

The medieval castles of Leicestershire

by Leonard M. Cantor

For the purposes of this article, we may define the medieval castle as the private fortress or residence of a lord, whether a king or baron.¹ It was this private character which distinguished it both from its predecessor, the Saxon fortified place or *burh* which was larger and communal, and also from its successor, the purely military fortress of modern times. In many instances it also served as the administrative centre and garrison of royal or baronial lands.

This definition embraces three main types of castle: the earth and timber structure, prevalent during the century following the Norman Conquest; the stone castle which began to become common after the middle of the twelfth century but which was occasionally found earlier; and the fortified manor house which was prevalent after the middle of the fourteenth century. It is really only the second category and, to a lesser extent, the third which are popularly recognised as castles.

The medieval castle was introduced into this country in the second half of the eleventh century by the Normans, who built it as a means of enforcing their rule over the country they had just conquered. This early castle typically consisted of a high mound of earth, or *motte*, with a flat top on which a wooden tower was erected. At the foot of the mound, there was a simple enclosure or *bailey*, defended by an earth rampart and a moat. Known as *motte-and-bailey* castles, they increased in numbers throughout the century after the Conquest and, by about 1150, there must have been many hundreds of them. The wooden towers of these castles have of course long since disappeared and the mounds that remain have often failed to be recognised as such, being sometimes confused in older histories with prehistoric and Anglo-Saxon earthworks. In the county, in the century following the Conquest, a number of such castles were erected including Belvoir, Hallaton, Hinckley, Leicester, Mountsorrel and Whitwick.

In the next two hundred years, from about 1150 to 1350, stone was increasingly used in castle building, both to ensure greater permanence and also to provide a better defence against improved methods of siegecraft. If a wooden castle already existed on the site, then it might be replaced by a stone keep and the earthworks of the bailey would be replaced by stone walls. These are known as *keep-and-bailey* castles. Where new castles were created on virgin sites, they were often much more elaborate and included such features as gatehouses, outworks and towered walls. Typical keep-and-bailey castles of this period were to be found at Groby and at Leicester. The latter replaced a timber castle and, in the fourteenth century, acquired an outer bailey in the form of the Newarke (or 'new work').

By the beginning of the fifteenth century, castles had declined considerably in importance: militarily they were becoming obsolescent and as places of residence they were too uncomfortable to appeal to an aristocracy of increasing sophistication.² As a consequence, the later Middle Ages is marked by the construction of fortified manor houses rather than by castles. Although some traditional features such as a moat or gatehouse might be retained, these were essentially houses rather than castles and were incapable of sustaining a full scale siege. In order to fortify a house, a lord had to obtain from the Crown a licence to crenellate, that is to provide it with battlements, a system used by the Crown as a means of controlling private fortifications. Although fortified manors were most common after 1300, they are also to be found much earlier, the most famous example in the country being perhaps Stokesay Castle, in Shropshire, which dates from about 1260. There are five examples of licences to crenellate being granted for Leicestershire houses. The earliest of these was Belvoir in 1267, where it was a case of strengthening an existing castle 'with a dyke and wall of stone and lime'³ rather than building or fortifying a manor house. In 1318, Robert de Holand was granted a licence for Bagworth and it is probable that this was the only true example of a fortified manor house in the county, albeit at a relatively early date. Another licence was granted for Bagworth in 1474 when it came into the hands of Lord Hastings but it does not appear that any work was carried out. Instead, Hastings devoted himself to building his great castles at Ashby de la Zouch and Kirby Muxloe for which he obtained licences to crenellate in 1473 and 1474 respectively. As an examination of the ruins will show, these were far more than being merely fortified manor houses; instead they rivalled and perhaps excelled their Norman predecessors as strongholds, resulting perhaps from the character of their owner and from the particularly troublous times in which they were built.

