their loyalty to Henry VII. The following quaint entry, from the House-book of the city, is locally reminiscent of the ill-advised enterprise, and is directly connected with this bar: "Lordes Scopes of Bolton and Upsall, con-streyned as it was said by there folkes, cam on horsbak to Bowthom Barre, and ther cried King Edward, and made a salt at the yates, bot the comons being watchmen there well and manly defendid tham and put tham to flitth. And incontintly the maier upon knowlage ther-upon, accompaned with a C (100) personez in harnesse, made his proclamacion thugh out the citie in the name of King Herry the Sevent."¹

An incident of tragic interest occurred at this gate in September, 1513. After—

". . . the stern strife and carnage drear
Of Flodden's fatal field,
Where shivered was fair Scotland's spear
And broken was her shield!"

the victorious commander of the English, the Earl of Surrey, brought the body of the Scottish king, James IV., in a covered cart to York. The melancholy cavalcade was met outside the bar by the Lord Mayor and his brethren. Before the remains of James were removed to London, they were on view for some days in the city, a gruesome spectacle which gratified the morbid curiosity of many citizens.

Although Yorkshire was closely identified with the overthrow of Charles I., and the ascendancy of Puritanism, the city of York was not prominently associated with Cromwell. The Protector visited the

¹ Davies, "Lambert Symnell's Rebellion," p. 30.

city after the Battle of Marston Moor, and the only other occasion was, perhaps, in 1650. On the 4th of July of that year, "Gen. Cromwell came to York on an expedition into Scotland, at which time all the artillery of the (Clifford's) tower were discharged; the next day he dined with the Lord Mayor, and the following day set forward for Scotland. To compliment his Excellency, and to show their zeal for the cause, our magistrates then thought fit to take down the *king's* arms at Micklegate and Bootham Bars, through both of which he must needs pass in his journey, and put up the *State's* arms in their stead." ¹

Just ten years after Cromwell's visit, Charles II. was restored to the throne of his ancestors, and the citizens of York, with frantic demonstrations of joy, celebrated the important event. The obliteration of the *state's* arms on the bar, it may be conjectured, would form an important item in the programme of rejoicings.

Travellers and pilgrims arriving at York from Scotland and the north of England entered the city by this gate. At one period a curious and obnoxious custom prevailed, which illustrates the ill-feeling displayed towards the progenitors of our sturdy friends born beyond the Tweed.

In the year 1501, the civic authorities ordered that a hammer, or huge door knocker, should be made and affixed to the large oaken doors of Bootham Bar, and at each of the other bars,² and that Scottish persons who were wishful to enter York should knock first and not be admitted into the city without the licence or permission of the Lord Mayor, the Warden, or the Constable. Any of Scotia's sons disregarding this invidious bye-law rendered themselves liable to imprisonment. The incessant wars waged during the

¹ "Eboracum," p. 172.

² Davies, "Antiquarian Walks through York," p. 125.

Middle Ages between Briton and Scot naturally engendered a strong racial antipathy. This enmity prevailed to such an intense degree in York, that, to be accused of being a Scot, or even suspected of being a native of the "Land o' Cakes," was a most dangerous imputation. English persons, thus "maligned," anxiously did their utmost to prove their real identity; and in the minutes of the City Council many entries at this period evince the frequency of the disagreeable charge. After the timely union of the crowns in the person of James, upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, this hostile feeling gradually disappeared.

Nothing of stirring interest happens nowadays in the vicinity of this historic gate. Sedate and steadfast, it remains as a veteran bystander on the stage of history. There is little romance in the hum of the busy multitude who hurry through its arches to and from business, or in the frequent rumbling of passing traffic.

The turrets of this bar were occasionally used for the ignominious display of the spiked heads of traitors and rebels. In 1405, the head of the Earl Marshal was stuck on a pole and fixed high on "Bouthom-barre," where the handsome features were exposed for two months to the sun and rain, before it was taken down and buried with the body in the Grey Friars Church.¹

In 1663, a rising in Yorkshire of conventicle preachers and old Parliamentarian soldiers, known as the Farnley Wood Plot, was frustrated by the unexpected arrival of Royal troops at the place of rendezvous, a wood near Otley. Seventeen of the principal leaders were tried by a special commission at York, where they were condemned and executed. Three of the rebels' heads were set up on tall poles, and this is the latest recorded occurrence of the disgusting custom at Bootham Bar.

¹ Wylie, "History of England under Henry the Fourth," vol. ii. p. 242.

CHAPTER XVI

MONK BAR

Characteristic Features—Watch and Ward at the Gates—Ordinance of 1485; closing of the Gates on the Sabbath, 1615—Court of Guard kept in 1640—Governor Reresby's disposition of the City Guard, 1686—Constable and Watchmen keep the Gates, 1715—Precautions during the Pretender's Rebellion, 1745—The Guards blackmail the Citizens—Interior of the Bar described—Portcullis and Windlass—Historic Associations—Charles I. passes out to the County meeting on Heworth Moor—Five hundred Ammunition Carts enter the City—Siege of York, 1644—Suburbs destroyed—Sally from the Gate—Monk Bar, origin of the name.

THIS venerable and stately gate guards the approach from Scarborough and Malton (the reputed Roman station called Derventio). The bar in many respects is dissimilar to the other chief gates, and although its dreary exterior is somewhat marred and blackened by the soot of many centuries, it still has an impressive charm for the admiring artist, and its characteristic features appeal to the eye of the scrutinising antiquary.

It is built on foundations of gritstone; is rectangular in plan, and is the loftiest of the four bars, being ten feet higher than Micklegate Bar.

The groined vaulting of the entrance passage—peculiar to this bar—appears to be an insertion bonded into an earlier erection, portions of which are, without question, late Norman.

The upper part of the bar is a good example of the style of the Decorated period. Its two outer angles are capped with circular bartizans, pierced by cruciform loopholes. Each of these turrets is surmounted by three massive half-length human figures, sculptured in a menacing attitude, in the act of hurling large stones downwards.



Photo]

[T.P.C.

STONE FIGURES UPON THE SOUTH-EAST TURRET
OF MONK BAR.

The bar was strongly portcullised, and the old oak grating still hangs in the original grooves, the iron-pointed teeth of which project below the portal. The entrance passage was also strengthened by two massive doors, the rebates for which remain.

Above the round-headed entrance portal, projecting

from the face of the wall, and supported by a pointed arch, is a battlemented gallery, from which the besieged could discharge their defensive missiles upon any enemy who might have gained an entrance to the area of the ancient barbican.

In the year 1825 the bar was thoroughly repaired. The barbican, which had a round-headed entrance



MONK BAR (WITHOUT)

archway and two flanking octagonal dwarf bartizans, was, unfortunately, removed during the restorations. The two small shoulder-headed doorways in the piers of the bar opened from the portcullis chamber on to the rampart walk of the barbican.

The outward face of the bar bears, under a Gothic canopy, the Royal shield adopted by Edward III.

surmounted by a helmet and crest—the Royal Lion imperially crowned. On each side are the arms of the city similarly protected by canopies.

The city front is unlike that of any of the other bars having a flat segmental arch and a narrow-vaulted bay ; above is a recess and platform, from which it is thought old-time proclamations were delivered to the citizens.

Attached to the bars were lodges, or guard-rooms, for the accommodation of soldiers, who kept a cautious watch by night and day to prevent sudden attack, or the clandestine entry of spies. The guard-house at this bar was demolished when the new roadway was made. Its site is suggested by the built-up doorway on the south side. Formerly the only outlet for foot-passengers was by the wicket in the great oaken doors.

For nearly a century the precincts of fortified York have been free from war's dread alarms. Hence, the many defensive relics of former ages rest peacefully and half-forgotten amid the rush of busy mercantile pursuits. To those residents who have leisure and inclination, their meditations are sure to recall the memories of olden times, as they pass daily to and fro through the ancient gates. The following particulars of the way the city was guarded by former sturdy burghers will not be without interest to contemplative present-day citizens.

During the mayoralty of Nicholas Lancaster, in 1485, the first year of Henry's VII.'s reign, the Corporation "were assembled in the Council Chamber, where and when it was determined that the Gates and Posturnes of the Citie should be shut evere Night at ix. of the Clock, and opened at Morowning at iiiii. ; And that iiiii. Men of evere Warde be warned to Watch at evere Gate evere Night for the Safeguard of the Citie, and the Inhabitants of the same."¹

In 1615 the Lord Mayor, Elias Micklethwaite, a

¹ "Eboracum," p. 123.

resident of Holy Trinity parish, Micklegate, held rather rigid Puritanical views, by which he annoyed his less bigoted fellow citizens. To ensure a better observance of the Sabbath, as he thought, he strictly insisted that every gate and outlet of the city should be kept closed on that day. This arbitrary bye-law was carried out during the whole year of his mayoralty.

The watching and guarding of the city gates was frequently the subject of discussion at Council meetings, especially during intestinal troubles.

The year 1640 witnessed the beginning of the troublous times that foreshadowed the dissensions between Charles I. and the Parliament. The city of York was almost daily reinforced by Royalist soldiers, accompanied by a long train of artillery and ammunition. One of the first precautionary measures taken by the military authorities was the guarding of the bars and posterns. An old diarist records that "there was a court of guard kept at every bar and every postern in the city, day and night, for the space of nine weeks; for notwithstanding the open pretences of the Scotch, the king had been secretly informed that they intended to surprise him at York; and therefore it behoved him to make these preparations to receive them."

During the short reign of James II. the citizens of York were constantly in a state of factious turmoil. Aldermen and common councilmen were, at the King's command, unlawfully arrested and imprisoned for their pronounced Protestant opinions. In a frank and independent manner the people fought for religious freedom, and, from time to time, riotously demonstrated their protest against the King's immoderate and drastic attempts to restore Roman Catholicism. During these tumultuous times the city was strongly guarded. Sir John Reresby, the governor, in his autobiographical memoir, quaintly and lucidly records how he disposed

of his men to carry out their several duties. Under date September 2, 1686, we read :—

“The garrison (at York) I formed at that time into this method. The ten companies consisted of 500 men (besides officers), and the daily guards of eighty men, by detachments of eight out of every company, of four sergeants, six corporals, and one commissioned officer. These met at the place of parade in the Minster Yard between nine and ten every morning; at ten o'clock they marched off to relieve the several guards, which guards were in all six, viz.—the main guard[†] consisting of thirty-two private sentinels, one drummer, one commissioned officer, one sergeant, one corporal; the other guards were kept at the several gates, which were five: at Bootham Bar there were eight soldiers, one sergeant, one corporal, one drummer; that being next to the Manor the sentries at my door were relieved from thence. At Micklegate Bar there were twelve soldiers, one sergeant, &c. The rest were accordingly distributed to Walmgate, Castlegate, and Monk Bar. The tattoo was beaten every night by five drums at ten o'clock, at which hour every soldier was to go to his quarters, or be punished if found after that hour in the streets by the patroller that went the round of the streets to see that good order was kept. No soldier was suffered (nor, indeed, citizen) to go out of the gates in the day time with firearms, dogs, or engines for the destruction of game, except gentlemen or officers, or such as had leave in writing from myself.”

The soldiers of the garrison were unpopular in the city, but they subsequently favoured the citizens in their struggle for religious freedom. On the arrival of William of Orange in the south, the Earl of Danby at the head of a hundred horsemen entered York, and at the cry of “A free Parliament and the Protestant

[†] Stationed at the old Cross in Thursday Market.

religion!" the major portion of the garrison joined the insurgents. The citizens acquiesced in the seizure by Danby's men of the gates, magazines, and military stores.

Alderman Robert Fairfax, who occupied the civic chair in 1715, "appointed a Constable and four Watchmen at each of the four Gates of the City, every night, and to walk their Rounds in their several Wards." ¹

During the rebellion of 1745, in favour of Charles Edward Stuart, the son of the Old Pretender, military precautions were inaugurated in York. An armed force was formed, popularly known as "The Blues," from a knot of blue ribbon used to *cock* their broad-brimmed hats. Although the King's martial adherents in York sported the blue cockade, the adopted cockade of the Hanoverians was black, distinguishing them from the Jacobites who displayed a white cockade.

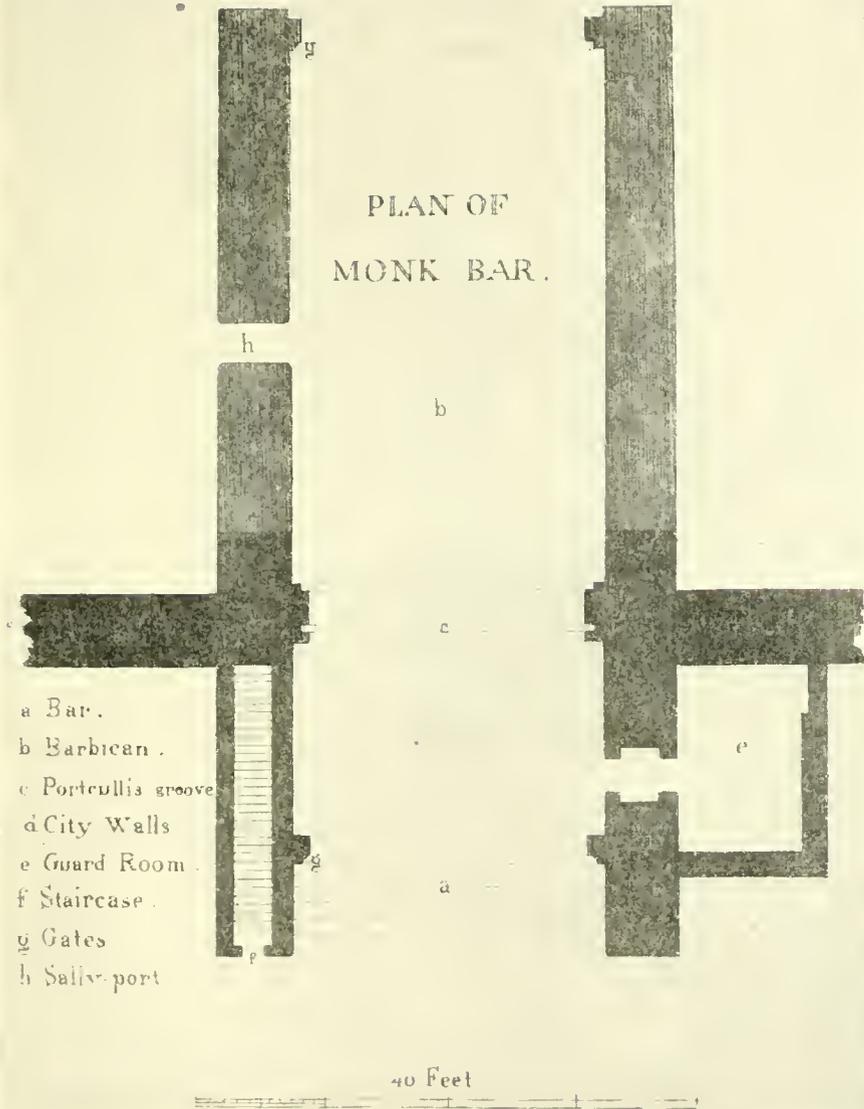
For four months, the gates were again under strict military protection; and it appears that on this occasion the guard subjected the citizens to some kind of blackmail; their offensive behaviour was reported to the city authorities who "ordered, that if any soldier shall from henceforth demand, or receive, of any person or persons whomsoever, coming in, or going out, at any Barr of this City, any money, liquor, or other for his own use, such soldier so demanding or receiving the same, and also any soldier partaking thereof, knowing the premises, shall forfeit a week's pay, and further be punished with the utmost severity." ²

Fortunately, the partisans of the Jacobite rising did not appear before the city; therefore the Council resolved "that the Guards need not be longer kept, but the soldiers have liberty to go to work, except for one day in each week, which shall be a field-day, for keeping the

¹ Torr's "Antiquities of York," p. 147.

