

WARKWORTH CASTLE.

Photo. Aerofilms Ltd.

IV.—WARKWORTH: A CASTLE OF LIVERY AND MAINTENANCE.

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One of the most interesting features in the later English castles is the tendency, found in a number of cases in the fifteenth century, to build a massive rectangular tower, either as an addition to an older edifice or as an element in its re-organization. The classic example, and (in all probability) the archetype, is Lord Cromwell's great brick tower at Tattershall. Sometimes, as at Wingfield Manor, also built by Cromwell, such a tower is found as an integral portion, conceived *ab initio*, of an entirely new castle. These late tower-houses are surprising things, and their meaning has given rise to much discussion. It has been usual to regard them as the product of a kind of architectural atavism—a deliberate return to the rectangular Norman keeps of the twelfth century. But such conscious antiquarianism would be entirely foreign to the spirit of the Middle Ages: and I have elsewhere shown that, so far from being an effort to imitate the obsolete forms of a by-gone era, these strong tower-houses of the fifteenth century were in fact the most up-to-date thing which the development of feudalism in its latest phase evolved in the realm of domestic architecture. Properly considered, these tower-houses are nothing but a highly specialized form of solar, providing separate accommodation for the lord, his family, and their personal retinue—underlining his isolation and emphasizing his baronial magnificence. As such,

they are typically found as adjuncts to the older and ordinary domestic accommodation of kitchen, hall, and great chamber. This is well seen at Tattershall and at Buckden, two examples whose significance I have analysed.¹

Among these late tower-houses, that at Warkworth appears to stand in a class by itself. So far as England is concerned, it seems to be *sui generis*. Its special character consists in the fact that it does not form a solar annexe to a hall building, but stands quite apart from the older domestic lay-out in the castle. Within its own compass it provides kitchen and offices, hall, great chamber, solar, chapel, bedrooms, and all the accommodation required in a baronial residence of the first rank. Unlike such a tower as Tattershall, it forms a complete isolated fortified house in itself—a castle within the castle of which it forms a part. This character it shares with a few other English tower-houses, such as those at Dudley and Ashby de la Zouch; but in respect of its plan the Warkworth tower-house stands alone.

In the later medieval period, a great lord who wished to re-organize his capital messuage on up-to-date lines, and to provide therein an *ensemble* which should adequately portray his own magnificence, would not rest content with fashioning anew his castle along the lines which I have indicated. The connexion between parish church and castle, as the ecclesiastical and civil *nuclei* respectively of the early manorial organization, is deeply rooted in the very beginnings of feudalism. Its traces are found, again and again, in the presence of a medieval parish church hard by the earthwork remains of an early Norman castle. But in this ancient association the castle had long outstripped its ecclesiastical neighbour. While the baronage in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were incessantly re-modelling their residences and adding to their grandeur, their generosity towards Holy Church took the form rather

¹ Tattershall, in *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, June, 1935, pp. 177-92; Buckden, *ibid.* (forthcoming).

of endowing monasteries or subscribing towards the rebuilding or enlargement of cathedrals. To those great central institutions the parochial revenues were all too frequently improPRIATED by the pious benevolence of the lay patron. Thus the parish churches as a whole tended to become neglected, and nothing can be more striking than the contrast, so often noted, between the splendour of the baronial castle and the humble appearance of the parochial place of worship that adjoins it.² Most of the major parish churches of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries owe their distinction to the commercial classes who were now rising into prominence, and who in the building and endowment of such churches found an outward and visible expression of their piety, their local patriotism, their loyalty to guild or craft, their sturdy independence of character, and their pride of wealth and growing sense of consequence in the political and social scene. Of this phenomenon the great Perpendicular churches in East Anglia, built by the wool merchants who had made their fortunes in Flanders, are the best known instances.

But in the last century of the Middle Ages the baron steps in again to redress the balance and restore his credit as a patron of local church building. No longer does he figure as a benefactor of monasteries or cathedrals. There are more than enough of these lazy monks already, he thinks, and those proud prelates have waxed over rich by the mistimed generosity of his ancestors. Instead, our baron now finds an outlet for his piety in the new fashion of founding a collegiate church, served by a master or provost and chaplains, in the immediate neighbourhood of his castle. Such a corporation, by its very proximity, was more intimately bound to pray for the founder's soul and family than the monks in their distant monastery or the chantry priests in the cathedral. Thus the connexion between these new collegiate foundations and the manorial

² At Warkworth, where the Norman parish church is of unusual size and merit, there were special reasons. See *N.C.H.* v, pp. 172-3.

centre was a very close one. It has been well set forth by Professor Hamilton Thompson in his account of Tattershall:³

“The establishment of such bodies of priests in the neighbourhood of their principal residences was a common habit of the great noblemen of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, just as their predecessors had founded monasteries, and Edward III’s colleges of St. George at Windsor and St. Stephen at Westminster gave a lasting vogue to the practice. It is noteworthy that in 1434 the rebuilding of the church of Fotheringhay had been begun for the services of the college founded and maintained close to their castle by the Dukes of York, and that in 1440 Henry VI was engaged in the foundation of his college at Eton, close to Windsor Castle, and its sister college at Cambridge. Just so, Cromwell, while converting Tattershall Castle into a Windsor of his own, prepared to establish at its doors a corporation of clergymen, whose first duty should be to celebrate mass daily for the benefit of his soul and those of his relations and ancestors, and for other purposes indicated by him.”