We are here concerned not so much with the individual histories of Leicestershire castles, of which brief accounts are appended at the end of this article, as with their geographical aspects, notably their distribution, position and contribution to the medieval landscape. At various times in the Middle Ages, there were at least 14 castles in the county for which documentary evidence exists and another 12 possible sites (Fig. 9), although not all of them were in existence at any one time. This is roughly comparable with the situation in the neighbouring, but larger, county of Staffordshire.⁴ Their distribution results from a variety of factors, some of them conflicting; certainly they were not the product of a national programme, if only because there was neither a centralised state nor the extensive geographical knowledge to make it possible. Nor, as in the case of many of the castles along the Welsh marches or in the northern border counties, were they designed as a means of defence against external attacks.

They were built, in the period following the Conquest, by William's barons to hold down the territory which he had distributed amongst them. In other words, they reflected above all the baronial distribution of territory. Inevitably, with the passage of time, this distribution changed as, over the centuries, lands changed hands. After the Conquest, William entrusted the county to

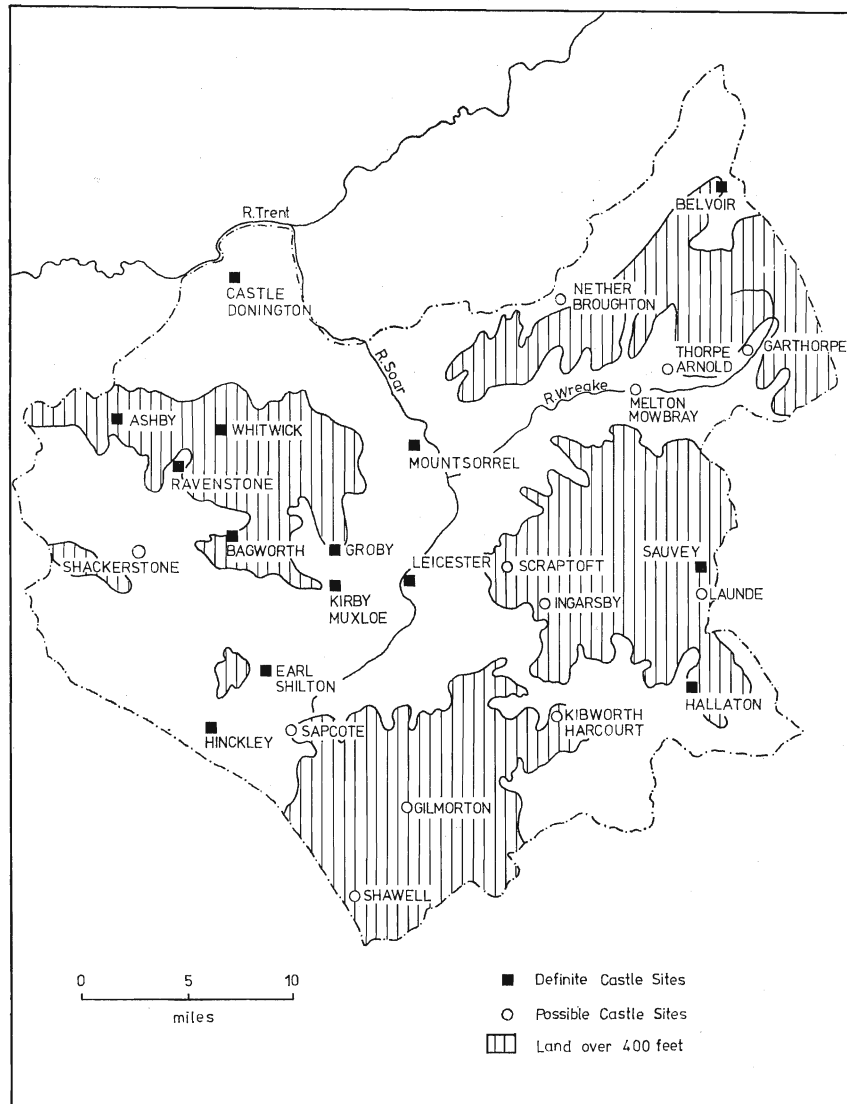


Fig 9. The Medieval Castles of Leicestershire

Hugh de Grentemesnil upon whom he bestowed extensive estates in Leicestershire and elsewhere in the Midlands. Early in the twelfth century, these lands were granted to Robert de Beaumont, count de Meulan, and they remained in the hands of the de Beaumont earls of Leicester throughout the twelfth century. In the middle of the twelfth century the earl of Leicester held castles at Earl Shilton, Groby, Hinckley, Leicester, Mountsorrel and

