

## THE PRIORY OF DARTFORD AND THE MANOR HOUSE OF HENRY VIII.

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The site of the Priory of Dartford occupies a level area on the western outskirts of the town. The Southern Railway cuts across the northern part of it, but down to some ten years ago, the major part of the ground enclosed by the outer walls was only occupied by the remains of Henry VIII's manor house and a few outbuildings, fields and orchards. Early in 1913 the extension of the works of Messrs. J. & E. Hall, Ltd., led to the uncovering of the foundation of the priory buildings which I shall presently describe. A large part of the rest of the site has, during the war, been covered by temporary buildings and in the circumstances it appeared to be of little use to postpone indefinitely a report on the results, in the hope of making the survey more complete.

The order of Dominican Nuns took its rise from a convent founded by St. Dominic in 1206, at Prouille, a village SW. of Carcassonne and some distance N. of the Pyrenées. This was the mother-house of the order and both it and its daughter houses followed the rule of St. Austin with special constitutions.<sup>1</sup> Their profession was officially described as 'of the order of St. Augustine and under the care of the Friars Preachers.'

The history of the foundation at Dartford has been fully set forth in an excellent paper by the Rev. C. F. R. Palmer in the *Archaeological Journal*, vols. xxxvi and xxxix, and in the exhaustive account by Dr. A. G. Little, in the *V.C.H. Kent*, vol. ii, 181.<sup>2</sup> Dartford was the only house of the order in England and was founded in 1349 by Edward III in pursuance of desires expressed and arrangements made by Eleanor of Castile and Edward II,

<sup>1</sup> The Constitutions, for the sisters of the Order, were drawn up by St. Dominic in 1220 and are printed in *Cartulaire de S. Dominique*, ed. Balme and Lelaidier, ii, 425-53. There are some remarkable re-

semblances to the Institutes of the Order of Sempringham, drawn up by St. Gilbert c. 1147.

<sup>2</sup> An account of the seals of the house is printed in *Proc. Soc. Ants.* 2nd ser. vi, 401.

her son, the latter of whom obtained a papal licence in 1321 to found the house and a grant to it of privileges similar to those enjoyed by the priory of Beaumont in the neighbourhood of Valenciennes. The period from 1349 to 1356 was occupied in the erection of the necessary buildings and it was not until the latter year that a prioress and three sisters were brought over from the continent, probably, according to Father Palmer, from Poissy, near Paris. To these were then added ten English nuns, but the house when fully endowed supported a prioress and thirty-nine nuns. The Priory was under the superintendence and control of the Friars-Preachers of Kings Langley in Hertfordshire and a staff, probably of six friars, from that place was housed at Dartford, before the arrival of the nuns, and a dwelling was built for them in 1352, costing £192 13s. 4d. Brother John of Woderowe, the king's confessor and a Dominican, was appointed to superintend the works at the beginning of 1354, another friar having, apparently, special control over the building of the house for the male portion of the community. It will be unnecessary to enumerate the individual sums of money granted by the king towards the building, but it may be assumed that the domestic part of the priory was more or less complete by the time it was taken over by the nuns in 1356. The Priory-church, however, was not then finished and various grants towards the masons' work, carpentry and lead were made between that date and 1361. One curious grant of 1363 may be noticed by which Woderowe received ten marks to pay the debts of the four French sisters and for four marble stones for their tombs. The House was formally granted to the sisters 'with its buildings, cloisters and enclosures dedicated to God, to the Virgin Mother of Our Lord and to the blessed Virgin Margaret' in 1356.

In 1384 Richard II granted lands in Norfolk to find a chaplain to celebrate in the chapel lately built in the Farmery. A will of 1451-2 is significant from a mention of the cemetery of the blessed Virgins, Mary and Margaret of *Bellomont*, from which it would seem that Beaumont in Valenciennes, and not Poissy, was the Mother-house.

The few remaining references to the buildings are all to be found in wills. In 1525 William Sprever Yeoman desires to be buried in the south aisle of the church. In the

next year Katherine, wife of Maurice Lord Berkeley, leaves instructions for her body to be buried in the Chapel of Our Lady and a tomb to be made at a cost of £13 6s. 8d. In 1530 Sir John Rudstone left £30 for the amendment of the walls about the monastery.

The priory was dissolved in 1539, its clear value, according to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, being £380 9s. 0½d. per annum.

Immediately after the dissolution the king proceeded to put into execution a design for providing himself with a series of houses on the road from London to the coast for use as posting-houses when he had occasion to travel himself in that direction, or for the convenience of distinguished foreign visitors. For this purpose monastic property was retained in the king's hands in Dartford, St. Andrew's at Rochester and St. Augustine's at Canterbury, as forming convenient stages on the Dover road. At the two latter houses the monastic buildings were adapted for the purpose and Henry VIII's work may still be seen surmounting the existing fragment of the great church of St. Augustine at Canterbury. At Rochester not a trace is left of his building, though the detailed accounts of its construction are preserved. They are referred to in Sir William Hope's exhaustive account of St. Andrew's Priory, but so far as I know he never carried out his expressed intention of publishing a full account of them and the buildings they describe. In any case the new work at both these places seems to have been on a less important scale than at Dartford where the monastic buildings appear to have been destroyed rather than adapted. Fortunately the history and progress of the King's Manor of Dartford, as it is termed, can be traced in considerable detail, by the fortunate preservation, at the Bodleian and the Public Record Office, of many of the detailed accounts of James Needham and other surveyors of the king's works.

