THE CASTLE HILL OF PENWORTHAM.


(Read 1st January, 1857.)

Antiquity, tradition and history, combined with nature's gifts, have lavished upon Penwortham much renown, and surrounded its heights with a halo of interest and beauty, that have rendered them almost classical. The grandeur of its locality, its towering eminence, the noble winding stream of the Ribble at its base, the woods which embosom it and toft the verdant dale which it overlooks, are worthy of the historian's pen and the painter's pencil. The Britons admired it as the green hill on the waters; the Roman sentinel from its summit hailed the laden galley on its way to Coccium; the Saxon thane there flew his hawk at its quarry, there speared the wild boar and feasted on it with his retainers; the Norman baron held his "king's court" on Castle hill; the priest and his penitent told their beads and pattered their prayers at the shrine of its priory; and the pedestrian in search of the picturesque, whilst ascending its steep brow, or resting himself on the steps of St. Mary's well, has listened with delight, or a moistened eye, to the melodious chimes of the sweet bells of Penwortham church. These associations will receive additional lustre by our society's "find" of last year, if in my enthusiasm I make not the mistake of breaking a lance against a windmill instead of a giant.

Castle hill is situated on the north eastern spur of the heights of Penwortham, having in front a level area of some size; whilst on the south it is separated by a deep gulley from the back of the church. In former times, the stream of the Ribble washed on two sides the base of the cliff from which it rises, and on the west a sunken road ran between the baronial fortalice of the Bussels and the priory of St. Mary's, down to the old ferry over the river; so that the one might obstruct the passage of an enemy and the other remind a friend of the duty of prayer on the outset of a journey. Tradition loves to gossip concerning this spot. The tale,

* Aided by the notes and illustrations of Mr. C. Hardwick, of Preston.
+ The hill was examined on the 24th of June, 1856, during the Excursion of the Historic Society; also on the 23rd and 26th. See Transactions vol. viii. p. 206.
however, most stoutly persisted in is, that from the vicinity of Castle hill, or from the priory, there existed a subterranean passage, which communicated with the hospital at Tulketh on the opposite bank of the Ribble. Veritable as this tradition is deemed, I paid little regard to it, when together with other members of our society I visited Penwortham hill; but busied myself in ascertaining that the mound, which the workmen were excavating, rose about eighteen feet above the level of the churchyard, and from sixty-five to seventy-five feet above the base of the water-worn cliff on the east. Its circumference is two hundred and twenty yards, and was probably more, previous to its diminution by the undermining action of the stream. As you ascend the summit, you cross several circular terraces from each of which spring mamelon mounds, that become gradually less. As a whole it resembles the conical beacon hills on Sussex downs, though like them Castle hill has never been circumvallated.

The profile of the hill and horizontal plan of the excavations, fig. 4 and 5, plate iii, will aid my description. A trench being opened from A and H at the north east side of the mound was extended at the depth of eleven feet to C; then after an interval of space between C and D a shaft was sunk at D. These cuttings pierced through a mass of mixed red sand and marl, and a thin layer of black viscous matter formed of decayed vegetation, about six feet above the more important remains. At the first sight, I was disposed to think that the hill was of a geological and not of an artificial formation. A little closer observation, however, manifested the fallacy of my hasty conjecture. The deposits were not so dense, or close as a natural structure of earth would present; but they were altogether destitute of that compact texture of marl, which we afterwards found beneath the pavement soon to be referred to. Our discoveries commenced at the bottom of shaft D., for we here exhumed a singular piece of workmanship, composed of hazel wands, cross pieces, and rafters. The principal portion of these had been used in their natural, undressed, green state, and constructed and at times interlaced with great care and nicety. The wands were somewhat thicker than one's thumb;* in one place laid perpendicularly, and very closely side by side, in another,—and here the roof had been thatched,—at short, but regular intervals; in a third, they were wattled. These wands rested on horizontal cross pieces, which in return were sup-

* One of these may have been the remains of the outer wall:—specimens of each are preserved.
FIG 1.

PROFILE OF CASTLE MULL

DARK PORTION EXHIBITS THE RECENT EXCAVATIONS

FIG 3.

