HERSTMONCEUX CASTLE

By W. DOUGLAS SIMPSON

The Castle of Herstmonceux has long been justly celebrated as one of the most beautiful of English baronial buildings; as an early example of the use of brick on a vast scale; and as a magnificent parade of feudal pride, erected at a time when the paraphernalia of defensive architecture, while still to some extent functionally purposed, were employed more and more as an outward and visible symbol of seigneury—a demonstration of arrogance on the part of a ruling class whose martial traditions required that they should house themselves in mansions where the semblance of armed defiance was preserved, even in a countryside in which a serious attack was no longer to be feared.

So far as germane to the purposes of this inquiry, the history of the castle may be briefly summarized.[1] At the time of the Norman invasion, the manor of Herst was church property, but William the Conqueror presented it to his kinsman, Robert, Count of Eu. Early in the thirteenth century it belonged to a family who took their name, de Herst, from the place, but soon adopted the additional surname of de Monceux, apparently from a barony near Bayeux, with which they were presumably connected. Henry III visited Herstmonceux in 1264, before the battle of Lewes, and Edward I was there in 1302. Evidently a manor place already stood on the property; and Canon Venables, in his excellent work on the castle, records that in the ruins as existing before the recent reconstruction, there was 'a little rude grouted work in some interior walls', which he thought might be 'part of the materials of the old manor house'.[2] This is more than likely, and it may be recalled that at Kirby Hall, as built by John Thorpe for Sir Humphrey Stafford, one or two scraps of an older house were similarly allowed to remain in what was otherwise a wholly new edifice.

Before 1331, the manor of Herstmonceux passed by marriage to Sir John de Fienes, whose fourth successor, Sir Roger Fienes, a veteran of the French wars, obtained on 5th February, 1441, a licence to 'enclose, crenellate, and furnish with towers and battlements his manor of Herst Monceux'.[3] Thereafter he built the present edifice, at a cost, it is said, of £3,800. His

[1] The following works may be consulted: E. Venables, *The Castle of Herstmonceux and its Lords*, 1851. E. E. Crake, *The Castle of Hurstmonceux*, n.d. H. Avray Tipping, *English Homes* [Periods I and II], ii, 281-306. *V.C.H. Sussex*, ix, 131-7.

[2] *op. cit.*, 49.

[3] *Cal. Charter Rolls*, vi, 13-14.

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HERSTMONCEUX CASTLE: GENERAL VIEW FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

descendants continued to hold the manor until 1708. In 1458 they were created Barons Dacre, and were usually known as Lords Dacre of the South, to avoid confusion with their more famous kinsmen, the Lords Dacre of the North, seated at Gilsland in Cumberland. The family of Fienes failed in the male line in 1594, when a sister carried Herstmonceux to her husband, Sampson Lennard of Chevening, Kent, whose son in due course became, in his mother's right, Lord Dacre. Sampson Lennard, who died in 1615, is recorded to have made alterations on the interior of the castle, and its grand staircase was his work. A later owner in 1674 was created Earl of Sussex. By him the buildings in the northern half of the east quarter were brought up to date. Sashed windows, still remaining, were substituted in the outer walls, while internally the rooms were wainscotted and decorated with carvings by Grinling Gibbons. In 1708 Lord Sussex sold the manor to George Naylor, who was succeeded by his kinsman, the celebrated Bishop Hare. The Bishop lived much at Herstmonceux, but after his death in 1740 the castle fell into neglect, and in 1777, upon the recommendation of Samuel Wyatt, the interiors were gutted and their materials used to build on to another mansion, now known as Herstmonceux Place. In 1807 the descendants of George Naylor sold the property; and, after passing through various hands, it was purchased in 1911 by Colonel Claude Lowther, who began to restore the castle. In 1932 it was acquired by its present owner, Sir Paul Latham, Bt., under whose direction the restoration has been completed by Mr. Walter H. Godfrey, F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A. The outer walls and towers have been most carefully and conservatively repaired, and made good where necessary; new interior buildings have been erected; and on the south and east and part of the western sides, the wide enclosing moat has been filled once more with water.