² Caine, "Martial Annals of the City of York," p. 223.

PLAN OF
MONK BAR.



PLAN OF MONK BAR.

From an etching by J. Halfpenny

soldiers in their Exercise." The armed band assembled in the Guildhall to receive this order, and to be thanked for their services; but they unanimously refused to adhere to the latter part of the proposal, and there and then delivered up their arms and accoutrements.

The last occasion when it was thought necessary to keep watch and ward at the city gates was at the time of Napoleon's projected invasion of England in 1803.

The interior of Monk Bar, which also has its own distinguishing features, is entered by a narrow and steep staircase in the inner face of the north pier. The chamber on the first floor is vaulted, with a large window towards the city, and light is also obtained through two cross loops, in front of which the portcullis hangs yet in its entirety. This first floor has in recent years been partitioned to form living rooms for the use of the custodian of the bar, through whose courtesy the public are allowed to view the interior. The second-floor chamber is also vaulted, and is reached by a flight of stone steps from the first floor, within the south wall. These upper and lower commodious apartments within this stronghold were, formerly, used for the imprisonment not only of captured enemies, but also of refractory freemen of the city, committed thither for minor offences against the laws.

On the second floor is to be seen the old horizontal windlass, used for raising the ponderous portcullis. It is the only apparatus of its kind that has been kept intact in York. Despite the wear and tear of earlier ages, and the rough usage of later times, it would, after a little lubrication, doubtless, still perform its former duty. This interesting relic is worth more than a casual glance. It was worked by hand-spikes, and at one end is a cog-wheel, with a check bar or pawl, to prevent the retrograde movement of the sliding gate. In presence of this machine, one can easily picture the scenes of long

ago, and imagine the guards hurriedly and excitedly manipulating the winch to release the heavy grating, allowing it to drop instantly to the ground, as it would do, with a thud, embedding its iron teeth in any obstruction that might be in its way beneath.

Two small loopholed compartments, in the turrets, with groined ceilings, are entered from this floor.

The third storey is lighted by small windows on three sides of the bar; those on the north and south command a view of the walls and exterior ditches. On the east side are two small cross-loops, with holes one foot square below them. On this level, access to the overhanging platform, in front of the bar, is obtained by two low doors in the turrets. In the south bartizan a well-stair leads to the summit of the building and out on the flat.

As previously stated, this bar towers higher than the other three city bars. From its battlements, rising above the red-tiled roofs, and quaint gables of the city, a splendid view is obtained. Casting a wondering glance citywards, the most notable features observed are the many church towers and steeples; but these are thrown into insignificance by the magnificent and imposing east front of the Minster, which is here beheld from a near and effective view-point.

This bar, "in its palmy days of strength and grace," must certainly have been the centre of many stirring and eventful scenes, although its record of historic associations is not so rich as the impressive memories linked with the bars of Walmgate and Micklegate.

In 1603, James I.'s consort, when on her way to London, arrived in York on June 11th, accompanied by Prince Henry and the Princess Margaret. The citizens accorded them a hearty welcome. During their stay in the city, the Queen, desirous of seeing a little of the country around York, requested Sir Robert Watter, the

Lord Mayor, to conduct the royal party on a short excursion. The illustrious visitors passed through Monk Bar to Heworth Moor. Journeying by Tang Hall Lane to the Hull Road, they entered the city again by Walmgate. On arriving at the Mayoral residence, near the old church of St. Crux in the Pavement, the Queen partook of some refreshment, and in pleasant words expressed her appreciation of the loyal devotion displayed by every one.

During the years immediately succeeding 1641, King Charles I. spent much time in York, and the ill-fated monarch was troubled and vexed at the opposition of his Parliament. Charles desired absolute power, levied illegal taxes, and utterly disregarded the people's wishes, dissolving Parliaments at will that refused to consider his autocratic schemes. Many ominous events speedily occurred, which caused further estrangement between the King and the Commons.

The "Long Parliament," with the support of the nation, sternly fought for freedom, and thwarted the King's unjust demands. The major part of the nobles, clergy, and gentry were on Charles' side, and a vast number of those loyal to their sovereign rallied round him at York. Charles, being greatly concerned, and to procure the support of the people of Yorkshire, on the 27th of May, 1642, issued a proclamation, appointing a public meeting to be held on Heworth Moor, on the 3rd of June. The King was accompanied by his son, Prince Charles, and 150 Knights in complete armour, and a guard of 800 soldiers swelled the imposing procession, which passed through Monk Bar to the meeting-place. Historians are not agreed as to how the King was received on this momentous occasion. Some say he was greeted with loud acclamations of loyalty. Others assert that a confused murmur rose from a vast portion of the multitude, which numbered upwards of 70,000

persons. The King made a speech, but the measure of the great crowd's loyalty could not be accurately estimated. It was on this occasion that Sir Thomas Fairfax, with difficulty, placed a petition in the King's hands, asking him to be reconciled to his Parliament. The King and his friends disliked the proceeding, and, it is said, they jostled and almost rode Sir Thomas down.

Subsequently, Charles and his adherents hurried on their warlike preparations for the inevitable struggle that shortly supervened. The Queen had departed to Holland, where she pledged her own and the crown jewels for the purpose of procuring arms and ammunition for the furtherance of her husband's cause. She repeatedly sent the King supplies of military stores; but the bulk of her purchases she, herself, brought over. She arrived at Bridlington on the 20th of February, 1643, escorted by seven Dutch ships of war. After remaining at Bridlington for a short time, the Queen set out for York, and was met on Heworth Moor by the Lord Mayor, Sir Edmund Cooper, several loyal aldermen, and a great number of citizens who sympathised with the Cavalier cause. The Queen entered the city by Monk Bar, and a great concourse of anxious burghers thronged the narrow street of Goodramgate to witness the arrival of the immense train of military stores. Five hundred carts, drawn by a thousand horses, passed into the city on this occasion.

During the siege of the city in 1644, the investing forces of the Parliamentarians were too small to place a strong cordon of troops all round the city, and the district outside Monk Bar was, perhaps, their weakest point. The Royalist garrison had two cannons in position on the summit of the bar; but the shot from these guns did not deter Roundhead marauding parties in their acts of spoliation. Monk Bridge over the Foss was demolished. Seven windmills on Heworth Moor

were burnt. The water mills at Yearsley Bridge, one windmill for flour and another for pepper on the rising ground adjoining, they also destroyed by fire.

The besieged were often hard pressed by the Parliamentarians, who made bold attempts to gain admittance. Each gate was vigorously assaulted; but the most strenuous efforts to breach the stout walls or force the doors were ineffectual. The alert garrison, frenzied by the demolition of the city's mills, perceiving an opportunity of striking a blow at the forces of the Earl of Manchester, discreetly arranged an early morning sortie. On the 24th of June, at sunrise, a staunch-hearted party, numbering about six hundred, sallied out through Monk Bar, and desperately charged the investing army. Cavalier and Roundhead alike fought fiercely—

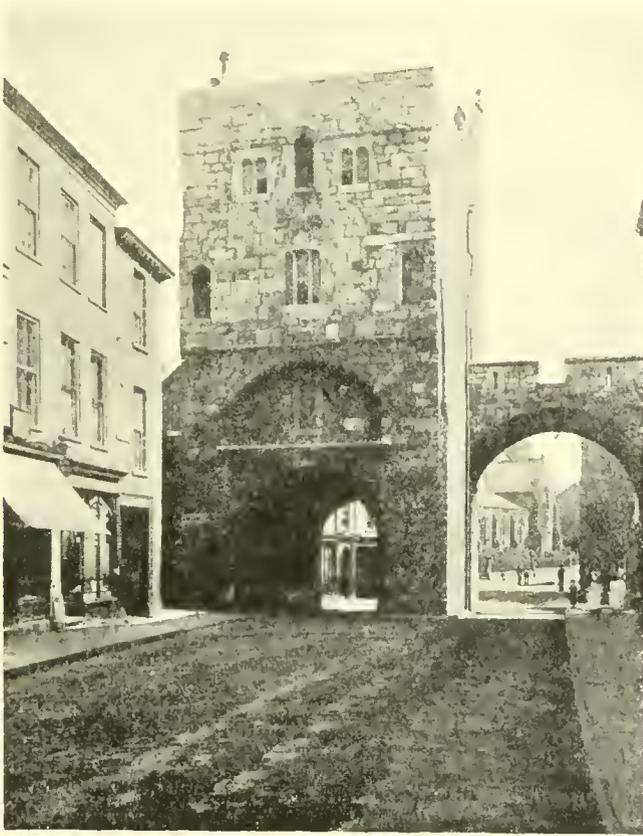
"Hand to hand, and foot to foot;
Nothing there, save death, was mute;
Stroke, and thrust, and flash, and cry
For quarter, or for victory."

The Royalists, being outnumbered, were defeated and driven back. The remnant of the gallant company, with a rallying shout, retreated towards Monk Bar, and with an impetuous rush re-entered the gate. Although Manchester's musketeers had been bravely and vigorously attacked, the Cavalier forces had suffered the greater loss.

Tragic memories of this war are linked with each of the four principal gates of York, and the "lingering echoes" associate Monk Bar with the earliest episodes of the local struggle, as well as with the latest. Charles's cavalcade proceeding to the great meeting on Heworth Moor, at the very commencement of the campaign, and Rupert's chief supporters taking their flight, after the irretrievable disaster on Marston Heath, both found outlets by this gate. The latter, with all speed, hurried

unmolested to Scarborough; took ship, and sailed for Hamburg.

This gate was, at one time, designated Goodramgate Bar; and some writers have, erroneously, stated that it was re-named "Monk" Bar as a compliment to General Monk, the great Parliamentary general, who, subsequently, took initiatory measures for the placing of



MONK BAR (WITHIN).

Charles II. on the throne of his ancestors. The theory of the gallant general's name being associated with the bar is easily refuted by the fact that the thoroughfare without the bar, towards Monk Bridge, has borne its present appellation, Monkgate, from far antecedent times. In 1276, an official named Thomas de Munke-

gate was connected with the ecclesiastical courts of York¹; and in 1370 the words "Monk Bar" appear in a memorandum of that date defining the boundary of the adjoining parish of St. Maurice. The name of Monkgate was, we believe, originally derived from some monastery or monk's house anciently located in the vicinity. Just over Monk Bridge, on the east side, in pre-Reformation days, stood the spital of St. Loy, a house established by monks for the relief of poor strangers and pilgrims. Another suggestion is that the prefix *Monk*, linked with the bar, the thoroughfare, and the bridge, and indeed with the whole district or ward, may be derived from the ecclesiastics that ministered at this ancient hospice. Mr. R. H. Skaife says the street of Monkgate occurs as "Muncagat" in Anglo-Saxon charters.²

To heighten the interest in, and stimulate appreciation of, this bar, we quote the authoritative opinion of John Britton, a learned author and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. He writes: "Monk Bar is probably the most curious and perfect specimen of this sort of architecture in the kingdom, and therefore is very interesting to the antiquary and architect. Let us hope it may be preserved for centuries; for every age will enhance its worth and curiosity."³ By way of emphasizing the latter portion of this gentleman's remarks, it will not be out of place to call attention to the fact that now, at the beginning of a new century, the bar—although in a tolerable state of preservation—requires immediate care. The yawning crevices and crumbling walls of the outward face of this unique and time-honoured relic call for attention in order to check the havoc of Time's relentless hand.

¹ "Fasti Eboracenses," n. p. 310.

² *The Yorkshire Weekly Post*, Feb. 14, 1903.

³ "History and Antiquities of York Minster," n. p. 37.

CHAPTER XVII

WALMGATE BAR

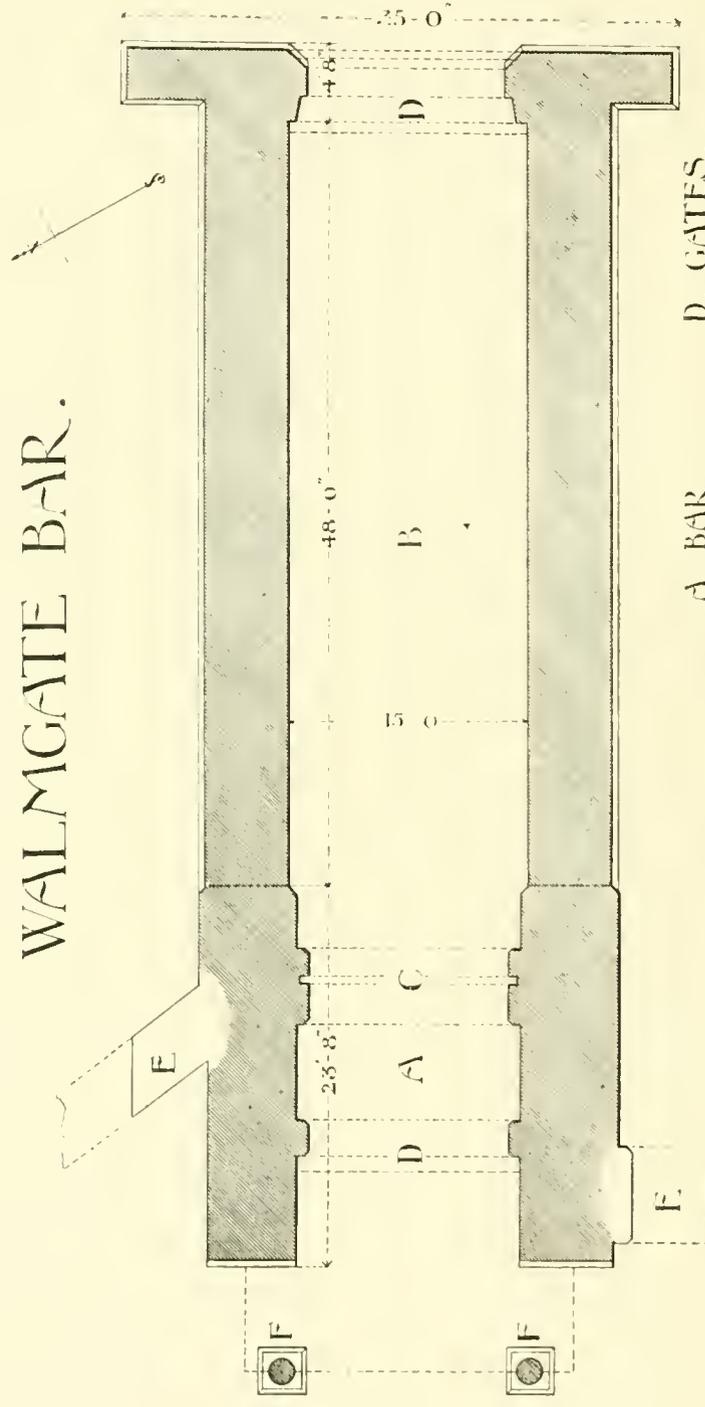
Historic Associations—Bar erected near a Roman high road—
Date of erection 1215—The Bar described—Henry V. passes
through to Beverley—Its unspoiled Barbican—Head of
“Robin of Holderness” placed on the Bar—Edward IV.
parleys at the Gate, 1471; the scene dramatised by Shake-
speare—Henry VIII. and his Queen enter by the Gate, 1541
—Bar mined and damaged during the Siege, 1644—Restora-
tions, 1648, 1713, and 1840—Threatened removal of the Bar
in 1855.