FIG 4

FIG 5

REMAINS FOUND IN THE "CASTLE MULL"

PENWORTHAM
ported by thicker rafters, that appeared to have run from the plate of the building to what is now called the ridge. All these wands, cross-pieces and rafters, except those which had been hewn and in previous use, as well as the interlacing binders, retained the silvery hue of their bark, and not only were the slender wands of the roof moulded by pressure from above round the cross pieces; but the rafters in a similar manner had formed matrices in the wood, which they sustained. All were black with age, decay and smoke, and many exhibited undoubted proofs of having been portions of a more ancient and substantial building.

I will not undertake to determine whether all the roof had been thatched: I think not, certainly in some parts we found no signs; but in others, both from above and beneath the timber, was removed a strewment of rushes and grass of various kinds, especially the Rumex acetosa in seed, and which, I observed, grew at the time of our visit, most profusely around the hill and on its summit. Beneath these lay a festering mass of debris to the thickness of two feet six inches, which concealed a rude and uneven pavement of river boulders. These were embedded in a greyish kind of earth, that doubtless had once been surface soil; but it was not easily recognised at first on account of its being saturated with animal matter and thickly maculated with white spots, which on exposure to the air quickly turned blue. This effect is produced, Mr. Hardwick says, by Vivianite composed of the phosphate of lime from bones in contact with iron. Such was the case here, this chemical compound being formed from the ossiferous remains and metal instruments, buried in the debris, their fluid matter had percolated through the pavement into the substance beneath. Besides, the preservation of the articles discovered lying on the pavement, must be ascribed to the same cause. Time had but little corroded the iron.

The outer walls of this antique ruin were most probably constructed after the manner of the roof, by strong poles planted side by side, by wattling, or by "raddle and daub"; but, that the building had consisted of more than one apartment seems probable from the different methods of roofing adopted, and a perceptible variation in the height of the pavement. The main portion, however, appeared to have been circular, from the fact of broken stumps of uprights taking that form; and these uprights had been sharpened by a keen small axe, evidently not a bronze one. The pavement of the interior was disclosed at the bottom of shaft D, in figures 4 and 5, plate iii; but the whole of it
was not exhumed;—only thirteen yards in length by six broad. Nor were any signs of the margin met with at any point, except the north; whilst the circumference of the hill, where the paved floor of boulders rested, could not be less than one hundred and forty yards. Thus we can merely guess at the size of the whole building, though there may also have been a stockade round the outer rim of the summit, now totally decayed. The method of supporting the roof of the principal apartment at least, may be conjectured with greater certainty. At B in figures 4 and 5, plate iii, there remained fixed in the ground a rude, heavy, and partially squared oak post, which had been broken off five feet from the floor, and bored with three holes for the insertion of pegs. This, perhaps, was the centre pillar, the main support of the roof; but to what use the solid, broken planks that lay on the pavement on the north east and south west sides had been converted, it is difficult to determine. I will only record, that one of them was pressed upon two strong rafters and crosspieces, and that both had been riven and not cut by the saw; since their knots had been torn from their sockets. They may have been a portion of the outer wall, or roof of the building, as the holes through them and the foot length pegs found near, would seem to testify. One thing is certain, the age so visibly stamped on them, and the centre pillar, proclaims that they have witnessed many a restoration of such a fragile building as the one from which they were disinterred.

The question now occurs, who were the occupants of this dwelling on Castle hill; when was it destroyed; and who elevated the mound to its present height and formed its conical shape? To these questions we may perhaps obtain an answer by a near inspection of the bones, instruments, and even the building itself, out of the ruins of which they were exhumed.

In the early period of our island's history, dense forests covered the face of the whole country. The Doomsday survey records that in the Confessor's reign the adjacent parish of Leyland contained woods eight miles in length by four and a quarter broad, and that Penwortham also, after the conquest, was not destitute of one. And these were well stocked with game of every kind; nor during the Saxon period was the owner of the land restricted from free warren over his property. At a distant period the huge-horned *Bos primigenius*,—was it the *Urus of Caesar*?—roamed through their thickets and glades together with the *Bos latifrons* and *longifrons*, whose skulls, teeth and horns are still dragged from the Ribble,
and those of the latter exhumed from the Roman camps at Kirkham and Walton. Moreover, herds of bucks, bevies of roes and red deer (*Cervus Elaphus*) sounders of wild swine and singualrs of boars were very numerous, as well as land and water fowl, which were captured by snares and by hawking with birds from the neighbouring aeries; sports with that of hunting with the hound and horn, so highly esteemed by the Saxon nobility, that it was an essential branch of education and the business of life, except when the nobler game of war engrossed their attention.