A century and a half ago, the situation of Herstmonceux Castle was described by Francis Grose in language that could not be bettered :[1]

> 'The Castle of Herstmonceaux stands in a pleasant park, well diversified by hill and vale, finely wooded with old trees, and well watered by clear pools, and from it there is a fine view over the adjacent rich level of Pevensey (in the midst of which, on a little rise, is the town and ancient ruined Castle of Pevensey). The sea appears in front, southward of the hills towards Hastings to the east; and the South Downs rise mountain-like at some distance

[1] *Antiquities of England and Wales*, v, 157-8.

to the west. The castle is seated near the southern edge of the park, and rather in the lowest part of it ; the soil is, however, very dry.'

As seen from the exterior, the castle consists of a large quadrangular structure, measuring about 208 feet over all across the main or south front, by 219 feet in depth from south to north. At all four corners of this immense rectangular pile are octagonal towers, engaged by one face with the main structure. From each of the north, west and east fronts three semi-octagonal towers project, of which the middle one on the north front contains a postern gate. On the south front the semi-octagonal projecting towers number four, and the central pair are set as gatehouse towers on either side of the principal entrance to the castle. The main building is, in general, two storeys in height, and its wall-heads are embattled. Of the towers, those at the angles, and the middle one on each of the three sides, north, east and west, are carried up a storey higher, and embattled ; while the other towers on these sides are finished off with battlements flush with those of the main wallheads. The pair of towers forming the gatehouse are treated differently, and will be described later.

The whole of this enormous fabric is built in brick of a mellow red colour, in old English bond, very regularly coursed, the bricks measuring on an average, $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. There can be little doubt that these bricks are of local origin, like those of the contemporary castle at Tattershall. The clay from which they are formed appears to have been very similar to that still used in brickworking at Bexhill, within half a dozen miles away. At Tattershall, however, the brick-mason, Baldwin Dutchman, was a foreigner, and it is perhaps significant that in the Patent Roll of 1436 John Stase, John Rowelond, and James Bavord, all of Malines, are mentioned as dwelling at Herstmonceux.[1] Quite possibly these men may have been brickmakers ; but their occupation is not stated, and they may equally well have been engaged in the wool trade. If they were employed in the castle works, then the building, as not infrequently happened, must have been commenced before the royal licence was obtained. In any case, the design, architectural detail and workmanship of the castle are all thoroughly English, and there seems to be no trace here of the foreign influence that may be recognized at Tattershall.[2] Diaper work, in paler brick, is found, slightly and irregularly, in the two gatehouse towers.

[1] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Henry VI, 1429-36, 539. [2] See my paper in *J.B.A.A.*, xl, 177-92.

While the castle, as a whole, is built of brick, the mouldings and dressed work are for the most part executed in stone—greensand, apparently from Eastbourne. It is an excellent material, giving great sharpness of detail, and it has weathered very well. All the towers show a pronounced entasis or batter, carried up throughout their height. A bold basal offset in stone runs round the whole building, and the parapets, on the main wall-heads and on all the towers save those of the gatehouse and postern, are carried forward on a continuous corbelling of stone. The merlons and embrasures, now a good deal restored, have stone moulded copes, not returned on the vertical faces.

The great gatehouse is one of the most magnificent pieces of quasi-military architecture in Britain. Its portal is a four-centred moulded arch, set beneath a deep and lofty recess, which is spanned by a similar arch and contains the two tall slots into which the gaffs of the drawbridge worked back, and between them a two-light, transomed window with a steeply plunged sole. Each of these lights has cinque-foiled tracery in its head. Behind the upper arch is a row of *meurtrieres* covering the entrance. At the level of the corbel table on the main wall-heads adjoining, the towers are developed, by separate corbels supporting a continuous corbel course, from a semi-octagonal into a cylindrical form. At a slightly higher level, the wall-face between them is carried forward on continuous corbelling, and contains two windows, each of two lights divided by a transom, but without foliation. These flank a heraldic achievement showing the coat of arms of Sir Roger Fienes, an allaund sejant holding a banner charged with bearings : azure, three lions rampant or. The carving of this panel, in greensand, is in high relief, and though now much mutilated, it has been superb in its vigour and mastery. Above this, the two towers and the wall between them are crowned with a boldly oversailing, machicolated parapet borne on large stone corbels of two rounded members, the arches which span the *machicoulis* being executed in brick. This machicolated parapet is returned on either flank of the gatehouse. Within it, there rises from each tower an inner cylinder, finished off with a battlemented parapet resting on continuous corbelling—these upper posts being reached by straight stairs carried on flying buttresses, and screened by stepped and gableted parapets. Both towers, and the lower tier of merlons, are pierced with crosslet loopholes, in which the lower limb has a spade-shaped and plunged termination. Underneath these, at ground level, are circular gunloops. The total height of the gatehouse is about 84 feet.

