

THE BUILDING ACCOUNTS OF CAISTER CASTLE

A.D. 1432-1435

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EXPLANATIONS OF SWINDEN'S PLAN, 1760¹

- AAAA The old road from Norwich to Yarmouth.
B Here appears to have been some edifice by bricks and foundations of walls under ground extending to the south, etc. On which account the ground here-about cannot be plow'd, etc. 'Tis reported here was a Chapel.
CCC Here was formerly a rookery or grove of trees, one of which when cut down had five loads (a load is 40 sq. ft.) of timber in it.
5555 The Barge Ditch which passing through the fields and meadows emptied itself into the Bure or North River. By this channel goods, etc., were more easily convey'd to and from Yarmouth than by land. The road formerly betwixt Caister and Yarmouth being very bad, and in winter almost impassable. This ditch now is entirely useless (except as a common drain to the adjoining lands) and almost choked up.
D Here under an arch passeth the Barge Ditch.
E The Barge Yard, into which was a pipe or canal under ground out of the moat, to let off the water; this place now is filled up.
1234 Fish Ponds. 1, 2 are almost filled up, but 3 and 4 are yet in some places six or seven feet deep.
F This round tower is now covered with the lead taken off the high tower.
GFD Was a part belonging to the house where the servants cooked, lodged, etc., and now the only part remaining tenable (in the occupation of Mr. John Nuthall, a very worthy and honest farmer in good circumstances and tenant to Bedingfield, Esq., the present Lord of the Manour).

THE family of Fastolf was of great antiquity in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, and in 1363 the manors of Caister and Caister Hall came into their possession. In the ancient manor-house the famous Sir John Fastolf was born about 1378, the exact date is not known, and in 1404 his mother, Lady Mortimer, granted to him her manors in Caister, together with the advowson of the free chapel of St. John Baptist within the manor,² which chapel had existed within the moat as early as the reign of Edward I.³ Fastolf was about twenty-six years of age when this grant was made.

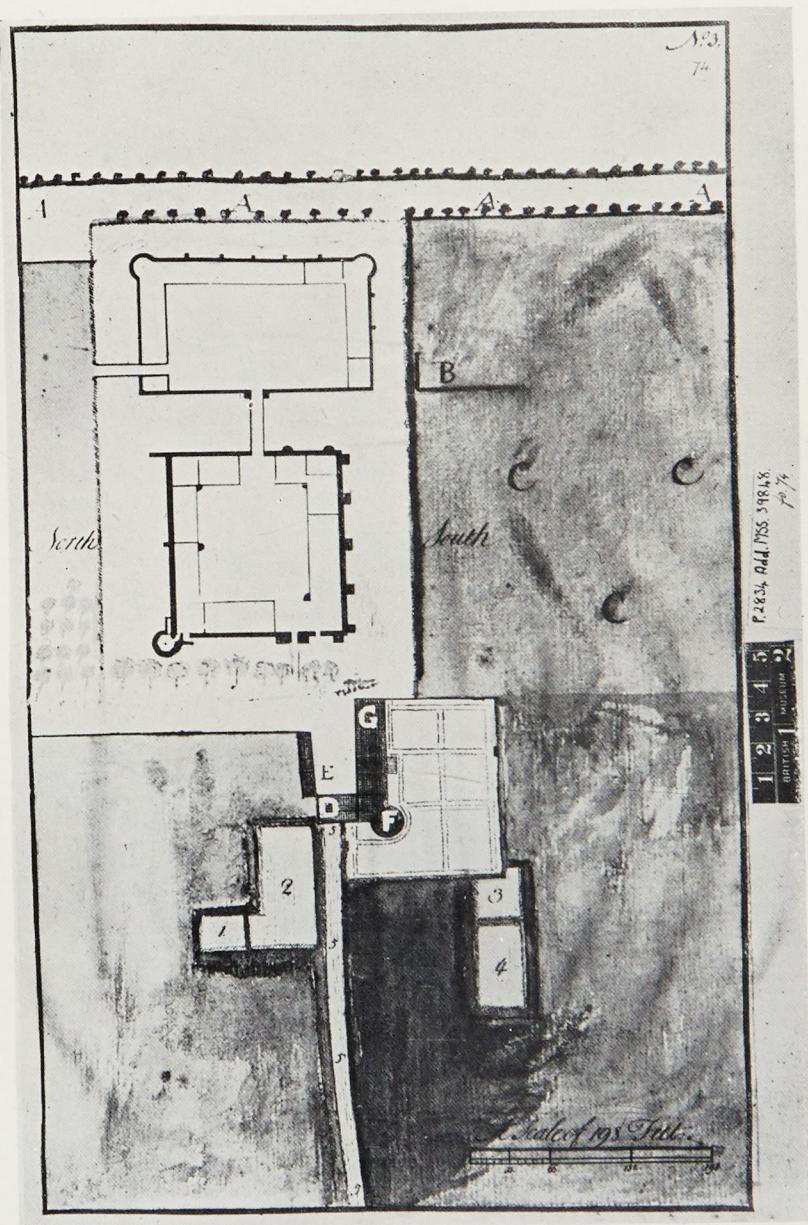
From his youth until he finally left France in 1440, Sir John "exercised in the werres contynually aboute XLIIII yerres"—so states his faithful secretary and herald, William Worcester.⁴ Seeing that Fastolf began life as a comparatively poor squire, the ransoms and plunder derived from his service in France