When such a collegiate foundation was being established, if a parish church adjoined the castle it would be made available, and enlarged or rebuilt to serve the new purpose, a claustral building being provided for the priests, either attached to the church or in its immediate neighbourhood. This was done by Edward Duke of York at Fotheringhay, and by Lord Cromwell at Tattershall: and in Scotland, about the same time, by the Earl of Douglas at Bothwell. More often a new church, entirely non-parochial in status, was provided on a fresh site, as in the Scottish cases of Sir Walter Halyburton’s college at Dirleton or Lord Sinclair’s more famous one at Roslin. And in one or two notable instances, the collegiate church was erected within the actual castle walls of its founder. The grandest example of this, of course, is St. George’s Chapel at Windsor. Another instance is at Hastings, where the remains of the collegiate church and its associated buildings form a considerable feature in the outer ward. So also at Bridgenorth, the college chapel, now replaced by a modern build-

³ *Tattershall: the Manor, the Castle, the Church*, p. 27.

ing, stood immediately beside the castle keep. At Leicester Castle a similar arrangement is found. And at Caistor, where the renowned Sir John Fastolf built his splendid brick castle early in the fifteenth century, he planned to endow a collegiate establishment as part of his seignorial *ensemble*. His college was never legally founded, and afforded to the good knight's executors ample opportunity for costly litigation: but before his death the buildings seem to have been erected in the outer ward of the castle. We shall see that the same thing appears to have taken place at Warkworth, where we have one of the most striking examples of a collegiate foundation within the precinct of the patron's castle.

From what has been said it is clear that the castle of Warkworth, with its mighty tower-house and the large cruciform collegiate church within its curtain walls, is a building of very high importance, as embodying late medieval conceptions of a manorial lay-out. But Warkworth has many other points of interest besides this. With very good reason Professor Hamilton Thompson has summed it up as "the most instructive of English castles."⁴

THE NORMAN CASTLE.

The castle began, in the twelfth century, as a mount-and-bailey. Its site is a remarkable one, in a great loop of the Coquet, which—here flowing betwixt steep wooded banks—encloses the area on the west, north and east. On such a *terrain* the natural thing would be to place the castle in the extreme angle of the promontory; but at Warkworth it is the town that occupies this ground, and the castle lies in front of it, in the open throat of the loop, facing out to what in olden days was the moorland country southward. Partly this will be due to the fact that the castle site is the highest ground, from which the area occupied by the little

⁴ *Military Architecture in England during the Middle Ages*, p. 48.

borough falls away northward until it becomes a haugh by the riverside. Down this slope the single long, straggling street leads from the castle to the ancient bridge over the Coquet. As the castle fronts south, where its great gate-house faces the demesne and the open country beyond, its back is presented to the town, with which there was no direct communication, other than by a small postern in the tower-house and by the kitchen side-gate in the north-west curtain. The whole disposition is curious. Even allowing for the wish to build the castle *motte* on the highest ground, it would have been more natural to extend the bailey northward into the angle of the Coquet, leaving the town to grow up on the south side. Probably the explanation is that there was already a township of sorts in the Coquet loop before the castle was founded. The *villa Werceworth* is on record as far back as the time of King Osbert (848-67); and a century earlier, when Ceolwulf in 737 abdicated from the Northumbrian throne, he made over to the Abbey of Lindisfarne the lands of Werceworde "and the church which he had erected there."⁵ What were believed to be the foundations of a pre-Norman church have been laid bare under the floor of the present building, and at least one Anglian cross-slab was recovered from the site. It is therefore quite certain that the area of the borough had been settled long before the planting of the Norman castle.

The mount-and-bailey lay-out conforms to normal fashion, the bailey having the shovel-shaped outline so commonly found in England. Evidently the *motte* is in substance mostly natural, else it could hardly have stood the weight of the ponderous stone tower-house later imposed upon it. But in Norman times it may have had an artificial top, removed when the tower-house was built: this seems likely from the way in which the postern gate of the earlier shell, now embodied in the tower-house, has

⁵ For these and all other historical particulars about Warkworth, given in the present paper, reference may be made to the account by Mr. C. J. Bates in the fifth volume of the *History of Northumberland*. I am also much indebted to the *Official Guide*.

slipped and warped. We get a clear though brief description of the castle in its earliest form, on the occasion of its capture by the Scots in 1173, when it was described as " feeble in wall and earthwork " :

*" Vient à Werkewde, n'i deignent arester;
Kar le chastel iert fieble, le mur et le terrier."*⁶

The word *mur* does not necessarily imply a stone curtain, but may indicate a wall of wattle-and-daub, posts interlaced with brushwood and loaded on both sides with clay. Walls of this nature are depicted on the *mottes* in the Bayeux tapestry, and there is plenty of documentary evidence of their use throughout the Middle Ages.⁷ Masonry indications, however, suggest that already by this time a beginning had been made with the work of enclosing the bailey by a stone curtain. A length of wall, apparently of mid-twelfth century date, still remains on the east side;⁸ while on the west a two-storeyed stone hall, its back wall forming the curtain, had already made its appearance. It is therefore perfectly possible that "*le mur et le terrier*" may be a strictly correct description of the defences at this time, partly in stone and partly in timbered earthwork.

