

## CAREW CASTLE, PEMBROKESHIRE

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The castle of Carew has long been recognized as an outstandingly interesting example of military and domestic architecture, but it is nevertheless true that until recently no adequate attempt has been made to describe it as a building. J. R. Cobb's article in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*<sup>1</sup> contains many statements that could not be repeated today, and is hopelessly handicapped by being illustrated by a plan taken from the 25-inch O.S. map — a totally inadequate scale for any building, let alone one so complex as Carew. The same plan appears in the description of the castle contained in the Pembrokeshire volume of the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments for Wales, about which it is kindest to say little or nothing. In fact, the most reliable information about the castle was to be obtained from certain passing references to it in the late Professor Hamilton Thompson's *Military Architecture in England during the Middle Ages*,<sup>2</sup> and from the summary description contained in Spurrell's excellent little *History of Carew*.<sup>3</sup> Neither of these contains any plan of the castle.

While working on the present paper, however, we were informed of another work in preparation, by Mr. R. F. Walker, for *Archaeologia Cambrensis*.<sup>4</sup> During an exchange of information we found so wide a difference of opinion on the castle that it was agreed on both sides to proceed independently. We must, however, take this opportunity of paying a tribute to Mr. Walker's helpfulness.

### HISTORY OF THE CASTLE

On the historical side, however, Carew has been effectively dealt with,<sup>5</sup> in particular by the late Canon Spurrell, vicar of the parish, so that little fresh discussion is called for.

It is generally admitted that the founder of the castle and lordship of Carew was Gerald of Windsor, constable of Pembroke; Clark has suggested that Carew is the castle which Gerald is recorded to have built at a doubtfully identified place called Cenarth Fechan in 1105.<sup>6</sup> It seems more probable that this castle was in fact Cilgerran, but however that may be, Gerald's successors early adopted the name of de Carew, and the fact that there is no other castle of any size in their lordship<sup>7</sup> further suggests that Gerald himself was the founder.

Gerald of Windsor married the redoubtable Nest, daughter of Rhys ap Tudor, and became the father of the most notable of her several families: William, the eldest, ancestor of the de Carews, Maurice fitz Gerald, founder

<sup>1</sup> 5th series, vol. III (1886) 27-41.

<sup>2</sup> Especially 239-40, 246-7, 330-3.

<sup>3</sup> For the family of Carew, see particularly Dr. Henry Owen, *Old Pembroke Families* (London, 1902) 10-19.

<sup>4</sup> Brut y Tywysogion, 1105; alternatively spelt Gongarth, Cenarch, etc. See Clark, *The Earls, Earldom and Castle of Pembroke* (Tenby, 1880), 8. [But see also p. 343, Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> No other castle at all, except for the small stone castle of Upton, which belonged to the Roches and Male, faunts.

<sup>6</sup> (Carmarthen, 1921) 2-14.

<sup>7</sup> It has since appeared: *Arch. Camb.*, cv (1956), 81-95.

of the great Geraldine house of Ireland, David, Bishop of St. David's, and Angharad, mother of Giraldus Cambrensis and the de Barri family. Carew is said to have been Nest's marriage portion, but this cannot be true; it stands far too close to the conquistadores' very headquarters of Pembroke, and was always held of the earldom of Pembroke as an honorial barony, by the service of five knights.<sup>1</sup> Clearly it formed part of the earliest Anglo-Norman conquests.

For his castle, Gerald chose a waterless position of no great strength over half a mile from the parish church, near which a good water-supply could certainly have been found, and in all probability a site of comparable strength. It is clear that the strategic advantages of the site must have determined his choice, for it lies by the side of the Carew River, an arm of Milford Haven, close to the highest point reached by the tides. The tidal creek being wide and fairly deep as far up as the castle, and the river itself being an inconsiderable brook, the site could be reached by large boats — a vital consideration for an invader in Wales — while at the same time it stood close beside the lowest crossing-place on the river, which must always have carried the road from north to south along the side of Milford Haven. The present causeway and bridge, about 200 yards from the castle, are relatively recent in construction, but there is a *modern* ford only a quarter of a mile further upstream, so that the castle's communications were certainly excellent.

Gerald is last heard of in 1116;<sup>2</sup> his son William lived until 1173, and left three sons, of whom Odo succeeded him, and Raymond went to Ireland — like so many of Nest's descendants — to found a branch of the Carew family there. Odo was certainly dead by 1207; he left a son William. By this time it is probable that the oldest part of the present castle (which we have called the Old Tower) was already in existence, and formed part of William's 'house of Carrio' when King John, for reasons which do not now appear, seized it when passing through Pembroke on his Irish expedition of 1210-1. It was returned in 1212,<sup>3</sup> and William died soon after, leaving issue, including Richard, who succeeded him, and Thomas 'Wallensis' who became Bishop of St. David's in 1248.

From this point the line of succession, hitherto preserved by its recital in a royal charter in 1207,<sup>4</sup> passes out of sight. Nicholas de Carew clearly held the Berkshire manor of Moulsoford, which had formed part of the family estates since the time of Gerald and Nest; he was dead in 1228, when Bertram de Criol was granted the guardianship of the manor.<sup>5</sup> Presumably Nicholas had held Carew as well, and left an infant heir. In 1247 William de Carew held the lordship according to Dr. Owen,<sup>6</sup> and in 1256 Richard de Carew succeeded his uncle Thomas as Bishop of St. David's. Presumably the Richard de Carew who

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Inq. p.m. Ed. II*, No. 518 (p. 336).

<sup>2</sup> In connection with the slaying of Nest's lover Owain ap Cadwgan.

<sup>3</sup> *Rot. Litt. Patentium* (14 Jno.) 92.

<sup>4</sup> *Rot. Chartarum* (14 Jno.), 186.

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 203. He still held it in 1242-3 (*Book of Fees*, II, 865, where the deceased is called *Eudo* de Karro).

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, 14; no actual authority is given for this statement. It is in general difficult to verify Dr. Owen's narrative, for though his erudition is undoubted, he frequently omits to give his authority for a statement.

is a signatory to a petition dated at Dublin in 1258<sup>1</sup> was a member of the Irish branch of the family; the father of Sir Nicholas de Carew, who begins to flourish in about 1280, also appears to have been called Richard.<sup>2</sup>

There is nothing obscure about Sir Nicholas himself except the date when he entered on the lordship. Before his death in 1311 he had made himself a second founder of both the family and the castle. A distinguished soldier, he was followed by a series of warlike descendants, till the family carried its battle-honours like a regiment. He also began, and perhaps finished, the great medieval reconstruction of the castle. The effigy of a knight in Carew parish church is generally believed to be his.

Sir Nicholas was succeeded by his son Sir John, who died in 1324. His son, another Nicholas, died shortly afterwards, and was apparently succeeded by his uncle Thomas. Sir John de Carew, Lord Deputy of Ireland, was either son or nephew of Thomas; he died in 1362.<sup>3</sup> From him the barony descended direct from father to son; his own son Leonard died in 1369, Thomas, a most distinguished warrior, in 1431, and Nicholas, who married Joan Courtenay, and thus acquired lands and interests in Devon, in 1447.

Two lines of descent begin from Nicholas: his eldest son Thomas and his descendants continued to hold the castle until about 1480, when Sir Edmund Carew, Thomas' grandson, disposed of it to Rhys ap Thomas; from the fourth son, William, descended the Crowcombe branch of the family, who recovered the castle in the 17th century, and whose representatives continue to hold it today. It is to this 200 years' interruption in the devolution of the castle that most of the notable events of its history belong.

Sir Rhys ap Thomas was already a very powerful landowner with great influence in South Wales, when he joined Henry of Richmond almost immediately upon his landing at Dale — a prompt accession of strength which was of inestimable value to Henry. With more gratitude than is usually credited to him, the new king loaded Rhys with honours, including the Garter, of which he was inordinately proud, and kept him in favour for the rest of his life. During this period Rhys took his castle in hand, and made it into a chief residence fit for a man of his standing. He was little concerned to preserve its military strength, even though he lived in a most uncertain period. He had, in fact, little need to prepare for a stand in his own castle, since he had control of the vastly more powerful fortress of Pembroke only about five miles away. The most famous incident in his tenure of the castle is the great tournament which he held in 1507 — possibly the most magnificent entertainment in the history of Wales. Both Henry VII and Henry VIII seem to have placed implicit trust in Rhys, who was allowed to rule his corner of Wales like a king, and to

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 48. The name de Carew was by this time fairly common on both sides of the Irish Sea.

<sup>2</sup> Owen, *op. cit.*, 14. Here again, no authority is given.

<sup>3</sup> His *Inquisitio post mortem* (*Cal. I. p.m.*, XI, 300) gives a list of the fees included in the barony: Lawrenny, Knygtheston, Begely and Caruc, Geffreiston (Jeffreston) Gumfreston and Wydelok (Wedlock farm) Coytkellas (Coedcanlas), Marteltwy, Milton, Oketon (Upton), Churcheton and Lantegonet (Carew Cheriton and Landigwinnet) Jorbardeston (Jordeston) Sagiston and Willameston Harvill, Lovelleston (Loveston) and three places which challenge identification: Piscarnenew, Goldsmethesangle and Dunnynygiston; with a total service of 14  $\frac{n}{13}$  knights' fees.

die a natural death in 1524. His son, Gruffydd, having predeceased him, he was succeeded by his grandson, Rhys ap Gruffydd, whose tenure was short, for he was tried for high treason and beheaded in 1531. There was evidently little or no formal justification for the trial, and some writers have made a mystery of it. In fact it was rather an administrative than a judicial proceeding; both of the Rhyses belonged to that species of over-mighty subjects which it was settled Tudor policy to exterminate. For valuable services rendered, and because he was a single-hearted Tudor partizan, Rhys the elder had been left alone; no such considerations protected his grandson, and Tower Hill was his almost inevitable destination.

On his attainder, a detailed inventory of his property was prepared, of which the part relative to the castle is reproduced in Appendix I at the end of this paper.

The castle now passed to the Crown,<sup>1</sup> and was granted to Sir John Perrot, later Lord Deputy of Ireland, in 1558.<sup>2</sup> Sir John occupied a position of great power in South Wales, not far inferior to that of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, and like Sir Rhys set to work to bring Carew up to date, starting in 1588. His 'new building', the great Elizabethan block along the north side of the castle, was structurally complete, but not fitted up internally for habitation, when he was tried for high treason in 1592. He was convicted and sentenced to death; Elizabeth I, however, refused to sign his death-warrant, and was in fact expected to pardon him, when his death in the Tower prevented her.<sup>3</sup> Perrot died attainted, but as an act of grace, his son Thomas was allowed to succeed. Thomas died in 1594,<sup>4</sup> and the Crown resumed Carew. The castle was by this time more of a palace than a stronghold, and more of a white elephant than either; only very wealthy and important personages could afford to own it.

Accordingly, the Queen bestowed it, in 1597, on Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, for a term of 21 years. The meteoric career and bad end of this extremely foolish young man have no bearing on the history of Carew, for he let it out to sub-tenants, whom the Crown did not disturb when he was attainted in his turn.

From this point until the Civil War the story of the Castle is that of the bickerings of these tenants over the matter of waste, as reflected in a mass of Exchequer proceedings<sup>5</sup> brought by Sir John Carew of Crowcombe, who had begun to interest himself in his ancestral dwelling,<sup>6</sup> and for a time held the lease from the Crown.

<sup>1</sup> Rhys' widow Katherine seems to have been allowed her jointure, though she herself was attainted in 1542; she died in 1554.

<sup>2</sup> He was appointed 'keeper' in this year; later he appears as proprietor.

<sup>3</sup> The trial appears to have been exceptionally scandalous; Sir John, moreover, was commonly supposed to be an adulterine son of Henry VIII, and so a half-brother to the Queen. He was certainly proved guilty of the grossest sort of *lese-majeste*, and it is not surprising that Elizabeth was in no hurry to issue the pardon.

<sup>4</sup> It is doubtful if he had anything to do with the castle.

<sup>5</sup> Public Record Office, E.178/208, E.178/5866, and E.134, 13 Jas. I Mich. 31, 16 Jas. I Easter 23, 9 Chas. I. Easter 3, and 9 Chas. I. Mich. 1. We do not pretend to have explored the enormous pile of depositions in the last four bundles.

<sup>6</sup> He was not the first of his family to do so; Sir George Carew of the senior branch, later Earl of Totnes (the grandson of the Sir Edmund who parted with the property), was angling for it in 1601, suggesting innocently that it brought bad luck to everyone but the Carew family.

We learn from the report of one inquest, taken in 1610,<sup>1</sup> that Essex held the castle for two years and had then let it to Sir Francis Meyrick for three months, to Rees Phillips, Esq., for a year, and finally to Edward Webb, gentleman, who held it for three months, and then for three years longer — presumably as Crown tenant, after the attainder of Essex — before selling his tenancy to Sir John Carew, who was still in possession.<sup>2</sup>

This should be the end of the castle's migrations; Sir John had acquired other property locally,<sup>3</sup> and was clearly setting up as a notable of the county. He was sheriff in 1623, and on his death in 1637 was buried in Carew parish church. Nevertheless, Spurrell is mistaken in thinking that the unbroken Carew ownership begins with Sir John; in a deposition of 1634 we are told that he held the estate for 15 years only, approximately from 1604 to 1619,<sup>4</sup> in which latter year Sir John Phillips of Picton Castle is described as the tenant. Phillips and his son Sir Richard (the defendant of 1634) continued to hold the castle down to the Civil War.<sup>5</sup>

It seems possible that Sir John Carew found the castle too expensive; and in fact none of the tenants seem to have been able to keep it in repair. Some hardly tried; Webb, in particular, seems to have been a mere pillager, who made away with 400 of the 904 'firr borde' intended for the woodwork of Perrot's buildings, and whose misdeeds were condemned by an inquest of 1607-8.<sup>6</sup>

Throughout the whole of these proceedings there are repeated references to the water-supply system, whose lead pipes and tanks constituted a standing temptation to the cupidity of any tenant.

Carew was dependent on water piped from about a mile away; there is no mention of any well, and it appears that here, as at Pembroke (which also stands on a limestone bluff beside a tidal estuary) a well would almost certainly yield brackish water. Militarily, this was a disadvantage, though not so grave at Carew as in a great strategic fortress like Pembroke. By means of the system, water was laid on in the kitchen and the fountain in the courtyard (the 'fair lavatory' of 1531); in the bailey there was a water point at the stable and apparently others at the bakehouse and brewhouse.

In April 1616 evidence was given by John Seamer of Cosheston, yeoman, as to the state of the premises before Webb's tenancy. He testified, *inter alia*:

that the severall roomes in the new buyldinge were overlayed with longe new boordes butt were not fastened; the Conduyte in the Courtaledg was then also in good repaire and the water alwaies then running there and in the kytching and att the stable and that all the pipes of Lead wch caried the Water to those places from the Wellhaed aboute the space of a mylle were very sounde and stanch and so were left when the said Sr. Fraunces Meyrick went.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O., E.178/208, membrane 6.

<sup>2</sup> The inquest also reported that the castle had decayed somewhat between Perrot's time and that of Essex, that the 'new building' was in decay when Webb entered, and remained so; and that £200 would be needed to put the castle in repair.

<sup>3</sup> Howton, Somerton and Pincheston; Spurrell, *op. cit.*, 42-3.

<sup>4</sup> P.R.O., E.134, 9 Chas. I Easter 3. Essex apparently had a 21 years' lease; this would expire in 1618.

<sup>5</sup> Owen, *op. cit.*, 7, 17.

<sup>6</sup> P.R.O., E.178/208, membranes 22, 23.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, membrane 8.



Mention is also made of the buildings in the bailey or base-court; as in 1531 there were barn, stable, brewhouse and bakehouse; no mention is made of the forge, but there were now also a poultry house, slaughterhouse, and falconer's house there.<sup>1</sup>

Another document of the same date mentions some of the chambers in the castle proper: the Bell Chamber, St. Thomas', or Sir Thomas' Chamber,<sup>2</sup> the vault chamber under it, the pastry under the kitchen, and the porch chamber over the gatehouse. The tiles over the kitchen needed repair, and there was also an ominous warning that the great bay window of the great hall 'vaulted and wrought in free stone', would shortly fall down and be utterly spoiled if not seen to. A survey taken of the castle in 1631-2 contains a description which is here reproduced in Appendix II.