From the first of these accounts<sup>1</sup> we learn the source from which much of the material was obtained. The account is dated June and July 1541 and is headed 'Payments made and paid for our Sovereign lord the king for work done by his grace's commandment in undermining and

<sup>1</sup> Bod. Lib. Cod. Rawl. D. 782, see *Essex Arch. Soc. Trans.* N.S. xii, 72.

casting down the late abbey church of Barking, for the providing of the fairest quoin stones and others to be employed of the King's manor of Dartford.' Evidently the materials of the priory at Dartford were either insufficient in quantity or inferior in quality and the great abbey of Barking across the river was conveniently situated for water transport. Similar operations were going on at the same time all over the country and occasionally the exact circumstances have been preserved. Thus in 1539 another of Henry's palaces, Nonsuch<sup>1</sup> near Cheam in Surrey, was partly built from the spoil of the priory church of Merton; Beaulieu and Quarr Abbeys provided material for the block-houses of E. and W. Cowes<sup>2</sup> and Sandgate castle<sup>3</sup> was largely built of stone from Bradsole, Monks Horton and Canterbury.

At the same date, June 1541, the work of destruction had begun at Dartford together with preparations for the new buildings. This account<sup>4</sup> is headed 'The boke of Dartford begynning from Sunday the 19th day of June in Anno 33 regni H. VIII and ending the 30th day of Aprill in Anno 34th regni predicti.' The various trades were employed as follows. The carpenters are described as setting out timber and also taking away the ceiling of wainscot in the dorter with like taking down the ceiling under the roof of the church and also taking down the roof to be new repaired and made to be set up again. The Inbowers were rebating and making timber for clearstoreys and bay-windows. The bricklayers were breaking down chimneys and walls and taking down tiles and slates of houses, also making a new lime kiln 'and more breaking uppe of toumes and tome stones in the church' The underminers were undermining and casting down a tower. The labourers digging foundations and lading out of water of the springs. Thus far the work was mainly that involved in the destruction of the priory buildings and evidently neither the Church nor the Dorter was to be incorporated in Henry's house. The next portion of the book, dated July and August of the same year, deals almost entirely with preparatory work for the new building. The free-masons were hewing and making quoins and squancions for

<sup>1</sup> Clapham and Godfrey, *Some Famous Buildings*, 4.

<sup>2</sup> *L. and P. Henry VIII*, xiv, i, 416 (no. 899).

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Cant.* xx, 235 and xxiii, 24.

<sup>4</sup> Bod. Lib. Cod. Rawl. D. 783.

buttresses and four vices into the king's and queen's lodgings. The carpenters were making and framing five roofs, two long roofs (to be tiled) for the king's side (respectively 134 ft. and 110 ft. long) and two flat roofs (to be leaded) for the queen's side (110 ft and 82 ft. respectively) and a third roof of 70 ft., each of them being 30 ft. wide. Further on mention is made of 'the queen's privy chamber being the late steples,' from which it appears that some part of the priory buildings, at any rate, was incorporated in the new building.

In 1542 a payment was made to James Needham, the surveyor, of £250 for making brick walls, wharfes, pales, etc., in the king's town of Dartford, evidently in connexion with the work at the manor.<sup>1</sup>

The next surviving book of accounts<sup>2</sup> begins in September-October, 1543, when £742 13s. 10d. was expended, making a total (apparently for the year, to date) of £1,412 10s. 0d. The work was then nearing completion and the account is of interest not only as relating to the building at Dartford, but still more as a varied collection of the architectural terms in use at the period. The frequent references to the king's lodging or side and the queen's lodging or side raises the question of the meaning of these terms. They seem to be a mere convention of the period and a number of Tudor and Elizabethan plans of large houses are so divided, one half of the building being labelled 'My lord's side' and the other 'My lady's side' without reference to the actual tenancy of the buildings. Commonly I think the 'masculine' side of the building, if I may so term it, was that to the right of the main entrance, with the 'feminine' on the left. As an example of this arrangement, Thorpe's plan, ascribed to Buckhurst, may be mentioned and from the Parliamentary survey it appears that the same arrangement obtained at Eltham Palace.

The Dartford accounts of 1543-44 are much too long to be quoted in full and I shall content myself with a few of the more interesting extracts. They are entered in a large paper book, which also includes accounts of works at Windsor, Greenwich, Dover, Amptill and elsewhere.

<sup>1</sup> *L. and P. Henry VIII*, 1542, no. 880, fo. 29b.

<sup>2</sup> P.R.O. Excheq. K.R. 504/2.