Whitwick. At Belvoir, Robert de Todeni, a standard bearer of the Conqueror, had built his castle towards the end of the eleventh century and at Castle Donington and Ravenstone other Norman barons held castles.

During the latter part of the twelfth century a number of the castles which had previously been in the hands of the barons were confiscated, and in some cases, demolished by the Crown. R. Allen Brown, upon whose definitive writings on English castles this article has extensively drawn, points out that this was the result of the Angevin policy of strengthening royal power.⁵ Leicestershire was, at this time, the scene of much fighting, the earl of Leicester having taken part in the rebellion of Henry II's sons in 1173.⁶ After the suppression of the revolt, Leicester, Groby and Mountsorrel castles came into the hands of Henry II who demolished the first two. When warfare between the Crown and the Barons broke out again in 1215, Leicestershire was once more the scene of conflict. In the fighting that ensued, Belvoir fell to King John, and Mountsorrel was destroyed in 1217 during the reign of his son Henry III. In other words, by the end of the first quarter of the twelfth century, many of the early Norman castles of Leicestershire had been destroyed.

Early in the next century, Bagworth was built but this was a fortified manor, not a fortress in the Norman fashion. Finally, right at the end of the Middle Ages, Lord Hastings built his two great castles at Ashby de la Zouch and Kirby Muxloe. Hastings, described by Hoskins as 'one of the last of the great lawless barons',⁷ was a man of great wealth and powerful enemies who kept a private army. Presumably, he built his great fortress-houses to garrison his army and to protect himself against his enemies. He was to be executed shortly before his fortified house at Kirby Muxloe was completed.

If the distribution of medieval castles was largely determined by landholdings and the balance of power among the King and his barons, then their particular sites were skilfully chosen, for tactical and strategic reasons, by men with an eye for country. Where possible, advantage was taken of natural eminences like those at Belvoir, Castle Donington, Mountsorrel and Whitwick. In low-lying situations, like those at Earl Shilton, Groby, Hallaton and Sauvey, artificial mounds were erected. The castle might be located to guard an important route: Belvoir and Castle Donington overlooked the Trent Valley—indeed the strategic position of the former made it the scene of renewed conflict during the Civil War—and Mountsorrel and Leicester guarded the Soar Valley and in the case of the former the main road from Leicester to the north.

In the early medieval landscape, thinly populated and much wooded, the castle was a dominant and outstanding feature. As a military headquarters, administrative centre and baronial residence, it was the focal point of public and private life. Like castles everywhere, those in Leicestershire have met with varying fortunes. Some, like Castle Donington, Earl Shilton, Groby, Mountsorrel, and Ravenstone have vanished almost without trace. Others, like Ashby and Kirby Muxloe show substantial, if much battered, remains of their former glory. And a few, like Belvoir and Leicester have been extensively rebuilt in modern times.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the list of castles that follows is by

no means exhaustive and, as more evidence comes to light, it will doubtless be possible to add to the list of definite castles and delete some of the doubtful ones. I should be very grateful therefore to learn of any evidence which may help to establish additional castle sites or which may cast light on doubtful identifications.

My thanks are due to Miss E. J. Linford for the very considerable help she has given me in supplying information about Leicestershire castles, to M. J. Winter and P. Liddle of the Jewry Wall, Museum, Leicester, and to Mrs. Anne Tarver who drew the map.