In 1634 Sir John Carew, whether to avoid being charged with waste, or because he still hoped to acquire the castle, accused Sir Richard Phillips of destroying the water-system which he claimed to have set in order.<sup>3</sup>

George Carew, Sir John's son, was sheriff of Pembrokeshire in 1640, but the Carews played no part in the Civil War in the county. The Phillipses were Parliamentarians, but Carew was held for the King.<sup>4</sup> It was garrisoned first by Lord Carbery, with about fifty musketeers, in the autumn of 1643, and surrendered rather tamely to Rowland Laugharne, the Parliamentary commander, on 10th March, 1644. On the arrival in South Wales of the redoubtable Col. Sir Charles Gerard for the King, Laugharne withdrew hurriedly into Pembroke, abandoning Carew, which Gerard garrisoned in May 1645. Upon his recall into England, Laugharne once more had matters to himself, and cleared the county of the royalists. On 9th August he reported that he was bringing up his guns before Carew; on 13th September he was able to announce the capture of the castle, together with Picton and Manorbier. There is a maddening lack of information about this siege; Laugharne is said to have stormed the castle, but there seems to be no narrative of the operations. The main structure of the castle is breached on the south, but this has quite clearly been done by a mine. Possibly a relatively small breach made by the guns of the besiegers was enlarged by a mine sprung after the capture of the castle, with the object of slighting it.

It is clear that the castle was inhabited after the Civil War; Spurrell suggests that it was finally abandoned between 1686, when George Carew is mentioned as 'of the castle of Carew', and 1687, when his widow Katherine, granting leases of portions of the Carew estate, is described as 'of Crowcombe'. The Carews enjoyed their own again only when neglect and war had made a ruin of it.

Such traces of late habitation as there are suggest an occupation of farmhouse type by tenants; it was not long in any case before the castle was abandoned altogether. No attempt was ever made at rebuilding on a substantial

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, membrane 7.

<sup>2</sup> Probably *recte* Sir Rhys ap Thomas' Chamber, and perhaps to be identified with the dining room in the east block.

<sup>3</sup> P.R.O., E.134, 9 Chas. I. Easter 3.

<sup>4</sup> See Leach, *History of the Civil War in Pembrokeshire* (London 1937) 60, 83, 107, 111, 112.

scale. As a ruin it has been treated with exceptional respect; earlier owners, it is true, permitted the natural course of decay to continue, but the good condition of such vulnerable parts as parapets shows that they were largely successful in preventing its use as a quarry. Much of the ashlar and almost all the straight stair-treads in the castle, however, have been removed, apparently in the course of a single campaign of pillage for commercial purposes. In the 1880's the owner brought in Mr. J. R. Cobb, an authority on castles, and indeed a collector of them, who did some work on the building, and published a paper on it,<sup>1</sup> but reported that the fabric was past repair. Fortunately the owners rejected this despairing counsel, and a great deal of underpinning, etc., has been done where it was needed.

#### DESCRIPTION

##### *The site of the Castle*

The castle stands on the S. bank of the Carew River about 200 yards from the W., or downstream, side of the bridge, at a point where the estuary is fringed by a limestone bluff some 15 or 20 ft. high, following the shore a little distance from the water's edge, to break off short as the river curves southward. The site is further isolated by a fold in the ground on the south, but this is not a very great obstacle, and the east side is perfectly level. The position is thus only moderately strong by nature, and must have been chosen, as we have mentioned, for its local strategic advantages.

There are two stone wards and one large bailey, now only an earthwork, arranged in line with the inner ward at the west end, and each enclosure occupying the full width of the ridge — a very normal disposition.

##### *The Bailey*

The present approach to the castle is along the top of the ridge from the custodian's hut opposite the Carew Inn. The path soon crosses a slight undulation in the ground, not marked on the O.S. maps; this is all that remains of the defences of the bailey, which once enclosed such a remarkable number of offices and outbuildings. Of these last virtually nothing remains: a few fragments built up in the walled enclosure — presumably a garden once, but now only a fowl-run — which occupies the N.E. corner of the bailey, and faint marks of a building W. of the garden, and another at the entrance to the bailey. No doubt almost all of these buildings were of wood.

The bailey itself can never have been of any serious military significance, even though it was clearly walled, forming the outer of the 'two courts walled with stone before the entrance' mentioned in 1631-2. At present the scarp of its bank is 6 ft. high at the best, more normally 4 ft. or less; even on the favourable ground to the S. it is little or no stronger. As to the basecourt buildings, their complete destruction may well date from the Civil War, when they would have masked the fire from the castle and its outworks.

##### *The Castle — General Description and External Appearance*

The castle forms in plan a rather irregular quadrilateral, taking its form from the shape of the ridge which narrows towards the W. The N.W. angle is markedly obtuse, and the W. side, following the line of the steep and rocky extremity of the ridge, faces almost N.W. There are at present towers on three of the angles. The fourth angle — the N.E. — will require further discussion; at present it need only be said that it is not capped in the same fashion.

The castle's outer defences cover the E. side, occupying a narrow area between the bailey and the great quadrangle of the inner ward; there are two lines of wall, a ditch, and the ruins of a Civil War ravelin.

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Camb.*, 5 ser., III (1886), 27-41.

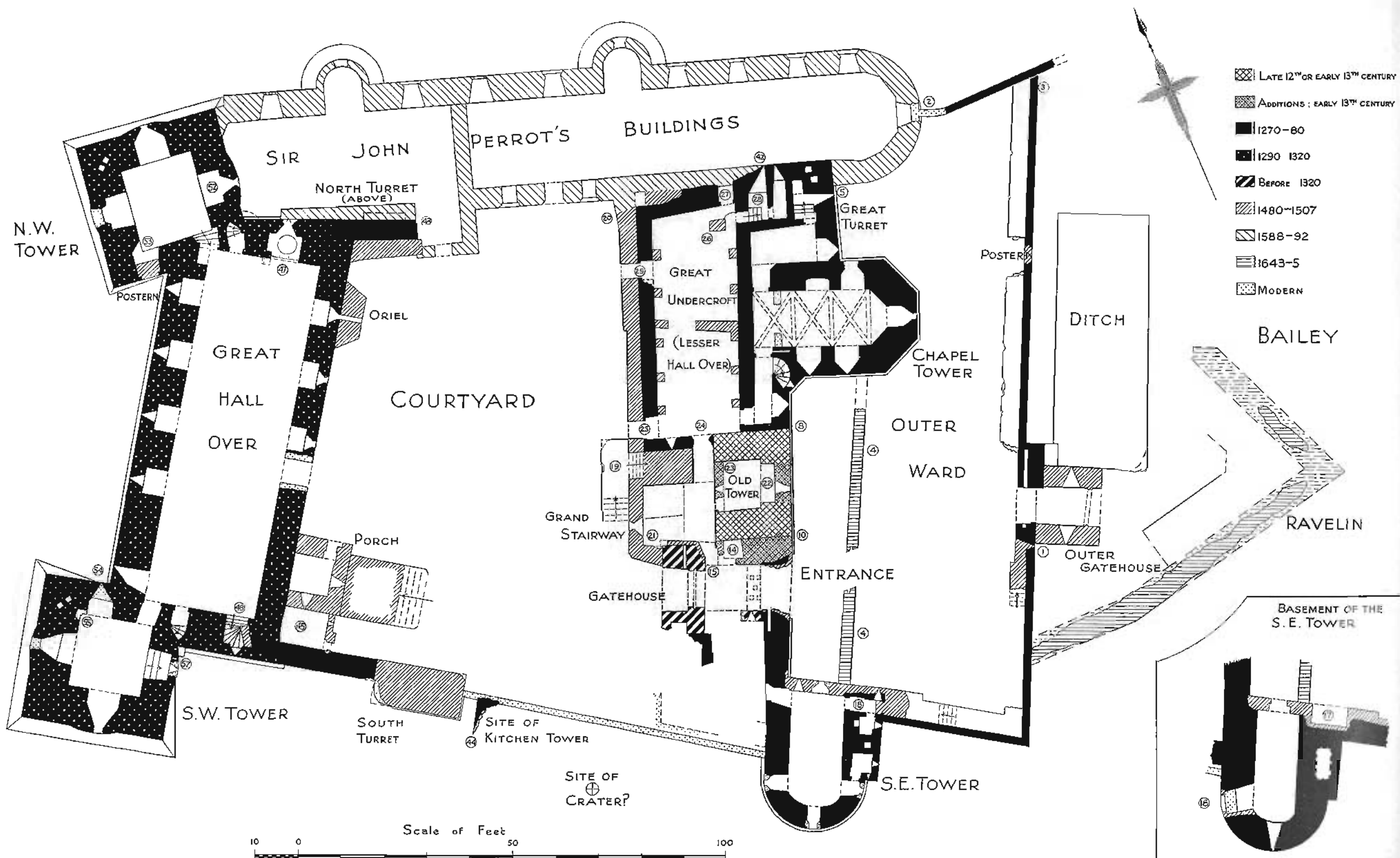


Fig. 1. Carew Castle, ground floor plan



The four sides of the main ward are strongly contrasted in external appearance. The E. front (Fig. 2) exhibits a number of singular features, and has evidently had a most complex history of construction — indeed, the problems facing the student of Carew are almost all posed by this front and the high block of building behind it. At its S. end stands the S.E. Tower, a rather low half-round tower of irregular shape, standing sideways to the approach; and at the opposite end there is a great three-storey semi-circular projection, in general appearance very much like a round tower but having a strong Elizabethan character in all its detail. Between the two runs an unusually lofty curtain, backed by a tall range of buildings; there are three storeys in this block but the floors are not on the same level throughout nor is the line of the parapet continuous. Near the S. end of the curtain is the gateway; towards the N. is the bold semi-octagonal projection of the Chapel Tower, flanked by two lofty turrets, the larger, to the N., being square and of unusual size, four storeys high.

The S. face, seen from the hollow alongside the ridge, presents a very different picture; for here the damage done in the Civil War is to be seen. From immediately alongside the S.E. Tower — which itself has required extensive repair in recent times — the curtain has vanished, and is replaced by a modern wall, a little in advance of the original. At the far end of this comes the solid base of a small rectangular turret, its superstructure badly ruined, and beyond again a low, undamaged piece of walling, with the windows of a small building in it, at the end of which the curtain rises sharply to form the end-wall of a lofty and important building, with a great window, now mutilated, high up in its face. This imposing building containing the great hall occupies the whole W. side of the castle.

The W. face has at either end a great round tower of three storeys rising from a square base with enormous angle-spurs which reach to first floor level. The towers rise above the intermediate curtain and the structure is clearly basically medieval in spite of the fact that almost every architectural feature has been altered. The parapets have been rebuilt in a Tudor taste, with toy merlons and useless crenelles, and all the openings save the smallest have been reconstructed as windows of a rather mechanical Tudor Gothic, with two or three lights under a square head or a four-centred arch. Above the four-centred heads of the windows in the curtain are to be seen the taller and more pointed heads of an earlier range. It is clear that we have here a medieval hall, flanked at each end by a tower, the whole having undergone a considerable reconstruction in early Tudor times at the hands of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, but nevertheless preserving its general shape unaltered.

The N. front of the castle is formed by the great three-storey block of Sir John Perrot's Elizabethan palace, with its two big projecting oriels. On the W. it abuts against the big N.W. Tower, standing level with the parapet of the latter; on the E. it ends in the great rounded bay that has already been mentioned as occupying the N. end of the E. front. It is evident that this is not, and never was, any sort of round tower; it merely forms the termination of the Elizabethan block, and is entirely Perrot's work.<sup>1</sup>

The general arrangement of the castle, therefore, is seen to consist of two blocks of building on the E. and W., both medieval in origin, and both largely altered by Sir Rhys ap Thomas. They do not join either on the N., where the older construction has been swept away to make room for Perrot's buildings, or on the S., where the great breach interrupts the perimeter.

#### *The Outer Defences — the Ravelin and the Ditch*

Like almost all castles on ridge sites, Carew has its defences disposed in succession on the approachable side. The first of these defensive works, apart from the weak line of the bailey, is now represented by two ruinous lines of wall forming a V-shaped enclosure in front of the gatehouse of the outer ward — an obvious Civil War ravelin, and long recognized as such; there is a similar one, rather less well-preserved, in front of the gate of Manorbier castle. Little enough remains of the present work; slighting or quarrying, or both, have reduced its flanks to shapeless and largely unfaced stumps of wall, and nothing is left of its ditch.

<sup>1</sup> Nor does it bond with any medieval part of the castle; there can be no question of accepting the suggestion put forward by some writers — but decisively rejected by Canon Spurrell (*op. cit.*, p. 4) — that this is part of a medieval tower grafted on to Perrot's buildings.

The S. face is slightly angled; the gate was where the N. face, of which very little remains, returns upon the counterscarp of the ditch. Traces of a paved gun-platform about 10 ft. wide remain inside the S. face, the parapet in front being about 6 ft. thick.

The castle ditch is not the simple deep and steep-sided notch, cut into the rock of the ridge and running out on its slopes, which one would expect in a medieval defence. No doubt it originally took this form, and some part of it remains at the S. end, under the flank of the ravelin. The present ditch, extending N.E. from the outer gate, stops short some 10 yds. from the slope of the ridge; it also leaves a slight ledge or berm, 5 or 6 ft. wide, at the foot of the outer ward curtain. It is shallow, with sides revetted in masonry, and has the appearance of a dried-up horsepond of the more sophisticated sort; it clearly existed in the same form in 1531, when it is described as 'a dyke of 20 feet broad counter-mured'. Presumably it was revetted and partly filled in by Sir Rhys ap Thomas as part of his highly unwarlike programme of building.

#### *The Outer Ward and Gatehouse*

Behind the ravelin and the ditch the ridge is crossed from side to side by a straight curtain wall some 160 ft. long and 12 ft. high, without any other flanking than the rectangular outer gatehouse which projects from its front; this wall forms the front of a narrow enclosure, some 40 to 50 ft. across, which lies at the foot of the main defences on the E., and covers them exactly as one side of the outer ward of such a castle as Beaumaris or the Tower of London covers its inner line of walls and towers. In other words, we have here a typical example of *concentric defence*, applied to one side of the castle only — that where it was most needed — always provided that this ward forms part of the medieval plan and is not simply another of the novelties placed across the approach by Civil War or other late hands. On plan, indeed, the plain angular enclosure of the outer ward certainly does not look medieval; but there are three very good reasons for holding it to be so: first, because the early Tudor gatehouse has quite evidently been built on to it; secondly, because the return at its S. end bonds with the S.E. Tower, one of the earliest parts of the great medieval build; and finally, because of the authentic character of its parapet. Throughout the castle as a whole the battlements — which are remarkably complete — are almost all Tudor dummies of very reduced size; only upon the S.E. and Chapel Towers, and the northern part of the outer ward curtain, are there genuine battlements behind which men could shelter and fight. All of these are very similar, with wide merlons pierced by loops; on the towers the latter are plain, on the outer curtain they have a short cross-arm; all are simply made, no cut stone being used. In all cases the embrasures have been partly or completely blocked; the blocking of the middle embrasures of the outer ward wall contains small rectangular musket-loops — clearly a Civil War expedient. This flimsy, exposed outer curtain has therefore survived, almost in its entirety, the siege of 1645 and a full two centuries of neglect thereafter; if this is the case, we need not be surprised at its having lasted from the late 13th century to the middle 17th, a period during which the castle suffered relatively little from neglect. South of the gatehouse, indeed, the curtain has lost its features, and much of the upper part of it is modern; here it may well have suffered in the siege.

The two-storey gatehouse has suffered in much the same way; almost every feature of it has been repaired in modern times, but its character is still plainly enough that of the early Tudor work at Carew; in particular, the corbel-table across the front at first floor level, serving a merely ornamental purpose, is a typical feature of the work of Rhys.

The defences of the entrance passage are not powerful; at each end there are jambs for a pair of doors, but there is reason to believe that only a single pair was ever hung here at one time. There is a straight joint between the front part of the passage and the inner portion; the latter corresponds to the original curtain of the ward, and the inner gate, of which portions of the jambs remain, will have been the original gate to the outer ward. As is usually found in the gates of concentric defences, it was not particularly strong; there is no portcullis groove, but the doors were supplied with a set of three massive bars no less than 11 in. square; the bar-holes are about a foot back from the door-jambs, suggesting that the doors carried some kind of heavy reinforcement. The curtain was thickened around the gate; it will naturally

have stood a good deal higher here, but of the auxiliary defences at this point nothing remains except an arrow-slit ((1) Fig. 1) in the curtain to the S., blocked by the stair to the first floor of the gatehouse.