The accounts are monthly ones and have a fairly elaborate title at the beginning of each month. To start with the purely topographical information, we find mention of the Great Court, East and West Gatehouses, the New Lodging on the south side of the great court, the King's Lodging, the Queen's Lodging, the Queen's Privy chamber and Withdrawing Room, the Keeper's House, the Great and Privy Kitchens, the latter on the west side of the court, double and single Jaques, these being constructed with walls, roofs and battlements, independently of the adjoining building. It is unfortunate that the accounts of the erection of the main buildings seem not to have survived, but the still existing building formed part of the structures dealt with; the west gate is still standing and the east gate no doubt spanned the road from Dartford town. The accounts are divided into their various trades, Masons, Carpenters, Inbowers, Sawyers, Bricklayers, Tilers, Plumbers, Carpenters' Labourers, Scaffolders, Mortarmen, Bricklayers' Labourers, Tilers' Labourers and common labourers; the total number of men employed in October 1543 being 184.

The individual items give a very detailed account of the method of work. Perhaps the most unusual feature is the treatment of the external walls round the great court; the following extracts describe the process—October '43. Bricklayers—'bringing up the W. gatehouse, ready for the setting up of the corbel table and okering and pensiling in red, black and white the E. side of the great court and the S. side of the same great court.' Labourers to the Bricklayers (same date) 'in sething of size and ochre and making a black for the pensill and finishing the E. side and the S. side of the great court'; November '43. Bricklayers—'in white finishing the owchis and jawmes (arches and jambs) of the W. gate with plaster of parris and okering and penselyng the new lodging and finishing XI mantells of chimneys and the jambs with plaster of paris.' We have a record here of two distinct processes; the okering and pencilling was a decoration of the external wall-surfaces and as such is of very uncommon occurrence at that date; I only know of one surviving instance at Beckingham Hall, Essex, where the decoration is in black on white, on one side of the gatehouse and the same pattern

reversed on the other side of the building. The application of plaster of Paris to the jambs and arches of the gatehouse and the fire-places is a well-known and common device to imitate masonry in a brick building and seems to have been the almost universal practice in the sixteenth century. In a neighbouring example at Eastbury House, Barking, the plaster sham dressings survived until a recent restoration. In January 1543-4 the Plasterers were lathing, dawbing and pargetting the roofs and walls of the upper lodging, which, if the pargetting applies to the walls, must imply merely the process of floating.

The details of the work on the wall-crestings is also of interest. The following extracts mostly apply to the gate-houses—October '43, Masons—'hewing in free-stone for the E. gate-house, for the battlement corbel table, vent space quoins, crest pillar pieces and chaptrille for the battlement of the E. side.' November '43—Masons—'working in hewing in freestone the chaptrells and typys for the vynyables for the E. gable-end of the W. gate in the great court and in setting and finishing the said chaptrells and types on the vennyables on the E. end of the said W. gate and moreover in hewing in free-stone corbel-table, vent-space quoins and crests for the battlements of the queen's privy chamber and of her grace's withdrawing chamber.' In these extracts I think the 'crest pillar pieces' and the 'vynyables' must be interchangeable terms, the latter being, I suspect, Mr. Needham's compromise between finial and pinnacle; the 'chaptrelles' are apparently the moulded cappings and the 'typys' perhaps something above them. The masons, in January 1543-4, were engaged on 'stone bossell-pieces and table for the corners of the battlements of the W. side of the E. gate-house.' The 'bossell-pieces' no doubt formed the projecting pilasters at the angles and supported the angle pinnacles.

Other extracts are of a more miscellaneous character. The Inbowers work 'in inbowing and framing and setting up of iiij clerestores for the S. side of the newe upper lodginge on the south side of the saide greate courte.' The masons work 'in hewinge in and makinge of a sinke stone for (to) sette a iron grate in for to share owte the watters of the currants in to the sinke on the greate courte.'

The inbowers, in November, make 'iiij windows with transhams and three without transhams and in inbowing framing with monyons and two leves and (a) wecket for the W. gate.' The Sawyers at the same date make a 'dorman' for the roof. The purchases include quantities of brick from Willington, lime burnt at the Round Kiln and 110 tons of rag-stone quarried at Barking Abbey.

I will now turn to the results of the excavations and to the existing remains on the site.