The bones of the animals, discovered amid the ruins of the dwelling on Castle hill, all belonged to those which are given for food to man; yet as they existed from the earliest period to the mediaeval ages in Britain, no inference can be drawn from them of the date of its erection, or the time when the hunters feasted on their flesh. The *Cervus Elaphus* is indigenous. Professor Owen says—"The oldest stratum in Britain yielding evidence of a *Cervus* of the size of the red-deer is the red-crag of Newbourne." A more specific character, however, of this sized deer is afforded by antlers, as well as teeth and bones, and these attest the existence of the *Cervus Elaphus* through intermediate formations, as the newest fresh water pliocene and the mammoth silt of the ossiferous caves, to the growth of existing turbaries and peat bogs. Camden speaks of them as roaming wild in his time among the Hellbecks of Richmondshire. Pies of the wild boar, red deer, and cow, slain in the woods of Hoghton Tower, feasted king James on his visit there. Nor are they yet extinct. They exist in the Highlands of Scotland, in Windsor park, and even at Knowsley.

Neither was the wild Boar totally eradicated from our thickets, in which it had sought shelter from the earliest times, until the mediaeval ages. An inscription on a Roman altar records "That it was not possible to destroy it on account of the density of the woods." Whittaker of Manchester relates—"How the wild boar roved over the woods in that parish during many centuries after the Romans had departed, that it gave the name of Barlow or Boar's ground to a track in the south west of that parish, and that it retained its haunts in the wilds of Blakely within the last three or four ages." Fitzstephen in his history of London at the latter part of the tenth century, observes—"that Boars were among the wild animals, which frequented a forest, then surrounding the city." But, were the bones discovered those of wild, or domestic swine? The snout of the former was longer than that of the latter and the tusk
sometimes nearly a foot in length. The largest tusk, however, taken from a jaw found at Castle hill did not altogether exceed five inches.

Thus the remains of the red-deer and of the boar, as well as those of the other animals exhumed with them, indicate no specific time when they had been buried. We must resort to more unerring tests, if we would discover the occupants of the edifice on Castle hill; and we may perhaps learn their names by an examination of the structure of the dwelling and the various instruments preserved in its ruins. As on the north bank of the Ribble, so on the south, British remains are not uncommonly met with. On the draining of Martin Mere, seven canoes were disclosed, all formed from the trunks of trees by fire and the axe. They were different from, as well as older than, the two skin and wicker coracles of the Fylde Marton Mere. I say older; because the Britons had not then attained such skill in the weaving of baskets, as to enrich the language of Rome with the term "bascauda." A bronze celt was likewise discovered in the vicinity of these canoes, which Dr. Leigh pronounces to be,—"one of the greatest relics in the universe;" nor will we criticise his enthusiasm after seeing a representation of one of Nimrod's sappers and miners making use of a similar weapon or tool, against the fortifications of a walled city. But British remains can be appealed to much nearer to the scene of our history; for Mr. Hardwick affirms, that they exist beneath the Roman debris at Walton. Nay, the old name of Penwortham is of British origin, thus,—Peneverdant is formed of three words—pen, werd or werid and want, as Caer werid, the green city (Lancaster) and Derwent, the water, that is the green hill on the water. Such being the case, we may not unreasonably expect traces of our Celtic ancestors at Castle hill. Let us bring to the test the discoveries made there.