This first floor room was a porter's lodge; it has no military features whatever, and its openings are in any case entirely rebuilt. It is entered by a stair — now completely robbed of its treads, like most of the straight stairs in the castle — along the E. curtain. There is a window in each of the four walls, with a fireplace in the N. wall, and a newel stair leading to the roof in the N.W. corner, which has an unpleasant little latrine contrived under it. The stair is housed in a polygonal turret, corbelled out, and partly supported by the rectangular projection formed by the flank of the original gate.

Towards the N. end of the outer ward is a small narrow postern in the curtain; its arch is almost triangular, in the Edwardian manner. It has been carefully walled up, possibly as part of the preparations for the Civil War defence, but much more probably — as the good masonry of the blocking suggests — at the same time as the ditch and main gate were remodelled by Rhys.

The curtain is constructed in two thicknesses; the outer and narrower, which is carried up to form the parapet, is of good and sound masonry; the inner, which carries the wall-walk, is of stone laid in clay, with little or no cement — a method of construction also used in the ward of the small 14th-century castle of Candleston, in Glamorgan. South of the gate the clay-laid backing is missing for some distance, to reappear against the S. curtain, where it carries the remains of a stair which formerly gave access to the first floor room in the S.E. Tower<sup>1</sup> by way of a door, now partly walled up. As this stair was completely exposed to view from outside the castle, it is clearly a post-military feature; the original access to the wall led out of the room below, and the top of its arch is still visible above the remains of the stair.

At the other end of the ward, the N. curtain has been broken off, and connected to the much later bay of Perrot's buildings by a crooked wall ((2) Fig. 1). The curtain itself is similar in character to the main curtain, or rather to its cemented facing, the clay-laid portion being ruined; most unexpectedly, it projects beyond the E. curtain, which abuts against it in a very open joint (3). In spite of this, the two are quite obviously contemporary; the joint is no doubt a result of the relatively slapdash construction of this outer ward, the E. curtain having been brought along to meet the already constructed N. wall. Why the latter continues beyond the angle is not so obvious; we cannot be certain whether it went on to form a complete ring of wall round the bailey, or merely to afford an obstacle across the end of the ditch, to prevent a stealthy enemy getting to close quarters from the slopes on the north.<sup>2</sup> There is no trace of any similar wall at the S.E. angle.

A last feature of the outer ward is the curious length of wall (4)-(4) which joins the flanks of the S.E. and Chapel Towers — or rather used to join them, for its N. end has been destroyed. It is roughly built, and stands about 8 ft. high, with some remains of crenellation along its top. There is a row of large putlog holes which suggests a wooden platform in lieu of a wall-walk behind it. The gateway is also very curious; the walls stop short on either side, being contrived with a slant on the end parallel to the oblique course of the way from the outer to the inner gate; in each wall is contrived a set of what would normally be called bar-holes, four on each side, about 9 in. by 7 in., and of no great depth; there is a similar series of recesses on the forward corner of each wall. What species of barricade hung here we are unable to say; the whole thing appears to be some sort of ready-made retrenchment, dating from the Civil War; certainly it is too roughly built for any of the main periods of construction, and seems unlikely to have fulfilled either any domestic purpose or any military purpose known to medieval fortification.

#### *The East Front (Pl. XLIA)*

It is the eastern part of the castle which poses the greatest number of problems for solution, and displays the most frequent signs of addition and alteration. A number of these

<sup>1</sup> N.B. This is the uppermost of the three storeys, the tower having a basement.

<sup>2</sup> The bailey was, of course, walled in Charles I's reign, but this may have been carried out at a much later date.

are visible upon its outer face. First of all, at the N. end of the ward, there is the expected straight joint ((5), Figs. 1 & 2) where the great rounded tower-like bay, in which Perrot's buildings end, abuts against the wall of the great turret to the north of the Chapel Tower.

Next, on the face of the great turret itself, well below the corbel-table which supported the parapet (now fallen), there is another corbel-table, continuous with that of the parent Chapel Tower, running northward for a few feet and then ending abruptly ((6), Fig. 2), the section of wall carried upon it ending in a ragged line. Both tables are alike in character, and a window which opens between them is typical of the few surviving medieval openings in the castle. Clearly this, the third floor of the great turret, was added as an afterthought in the course of building.

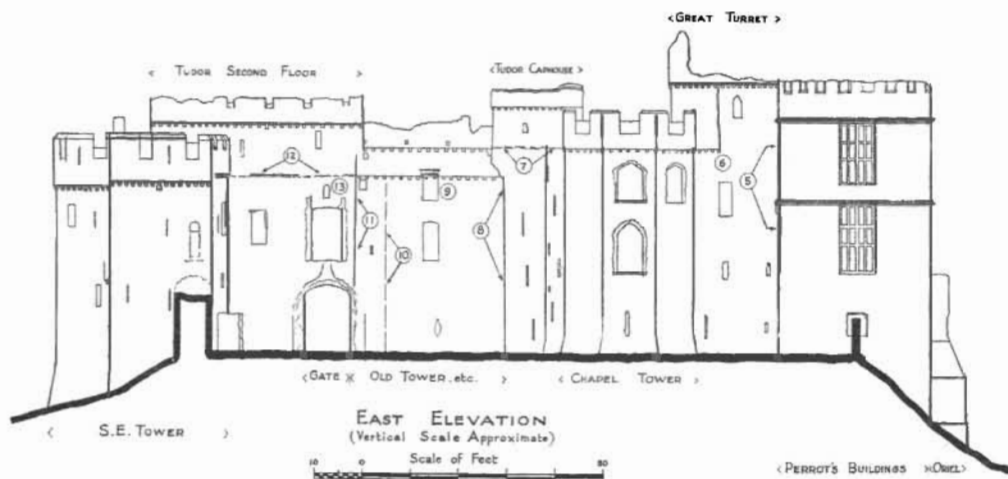


Fig. 2.

The next mark of alteration ((7), Fig. 2), is a horizontal joint between the stair-turret of the Chapel Tower and a short piece of curtain adjoining it, and a small chamber constructed over them; the latter is thus shown to be secondary, and is in fact the work of Rhys.

There follow three great vertical joints in the curtain. The first of these ((8), Figs. 1-3) extends from the ground to the summit of the wall, inclining gently southwards as it rises; near the top its line has been broken by the incursion of later buildings. It is a most conspicuous feature, and Canon Spurrell<sup>1</sup> has explained it as a feature of a late modification: 'He (Sir Rhys ap Thomas) probably inserted a strip of masonry immediately north of the main entrance in the Middle Ward, containing a fine panelled oriel window.'

The reference is clearly to the length of wall between (8) and the gate, since the remains of a fine oriel window are visible midway along it ((9), Figs. 2 and 3). The necessity for a refacing of this section of the curtain seems a trifle obscure; in addition, the idea of a refacing in rubble ending in a conspicuous straight joint is amazing. We ought, however, to enquire further; under the ivy, about 25 ft. from (8), is a much less well-marked joint ((10), Figs. 1, 2 and 3). Some 6 ft. further on, over the jamb of the gate, there is the third of the series ((11), Figs. 2 and 3), which is still almost invisible under the dying ivy, but which can be seen internally, and also appears quite clearly in old photographs. Since the level of the parapet approximately covering the sector (8)-(11)<sup>2</sup> is lower than elsewhere, the whole has the air of a distinct and

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, 8.

<sup>2</sup> This section of the parapet is encroached upon by later constructions at both ends, and does not exactly correspond to the sector (8)-(11).



separate structure. If so, it is clear that it is likely to be older, and not newer, than the work on either side; for it is more reasonable to imagine that a primitive structure of some sort, built relatively early in the castle's long history, occupied the middle of this exposed side and that late 13th-century defences were applied to its flanks, than to suggest that the highly skilled builders of the Chapel Tower stopped their work short, even temporarily, right in the middle of the most vulnerable side of the castle. In fact, this part of the curtain is formed by the face of a small, roughly rectangular tower of three storeys now completely enclosed in more recent buildings. The portion between the joints (10) and (11) is an early addition containing latrines. Such original detail as survives is of a more primitive character than the late 13th-century work which has hitherto been supposed to form the earliest building in the castle, and we have therefore named this structure the Old Tower. Its own history has not been simple, as testified by its two corbel-tables, the lower of which crosses the head of the oriel (9). The present parapet is a dummy, the work of Rhys, but the raising of the tower was plainly carried out at a much earlier date, to add a second floor at about the same time as the latrines were constructed.

Next to the Old Tower stands the Gatehouse. Over this, and along the curtain adjoining it, runs a clear horizontal joint ((12), Fig. 2) where the wall has been heightened to cover the lofty second floor of the internal buildings, which completely overtops the S.E. Tower, and is clearly an early Tudor addition, made when Rhys threw into one the two upper storeys of the gatehouse. Immediately above the gigantic window which lights the double chamber is the small blocked light ((13), Fig. 2) of the medieval second floor room.

It will be noted that the two horizontal lines (7) and (12) which apparently mark the level of the original wall-walk, are at approximately the same height as the adjoining tower-heads, which is contrary to the normal practice; and indeed the original E. front, as it detaches itself from the additions of the Tudor era, though closer to ordinary medieval practice than in the form we see today, nevertheless remains a highly unconventional line of defence: its curtains very lofty and having a step up in the middle, their faces flush with the face of an older tower; the S.E. Tower standing decidedly low, and flanking the curtain with its flat rear; the Chapel Tower, instead of capping the angle, standing boldly out towards the middle, with its projection apparently determined by canonical, rather than military rules; and the whole terminated on the N. by an enormous rectangular turret.

### *The Gateway*

In an Edwardian castle, such as Carew, it is usual to find the gateway opening in the front of a powerful gatehouse with two large half-round towers flanking the entrance, these towers being continued to the rear to enclose a long and well-defended entrance passage. In comparison the gate of Carew is a very modest affair, for though it is enfiladed by the Chapel and S.E. Towers at no very great distance, it has no towers of its own, and while it now has a strong inner passage, this is secondary work, added, like the Bloody Tower at the Tower of London, to strengthen a gate which can originally have been little more than a mere arch in the curtain.<sup>1</sup> A gate of this kind is certainly rather weak for this greatest period of English military architecture, but while unusual, such simple gateways are by no means unheard of: all three gates in the main structure of Edward I's great fortress of Conway are of this kind, and so are both the inner gates of Kidwelly, and the main gate of Flint.<sup>2</sup>

The entrance in its present form consists of a ragged archway in the curtain, bearing everywhere the marks of the robbery of its cut stone; as far as these afford any evidence, they strongly indicate that the gateway-arch, in its last form, was of the four-centred Tudor shape, and highly ornate. It is set in a short length of curtain from which the customary base-batter is absent, as if it were cut back, ending on each side in a shallow battering projection, faced in ashlar; this rather attractive feature most probably dates from the reconstruction of the entrance by Rhys.

<sup>1</sup> With this difference, that whereas the Bloody Tower was built over a hundred years after its original gate (R.C.H.M., *London*, V, 80-1) at Carew the addition seems to have been carried out within a few years.

<sup>2</sup> The principal gate of Holt (now vanished, together with most of the castle), could be added to this list; the present main gate of Chirk (which may not originally have been intended as the principal entrance) is similar, but has a long internal passage.



Over the gate is the empty opening of an enormous window, completely robbed like the gate itself; on either side some kind of ornamental upright, ending apparently in a miniature pinnacle, has been torn out of the wall.<sup>1</sup> It is to be regretted that so complete a spoliation has been made of two such fine features as this gate and window seem to have been; elsewhere in the fabric, while the straight ashlar jambs and mullions have been removed from most of the openings, the heads of doors and windows, with their curved arch-stones and tracery, have largely been left *in situ*, as unsuited for the spoilers' purpose.

Above the great window, which can only have been the work of Rhys, and the small blocked light (13) is one of two upper windows in the added second floor, completely rebuilt in modern times to prevent collapse, and retaining no original features. It is evident that the gatehouse building has been very thoroughly reconstructed by Sir Rhys ap Thomas, who carried out so many alterations to Carew.

The entrance is formed by a vaulted passage about 30 ft. long, running between the great eastern block of military and domestic buildings, and the site of another block, completely destroyed in the Civil War, which formerly stood to the south; a scanty fragment of the latter building sustains the inner end of the passage on its S. side, but the middle of this side is now occupied by a breach, leading straight out into the corner of the ward.

The defensive arrangements of the gate are singular, and have been the subject of comment in every account of the castle. The entrance-arch is so thoroughly robbed that no sign of any door-jamb remains; only a mighty bar-hole in the S. side witnesses to the former existence at this point of a powerful door. But of a portcullis there is no sign, not even the overhead chase, and it may be confidently stated that the gate had none *in its final form*; the only portcullis grooves in the castle are at the inner end of the passage, though we cannot accept that this was the original state of affairs.

About 7 ft. in from the front of the entrance are joints on either side marking the junction between the curtain and inner buildings of different date. Overhead a second arch, behind the outer arch of the gateway, carries a set of five passage machicolations or 'murder holes' arranged in a quincunx. At the E. end of the S. side is a short wall with a plain loop in it; this breaks off short, and its end has been made good in modern times. Beyond the end of this comes the open breach already mentioned, ending at the face of the inner gate-arch; the gate-passage between this arch and that with the machicolations is spanned by a low segmental vault with an axis at right angles to that of the passage — a strong indication of its secondary character. The vault is crude, and the whole of this part of the passage very roughly built. Especially is this true of the N. wall, in which there are two rough openings close together, the first a breach into a small irregular cell ((14), Fig. 1) in the thickness of the wall, the second the damaged doorway of a narrow passage (15). The cell, which one can now enter, was a cesspit; looking upwards, the openings of the latrines overhead are clearly visible; a wide chase on the first floor, with a small shoot from the second further towards the inside of the castle. There is a sort of half-arch, solidly walled up, in the western end of the pit, which may have been used for cleaning purposes. It is also plain on the inside of the pit that the building enclosing it has been added to the structure which forms its north wall; the straight joint so formed is the same which appears on the face of the curtain at (10), while the outer wall of the addition, forming the side of the entrance passage, corresponds with that at (11). It is at once obvious that the reason why the joint at (10) (and also the inner joint at the rear of the tower) is so ill-marked is that it was carefully closed up for purely sanitary reasons. It is unusual (to put it mildly) to find a cesspit in the wall of a main entrance, and it is clear that the builders of the late 13th-century work in the E. front, who were very fastidious in their treatment of the other latrines, would not have been guilty of putting it there.<sup>2</sup> This goes

<sup>1</sup> Spurrell (*op. cit.*, p. 5) seems to have mistaken the marks left by the removal of these for chases for the counterpoise-beams of a drawbridge of very late type: 'Certain features suggest that there may have been a second drawbridge over a dry ditch at the main entrance'. If these are the features in question — and there is certainly no other indication of a drawbridge — it is clear that the Canon's identification is mistaken; there is no sign of any opening in the wall through which such beams could pass, or of any trunnion-holes about which the ponderous counterpoise could rotate.

<sup>2</sup> Whether the Old Tower latrines were abandoned, or whether the nuisance was tolerated, it is impossible to say. Certainly the latrines are accessible, and the shafts are still open, for what the facts are worth.

to establish the earlier date of the Old Tower. Its rougher masonry, and its joints with the jamb of the great gate-arch, and at the other end with the later work of the passage, help to mark it off.

This second joint is clearly visible in the vault over the passage (15); the latter has been driven under the angle and is crudely splayed on the other jamb; the whole has the air of a rather clumsy insertion,<sup>1</sup> giving access to a chamber which certainly did not exist before c. 1500.

On the opposite side of the passage is some sort of lodge or recess, so ruined that little can be made of it; as it is in front of the second set of defences, it was presumably a vaulted cul-de-sac, like the lodges between the portcullises at Wardour Castle. Part of the vaulting remains, but the end of the recess has been completely destroyed; a fragment of building on its W. side is probably part of the internal building already mentioned, but there is not enough left to be sure.