¹ B.M. Add. MSS., 39848, f. 74. Plate I.

² *Paston Letters*, I. 6. All references are to "*The Paston Letters, 1422-1509*", edited by James Gairdner, 4 vols., Westminster: Constable, 1901; reprint Edinburgh, John Grant, 1910. The volume and page are given, not the number of the letter.

³ *P.L.*, II. 339; Bishop Tanner; *Notitia Monastica*, 1744, f. 369.

⁴ Stevenson: *Wars of the English in France*, II, Pt. II (522) Rolls Series.



By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.
"THE ICHNOGRAPHY OR GROUND WORK OF SIR JOHN FASTOLF'S MANSION HOUSE AT
CASTOR" BY HENRY SWINDEN, A.D. 1760
Add. MSS. 39848, fo. 74

—"the spoils of the Gaul"—must have been the basis of his enormous wealth and enabled him to build this castle.¹ After his death in 1459, the castle passed by his will into the possession of the Paston family, and figures largely in the *Paston Letters*. It was besieged and captured, with the aid of heavy guns, by the Duke of Norfolk in 1469. On the Duke's death in 1476 it was recovered by the Pastons, who continued to reside there in peace until 1599. In 1659 Sir William Paston sold the castle and eventually it was allowed to fall into decay. It is now the property of Mr. Charles Hamblen-Thomas, F.R.C.S., for whose generous hospitality and ready help we render our most grateful thanks.

These ruins, with their tall, slender tower, have attracted much attention as one of the finest pieces of medieval brickwork in England, and, as has been shown elsewhere,² its affinities lie in a quarter hitherto unsuspected; for its plan is unique in this country and utterly unlike contemporary castles in England or France, being based on that of a Rhenish *Wasserburg*, such as Schloss Kempen in the Lower Rhineland, to which it bears a close resemblance.

By the courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum we are able to publish the Building Accounts of Caister Castle between the years 1432 and 1435.³

We record our grateful thanks to Mr. A. J. Collins, Keeper of Manuscripts, for the kindly interest he has taken in this matter, and to Mr. Andreas Mayor, his assistant, for transcribing and translating these accounts from the Latin originals.