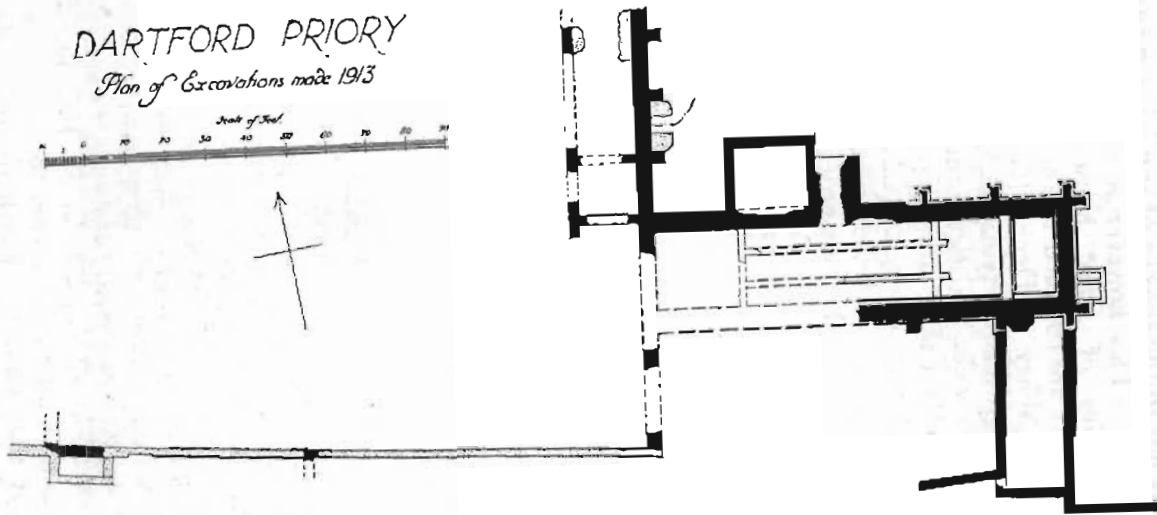
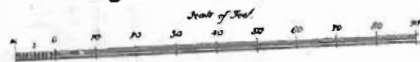
The occasion of the excavations in 1913, as I have said, was the extension of the premises of Messrs. J. & E. Hall & Co. over part of the site. In the course of sinking holes for the foundations of the iron stanchions of their new buildings, the workmen first came across a well-built culvert and attention having thus been called to the archaeological possibilities of the site, the Managing Director, Mr. Pritchard, spared no pains or expense in having all the walls and culverts examined before they were covered by the concrete floor of the new building. The part of the site then dealt with included only the eastern half of the enclosure and a further examination of the western half was necessarily postponed, either until a fund was raised for its excavation or a further extension of the works rendered it necessary for industrial purposes. This extension actually took place during the War, but the temporary buildings then erected required only shallow foundations and in any case were run up with such rapidity as to leave little opportunity for further discoveries; a few disconnected foundations were, however, uncovered, which are shown on the site-plan. As the existence of these buildings will preclude any further examination of the site for many years to come, it seems desirable to put on record the discoveries already made and to endeavour to draw some conclusions from them.

The excavations revealed two main buildings, the first running E. and W. and the second at right angles to it and extending towards the N. Both were substantially built of rag-stone rubble, with square projecting buttresses, and while the first showed no evidence of having been included in Henry VIII manor-house the second had various Tudor additions, indicating that it had been incorporated in that building.



# DARTFORD PRIORY

Plan of Excavations made 1913



The chief difficulty of the whole plan is that it in no way corresponds to the lay-out of any other monastic house in this country. This however is not surprising, as the surviving remains of nuns' houses belonging to the Mendicant orders are confined to the present example and the Franciscan Abbey at Denny (Cambridgeshire). The main building (plate I) lying E. and W. is 102 ft. by 20½ ft. within the walls, and this I am inclined to assign to the Priory Church for the following reasons—(a) its dimensions and form are appropriate for this purpose, an aisleless and structurally undivided building being the normal plan of all nuns' churches of whatever order, excepting the great Benedictine abbeys; (b) the destruction of the church is mentioned in Henry VIII building accounts, and as has been already noted the building under review formed no part of his scheme; (c) its plan and arrangements cannot be reconciled with the requirements of any other division of the monastic plan, whereas they are conformable to those of a church. Starting then with this hypothesis we find a wall crossing the building one bay from the E. and against it I suggest the high altar was placed, while behind it was a chamber perhaps used as a sacristy, a not uncommon feature, and one which obtained apparently at the neighbouring Benedictine nunnery of Minster (Sheppey). It is possible that this chamber had an upper storey or loft, as seems to be indicated by the turret for a staircase on the S. side. Eight feet W. of this wall is another cross-wall and indications of longitudinal walls, extending 48 ft. further W. These seem to indicate the base of the quire stalls, though the space is unusually long. The priory was founded for 40 nuns, but only contained 24 at the dissolution. Allowing 2 ft. 4 in. for each stall there is space for 20 on each side. West of the stalls there appears to have been a short ante-chapel only and no nave. This at first sight is a rather unusual feature, but the arrangement of doors and squints at St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, a Benedictine nunnery,<sup>1</sup> seems to indicate a similar arrangement at that church. Furthermore, it should be remembered that Dartford was a fourteenth-century foundation and may have been influenced by the collegiate

<sup>1</sup> *Survey of London, Parish of St. Helen Bishopsgate*, Pt. I, 35.



FOUNDATIONS OF CHURCH, AS EXCAVATED, FROM THE E.



DOORWAY IN S. CHAPEL.