LIST OF CASTLE SITES:

1. *ASHBY DE LA ZOUCH*: There was a Norman Manor house on this site probably of timber construction. More substantial stone buildings replaced it in the second half of the twelfth century. By the mid-fourteenth century the main building was described as 'a capital messuage worth nothing' and containing a 'ruinouse old hall'.⁸ The castle proper may be said to date from 1474 when William Lord Hastings, who had been granted the manor in 1473 obtained a licence to crenellate.⁹ In 1476, Hastings built a great keep or Tower House, whose imposing ruins still stand. Pevsner describes it as 'a building as strong and self-contained as a Norman keep and no doubt considered necessary by so prominent a man in so precarious a time'. The precariousness of the times was testified to by the execution of Hastings by Richard of Gloucester in 1483. Some additions were made to the castle in the early part of the seventeenth century including an enclosed garden with towers. The castle was defended by the Royalists during the Civil War and slighted in 1648. Present remains include the fifteenth century keep and chapel and early seventeenth century additions including two isolated towers at the south-east and south-west angles of the outer ward. For a detailed description of the castle and its history, see Anthony Herber, 'Ashby Castle', *T.L.A.H.S.* XVII, 1932-34, 198-203 and T. L. Jones, *Ashby de la Zouch Castle* (HMSO, 1953).
2. *BAGWORTH*: This was originally a fortified manor house dating from 1318 when Robert de Holand was granted a licence to crenellate his dwelling place here.¹⁰ By 1372, it had fallen into decay with its 'capital messuage which is called a castle, worth nothing beyond the outgoings, with ponds round the mansion worth nothing because they have not been repaired'.¹¹ However, according to Nichols,¹² Hastings never carried out his intention of fortifying his house here, perhaps because he was fully absorbed by his activities at Ashby and Kirby Muxloe. Subsequently, another house was built on the same site in the early seventeenth century, which fell into ruin during the Civil War. According to Nichols, the ruins were dismantled and another house built on the same site in 1769. This, the present house, is an irregular, large three-storey red-brick building which incorporates some stonework from the seventeenth-century house.

3. *BELVOIR*: The first castle here dates from about 1088, being built by Robert de Todeni, a standard bearer of William the Conqueror.¹³ A century later, the struggle between King John and his barons was reflected in conflict in the county and one result of this was the surrender of the castle to the King's forces in 1215.¹⁴ The manor came into the hands of the de Ros family later during the thirteenth century and, in 1267, Robert de Ros obtained a licence to enclose his 'place' of Belvoir, then described as being in Lincolnshire, 'with a dyke and wall of stone and lime and crenellate the same',¹⁵ by which time, presumably, the Norman castle was in a dilapidated condition. Eighty years later the de Ros castle was itself in a ruinous condition.¹⁶ According to Pevsner, the manor came to Lord Hastings, 'after the last Ros had been hanged by Edward IV', and he used materials from it for Ashby. In the sixteenth century, the Manners family inherited Belvoir and they began rebuilding it in 1528. After visiting it a few years later, Leland wrote that the 'castle stands on the very nape of a high hill, steep up each way, partly by nature, partly by the working of men's hands, as may evidently be perceived'.¹⁷ Its strategic position, on an isolated hill on the spur of the Leicestershire wold overlooking the Trent valley, led to it being the focus of conflict during the Civil War. It was besieged by the parliamentarians in 1645-6 and eventually slighted in 1648. A new castle or mansion was built a few years later in a solid and sober style and then finally remodelled into the shape of a medieval castle early in the nineteenth century. Of the medieval castle, nothing remains except possibly some work on the south-east tower.
4. *CASTLE DONINGTON*: A castle was first built here in the twelfth century on a high sandstone hill south-east of the River Trent, commanding important crossings of the river. It was a baronial castle belonging to the Barons Halton; confiscated by the Crown, it was destroyed in 1215. Rebuilt by Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, who died in 1310, it subsequently fell into ruin and by 1330 was described as 'a certain castle, within the walls there are no garden or other buildings except the buildings themselves which are worth nothing beyond the expenses because they are weak and ruinous'.¹⁹ The site was surveyed for the Duchy of Lancaster in 1564 and the report paints a melancholy picture of ruin and decay with 'nothing standing thereof worthy to be continued in repair' and 'no timber, iron, glass, slates . . . since any man living can remember'.²⁰ The site came into the hands of the earl of Huntingdon who bought the property in 1595. By the end of the eighteenth century, few traces of the castle remained; a Nichols illustration²¹ shows a section of a stone wall, with an arch, and a ditch. Today, the remains of the castle are incorporated into the back walls of a row of cottages in Castle Hill. They consist of mutilated stone rubble walling one or two storeys in height, with one blocked, round-headed doorway.
5. *EARL SHILTON*: This castle was founded by the earl of Leicester, probably at some time after the Norman Conquest. Fox and Russell in