The second set of the defences of the entrance consisted of a portcullis, with its chase in a wide segmental arch, and a pair of doors immediately behind it, with a set of three powerful bar-holes. The last section of the passage is set under a segmental vault, and splays slightly.

It is not very easy to date these inner defences at all closely; clearly they were added to the original arch, which forms part of the E. front; equally clearly they are not the work of Rhys, whose buildings to the N. abut on the flank and rear of the gatehouse in very obvious joints, and who, in any case, was not interested in strengthening the castle. The features of the passage are not very helpful; its construction is extremely plain, even crude; there is no ashlar, and very little architectural detail. Nor is any assistance to be got from a study of the upper floors of the gatehouse; for they have been radically rebuilt, heavily damaged in war, and thoroughly stripped of all cut stonework. There is, however, one feature — the triple bar-holes of the inner gateway — which strongly recalls the arrangements of the original gate of the outer ward; it is at least likely that both gates were commissioned by the same owner or executed by the same mason — perhaps both; and as there is nothing to suggest a long lapse of time before the extension of the passage, we consider it probable that the gatehouse building was constructed either very late in the 13th century or early in the 14th, as an early modification to the original plan, strengthening an obvious point of weakness.

There remain the problems raised by the defences of the passage. As things stand at present, we have at the inner end a powerful system of portcullis and heavily-barred doors; in front of this there are scarcely any defences at all, apart from the harassing arrangements (machicolations in the vault and loop in the wall) inside the gateway-arch. It is true that the present condition of the fabric exaggerates this apparent weakness; the openings by which the inner portcullis can be by-passed are of recent origin, as we have seen, and there was at least a pair of doors in the outer archway. But the fact remains that there are no grooves for an outer portcullis, and it must be emphasized that a main gateway without a portcullis in a substantial castle of the late 13th century is incredible. As we have seen, the original gate consisted merely of this outer arch. So thoroughly, however, has it been reconstructed, together with the window above it, by Rhys, that we need not be surprised at its present condition; the obliteration of portcullis grooves would be a small matter to envisage in so radical an alteration.

#### *The South-East Tower*

This tower, though externally unremarkable, is as unconventional and perplexing as anything at Carew. It stands at the junction of the southern curtains of the inner and outer wards and the E. curtain of the inner; its rounded face points south, so that it flanks the all-important E. curtain with its flat back. It is boldly salient, and in particular almost completely detached from the inner ward; it is incredible that it could have been designed in this fashion unless the outer ward had formed part of the plan from the first. It has a broad, shallow projection on the E. the same height as the rest of the tower, which houses the latrines on the upper floors, and presumably their cesspit in the base of the tower. The outer ward curtain

<sup>1</sup> It may be an enlarged loop.

is drawn back to keep the front of this latrine-projection clear, but there is no sign of any outfall or cleaner's hole; possibly this has been covered in soil and debris in modern times.

The tower stands on low ground and has a basement beneath the chamber which is entered from the ward and is only 4 or 5 ft. above the general level of the latter; there is a first floor above. Both basement and ground floor are covered in plain barrel-vaults. There are no stairs; both upper floors, and the battlements as well, were reached by doors communicating with the vanished three-storey building in the corner of the ward.<sup>1</sup> This must have contained the necessary stairs, and must therefore have been coeval with the tower. The basement has two doors, one a postern ((16), Fig. 1) opening outside the castle, the other a doorway in the rear of the tower, opening into the outer ward. It is a dank vault, without any other features except for a tall plain arrow-slit in the S. end. The postern is so oblique in plan that it is quite possibly a raking arrow-slit with one side broken out to form a doorway. The entrance at the N. is under a rough pointed arch with a double row of rubble voussoirs which does not resemble the medieval work in the castle any more than do the thick and unequal jambs. Close to this doorway, but on the other side of the barrier (4), is an extraordinary arched recess ((17), Fig. 1) under the corner of the tower. Constructed in plain limestone rubble, it serves no visible purpose.

The ground-floor room above is severely practical; in its very thin N. wall is a modernized window, with a narrow loop beside it; in the curved S. end are three similar windows, all probably enlarged arrow-slits; that on the W. has window-seats. On the E. are two latrines; one opens from the jamb of a window, the other from the narrow passage ((18), Fig. 1) which formerly ended at the original doorway leading out on to the wall-walk, but which is now blocked by a mass of masonry. There is no fireplace, and the room seems to have had something of the nature of a barrack, with its postern entrance and its twin latrines.

The first floor room (Fig. 4) can be reached only by a rather dangerous scramble from the portcullis chamber; it was more habitable, with a fireplace and a latrine on the E. and a row of three windows in the curved S. face of the tower, flanked by an arrow-slit at each end. In the N.E. corner is a passage to the upper and later door to the battlements of the outer ward. In the N. wall is a very large window, completely restored, a small loop alongside it, and a tiny single light high up on the face of the tower above it; the purpose of this is obscure.

The tower still carries its battlements. There is a plain loop in each wide merlon; the narrow embrasures were walled up in the Civil War, alternately completely and to about two-thirds of their depth. On the rear of the tower, however, the two embrasures are very shallow and insignificant, like those in the Tudor work, there are no loops, and the corbel-table of the parapet is raised slightly, and does not reach the N.E. corner.

It will be clear that there are a number of enigmatic features about this tower. The absence of stairs is curious, but probably original; the change in the means of access to the outer ward can no doubt be explained by some change in the domestic arrangements of the castle; it must clearly have been made after defence ceased to be a matter of primary concern.

But there are less simple matters than these: in the first place, it will have been realized that there is no communication between the basement and the rest of the tower without going outside the castle proper into the outer ward; and it seems very likely that the barrier (4) was made in Civil War days to protect this access.

The arrangement cannot be original, and yet a rough hole knocked into the W. wall by some antiquarian owner — or perhaps Mr. Cobb — has revealed neither stairs nor a doorway. It appears virtually certain that access was through the floor of the room above, and that therefore the vault is an insertion. Certainly it seems strange that two such grim quarters as the lower two rooms in this tower should be given the expensive luxury of a stone vault.

But it appears likely that the reconstruction of the tower went much further. The whole N. wall is suspect, for though it bonds colourably enough with the rest of the structure, it contains a number of features unlike anything which one expects in medieval work: the

<sup>1</sup> The door to the battlements opens on the second floor, which is an addition of Rhys' day; it may not be in its original position. Presumably it led out at roof level, and most probably on the wall-walk of the S. curtain.

dummy battlements, the pointless recess (17), and the equally inexplicable dwarf light under the battlements; the crude and feeble basement door; and the dangerously weak ground-floor window, easily reached by a short ladder even from the hollow which leads down to the basement. At the same time, this wall is ridiculously thin — only 2 ft. 9 in. at ground level, against the 7 ft. which a comparison with the neighbouring parts of the fabric would lead one to expect; finally its composition is singular, for whereas the remainder of the castle, and most particularly the remainder of the tower of which it forms part, is built in a plain grey limestone, much of the stone of the N. face is black or pigmented with iron, and the whole is covered in conspicuous putlog-holes. We would like to attribute this very non-military feature to Rhys; but neither the construction nor the very well-concealed bonding with the adjoining masonry is typical of his work. It is, however, possible that this represents an early — and perhaps entirely necessary — repair carried out by him soon after occupying the castle; this may have been before his fortunes rose at Bosworth, let alone marked their apogee with his great buildings of c. 1500.

In short, it is sufficiently clear that this wall is secondary, but neither the exact extent of the rebuilding, nor its date, can be determined with any degree of certainty. Rhys, however, remains the most probable builder.

#### *The East Block*

Between the entrance passage and the Elizabethan range which forms the N. side of the castle stands a close, lofty block of buildings three storeys high — four in places — and of an extremely complex plan, which reflects a complicated history of construction. The castle is relatively simple to understand once the enigmas of this block have been solved, and for this reason it must be dealt with at once.

For convenience it may be divided into four parts: at the S.E. the structure which we have called the Old Tower; alongside it, on the S.W., a grand staircase of three straight flights, ascending to the second floor, at which level these first two parts unite to form a single large room; on the N.W. a large building with a single great room on each of its three floors; lastly, on the N.E., the Chapel Tower and its appendages, including the great turret which formed the corner of the medieval castle. This part of the building is connected by a long passage on each level, which on the ground floor turns off into the great undercroft below the halls on the N.W., but on the upper floors forms a mural gallery which ran along the curtain — not by any means on the same level the whole way — as far as the upper chambers of the gatehouse, or further.

The courtyard face of the block forms a single front of uniformly Early Tudor detail; the windows are square-headed, set under segmental rubble relieving-arches. The individual lights have mostly lost their mullions, though one big window on the second floor is complete; they had the normal four-centred heads — which are in large measure preserved — and the whole forms a sumptuous and handsome, though rather mechanical and uninspired, piece of architecture. The parapet is carried on a corbel-table, and near the N. end there are two more lengths of corbel-table on the face of the wall, carrying out the supports of a tall rectangular chimney-stack; at about first-floor level a projecting course of slabs runs along almost the whole front of the block, stepped up a couple of times as it runs southwards — to all appearance the roof-table of some sort of pentice, for under it there are no windows at all. Under its southern and highest portion a double row of corbels for wall-plates and struts indicates the existence of a considerable wooden structure, and here, at the head of a grassy ramp which was once an outside stair, is the lofty arch of the grand stairway ((19), Fig. 1). Close by is a plain low doorway leading into the undercroft of the hall; at the far end is a similar opening. At the N. there is a short untidy piece of walling rising to the full height of the block and joining it to the towering courtyard front of Perrot's building ((20), Fig. 1); part of this bonds with the N. range. The S.W. angle is splayed off at the bottom in order to keep the entrance to the courtyard clear; the upper part of the building is corbelled out above. The short S. end is also set at an angle, and returns upon the back of the gatehouse in a conspicuous straight joint.

The parapet over the greater part of the front is a perfunctory imitation of battlements, but over the staircase section there are corbie-steps, indicating a change in the roof-plan, and a gable-end to be masked. A fortunate hole in the parapet at the junction reveals that there has been another and more radical change in plan here; for it reveals an angle in the main parapet, below which a joint, visible on close examination, descends by way of the jamb of the large double window below to that of the stairway door (19). The joint is well-concealed and if the observer sees the whole front as a single build, that is only what was the intention of the masons of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, who were at the greatest pains to cover this sign of addition. As Spurrell has clearly pointed out,<sup>1</sup> Rhys' work is not the outcome of a single coherent plan; there are, for instance, numerous signs of addition and alteration around the porch of the great hall, but there is no other such flagrant absence of foresight as here originally condemned a three-storey state building to have no stair worthy of its size and elaboration. But it is perfectly clear that only the shortest of periods elapsed between the completion of the two structures, and that the whole is the work of Rhys.

### *The Grand Stairway*

The stairway block is a structure of three storeys, about 20 ft. by 25 ft., in which the stair rises by three straight flights (together with the small external stair already mentioned) to the second floor. All the stair-treads have been robbed, as they have been everywhere in Rhys' work in the castle. The lowest flight is carried on a solid ramp, the upper two upon massive plain arches or vaults, the lower one being rather sharply pointed, the upper comparatively flat. The inner walls of the two lower flights, instead of forming balustrades, rose to second floor level to support the floor beams of a large antechamber at the head of the stairs, while that of the topmost flight formed the antechamber wall. The roughly rectangular stair-well so formed, and the spaces under the arches of the stairs, were floored to form rooms at basement and first floor level.

The entrance (19) to the stair is set under a four-centred arch of fine detail, undamaged by the spoilers; the jambs are perfectly plain, with no cut stone — not even the rebate for a door. The entrance, of course, opened under the pentice; for the same reason the lighting of the stair was supplemented by a small window, apparently of two lights, above the entrance. Opening off the first flight<sup>2</sup> are, on the left, the door of the first floor hall, and on the right, almost opposite, a rough breach, evidently on the site of the doorway of the first floor chamber under the stairs. The second flight runs across the rear of the Old Tower, the third westward along the flank of the gatehouse, with a doorway into its lofty first-floor room. This third flight ends at a landing, lit by a large window, very badly robbed, with a doorway on the right. One can go no further, for the floors have fallen in; the room at the head of the stairs was a fine large chamber, extending over the stair-well, the two lower flights and the Old Tower, whose rear wall has been partly demolished at this level.

The basement chamber did not communicate with the stair; it is reached from the entrance-passage by way of the inserted doorway (15), and probably served as a lodge for Rhys' porter. On the other side of it a vaulted passage runs through the base of the stair-ramp into the great undercroft below the hall. The room is lighted by a small window, completely robbed; it is dark and gloomy, and must originally have been darker still. In the S.W. corner is a small fireplace ((21), Fig. 1), this has been so violently mutilated as to expose, in the wall behind it, the corner of the gatehouse, revealing that the wall of the latter has not only been extended to the W. but thickened on the N. in order to help carry the stairs and accommodate the chimneys of this fireplace and its companion in the room above. This upper chamber is similar in size and features to the lower; its only door opened on to the stairs; it has in very much the same positions a fireplace and a window, the latter being a small one of two lights, which has lost its centre mullion, but is otherwise in remarkably good condition. The great arch of the second flight of stairs springs from the level of its floor, so that the whole back of the room took the form of a great vaulted alcove.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, 8, footnote.

<sup>2</sup> For the stair, see Fig. 3.

<sup>3</sup> This is not represented on Fig. 3, as it runs under the stair.



*Basement of the East Block — The Old Tower.*

At the back of the basement room under the grand stair a doorway opens into a small dark vaulted room beneath the Old Tower. Its features are few, but singular: the main part of the room is spanned by a barrel-vault — remarkably high for the vault of a basement chamber — and across the E. end ((22), Fig. 1) is a wide and massive round arch, 11 ft. 8 in., high, perfectly plain, of the type which is frequently employed, as the authorities remind us, in the openings of castles during the Gothic period. This, however, is a blind arch enclosing only a recess with a small loop eccentrically placed in it — altogether, a singularly pointless feature. At the other end, beside the door, is another small lighting-loop, with a third above it, close under the vault. Measurement clearly shows that its walls are oddly proportioned; the flanks are very much more solid than the back and front — the back in particular is flimsy. The whole has the air of a rather primitive square gatehouse walled up at front and rear; the exterior, however, reveals no trace of any such operation. Fortunately this problem has evidently exercised the mind of an earlier antiquarian, for someone (again, perhaps, Mr. Cobb) has prised open the wall in the N.W. corner, revealing a definite joint ((23), Fig. 1) and thus showing that this thin rear wall is in fact an addition. In view of this, it seems most unlikely that the front wall is original. There is no suggestion that the tower was open to the rear, or only closed with a timber partition; indeed the first floor forms a perfectly normal independent structure, with walls of more or less uniform thickness (thinner than the flank walls below, but thicker than the inserted rear). It is on the same level as the portcullis chamber over the main gate whereas ordinary basements, such as that of the Chapel Tower, are far lower in the vault.

Since, therefore, we cannot visualize this tower as ever having been a three-sided affair with an open rear, like the towers of Framlingham, it follows that the thin front wall is as much an addition as its fellow at the rear, that the Old Tower was designed as a gatehouse in the first place, as the proportions and features of its basement so strongly suggest, and that it was later walled up as a number of other medieval gates have been, notably the great rectangular gatehouse of Ludlow Castle. It seems clear that this alteration was not carried out — as might well be supposed in the first place — as part of the great Edwardian building programme; if it had been we should expect to see a much less careful dissimulation of the blocking — nothing could be more barefaced than the open joint (8) where the Edwardian construction meets the flank of the Old Tower — and at the same time the loop in the blocking of the arch (22) would not be a short light, but a long fighting slit like those in the Chapel Tower and near it. Plainly, therefore, the gate had already been walled up when the late 13th-century work began; the features of the blocking walls are too plain to allow any closer dating, but the gate seems to have been blocked very early, soon after the date of the original building at the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century. The tower thus formed, like that at Ludlow, was never a keep in the normal military sense; the basement door is weak and there is no communication between the two lower stages.