DOORWAY IN BOUNDARY WALL.

plan then coming into vogue, and including a similar division of quire and ante-chapel. There is record of the existence of a Lady Chapel and south aisle at Dartford, and it is possible that both stood on the S. side of the church on the site not excavated. Of the two annexes, one on the N. and one on the S., it is impossible to speak with any certainty. The northern may have been the tower undermined by Henry VIII's builders, and the adjoining square turret has a ragged gap in the foundations that lends colour to this theory. The southern annexe was a long narrow building with very irregular foundations to the E. wall; the S. wall is still standing and in the S.W. angle is a fourteenth-century doorway (plate II) with a two-centred head.

Against the E. end of the main building are two small chambers enclosed by three walls; they may perhaps have been burial-vaults or built graves.

The second building running N. and S. was not fully excavated; its form is shown on the plan and it is only necessary to note that the buttressed wall N. of the church building was evidently external and that the W. wall is of less thickness and may have been internal. The only theory I can put forward as to this building is that it is part of the E. range of the cloister and formerly incorporated in it the E. alley of the cloister with a wide apartment the full width of the range on the first floor. This arrangement was fairly normal in a house of friars and occurs also in the remaining building at Chicksands Priory<sup>1</sup> (Gilbertine), which is generally assumed to have formed part of the nuns' cloister.<sup>2</sup> It occurs also in another Gilbertine house, Watton in Yorkshire, but here only in the Canons' cloister. If this attribution be accurate, we have here a cloister with the priory church projecting from the E. side in the position usually occupied by the Chapter House. In England this arrangement is, so far, unique among monastic plans, but I have found one similar arrangement in Ireland. Old Abbey or Monastirnegalliach,<sup>3</sup> co. Limerick, has a late chapel in precisely this position; it was a house of Austin Nuns. A closer parallel, however, is to be found in France, in the Franciscan nunnery at Provins. This was a thirteenth-

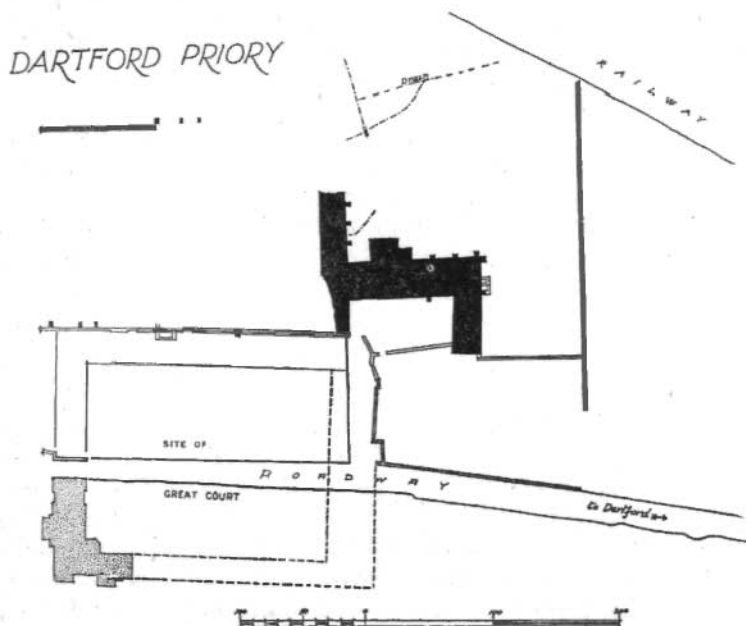
<sup>1</sup> *V.C.H. Beds.* ii, 272.

<sup>2</sup> *E. Riding Antiq. Soc.* viii, 70.

<sup>3</sup> *Journ. R. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 5th Ser. xiv, 54.



century foundation standing outside the town on the N. side; the surviving remains include the chapel, the E. and W. alleys of the cloister and part of the N. range of the cloister; the rest of the building is modern and the whole now forms a hospital or almshouse. The chapel here is a long rectangular building standing at right angles to the E. walk of the cloister and providing in position and arrangement an almost exact parallel to the remains at Dartford, save that at Provins the stalls extend to the W.



wall of the church, against which they are returned. It is possible then that this was the normal plan of the less important houses of the Dominican and Franciscan nuns, but the infrequent survival of such buildings renders this a supposition only.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The surviving plans of houses of Dominican nuns show considerable variety—e.g. Poissy (Violet le Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné*, i, 304). A description of the church in 1400 is printed in *Bib. de l'école des Chartes*, 4th ser. iii, p. 536; Toss ('Das Dominikanerinnen Kloster Toss,' by H. Sulzer, in

*Mitt. d. Antiq. Gesellschaft in Zürich*, xxvi, h. 2); Colmar (J. Jacques Waltz, *Le Musée d'Unterlinden à Colmar*). The church at Prouille was destroyed at the Revolution and the site is now occupied by a large modern church.



HENRY VIII'S MANOR HOUSE. S.W. ANGLE, EXTERIOR.



HENRY VIII'S MANOR HOUSE. S.W. ANGLE, FROM COURTYARD.



BRASS INDENTS.



RE-USED TWELFTH-CENTURY FRAGMENTS.

Nothing further can be said of the building at Dartford save that it has at the N. end certain masses of Tudor foundation, one of which, between the buttresses, appears to have supported a bay window ; the foundation is pierced by one of Henry VIII's culverts.