their book *Leicester Forest* include a map showing the site of the castle which they date 1086. While this may well be accurate, there seems to be no documentary evidence to substantiate this particular date. The castle, which was of the motte-and-bailey type, stood in a field known locally as 'Castle Yard' situated on the western side of the church.²² The castle was probably demolished in or about the late twelfth century and all that remains is the mound.²³

6. **GROBY**: According to Brown,²⁴ this motte-and-bailey castle was built by the earl of Leicester, some time during the third quarter of the twelfth century. In that case, it had only a short life as it was besieged and eventually destroyed by order of Henry II in 1176. In the early seventeenth century, Burton wrote of it, 'The Castle was utterly ruined and gone and only the mounts, rampires and trenches were to be seen.'²⁵ It stood on Castle Hill which lies between the A50 and the village church. The elliptical motte which is 22 feet high was formerly surmounted by a stone keep. Excavations carried out in 1962, prior to the destruction of much of the bailey by the new A50 by-pass, revealed a 50 foot deep rock-cut ditch round the motte.²⁶
7. **HALLATON**: The Ministry of Housing list describes this site as the best example of a twelfth century castle to be found in the county. According to Hoskins,²⁷ it was an 'adulterine' or unlicensed castle, probably constructed in the mid-twelfth century to protect an iron-working on the site. The castle stood on Castle Hill, about half a mile west of the church, on a large earthen mound surrounded by a deep ditch, the whole flanked by the steep-sided valley of a small stream and forming a very strong position. The ramparts of an extensive bailey can be clearly seen. As excavations have revealed no evidence of stonework, it is likely that there was a timber keep.
8. **HINCKLEY**: This castle, founded by the earl of Leicester, was probably in existence by the middle of the twelfth century.²⁸ It subsequently fell into decay and in an extent of 1361, is described as 'a plot called the castle'.²⁹ By 1622 it was, according to Burton, 'utterly ruined and gone, and only the mounts rampires and trenches are to be seen'.³⁰ Today, only the motte survives.
9. **KIRBY MUXLOE**: There was an old manor house on this site for which, in 1474, Lord Hastings acquired a licence to crenellate.³¹ Work on the castle lasted from 1480 to 1484, by which time Hastings had been beheaded. Built of red brick and surrounded by a moat, it consisted of an oblong with angle towers, a big gatehouse and ranges of buildings round an inner courtyard. The gatehouse and west tower are the only remains which still stand to a substantial height. Among its most interesting features are its gun-ports, among the earliest in England. For a description of the building of the castle, see L. A. H. Thompson, 'The Building Accounts of Kirby Muxloe Castle, *T.L.A.H.S.*, 1917-18, 193-345.
10. **LEICESTER**: According to Stenton,³² Hugh de Grentemesnil, earl of Leicester, received the custody of the castle from William I. In that case,