The postern tower in the north front exhibits a deep recess, continued up to near its summit, where it is spanned by three machicolations similar to those on the great gatehouse. Toothings on the narrow faces of the tower, at either side of the recess, are carried up as high as the corbel table of the main front, and indicate provision for some kind of exterior work or barbican. The postern gate has an elliptic arch, above which are slots for the drawbridge gaffs, and between these a plain projecting panel of brickwork. Over this, again, is a second elliptic arch, open behind in the manner of a *meurtrière*. The front part of the tower is embattled, and the merlons have crosslet loops like those on the main gatehouse.

The two towers flanking this front have round corbelled stair turrets rising from the main wall-heads. Similar turrets are placed in the east and west re-entrants respectively of the two southern corner towers.

Where they have not been altered, the larger windows in the building generally are of two lights, with mullion and transom ; the smaller ones are single, with or without a transom. The first tower on the east side, reckoning from the south, has had an Elizabethan bow window of nine lights, divided by two transoms, inserted in its upper storey. This window much resembles the great bows at Kirby Hall. The middle tower on this front contains in its upper floor the chapel windows, one on each face of the tower, each window consisting of two lights, divided by a transom, and having arched heads in both divisions. These windows have been restored after the original design. North of the chapel, the windows were re-organized by Lord Sussex, about the year 1670. They are of Renaissance style, and do not always correspond in position to the original windows, the built-up outlines of which are still traceable in the wall. Seventeenth century windows are also seen in the north end wall of this wing.

Internally, all that remains of the original fabric are the ground floor of the great gatehouse, and the inner or courtyard wall of the south range ; the corresponding wall of the north range, with a party wall near the east end, showing a portion of the well of a newel stair ; and the south wall of the chapel, in which is a plain square-headed piscina. Everything else was swept away in the great devastation of 1777. The gatehall has a quadripartite lierne vault in brick, but the crown of this is a modern reconstruction. The vault ribs die into the wall without corbels, and their springers, with all the wall ribs, were rendered with mortar. An unusual feature in this gatehall is the large fireplace. On the east side of the gatehall, but

opening from the courtyard, is a newel stair in brick. On the opposite side, and likewise opening from the courtyard, is a straight stair, also in brick.

The plan of the modern interior buildings has departed completely from the ancient lay-out, which is fortunately preserved for us in a series of drawings made by James Lambert before the demolition of 1777.[1] These give no indication of secondary work, but from the articulation of the plan, coupled with the character of the buildings shown in Lambert's perspective views, and in those of Mrs. Hare Naylor,[2] it seems that the fifteenth century arrangements had in the main been preserved right down to the end. It may be added that the arrangements shown on the plans are precisely detailed in the survey of 1570.[3] They are admirably summarized by Grose, who visited the castle before it was gutted :

> 'This castle encloses three courts, a large one and two small ones ; the entrance is on the south front, through the great gatehouse, which leads into a spacious court, cloistered round. On the north side is the hall, which is very large, and much resembling those of the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge that have not been modernized, the fireplace being in the middle of the room, and the butteries at the lower end. At the upper or eastern end of this hall lie three handsome rooms, one of them 40 feet long ; these lying one with another constitute the best apartment in the castle ; beyond them is the chapel, some parlours for common use, with rooms for the upper servants, composing the east front. The grand stairs, which lie beyond the hall, occupy an area of 40 feet square. The kitchen, which is beyond the staircase, to the west, is large, and, as well as the hall and chapel, goes up in height to the upper storey of the house. The offices belonging to it are very ample, and the oven in the bake-house is 14 feet diameter ; the left side of the south front beyond the great gatehouse is occupied by a long waste room like a gallery in old times, and seems as if intended for a stable, in case the castle was besieged and it was found necessary to bring the horses or other cattle into a place of security. Underneath the eastern corner tower in the same front is an octagonal room, which was formerly the prison ; in the midst is a stone post with a large chain, and in one of the corners of the room is a door into a privy.

[1] Reproduced by Venables, Crake and Tipping, *opp. cit.*

[2] Reproduced by Venables, *op. cit.*

[3] *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.*, 5679, fol. 266, printed by Venables, 78-81.