*The Great Undercroft below the Hall*

The undercroft of the hall block is a great vaulted room approximately 20 ft. by 50 ft. It is covered in a low and rough segmental barrel-vault springing from a series of subsidiary segmental vaults supported on rough square piers along the sides. It had plain ribs, but only the springings of these remain. In the middle it is divided by a clumsy oblique wall beyond which a good deal of the vault has fallen. There are six doorways and no windows whatever although the entrance (24) on the S. cannot strictly be called a doorway, as its crude jambs have no rebate and bear the appearance of the sides of some opening — a light, presumably — which has been broken through; the E. jamb has no bond to the corner of the Old Tower behind it — which is as one would expect; in the other jamb is a straight joint between the ramp of the grand stairway and the wall of the undercroft itself. At the S.E. corner a door opens into the mural gallery running across the back of the Chapel Tower and communicating with it and the great turret to the N., another doorway in the S.W. corner leads out into the courtyard; between this last and the entrance (24) is a loop, blocked by the ramp built alongside it. The two doorways into the courtyard ((25)(25), Fig. 1) have some surprising features; in each the rebate for the door is some distance in from the face of the very thick wall, and immediately

outside it a straight joint is visible on each side in the thickness of the masonry. (The end of this joint is also visible in the N. wall of the grand stair, up to first floor level.) A second straight joint in the N. jamb, towards the inside of the building, merely shows that the square pier of the vault, which stands alongside the doorway, is an addition; in fact all its companions are secondary.

We now have some data about the undercroft. It is later than the Old Tower, as we have seen, and earlier than the grand stairway, on the evidence of the blocked loop in the S. wall. At the same time, the inner portion of the wall is of different date to Rhys' facing, and so presumably older, especially as it contains the rebates for the doors. It will be shown that it is coeval with the Chapel Tower. The piers of the vault are secondary, and so naturally is the vault itself, and are probably the work of Rhys although this cannot be proved.

The N.E. corner of the undercroft is decidedly curious; here, right in the angle, are two small doorways, partly concealed behind a large detached pier ((26), Fig. 1) which carries the main vault and the two miniature barrel-vaults spanning the narrow passage round the angle which gives access to the doorways. Plainly these last were original features, and this clumsy expedient was devised to prevent the inserted vault from blocking them; it was weak as well as clumsy, for it is at this point that part of the vault has fallen in.

The door on the N. is blocked by a rough wall — part of the wall of Sir John Perrot's building. The other door leads up a little stair to a couple of very small rooms in the basement of the great N.E. turret. The further of these is a narrow latrine; the W. room (28) with a single light directed conspicuously to the N.E. is of uncertain purpose.

The doorway opening out of the S.E. corner of the great undercroft affords what must have been in the middle ages the principal access, not only to the basement of the Chapel Tower, but to its upper floors and the upper part of the block in general. It is clear that the undercroft, with its numerous doorways and its latrine accommodation, was by no means the mere store-room which one expects beneath a first-floor hall.

#### *The Chapel Tower Basement, etc.*

The S.E. door from the great undercroft opens into a long passage in the thickness of the wall, lit at its entrance by a big arrow-slit. North of this is the foot of a newel stair which rises to the battlements of the Chapel Tower, and immediately beyond, through a doorway with the holes for a stout bar, is the basement of the Chapel Tower—a long room with a semi-octagonal end, vaulted in three bays, with plain ribs now mostly destroyed. There are four lights, all arrow-slits, and a fireplace; the passage end of the room was divided off by a modern wall. Beyond the tower, in the basement of the great turret, is a small vaulted room with a latrine in the far corner next to that serving the great undercroft.

Here again we have something very unusual in a basement; a regular suite of habitable quarters, with two rooms, a fireplace, a latrine and a door sufficient to ensure privacy; a trifle dark no doubt, but otherwise a set of quarters deliberately and efficiently designed as a whole, suitable for important guests or the lord of Carew's most trusted officials; this may have been the Constable's quarters. A very similar plan is followed on the two upper storeys.

#### *The Upper Floors of the East Block — the Hall*

The newel stair of the Chapel Tower leads up to a little landing ((29), Fig. 3) from which are stairs to left and right leading to the Old Tower and the Chapel, and a doorway leading straight ahead into the Hall. This is an original medieval doorway, so that we have here one of the entrances to the hall of the Edwardian castle. But the hall itself has undergone many alterations. The great unroofed structure has now two floors above the vaulted basement, and the windows overlooking the courtyard (there are no others, on account of the high buildings on the other three sides) are all Early Tudor, as are the two fireplaces in the same wall. This wall is much thinner than the extremely solid composite wall in the basement; in fact it represents only the rather thick Tudor facing of the latter; the inner and older thickness is cut down to the level of the floor, leaving Rhys' hall some 3 ft. wider than its predecessor.

The features of this wall of the building are almost exactly the same on both floors; on the first floor we have — going northward — two windows, apparently of three lights, but very thoroughly pillaged; their sills are high and sloping, and their jambs are very widely

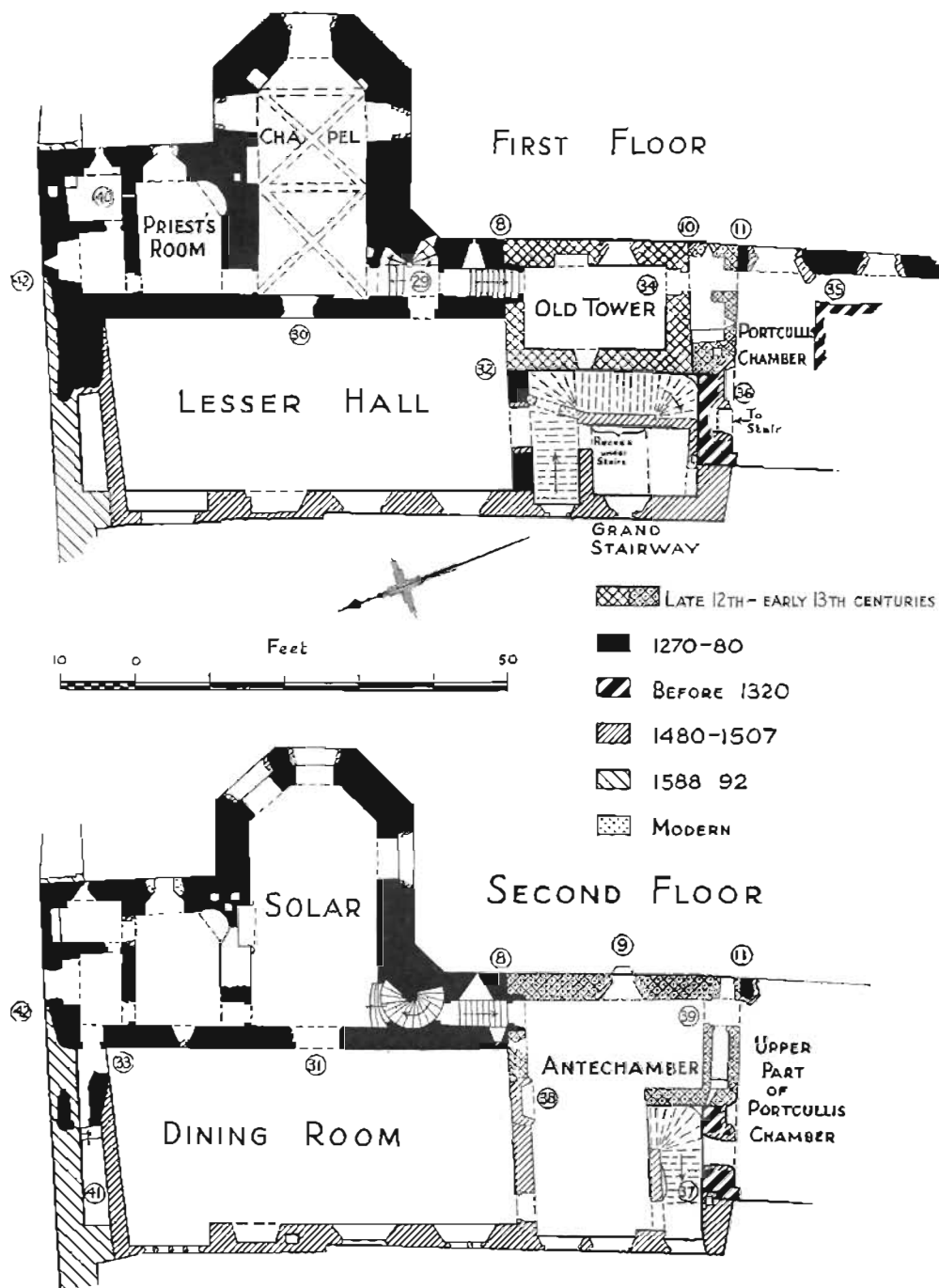


Fig. 3.

splayed. Next comes a large fireplace of rather irregular form, with no surviving cut stone; finally, in a rectangular recess, a very large window with a low sill. This has been so greatly damaged that the head has fallen in and the wall over it is sustained by the relieving-arch alone. The upper windows are superimposed exactly above those below and the two fireplaces are also approximately in line. The second-floor fireplace is a magnificent piece of Tudor ornament, with its Royal arms and floral carving; it seems extraordinary that it should have been spared, even though the principal spoilers of the castle seem to have been interested mostly in relatively straight and plain pieces of freestone. However, the upper windows are also comparatively well preserved. The largest, indeed, is complete; it is of four lights, as the ruined window below it presumably was.

The other walls of the hall block have very few features, though these are informative. The long E. wall has no openings except the door already mentioned, a damaged opening — ((30), Fig. 3) evidently a hagioscope — into the back of the chapel, and another (31), above it, which was probably a window in the back of the tower as first built, and later a door connecting the second-floor rooms, but which is now so raw and featureless a breach that all this can only be conjecture. There are a couple of blocked loops at this level as well.

We are now able to date the original hall more closely. Its E. wall is part and parcel with the Chapel Tower, whose stair and passages it encloses, and whose vaults spring from it. There are no lights in this wall below the second floor, although there is an original door at first-floor level.<sup>1</sup> Thus it is clear that a large two-storey building across the back of this part of the defences formed part of the original plan, and that the third storey is entirely due to Rhys. The evidence of the S. wall supports this. This wall has doorways on both floors, but no other opening; it bears, however, no fewer than three roof-lines: the first, a high gable-end covering the whole building representing Rhys' heightening of the structure, the second, a full storey lower, being the original gable of the 13th century. The third line is that of a lean-to roof, built along the S. wall, and sloping down the E. and W. walls to the floor, which it reaches just beyond the doorway to the Chapel Tower stair. It can have covered only a passage between the two doors; evidently it was made at some time in the castle's decadence when the Chapel Tower and grand stairway chambers were still habitable and needed to be connected, but the hall block between was unroofed and open to the weather. The wall also shows a very conspicuous straight joint ((32), Fig. 3) at first-floor level, which is in fact the corner of the Old Tower; from the level of the second floor upwards this line is obscured by a strip of masonry inserted at the junction between the old masonry and what, at this level, will be the work of Rhys. It is clearly the back of a fireplace, for there is a tall chimney above it.

At the other end of the hall only the highest of these roof-lines is to be seen, and clearly this wall is entirely the work of Rhys; it does not exactly follow the line of the older wall in the basement, and is relatively thin. It is without any other features whatever, except for a small opening in the N.E. corner (33), which may be a robbed doorway, but might also be the result of a minor structural failure, for at this point the wall of the hall is seen to form a very thin casing to an older wall which curves in behind it; there is a structural half-arch over this point of weakness.

#### *The Old Tower and the Gatehouse*

From the landing (29) a stair in the thickness of the wall leads into the first-floor room of the Old Tower by way of an inserted door. This room is a plain, low chamber, with lights in front and rear; the latter, an original opening, looks out on the middle flight of the grand stair, but the light in the front was evidently enlarged by Rhys to form a fine window, which, being easily accessible, has been thoroughly robbed of its ashlar. Beside it is a fireplace.

Opposite the entrance doorway is another (34), roughly built, with a perfectly plain round arch; this is evidently a very early feature, contemporary at the latest with the latrine-block, into the outer of whose two small vaulted chambers it leads. This in its present form is a mere widening of the passage into the portcullis chamber; the inner chamber is the

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, the bonds between the remainder of the hall structure and this obviously late 13th-century wall are obscured; however, the evidence of the openings is decisive.

latrine, with the rebates for its wooden seat, and a wide chase below. Both chambers are lighted by little loopholes set very low down near the floor; that in the latrine opens into what is now the portcullis chamber, which is reached from the small outer room by a plain opening, presumably inserted, without rebates for a door. Other marks of addition and alteration are also to be seen near here: the junction between the Old Tower proper and its latrine-block (10) is visible as a fairly good false bond; that between the latrine-block and the curtain to the south (11) is a clear open joint. At the same time there has been some interference with the wall of the latrine, and the great window over the gate, even in its ruin, is like nothing built in the middle ages. It is spanned by a great low segmental arch, supported by corbels on either side, and with one jamb curiously thickened, so as almost to block the passage (35), which runs S. towards the S.E. Tower, but is broken off after a few feet by the Civil War damage.

The portcullis chamber is very much damaged. Its floor has been concreted to protect the vault of the entrance below it; its rear has been badly shattered, the whole back wall and about half of the south flank, with a proportionate part of the vault above, having completely vanished; even the fireplace and doorway in the surviving wall are so wrecked and robbed as to be quite featureless. The fireplace (36) was inserted across the junction between the latrine-block of the Old Tower and the gatehouse, and although rather close to the point at which the portcullis rose in the room, cannot with any special confidence be ascribed to Rhys; the doorway alongside it, however, communicates with the grand stair, and is therefore evidently a Tudor insertion.

The vault is very high; it is clear from outside the castle that this first floor, as rebuilt, takes in the original two upper storeys of the gatehouse. There is further evidence inside, for the second-floor passage from the Old Tower opens in the haunch of the vault above the first-floor entrance.

The present second-floor room of the gatehouse is entirely the work of Rhys. It must originally have been reached from the shattered building to the S., the third storey of which was also added at this time. This upper chamber is even more badly damaged than that below, for its S. wall is completely destroyed. There is a fireplace in the N. wall, a small window over the gate (completely rebuilt in modern times) and the jamb of another remaining at the end of the rear wall.

The gatehouse projects into the staircase block, and its angle is visible as a straight joint in the wall of the third flight ((37), Fig. 3).

The whole second floor of the Old Tower and the main part of the staircase building were thrown into one to form a great L-shaped room, the antechamber of the state dining room. This room, floorless and inaccessible, can nevertheless be effectively examined from its two entrances, one at the head of the grand stair, the other reached from the newel stair of the Chapel Tower by a short flight of steps in the thickness of the wall. Of the original details of the Old Tower only a blocked slit beside this second doorway remains; the window in the E. wall has been altered by Rhys to form a small oriel (9); the rear of the tower has been broken through to join with Rhys' addition; at the point of junction is a fine large fireplace (38), which is clearly an insertion, involving the complete rebuilding of a strip of the wall for its whole thickness. This bonds neither with the older nor the newer construction, yet we are strongly inclined to see it as one of Rhys' characteristic afterthoughts; it seems strange to leave so fine a room without a fireplace. The line of the dismal lean-to roof in the hall cuts across the back of the strip showing that it is earlier than that stage of the castle's decadence. Its chimney-stack, however, is round in the typical Pembrokeshire vernacular manner and so different from the rest of Rhys' construction that it may be a rebuilding after the Civil War.

In the corner of this room was the door into the dining room; overlooking the courtyard alongside it are a couple of fine three-light windows.

The re-entrant of the L is formed by the rising stair, walled off except for a small portion where the stair passes under the line of the wall; here there must have been a wooden partition or balustrade.

In the S.E. corner of the room (39), is the doorway of that passage, already noted, which led to the original second-floor room of the gatehouse, and which now opens high up in the wall of the lofty first-floor room. Here, too, there is a latrine opening off the passage;



this is longer than that on the floor below, and at the same time extraordinarily narrow. It is clear that the very unusual course has been followed here of building the wall between the Old Tower room and its latrine — a rather light wall — on top of the stout vault of the first-floor latrine. If this is the original arrangement — and it seems clear that it is — it is evident that the latrine-turret was added to the Old Tower during the building of the latter, and in particular before the second floor was completed. This last, as indicated by the two corbel-tables on the face of the tower, did not form part of the original design.