Each account covers a year from the Feast of the Holy Epiphany (6 January) to the same date in the following year, and sets out in summary form the receipts and expenditure of the "accomptant", William Granere, or Granour, "master of the new work at Castre". For the three years in question the receipts amounted to £1,503 14s. 10½d., and the expenditure to £1,480 5s. 9¼d. These accounts are all that have come to light so far of the building of this castle, which obviously extended over a longer period than the three years to which they relate. Indeed, Worcester states that the castle took thirty years to build (which is an exaggeration) and cost £6,000.⁴ By way of comparison it may be mentioned that Herstmonceux Castle, approximately contemporaneous with Caister, cost £3,800.⁵

It is unfortunate that the records of the daily work and the nominal roll of the craftsmen employed are lost. Of William Granere, or Granour, nothing seems to be known. As to John Kertelynge, "the lord's receiver" and warden of the workers' hostel, the *Paston Letters* contain several references to him. As early as 1425 he held a general power of attorney for Sir John and acted for him during his prolonged absences in France.⁶ By his will, Fastolf ordered prayers to be said for the soul of John Kyrtyng, parson of Arkesey, "my right trusty chapeleyn and servaunt domysticall—XXX wynter and more".⁷

¹ In addition to Caister Castle he built splendid residences at Great Yarmouth and Norwich, a "palace" at Southwark and a mansion at Hellesden.

² *Antiquaries Journal*, XXXI, 35-31.

³ Brit. Mus. Add. Chs. 17229-17231.

⁴ *Fastolf's Papers*, 87/4, Muniment room, Magdalen Coll., Oxford. We are indebted to Mr. N. Denham Young, the librarian, for this reference. See also *P.L.*, III, 442.

⁵ W. Douglas Simpson: "Herstmonceux Castle," *Archæological Journal*, XCIX, 110.

⁶ *P.L.*, III, 415.

⁷ *P.L.*, I, 467.

From these accounts it appears that Granere was the master of work¹ employed in supervising the building of the castle at a yearly wage of £3 6s. 8d., together with his expenses while riding about on the lord's business, but it is impossible to identify the master-mason, or architect as he would now be termed. It is known, however, that many Germans were living in Norwich and practising their crafts during the first half of the fifteenth century, and the powerful influence of the Hanseatic League with its corporate rights at Yarmouth, Norwich, and Ipswich, may also have influenced the design of this castle, so there is little difficulty in believing that one of these "Dochemen" was employed as master-mason at Caister, although the only mason mentioned by name is Henry Wood, who lived in Norwich and was paid sevenpence a day. His claim to be paid while coming to and going from his work was disallowed.

From the plan and "explanations" of Henry Swinden of 1760,² it will be seen that the castle consisted of three parts, i.e. two rectangular parallelograms (the base and inner courts) surrounded by a moat with a cross-cut moat between them and with a forecourt beyond the moats. The encircling moat is still full of water; the cross-cut moat, however, has been filled up, but until recently its outline was clearly discernible. On the east side is the base or outer court, and here probably was the site of the ancient manor-house and chapel. On the north side it is believed was the principal entrance to the castle with its gatehouse and drawbridge. Another drawbridge over the cross-cut moat gave access to the inner court. The Building Accounts reveal that a postern formerly existed in the south curtain wall.³

The moat surrounding the base-court is narrower than that surrounding the inner court, and its north and south walls are not in prolongation with the corresponding walls of the inner court. Further, the two semicircular towers at the north-east and south-east angles of this base-court with their heavily buttressed and loopholed wall, all go to show that this was the most ancient part of the castle.

Fastolf's castle, the "new work", formed the inner court, and here were the great halls and its thirty or more furnished chambers, great and small, the whole dominated by the slender, spectacular tower at the north-west angle, some 90 ft. high. In the western wall is an entrance, once a mere postern arch before the gatehouse was added at a slightly later date, and this important feature has given rise to the belief that this was the principal entrance to the castle. An inspection of the masonry and the rear arch in the wall, lower than the fore-arch, with mouldings towards the passage, prove the subsequent addition of the gatehouse. The passage is but 6½ ft. wide and there is no sign of a drawbridge having existed there.

It has been suggested that this entrance was in fact the water-gate opening on to the Barge Yard or dock in the forecourt.