THIS grand old gate remains intact, although the
fierce assaults of the investing forces of the
Parliamentarians were specially and arduously directed
against this fortification. It has played a brave part
in history, and should be held dear by the men of
York in all coming ages, for its stones are cemented
with the blood of their forefathers. It was successfully
guarded by our Royalist progenitors, who stood up
manfully on behalf of the unfortunate Charles.

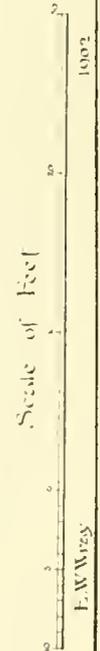
“ The bursting shell ; the gateway rent asunder,
The rattling musketry, the clashing blade ;
And ever and anon, in tones of thunder,
The diapason of the cannonade.”

The position was pounded and shaken by shot and
shell, but the staunch and loyal burghers fought desper-
ately and unflinchingly through the passionate struggle
that was waged around its strong gates and towers.

PLAN OF WALMGATE BAR.



- A BAR
- B BARBICAN.
- C. PORTCULLIS.
- D. GATES.
- E. CITY WALLS.
- F. COLUMNS.



He who can look upon its war-worn walls and battlements and not be deeply interested must be strangely indifferent to the history of his native city and to the events which stir the blood of every true patriot.

The bar is situate at the end of Walmgate and guards the approach to the city from the south-east by the Hull road. It stands near, if not on, an old military way of the Romans, which proceeded from Eburacum in this direction. Traces of the paved road, a few feet



WALMGATE BAR AND BARBICAN.

below the present level, have been discovered in recent excavations just outside the bar.

Its chief characteristic feature is its unspoiled and ancient barbican, the only one remaining in the City of York, which gives additional interest to the value of the bar; and the whole is a typical specimen of the mediæval defensive erections placed at the entrances of important walled cities.

The main building of the bar is almost square in

plan with embattled turrets at the angles, and in form somewhat resembles the other bars of the city. The superstructure harmonises with the upper part of Bootham Bar ; its masonry, the style of supporting the turrets and other details are similar, and is principally plain work of the fourteenth century. The lower part of the structure and the semicircular arches are undoubtedly the work of Geoffrey de Nevill, the King's Chamberlain, who was employed during the winter of 1215 in defending the city against the rebel barons. He caused the Walmgate district, which was at that time without any protecting bulwarks, to be enclosed by a ditch and its accompanying banks; descending from the water of Foss, near the Red Tower, to the pool of the Templar's Mill on the Ouse.¹

Because the portals of the bar are round-headed they are not necessarily of the Norman period, as some writers suppose. In the North such arches were frequently employed in fortified works during the Early English and Decorated periods.²

The frowning iron-shod teeth of the stout oaken portcullis project below the brow of the archway. The passage is covered with timber, and the strong oak doors, with a wicket gate, which still remain, cannot fail to attract notice.

Attached to the city front is a curious though picturesque domestic building of wood and plaster, supported upon two stone columns, supposed to be an erection of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

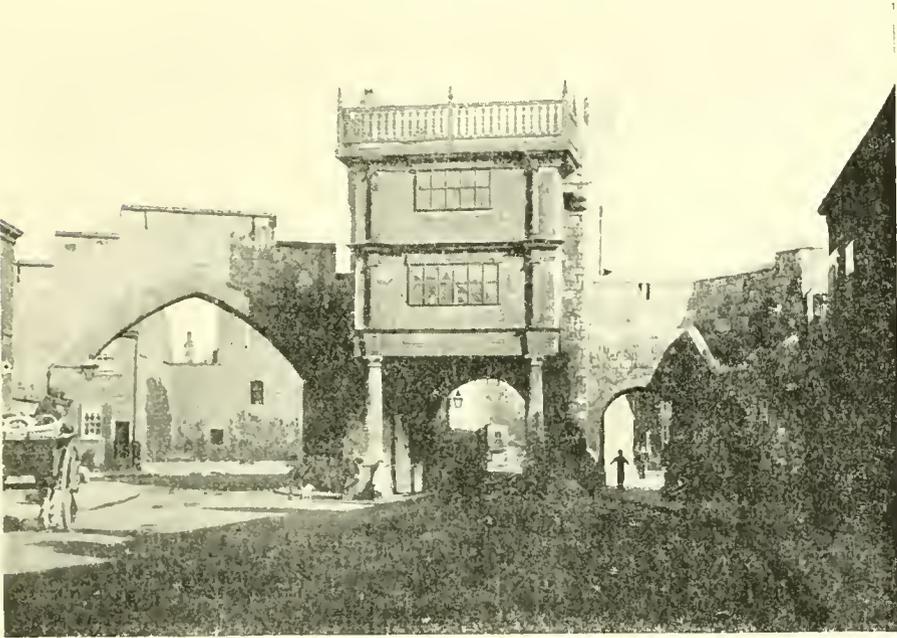
On the outward face of the bar, inserted within a panel, are displayed the arms of Henry V., and it is conjectured that their presence indicates some restoration performed during Henry's reign. The hero of Agincourt only visited York once, when, accompanied

¹ Close Rolls, vol. ii. p. 120.

² Clark, "Med. Mil. Arch.," p. 211.

by his Queen, he made a short stay in the city in 1421. This happened when he was making a pilgrimage to Beverley to perform his devotions at the venerated shrine of St. John, the popular Yorkshire saint. The King's heraldic device may therefore have been put up as a compliment to the royal pair as they passed through the gate on their way to Beverley.

This bar, as we have said, is the only gateway still



WALMGATE BAR (WITHIN).

retaining its barbican. The battlemented and turreted outwork of defence gave greater strength to the gate, but to the eye it diminishes the height of the main structure. Apparently by the way in which the wall of the barbican abuts upon the face of the bar buttresses, and by the absence of bond, it is of a later date than the bar proper.

In consequence of the change produced in the art of war in the fourteenth century by the invention of gunpowder, and new and various forms of artillery, forti-

fications of necessity were remodelled. This change required the devising of the most advantageous methods of disposing fortified works for the purpose of defence, and the barbican served both to cover the gate and to flank the adjacent wall. It is probable that the area within the barbican had a timber floor and drawbridge, and that there were lateral arches through which the ditch was continuous.

In the stirring days of old the streets outside the bars of York were very wide and quite straight for some distance, so that the archers ensconced in the bartizans had a free and unobstructed sweep for their arrows. No houses were allowed outside the gate that would interrupt the view or shelter an enemy at close quarters. At the extreme range of a good bowshot houses could be put up and inhabited without restriction.

The bar is a standing memorial of York's many vicissitudes, and who can muse upon the scene without imagining the vicinity repeopled with historical human actors whose identical drama of life will never be repeated?

One of the earliest traditions connected with this gate is recorded by Gent. He tells how a gentleman of Holderness named Hob was arrested for some treasonable offence (probably rebellion), how he suffered execution, and his head and banner were set over Walingate Bar. The person mentioned was probably Robert Hillyard, who took the name of Robert of Holderness, and led a local rising. He was executed in 1469.¹ This bar, the entrance from the Holderness district, was chosen for the gruesome spectacle because it was intended as an object lesson to the people of this neighbourhood. Many of his contemporaries were doubtless sympathisers, if not associates, of the unfortunate offender against the then stringent laws of the land.

¹ Ramsay, "York and Lancaster," vol. ii. p. 339.

Many times have the heads of traitors found a place on this gateway's grey and mouldering turrets, although Micklegate Bar seems to have been the favourite place for these inhuman displays.

An event of intense political significance occurred at this gate in 1471. During the year previous, by the help and influence of Warwick, the King-maker, Henry VI. was brought back to the throne of England, after his deposition in 1461. Edward IV. escaped to the continent; but in March, 1471, he returned and landed at Ravenspurn, on the Yorkshire coast, with a large force furnished by his brother-in-law, Charles the Bold of Burgundy, resolving to go "to his city of York,"

"And reached the city gate at last,
Where all around, a wakeful guard,
Armed burghers kept their watch and ward;
Well had they cause of jealous fear."

The Earl of Warwick had sent peremptory orders to York and Hull that he should not be admitted. On approaching the city, dubious as to the way he would be received, he sent forward some of his adherents, who artfully pretended that he came but to claim his patrimonial estate of York, and not the crown. Two aldermen and Thomas Conyers, styled the Recorder, went out to meet Edward, and told him that the citizens would oppose him to the utmost. Regardless of this apparently stern message, he continued to advance. Nearing Walmgate Bar, he placed in his bonnet an ostrich feather, the badge of Edward the Lancastrian, Prince of Wales, and everywhere as he went acknowledged Henry as king. By his adopting the badge of the House of Lancaster, and swearing to be loyal and faithful to Henry, the citizens were induced to admit him.¹

¹ Cf. "Extracts from York Records," pp. 293-295.

Edward and his followers stayed one night in York and then went southwards. The sequel is known to every reader of English history—the decisive battle of Barnet soon followed, and Edward IV. mounted the throne again.

Shakespeare has immortalised the historic scene before the gates of York in the Third Part of “King Henry VI.”

“ACT IV. SCENE VII.—*Before York*

Enter KING EDWARD, GLOSTER, HASTINGS, and Forces.

King Edward. Now, brother Richard, Lord Hastings, and the rest ;

Yet thus far fortune maketh us amends,
And says—that once more I shall interchange
My waned state for Henry’s regal crown.
Well have we pass’d, and now repass’d the seas,
And brought desired help from Burgundy :
What then remains, we being thus arriv’d
From Ravenspurgh haven before the gates of York,
But that we enter, as into our dukedom ?

Gloster. The gates made fast ! Brother, I like not this :
For many men, that stumble at the threshold,
Are well foretold—that danger lurks within.

King Edward. Tush, man ! Abodements must not now affright
us :

By fair or foul means we must enter in,
For hither will our friends repair to us.

Hastings. My liege, I’ll knock once more, to summon them.

Enter, on the walls, the Mayor of York, and his brethren.

Mayor. My lords, we were forewarned of your coming,
And shut the gates for safety of ourselves ;
For now we owe allegiance unto Henry.

King Edward. But, master mayor, if Henry be your king,
Yet Edward, at the least, is Duke of York.

Mayor. True, my good lord ; I know you for no less.

King Edward. Why, and I challenge nothing but my dukedom ;
As being well content with that alone.

Gloster. But, when the fox hath once got in his nose,
He’ll soon find means to make the body follow.

[*Aside.*]

Hastings. Why, master mayor, why stand you in a doubt?

Open the gates, we are King Henry's friends.

Mayor. Ay, say you so? The gates shall then be open'd.

[*Exeunt from above.*]

Gloster. A wise stout captain, and persuaded soon!

Hastings. The good old man would fain that all were well,

So 'twere not 'long of him: but, being enter'd,

I doubt not, I, but we shall soon persuade

Both him, and all his brothers, unto reason.

Re-enter the Mayor, and two Aldermen, below.

King Edward. So, master mayor: these gates must not be shut,

But in the night, or in the time of war.

What! fear not, man, but yield me up the keys;

[*Takes his keys.*]

For Edward will defend the town, and thee,

And all those friends that deign to follow me."

In the year 1541, a short time after the insurrection of The Pilgrimage of Grace, Henry VIII., in his progress to the North, accompanied by his Queen, Catherine Howard, intended visiting York to confer with his nephew, James V., King of Scotland. The citizens of York regarded the royal visit with some anxiety, as they had shown a disloyal spirit in recent insurrections. The Lord Mayor, aldermen, opulent merchants, and many of the better citizens submissively, and seemingly with some exuberance of loyalty, arranged plans on a liberal scale for the reception of the King. The "Moste myghty and victoryous prynce, under Almightye Gode supreme heyd of the Church of England" was to be greeted with pageants, repentant speeches, costly presents, and other humiliating acts of submission on his entering the city. It was expected the royal party would come into the city by Micklegate Bar, where lavish decorations and other arrangements were made to receive the King, but Bluff King Hal was slow to forgive, and was in a vile humour at the non-appearance of his nephew, and with most Yorkshiremen for the part

they had taken in the late rising. On Thursday, September 15th, Henry approached York[†] from another direction, and all the finery at Micklegate Bar and along the route towards the centre of the city was expended in vain.

Messengers arrived with the news that the King was



OAK DOOR AND WICKET, WALMGATE BAR.

coming from Wressle by way of Fulford. The Corporation and many of the affluent citizens, putting away their gorgeous and picturesque apparel, clothed themselves in penitential dress, and met the royal party at

[†] See Account of King Henry the Eighth's Progress in Yorkshire, Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, York, 1846.

the old cross on Fulford road. As the King advanced towards them, everybody abjectly knelt, and after the Recorder had read "a goodly propoſicion of ſubmiſſion," their majeſties paſſed on and entered York by Walmgate Bar.

The moſt thrilling episodes aſſociated with this bar were enacted at the time of the Civil War, in 1644. During the ſiege or blockade of York, the forces of Lord Fairfax and his ſon occupied poſitions facing the city walls, from the Ouse paſt Walmgate Bar to the Red Tower, cutting the city off from any ſupplies or help that might have come by the Hull road.