It is difficult to write correctly about the dwellings of any ancient people; so very perishable are the materials with which they were constructed. Their tombs are the best memorials of their existence and the preservers of their domestic utensils; since the dwellings of the dead have proved more permanent than those appropriated to the living. The Britons in summer occupied the summits of circumvallated hills, which the Welsh call "Caers" and the Gauls "Duns." Cæsar records,—"What the Britons name a town is a tract of woody country surrounded by a vallum and a ditch." Strabo corroborates Cæsar, and Diodorus Siculus tells us what the houses were. "The dwellings of the ancient Britons
Metal articles found in the "Castle Hill",
Penwortham.
were wretched cottages of a circular form with a tapering roof covered with straw, at the top of which was an aperture for the smoke to escape: the walls were wattled and the chinks filled with clay to exclude the cold." Such were the better kind of "tuguria;" but the huts of the humblest were little better than the holes of foxes. The ancient abode on Castle hill seems to have some little resemblance to the above description; yet there always is a similitude in the efforts of any people, climbing the first step of civilization. Castle hill, however, was never circumvallated, according to my judgment; nor was the erection of the dwelling a first effort; as its extensiveness, the ingenuity displayed on the roof, the use of an iron axe and a borer, &c. clearly demonstrate. Neither had it possessed a tapering roof after the fashion of a child's rush cap, or like the British cab lately disclosed beneath Pilling moss by the Rev. J. D. Banister, where the trench in the clay proved its circular shape, and the long alder poles lying near, amidst huge trunks of charred oak trees, proved the use for which they had been prepared—the formation of outer walls and a conical roof. Besides, the articles pronounced by some to be of British construction are of very doubtful origin. The hand paddle, fig. 1. pl. iii. found near A on the outside of the ruins, is assuredly such a one as might have belonged to a primitive race. The blade is broken on one side; but restored like the other, it is very similar to those with which the islanders of the Pacific handle their light canoes. If you assert that it was the paddle to some fishing coracle, you create an argument against its ever having had a Celtic owner; because Xiphilimus relates—"that the Britons never taste fish." Yet that such was its use is probable from mussel shells being buried at the same depth in the debris, as well as two net weights,—the pieces of lead, fig. 3 and 6, pl. iv. the one round with a hole in it and the other rolled up; unless, together with a pierced upper part of the head of a red-deer's thigh, or shoulder bone, you aver, that they have been amulets. Besides the presence of goose, hare, and rabbit remains, with these articles, militates against the assertion; for the flesh of the two former was eschewed as food, and the latter was introduced by the Roman conquerors of Britain. We must look therefore elsewhere for the occupants of the dwelling on Castle hill.

Dr. Kuerdon with much ingenuity attempted to fix a Roman station at Preston; but his learning was of no avail, because he was unable to produce a single Roman vestige that had been found within its precincts.
He was aware, that there must be a castrum somewhere not far distant; but although ever since his day many antiquaries have hunted about for the identical spot, it was the fortune of Mr. Hardwick to earn the crown, worthy to adorn the brow of such a discoverer. He has proved Walton to be the site of Coccium, so earnestly sought for, by the production of coins, fibulae, pottery, &c., which he had there collected. And the agger, that branches from it southward, abounds with memorials of Roman occupancy on both sides. In Leyland, many discoveries have been made,—a gold finger ring with S. P. Q. R. marked upon it,—also four brass ones interlaced like a chain, and twenty-eight coins in its moss. Nor has the adjacent country been less prolific. At Worden there were found in 1850 no less than one hundred and twenty six coins; at Euxton a coin of Caesar; at Whittle a numerous treasure of copper denarii; and towards the end of the seventeenth century an urceolus, which contained two hundred others, from fifty different dies, and two gold rings of the Equites Aurati. All these "finds" were made to the east of Penwortham, but not one, if I am rightly informed, in its immediate neighbourhood, or on its heights; for I conceive, that the pavement of boulders discovered by Mr. Marshall of Penwortham Lodge can have been nothing more, from its narrowness, than an ancient bridle path, very common throughout the country. Still on such a position an antiquary would expect to find some signs of an outpost, or at least an outlook, whence a view of Walton to the east and Kirkham to the west might be obtained, as well as a command of the Ribble and its ford. And such an opportunity seems not to have been neglected. The nail, fig 4, plate iv. with its flat, oval-shaped head, which was taken from the ruins at Castle hill is similar, or nearly so, to one discovered at Walton by Mr. Hardwick. The other also, fig. 5, is supposed to be Roman, and the iron rivet, Fig. 2, is in every respect the counterpart of that etched by Roach Smith as found at Settle. The instrument fig. 1, is an article of great rarity. Mr. Franks of the British Museum showed to Mr. Hardwick a paper by the Hon. R. C. Neville in the Archaeological Journal of March, 1856, where several such are figured and described as having lately been discovered at Chesterford in Essex. It is pronounced to be a late Roman key. The make of it is significant:—the hoop attached it to the belt, or chatelaine; the spattle beneath gave support to the forefinger and thumb, when in use; and the square loop at the end acted as the barrel of a modern key upon the fulcrum of the lock. Here
then is interesting matter for contemplation. These Roman remains of iron give some solidity to an assumption only feebly maintained before, that the legionaries of Coccium may have planted an outpost, or outlook on Castle hill. The tale too of the subterranean passage also beneath the river is accounted for: the truth is extracted out of the mist of ages. The interchange of communication between the Roman sentinels on Castle hill and Tulketh speculæ, and afterwards by the ford and Norman * ferry here, originated this wide spread tradition.