THE FIRST STONE BUILDINGS.

During the thirteenth century the early defences of the bailey were replaced—apparently in one sustained and powerful effort of building—by a massive, ashlar-faced curtain, fully equipped with flanking defence. Midway in the short southern front is the gatehouse. On the east side the line of the curtain wall is withdrawn considerably from

⁶ *N.C.H.* v, 23, n. 1.

⁷ See W. Mackay Mackenzie on *Clay Castle-building in Scotland* in *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, LXVIII, pp. 117-27.

⁸ I am not certain whether there may not even be some eleventh-century masonry in the lower part of this wall, just south of the Grey Mare's Tail.

the lip of the earthwork bailey. It is probable that, at the same time as the bailey was thus walled in, a stone shell replaced the timber or wattle breastwork on the *motte*, as appears from the deformed thirteenth-century postern, already alluded to, which survives on the west side of the tower-house.

Soon after these outer defences had been completed, a domestic range, conceived on a great scale, was built against the west curtain, extending from the tower Carrickfergus northward through some two-thirds of its length. The guiding principle in such a lay-out is that the hall lies between the culinary and service accommodation and the solar or private apartments. The latter open off the upper or dais end of the hall, while the former are connected with the screens, or lower end of the hall—so called because it was screened off to form a kind of servery, in which dishes might be filled from the kitchen. All these characteristic arrangements are fully developed at Warkworth. The hall, which embodies the remnant of its Norman predecessor, occupies the usual middle position. At its lower end are the buttery, pantry, and larder, and behind them the kitchen. At the upper end of the hall are the solar apartments and private rooms adjoining in Carrickfergus tower. The chapel lies along the south curtain between Carrickfergus and the gatehouse. A more or less correct orientation is thereby secured.

The side-gate in the north-west curtain, to which reference has already been made, is pierced in a lofty tower not projecting from the wall face. It is conveniently placed for serving the kitchen from the town. There is a similar arrangement at Kildrummy Castle in Aberdeenshire. In both cases the side-gate is fully covered—at Warkworth from the *motte*, at Kildrummy by an angle-tower. The fact that this kitchen side-gate is provided in the curtain, as well as the way in which the rooms in Carrickfergus form part of the solar chambers, clearly show that the domestic range was envisaged when the curtain was built.

On architectural grounds, this domestic range must date quite early in the thirteenth century. It is one of the first and most fully developed examples of its kind in the country. In every detail of its arrangements—above all, in its clever articulation—it betrays a consummate grasp of planning, and clearly must be the work of a *maître mason de franche peer* of the highest competence. Indeed the whole scheme of the bailey, as reconstructed in stone and lime, is one of the foremost specimens of medieval military and domestic architecture left to us. Very likely the work had been completed by 1249, in which year Matthew Paris refers to Warkworth as *nobile castrum*⁹—language that in the thirteenth century was hardly applicable to a timbered earthwork. In 1297 reference occurs to “the great chamber and an adjoining closet,” probably in the Carrickfergus tower.¹⁰

Along the eastern sector of the south curtain were various offices, and in the fifteenth century a large stable-house was set with its back against the east curtain.

With the exception of additions such as we have mentioned, and of subsequent repairs, the whole of this great exploitation of the bailey seems to be the work of the Claverings, who held the barony of Warkworth from about 1156 till their line failed in 1332. Thereafter Edward III granted it to Sir Henry Percy, as part payment for the expenses which he had incurred in defending the eastern march against the Scots. As the Percies found it, the castle was the product of what we may describe as a process of aggrandizement of the bailey as against the *motte*. Whatever works may have crowned the latter in the fourteenth century, it is clear that the whole emphasis of the castle was now concentrated on the well-defended bailey with its elaborate and beautiful domestic buildings. In the daily life of the place at this time, the *motte* will have counted for little. But with the coming

⁹ *Hist. Anglorum*, Rolls ed., vol. III, p. 67.

¹⁰ *N.C.H.* v, 28.