Leicester Castle was in existence in the late eleventh century, as Hugh de Grentemesnil died in 1094. Certainly, a motte-and-bailey castle was standing in 1101 when it was damaged in a rebellion.³³ This first building was almost certainly a wooden one and was soon replaced by a stone building built by the Beaumont earls of Leicester. It featured in the fighting between the forces of the earl of Leicester and those of the King in 1173 and 1174 and was eventually surrendered to the King who demolished it in 1176.³⁴ Another castle was erected on the site and became the residence of the earls, later dukes, of Lancaster who in the fourteenth century added an outer bailey, the Newarke, and used it as an administrative centre throughout the latter half of the Middle Ages. It appears to have fallen into decay after the end of the fifteenth century. The castle site is a slight hill overlooking the River Soar, just west of the castle church of St. Mary's. The mount on which the castle stood is now about 30 feet high, but was originally rather higher, having been lowered by 12 to 15 feet in about 1840. Of the medieval structure, only three parts remain: the mound, the hall, and some cellars, and gateways and fragments of the enclosure wall. For a detailed description of the castle and its history, see Levi Fox, 'Leicester Castle', *T.L.A.H.S.*, XXII, 1944-5, pp. 125-70 and Brown, Colvin and Taylor, *The History of the King's Works*, Vol. II, pp. 702-3.

11. **MOUNTSORREL**: The castle was probably built by the Earl of Chester and is first mentioned in about 1152 when it featured in an agreement between him and the Earl of Leicester into whose hands it then passed. It was besieged by the King's forces to whom it fell in 1174. Henry II retained it when the earl of Leicester's lands were restored to him in or after 1177.³⁵ The tower over the walls and other buildings were repaired in the 1190's and again in King John's reign.³⁶ When the struggle between King John and the barons broke out in 1215, Mountsorrel was once more the scene of fighting. In 1217, Henry III ordered it to be destroyed and, according to Nichols, it was 'entirely razed' to the ground 'as a nest of the Devil and a den of thieves and robbers', and never again repaired.³⁷ The castle stood on a commanding site, a granite hill behind the village overlooking the river and the main road which, according to Hoskins, was important even at that time.³⁸ Today, nothing remains of the castle.
12. **RAVENSTONE**: This castle was situated about a mile and a half south-west of Coalville and Renn suggests that its location may be the earthwork at Grid Reference 411131. According to Nichols,³⁹ it was founded by Groesfrid Hanselin and, in about 1153, when it featured in a treaty between the earls of Chester and Leicester, it was apparently held by William de Alneto. It seems to have vanished from history a few years later when it was destroyed.
13. **SAUVEY**: The castle stood on Castle Hill, (Grid Reference 786052) rather less than one mile south-west of the village of Withcote on the eastern border of the county. On Castle Hill is an earthwork of bank and ditch, part of the outer defences of the castle. According to

Nichols,⁴⁰ it was built by Lord Bassett of Weldon. However, he gives no supporting documentary evidence and it seems more likely that it was built in 1211 by King John on land he had recently acquired near Withcote.⁴¹ There are various references to the appointment of royal officials as governors of the castle for most of the thirteenth century⁴² and by the following century it had fallen into a ruinous condition. Its ruins were scarcely visible in 1622 and by the second half of the seventeenth century no trace remained.⁴³

14. *WHITWICK*: The castle stood on an oval-shaped natural hill north-east of the church. It was a motte-and-bailey castle, and the site of the keep is marked by an eight foot mount. It was held by the earl of Leicester in the middle of the twelfth century and had come into royal hands by 1204 when King John installed William de Senevill as keeper.⁴⁴ The earls of Lancaster subsequently claimed it back and in 1331 was complaining of it being broken into.⁴⁵ It thereafter fell into disrepair and, by 1427, was described as 'old and ruinous, in which there are no buildings and worth nothing yearly'.⁴⁶ At the end of the eighteenth century, Nichols wrote of it, 'The foundation walls of the castle are still to be seen in a close called "The Castle Hill"'.⁴⁷