> Above stairs is a suite of rooms similar to that of the best apartment over which it stands. The chambers on this floor are sufficient to lodge a garrison, and one is bewildered in the different galleries that lead to them, in every one of the windows in which is painted on glass the alant or wolf dog, the ancient supporters of the family of Fynes; many private winding staircases, curiously constructed in brickwork, without any timber, communicate with these galleries.'

Upon analysis, the general scheme of the lay-out is seen to be as follows: residential rooms on the east and north; offices on the west; administrative rooms on the south. In principle, it is not dis-similar from the arrangements at Bodiam Castle, built half a century earlier in the same neighbourhood—though at Herstmonceux the plan is a far more complex one. The buildings are grouped round four courts—not three as stated by Grose—namely, the Green Court, Pump Court, Chicken Court, and Butler's Pantry Court. Of these, the north-eastern or Pantry Court was afterwards curtailed by the large square staircase introduced in Elizabethan times. No doubt this was why it was ignored by Grose. The two southern or frontal courts are much larger than the others, from which they are divided by a cross wing in which, or connected with which, the principal apartments are disposed. Although carried out on an unusually elaborate scale, the plan of these cross-wing buildings conforms in essence to normal medieval ideas. It has the hall in the centre, with screens and music gallery at the lower end, behind which are the kitchen and service rooms, while beyond the dais end of the hall are grouped the family living rooms and the chapel. Thus the arrangement of the main rooms, as often in English medieval houses, is an H-shaped one. The hall, which required more light than the other rooms, is placed between two courts, and so derives illumination from both. A similar arrangement is adopted at Haddon Hall,[1] where also the hall block lies athwart the house, between upper and lower courts—the upper court being reached through the screens, as the Pantry Court was at Herstmonceux, and having, as at Herstmonceux, a postern gate at the back. At Amberley Castle, also in Sussex,[2] the hall lies between two courtyards. The principal or Green Court at Herstmonceux with its surrounding buildings has a considerable resemblance

[1] See plan in *Medieval England*, ed. H. W. C. Davis, 65, fig. 62.

[2] Plan in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, lxii, 23.

to the plans of Compton Wynyates[1] and Oxburgh Hall.[2] But the closest parallel to the Herstmonceux plan is found at Eltham Palace,[3] where it is carried out on an even more elaborate scale. At Eltham the plan is not quite so symmetrical, one of the sides being canted. In this is the gatehouse, which admits to a large 'court of presence', like the Green Court at Herstmonceux, at the further end of which the great hall straddles the building, with the kitchen at the left or lower end and the principal living rooms—the 'royal apartments'—in the right hand range, in connexion with the upper or dais end of the hall. Behind the hall the offices are grouped round no fewer than four open courts, and there is a postern gatehouse, just as at Herstmonceux. The chief variation is in the chapel, which at Eltham is free-standing in the Great Court.

It is to be noted that the gatehouse at Herstmonceux preserves something of the self-contained character of the 'keep-gatehouse' of an Edwardian castle. On the ground floor, together with the long guard-house to the west of it—the room which Grose imagined was a stable—it was completely isolated from the apartments on either flank. In the same way, there is no *internal* communication between these ground floor rooms and the upper floors. The only access was by two stairs opening from the Green Court, and doubtless these will have been well secured by the usual drawbars and other defensive provision. On the first floor, the 'Drummer's Hall', though in the modern restoration doors have been struck through on either hand, was originally without these means of access. It was entered only from the Green Court gallery, and it lacked direct communication with the newel stair on the east side which supplied the only access to the upper floors of the gatehouse. The 'Drummer's Hall' was of course the room in which the drawbridge tackle was housed, and the special security afforded to it is easily understood. Far more than is the case at Bodiam, our Herstmonceux gatehouse therefore stands in the direct line of descent from the great 'keep-gatehouses' of the fourteenth century, of which those at Kidwelly and Dunstanburgh are perhaps the most remarkable examples.

Thus it appears that the internal arrangements of our castle, like its exterior features, are wholly English, and that neither in the one or the other can there be any question of a foreign designer.

The Herstmonceux plan is distinctly centred on the Green

[1] Plan in *Medieval England*, 75, fig. 67.

[2] Plan, *ibid.*, 71, fig. 65.

[3] For plans, see *R.C.H.M.*, *East London*, 106; Nathaniel Lloyd, *A History of the English House*, 194, fig. 94.