The light of history now begins to dawn upon us. Preston, after the fall of the enfeebled Roman provincials, had risen on the ruins of Coccium, which city, although,—as Lappenberg says,—it had the right of Latium, yet bequeathed nothing of its ancient glory to the founders of the "tun" and "ham," except its Breton laws, which governed the whole of Amounderness to the reign of the first Edward. Alchfrid also had granted his lands, near the Ribble, to Eata, the Culdee; but had soon afterwards revoked his gift in favour of Wilfrid; and the ships of the Angles and Vi-kings had floated past Penwortham to Walton and Cuerdale. The heights of Castle hill therefore could not have been overlooked. We read that its ancient British name had assumed a Saxon garb, and that both it and the neighbouring parish of Leyland were royal and superior manors in the time of the Confessor; nay, more, I trust to be able to shew that the ruins at Castle hill were those of the "aula regis," the "haia," or "ham," the German ein heim of that king's representative; in fact the palace of the parish, as well as its court house.

Tacitus in his account of the Germans, Teutonics like the Saxons, says "The Germans were accustomed to dig subterraneous caverns and then to cover them with much loose mould, forming a refuge from the winter storms." Hasted, the topographer of Kent, describes many such in the heaths, fields, and woods near Crayford. Even in Wallachia at this day, the gypsies scoop out a den in a sunny hill, cross some sticks over the roof and pass the winter there. Some such an abode, or one whose outer wall had been backed up and concealed with earth, I conceived that of Castle hill to have been.

However this may be, facts seem to demonstrate that the dwelling was a

* Mandate to the Escheator for land in Penwortham, seized for withdrawing of the service of a boat over the river Ribble. Anno 10mo Ducatus Hep. Lane. The Roman traiectus was near Walton bridge.
structure of the Saxons; for they too built their houses with wood, as is
evident from the use of the verb "timbrian," to express the act of building,
and in the examples of Greenstead church we have their peculiar method.
It is composed of the trunks of large oaks, split and roughly hewn: they are
set upright and close to each other, being let into a sill at the bottom and
a plate at the top, where they are fastened with wooden pins. The houses,
which William of Malmesbury contrasts with the stately edifices afterwards
erected by the Normans, were much inferior, being rudely constructed
with piles. Bede describing the monastery built by St. Cuthbert remarks,
"Within the walls he raised two houses and a chapel, together with a room
for common uses. The roof was made of unhewn timber and thatched."
And how can we expect them to be anything else than rude and mean, when
they were the workmanship of the ceorls and slaves of the manor? In the
adjoining parish of Leyland an easier tenure than usual was allowed,—
"The freemen did not work as customary ad aula regis," "they only made
a haia in the wood"—a hay, or wicker fence enclosure for the protection
of the houses and cattle stalls of the lord's neatherd, swineherd, &c. It
cannot mean merely a "fence," for "stabuli turse" are frequently in
connection with it; and in the midst of the great common of Layton and
Lytham Hawes, a small rural village is still called the Hag, or Hay houses,
the ancient homes of the tenters and grazers of the cattle, belonging to
the lord and freemen of the manor and Saxon mark.

But did the Confessor's representative at Penwortham occupy so fragile
and mean a dwelling as the ruins of that on Castle hill manifest? Anti­
quaries record the existence of a castle during the supremacy of the Saxons.
It is high time to demolish so palpable a mistake, as well as that the thane
of all the surrounding parishes resided therein. The Doomsday survey
itself will accomplish this. "Rex. E. tenuit Peneverdant. Ibi. ii. car. tre, 
7 reddb. X. den. Modo. ë ibi castellû, &c." You perceive when it speaks of
the Confessor's time, it is in the past tense; but of the Conqueror's in the
present. The change is made after a similar manner almost through the
whole survey, however translators may have mangled the original, or mis­
understood the meaning of terms, "Modo ë ibi castellû," must signify,
"of late, or just now there is a castle."