This forecourt, lying to the west beyond the moat, consists of what is now a residence of the owner, next to which is a building with mullioned and transomed

¹ The master of work was a servant of the lord, a man trained in business whom he placed in charge of the administrative side of the undertaking. Further as to this and as to the master-mason, see W. Douglas Simpson: *Ravenesraig Castle*, 5. University Press, Aberdeen, 1938.

² Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., 39848, ff. 73-4. *The Iconography or Ground Work of Sir John Fastolf's Mansion House at Caistor*.

³ See p. 182, *post*.

windows similar to those of the main castle known as the Barge House with an archway beneath, through which ran the Pykerell Fleet, which also fed the moats. The lord's barge would come up the river Bure to the castle and unload in the Barge Yard at the gatehouse above-mentioned. The Barge Yard is now filled up and the ground-level rises almost to the apex of the arch.

The forecourt terminates in a squat round tower, an impressive piece of brickwork; it is about 35 ft. in height and about 27 ft. in diameter. Originally it carried angle turrets disposed so as to cover the flanks of the main building and the postern or water-gate. The interior is much altered, but the staircase door, now built up, may still be seen to the right of the present entrance.

No wells have been found within the castle.

Regarding the bricks and brickwork of the castle, we have been fortunate enough to enlist the interest of Lt.-Col. S. E. Glendenning, D.S.O., F.S.A., who has been good enough to embody the results of his experiments and investigations in the accompanying appendix, for which we offer him our best thanks.

As to the Building Accounts, space does not permit of any comments thereon, but we have ventured to add to them a few explanatory footnotes.

Add. Ch. 17229 1432-3 (Roll 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ " wide, 33 $\frac{3}{4}$ " long. On paper. Plate 2)

Accompt of William Granere from the feast of the Holy Epiphany of the Lord in the 11th year of the reign of King Henry VI to the same feast of Epiphany next following in the 12th year of the same King, for a whole year.

	£	s.	d.
Of arrears—nothing, because this is the first accompt in form			
He is charged and answers for £227 13s. 9d. received from John Kertelynge, the Lord's Receiver, as shown in an indenture made between them, and for 5s. received from the lord in numbered money at two times of payment, received from the lord for payment to the collectors of stones ¹	227	18	9
And for £3 3s. 2d. from divers things sold upon the accompt	3	3	2
Sum total of Receipts	231	1	11
Whereof in cement bought from divers men	30	19	8
And in wages of masons (<i>lathomi</i>)	17	17	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
And in wages of layers (<i>cimentarii</i>)	18	11	0
And in taking down the <i>larver</i> , kitchen and walls of the old houses ² together with <i>tielpynnes</i> and <i>lathes</i> and other small particulars	5	19	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
And in wages of divers labourers	22	8	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
In necessary tools bought	2	14	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
In iron tools bought	5	4	10
In the cost of carriage of <i>freestone</i> and <i>tiel</i>	9	2	11
In wages of carpenters	11	5	6
In the making of turfs with other particulars paid	12	16	0
In the costs of the kiln	5	16	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
In fuel bought for the kiln	11	19	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
In wages of bricklayers (<i>tegulatores</i>)	34	15	2
In raising the causeway of the mill	1	4	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
In repairing the hedges and ditches of the manor ³	4	19	10

¹ Flints.

² Probably refers to the clearance of the outbuildings of the old manor-house in the base-court.

³ Surrounding the base-court.

In the costs of the garden, besides the money paid by the seneschal of the hostel for the same work	0	5	9
In repairing boats	1	9	7
In money paid for glass bought for windows	0	8	11
And in wages of painters with <i>vermelyone, redled</i> and <i>oyle</i> ¹	4	0	0
In the fee of the accountant ² for the time of the accompt 66s. 8d., and in his expenses riding to Norwich and elsewhere to divers places for 16 days at 6d. a day, 8s.	3	14	8
And in money paid for the freightage of <i>freestone</i> , together with <i>plaister de Parys</i> ³ and other small particulars	16	14	6
Sum of all Expenses	222	8	11½

And he owes £8 12s. 11½d., whereof there are allowed to him 60s. for his labour for 180 days in the manor this year by permission of the lord, and he owes 112s. 11½d.