POSSIBLE SITES

15. *GARTHORPE*: According to Nichols,⁴⁸ there was a castle here next to the water mill and the area was still known as 'Castle Close' in the eighteenth century. However, there is no documentary or other evidence to support this statement.
16. *GILMORTON*: According to the Victoria County History,⁴⁹ a flat-topped motte-and-bailey of an early castle, supplemented on the north west by a manorial mount, was situated west of the church. However, Hoskins in his Shell Guide states that the earthwork was probably the site of a moated manor house. No documentary evidence is available to confirm either attribution.
17. *INGARSBY*: The 1962 Edition of the one-inch Ordnance Survey map shows a 'castle mound' at 682049. It is situated on the top of a hill to the west of the site of the deserted village of Ingarsby and consists of a circular earthwork with the appearance of a flat-topped mount, surrounded by a ditch. However, there appears to be no documentary reference to a castle here.
18. *KIBWORTH HARCOURT*: Nichols⁵⁰ states that 'a large mount, encompassed with a single ditch' stood about forty yards south of the village. According to the Ministry of Housing list, a mound in the Hall field, just west of Main Street, marks the site of a twelfth century castle. However, there appears to be no documentary evidence to corroborate this statement.
19. *LAUNDE*: There is a large elliptical mound here, located at Grid Reference 300246, approximately 200 feet by 150 feet in size, with a slightly hollow top. It is scheduled as a monument by the Ministry of

- Housing which describes it as an adulterine castle. However, there is no documentary evidence to support this supposition.
20. *MELTON MOWBRAY*: According to Nichols,⁵¹ Melton Mowbray Castle was founded by Roger, Lord Mowbray. Hunt⁵² writes of the 'castle or fortified manor house of the Mowbrays' which he describes as dating from the time of King Stephen and having a very short life. Harvey lists Melton Mowbray as a town containing a castle with no remaining masonry. According to Hunt, the 'castle' stood on the north side of the Market Place near King Street where there were extensive remains of a medieval stone building until the mid-nineteenth century and where some stone foundations still remain.
 21. *NETHER BROUGHTON*: According to Nichols,⁵³ there was a castle here and there is a possible motte situated 200 yards south of St. Mary's Church. However, there is no clear fieldwork evidence, nothing is known locally, and no documentary evidence exists.
 22. *SAPCOTE*: Writing in 1811, Nichols⁵⁴ describes the site of castle here as 'still discernible' and erected by the Basset family. He states that the mount on which the keep stood was a field called 'Toot-hill Close' and was levelled in the early 1780's. If this is a correct attribution then the castle probably dates from the twelfth century. An article on a moated site at Sapcote⁵⁵ refers to 'the medieval castle' which 'presumably' lay at the eastern end of Toot Hill Close, on the opposite side and a little north of the hill. The author states that a motte is known to have existed until the eighteenth century, as the name Toot Hill—apparently 'Toot' is used of castle mottes in the south Midlands—suggests. However, no documentary evidence exists to support this statement, though recent excavations have revealed a moat and stone surrounding walls, including construction dating from the twelfth century.
 23. *SCRAPTOFT*: The Victoria County History⁵⁶ states that east of the village is a small truncated conical mount with a depressed top. However, there is no documentary evidence to corroborate this statement.
 24. *SHACKERSTONE*: In a field to the north of the church lies an impressive earthwork, with the appearance of a flat-topped mount, surrounded by the fragment of a vallum and the remains of ditches. Both the Victoria County History⁵⁷ and the current Ministry of Housing list state that this was a motte-and-bailey castle site, as indeed it would appear. There seems to be no documentary evidence, however, to support these statements.
 25. *SHAWELL*: The 1961 Edition of the one-inch Ordnance Survey shows a 'castle mound' at 542796, in a field south of the church. However, on the ground it appears to be a large bell-shaped barrow and indeed the second edition of the Ordnance Survey map (1904) describes it as a 'tumulus'. A third opinion is vouchsafed by Hoskins in the Shell Guide when he states that 'near the church is a large moated site'. No documentary evidence exists to support any of these suppositions.
 26. *THORPE ARNOLD*: The only reference to a castle here occurs in a list of castles which Nichols includes in his second volume.⁵⁸ He says

the castle was founded by Ernald de Bois, presumably at the time of King Stephen.