The ſiege was vigorously proſecuted, and ſeveral batteries were formed, and opened fire againſt the city; the moſt destructive were thoſe planted on the riſing ground of Garrow Hill and Lamel Mill Hill, on the Heſlington Road. The guns on theſe heights inceſſantly, and with effect, ſhelled Walmgate Bar, which was a ſpecial mark for the Roundheads' gunners. Occasionally a ſhot was ſent over the walls into the city or towards Clifford's Tower. The gallant gariſon ſoldiers and armed citizens were not inactive. With varying ſucceſs they kept up a cannonade from two guns on Walmgate Bar, from others at Clifford's Tower, and from many improvised platforms where guns were mounted—

" And thunder-like the pealing din
Roſe from each heated culverin."

Although the outlying forts and ſuburbs were in the poſſeſſion of the Parliamentarians, ſeveral ſmart ſkirmiſhes took place, and once the alert Royaliſts made a ſucceſſful ſally, ſetting fire to the houſes outside Walmgate Bar, which were many of them burnt to the ground, thus deſtroying the ſhelter they had offered to the beſiegers.

During the blockade a Roundhead soldier was taken prisoner and brought before the Governor of York in Clifford's Tower. He was strictly examined, and confessed that his comrades had mined to the middle of Walmgate Bar. He pointed out the precise locality, and Sir Thomas Glemham, the Governor, directed operations immediately above the spot. The soldiers of the garrison struck the enemy's mine, and deluged it with water, throwing in also uncomfortable and obstructive missiles, but—

“ The walls grew weak ; and fast and hot
Against them pour'd the ceaseless shot.
With unabating fury sent
From battery to battlement.”

Fearful lest the wooden gates and portcullis would be forced or collapse, leaving nothing to oppose the entrance of the enemy, a barricade, consisting of a high wall of earth and stones, was erected across the street, some distance within the bar, for the better security of the city.

The Parliamentary musketeers made repeated assaults and kept up a fierce and incessant fire directed against the unfaltering soldiers that were stationed on the barbican and in the turrets of the bar. At this day a more than casual observer will notice on the face of the barbican gate and the north turret of the bar many bullet marks, that remain to attest the desperate fusilade of the Covenanters.

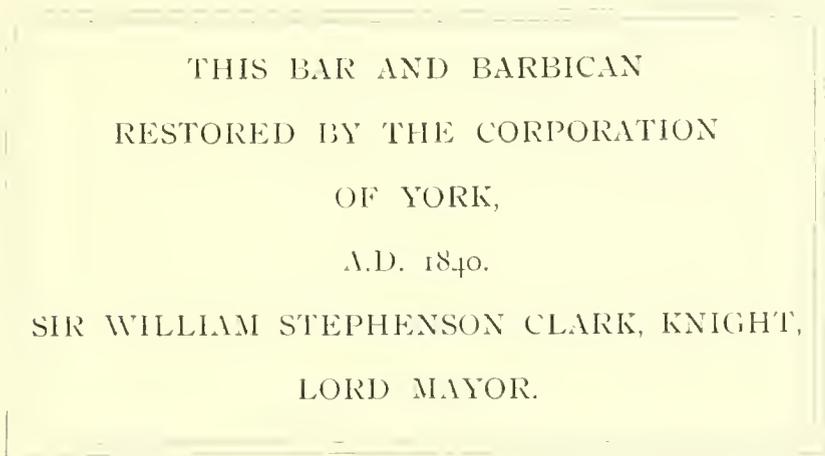
Some relics of the bombardment were unearthed in April, 1836, whilst excavating for a drain near the bar, two unexploded bombshells being found, still filled with gunpowder.

During the first years of the Commonwealth the bar and barbican, which had been considerably battered and shaken, were thoroughly repaired. The date, 1648,

carved on a stone placed under the city arms, very conspicuously, over the entrance to the barbican, records the year of the completion of these restorations.

The barbican was probably repaired with materials brought from the ruins of St. Nicholas' Church, which stood outside the bar, and was destroyed during the siege. Fragments of inscriptive tombstones built into the walls are observable, though Time has almost obliterated the letters, making them now undecipherable.

The bar was again repaired in 1713, and an inscribed mural tablet records the date of modern renovations.



The barbican, although such a remarkable and rare relic of mediæval days, has oftentimes been maliciously eyed by the municipal despoilers of York's picturesque memorials. At a Council meeting, held February 3rd, 1831, it was resolved that it should be demolished. Again in 1855, although only fifteen years previously the whole structure had been thoroughly repaired, some members of the Corporation, with their usual inconsistency, proposed the removal of the barbican. This dastardly act of vandalism would have been perpetrated if their machinations had not been effectively opposed.

Several memorials were presented to our city legislators, one from the Yorkshire Antiquarian Club and

another from the Yorkshire Architectural Society, expressive of regret at the threatened destruction of the barbican and a portion of the Walmgate Bar Walls, and setting forth numerous reasons why so unnecessary a project should not be carried out. The subject came before the full Council on February 12th, and after a spirited meeting it was resolved that the barbican should remain.



MASONS' MARKS, FISHERGATE BAR.

CHAPTER XVIII

POSTERNS AND TOWERS

Fishergate Bar—Fishergate Postern and Tower—Castlegate Postern and Water Tower—Skeldergate Postern—Victoria Bar—North Street Postern and Tower—Lendal Postern and Tower—Layerthorpe Postern—The Red Tower.

FISHERGATE BAR.

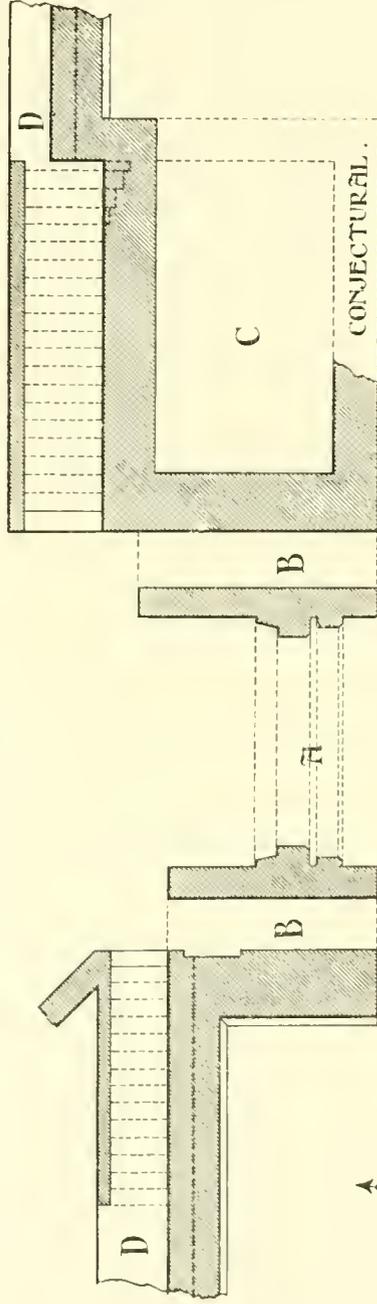
THIS bar, which forms the entrance to the city from the Cattle Market, is unlike any of the other chief gates, possessing characteristic features and points of interest that give it a special claim to attention.

It is a plain structure of the earlier part of the fourteenth century, the central arch being much higher than those of the other bars. The half-round grooves cut in the jambs of the entrance for the portcullis, peculiar to this arch, indicate that the vertical bars of the grating were rounded to facilitate and make easy the lowering of the ponderous machine in case of sudden assault. There were also strong doors just within this apparatus, the hinge crooks for which remain.

The two small lateral shoulder-headed passages for foot traffic have no resemblance to any of the means of ingress erected in other parts of the city walls. Although there are no traces indicating the manner in which they were secured against an enemy, their ancient formation is determined by the distinctive boasting of the stones and the masons' marks incised thereon.

A. PORTCULLIS GROOVE C. SITE OF GUARD ROOM.

B.B. LATERAL PASSAGES D.D. CITY WALLS.



PLAN OF FISHERGATE BAR.



When this gate possessed a barbican these side doors may have opened into mural galleries in the base of the outwork. The ruined stonework on the east side, in a line with the face of the bar, indicates the site of a guard-room, which would be attached to the gate.

Above the centre arch, on the exterior, under the city arms, is a tablet bearing the following :—

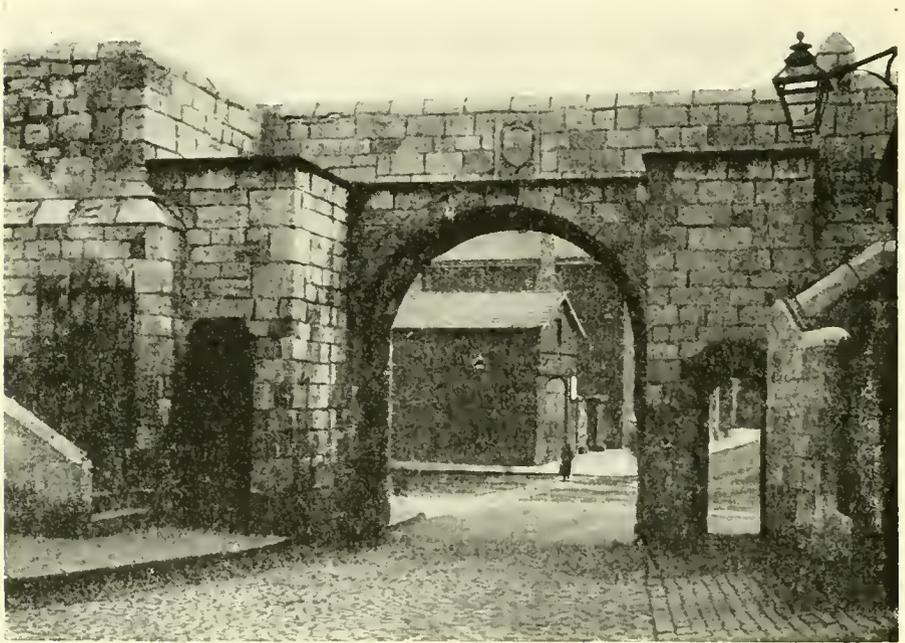
A.dni.M.C.C.C.
L.£££.UJY. Sr. Willm.
Tod Knyght L.
mayre this wal
was mayd in his
days L£ yardys.

Near by was formerly a piece of sculpture supposed to represent Sir William Todd in his official robes, and a person kneeling by him. The inscription below the figures was misread by Drake, and the mistake has been repeated by subsequent historians. Torre, when writing of Sir William Todd in the seventeenth century, alludes to this sculptured tablet : “ During his mayoralty he repaired the walls at Fishergate Barr. In memory of which he hath a little image set up for him in the said wall, sitting in his formalities, and another man kneeling by him ;¹ and over his head are these words ‘ L£

¹ The scene depicted was probably Sir William Todd being knighted by Henry VII.

yards in length'; and underneath his image 'Ano. Dni. M.C.C.C.LXXXIII., Willm. Tod, Lord Mair, Robt. Johnson and George Kirke, Schyriffe, dyd thys coste himselfe.'¹

An inscriptive panel (removed from its original position), is also placed on the city side of the bar, and,



FISHERGATE BAR (WITHIN).

though partly hidden by modern restorations, the accompanying characters may be easily read:—

A.do.M.C.C.C.
LXXXIII. Willm.
Todde, Knyght
mayre of this citie

¹ Torre MS. (York Minster) York volume, p. 229.

The year 1487 witnessed the insurrection of Lambert Symnell, and York showed a loyal spirit towards the King, Henry VII. In this year his majesty visited the city; and, in recognition of its allegiance, on the 31st of July, knighted the Lord Mayor, William Todd, and Alderman Richard Yorke, M.P. for the city. The



Photo]

[H. Watson,

TABLET COMMEMORATING SIR WILLIAM TODD'S
REPARATIONS, 1487.

Now in the York Museum.

investiture of knighthood on these trusty aldermen is appropriately depicted in the stained-glass windows of the Guildhall.

Sir William Todd, we can imagine, in appreciation of the honour done him, was stimulated to loyal generosity,

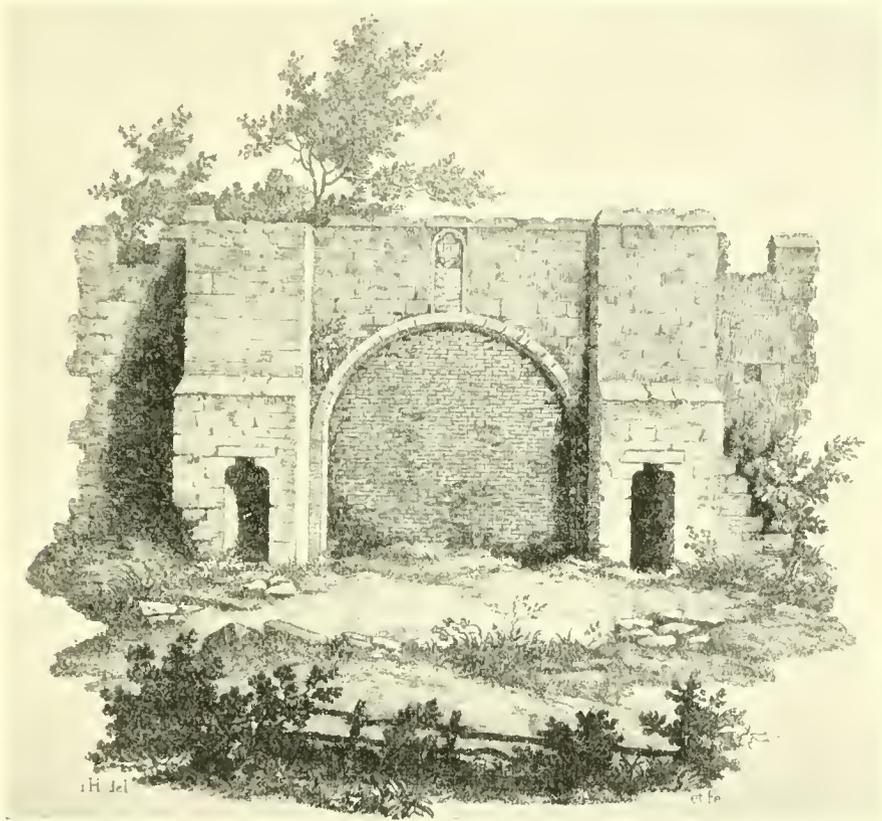
and to commemorate the event he restored sixty yards of the city wall at his own expense.

Leland remarks in his "Itinerary" that "Fisscher Gate" was "stoppid up sins the Communes burnid it yn the Tyme of King Henry the 7." As there is no tower over the bar, the apparatus for raising the portcullis, and the superstructure in which it would be fixed, were, in all probability, destroyed at this time. The appearance of the stones, in the lower part of the arch, will convince the most superficial observer that they have suffered from the action of fire.