"But surely," I hear you exclaim, "a great king's representative,
resident in a superior manor, like that of Penwortham, would not issue his
laws and regulations from a thatched hut of wicker work, little better than
a dog kennel? Look at king's palaces. Alfred invented the horn lantern to protect his candles, by which he marked the progress of time, from the blasts of wind that blew through the crannies of his dwelling and swealed the wax. The address delivered to Edwin, king of Northumbria, on his reception of Christianity exhibits a similar picture. The state of man is compared to the entrance and departure of a swallow. Behold the king and his suite seated round the fire in the midst of the apartment, whence the smoke escaped as best it might, and yet all so open that a bird had free inlet and outlet during the storm.

But I must proceed to investigate other marks of Anglo-Saxon residence on Castle hill, and they shall be tested by the food on which its occupiers mainly subsisted. The Saxons were a gross people; great drinkers, and vigorous feeders. Quantity more than quality was the object of their solicitude. Edmund and Hardicanute were types of the nation. The first was assassinated at his table, when his nobles and servants were too drunk to defend him, and the other, after a life of gluttony, died of an over-abundant dinner. Now it may be fairly assumed that the banqueters were Saxons, from the very great number of the jaws and other bones of the boar we picked up, both within and without the edifice. These were vastly predominant over the ossiferous remains of other animals. Pork was the usual food on which this people battenèd: they even believed, that they should not be deprived of it in another world, so dearly they prized it: nay that their hero gods daily feasted on the famous boar, which was revivified for their pleasure, only to be killed and devoured again. Next to pork they loved to feed upon eels. And both were plentiful: the fruit of the oak and beech fattened the one, whilst the river supplied the other abundantly; especially after St. Wilfred had instructed his people of Preston and Fishwick, as he did those of Rippon, in a better mode of fishing. Pork and eels, however, did not alone satisfy the appetite of the chief of the hill; the bones of the red-deer, the long and broad faced ox, of the hare, fowls, &c., were pretty numerous, though by no means so much so, as those of the boar and more especially of their jaws. Singular enough none of the goat, or sheep were met with: they, by the Saxons, were chiefly prized for their wool; whilst the Normans dined on mutton: indeed the new nomenclature imposed upon articles of diet is significant.

* Penwortham had half a fishery at the Domesday Survey.
The cow, the calf, the deer, the fowl, &c., whilst feeding and rearing, retained their Saxon names, but on the table they became beef, veal, venison, pullet; yet bacon remained unaltered, as if the conquerors were too proud and dainty to meddle with such fare, therefore had left it untouched, as only fitted for a vanquished Saxon.

The chief of the hill also exhibited another trait of his nation: his habits were not over cleanly, he paid no regard to the sweeping of his dining room floor. Think of two feet six inches depth of festering matter in the apartment, where you ate and slept. The thane gnawed a bone and cast it on the carpet of rushes that covered the pavement, and his guest and retainer threw their morsels on the heap near them. One of their archbishops was brained by the Danes after dinner with weapons hastily snatched from such collections. Our mediæval ancestors however, had not learned much nicer habits of cleanliness. Erasmus complains of the sluttishness of his times,—"Beneath the rushes, strewed on the floor, lay unmolested an ancient collection of beer, grease, fragments, bones, spittle, excrements of dogs and cats, and everything nasty." "A hall, a hall" was the summons for the rake and broom to clear a space for the dancers, and the nobleman was often compelled to seek another residence until the lately occupied one was sweetened; whilst the prudent cry of—"Hand your honde" and "Who wants me?" was nightly heard in the streets.

The presence of such an extraordinary quantity of swine bones seems to prove the occupants of Castle hill to have been Saxons, and their intermixture with the remains of other beasts of the chase, loudly proclaim, that the severe forest laws of the Norman had not been introduced, when the dwelling was tenanted. Let me now examine whether any of the articles discovered corroborate my assumption. Some of them, I cannot appropriate, such as the hazel loop, fig. 2, pl. iii, a few finely polished stones, and that curious bright bronze instrument figured 7 in pl. iv. You perceive it is ribbed on one side, as if for ornament, and takes a v like shape, the bends at the top being each drilled with a hole to insert a pin. Judges pronounce these to be Saxon; but I must hesitate, since I cannot recognise their use. The hand paddle, figured in plate iii, I will, however, declare to be so, as well as most probably the leaden weights and bone amulet, the sole of a shoe with a piece of the welt neatly attached to it, the half of a knife half with the marks of more than one instrument upon it and made of
a red deer's bone, as well as a foreign madrepore, which may have been venerated as an amulet. Nor need we wonder how the Saxons became possessed of such a one; when Alfred's sailors, Ochter and Wulstan, had made voyages of discovery towards the Arctic Circle; his priest Sigelin relieved, as we are told, the distressed Christians of St. Thomas in the East Indies, and the Danes had carried Cufic coins up the Ribble to Cuerdale.