Court, about which the principal state rooms are grouped, with a claustral wall surrounding the court and galleries above the cloister arches. This plan seems to owe much to contemporary collegiate buildings, such as Eton or Queen's College, Cambridge. Indeed, Horace Walpole noted the resemblance between the Green Court and the Cloisters—likewise called the Green Court—at Eton.[1] Alike in plan and in elevation, this resemblance seems too close to be accidental. Both structures are carried out in brick. In both, the claustral arcade is formed of low-browed arches, while the closed gallery above is lit by two light windows : in the Fellows' Buildings and elsewhere at Eton, these windows are sometimes transomed like the windows at Herstmonceux. In both, the slender piers of the cloisters are carried up to the wall-head as narrow buttresses. A string course marks the first floor and another carries the parapet, above which on two sides at Eton a third storey has been added, while on a third side the upper portion was not completed until 1517-22 ; on the remaining side the buildings were replaced in the eighteenth century. But in Loggan's print, done about 1688, the original battlements are shown. At Herstmonceux, the wall-head as depicted in the old drawings has a flat coping ; but as the buttresses have no proper termination it is probable that this arrangement was the result of an alteration. At Eton there are battlemented tower-hke erections in all four corners of the cloisters ; and agreeably to this, we learn from the 1570 survey of Herstmonceux that the hall had ' a square tower at every end, embattled '.

The period which saw the building of Herstmonceux Castle was also that in which the fashion of building colleges in England reached its climax. At Oxford, Lincoln (1427), St. John's (1436) and All Souls' (1437) were founded during the reign of Henry VI ; at Cambridge, there were Magdalene College (1428), King's College (1441), Queen's College (1448) and Catherine Hall. And it was during this reign that the closed quadrangular plan, first adopted by William of Wykeham at New College, Oxford, in the closing years of the previous century, now became universal and standardized. Willis and Clark, in their masterly study of the collegiate plan,[2] have demonstrated that there are Cambridge and Oxford variants upon the general theme. At Cambridge the entrance is, as a rule, not in the centre of one side of the quadrangle, and the gatehouse has multangular towers, a feature unknown at Oxford ; the hall

[1] *Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Mrs. Paget Toynbee, III, 114-6.

[2] R. Willis and J. W. Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, III, pt. iii.

is on the side opposite the entrance; the buttery beside the hall looks out from a corner of the quadrangle; and the kitchen beyond is wholly hidden. All these features are exhibited in the Green Court at Herstmonceux. Clearly, if the collegiate plan has influenced its design, the influence has come from Cambridge rather than from Oxford. Eton College, to which the Green Court exhibits the closest resemblance, was closely associated with its royal founder's other college, King's at Cambridge. Willis and Clark have shown that the collegiate plan is not derived, in any intimate sense, from the monastic *clausura*, but is the outcome of a quite gradual process of rationalization applied to the design of larger manor-houses in the later Middle Ages. This is well illustrated by Haddon Hall, the plan of which, as we have seen, exhibits a considerable correspondence to that of Herstmonceux. But the rigid rectangularity adopted at Herstmonceux is unquestionably due to collegiate influence, and I have no doubt whatever that the architect of Herstmonceux, at all events the man responsible for designing its Green Court and associated buildings, was thoroughly versed in the collegiate plan, and in particular that he had an intimate acquaintance with Eton.

Who was this architect? We do not know; but I think it is possible to make a shrewd guess.

In the Calendar of Patent Rolls, under date 4th July, 1442, there is a writ of appointment to William Veysey, 'brikemaker', to take masons and layers (*positores*) called 'brikeleggers' for the works at Eton College at the King's wages, and to commit to prison all contrary therein.[1] Conformably to this writ, the Eton building accounts contain the two following entries:[2]

> 23 April, 1442. 'William Wesey vppon making of a breke kylne be the handes of Will. Lynde in to y^e^ xxviii day of April . . . xxviij*s* iiij*d*.'
>
> 4 February, 1443. 'William Vesy in ful paiement for making of the brike kilne and C M^l^ of brike at x^d^ the m^l^ laying, by commaundment of the Erle of Suffolk. . . xxv*s*.'