During the reign of Henry VII. plot after plot came to light to disturb the tranquility of the King and the Court. It was an age of treasons, insurrections, and impostures. The extortionate taxation was felt alike by peer and peasant. The King sent an army to aid the young and defenceless princess, Anne, heiress of Duke Francis of Bretagne, the French king having claimed the ducal rights. The levying of special taxes to equip and maintain this army excited a revolt throughout Yorkshire and Durham. The Earl of Northumberland in 1489, then Lord Lieutenant of Yorkshire, acquainted the King of the discontent, and prayed that an abatement might be made. Henry was obdurate, and refused to relieve his tax-paying subjects. The chief instigators of the rebellion, with a tumultuous mob, journeyed to Topcliffe, where the Lord Lieutenant resided, to learn the King's reply. The earl delivered the royal message with too little consideration for the multitude that surrounded him, and the incensed rabble, supposing him to be one of the chief advisers of the obnoxious measure, murdered the unfortunate earl and many of his servants.

The inflamed populace openly erected the standard of rebellion, and chose for their leaders John Chambers and Sir John Egremont. During the insurrection they

marched upon York and burnt Fishergate Bar, declaring their intention of resisting Henry himself. His majesty, hearing of the affair, sent Thomas, Earl of Surrey, with a competent force to disperse the rebels. At the first encounter the undisciplined mob were defeated, and Chambers and several of his adherents suffered death on



FISHERGATE BAR, AS WALLED UP FROM 1489 TO 1826.

From an etching by J. Halfpenny, 1807.

the scaffold at York ; but Sir John Egremont fled to Flanders, where he obtained the protection of Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy. The firm attitude of the King broke the spirits of the northern malcontents, and during the remainder of his reign they showed themselves loyal subjects.

For above three hundred years this gate remained blocked up. In 1826, in consequence of the erection of the new and spacious Cattle Market outside the city walls, the residents in the neighbourhood petitioned the Corporation to re-open it. It was forthwith repaired and the arch was opened for public use in 1827.

During the eighteenth century this bar was familiarly known as Bean Hill Gate; and the Street (George Street), which leads from Walmgate to the old bar, was called Neutgate or Noutgate Lane (from *nowt* or *nout*, "cattle"), which signified the way of the cattle. This is rather an interesting coincidence, seeing that, in recent days, the archway was opened out as an additional way for the cattle.



MASONS' MARKS ON THE FISHERGATE WALLS.

FISHERGATE POSTERN AND TOWER.

This striking and imposing tower possesses many features very fascinating to the lover of antiquity. It is a massive stone building, rectangular in plan, but singular in its beauty of elevation and symmetrical design.

In past ages, along by the Castle walls and this tower, the Fosse widened out into a broad pool. The ground has since been raised and the roads altered, narrowing the waterway. The aspect has thus been entirely changed. We can hardly realise the fact that the waters at one time flowed right up to the base of this tower.

The building has undergone but few modernising alterations—none, indeed, except the curiously-shaped roof of red tiles, which rests upon the battlements. This addition was decided upon by the City Council in 1740.

The interior is deserving of special inspection,¹ and is entered by a small door at the back, which opens into a room lighted by a mullioned window looking towards the city. On the right of the entrance is seen a bricked-up fireplace, and at the south end of the chamber an archway opens into a spiral stair, formerly communicating with the different chambers. By a modern wooden staircase the next apartment is reached. It contains a fireplace, and near to it is the entrance to a garde-robe,



FISHERGATE POSTERN AND TOWER (WITHIN).

formed in the hollow of a buttress. The room is lighted by a window on the east side.

Ascending the winding staircase, the old roof platform of the tower is reached, which was drained by the

¹ It is regrettable to observe that the interiors of the postern towers of York are in a deserted and uncared-for state. The few towers on the walls of Chester are kept in better order, and are open for public inspection daily during the summer months.

two gurgoyles on the south side. From the floor of the platform the battlement walls are reduced in thickness, which now affords an allure or causeway two to three feet wide. At the side nearest to the city walls and moat a small square tower, denuded of its battlements, rises under the roof. In this watch-tower a steady look-out would be kept to prevent surprises, but—

No more we hear the warder call
"To arms! the foemen storm the wall."

Few municipal records relating to the city walls have been preserved, but we know that in the year 1501, during the reign of Henry VII., the corporate body "determined that there should be a substantial posterne mayde at Fyschergate, which then was closed up, and by reson therof as well the streets and buyldings within the walles as without wer clerely decayed and gone downe."¹ This order of the Council was immediately executed. A postern gateway was inserted in the city walls, close to, and under the protection of, the tower.

The pointed archway, which is the only one of the old posterns remaining, retains the portcullis groove. A channel for its accommodation may be noticed cut into the wall of the tower itself. The parapet above the gate was probably much higher, and screened the portcullis when raised. There would also be a strong oak door, the crooks of which remain.

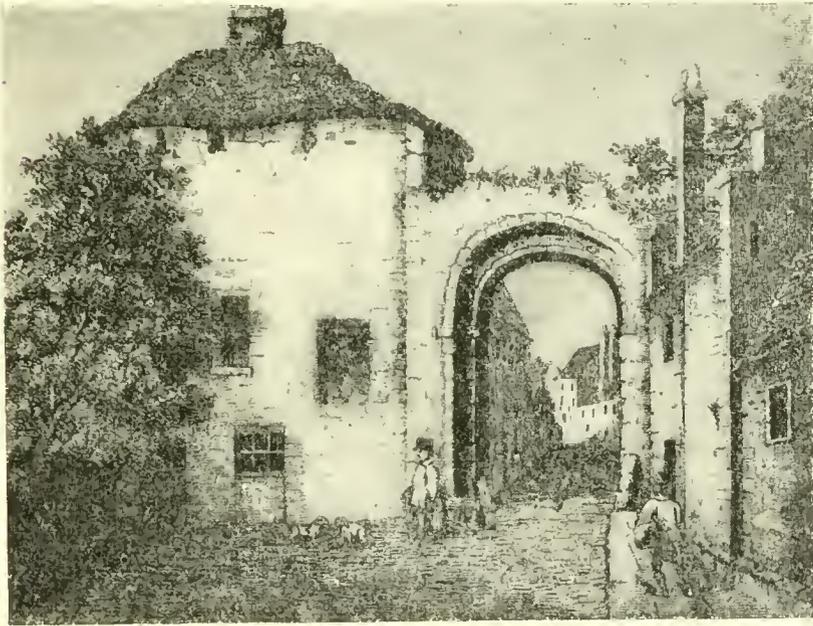
CASTLEGATE POSTERN AND WATER TOWER.

This postern gate possessed little architectural beauty and few peculiar features. It was demolished when its site was required for the erection of the new wall of the Castle, in 1826-7.

The gateway stood near the ditch surrounding the

¹ Lockwood and Cates, "The Fortifications of York," p. 32.

Castle Mound, and being thus under the protection of the walls of Clifford's Tower it was early denuded of its fortified character. In the reign of Henry VII. the upper chamber was converted into a dovecote, which was leased to William Bewyk, an Augustine Friar, the surveyor of the works and buildings of the Augustine Friars, which stood in Lendal, who paid the nominal rent of sixpence per annum "in consideration of the great cost he had made at Castlegate Postern."¹



CASTLEGATE POSTERN (WITHOUT).

In 1672 Sir Henry Thompson, Lord Mayor, who had his town-house on the Castle Hill (the higher ground lying between the end of Castlegate and the ditch of the Castle), obtained permission of the Corporation to rebuild and enlarge the archway, that his carriage might pass through the gate to his country seat, which was at Escrick. The city authorities "thought fit to prevent it becoming a common or public carriage-road by placing

¹ Davies, "Antiquarian Walks through York," p. 81.

a post under the archway, which, in the year 1736, was ordered to be made a lock-post, and the key of it to be left with Alderman Jonas Thompson (nephew of Sir Henry Thompson), or some person he could confide in, for letting-in coaches, chariots, and chaises, but to exclude waggons, wains, carts, and all sorts of heavy carriages."

This arrangement was an annoyance to many citizens, and for nearly a century continued to give offence. The London Mail, when it first began to run by way of Selby to York, entered the city by this postern, but as several of the horses were injured by the post the route was changed to come through Walmgate Bar. After strong opposition on the part of the Corporation, the post was removed in January, 1826, and the mail coach came in by way of Castlegate again. In May of the same year the tower and postern were taken down. The by-way which was called Castlegate Postern Lane was diverted, and a new thoroughfare formed, now called Tower Street.

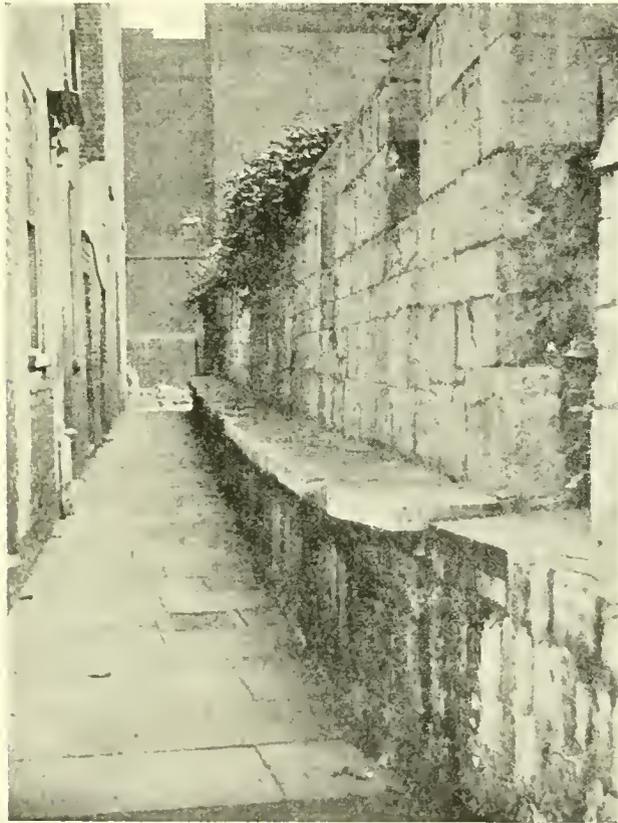
The walls running towards the river appear to have been erected without any considerable rampart; the space in front was, in time past, marshy land, forming a natural protection in ancient warfare. The walls are pierced by several embrasures. The acute observer will notice that half a dozen or so have been blocked up. On the city side a stone platform or allure, 22 inches wide, was the only foothold available for martial burghers who guarded the city at this point.

On the outer face of the wall is a bronze plate, fixed in 1892, which records the flood-lines of remarkable inundations, the two earliest dates of which, 1625 and 1636, were inscribed on the masonry, but were almost obliterated by the hand of Time.

A strong watch-tower stood on the brink of the river, and was connected to the walls, overlooking what is now

St. George's Field. From its battlements, in the rugged days of old, the vigilant sentinel kept a close look-out for the invading foe who essayed to approach the city by the waterway. That portion of the building abutting on the city walls is part of the ancient tower, and in it two decayed loopholes still remain.

This building, as early as 1650, was vernacularly



Photo]

[T.P.C.

THE CITY WALL, TOWER PLACE, SHOWING THE ORIGINAL ALLURE OR PLATFORM.

known as the "Sugar House." The origin of this name is rather perplexing ; the tower might have had a sugar-cone roof or have been used as a sugar refinery, but this is merely conjectural. Subsequently the erection was put to a mean use and became an ordinary place of convenience.

In March, 1727-8, the Corporation ordered—"that the Common House of Office at the end of the Fryer Walls, called the Sugar House, shall be repaired"; and again, on April 26, 1731, improved approaches to St. George's Field being considered desirable, they "ordered—that a way be made from Fryer Walls to St. George's Close by pulling down the necessary House there, commonly called the Sugar House, and that a portal be there erected (and the door to be shutt at night time), at the City's expense; and that a necessary House be built, instead thereof, where the Common Dunghill is." In accordance with this resolution, part of the tower adjoining the river was taken down, and a stone porch with an iron gate was erected. In 1733, at the formation of the New Walk, "payles or palasadoes" were fixed to the gateway extending "into the River, for the greater Safety of this City."

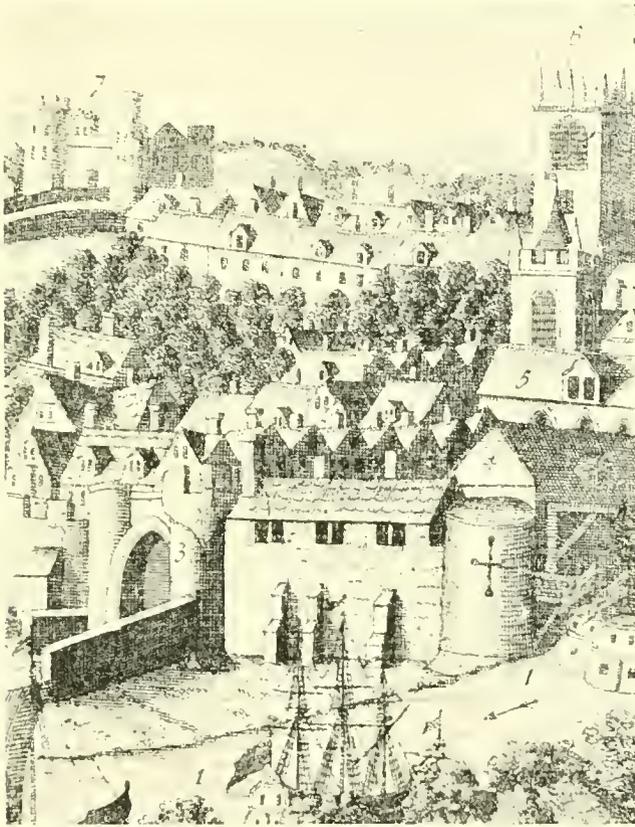
SKELDERGATE POSTERN.

The entrance to the city from the suburb of Clemen-thorpe was through a postern gate which stood at the end of Skeldergate. In the thirteenth century this postern "was called the gate or postern of Hyngbrig, doubtless because the city moat at this point was crossed by a drawbridge."¹ If this minor gateway was protected with a drawbridge we may conclude that other posterns and the chief gates or bars of the city were similarly defended from hostile attack. The original postern was not large enough to admit vehicles, and pedestrians only sought ingress and egress to and from the city. When the thoroughfare of Bishopgate Street was formed, in the disused city ditch, about two hundred years ago, the postern was widened to admit the Archbishop's carriage.

¹ Davies, "Antiquarian Walks through York," p. 190.

In 1808 the gateway was removed in the interests of public traffic. The accompanying illustration is rather unique, as it is a reproduction of the only known drawing or sketch of the ancient archway.