Such are the proofs of Anglo-Saxon residence at Penwortham, and so satisfactory are they to my mind, that I should have pronounced the ruins wholly so; could I believe that the Roman remains discovered there had been found and brought from Walton, or that more would not have been exhumed by further excavations. I never hoped for the production of many Roman coins; for the sentinel of an outlook would not have his purse overstocked with denarii, nor yet of many Saxon valuables; because on the first approach of his Norman successor, the thane would flee with them into the recesses of the surrounding woods, or if seized unawares, his dwelling would be plundered before it was consigned to destruction. This Ham, however, on Castle hill, whether the habitation of a single family or the "plurium conjunctiones," changed and corrupted the British name of Peneverdant into Penwortham, which name it still retains.

The question now arises, who destroyed the Ham and elevated and fashioned Castle hill to its present conical shape? Here is the book, which relates the whole history, if rightly read. The iron spur, figured 8 in plate iii, was taken from the ruins of Castle hill. It is of an elegant shape and workmanship, having the two rivets, that secured the strap, still sharply defined and free from corrosion. What, however, characterizes it is its spear-shaped spike. "The British Museum,"—says Mr. Hardwick,—"possesses no perfect specimen, nor any fragment that has been moulded with such symmetry of form." Whether this Penwortham "pryck spur" be of the late Saxon, or early Norman period is considered doubtful. Mr. Roach Smith referred my friend to his report on the excavations of the Roman Castrum of Lynne, where that antiquary seems to suppose they belonged to the former. It says,—"A penny of Eadgar found at the depth of two feet and also some iron prick spurs suggest, that the castrum may have been partially tenanted for some centuries after the Romans had abandoned it." Planche moreover records that they appear in the Saxon illuminations of the 8th to the 10th century. The Castle hill spur may
however be the work of a Norman operative, not only on account of its
elegance; but for the following reasons. Planche whilst he states, how
the "pryck spur" appears on the *Saxon illuminations and gives us an
illustration; still tells us, that it retained its single goad during the reigns
of Rufus, Henry I and II, to that of John. I have had no opportunity
of examining these illuminations; but I wondered at finding the Cottonian
representation of three royal personages on horseback without a spur,
though depicting their costumes, as well as the harness and equipments of
their steeds. Moreover, in the compartments of that historical memorial
of the eventful period, which saw the Saxon dynasty swept from their
possessions by adventurers from Normandy, I mean the Bayeux Tapestry,
there are figured many horsemen, who wear the spear-headed spur. Harold
on his way to Bosham with his hawk and hounds has his heel armed nearly
in a similar way; but a needle like goad springs from a flattish globe. His
followers, who accompany him, have none. On the other hand, in the self­
same worsted work, the Norman knights are as much recognised by the
"pryck spur," as their shorn chin and lip. The Conqueror himself and
the soldiers he is addressing on the field of Hastings, Toustain when
carrying the consecrated banner, together with many other instances, might
be referred to. The rowel spur is supposed to have been introduced
between the years 1307 and 1327; yet the registrum Honoris de Richmond
testifies to the contrary, if it is to be relied upon. There, on the occasion
of William bestowing lands on his nephew, the Earl of Brittany, both
himself on his throne, his knights standing behind, and the grantee upon
his knees, display rowelled spurs of no common dimensions. Thus,
if Mr. Amyot's defence of the Antiquity of the Bayeux Tapestry be con­
cclusive, the prick spur was used by the Normans at Hastings; and their
successors, even beyond the reign of the first Edward, imitated them, as
many a royal and official seal can testify. They borrowed it not from the
vanquished; though, since the marriage of Ethelred, "that fine sleeping
figure of a king" with Emma, "the Flower of Normandy," and sister of
its king, there had been much communication between the two nations.
Let, however, the prick spur of Castle hill be of Saxon or Norman origin,
either a hunter's, or a rad-knight's, it is immaterial to my history; except

* The Saxons it would appear used little cavalry; for it is said that the Earl of Here­
ford destroyed the efficiency of the Saxon troops by making them fight the Welsh on
horseback, "against the custom of their country."
as a corroboration, that the ruins of the dwelling I have been attempting
to describe, were not the home of a serf or ceorl, but of a knight. Still,
Byron would have scouted the idea, that so elegant an instrument and one
of such small girth could ever have been adapted for the heel of a splay­
footed Saxon.