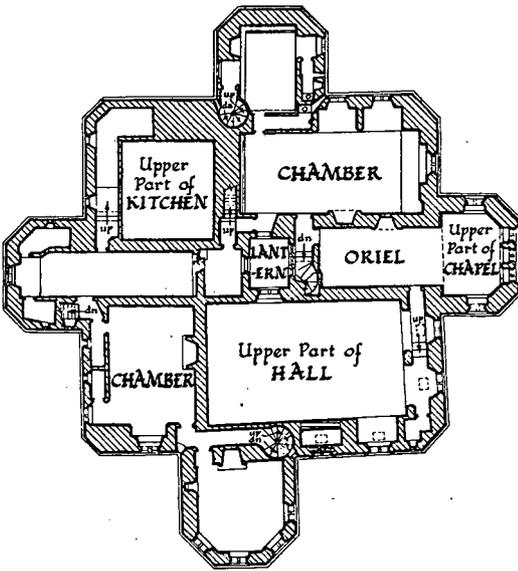
of the Percies the stress was shifted back from the bailey to the *motte*, and the latter was crowned by the imposing tower-house which is the glory of Warkworth. Containing within its own walls a complete suite of public and private apartments, this astonishing structure must at once have superseded the domestic range in the bailey, which no doubt was henceforth intended to be abandoned to retainers and dependants.

THE TOWER-HOUSE.

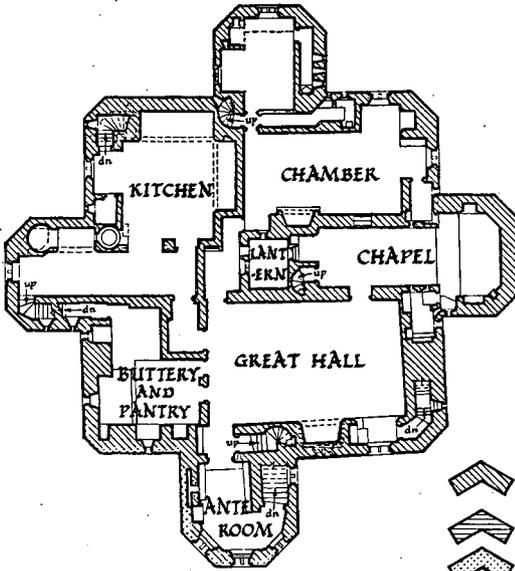
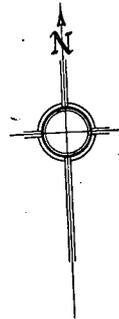
It is most unfortunate that no record has survived of the building of so notable a structure as this tower-house. But the architectural detail is decided, if early, Perpendicular, and the late Cadwallader J. Bates, whose knowledge of Warkworth was intimate and profound, considered that the tower-house was, in all probability, the work of the first Earl of Northumberland, 1377-1404. This view is borne out by the circumstance that the great sculptured lion of the Percies on its north front is not quartered with the Lucy arms, a fact which shows it to be not later than about 1390.

Whatever its precise date, the tower-house has no known parallel. Its shape is an extraordinary one. It may be regarded as a square with canted angles, from the middle of each side of which projects a small square, also having its angles canted. Old writers usually refer to it as the *donjon*—"a marvellus proper dongeon," so a royal commission of inspection describes it in 1538.¹¹ In medieval parlance the word *donjon* was applied, more or less loosely, to any large tower, occasionally to more than one tower in the same castle, in older times even to the

¹¹ The name seems first to be on record at Warkworth in 1472-4, when the maintenance accounts contain an item "*pro purgacione . . . magne aule et le dongeon*," *N.C.H.* v, 50, n. 1. In 1618 it is called the "heigh castell or doungeon," in contrast to the "lower howses"—*ibid.*, p. 72.

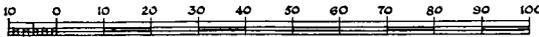


SECOND FLOOR PLAN



FIRST FLOOR PLAN

-  Late 14th and Early 15th Century
-  16th Century
-  Modern



Scale of feet

FIG. I.

earthen *motte* upon which a timber tower was raised. Warkworth donjon contains three storeys, and is entered on the ground floor level from the bailey by an open flight of steps up the side of the *motte*: the portal was defended by a portcullis and an internal pitfall. Behind this pit there is a postern, and another postern—the older remnant alluded to above—opens outside the bailey. The internal arrangement of the tower-house is grouped round a central lantern which rises through its entire height, supplying borrowed light to the inner rooms and passages, and also providing for roof drainage—the rain-water being stored in a large stone tank in the basement, from which by a system of conduits the garderobe shafts were flushed. In the basement are vaulted cellars and a prison, with an inner cell, as well as a “pit” below. On the first floor are the hall, kitchen, chapel and great chamber. The hall, the kitchen and the chapel all rise through two storeys, while over the great chamber is a withdrawing room or parlour. In the nave of the chapel there was an oriole or gallery. The donjon had a flat embattled roof, with a high square watch turret rising in the centre. So bald an outline of the accommodation in the tower-house will give little idea of the intricate ingenuity of its design, which can be properly understood only after a prolonged study of a complete series of measured drawings. One of its cleverest features is the way in which the different stairs are contrived so as to serve each limb of the building. Throughout, the masonry is of the finest ashlar, and the decorative detail is at once vigorous and restrained. The walls are based upon a bold and well-profiled plinth, which lends immense character to the edifice. On the face towards the borough the Percy lion is sculptured, on a large scale and in high relief.