Finally, the Victoria County History describes a 'well-defined mount and fosse of very moderate dimensions' located in a field to the east of the church at *Ratcliffe Culey*.⁵⁹ However, the Ministry of Housing list merely refers to a moated site which it describes as being oval in shape with a deep moat and perhaps dating from the early thirteenth century. Certainly, there is neither fieldwork nor documentary evidence to support the supposition that a castle existed here.

Notes

1. R. Allen Brown, *English Castles* (Batsford, 1962), 17
2. *Ibid.*, 193
3. *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1266-72, 33
4. L. M. Cantor, 'The Medieval Castles of Staffordshire', *N. Staffs. Journal of Field Studies*, 5, 1966, 38-46; and D. M. Palliser, 'Staffordshire Castles: A Provisional List', *Staffordshire Archaeology*, I, 1972, 5-8
5. R. Allen Brown, 'A List of Castles, 1154-1216', *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 74, 1959, 249-50
6. *Victoria County History* (VCH), Leicestershire, (1954), 2, 81
7. W. G. Hoskins, *Midland England* (Batsford, 1949), 47
8. *Trans. Leics. Hist. and Arch. Soc., T.L.A.H.S.*, XV, 1927-8, 90
9. *Cal. Charter R.*, 1427-1516, 242
10. *Cal. Pat.*, 1317-21, 187
11. *Cal. Inquisitiones Post Mortem* (IPM), XIII, 239
12. J. Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester* (1795), 4, 989
13. D. F. Renn, *Norman Castles in Britain* (Baker, 1970), 105
14. *VCH*, Leics. (1954), 2, 184
15. *Cal. Pat.*, 1256-62, 33
16. *VCH*, Leics. (1954), 2, 184
17. Nicholas, *op. cit.*, 2, 22
18. Renn, *op. cit.*, 168-9
19. *T.L.A.H.S.*, XIV, 1925-6, 50
20. *Ibid.*, 67
21. Nichols, *op. cit.*, 3, 770
22. *VCH*, Leics. (1907), 1, 258
23. N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Leicestershire and Rutland* (Penguin, 1960), 96
24. R. Allen Brown, 'A List of Castles, 1154-1216'. *op. cit.*
25. *T.L.A.H.S.*, II, 1870, 320
26. *Ibid.*, XXXIX, 1963-4, 51
27. Hoskins, *op. cit.*, 55
28. Renn, *op. cit.*, 206
29. *Cal. IPM*, XI, 92
30. *VCH*, Leics. (1907), 1, 257
31. *Cal. Charter R.*, 1427-1516, 242
32. F. M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism* (Oxford, 1932), 234
33. Renn, *op. cit.*, 223
34. *VCH*, Leics., 1954, 2, 82
35. *Ibid.*
36. Renn, *op. cit.*, 250

37. Nichols, *op. cit.*, 3, 85-6
38. Hoskins, *op. cit.*, 84
39. Nichols, *op. cit.*, 2, 2
40. *Ibid.*, 2, 394
41. R. Allen Brown, H.M. Colville and A. J. Taylor, *History of the King's Works* (H.M.S.O., 1963), I, 89
42. *T.L.A.H.S.*, XI, 411
43. Nichols, *op. cit.*, 2, 394
44. *T.L.A.H.S.*, XV, 231
45. *Ibid.*, 236
46. *Ibid.*, 238
47. Nichols, *op. cit.*, 3, 112n
48. *Ibid.*, 2, 186 and 190
49. *VCH*, Leics., I, 1907, 258
50. Nichols, *op. cit.*, 2, 639
51. *Ibid.*, 2, 2
52. P. E. Hunt, *The Story of Melton Mowbray* (1957), 63-4
53. Nichols, *op. cit.*, 2, 120
54. *Ibid.*, 4, 898
55. *T.L.A.H.S.*, XVI, 1-5
56. *VCH*, Leics. (1907), 257
57. *Ibid.*, 261
58. Nichols, *op. cit.*, 2, 22
59. *VCH*, Leics. (1907), I, 257