Again, on 10th October, 1437, William Veysey, 'brikemaker,' king's serjeant, is given authority, in order to speed the work on the King's manors at Sheen and elsewhere, to search for earth suitable for making the tiles (*tegulas*) called 'brike', and arrange with the landowner to dig such earth and make such tiles; also to take sufficient carriage for the same and the requisite labourers, iron, timber, roofing tiles, lead, stone,

[1] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Hen. VI, 1441-6, 93. [2] Willis and Clark, *ut. supra*, i, 385.

laths, lime, coal, firewood, and all other necessaries for making such ' brike ' and carrying on the said work. This commission was renewed, in the same terms, on 12th January, 1445.[1] William Veysey was a man of prominence in his profession, and of varied interests. He was M.P. for Lyne in 1449 and for Wareham in 1449-50, and in 1453-4 was a bailiff of the water of Thames. In 1448 he founded a chantry in St. Stephen's Church, Coleman Street.[2] In 1440, along with Richard Lounde, he was appointed surveyor of all breweries within the realm of England ; and he was also given, by royal decree in 1445, a weekly wage of 6d. from the subsidy and ulnage on woollens sold in London and the suburbs thereof, and from a moiety of the forfeiture of the same, and of £10 yearly besides from the same.[3] Although he is described as a brickmaker, it is clear from the terms of the commissions granted to him in 1435 and 1437 that he was in full executive charge of important royal building works—just as I believe Baldwin Brickmaker or Brickmason, *alias* Baldwin Dutchman, was similarly in charge of Lord Cromwell's works at Tattershall. The resemblance between the Green Court at Herstmonceux and the Cloisters at Eton, which the building accounts show were in progress while Vesey was in charge,[4] incline me to suspect that he was responsible for this part at least of the operations at Herstmonceux. As Treasurer of the Household to Henry VI Sir Roger Fienes would have much to do with providing the financial wherewithal for the building of Eton, and thus can hardly have failed to come into contact with Vesey.

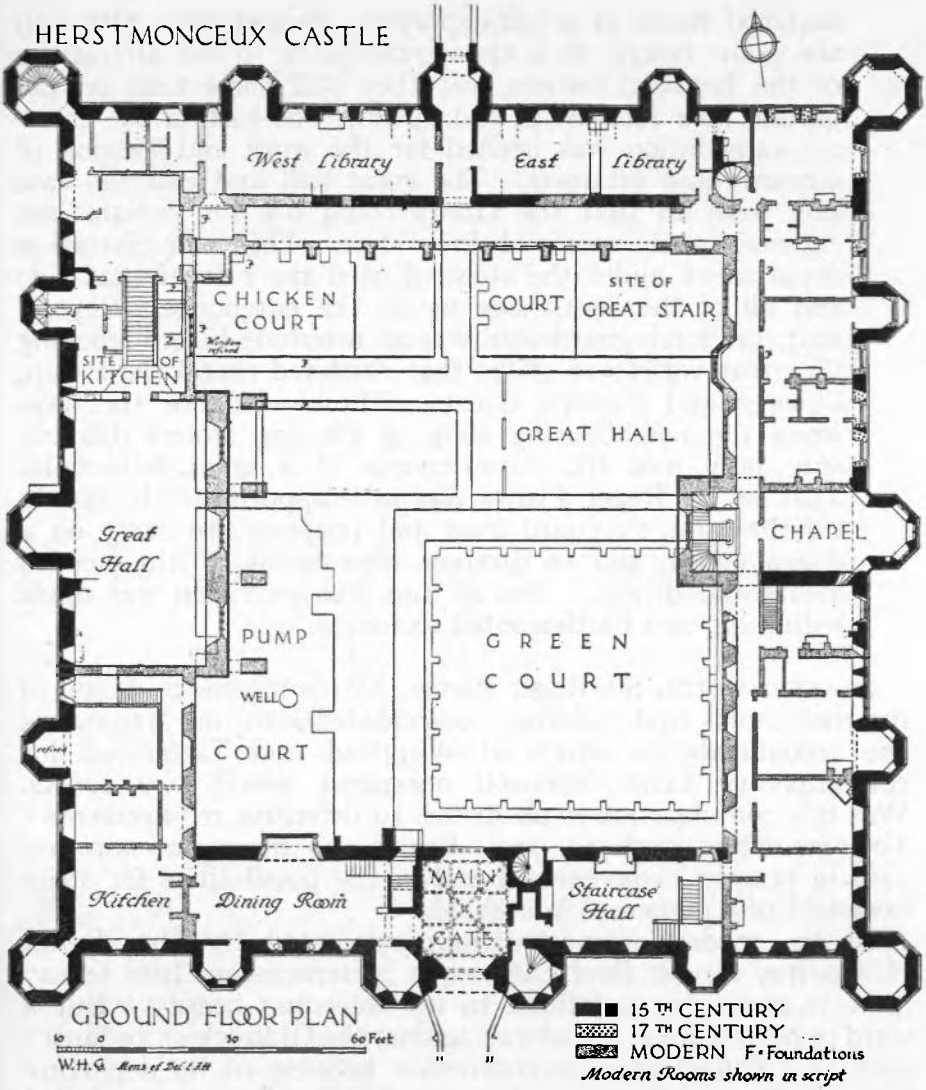
Viewing the plan of the castle as a whole, what impresses one most is the extraordinary skill with which all the miscellaneous buildings necessary for carrying on the life and daily routine of a great medieval household have been accommodated within the rigid rectangular framework of its vast cincture of walls and towers. The four courts and the different suites of public rooms, private rooms, and offices that centre in them, with their corresponding corridors, are all tied together, in the most skilful manner, by the Green Gallery and the White Gallery, as the two long corridors on the east and north sides were called. Normally, in a large mansion of the fifteenth century, the buildings are grouped round two courts, the living