In our endeavour to understand the *rationale* of this extraordinary structure, we must not allow ourselves to be side-tracked by its bizarre outline. If we neglect this for the meantime, and concentrate upon the accommodation

which the tower-house contains, we see that it forms a complete residence in itself, independent wholly of the domestic buildings in the bailey. In the words of Clarkson's survey, made in 1567, it contains "aswell a fare hall kytching and all other houses of offices verie fare and aptly placed, as also great chambre chapell and lodgings for the lorde and his treyne."¹² It is thus intrinsically a different thing from a tower-house like that at Tattershall, which does not offer such complete or self-contained accommodation, but merely provides solar apartments attached to a domestic range with hall, kitchen and chapel in the usual way. Thus when Professor Hamilton Thompson writes that "at Tattershall, as at Warkworth, the strong tower is identical with the residence itself,"¹³ he is comparing two things that are basically unlike. What he says is true enough of Warkworth, but wholly wrong as to Tattershall. It is only when we realize that this tower-house at Warkworth forms a seignorial residence complete in itself, irrespective entirely of the castle into which it is interpolated, that we shall begin to understand its significance and its affinities.

Once this fact is grasped, both affinities and significance are not so far to seek. If we look across the water to France, we shall see that from about the end of the fourteenth century the fashion had come about, in larger castles, to set aside a whole self-contained structure, styled (just as at Warkworth) the donjon, as the dwelling of the lord and his family and their personal household. Thus at the Château de Pierrefonds, erected by the Duc d'Orleans about 1390-1400, we find that what is called the donjon forms a great composite mass of building, containing in itself all the accommodation required in a seignorial residence of the first rank. As Viollet-le-duc writes in his account of Pierrefonds :¹⁴

¹² *N.C.H.* v, 62.

¹³ *Military Architecture*, p. 356.

¹⁴ *Description du Château de Pierrefonds*, 4th ed., p. 15; *Dictionnaire de l'architecture*, vol. III, p. 153.

“ *Le donjon du château peut être complètement isolé des autres défenses . . . Le donjon était l’habitation spécialement réservée au seigneur et comprenant tous les services nécessaires: caves, cuisines, offices, chambres, garde-robes, salons et salles de réception.*”

The reasons for this development are inherent in the new conditions that governed feudal warfare in the later Middle Ages. In older times a baron would maintain his quarrels and defend his castle with his own vassals, dwelling around him. All that he required, therefore, was a towered curtain wall to fence his house. In time of siege, the tenants whom he called up for garrison purposes would be lodged in the towers. Often, under the system of tenure by castle-guard, each important vassal might have a special tower to look after, and in some cases these towers still bear the vassals’ names. But in the later Middle Ages the attack and defence of fortified places had become a high art, for which the tumultuary feudal levies, ill-equipped and untrained, were little fitted. Field warfare also had grown into a specialized science, and campaigns were now pushed through ruthlessly until one side or another was broken : so that the feudal levies, bound only to serve for short periods at a time, were no longer suitable. More and more, therefore, particularly in France during the breakdown of social order that accompanied the Hundred Years War, the great barons in their incessant private feuds with each other came to rely upon mercenary soldiers whom they held in their pay. Quarters for these professionals had to be available, and this meant standing garrisons in each castle. Whereas in the old days the castle, in time of peace, would contain only the lord’s *familia* or household, it must now provide accommodation for a compact body of mercenary troops. The neighbourhood of these hard-boiled *lanzknechts* would always be inconvenient and often dangerous, as they did not owe the natural allegiance of vassals and were liable at all times to be tampered with by their employer’s enemies. Hence, for reasons both of privacy and safety, the great French lords of the fourteenth

and fifteenth centuries took care to provide their castles with a self-contained residence for their families and their personal retinue.

In England a similar development came about in the closing stage of feudalism, before the Wars of the Roses put an end, once for all, to the maintenance of private armies by the baronage. Every student of this period knows how serious an evil the armed retainers of the powerful lords had become, and how energetically the Tudor monarchs grappled with it in their statutes against "livery" and "maintenance." The mischief had already begun in the latter part of the fourteenth century, and the first act passed against "livery" and "maintenance" dates from 1390. In the overseas wars the English barons had only too aptly learned their lesson from their French antagonists. Instead of vassals they now surrounded themselves with armed retainers, each wearing his lord's livery and bound to fight for him in all his quarrels; while the lord on his part pledged himself to "maintain" them against all legal consequences of their actions, either by suborning or bullying juries, or by still more violent measures. Matters drifted from bad to worse after the English were turned out of France, and large numbers of unemployed ex-service men, habituated to violence, were only too glad to accept the livery of a powerful lord. "Great landowners, who had crowds of armed retainers in their service, bribed and bullied juries till the administration of the law became a farce, and on the rare occasions when this course failed, they knew how to vindicate their claims by maiming or assassinating their opponents, or by laying siege to houses the possession of which they coveted."¹⁵

Of such conditions—"this revival of anarchy in a civilized society"¹⁶—the donjon at Warkworth is a product, and it is identical in principle and function, though

¹⁵ S. R. Gardiner, *Introduction to English History*, p. 98.