Portions of the boundary wall running W. from the S. end of the excavation appear to be ancient, and incorporated in the wall is the base of a fourteenth-century respond apparently *in situ*.

The remainder of the old buildings on the site, including the southern and eastern parts of the boundary wall, are the work of Henry VIII, but before turning to the buildings themselves a few words are necessary as to the culverts and drains uncovered during the excavations. These also are post suppression work and the smaller channels were of simple form with a barrel roof of brick. The larger culvert is of greater interest and at once explains the use to which the broken tombs and tomb-stones (mentioned in the account) were put. A considerable length of this culvert was covered in by slabs, half slabs and portions of tombs and preserves a small but interesting series of indents. These include two or three figures of nuns and a civilian, and there is also part of the moulded slab of an altar-tomb of late fourteenth century date. They are now preserved (plate IV) in a small garden attached to the Institute in the works. The boundary or precinct-wall is of mediæval date on part of the western and most of the northern front. It is entirely built of Kentish rag-stone, except a tall battering coping, which is faced with flint and appears to have been surmounted by crenellations. The boundary-walls, built under Henry VIII, are built of miscellaneous material and incorporate much ashlar and many worked stones (plate IV) of the twelfth century, evidently spoil from Barking Abbey. The worked stones include numerous fragments of shafting, diaper, chevron, billet and other ornament. It is very satisfactory to have the definite evidence of the Barking accounts, as the presence of this twelfth-century material would otherwise pre-suppose an earlier building on the site of the priory.

The Manor House of Henry VIII occupied the southern half of the priory site and its general size and position can

be determined with some accuracy. The existing fragment formed the SW. angle of the great court and incorporates the remains of the West Gate house. Its southern wing formed part of the new lodging of the 1543 account. The East Gate house formed the main entrance from the town of Dartford and no doubt spanned the existing lane at the point where the sixteenth-century garden wall terminates. From this point fragments of the outer wall of the E. range extend northward and incorporate the base of two projecting buildings, either 'Jakes' or bay-windows. The line of the north range is preserved by the existing wall between the gardens of the farm and Messrs. Hall's works, but though much of this wall is of the time of Henry VIII and some of it is earlier, it is uncertain if it represents the inner or the outer face of the range.

The existing farm house (plate III) is built, on the courtyard side, entirely of red brick, but the outward side is an extraordinary mixture of material, one short wing is almost entirely of Caen and Reigate stone ashlar, while another part is of well-built flint-work. This work can, I think, never have been intended to be visible and must originally have been plastered. We have no doubt a record of the process in the okering and pencilling of the accounts. The windows facing on to the courtyard at Dartford are all of oak with moulded mullions, transoms and frames; they are poor work of no distinction and indeed the whole surviving building shows evidence of scamped work and hasty workmanship. The W. gatehouse was formerly finished on each side with a low gable and pinnacles. The inner and outer archways both have stone jambs and moulded brick arches of four-centred form. The outer arch has a double label, forming a square head, but in the inner arch the label follows the curve of the head and has scrolled stops. The stumps of three original chimney-stacks remain above the roofs, and inside the building are two staircases with solid oak treads. In the square projection on the W. side we have one of the Jakes-towers, of which the separate carrying up and roofing are noted in the building accounts. The northern boundary wall beyond the railway is almost entirely mediæval, but on the W. side and opening into what was the great garden is an oak doorway (plate II) with a four-centred head and moulded jambs, the erection



of which is mentioned in the accounts under February, 1544. The imbowers were then occupied 'in framing and embowing of a door for the wall on the W. side of the king's great garden and setting up the said door.'

The palaces and houses built by Henry VIII and his father form a well-defined group of buildings with a very definite place in the history of domestic architecture in this country. They are the first buildings in which all traces of a defensive character are entirely absent; even the moat, in its occasional occurrence, as at Hampton Court, is a purely ornamental adjunct, dug only in order to provide a *locus standi* for the handsome bridge which spans it. The preceding period produced few original buildings, that is to say buildings other than adaptations of earlier structures, and of these examples such as Hurstmonceux, Kirkby Muxloe, Tattershall and Falkbourne all exhibit, to a greater or less extent, those defensive features which were rendered still necessary by the disturbed state of the times. The accession of the Tudors and the union of the two rival houses removed the last excuse for individual defensive building, and licences to crenellate become a thing of the past, that issued for the building of Cowdray in 1533 being translated into brick and stone only by the erection of ornamental battlements and machicolations. The great houses of Henry VIII were all of the courtyard-type, the larger being designed with two courts and the smaller with one only. It is unfortunate that so few of his buildings have survived; in most of these it must be admitted that once the requisite accommodation was provided the architectural features were generally poor and mean, and are easily surpassed by those of Wolsey's palace at Hampton Court. The larger double courtyard-houses of Henry VIII include the palace of St. James, Nonsuch House and Bridewell, and the smaller single courtyard-houses, Newhall or Beaulieu Essex, Dartford, Rochester and probably Canterbury. Of all these Nonsuch alone appears to have been decorated in a style befitting its use, and this building remained largely unfinished at Henry's death. The much altered building at St. James and the substructures at New Hall, the few fragments at Canterbury and the building which is the subject of this paper, are all that now survive.