William had conquered at Hastings; but unmindful of the amnesty he
had promised to the Saxon race, he harried them by his exactions, and the
result was the great northern insurrections, which converted Amounderness
into a desolation and laid “wasta” a portion of Leyland. To guard against
such in future, he encouraged his barons to erect strongholds; so Roger de
Poictou, in the interval between the conquest and the survey, built those
of Lancaster and Liverpool, and probably a third at Penwortham on the
Ribble; for no baron’s name occurs in connection with it, before the
defection of the superior lord; when it was granted by the Conqueror to a
Bussel, the conjoint lord of the fief of Blackburnshire. The castle was
ready for his reception, the Saxon Ham, after having afforded shelter, as the
prick-spur manifests, to some knightly representative of the Saxon king, or
visitor of the works, had disappeared at the time of the elevation of Castle
hill; and the baronial residence of the Bussels is likewise now no more. Like
the building that preceded it, its history will remain a blank, except some
happy visit of a society, such as ours, disclose its foundations and the
archives of its owners. It was, however, no vast structure. It could have
been little more than a donjon keep, comfortless as a domicile, since every
window was a shot hole, and air and light could not be admitted without
inviting an enemy; but it was strong as a fortalice. It stood, I opine, on
the ground now occupied by the church, and a military eye would at once fix
on such a position, where two sides are protected by the river and its high
cliffs. Besides, here rises the Castle hill to which it gave name, only
separated from it by a ditch, said by Baines to have been “forty yards
square.” More fortunate than its subordinate one at Weeton, the site
therefore of Penwortham’s Norman stronghold has not entirely been lost.
Moreover its early demolition will account for the little we know of it, and
its total disappearance may be chiefly ascribed to the great slips of the
river cliffs, which old documents assert were of frequent occurrence. The
area therefore of the upper plateau, as well as the lower must have been
larger and may have been the sites, with the keep between, of the outer
and inner ballia. This is not a mere conjecture; though there are no
signs of ditch, or walls, with the exception of the one named, which appears only to have surrounded the keep. Grose's military antiquities contain a similar plan of a Norman fortalice and represent such an eminence as Castle hill, as being always, or nearly so, erected in the outer bailey, for a Court hill, or tribunal, where the baron, as high justiciar, executed justice. For this particular reason, and for a specula, the erectors of Penwortham's fortress had elevated and conically shaped the hill, so often referred to, by bisecting the butt end of the upper plateau with a ditch, and applying the sand and marl thrown out to accomplish the object they had in view. Of this we had ocular proof, as well as how the elevation had been effected at two different times; for at some four or five feet from the present summit, at G. in figures 4 and 5, we cut through a thin viscous layer of black surface soil, on which some remains of a pavement were visible.

Castle hill then, in all probability, was the tribunal of Penwortham's baron, where *Ranulph, Earl of Chester, held his court, after he had received confirmation from Henry III. of the lands between the Ribble and Mersey, and succeeding mass and mesne lords their courts leet and baron, or as it is usually styled, the "King's Court,"—the Aula regis.† And it was no uncommon meeting place. The Constablewick of Garstang, to the date of 1816, issued its laws and regulations from Constable hill, on the Wyre. But Castle hill, we have seen, was more than this. The Mote hill of Warrington more nearly resembles it, seeing that different people in succession have occupied it, as remains declare; but the round hill near Cartmel, called Castle Head, approaches closer to it still. Here there were discovered about a half century ago,—"Parts of a human skull, vertebrae, &c., jaws of a large species of deer, teeth of buffaloes and other animals, tusks of a boar, &c., rings of silver, brass, and iron, beads of blue rag stone, lead and clay, 95 sticas of Northumbrian kings, 75 Roman coins, iron ore, petrified bone, pebbles, pottery and imitations of muscles." These, however, were not exhumed from the ruins of a dwelling. I find nothing to compare with Castle hill: it is unique, at least I know of no parallel.

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* Coucher Book in Duchy Office, n. 78.
† Tradition says, that a verdict of the Aula regis of Penwortham, not a century and a half ago, executed a criminal, but whether on Castle hill or in Hangsman's field I cannot learn.