*The Chapel Tower and the Great Turret*

From the landing (29) on the Chapel Tower newel stair, a short flight of steps leads up to the doorway of the Chapel itself, which occupies the whole first floor of the tower. Its vault has plain ribs, exactly like the sub-chapel, but is in two bays only, with the vault tapering down over the semi-octagonal end. There are three windows, clearly rebuilt by Sir Rhys ap Thomas, and now completely robbed; the large E. window was evidently a fine thing in its day, and even in its medieval form must have been large for a defensive building. There is a holy-water stoup close inside the door, and a piscina in the S.E. wall; both of these are mutilated, but the head of the piscina still shows the remains of some handsome carving. In the N.E. wall is a large aumbry, and on the N. a very unusual feature — a large plain fireplace. This shows none of the signs of insertion which one would expect, and must pass for an original feature, even though an almost unparalleled one.

A doorway in the N.W. corner leads into the great turret, which is occupied by a set of three vaulted rooms forming a self-contained set of quarters, obviously those of the priest. There is one large chamber with a round-backed fireplace, and across the N. side two smaller ones, opening one into the other. The inner is a latrine, with its shaft in the corner; this room has a peculiar square peep-hole (40) in its wall.

This part of the building contains a number of signs of late occupation, and the newel stair between the first and second floors has had its treads renewed by the inelegant but sufficient process of laying down fresh masonry on each step, carrying it upwards and forwards so as to overlap the newel. The steps from the newel stair into the second-floor room above the Chapel are also clumsily and curiously rebuilt.

This room and its dependencies in the turret closely repeat the pattern of the first floor; only here the room which corresponds to the chapel — and which, owing to the reduction in thickness of its walls, is even larger — is an ordinary living-room; it is so large and fine, and so well furnished with subordinate quarters, that it can only have been the solar of the castle, forming with its smaller rooms the lord's own dwelling. The solar itself had three fairly large windows, arranged irregularly. There is also a featureless gap (31) opening into the hall-block. The room has a fine fireplace; its overmantel was supported by shafts whose bases remain, but it has been severely damaged and partly destroyed by a great breach through the wall into the next room.

The turret chambers are still vaulted on this stage, and their arrangements differ only in minor respects from those below: the walls are thinner, the latrine is differently arranged and has an extra doorway (a late insertion) and the largest chamber has a small light in the W. wall, blocked when the second floor was added to the hall-block. The only essential difference is the doorway in the N.W. corner, leading out of the turret altogether. On the left hand, immediately outside this door, is the same rough breach in the end-wall of the hall building (33), as is visible from below; on the right is a mass of blocking material which evidently extended at one time to close the doorway. In front is a passage ending in a doorway, but the N. side of these has been blocked by the S. wall of Sir John Perrot's building and only the S. jamb of the door is exposed. Beyond the doorway comes a short steep flight of steps, leading down into a narrow space (41), open to the sky, and enclosed between lofty walls, on the left the end-wall of the hall and on the right Perrot's building. The 'floor' is composed of twigs and filth, apparently the debris of generations of jackdaws' nests; it has a pronounced slope down from the steps to the high wall which shuts in its far end; scraping away a little of this rubbish reveals further steps, evidently a staircase associated with Rhys' hall. All three enclosing walls are entirely featureless, except that on the side of Rhys' building there is a

roof-line descending steeply towards the courtyard. There is no similar line on the other side. There is a straight joint in the S.E. angle, beside the door, and another one at the S.W. The end wall bonds with Perrot's building.

Earlier writers have made a great mystery of this part of the castle, but in its present form it is merely waste space left over at the junction of two great buildings of different dates, left at this level for the sake of lightness, whereas the two walls form a single thickness below.

There is another feature of interest here: the wall containing the door rises to a great height, its summit taking the form of a sharp curve, with a small loop in it, for all the world like the stair-turret of a tower;<sup>1</sup> below it batters out into a larger curve, like that of the tower itself; the door is contrived in a sort of spur in its flank, and inside it, in the narrow passage, the treads of part of a newel-stair are clearly visible in the masonry overhead. It seems quite clear that we have here the fragment of a destroyed tower; the door from it opened in all probability upon the wall-walk, and as Rhys extended the castle upon the N. he presumably pulled down the curtain and substituted the stair.

Ascending the last flight of the Chapel Tower stair, one reaches the battlements. The stair-head is covered in a caphouse, rebuilt by Rhys with a small barrel-vaulted cell extending along the top of the curtain as far as the junction with the Old Tower; it has small windows on E., W. and S., and a couple of aumbries in its walls. It may have been some sort of guard-room or rather sentry-box on the tower-head, for Rhys did not in any way emasculate the battlements of the Chapel Tower. It is possible that this is the Bell Chamber mentioned in 1633-4. The top of the caphouse formed a look-out which could be reached by a straight stair across the rear from the now fallen roof of the tower.

The battlements of the tower are high, with deep and narrow embrasures, now partly walled up; the merlons are pierced with plain loops. The roof was originally flat, but the rear gable of a secondary pitched roof of no great height is still visible. The wall-walk does not extend between the tower proper and the great turret, but stops short at their junction, so that the face of the turret, standing another stage in height, rises directly above the roofless solar, and flush with its wall. There is a final storey, topped by a crenellated parapet, but much of the upper part of the walls has fallen. It will be recalled that this third floor, as we concluded, did not form part of the original design; nevertheless it is not a normal addition, but an afterthought of the builders, incorporated before their work was complete. On the side of the Chapel Tower a break between the lower part of the S.E. corner and the remainder of the superstructure similar to that at (6) (Fig. 2) is indicated by a straight joint. This corner is in fact formed by the chimney-stack of the tower rooms, serving five fireplaces — an unusual number for a medieval building; but then few medieval buildings are so carefully planned as this.

The highest stage of the great turret is occupied by a single large room; it does not communicate at all with the lower quarters in the turret or with the Chapel Tower itself — another strong indication that it is an addition — and can now only be reached by ladder. The room is roughly rectangular, with the chimney-stack projecting into the S.E. corner. There are small windows in the S., E. and W. walls, with a wide internal splay, and in the N.W. corner a curving passage which ends in nothing, overhanging Perrot's building; the final curve, however, is in fact the interior of the same stair-turret which is visible from the blocked star (41) below. It is clear that access to this third-floor room was by means of the stair of the destroyed tower — a curious arrangement, but not especially inconvenient, when one recalls that there is still direct access from the second floor of the great turret to what is left of the vanished tower, at a point close under the site of its stair-turret.

The means of access to the roof and battlements of the great turret does not now appear; this part of the structure is very incomplete, largely as a result of the construction of Perrot's building alongside it.

#### *The North End of the Block and the Destroyed Tower*

We are now in a position to solve one of the riddles of Carew — the question of the N.E. angle. Various attempts have been made to suggest that Perrot's great bay represented

<sup>1</sup> The top of this turret is also visible from inside the hall.

or replaced a tower capping the actual angle, like those at the other three corners of the castle. The fact fatal to all such theories is that the angle itself is visible inside Perrot's building as a very well-marked straight line, without the slightest sign of any attachment; moreover, for some little distance along each side of it there are the openings of latrines and other chambers. What in fact stood at the angle was not a single tower, but a group of three standing together: a square tower on the angle itself (for the great turret is a tower in size, though it has no projection) with the semi-octagonal Chapel Tower projecting from the E. front immediately alongside it, and the vanished tower — which what evidence there is leads us to reconstruct as round — in a very similar position on the north (Fig. 6).

The remains of the tower are slight, but a certain amount of evidence concerning it remains. At basement level, there is the blocked door ((27), Fig. 1) at the N. end of the great undercroft, which clearly led into its basement; there is also the manner in which the loop of the small chamber (28) is turned sideways, as if to keep it clear of a building projecting from the outside of the wall. A few inches to the W. from the opening of this loop, the face of the great turret, which from the angle to this point has formed the inside of Perrot's building, breaks off short (42), to be succeeded by a long and perfectly featureless piece of Elizabethan construction. Now since Perrot's masons did not take up the building at this point because they needed to introduce any architectural change, and since, *ex hypothesi*, they had no objection to incorporating a medieval wall in their own work where it served their ends, it seems probable that this break represents the junction of one side of the tower with the wall of the great turret; its line rises in a slight slant, as if tracing a continuous batter.

On the inside of the curtain, there is no part of the tower visible until the second floor; but at this stage it is possible to see it, not merely in the space (41) on the blocked stair, but from the hall, where it is seen as the curved masonry behind Rhys' end-wall below the structural arch; it appears to have a string-course at this level. Above all comes the top of the stair-turret. The tower appears to have been a complete circle in plan; its rear comes against the inside face of Rhys' hall, its W. side overlooks the blocked stair, and its E. springing is marked by the break (42).<sup>1</sup>

#### *Perrot's Buildings* (Pl. XLIIb)

The great Elizabethan N. range covers the entire river front of the castle. It consists of five great rooms only; the basement and first floor being divided (well W. of the middle point) by a cross-wall; the W. part of the building projects further on the side of the courtyard than does the E., but otherwise there is no great distinction between the two parts. On the second floor the whole length of the building is occupied by a single room, an enormous long gallery over 150 ft. in length.

So large a building could not be accommodated inside the medieval castle; accordingly, it was erected almost entirely outside the line of the N. curtain, parts of which are used to form its inner wall, just as the flank of the N.W. Tower forms its end; its basement, filled with earth, stands as a great artificial terrace above the riverside.

The two basement chambers are both entered from the courtyard by small square-headed doorways and are lighted by small rectangular windows of two lights, of which only one is complete.<sup>2</sup> The W. chamber has two of these, together with a smaller opening in the face of its oriel; the E. has six and the oriel opening on the river front, one in the great end bay, and two flanking the door on the courtyard side. There is no communication between the two basement rooms and it seems very doubtful if they were intended to communicate with the floor above. It is quite clear that both upper floors were meant to be reached from the N.W. Tower by means of enlarged window-openings. Since there is a doorway between the two parts at first-floor level, Perrot would have a complete *piano nobile* along the N. and W.

<sup>1</sup> The distance between these two points is some 18 ft., but this is not a diameter, for it is clear that the tower, like all the towers of Carew, was boldly salient, and this distance is only the length of a rather short chord. It is clear, however, that the tower cannot have been very large; we hazard a guess that its diameter was about 20 ft.

<sup>2</sup> This is the opening nearest to the N.W. Tower; it has possibly been preserved on account of the earth filling in the W. chamber being incomplete, so that it is out of reach from the ground.

sides of the castle, including the great hall and the two fine rooms in the towers which open off it, with his long gallery above on the riverside.

The fronts of the building are typically Elizabethan, with their two rows of great rectangular mullioned and transomed windows, each row surmounted by a continuous line of Classical cornice, the whole topped by a very unconvincing parapet. The fenestration of the two upper floors is identical, except that the first-floor windows are rather taller than those above them; the basement lights are independently arranged.

The two big oriels rise from the outer ground level on massive semi-circular bases, battered and stepped, like small towers, but the cylindrical superstructure was weak and even the basement wall is thin, so that much above has now collapsed. Only the lower window of the W. oriel survives, with the ashlar undersill of the window above.<sup>1</sup>

Internally, the building is extremely simple; there is no sign of any wooden stairs or partitions, and there are no sanitary arrangements at all. The fireplaces are curiously arranged; of the four in the building three are in the E. chamber on the first floor — one in the cross-wall, one to the W. of the oriel, and one on the N. side of the great E. bay — and the other beside the eastern oriel in the long gallery; there are none in the basement and none in the W. room on the first floor.<sup>2</sup> This room alone has round-backed recesses contrived in the jambs of its windows; they are rebated for wooden heads and seats.

It appears that there are a certain number of misapprehensions about this building. It is spoken of as never having been finished,<sup>3</sup> although, as we have seen, it was roofed and floored throughout, and the roof was covered in lead;<sup>4</sup> again, it is suggested that the building was of inferior quality, in spite of its extraordinarily robust condition — the builders are hardly to blame if the stout wooden lintels over the *interior* of their great window-recesses have decayed when exposed to the weather, even though this causes real anxiety and great expense to the modern owners; finally it is customary to overstress its unwarlike nature: 'a few cannon-balls' says the late Sir Charles Oman lightly, 'would bring it down'. In actual fact, despite its very domestic appearance, it is remarkably strong, and militarily rather hard to deal with, being solidly ramped at the bottom; it seems as if Sir John Perrot had wished to leave the castle at least no weaker than he found it — the more so as his building replaces an earlier range of Rhys' construction, which all comparisons forbid us to believe was a very warlike building.

#### *Earlier Constructions on the North Side*

The western part of the Elizabethan building incorporates upon its S. and W. sides, somewhat incongruously, the outer face of the original castle, which thus faces into its rooms. The S. wall is formed by a stump of the original curtain — thickened up to the level of the first floor by a wall which was clearly intended to carry Perrot's joists; the curtain ends by the doorway, and carries, close to its end, a tall narrow turret, corbelled out on the first floor, with a gap in the middle of its corbelled base which is clearly the outfall of a latrine in its lowest chamber. The detail of this N. turret is typically early Tudor for its two lower floors; the third floor is an addition by Perrot. All three of its small chambers are reached from the W., independently of one another; the first floor latrine alone has a doorway on the E., opening on the top of the medieval curtain, here truncated to a mere 8 ft. or so in height.

Immediately beyond, the wall breaks off, and the doorway to the courtyard is reached; the end of wall is exposed on the W. side of the entrance; it is some 13 ft. thick, and made up of no fewer than four different parts divided by straight joints ((43), Fig. 1). From the

<sup>1</sup> In Fenton's picture (published 1811) both oriels are shown as nearly complete; only a little damage to the top of the eastern one is shown. The photograph published in Sir Charles Oman's *Castles* (Great Western Railway, 1926) shows the eastern oriel as it is today, vanished from the first-floor sill upwards, but the western very nearly entire. This must have been an old photograph, as R.C.A.M. Wales had already (1925) published a picture in which its upper window had collapsed.

<sup>2</sup> The suggestion that this was Perrot's kitchen is therefore seen to be absurd.

<sup>3</sup> The R.C.A.M. (*Pembrokeshire*, 56) were of this opinion, giving it — incredibly — as a reason for omitting any description of Perrot's work.

<sup>4</sup> See also Spurrell, *op. cit.*, 9. The floorboards were never nailed down; glass and timber for partitions was still in store in 1592. Canon Spurrell considers that these last were in fact put in after Perrot's death; but this does not seem very likely.



courtyard northwards we have first the doorway, which is part of Perrot's courtyard front; next, a thickness of Rhys' construction, forming part and parcel with the turret, whose rear face, towards the courtyard, it supports; next comes the cut-down medieval curtain, and finally the support for Perrot's floor joists. A series of tusks left upon the upper part of Perrot's wall shows that it was originally intended to build up the E. side of the turret and block its doorway.

Upon this side of the turret there is visible the mark of a sharply-pitched roof, covering the doorway and sloping upwards towards the exterior of the castle, as if a building had abutted against the turret; if this was of any size at all, it must clearly have stood outside the line of the medieval curtain. Evidently this was the northern range mentioned in the inventory of the castle (Appendix I).

It is clear, from the language used and from the natural orientation for the chapel, that this building lay along the N. side of the castle; it is equally clear that it cannot have occupied a position inside the courtyard, for the distance from the great oriel of the western hall to the large windows of the E. block is less than the 60 ft. given as the length of the range, and it is quite certain that no building would have been allowed to obscure either of them. Evidently it stood outside the curtain, with its W. end against the flank of Rhys' turret; what happened to the tower at the N.E. at this juncture there is no longer any means of deciding.

*The South Front; the Area of Destruction*

From the S.E. Tower to the small S. Turret, 70 ft. away, the defences of the S. side have vanished completely. The curtain wall has left on the flank of the tower only the mark of its bond; on the turret, which was of a different date to the curtain, there is not so much as that. Inside the modern wall — partly a revetment — which takes the place of the curtain, there are only the foundations of an unimportant building, lying right across the line of the curtain, and hence obviously belonging to the last period of Carew's history as an inhabited building, after the Civil War; outside there is a single inconspicuous fragment of masonry (44) projecting from the wall close to the S. Turret — a piece of a wall several feet in thickness, with some remains of a straight face on its W. side. We tentatively identify this with the W. flank of the vanished Kitchen Tower described in the 1531 inventory.