A short stretch of embattled walling connected the postern to a circular water tower which stood on the brink of the river, almost opposite the tower on the left



SKELDERGATE POSTERN AND WATER TOWER.

bank of the Ouse. Between these two towers, in mediæval times, a boom or chain was linked across the river to obstruct the passage of an enemy who might attempt to gain admittance by means of the river which runs through the heart of the city. Davies mentions the custodians who had charge of the boom in the reign

of Richard II.¹ William de Ireby was stationed for the purpose of hauling in or letting out the chain on the Skeldergate side, and John Benetson attended to this duty in the tower adjoining the monastery of the Friars Minors on the opposite side of the river.

The Skeldergate water-tower was a graceful circular bastion, similar to the pleasing example yet standing at the bottom of Marygate. About fifty years ago "the rudiments of the water-tower that formed the termina-



THE CITY WALL FROM VICTORIA BAR LOOKING SOUTH-EAST.

tion of the city wall near the river"² adjoining the postern still remained.

On the Old Baile side the city wall was continued from the portion carried over the motte or mound until

¹ "The 'Custodes cathenarum extra aquam de Use a Fratibus Minoribus usque Hyngbrigg' were William de Ireby 'pro parte usque Hyngbrigg,' and John Benetson 'pro parte versus Fratres Minores'" (Davies, "Antiquarian Walks through York," p. 191).

² "Antiquarian Walks through York," p. 190.

it joined and abutted upon the postern. This short section of the curtain wall and an adjacent row of houses called Rosemary Lane were taken down in 1878 prior to the approaches of the new bridge being made.

VICTORIA BAR.

Although this modern gateway is designated a *bar*, it is unlike any of the ancient gates bearing the same appellation. It is a plain, neat structure, and was erected to give a more direct communication between Bishophill and Nunnery Lane. In March, 1838, a single arch was made through the walls, and on clearing away the rampart, strange to say, the remains of an old gateway which had been blocked up and hidden for centuries were found. The cartway alone afforded at first sufficient accommodation, but as the district outside the walls became more populous the smaller footpath arches at each side were added, at different dates, as necessity required. On the outside, above the centre arch, is a tablet bearing the following inscription:—

VICTORIA BAR.
ERECTED BY
PUBLIC SUBSCRIPTION
UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE CITY COMMISSIONERS,
A.D. 1838.
GEORGE HUDSON, ESQR.
LORD MAYOR.

In 1838, the year of its erection, the Coronation of Queen Victoria was solemnised, and to this circumstance the bar owes its name. It was customary, during the early part of last century, to make street improvements with funds subscribed by those citizens residing near to or having property in the vicinity of projected alterations. All such improvements were under the direction of the City Commissioners, a body of citizens forty in number, formed by an Act of Parliament passed in 1825. The Commissioners were empowered to make bye-laws, remove obstructions, light and watch the city, levy and collect rates, and execute all manner of things that would add to the security, health, and comfort of their fellow-citizens. For about forty years this mode of managing city affairs was successfully carried on, and resulted in many improvements.

As the curious observer will no doubt speculate as to the origin and use of the iron studs inserted in the sills of the five embrasures above the bar, it may be worth while to explain their purpose. In the year 1866 the Prince of Wales and the Princess visited York on the 9th to 11th of August, on the occasion of the Yorkshire Fine Art and Industrial Exhibition. Their Royal Highnesses were the guests of the Archbishop, and having to drive by way of Nunnery Lane to the Palace at Bishopthorpe, it was thought that immense crowds would congregate on the walls at this point to see the Prince and Princess pass. To prevent any disaster the palisades were strengthened by iron rods connected to the studs mentioned above. Thirty-two similar iron studs may be seen on the embrasures above the railway arches, and they served a like purpose.

NORTH STREET POSTERN.

This round tower, although partially hidden by the close proximity of Lendal Bridge, is worthy of more

than a hasty or passing glance. It has a picturesque and age-worn aspect, and "Time's gradual touch has moulded into beauty" its hoary walls.

In mediæval times this part of the defences served a double purpose ; it protected the postern gate and was used as a watch-tower for the river. It was a link connecting the west and east lines of fortifications, and between this tower and St. Leonard's Tower a massive chain stretched across the water, obstructing the passage down the Ouse, thus protecting the city from hostile attack by means of the river. The chain was in the charge of two men, and in the reign of Richard II. the custodians were John de Poynton for that part opposite Barker¹ Tower, and Thomas Smith for the part adjoining St. Leonard's Tower. The winch for raising and depressing the chain was probably in the basement, but there is no evidence in the towers to enable us to judge how the chain was put out or hauled in, and at what period the use of the chain was abandoned does not appear.

In 1569 the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland with certain Yorkshire gentlemen raised an insurrection in the North for the purpose of re-establishing the Roman Catholic religion, and it was their great desire to capture York. They said "yf they atteyne York, all ys theirs, and yf they mysse yt, yt wer better for them to dye lyke men then to be hanged." The city was put into a proper state of defence. Among other precautionary measures adopted, the Corporation gave orders that "all boats, pinks, and lighters" should range themselves in safety within this iron chain—

"Secure from outward foes, across the flood
A chain of massive thickness barred the way."

In the Middle Ages this postern was called Barker's

¹ The name the tower was known by at this period.

Tower. As the immediate neighbourhood was a great resort of tanners, it is not improbable that the tower received its name from the *barkers*, members of an important craft, viz., those who prepared the bark for the tanner's yard. In the conversation between Edward the Fourth and the Tanner of Tamworth, as given by Percy, it is written—

“ ‘What craftsman art thou?’ said the king ;
 ‘I pray thee telle me trowe.’
 ‘I am a *barker*, sir, by my trade ;
 Now tell me, what art thou?’ ”

For centuries, until the erection of Lendal Bridge in 1863, citizens were ferried across the river at this place. In 1344 St. Leonard's Hospital had a boat to carry its inmates and officers over the river under the care of Agnes, its ferrywoman. The Corporation in 1442 allowed John Sharp to ferry persons across the river, and for the privilege he paid forty shillings per year. The tower, when no longer needed as a fortification, was utilised as a dwelling-house, in which the ferryman resided. In more recent times the lower chamber has been used as a mortuary.

The building is in a good state of repair, but the interior is very much neglected, a standing reproach to those who are responsible for the preservation of York's ancient memorials. Originally the tower had but one chamber, lighted only by cross-shaped loopholes, some of which are now bricked up and others partially replaced by modern windows. The wall was embattled. The level of the platform is easily discernible at this day by the projecting stone spouts that once carried off the rainwater. Some of the embrasures, it will be noticed, are filled up with bricks and plaster, and in places by modern windows. The conical roof rests upon the coping of the parapet, thus forming an upper chamber, reached by an external flight of stone steps.

The ancient postern gateway, which opened into the district known as Bishop's Fields, no longer exists. "The original postern of Edward I.'s time was sacrificed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The Earl of Huntingdon, then Lord President of the North, requested that North Street Postern might be enlarged that his great horse might go through; and with this request the Corporation obsequiously complied."

The Elizabethan doorway and some portion of a gabled erection were replaced in 1840 by a wide centre arch and two side arches for foot passengers, built by the Great North of England Railway Company as an outlet to their coal depôts, which have since been removed. For permission to erect this arch, and to obtain a way into North Street, the Corporation received £500, which sum was expended in restoring and putting into complete repair Walmgate Bar and Barbican.

The archway is now partially closed, and a lumber yard adjoining the postern mars the beauty of a most interesting view.

LENDAL TOWER.

The original form of this tower has almost been obliterated by inevitable modern innovations. Few traces are left of the once strong fortification that guarded against the approach of invaders by the river from the north-west. In the long past it somewhat resembled the tower on the opposite bank of the Ouse, to which in times of rebellious unrest it was connected by a "boom" across the river stretched from bank to bank.

One fragment only remains of the masonry of the old tower, in the upper part of which is a decayed cruciform loophole facing the water, and it is distinguishable from the modern stone-work erection by which it is surmounted.

During the reign of Charles II. the tower was converted into a waterworks, and the old postern gateway adjoining the tower was removed. In 1682, an engine worked by two horses was placed in it for the purpose of supplying the inhabitants of York with water, which was conveyed through the streets in a primitive way by means of wooden pipes. The present Waterworks Company possess portions of these old pipes. The originator of the city's water supply, a Mr. Henry Whistler, leased the tower from the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of York. The indenture, under their Common Seal, is dated the first day of April, 1677. Mr. Whistler carried on the waterworks until his death, which occurred in 1719. The enterprise was afterwards bought by Colonel Thornton. He considerably improved the whole, enlarged the building and introduced a steam engine. In 1779 the undertaking was purchased from Colonel Thornton's representatives by a company of twenty-eight proprietors.

The tower subsequently received a considerable superstructure, and a large tank was placed on the summit. The pseudo-fortification now presents a confused mass of antique and modern masonry, built—

“Of such materials, as around
The workmen's hands had readiest found,”

a carved canopy, a finial, and a variety of moulded stones projecting here and there on the face of the building. The materials used for the heightening and enlarging of the water-house were, no doubt, brought from the neighbouring Abbey of St. Mary's, the picturesque ruins of which were, until comparatively recent years, wantonly destroyed, burnt for lime, and otherwise demolished and scattered.

In 1836 the pumping engine was removed to a newly-erected engine house. The early company disposed o

their vested interests to a new company established in 1846, who three years later removed their works to a more desirable site higher up the river, near Acomb landing. The old Water Tower, with the messuage, offices, and other buildings adjoining thereto, are still in the occupation of the Waterworks Company, under the original lease from the York Corporation which holds good for five hundred years—until Lady Day, 2177—the nominal yearly rent being a whole pepper-corn.

LAYERTHORPE POSTERN.

At the south-west end of Layerthorpe Bridge stood a massive, portcullised and embattled tower, which guarded one of the roads leading to Heworth Moor and the Forest of Galtres. It was an important and well-defended post when the city was fortified. Its situation seems to have rendered it a very strong position. In mediæval days the postern was, in all probability, approached by a drawbridge over the river Foss, which ran by immediately in front.

In the siege of 1644, the low bridge of masonry that then existed was broken down by the enemy; and for twelve years oaken planks over the breach afforded the only passage available for persons using this postern as a means of ingress and egress to and from the city precincts.

In 1656 the bridge was properly repaired and the middle arch rebuilt. Early in the eighteenth century the tower was roofed with red tiles, which added greatly to its picturesqueness.

The narrowness of the archway and bridge was a source of annoyance to pedestrians who happened to meet conveyances at this point, and on February 20, 1722–23, the City Council ordered:—"That Laythorp Postern shall be so made up and streightened as to

prevent Carts and Carriages comeing in or goeing out through the same ; and the Wardens of Monk Ward are desired to see the same effectually done. And that the Charge thereof be at the Expence of the City: the Commons consenting.”¹

A century later it was proposed to make the sluggish Foss navigable, and the old bridge was removed. It was found necessary to take down the old tower on account of the height of the arch of the new bridge, and the demolition of the postern commenced in November, 1829.

THE RED TOWER.

This unique relic of the city defences is an object of unusual interest, and its peculiar roof, with quaint dormer-windows, gives it an old-world charm. It is built of red brick—whence its name—and forms a striking contrast to the grey limestone walls adjoining. The present dwarfed appearance of the structure conveys but a very imperfect idea of the once stately embattled square tower—

“Still vivid memory can recall,
The figure of each shattered wall.”

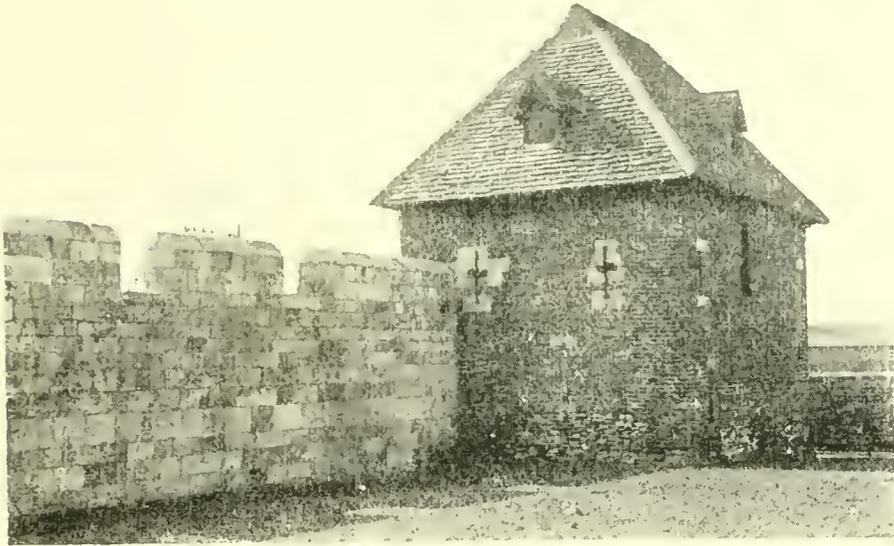
It commanded by its position what is now called the Foss Islands, but which was formerly one continued sheet of water stretching to Layerthorpe Postern. The nearest point of the river Foss is more than two hundred yards away ; but it is an undoubted fact, that at one time the base of the tower was laved by the waters of a large lake, which was sufficient protection to the city from inroads on this side towards Layerthorpe.

Leland says “for two flite shottes the broad and deep water of Foss comming out of the forest of Galtres, defendeth this part of the Cyte without waulle.” The

¹ Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, vol. xiv. p. 451.

change is due partly to Nature, and partly to the handiwork of man; the extensive basin, formed by the military engineers of William the Conqueror, slowly silted up, the river was embanked and the Foss Islands Road now skirting it was constructed in 1855.

The tower is built on stone foundations and the brickwork is irregularly bonded. Where the walls are perfect they are about 4 feet thick. The early years of the sixteenth century may approximately be its date



THE RED TOWER.

of erection; a time that witnessed a general revival of bricks-and-mortar construction. It, however, has undergone many alterations. A few remaining architectural features are worthy of notice. The interior had two apartments; in the lower are indications of a fireplace of curious formation. An inner lining of brickwork, 14 inches deep, has been erected in recent years to strengthen the tower. The upper chamber contains an ingeniously constructed garde-robe

for the convenience of those who kept vigilant watch during the unsettled times of internecine warfare. There are several loopholes, arranged obliquely, through which the defenders discharged their deadly missiles on an approaching foe. The cross-loops, facing the south, have stone dressings; and the demolished battlements would be similarly treated.

It may be inferred, by the manner in which the tower abuts on the parapet and coping of the Bar Walls, that the building is of posterior erection.