[1] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Hen. VI, 1436-41, 145 ; *ibid.*, 1441-6, 365.

[2] For these and other particulars about Veysey, see *History of Parliament : Biographies of the Members of the Commons House*, 1439-1509, by J. C. Wedgwood, 909.

[3] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Hen. VI, 1436-41, 495 ; *ibid.*, 1441-6, 184-5, 365 ; *Cal. Close Rolls*, Hen. VI, 1441-7, 260 ; *Cal. Charter Rolls*, VI, 43.

[4] Work on ' the quadrant of the College ' was in progress in March 1443—Willis and Clark, *op. cit.*, I, 389, Note I. The quadrangle was all but completed by the end of 1448—*ibid.*, 402 ; cf. 433.



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apartments in an upper court, while the offices and out buildings, more or less loosely articulated, were relegated to a basecourt. This may be seen at Amberley, at Haddon Hall, and at Wingfield Manor[1]—the latter a building contemporary with Herstmonceux. In this connexion, Mr. H. Avray Tipping has the following apt remarks :[2]

'Another noticeable point at Herstmonceux is the very large space that had to be given in such a dwelling to the

[1] Plan in A. Hamilton Thompson, *Military Architecture in England during the Middle Ages*, 346.

[2] *op. cit.*, 294-5.

material needs of a self-supporting household. Although the plans belong to a time subsequent to the alterations of the Lennard owners, yet they still show that on the ground floor four-fifths, and upstairs one-half, of the entire accommodation was needed for the work and lodging of servants and retainers. The great hall and half the east side were all that the family could use for private and entertainment rooms below stair. The administration department under the steward used the rest of that side and all of the south side up to the gatehouse. Beyond that, the large guardroom was an interlude before reaching the great variety of offices that clustered round the Pump, Chicken and Butler's Courts. Those were not the days when the neighbouring shop or the big store's delivery van daily met the requirements of a great household. That of Sir Roger Fienes was self-supporting. It had to till the land, to guard lives and property, to carry on a dozen crafts, and to produce nine-tenths of the needed meats and drinks. For all this due provision was made within his vast battlemented rectangle.'

In other words, Sir Roger Fienes, by his ingenious design of internal courts and galleries, consolidated into one framework the accommodation which at Wingfield and Tattershall his contemporary Lord Cromwell organized round two courts. Was this consolidation in obedience to defensive requirements ? To some extent, perhaps, yes. But it also meant an enormous gain in practical convenience and in the possibihties for strict oversight of a numerous household.

Of the modern reconstruction, completed by Mr. Walter H. Godfrey for Sir Paul Latham, it is unnecessary here to say more than to pay a tribute to its exceeding beauty. But a word of protest must be entered against the Oldbuckish pedantry that has blamed this reconstruction because of its departure from the lines of the original lay-out.[1] That lay-out was killed in 1777. It is dead beyond redemption. In any case, it would have been utterly unsuited for present day requirements. Medieval reconstructors never hesitated to scrap or recast buildings wherever and exactly as they pleased. Surely a modern *Bauherr* and his architect, inheriting as they did a *tabula rasa* within their outer walls, are not to be deprived of the like discretion.

[1] Tipping, *op. cit.*, 282, 302. Sir Paul Latham's interior buildings are no 'perversion of history', and it is unjust so to describe them. They are something new, and must be judged on their own merits.