¹⁶ G. M. Trevelyan, *Hist. of England*, p. 259.

not in scale nor in outward form, with the donjon at Pierrefonds. The words in which Viollet-le-duc sums up the characteristics of the French masterpiece will apply completely to its counterpart at Warkworth:

“Le donjon de ce château contient les logis du seigneur, non plus renfermés dans une tour cylindrique ou carrée, mais distribués de manière à présenter une demeure vaste, commode, pourvue des accessoires exigés par une existence élégante et recherchée, en même temps qu’elle est une défense puissante parfaitement entendue, impossible à attaquer autrement que par des batteries de siège.”

And, in a detailed analysis of the “programme rempli par l’architecte,” he enumerates:

*“vastes magasins . . . logis d’habitation se défendant lui-même . . . belles salles bien disposées, bien orientées, bien éclairées; appartements privés avec cabinets, dégagements et escaliers particuliers pour le service.”*¹⁷

All this might equally well have been penned as a description of our donjon at Warkworth.

Such, then, is the meaning of this most noble edifice. It is no intelligent reversion to an obsolete idea, nor are we right in explaining it away as “the finest tribute paid to the memory of the ancient keeps.”¹⁸ There is nothing pious about it. On the contrary, for the special needs of its time it is the most up-to-date and apposite thing that its builder could have devised.

The great rectangular tower which Lord Hastings added to his castle at Ashby de la Zouch is another building exactly the same in principle. Here also the tower-house contains complete accommodation, including a kitchen, and is therefore quite different from such a tower as Tattershall. Comparisons between the two buildings, such as Sir Charles Peers has attempted to draw, miss the essential difference between them; nor is there anything in Ashby which is rightly “comparable to the purely military

¹⁷ *Dictionnaire*, vol. v, pp. 55, 89-90; *Description*, pp. 27-8.

¹⁸ H. Braun, *The English Castle*, p. 56.

buildings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.”¹⁹ Both Ashby and Warkworth, like Pierrefonds, are the response of contemporary architecture to the newest problems of its time—those created by the final phase of feudalism resting its power no longer upon vassal levies but upon trained mercenary retainers.²⁰

So far as I am aware, the earliest example in England of what may be called the Warkworth idea is at Dudley Castle.²¹ Here we have a *motte* and bailey lay-out, very similar to Warkworth, in which, just as at Warkworth, a well articulated suite of domestic buildings was extended along one side of a stone-walled bailey, while the *motte* apparently fell into disuse. But early in the fourteenth century the emphasis was again, in the same way as at Warkworth, swung back on to the *motte*, upon which a strong tower-house, oblong on plan with a half-round at each corner, was erected so as to form a complete self-contained residence for the lord. “The whole arrangement of this keep,” writes Mr. Brakespear, “was of a small manor house: the hall on the first floor with two chambers at the west end, the screens at the east end with the pantry and buttery in the eastern drums, and a serving stair to the ground floor which was probably used for kitchen and servants’ quarters.”

¹⁹ *Kirby Muxloe Castle* (Official Guide), p. 7.

²⁰ A parallel development, *mutatis mutandis*, is found in the castles erected by the Teutonic Order of Knights in Old Prussia. Here the earlier castles formed the headquarters of small bodies of knights living a common life under monastic vows; they are therefore designed upon strictly claustral lines. By the end of the fourteenth century this organization was breaking down, and the Order saw itself obliged to maintain its power by relying more and more upon mercenary troops and adventurer knights whom love of fame drew to Prussia from all quarters of Europe. The castles built during this period are accordingly no longer fortified cloisters but are barracks designed to house detachments of professional soldiers—*lanzknechts* whose bond of cohesion was not the monastic vow but the personal allegiance due to their captain and paymaster. Such castles were no longer under the command of a *komtur* or head of a convent, but of a *pfleger* or governor, who, of course, would still be nominally a Knight of the Order. For him a special isolated residence in the castle was provided.

²¹ See Mr. Harold Brakespear's paper in *Arch. Jour.*, 2nd ser., XXI, pp. 1-24.

Professor Hamilton Thompson, following up his misconception of the Warkworth donjon as a deliberate revival of an outworn idea, has stated that as such it was a failure, and was very soon "practically abandoned." He bases this view on two circumstances, one that the Duke of Bedford, whom his father Henry IV made Warden of the Eastern March, with headquarters at Warkworth, took up his residence in the gate-house; and secondly, that there is evidence of considerable reconstruction of the domestic range in the bailey during the later fifteenth century, after the tower-house was built. That the constable's lodging (as often in the Middle Ages) was in the gate-house, we know: but I have not seen any evidence that Bedford dwelt in it. The reconstruction of the domestic range proves nothing, as this would certainly continue in use for retainers and dependants, and for holding the barony courts, even after the building of the tower-house. Moreover, it is more than probable that these buildings in the bailey were intended to be handed over to the college, and that the magnificence of their reconstruction was designed to match the church. Had this scheme evolved into fruition, it is not hard to imagine that Warkworth might have anticipated Durham. In 1541 the "dungeon" underwent certain repairs in expectation of a visit from the Duke of Norfolk.²² That it was still intact and fully furnished, albeit in need of some repairs, so late as 1574, the survey of that year clearly shows. Even in 1608 the continued importance of the tower-house, as contrasted with the domestic range, is brought out in two letters to the ninth earl from his agent. "All the lodgings save the dungeon are clearly ruined," he writes in the first letter, and in the second he proposes to sell the leadwork on the domestic range: "the taken it doune will doe the walles noe harme at all, and *your principall place called the dungeon not touched, for thesee be but the houses one the west syde of the castle.*" Again in a report by another