A tower in this position, on the relatively weak S. side, and towards its more approachable E. end, would be a very natural feature of the medieval plan, and we should ascribe it to the main build of the castle; at what stage in its career the tower was used to accommodate a kitchen is not so easy to say. In all probability this was its original function; there is no kitchen in any of the medieval buildings on the E. and W., and a kitchen in this tower would serve both halls with equal convenience — or rather inconvenience.

To return to the gap in the defences; it is generally assumed that this is the position of the breach made by Laugharne in 1645, and at first sight nothing could be more reasonable: Laugharne's own dispatch mentions putting artillery into position, and it appears that he finally took the castle by assault; the S. side of the castle (*pace* Sir Charles Oman) was much the most vulnerable to artillery attack, and there is certainly no other breach in the main defences. But on examining the damage a little more closely, it becomes extremely doubtful whether this is the whole story. In the first place, the very extent of the damage is remarkable: the whole 70 ft. of the curtain have been not only broken, but beaten down flat with the ground; and with the curtain an almost equally clean sweep has been made of a large projecting tower and a three-storey building in the S.E. corner of the ward; at the same time, the upper parts of the gatehouse and the S. Turret are much damaged. And yet the other internal buildings of the castle are untouched, and nowhere are there any of the characteristic marks of round-shot upon masonry. It is clear that a certain amount of cleaning up has been done inside the castle, and we have heard it suggested that the area of damage has probably been increased by stone-robbing, especially by the lime-burners whose kiln is shown in Sandy's painting of 1772.<sup>1</sup>

This may be so, but it is very clear that Carew, standing in a country of abundant limestone quarries, has suffered very little from depredations to its rubble masonry; even the fallen fragments of stonework, with which this front of the castle is littered, have not been

<sup>1</sup> Frontispiece to Spurrell, *op. cit.* The ruins of this kiln are still visible.





A. Carew Castle. East front

*Reproduced by permission of Messrs. B. T. Batsford Ltd.*



B. Great Hall and N.W. corner of courtyard

*Photograph by Rev. F. Sumner*



A. Carew Castle from south-west  
*Photograph by Rev. F. Simner*



B. Perrot's buildings, from the north  
*Reproduced by permission of the National Buildings Record*

carted away. It is these fragments which supply the clue; they are numerous and very large, and some are to be found as far away as the front of the great west hall, where no gunfire could ever have put them. It is plain that the curtain, and the Kitchen Tower with it, were lifted with a mine after the fall of the castle; it would only be prudent if this were sprung under that part of the fabric that had already been damaged by Laugharne's guns during the siege.

It was the mine, no doubt, which removed the last traces of the castle's water supply; it is possible that it is this underground stream which breaks out in a spring at the edge of the water immediately W. of the castle.

#### *The South Turret*

Little remains of the S. Turret except its solid base; it corresponds somewhat in position with the N. Turret, and like it was the work of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, but it was much larger and its functions were evidently different. It does not bond either at front or rear with the thick curtain-base to the W., but does bond with the upper part of the curtain — if so military a name can be given to the thin screen wall, topped by a row of Tudor dummy battlements, and lacking a wall-walk, which covered the first floor of a building between the turret and the hall. It is clear that the curtain was cut down to first-floor level and the turret inserted in it as part of Rhys' rebuilding.

Of the superstructure of the turret, only the N.W. corner — the furthest from the explosion — remains. The first floor (Fig. 4) had a door in its rear of which one jamb is left; its outer portion is occupied by a large rectangular recess in the floor, like some sort of tank or sump; of the second floor nothing seems to be left except the flue of a large chimney in the thickness of the W. wall. The base of this turret has been damaged at the S.W. corner and under-pinned in modern masonry.

#### *The Porch*

The great porch of the hall is an impressive structure, three storeys high, with the lofty arch of the entrance on the first floor, at the top of a wide flight of steps, now reduced to a grassy ramp by the robbery of all the stair-treads. The ashlar of the archway is also missing, but the big four-light window over it is preserved in part, and the three very fine shields of arms set in ashlar panels under the sill of the window are complete. These are: in the centre panel, the King's arms, supporters a greyhound and a dragon; on the S. side, the royal arms with a label of three points; on the N., the arms of Katherine of Aragon. The King is undoubtedly Henry VII; the eldest son is generally accepted as Arthur, Prince of Wales, and the date as being closely fixed by his marriage in 1501 and his death in the next year.<sup>1</sup>

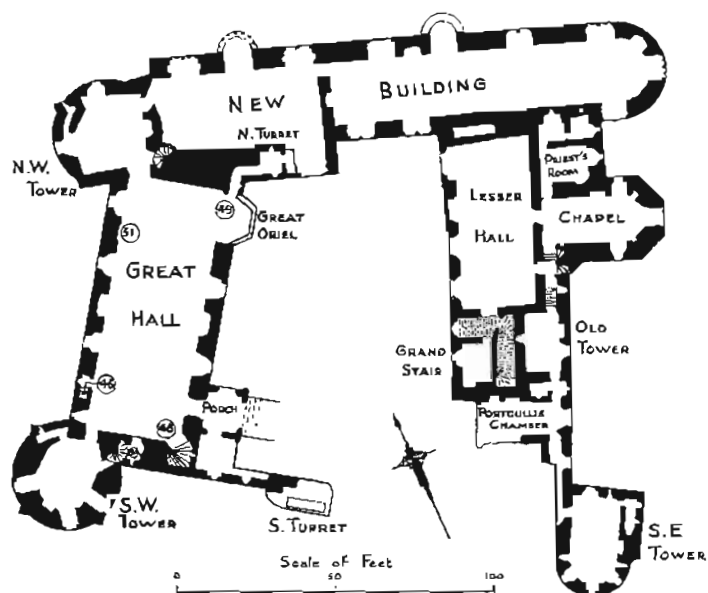
The basement, beneath the porch proper, is occupied by a small vaulted chamber, lighted by small loops to E. and S., both of which are obscured, the first by the building up of the staircase,<sup>2</sup> the second by the construction of another small vault (45), in the corner of the ward. The porch itself has the principal doorways to E. and W., a large robbed window to the N., and a smaller door to the S., leading out into a long chamber or passage running along the S. curtain towards the kitchen. Part of this service passage is carried on the roof of the small vault (45); the rest was supported on timbers whose corbels are visible across the back of the S. Turret. The whole involved obscuring the lights in the small vault and in the stair (48) in the corner of the hall behind, both of which are evidently Rhys' work. There were a good many changes in plan, it is clear, at this point.

#### *The Great Hall (Pl. XLII)*

This imposing two-storey building covers the whole W. side of the courtyard. Its architectural history is very simple, and the principal enquiry concerned with it is how far one may follow the late Professor Hamilton Thompson in seeing here 'the great hall built in the

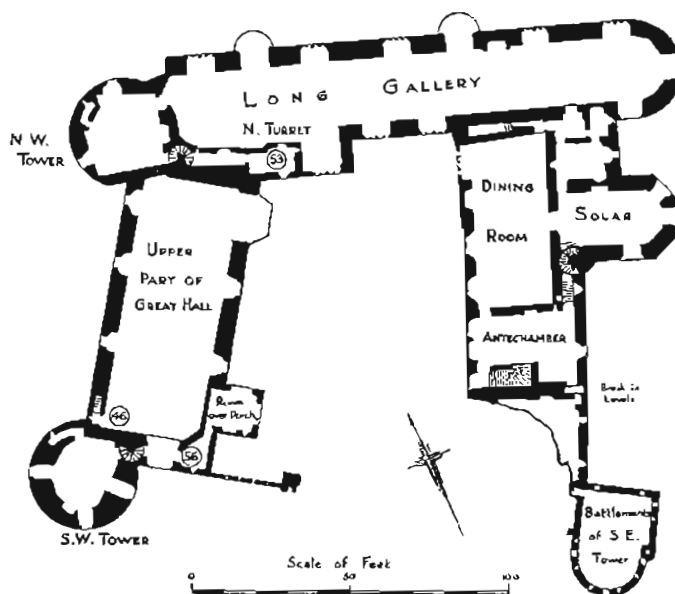
<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, though the house of Rhys was more closely connected with Prince Arthur, his brother Henry also married Katherine, which gives us an alternative dating, between 1503 and 1509. As Rhys' work is so extensive, and clearly involved a number of additions and alterations, the difference is not very important. We imagine he had finished before his great tournament in 1507.

<sup>2</sup> The stair is still hollow underneath, but its sides are completely enclosed.



CAREW CASTLE: SKETCH PLAN OF FIRST FLOOR.

Fig. 4.



CAREW CASTLE: SKETCH PLAN OF SECOND FLOOR.

Fig. 5.

15th century by Rhys ap Thomas'.<sup>1</sup> The great bulk of the detail, indeed, is certainly typically Early Tudor of great splendour, but other writers have shown that there was always a hall here, and suggested more cautiously that the present hall is merely a reconstruction of an older building. Of this there can be no doubt; indeed, it becomes clear that the whole shell of the building is Edwardian. The curtain wall, as we have already seen, contains the heads of a range of pointed windows, still visible above the insertions of Rhys' day, and in addition the stair, of entirely medieval detail, for a minstrel gallery across the S. end of the hall ((46), Figs. 4 and 5). That the courtyard face is of the same date, despite its Tudor features, can also be established; it is obviously of one build, without heightening or refacing, and its basement detail corresponds closely to that of the curtain wall. The ranges of lighting-loops along the two walls are identical in their features;<sup>2</sup> they are set in wide recesses which are covered in a most singular fashion by a false-vault construction of overlapping slabs. This system is by no means uncommon, and occurs elsewhere at Carew, but over these recesses is used to form tall shafts in the thickness of the wall which look like chimneys with roofing slabs over them some distance up the flue. The repetition of such a feature can leave no doubt of the matter; the whole hall is the work of the de Carews, and Rhys' reconstruction was confined to matters of ornament, and to such additions as the porch and the great oriel.

The basement under the hall was vaulted in two rows of bays, with central piers, but the vault has long since collapsed, and it is difficult even to reconstruct it, especially as it seems to have changed its character near the S. end; there seem to have been nine or ten bays in each row.

On the courtyard side there are no lighting-loops S. of the cellar entrance, from which it may be deduced that the medieval hall-stair was in very much the same position as the present porch.

In the N.W. and S.W. corners of the basement are the entrances to the lowest chambers in the towers, flanked by the doorways to their newel-stairs, which do not open into the towers at this level. There is also in each end of the hall a loop-recess, in each case turned to other purposes; that in the N. end ((47), Fig. 1) has had a brick oven inserted at some fairly late date; that in the S. end, its opening blocked, has been turned into a small spiral stair, with no newel-post, leading up to a Tudor doorway occupying the corner of the hall above ((48), Figs. 1 and 4).

The great hall (Fig. 4) is a relatively enormous building for a castle such as the Carew of Edwardian times. It was covered in a lofty wooden roof, whose corbels — more ornate than those used by Rhys in his hall-building — remain along both sides; its pitch is very low, and clearly was so in its original form, for it was necessary to walk over its gables to reach the walls. There are four entrances, three at the S. or screens end — from the porch; from the inserted stair (48) in the angle; and from the first floor of the S.W. Tower — with a similar opening into the N.W. Tower at the N. or dais end. There are three windows on the W., of Tudor shape, but badly robbed of their cut stone; all three are set under their original heads, now blocked; all three, being in the curtain, are fairly small, that at the dais end being lower in the sill than the other two. Towards the courtyard are two more windows, rather small in proportion to the size of the building; like all the hall windows, they have four-centred arches, not square heads. They were of three lights, and part of the tracery in their heads is preserved. Of the magnificent oriel at the N. end of this side nothing remains but the great arch in the wall and the rubble masonry of the great solid semi-hexagonal base; this is the gravest loss in the whole castle from an architectural point of view. In the N. jamb of the oriel a little passage in the thickness of the wall ((49), Fig. 4) leads to the vaulted latrine in the lowest storey of the N. Turret.

The doorway from the porch has lost the ashlar from its jambs, but the very fine head, with a hollow moulding and a trefoil pattern enrichment, has been left. Opposite to this across the hall comes a small pointed doorway ((46), Fig. 4), leading into a narrow mural stair which runs up to a second small archway, rebated for a door on the hall side — clearly a door

<sup>1</sup> *Military Architecture in England during the Middle Ages* (London, 1912), §330-1.

<sup>2</sup> Except one in the curtain, next to the S.W. Tower, which is more ordinary in type.



into the minstrel gallery over the screens. There is a curious set of small lights about the stair, opening in it, through it, and under it, which evidently lighted the screens passage.

The last light of the hall is in the S. wall, a huge window at second-floor level, where its sill may have formed an extension to the minstrel gallery. It was of four lights, and retains the tracery of its head. It was later walled up to the level of the springing, probably during the Civil War, for this was a very large window and in a rather vulnerable curtain. Passages open off both of its jambs. Beneath it is a rough breach into a small mural chamber ((50), Fig. 4).

The fireplaces in the hall stand facing one another midway along the sides; both are enormous, especially that on the east. There was also a central hearth.

The hall is disproportionately large in relation to the medieval castle as a whole — the castle, it must be remembered, of a family of note, but not of exceptional wealth or national importance; a great personage like Rhys ap Thomas, living in an age of far greater ostentation, found it perfectly adequate to his needs, and it is not dwarfed even by Perrot's range. At the same time, its proportions are rather unusual; the basement is three times as long as it is wide, and although the first floor is a good deal wider, it is still rather long for a hall (82 ft. by 30 ft.), and it seems clear that there is a good deal to be said for Canon Spurrell's suggestion that it was partitioned, and thus formed hall and solar together. If this was not the case, it follows either that the new hall was used in conjunction with the old solar in the Chapel Tower — which seems impossibly inconvenient — or that the new solar was the chamber in the N.W. Tower — a large and convenient apartment for a stage of a round tower, it is true, but completely inadequate to the enormous hall. This is all convincing enough, but it still remains certain that the hall, as we see it, is a single room, and that there is no trace, in the form in which Rhys has left it, of any partition, or of anything which suggests that there was ever a solar here — unless a small blocked recess in the wall ((51), Fig. 4) may have been its fireplace.

#### *The North-West Tower*

The two great drum-towers at the W. angles of the castle (Pl. XLIIA) are of a single build, and a single connected plan, with the hall, forming an integral unit such as is also to be seen at Shrewsbury and Llawhaden, and perhaps at Cas Troggy. The tower rooms communicate with those of the hall block, the tower stair connects the hall with its basement, and the hall roof unites the stair and the battlements of the curtain.

The towers are closely alike, with their enormous spurs; their battlements have been completely altered by Rhys, who also inserted two-and-three-light Tudor windows with square heads throughout their upper floors. Both are of two storeys above a vaulted basement. They project boldly, but their positions are different, for the N.W. Tower, capping an obtuse angle, is set on more or less diagonally, while its companion stands at a right angle in the defences, and four-square to them.

The lowest stage of the N.W. Tower is reached by descending a small crooked stair in the corner of the hall basement; it thus stands lower than any other part of the castle, and has an outcrop of rock in its floor; even so, the sill of the northern loop is far above external ground level. There were three loops, set in great arched recesses, and opening between the spurs, in the curved faces of the tower, which are not very prominent at this level. Of these loops, one is blocked, and another ((52), Fig. 1) forms a ragged gap, opening, grotesquely, into Perrot's buildings. A fourth recess, of irregular shape (53), led to a postern, now walled up, whose pointed arch is still visible on the outside of the tower in an acute angle between the flank and the curtain — a place which it will have been particularly difficult to keep under observation. Over the postern, this side of the tower returns upon the curtain as a straight face, not a curve.

The upper chambers of the tower (Figs. 4 and 5) are pentagonal; in this respect it differs from its companion; moreover, since the N.W. Tower stands at the dais end of the hall, and at a less vulnerable point, its walls are thinner at this level, and its rooms larger and more commodious. The two floors are much alike; there are windows to N. and W., with a small doorway between them, leading by a curving passage in the wall to a small latrine with a little rectangular light, apparently original; the drain-shoots descend into the thickness of the N.W. spur. In the E. wall there is on each floor a fireplace, with an opening alongside it

in the N.E. corner, originally a loop or window, but in its present form an entrance to Perrot's state apartments. Overhead, below the roof of the tower, the angles are squinched over to form something approaching a circle.