Since the days of civil strife the tower has been devoted to a variety of purposes. Horses have occasionally been stabled in it. Many years ago, it was used as a manufactory of brimstone, from which circumstance it was called the Brimstone House, a name it still bears in the locality.

THE END.

APPENDICES



APPENDIX A (see p. 65).

KEEPERS OF THE FISHPOND OF FOSSE.

THE following extracts from Calendars of the Patent and Close Rolls of grants, &c., are reminiscent of ancient conditions appertaining to the appointment of the custodians of the Fosse :—

1280. May 5. Grant to Henry le Esqueler of the custody of the water of Fosse (C.P.R. 1272-81, p. 369).

1312. Jany. 20. To the Sheriff of York(shire). Order to pay to Richard de Allerton and William de Castelay, keepers of the king's fishpond of Fosse, their wages, to wit 2d. daily each, together with the arrears of the same since the sheriff's appointment (C.C.R. 1307-13, p. 408).

1318. Nov. 6. Grant for life to Oliver de Sambuce, yeoman of the chamber, of the custody of the king's stew of the Fosse, with a fee of 6d. a day to be received at the hands of the sheriff of York (C.P.R. 1317-21, p. 224).

1320. Jany. 22. To the Sh. of Yk. Order to pay to Oliver de Sambuce, yeoman of the king's chamber, the arrears of his wages as keeper of the king's pond of Fosse, the custody whereof the king granted to him for life, on the 6th November, in the 12th year of his reign, receiving therefor 6d. a day from the Sheriff of York, and to continue to pay the same (C.C.R. 1318-23, p. 175).

1324. July 14. Grant during pleasure, to Simon Laweman of the custody of the king's stew of Fosse, receiving by the hands

of the sheriff of Yorkshire 6d. a day, as Oliver de Nauntayl, deceased, the late keeper used to receive (C.P.R. 1324-27, p. 4).

1327. Jany. 20. Appointment of Aubin de Neusom to the custody of the water of Fosse by York, during good behaviour (C.P.R. 1327-30, p. 2).

1327. Nov. 25. Grant at the request of J. Bishop of Ely, to Thomas de Ousthorp, during good behaviour, of the custody of the king's fishpond of Fosse (C.P.R. 1327-30, p. 190).

1329. April 7. Ratification of the grant by the late king to Simon Lagheman, for life, of the bailiwick of the custody of the river Fosse at York, notwithstanding a subsequent grant of the same to Thomas de Ousthorp, for life, made by the present king in forgetfulness of the former one (C.P.R. 1327-30, p. 382).

1329. May 13. To the Sh. of Yk. Order to pay to Simon Laghman, to whom the late king granted the bailiwick of the custody of the water of Fosse at York for life, the usual wages from 7 April last, when the king ratified the grant, notwithstanding his grant of the same bailiwick to Thomas de Ousthorp for life, which latter grant he made in forgetfulness of his father's grant to Simon (C.C.R. 1327-30, p. 464).

1331. March 20. Acceptance of a demise by Simon de Lagheman to Hugh Treganon, King's serjeant and usher of the chamber, of the bailiwick of the custody of the water of the Fosse at York, for life granted to him by the late king (C.P.R. 1330-34, p. 86).

1332. July 24. To the Sh. of Yk. Order to pay to Hugh Treganon, doorkeeper of the King's chamber, the arrears of his wages for the keeping of the water of Fosse at York, from 20th March, in the 5th year of the king's reign, and to pay the said wages henceforth, as the king on that day granted to Hugh the said custody, which Simon de Lagheman, who held it by grant for life from the late king, demised to him for the term of Simon's life (C.C.R. 1330-33, p. 489).

1343. Mar. 10. Grant to Walter Whithors, king's yeoman, of the custody of the water of Fosse, to hold for life in the like manner as Hugh Treganon, deceased, held the same (C.P.R. 17 Edward III., p. 19).

1378. Mar. 11. Inspeximus and Confirmation, in favour of John de Berdon (Bardon) of York, whom the king has retained, of letters patent, dated 6 Sept. 49 Edward III., being a grant to

him for life, of the custody of the pool (*stagni*) of Fosse by York, on the surrender thereof by Walter Whitehors, the late king's esquire.

Vacated by surrender and cancelled, because the king granted it to him and Richard Fournays for their lives, 16 Feb. 19 Richard II. (C.P.R. 1377-81, p. 155).

1391. Aug. 10. Grant, for life, to the king's esquire Richard Leuesham, of the office of keeper of the water of Fosse in the city of York, with the usual fees, on condition that he abide there and execute the office in person (C.P.R. 1388-92, p. 470).

1399. Oct. 14. Inspeximus and Confirmation to Richard Fournays of letters patent dated 19 May, 19 Richard II., granting to him for life the custody of the king's stank of Fosse by the city of York with fees of 6d. daily from the issues of the county of York, and grant to him of all arrears. By p.s. and for 6/8 paid in the hanaper (C.P.R. 1399-1401, p. 16).

1422. Dec. 18. Inspecting and Confirming Letters Patent, dated 20 Nov. 3 Henry V., granting to John Forest the custody of the stank of Fosse, near the city of York (C.P.R. 1422-29, p. 42).

1429. Feb. 15. Grant, during pleasure, by advice of the council, to John Stanbury for good service, of the custody of the king's stank of Fosse by the city of York, void by the death of John Forest, to be discharged by him in person or by deputy, with 6d. a day wages out of the issues of the county of York (C.P.R. 1422-29, p. 530).

1454. Nov. 12. William Hatclyf, the king's physician, is appointed keeper of the water of Fosse, with 6d. a day (Rymer's *Fœdera*, syllabus, p. 685).

1462. Feb. 1. Grant for life to the king's servants Alured Cornbough and John Fereby, yeomen of the crown, of the custody of the king's stank or water of Fosse near York from 4th March last with all profits as in the time of Edward III. and Richard II., and with the accustomed fees from the issues of the county of York (C.P.R. 1461-67, p. 137).

1464. Nov. 22. Grant for life to John Thriske (Thirsk) of York, merchant, and John Fereby, yeomen of the crown, of the custody of the king's stank or water of Fosse by York, co. York, with all profits as in the time of Edward III. and Richard II., receiving the accustomed fees from the issues of the county of York, in lieu

of a late grant of the same to Alured Cornburgh and John Fereby, yeomen of the crown, by letters patent dated 1 Feb. 1 Edward IV. surrendered (C.P.R. 1461-67, p. 357).

1474. July 22. Grant for life to Richard Burgh of York, "gentilman," of the custody of the king's stank or water of Fosse in the county of the city of York and the county of York, in the king's hands by the death of John Thirske, to hold from Michaelmas last, from which time he has occupied the custody, with all profits pertaining to the custody in the times of Edward III. and Richard II., receiving the accustomed fees from the issues of the county of York (C.P.R. 1467-77, p. 454).

1509. May 31. Richard Newton of York, merchant, to be keeper of the water of Fosse, within the liberties of York, lately held by Richard Borowe (State Papers, Henry VIII., 1509-14, Nos. 142, 200).

APPENDIX B (see p. 89).

THE WALLS OF NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

"1290. September 22nd. Licence, after inquisition *ad quod damnum*, by the sheriff of Northumberland and Henry le Escot, mayor of Newcastle-on-Tyne, for the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Mary, Newcastle-on-Tyne, to make a postern in the wall now in making round the said town, the foundation (*fundamentum*) of which has been commenced through the middle of the hospital between its hall and other buildings, whereby they may pass from the one to the other; on the condition that the king may stop the said postern at will" (Cal. Patent Rolls, 1281-92, p. 388).

"1311. August 14th. To the mayor, bailiffs, and men, and the whole community of Newcastle-on-Tyne.

"Order to cause the ditch about to be constructed for the town wall and the said wall to be constructed without delay by the mill of the hospital of St. Mary, Westergate, and thence direct to the water of Tyne, as the king learns by an inquisition taken by the sheriff of Northumberland that it would be more to the king's convenience and the security of the town, and the least nuisance to the inhabitants if the wall were so constructed than if it were made in the place ordained by them, because the wall and ditch would include less space and would include a great

part of the town that was previously altogether excluded, by which exclusion danger to the town might arise" (Cal. Close Rolls, 1307-13, p. 369).

APPENDIX C (see p. 89).

MURAGE AT YORK AND THE KING'S WOOL.

"1343. May 8. To the mayor and bailiffs of York. Order to supersede the demand made upon William de Dunolm, the king's merchant, for 16d. a sack on 281 sacks 15½ stones 3 pounds of wool, in the name of toll and murage, and to de-arrest without delay the wool arrested for that cause, permitting William or his attorney to take the wool to the port of Kyngeston-upon-Hull, as the king charged William to take the said wool of cos. Cumberland and Westmoreland to that port, and thence to Flanders and to do the king's pleasure there with the same, and the king has learned that the mayor and bailiffs exact 12d. murage and 4d. for toll on each sack of that wool, passing through that city to the said port, and have arrested the wool for that cause, and the king has not hitherto been bound to pay any toll or custom to his subjects on his wool or any other of his things" (Cal. Close Rolls, 1343-1346, p. 101).

APPENDIX D (see p. 91).

ST. MARY'S ABBEY QUIT OF MURAGE, ETC.

Feb. 11, 1257. Westminster. "Grant to Thomas, the abbot, and the monks of St. Mary's, York, that they shall be quit of all murages and repairs of pavements throughout the king's realm and dominions; and that the king's justices, when they come to York for all pleas or for pleas of the forest, shall not hold their pleas in the said abbey save at the good will of the abbot and monks, but only the pleas of the liberty of the said abbey shall be held there as of old" (Charter Rolls, 1226-1257, p. 461).

APPENDIX E (see p. 97).

THE FORTIFICATIONS OF NORWICH TO REPAIR.

"1378. February 28. Commission to the bailiffs of Norwich to view the river on one side of the city, which is choked with grass growing therein, and the dry ditches on the other side, obstructed with mud and filth thrown into them, and also the

walls and turrets that are decayed, and to cleanse the former and repair the latter, and to rebuild the paling on the river-bank for the defence of the city, compelling all persons who have land, as well as those who have a continuous abode there and draw profit from trade to contribute" (Cal. Patent Rolls, 1377-81, p. 121).

APPENDIX F (see p. 97).

THE BAR BENEATH THE CASTLE.

"1232. January 26. Havering. Gift to the master and brethren of the Temple, in frank almoin, of a piece of land near the mill of the said brethren without York, lying between the said mill and the water called Use, and running from the *bar* beneath the castle to the street called Fishergate" (Charter Rolls, 16 Henry III., m. 14).

APPENDIX G (see p. 104).

REFERENCES TO PROPERTY BELONGING TO THE JEWS IN
CONEY STREET.

June 10, 1280. Licence for Henna, daughter of Leo de Eboraco, and Elias her son, Jews of York, to sell to Henry de Brylaund a house of theirs in that city situated in Conigstrete, to hold in the manner specified in a charter made by the said Jews to the said Henry (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1272-81, p. 380).

October 12, 1281. Licence for Samuel de Eboraco, Jew of London, to sell, unless it be the king's escheat, a messuage in the city of York, in Conyngestrete, between the house of Paulinus de Munbray and that of Adam Verdenel, on condition that he do not sell it in mortmain (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1272-81, p. 458).

Nov. 15, 1279. Confirmation of a grant by Eleanor, the king's consort, to John Sampson and Roger Basy, citizens of York, of the whole land, with buildings and appurtenances, and with a school built thereon, and with steps to the entrance of the said land, situated in breadth between land of William de Clervaus towards the south, land late of Jocus de Jovenne, Jew, nephew of Aaron, towards the north, and in length from the high road of Coningestrete towards the east, to the river (*ripam*) called Use towards the west, to hold of the said queen in fee simple.

Grant, to the said John and Roger, at the instance of the said queen, that they be quit to the present date of all debts and exactions to the Jewry by reason of the above premises (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1272-81, p. 334).

APPENDIX H (see p. 104).

KING JOHN'S VISITS TO YORK.¹

- A.D. 1200. March 25, 26, 27, 28.
 1201. March 1, 2.
 1204. Feb. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28; March 1, 2.
 1205. March 6, 7, 8.
 1206. February 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.
 1207. May 26, 27, 28.
 1208. August 7.
 1209. July 26, 27; August 15, 16, 17.
 1210. March 27, 28, 30; December 14, 22, 24, 25, 26.
 1212. July 1; August 30, 31.
 1213. Sept. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.
 1216. January 4; February 15, 16, 17, 18.

APPENDIX I (see p. 110).

GRANT OF LAND TO THE FRIARS PREACHERS NEAR "THE BANK OF THE CITY DITCH."

"March 4, 1228. Westminster. Gift to the friars of the Order of Preachers abiding in York, in frank almoin, of the king's chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, situated in Kingescotes (Toft Green), York, and land there for building, which runs lengthwise from the dike of William Malesonres on the west side of the said chapel along the bank of the city ditch to the curtilage of Robert son of Baldwin, and broadwise on the west side of the said chapel from the bank (*duna*) of the city ditch along the dike of the said William to the great street adjoining the chapel on the south side, and so eastward to the curtilage of the said William, and thence to the north of that curtilage between that curtilage and the bank of the city ditch up to the curtilage of the said Robert" (Calendar of Charter Rolls, 1226-57, p. 70).

¹ From "A Description of the Patent Rolls," by Thomas Duffus Hardy F.S.A., 1835.

APPENDIX J (see pp. 112, 205).

GRANT FROM HENRY III. TO WALTER GIFFARD, ARCHBISHOP
OF YORK, OF A PLOT OF LAND NEAR THE WALLS.

(Reg. archiep. Giffard, 76 b.)

Westminster, } Grant of a piece of ground contiguous to the
Oct. 11, 1268. } palace of the archbishop, and close to the walls
 } of the city of York.

H., Dei gratia, etc., omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis ad quos præsentēs literæ pervenerint salutem. Quia testificatum est coram nobis per viros fidedignos quod non est ad damnum nostrum, seu nocumentum civitatis nostræ Ebor., concedere venerabili patri W., archiepiscopo Ebor., Angliæ primati, quandam placeam nostram in civitate Ebor., contiguam placeæ ejusdem archiepiscopi, juxta palatium suum in eadem civitate et muro civitatis ejusdem, habendam et tenendam ad elargitionem placeæ suæ prædictæ; dum tamen quædam portæ prope murum prædictum fiant, per quas hominibus civitatem prædictam custodientibus, tempore turbationis vel guerræ in regno nostro, quod absit, contingente, ingressus et exitus ad eandem civitatem custodiendum pateat competenter. Nos, pro laudabili servitio quod prædictus archiepiscopus nobis impendit, dedimus et concessimus eidem archiepiscopo, pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, placeam nostram prædictam ad elargitionem placeæ suæ antedictæ. Ita quod placeam illam pro voluntate sua includat, et eam usque ad kernellos ejusdem muri inclusam teneat sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum. Dum tamen dictæ portæ prope murum civitatis prædictæ fiant per quas hominibus civitatem prædictam custodientibus, tempore turbationis vel guerræ contingente, ingressus et exitus ad eandem civitatem custodiendam pateat competenter, sicut prædictum est. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium, xj die Octobris, anno regni nostri quinquagesimo secundo.¹

APPENDIX L (see p. 144).