²² *N.C.H.* v. 58.

official in the same year, "the house that was used for the dwelling house" is described as "in greate decay, the hall cleane downe, and nothing lefte but walles : the kichen, greate chamber, chappell and some other roomes very ruinous," while, in contrast, "*that parte of the castle which is the nowe dwelling house, and called the dungeon, is in very good repaier, and so may be kept with a litle chardge.*"²³ All these particulars show that there can be no question of a failure of function on the part of the tower-house as the principal residential structure in the castle.

So much for the meaning of our donjon : now as to its form. This appears to be unique;²⁴ and we can only guess at the considerations that prompted the master mason to devise so extraordinary a plan. In so far as the tower-house can be inscribed within a circle, it is well adapted for its situation on top of the *motte*; while the numerous wall planes in all directions permit the maximum amount of lighting. Considerations such as these may have governed the choice of plan, and the internal dispositions, as we have seen, are a model of compact convenience. There seems little doubt that the building must be regarded as a *tour-de-force* on the part of a master mason of exceptional resource and skill. Whoever he was, he deserves, for this work alone, to be numbered among the greatest of medieval architects.

THE COLLEGE.

The same lack of information that tantalizes us about the building of the donjon also obscures the origin of the college. The first mention of it is not until 1533. We

²³ *N.C.H.* v, 68-70.

²⁴ It has sometimes been compared with the thirteenth century castle of Trim, Meath, to which it has a superficial resemblance in outline. But the internal arrangements of Trim are organically different. See description and plan in *Arch. Jour.*, LXXXVIII, pp. 366-7.

have an interesting account in Clarkson's survey of 1567, as follows :²⁵

" Over the courte from the sayd towre called the posterne towre to the sayd turrett [Grey Mare's Tail] is the fundacion of a house w^{ch} was ment to have been a colledge and good parte of the walls were builde, w^{ch} if yt had bene finished and made a parfit square the same had bene a division betwene the sayd courte the lodgings before recyted and the doungeon. The buildinge that was mad of the sayd collidge is now taken awaye savinge that certayne walls under the ground thereof yet remayne, and at theast parte thereof is now a brewehouse and bakhouse covered wth slaite and in good reparacions."

Clarkson's account is confirmed not only by the foundations of the church still extant, but by the fact that " large Perpendicular mouldings and window jambs, some of them evidently fresh from the banker, have been found nearly all over the courtyard among the foundations of later buildings, pointing clearly to the sudden abandonment of some great design."²⁶ The foundations show a cruciform church with aisles in nave and chancel and a central tower—so that the scheme was a most ambitious one. The total internal length of the church was to have been no less than 124 feet. The surviving bases of the piers are distinctively of a late fourteenth-century type, and the moulded detail above alluded to also points to an early Perpendicular date. As the lower part, or porch, of the Lion Tower, an early fifteenth-century work, has a door and passage to the college, it is reasonable to assume that the latter was at all events in contemplation at this period. No doubt, as seems to have happened at Caistor, the building of the college was intended to precede its legal con-

²⁵ *N.C.H.* v, 62.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 95, 99. So also the excavations conducted by H.M. Office of Works, between 1922 and 1931, disclosed " many pieces of tracery which, though fully finished, have apparently not been built into place but formed part of the abandoned work of the college and have just been used as rubble fillings in other walls." *Arch. Ael.*⁴ ix, p. 196.

stitution, and the first earl's forfeiture and death would prevent the undertaking being completed. Neither his son Hotspur, nor the third earl, who fell at Towton, seem to have been great builders at Warkworth: the fourth earl, who heightened the Lion Tower, may have carried on the college, but it is clear that the building languished. The fifth earl, Henry the Magnificent, though he kept the castle in repair and did some minor alterations, did not

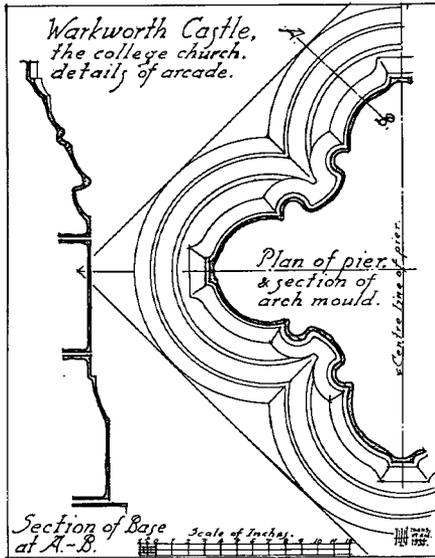


FIG. 2.

care much for Warkworth, and had lavish tastes in other directions: while the sixth earl, Henry the Thriftless, involved himself in a morass of debt. These circumstances may explain why it was that the college was never finished. Before he died in 1537 the thriftless earl made over his estates to Henry VIII, and we know just how such a proposition as an uncompleted and unendowed collegiate church would fare at the hands of *that* bluff monarch! By the date when Warkworth was restored to the Percies, in

1557, the time for such foundations was for ever past.