The stair, which in this tower is contained in a projecting turret with corbelled base, has lost its central newel; above the second-floor room it opens into a passage in the thickness of the end-wall of the hall, leading to the second floor of the N. Turret ((53), Fig. 5), a small chamber with the remains of three little lights; it extends some way westwards in the thickness of the curtain. Above this again the stair opens on the gable-end of the hall, whence access to the W. curtain was obtained, as at the other end, over the low-pitched roof. Across the wide top of the gable — which was itself part of the wall-walk — there is a doorway into the topmost chamber of the N. Turret, another little chamber with a small two-light window opening on the courtyard; it is entirely the work of Perrot, for though it has no connection with his state apartments, the whole turret was covered by the roof of the new building, and had therefore to be raised to the required height. Above the gable the stair leads up to the tower-head, which is now surrounded by a wall perfectly plain on the inside, with colourable battlements only to be seen from outside. Here the stair finishes; the turret ends in a polygonal caphouse, but does not rise to form a watch-tower; there are the remains of a small separate stair giving access to its roof. This is probably a Tudor addition.<sup>1</sup>

#### *The South-West Tower*

This tower has a general resemblance to its companion, apart from the different angle it presents to its curtains; but its upper storeys are heptagonal, with a tendency to rounding-off on some angles, its upper walls are thicker, there is no projecting stair-turret, and the caphouse is square.

The basement stands a little higher than in the N.W. Tower, and contained a fourth loop, raking the W. curtain, and set in a smaller recess than the others ((54), Fig. 1); it has been broken out, like all these basement loops, and subsequently walled up; but the round oilets of its head and foot — ornamental rather than useful on this short loop — are still to be seen on the outside of the tower. These are the only oilets remaining in the castle, and they suggest that the loops in the basement of both towers were cross-loops with four oilets. Of the other loops in this tower, that on the E., where the level of the ground outside is high, is reached by a set of three high steps; the present loop is a modern reconstruction. In the N.W. corner is a small stone sink (55) with a drain running into the wall. In view of the accessibility of this chamber from the screens end of the hall, it may well be that this was the buttery or pantry, but it is impossible to identify the upper chambers of the tower with any particular domestic function.

The stair gives access first to a tiny chamber or cell in the thickness of the wall ((50), Fig. 4), with a light in the curtain and another (now broken through) into the hall. Its use is obscure, for it was not a latrine. Next, the first floor of the tower is reached. Here again the two upper floors are closely alike, with three large windows each, and a fireplace on the S.W. The latrines, very similar to those in the other tower, discharged into the thickness of the N. spur, at the base of which the arch of the outfall can be seen — again, the only one still visible in the castle.

Between the first and second floors a doorway opens off the stair; like that at the opposite end, it probably belonged to a passage in the wall leading out on the lower curtain beyond; now it opens upon the sill of the great window, across which a similar opening leads into a small triangular room ((56), Fig. 5) covered in a corbel-vault or false vault. The whole upper part of this corner of the hall was rebuilt by Rhys, and the triangular room leads to the chamber over his great porch — an inhabitable room, with two large windows over the gate and in the N. wall, and a fireplace and a small light on the S.

The stair continues to the gable of the hall and the battlements of the tower, in the same way as its companion; again, there is no watch-turret.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A watch-turret and its stair are mentioned in 1531.

<sup>2</sup> Again, one is mentioned in 1531. Nothing remains of the outside stair on this tower.

One final feature is to be observed about this tower; at its foot, just at the junction of the S. curtain, there projects along its flank a very small fragment of masonry ((57), Fig. 1). The tower is built upon this projection, which must therefore be the remains of some older structure, probably a tower. The only other sign of alteration hereabouts is that the batter of the curtain below the hall looks rather as if it had been added to the curtain itself.

It may have been remarked that we have nowhere commented on the existence in one castle of two contemporary halls; the reason for this is simply that we do not consider that they were contemporary, or that they formed part of the same original plan. The western block, it is true, was added against and upon the older work — which was presumably incomplete at this end and may in places have gone little farther than the foundations, if as far — in such a fashion that it is generally impossible to indicate any point of junction; nevertheless we have other evidence for our contention which seems to us to warrant it:

(a) In the first place, the provision of a separate private hall at so early a date and in a castle of the size of Carew is most unlikely.

(b) The E. front being the most approachable, it will have been the first to be built; also, in any rational plan, it will have been much the most solidly constructed; it is in fact more robust than the curtains along the N. and S.,<sup>1</sup> if one may judge from what remains of them. The W. block, however, though it stands on the most favourable ground, is far more strongly built than the E., both in towers and curtains, and by this reasoning cannot be part of the same plan.<sup>2</sup>

(c) There are strong stylistic differences: the oilets of the loop in the S.W. Tower find no parallel in the plain loops of the eastern defences; the builders of the western block were much addicted to the use of false-vault work (which also appears in the work of Rhys and in the Old Tower), whereas this form of construction only occurs in the stairs in the E. block. The main difference, however, lies in the mere shape of the towers; those on the E. (including the vanished pair) were not only different from the W. pair, but entirely different from one another; the surviving towers are, indeed, very difficult to match in any English castle. The W. towers, on the other hand, are an almost exact pair, of a type conventional enough in castles in S. Wales of c. 1285–1320.

(d) There is a fragment of an earlier S.W. tower (57), or at least of its foundations, still to be seen.

#### SUMMARY

The architectural history of Carew castle falls into eight main periods of construction.

##### Period I: c. 1105

There can be little doubt that Gerald of Windsor occupied the site, but the only feature now visible which can have been part of his original castle is the bank and ditch of the earthwork bailey. Presumably the inner work stood on roughly the same site as the existing inner ward, with a bank and ditch across the ridge, roughly on the site of the concentric outer ward. How the area was enclosed for the next two centuries we can only guess; timber palisades were usual at the period, but on this rocky site and in this limestone country a dry stone wall is not improbable.

<sup>1</sup> e.g., thickness of curtain at gate, 7 ft.; walls of Chapel Tower, the same; S.E. Tower, 6 ft. 3 in.; as against S. curtain (at break on side of S.E. Tower) 5 ft. 7 in.; at hall end, 5 ft. 1 in.; N. curtain at (43) (Fig. 1), 4 ft. 7 in.

<sup>2</sup> West curtain, 8 ft. 9 in.; towers, up to 10 ft. above the batter.

Period II: *Very late 12th or early 13th century*

In this period a stone gatehouse tower was built in the middle of the E. front of the inner bailey. Within a short time of its completion — or even of its foundation — a number of alterations began to be made in the original design: a latrine-turret was built against its S. face, and it was raised so as to contain two low storeys, instead of one, over the entry. At some time in the early or mid 13th century the gateway arch was blocked and a small room constructed in the basement of the tower, reached from the interior of the ward.

Period III: *Late 13th century; probably 1270–1280*

Sir Nicholas de Carew planned and began a total reconstruction of the castle, which by that time was outmoded from both the military and the domestic standpoint. How far his programme was carried out it is impossible to say; at least it is clear that he built or rebuilt the E. front of the inner ward, incorporating the Old Tower as part of his curtain, with a first floor hall behind it, which, in combination with a chapel and solar in one of the towers and various smaller rooms, provided a most ingenious and convenient range of domestic buildings, which nonetheless forms a very strong defensive front, especially in conjunction with the concentric outer ward which he constructed as an integral part of his design. In addition there is every reason to believe that he built the S. curtain with a rectangular tower near its centre, and the N. curtain, with a round tower near its E. corner, though too little remains, in the former case at least, to permit a certain judgment. A W. curtain with small towers on the angles certainly will have formed part of his design, but not enough remains to show whether this was ever carried out, though the S.W. tower was at least begun.

As part of the work on the E., the original ditch was filled and another dug outside it, where some part still remains.

Period IV: *Late 13th or more probably early 14th century; 1290–1320*

Whether the previous programme was ever completed or not, it resulted in a very great increase in both the strength and the comfort of the castle; but within a short period it was itself regarded as too modest in both respects, and the W. front of the castle was built — or rebuilt — on a truly grand scale, with two great spurred towers and a much larger and finer hall. This work may be dated to not later than c. 1320, and, as Sir Nicholas did not die till 1311, it is possible to see in this more ambitious work either a reflection of the improvement of his position during his career in the king's service, or alternatively the larger ideas of his successor, Sir John. One thing is certain; it is in no sense the completion or even modification of the older plan (Period III).

Period V: *Late 13th or early 14th century — the gatehouse*

The exact position of this very plain structure in the development of the castle is not clear. It is secondary to Period III, but there is no evidence to suggest whether it came before or after Period IV; its extreme plainness does



Fig. 6.

not accord with the idea that the two were contemporary, for the great W. block is built in a decidedly expensive style. However, it is clear that the gatehouse must form an early afterthought, and it too must have been built by 1320.

Period VI: *Late 15th and very early 16th century, c. 1480-1507*

The castle remained substantially unchanged until it came into the hands of Sir Rhys ap Thomas in about 1480. His work was carried out over many years (he lived until 1525, but it seems likely that he had completed Carew to his own liking by 1507, when he held his great tournament) and there are numerous signs of change and addition in the course of building. We have attributed to him the curious repairs to the S.E. Tower; if we are correct, this will be the earliest part of his work. Elsewhere no repair seems to have been needed, and the remainder of his work was entirely directed to increasing the castle's magnificence and capacity as a residence, at the expense, if necessary, of its military strength. He completely transformed the castle; even today far more of its appearance is due to him than would be supposed from an examination of the dated plans. His additions to the castle comprise the outer gate, the N. and S. turrets, the porch and oriel of the great hall, and the second floor over the smaller hall, with its grand staircase and antechamber; he also added a third storey in the S.E. angle, of which only one wall remains, and a great range of buildings, including a chapel, outside the N. curtain; of this nothing remains whatever. He built much, but altered more, radically rebuilding the gatehouse, replacing every major medieval window with one of



his own, and rebuilding most of the battlements as dummies. Also, if the great W. hall was ever divided into hall and solar, it was he who threw the two into one.

Period VII: 1588-1592

Sir John Perrot built the existing northern range, destroying Rhys' range to do so, and with it the round N.E. tower (if that had not already been done by Rhys). His object was further to enhance the magnificence of the castle in the style of the day; he was only interested in its military strength to the extent that he would do nothing further to prejudice it. He therefore erected his whole vulnerable palace on a strongly ramped terrace, and placed it on a side inconvenient for bombardment and decidedly awkward for assault. For all its great windows and flimsy oriels it did not constitute a source of weakness to a castle already in large measure disarmed, and when the Civil War came, it was the E. side which the defenders reinforced, and the S., it appears, which the enemy attacked.

Period VIII: *The Civil War, 1643-5*

To the garrisons of this period are due the ravelin, the barrier (4), and the alteration of numerous embrasures on the E. front, both of the inner and the outer ward.

There are some remains of a later habitation on a much reduced scale, but these are of very little significance; nor is it possible to assign a date to them with any pretence of accuracy.

## APPENDIX I

### INVENTORY OF CAREW CASTLE, 1531<sup>1</sup>

In the County of Pembroke: Carewe Castell

This castle standeth by the waterside, nine miles from Milford Haven, and is built with hard stone, and is severed in four parts or stories, with a quadrant court within the same, the east part wherof containeth in length 160 feet, and the west part containeth in length without the castle 164 feet. And the north side containeth in length 142 feet, and the south side in length 198 feet. And the court within the quadrant in length 86 feet, and in breadth 75 feet, within which court is a fair lavatory in the midst made of stone, and the water running out of pipes of lead in the top of the same.

The east part of the said castle with the two frontours adjoining to the same containing in length as before said, hath in parts beneath and above these buildings:

First, the hall there, containing in length 55 feet and in breadth 26 feet, with 13 steps leading from the ground to the hall.<sup>2</sup>

Item, a chapel vaulted, a buttery vaulted.

Item, a pantry, a cellar, a larder house, with 15 upper chambers and nether chambers there.

All which buildings be covered with slate, and the walking places by the battlements leaded, and at the north end a high turret to view the country.

The west part of the castle:

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O., *Exchequer, Treasurer of the Receipt, Misc. Books*, 151, 7. See R.C.A.M., *Pembrokeshire*, 51.

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, the hall in the east block is on the first floor, and the dining room above it. Spurrell reverses their positions.

First, 23 steps of stone leading up to the hall, with a porthole chamber at the hall door.

Item, a great hall there, containing in length within 81 feet and in breadth 30 feet, and of either side the hall a great chimney, and in the midst a hearth of stone, and 15 feet in breadth at the upper hall is tiled with Flanders tile, which said hall is covered with lead.

Item, under the said hall a buttery vaulted of like length and breadth.

Item, a tower adjoining to the upper end of the hall, wherein is contained a low cellar with two chambers, one above the other, with winding stairs leading in to the battlements of the same, which tower is covered with slate and the walking place leaded, and is in compass round 100 feet, with 8 steps in to the height of a little watch tower in compass 27 feet.

The tower at the south end of the hall, wherein is builded a cellar, two chambers one above another and covered with slate, and the walking place leaded, which tower is in compass within the battlement 100 feet, and above the same a little turret, compass 24 feet, with 11 steps leading from the battlements to the same.

The south side of the castle:<sup>1</sup>

A tower builded square, containing in length 33 feet and in breadth 28 feet, wherein is builded a larder house, a kitchen above the same, with half a loft over and a way leading in to the battlements, and at one corner a little turret.

The north side of the castle:<sup>1</sup>

A story containing in length 60 feet and in breadth 25 feet, wherein is contained two low chambers and a chapel over them and a way leading to the battlements thereof, with a little turret in the top of the same.

Item, before the east part of this castle there is a gate house builded four square with chamber over the same, and a way in to the battlements, with a little turret in the top.

The forefront of this said castle is double walled, with a dyke of 20 feet broad counter-mured.

The length of the base court is 225 feet and in breadth 189 feet, wherein is builded these edifices ensuing:

First, over the south side of this court a house containing in length 87 feet, and in breadth 21 feet, wherein is a stable of 60 feet long with a loft over the same, and a brewhouse of like breadth and 27 feet long, with a chamber over. And at the west end of the same a house called a bakehouse, in length 18 feet and breadth 15 feet, with a chamber over the same.

Item, over the south side the said court, a barn in length 75 feet and in breadth 30 feet.

Item, over the said south part a smith's forge, in length 33 feet and in breadth 18 feet. All these houses covered with slate.

Item, a stable nigh to the water, containing in length 128 feet and in breadth 20 feet, with a loft over the same.

The contents of the buildings of this castle within the quadrant, with the gate house: 2 halls, 2 chapels, 2 butteries vaulted, 2 pantries, 2 cellars, 2 larder houses, 23 chambers low and high, 7 turrets.

Item, there is belonging to this castle 2 parks walled, one of them is nigh the castle and the compass thereof a mile, and the other park being a mile from the castle is in compass 2 miles.

## APPENDIX II

### DESCRIPTION OF CAREW CASTLE FROM SURVEY OF 1631-2<sup>2</sup>

The castle abovementioned standeth almost in the midst of the Demesnes used therewith and is placed upon a Rock and is built of hardstone castlewise, having a small . . . haven ebbing and flowing under the North side thereof. And that the said castle hath two courts walled with stone before the entrance into the same and a square court (?) . . . one hall thirty foot broad and fourscore foot long, the roof thereof being covered with lead, a lesser hall fifty four foot long and twenty four foot broad with a small chapel . . . one fair dining chamber waynscotted fifty four foot long and twenty four foot broad with many other lodgings,

<sup>1</sup> Practically nothing is left of either of these ranges.

<sup>2</sup> P.R.O., E.178/5866. This document is stained and partly illegible.

chambers besides divers houses of office barns stables . . . outhouses . . . of the said castle containing in length one hundred forty and seven foot was set up though not finished and covered with lead by the said Sir John Perrot. (A deponent) . . . in the parish of Carew aforesaid examined on his oath affirmeth that the said castle is built of hard lime stone, and the roof of the hall on the west side thirty foot broad . . . now covered with lead, that the lesser hall on the east side and the chapel adjoining it now covered with tile, that the said dining chamber is waynscotted and in good repair (?) . . . lodgings chambers. That the kitchen and houses of office on the south side of the said castle are tiled and repaired and that the north side of the said castle containing . . . foot or thereabout being three stories of building covered with lead is much decayed there being no boards nor joists under the roof but only the beams which are fallen down . . . foot in length and that the roofs of two towers are fallen down the one at the northwest between the new and the old building and the other at the southeast.