In conclusion I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the late Sir W. St. John Hope who, when the excavations were in progress, very generously placed at my disposal his own transcripts of some of the accounts quoted above, and also to Miss Rose Graham for helpful suggestions and for several valuable references. The illustrations are from photographs by Mr. E. C. Youens.

## APPENDIX.

BUILDING ACCOUNTS OF DARTFORD MANOR HOUSE  
(P.R.O. Exchequer K.R. 504/2)

The Mannor of Dartford. Dccxliij<sup>ii</sup> xiiij<sup>s</sup> x<sup>d</sup>.

Summa totalis Miiij xij<sup>ii</sup> x<sup>s</sup> ob 9

35 H.viiij 30 Sep.—28 Oct.

*Maysons* (13 men).

Workynge in hewing in hardestone steppis and Pavynge stones for the Two unter halpasis entringe up to the *Kingis* and the *quenys Lodginge* and in settinge and Pavynge the said halpasis and moreover in hewing in free stone for the *Este Gate house* for the battelmente Carbell Tabell vainte space quynes, creste peller pecis and chaptrille for the battelmente of the Este side of the said *Este gayt house* with settinge and fynysheinge the Battelmente on the Este side of the saide Este gate house.

*Carpynsters* (11 men).

Workynge in making framynge and settinge up of the partecyons and quarteringe of the same partycions for the nether and upper *new lodginges* on the south side of the Este gatehouse and in workinge framynge and settinge up of a payre of stayres to the same Lodginge and in bordinge the upre fowers of the said lodginge with more in settinge up of seillinge joists for the upper Lodginge on the southe side of the saide Este gaite house as in lykewise workinge framynge and settinge up of dores posts for jaques and makinge Jaques stolls of the newe Lodginge on the south side of the *great Courte* and in further in settinge up of Lentells over the jaques doors and windows in the saide lodginge and in layinge of seillinge joists for the rooff of the *vise* on the West side of the greate courte with more in workinge and makinge of the Rooff on the same vise and bordinge the same rof of the saide vise and in workinge framynge and settinge up of two rooff for the *Jaques* for the *newe Lodginge* on the south side of the *weste gaite* with bordinge the flowres of the saide newe lodginge and Jaques on the saide south side of the saide weste gaite house.

*Inbowers* (14 men).

Workinge in framynge and playnynge and settinge upe of xj pertycions for the *nether newe lodginge* on the south side of the *great Courte* and more

over workinge fraymyng of a xj inbowede dores in the same partecions in the saide nether newe lodginge on the south side of the saide great courte with further in workinge in inbowinge and framynge and settinge up of iiij clere stores for the saide southe side of the newe upper lodginge on the south side of the saide great courte as in lyke workinge and makinge and in battinge of and hanginge of viij dores for the nether newe lodginge on the southe side of the saide great courte and for the vise and for the newe lodginge entringe oute of the saide vise in the newe lodginge on the south side of the weste gate in the great courte.

*Sawyers* (5 couples).

Workinge in sawinge of quarters for the partycions for the newe lodgings and the *upper* on the south side of the *Este gate house* in the great courte and more in sawinge of steppes for the staires entrynge in to the uper lodginge of the south side of the saide Este gaite house with further in sawinge of (Sch uges ?) Joysts for the uper lodginge on the south side as in sawinge of dores posts stowllis and lentells for jaques dores on the south side of the great courte and in lykewise in sawynge of sellinge joysts for the roof of the vise on the west side of the saide great courte with sawinge of tymber for the roof of the jaques on the south side of the great courte and in sawinge of tymber for the imbowers for pertycions and dores posts for the nether newe lodgings on the south side of the great courte with more in brekinge of tymber at Norwoode for the Kinges majesties buildinge of his saide mannor of Dartford.

*Brykelayers* (32 men).

Workinges in bringinge up of xv chymneys and iiij jaques from the middle flower up to the upere reason with breke stone and mortar for the newe lodginge on the south side of the greate courte and more in bringginge up of xv shafts with breke and mortar for the same chemneys and in fynysheinge the said chymneys and shafts with more in bringinge up the gable ende and the battelments with breke and mortar for the este side of the este gate house and in fynisshinge the same, as in lykewise bringinge up of the weste gate house with stone and breke redy to the settinge upe of the corbele tabile and okeringe and pensellinge in rede blacke and whyte the este side of the greate courte and the southe side of the same great courte and in fynysshinge of the same.

*Tylers* (4 men).

Workinge in rippinge lathing and tylinge of the worke of the rooff on the north side of the weste gate house in the great courte and more over in lathing and tyllinge the roof over the newe lodgings on the south side of the weste gate with rippinge lathing and tylinge of the roof of the lodginge on the north and southe syde of the Este gate house in the greate courte the whiche were broken for to make scaffolds for the masons to bringe up the battellments for the saide este gaite house and for ther in rippinge lathing tyllinge of a parte of the rof of the said newe lodginge on the este side of the weste gaite house in the saide great courte.