The site of the church was preordained by the existing building in the bailey, and the need for correct orientation. Yet it is worth noting that, as Clarkson pointed out, the church does in fact shut off the bailey from the *motte*, and so completes the isolation of the tower-house. Evidently it formed the division between the "innerwarde" and the "outerwarde" mentioned in the survey of 1537.²⁷ The provision of charnel vaults under the choir shows that it was intended to form a family burial place here, just as Lord Cromwell did in his collegiate church at Tattershall.

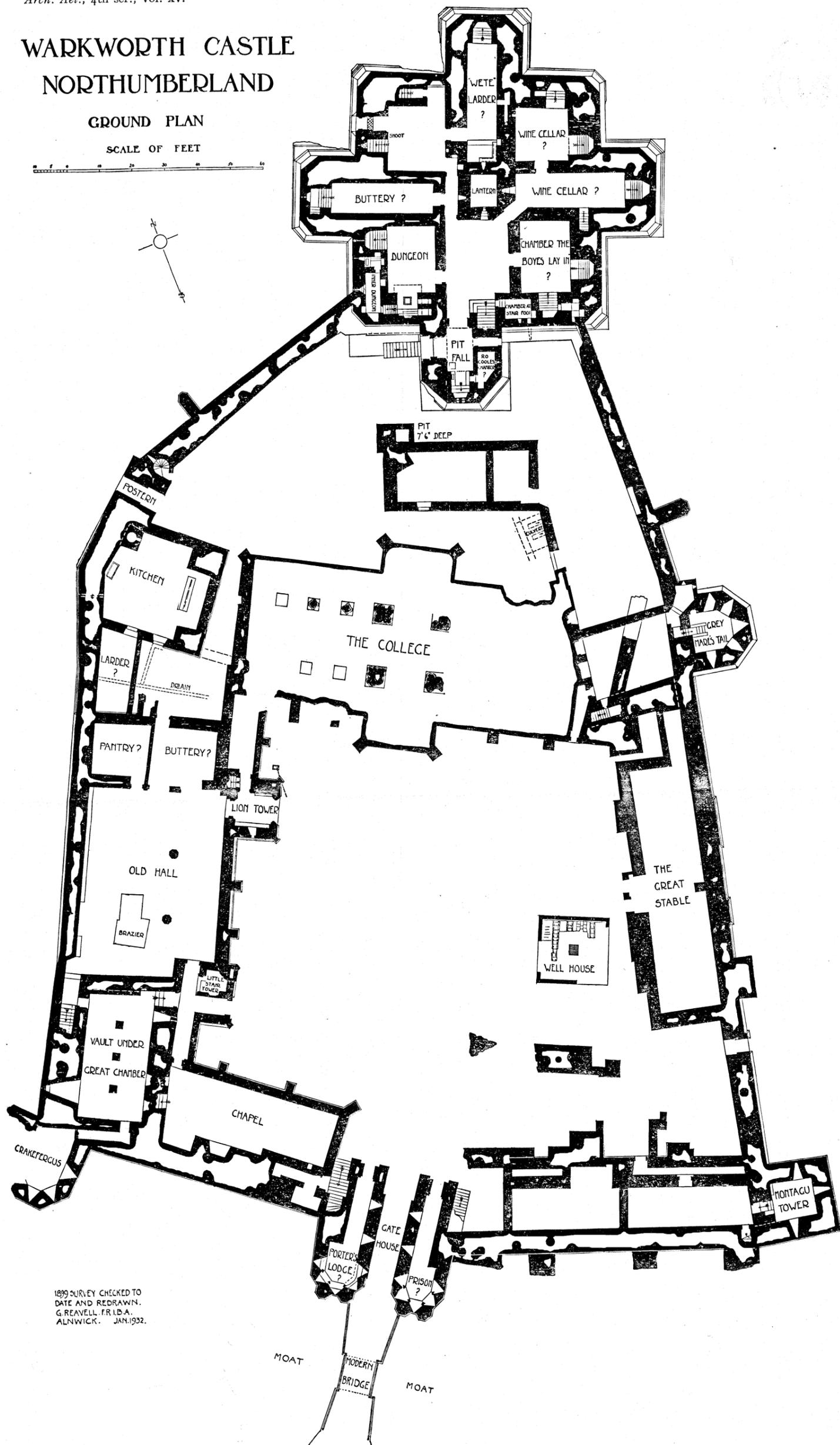
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²⁷ *N.C.H.* v, 56.

WARKWORTH CASTLE NORTHUMBERLAND

GROUND PLAN

SCALE OF FEET



1899 SURVEY CHECKED TO
DATE AND REDRAWN.
G. REAVELL, F.R.I.B.A.
ALNWICK. JAN. 1932.