DISSENSIONS BETWEEN THE CITIZENS OF YORK. MAYOR
APPOINTED BY THE KING, MARCH 22, 1471.

1471. February 22nd. (Westminster.) Ordinance, on account of the dissensions between the citizens of York, for the election

¹ "Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers," edited by the Rev. James Raine, M.A., 1873 (Rolls Series), pp. 18-19.

This grant is entered on the Patent Rolls 52nd Henry III. m. 4, 7.

of a mayor of the city in the following manner. On the vigil of St. Gregory next the sheriffs of the city shall summon all the searchers of every mistery within the city and liberty to cause all the workers of their misteries to appear personally in the Guildhall of the city on the following day for the election of a mayor for the year following 1 April next ; and the workers thus assembled shall nominate two aldermen of the city, neither of whom shall have been twice mayor or mayor for four years previously, and the names of these shall be presented in writing to the aldermen and council by the recorder, the senior sheriff, and the common clerk. Each alderman and councillor shall then secretly declare his choice of the two to the said recorder, sheriff and clerk, and the one of the two with most votes shall be declared elected mayor for the year aforesaid, the senior sheriff choosing in case of equality ; and if he shall die or quit office within the year the other shall be mayor for the remainder of the year or another alderman shall be elected as above at the discretion of the aldermen and councillors. And on 1st April at the tenth hour before noon the mayor elect shall take the accustomed oath before the citizens in the Guildhall and the aldermen and citizens shall swear to assist him. And in future years the election shall be made in the same manner, except that the existing mayor shall summon the searchers and shall choose in case of equality, and each successive mayor shall remain in office until 1st April, and any one who shall take upon himself or occupy the office of mayoralty without such election shall forfeit the sum of £100, one moiety to the king and the other moiety to the use of the city. (Rolls of Parliament, v. 455.) By petition in Parliament (Cal. Patent Rolls, 1467-1477, p. 238).

1471. March 22. (Westminster.) Whereas by an act in Parliament, 26 November last, it was ordained that the election of a mayor of the city of York should take place annually on the feast of St. Gregory, but on account of certain dissensions between the citizens no election has been made, the king hereby appoints William Holbeck, citizen and alderman of the city, mayor for one year. By King and Council (Cal. Patent Rolls, 1467-1477, p. 239).

APPENDIX M (see p. 145).

FARM OR TRIBUTE PAID BY THE BUTCHERS' AND WEAVERS' GUILDS OF YORK.

The tax designated " bucher penys " was a tribute paid to the King by the Butchers' Guild. A similar impost, paid by the

weavers of York, was, in part, exempted by Edward IV. in 1478, under date December 10th.

“Pardon to the weavers of the city of York, on account of their poverty, of 100s. yearly out of the farm of £10 yearly, which they are bound to render to the king, provided that weavers dwelling outside the city and the county of the same in the County of York shall not be compelled to contribute towards the remaining 100s.” (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1476-85, p. 135).

APPENDIX N (see p. 145).

“Skaitgyld,” from *scat*, a tax, and *geld*, signifying tribute, was the fee-farm, the perpetual farm or rent of the city. York, in mediæval days, was in a sense leased from the Crown, as certain financial rights were vested in the King. The annual *firma*, or rent, exacted from the citizens for centuries, was £160.¹ The collecting of this in early times was farmed by the High Sheriff of Yorkshire, but, in the Plantagenet and subsequent periods, the city bailiffs and sheriffs answered for the rent of their city from year to year, for and on behalf of the citizens.²

APPENDIX O (see p. 146).

RELIEF OF MURAGE AND OTHER TOLLS BY RICHARD III.

“1484. February 19. Whereas the mayor and citizens of York hold the city of the king at fee-farm of £160 yearly, of which divers parts have been granted by the king's progenitors to divers persons and are still due to them, the king, for the relief of the poverty of the city and for the *repair of the walls* and other charges, grants to them £60 yearly for ever from the said fee-farm, and grants that the mayor shall be the king's chief serjeant at arms and shall receive for that office £18 5s. yearly from the residue of the fee-farm, and further releases to them for ever all his interest in the residue of the said fee farm” (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1476-85, p. 409).

APPENDIX P (see p. 148).

MURAL CHAMBERS.

April 29, 1484. “At thys day the indenture by the wich John C . . . haith the ffee of xxs and iv yerds of cloith for the gydyng

¹ See Cal. Charter Rolls, 1226-1257, p. 379.

² See Madox, “Firma Burgi.

and keyping of the gunys, the *gun chambyrs*, gunpowdyr, and odir artilion of were, and for as moch as the said John haith not doon hys covenant acordyng to the said indenture, that thys matir shalbe shewid to the communs, the wich so the same day was red openly afor all the communs, that by all the commons it was agreid, inasmoch as the said John as not kept the said ordinnce, bot suffird them to rust and be lost, that he shall forfait and lees hys said fee." ¹

APPENDIX Q (see p. 229).

AN INDENTURE BETWEEN ARCHBISHOP MELTON AND THE
MAYOR AND CITIZENS OF YORK ABOUT THE OLD BAILEY
AND ITS DEFENCES.

(Reg. Melton 170 a.)

Come y ly avoit nadgaires debate entre la communante de la cite d'Everwyk d'une part, et William par la grace de Dieu ercevesque d'Everwyk, primat d'Engleterre, d'autre, sur la gaite et veille de Venth Baill d'Everwyk, de ceo que la dite Communante ad chalange le dit ercevesque de la dite gaite et veille faire par gentz a ses custages en temps de guerre, et mais que le dit ercevesque ne soit pas attere qil soit tenn de faire la dite gaite et veille en nul temps, ne pur quant, pur la sauvete de la dite cite, notre seigneur le roi et son poeple, si ad il graunte de sa especiale grace a ceste foiz, si les ennemis le dit notre seigneur le roi y veingnent pour enseger la dite cite, trover gentz a ses custages de faire la dite gaite et veille en tiele manere, que si les ennemis viengnent asautes faire au dit Baill, ou autrement chargent cel lieu plus que autres, que la dite communante soit tenu a eider et defendre cel lieu ausi come autres de la cite. Et ceo qil fait ore quant a la gaite et veille avantdite ne puisse tourner en prejudice a li, ne a sa eglise, ne a ses successors, apres ces hours mais ne mic encountresceant ceo qil ferra ore a la dite gaite et veille sauve soit a lui, a sa eglise et a touz ses successors, tote le droit qil avoint avant ceo, que nul debate fu mis, de la gaite et veille suisdite de par la dite communante. Et fait assaver que par la gaite et veille que le dit ercevesque ad graunte faire de sa grace quant a ore ne vent lui, ne sa eglise, ne ses successors, estre tenuz a la garde du dite Baill. En tesmoignance de quele chose a cel part de l'indenture, que demoert vers le dit ercevesque, ceux de la dite communante ount mis leur seale : et le dit ercevesque a l'autre parte de l'indenture que demoert devers la dite com-

¹ Davies, "York Records," p. 187.

munante, ad mis son seal. Done a Everwyk, le xvj^{me}. jour de Feverer, l'an del incarnation notre Seigneur mille ecc. xxj., et del regne de roi Edward fuiz du roi Edward quinzime (" Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers Record Edition, pp. 313-314.)

APPENDIX R (see p. 232).

ARCHBISHOP BOWET AND THE OLD BAILE, 1423.

Record on the Roll of the Courl of Common Pleas.

Ebor. Maior et Communitas Civitatis domini Regis Eboracensis per attornatum suum optulerunt se quarto die versus Henricum Archiepiscopum Eboracensis de placito quare cum iidem Maior et Communitas habeant et teneant ipsique et predecessores sui Civitatem predictam de domino Rege et progenitoribus suis tenuerunt ad feodi firmam ac idem Archiepiscopus et omnes predecessores sui Archiepiscopi loci predicti quandam parcellam murorum Civitatis predictae in eadem civitate vocatam le Oldebayll' quociens indiguerit pro resistencia Scotorum inimicorum domini Regis et progenitorum ejusdem Regis a tempore quo non extat memoria reparare et emendare consueverunt et debuerint predictus Archiepiscopus parcellam predictam per magnum tempus reparare et emendare renuit et recusavit per quod magna pars ejusdem parcelle pro defectu reparacionis et emandacionis huiusmodi in defectu ipsius Archiepiscopi diruta est et collapsa in ipsorum Maioris et Communitatis grave dampnum ac Civitatis predictae periculum manifestum etc. Et ipse non venit. Et habuit inde diem hic ad hunc diem scilicet in octabis Sancte Trinitatis per essionium suum postquam attachiatus, etc. Et preceptum est vicecomiti quod distringet eum per omnes terras etc. Et quod de exitibus, etc. Et quod habeat corpus ejus hic in octabis Sancti Michaelis etc. De Banco, Trin. 1 Henry VI. (*The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. xii. p. 139, communicated by W. Paley Baildon, F.S.A.).

APPENDIX S (see p. 236).

MASONS' MARKS.

Most people who pace the streets of York obtain many glimpses of the City Walls during their perambulations, but ninety-nine persons out of every hundred, or possibly all but one in a thousand, look upon these ancient grey bulwarks incuriously,

and declare them "dead masonry" and of no interest ; whilst all the while, to those having antiquarian tastes, they are veritable "sermons in stones."

In a careful examination of the stonework of these hoary defences it will be discovered that something of more than passing interest can be learnt even from hewn stones. Hundreds of the stones still bear the marks, or monographical devices, of the many masons, or builders, who assisted in the erection of these stout old walls. Some of the marks are distinct and as clear as they were on the day they were executed, although the hands that cut them have mouldered in the dust these six hundred years.

It was quite by accident that a few of these peculiar marks were first discovered by the author. This led to the inquiry what others had done, and to examine, as far as possible, the surface of every stone. The wish that the result of these investigations should not be lost is the excuse for appending this unpretentious memoir.

The marks found in various situations on the City Walls are arranged, in the text of the work, for convenience of identification and location.

Masons' marks are found cut on the stonework of most mediæval buildings throughout Europe, and on very many erections of greater antiquity. Comparatively little has been written about these varied geometrical and curious symbols, but occasional papers bearing upon the subject are found amongst the transactions of learned and archæological societies. The first description of masons' marks was given by Mr. George Godwin (a former editor of *The Builder*) before the Society of Antiquaries in 1841. His memoir, with transcripts of several marks, was printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. 30.

The marks, it is generally understood, were put on each stone wrought by the mason as it left his banker or bench, so that the work, good or bad, of different individuals could be distinguished. Almost every mason of to-day has his peculiar mark, which he puts on each stone he works, a rule which is strictly observed where several men are employed upon an important building.

In mediæval times the mark was—except in rare instances—cut on the front face of the stone, but at the present time it is placed on the bed, or internal face, and thus hidden in the mortar joints when fixed. The date of the discontinuance of placing marks on the outer surface of the stone in England has not been ascertained; some of the latest examples of this

practice are found on Goddard's Almshouses, Bray, which were finished in 1628.

Amongst the masons of the present day their distinguishing devices are vernacularly known as banker-marks. Many of the modern marks resemble ancient ones, some of which, in all probability, had their origin before the Christian era, and have been handed down through successive generations of wandering masons, who, after the completion of a great work, of necessity had to travel in search of employment in a distant land or country. The masons of to-day are as nomadic, in the pursuit of their calling, as their predecessors of the Middle Ages. In that church-building period masons travelled from place to place in search of employment, and some historians surmise that to enable them to claim the sympathy and assistance of their fellow-craftsmen, and to obtain employment abroad, a system of symbols was devised, in which every mason was represented. Whether the various marks adopted by them had originally a definite symbolic meaning, peculiarly and strictly masonic, has not been decided. The marks as used by modern masons have no signification other than as distinguishing individual devices.

In the olden days, when a building of magnitude was completed the workmen dispersed, exercising their art here and there, leaving their marks in various places, far and near. The early masons formed themselves into societies, similar to other trade-guilds of the Middle Ages, and such a brotherhood anciently existed in York. Formerly members of masonic guilds registered their marks in the books of their respective societies, and some sixteenth-century lists are still extant.

In the little, but beautiful, Early English church at Skelton, near York, there are the marks of thirty-five masons; it is singular that so many men should have been employed on so small a work, compared with the number engaged on other buildings of greater dimensions.

From close observations, we have come to the conclusion that mediæval masons did not cut their marks to scale, or of any particular uniform size, but incised them by means of the chisel nearest to hand or last used. Marks found on the exterior of buildings generally appear bolder and larger than those found on the inside walls. Commencing with the Early English period, many marks inscribed on interior masonry seem to have been simply scratched with a sharp-pointed tool, known as a scribe. The size of the characters thus varies considerably. A series of the smallest, one and a half inches long, may be seen on the interior walls of the Church of St. Michael le Belfrey,

York (Perpendicular, 1525) ; and of the largest, seven inches long and deeply cut, figured on the boundary wall of St. Mary's Abbey, Bootham, York.

It is very probable that many of these strange marks had originally a definite meaning, some of which were used other than as masons' devices, in very early times, by superstitious Eastern religious devotees. The actual origin of these old marks will possibly ever remain a secret.

These observations are recorded in rather a disjointed manner, but those readers who are interested in masons' marks, and wish to make further researches, will find at the end of this memoir a list of several papers and works which may be consulted, and which treat of the subject in various phases.

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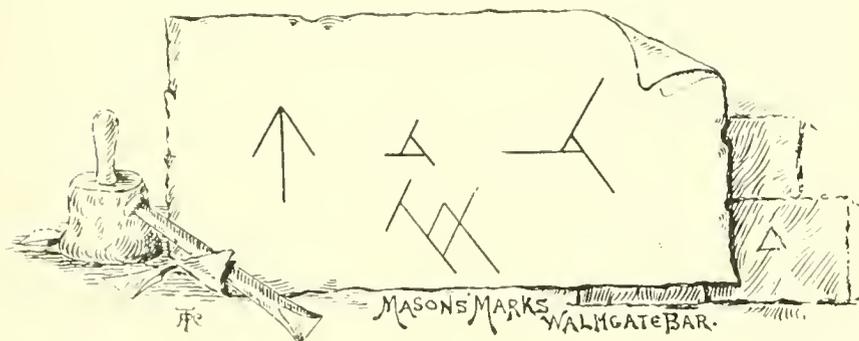
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