*Plommers* (4 men).

Workinge in meltinge and castinge of leade for pipis and gutters and for the roof of the vise on the weste side of the greate courte and in meltinge

and castinge of tynne for to make souder with for to sowder the pypes of lade with layinge of two gutters of leade on the northe side and south side of the rooffe over the este gaite house as in lyke wise in layinge of gutters between the chymneys over the rooffe of the newe lodginge on the south side of the weste gaite in the saide greate courte. And more over in laying of and spreddinge the rooff with leade of the vise on the weste side of the saide courte with further in layinge of two gutters on the north and the south side of the rooff over the weste gate house and further in squaringe and souderinge of sertten pypes of lead for to finyshe, and to hange oute the quenes syde with all.

*Labourers to the Carpenters (8 men).*

Workinge in unlodginge of tymber of the hedgehouse of Dartforde and in lading the saide tymber into carts to be carryede unto the saide sawpittes and more in removinge the tymber up to the same stages and in carring of tymbre from the same stages to the barne to the inbowewers (sic) for the pertycions with further in carring of pertycions and doors postes for the same pertycions for the nether lodginge on the southe side of the said great courte, as in lyke wise in carriage of in battyn dores for the utter dores of the same lodginge and for the vise and the lodginge on the southe side of the weste gate, and in carring of quarters and stepes for the stayres and scillinge joistes from the same pytte for the nether and uppere lodginge on the southe side of the este gaite house.

*Scaffolders (3 men).*

Workinge in maikinge of scaffoldes for the workemen to worke on for the bringinge upe of xv chymneys and iiij Jaques and for the bringinge of xv shaftes to the saide chymneys and in strykinge of and takinge downe the saide scaffoldes round aboute the saide chymneys and Jaques and shaftes from the upper flowere of the newe lodginge on the southe side of the greate court withmore in makinge of scaffoldes for the workmen to stonde and worke upon for the bringinge up of the gable ende and battelments for the Este side of the Este gate house and in takinge downe the saide scaffoldes as in makinge of scaffoldes for the bringinge up of the weste gaite house as further in making of scaffolds for the fynysshing of and penselinge the saide Este gate and southe side of the greate courte with strykinge and takinge downe of the same scaffolds and in sawinge and cuttinge of potlogs for the scaffold.

*Mortermen (10 men).*

Workinge in carring of watter for to slacke lyme with and castinge and standinge the saide lyme and in secftinge the saide Lyme and sand together w<sup>th</sup> wateringe workinge and chaffinge.

The above are printed in full. Of the following account only the more interesting portions are transcribed.

Anno. xxxv 28 Oct.—30 Nov.

*Masons.*

Workinge in hewing in frestone the chaptrells and Typys for the vynnayables for the Este gable ende of the weste gate in the greate courte

and in settinge and fenysshinge the said chaptrells and types on the vennyables at the E. end of the saide W. gate and moreover in hewing of in free stone carbyll tayble venytts space queyns and crests for the battlements of the quenys priye chamber and of her graces <sup>t</sup> drainge chambre <sup>t</sup> further in settinge and fenysshinge the Battelments of the west side of the same lodginge as in lyke wise in hewing in and makinge of a sinke stone for the sette a Iron grate in for to share owte the watters of the currants in to the sinke on the greate courte and in settinge the saide sink-stone on the sink in the said greate courte.

*Carpenters.*

(*Inter alia.* Mention made of the lodging on the W. side of the great court next unto the Privy Kitchen.)

*Imbowers.*

(*Inter alia.*) iiij windows with transhams and iij without transhams in imbowering framing <sup>t</sup> monyons and 2 leves and wecket for the W. gate.

*Sawyers.*

(*Inter alia.*) Timber for a dorman for the roof.

*Bricklayers.*

Further in white fenysshinge the owchis and jawmes of the W. gate <sup>t</sup> playster of parris and okerynge and penselyng the new lodgyngs . . . and finishing xi mantells of chimneys and the jawmes with plaster of parris.

The saide lyme and sande unto mortar redey for the Briklayers to worke <sup>t</sup> and furthermore in workinge in seeftinge and makinge of mortar for the Bricklyers and Tylers to tyle <sup>t</sup> and more in makinge of fyne mortar for the saide masons to sett the Battelments <sup>t</sup>.

*Labrs to the Bricklayers.*

Workinge in servyng the Brecklayre with stone brecke and mortar for the bringinge up of xv chymneys and iij jaques from the mydle flowere up to the upper Reason for the upper newe lodgings on the southe side of the great courte . . . also in sethinge of Syes and ocker and makinge of blacke for the pensell and fynisshenge the Este side and the southe side of the greate courte.

*Common Labourers.*

Workyng in unlading off borde and lath out of the Botes that came frome London at the water side of darteforde and in lading the said borde into cartes to be caryed to the kynges manor plase.