Whereof there are respited to him 21s. 8d. of the price of 10 *trayes* of burnt chalk, disallowed to him and sold upon the accompt which he computed to have spent upon a part of the counterwall towards the postern gate in the base court on the south side of the moat,⁴ which fell into the moat through the defect of the first foundation—respited until he shall speak with the lord of what arrangement he shall please to make hereafter concerning the said 21s. 8d.; and also 25s. of the price of 10 lasts of bricks spent in the same work and disallowed in the said accompt; and also 16s. 1d. of the price of 9 pieces of oak used in the said work for placing *lez ankeres*⁵ in the same work (and disallowed) in the said accompt; and also 16s. 1½d. of the wages of divers workmen of the said work, disallowed to him in the said accompt

Sum respited 78s. 10½d.

And thus he owes 34s. 1d. net.

Endorsed: Castr. Comp. Willelmi Granere ad Epiphaniam domini anno 12 r.r. H. sexti

Add. Ch. 17231 1433-4 (Roll 6" wide, 29" long. On parchment)

View of the Accompt of William Granour, master of the new work⁶ at Castre from the feast of the Epiphany of the Lord in the 12th year of the reign of King Henry VI to the feast of the Epiphany of the Lord next following in the 13th year of the same King, for a whole year.

The same is charged and answers for £460 0s. 11d. received from John Kyrteylunge, clerk, general receiver of the lord, at divers times in this year by indenture thereof; and for £134 8s. 10d. received from John Grene, bailiff of Castre, in this year, as in the price of 53 *lasts*,⁷ 7,765 bricks of the lord, received by him for the new work at Castre and Heylesdone.⁸

£ s. d.

¹ Mr. Arthur Lane of the Victoria and Albert Museum has kindly pointed out that this item probably refers to wall-paintings not to glass, as vermilion was not used in glass painting and oil seems not to have been the medium used in medieval times. It is likely the glass was painted elsewhere (Norwich?) where the glass-painter had established his kiln.

² One who renders an account. In this case William Granere.

³ Bought by Fastolf in France, and see pp. 183 and 184.

⁴ Further references to defects of the first foundation will be found on pp. 184 and 185. The "counterwall" is thought to be a low retaining wall holding up the inner face of the moat ditch, i.e. the outside of the footings of the enclosing wall (Glendenning).

⁵ Probably an anchor in the sense of an anchor-plate or wide metal plate nailed to a wall in order to strengthen it. *Norf. Arch.*, XV, 170; XXVI, 290.

⁶ The building of the castle to the west of the base-court.

⁷ From the price per "*last*" quoted in these Accounts, it would seem that 10,000 bricks constituted a "*last*".

⁸ The manors of Hellesdon and Drayton were acquired by Fastolf in 1432. As these Accounts show, the manor house at Hellesdon and its lodge were built of Caister bricks, but the source of the gault bricks used in the building of the companion lodge at Drayton is still unknown. Barnes: "Drayton Lodge", *Norf. Arch.*, XXIX, 228, 236.

the price of each *last* 50s., whereof allowance is made to the accomptant hereafter; and for 28s. 3d. received from the same bailiff, as in the price of the carts of the manor hired for divers cartings, whereof allowance is made to the accomptant hereafter; and for 20s. from 4,000 bricks sold by the said accomptant in the country in this year; and for 6s. 6d. received from Richard Broun, bailiff of Haryngby, for 3 *treyes* of burnt chalk sold to him by the said accomptant—

Sum total of Receipts £597 4s. 6d.

From 100 tons tight of freestone spent in the new work this year, as on the back of this roll ¹ —nothing, because it was bought and paid for by the lord	
In 53 lasts, 7,765 bricks bought from John Grene, bailiff of Castre, this year for the new work at Castre and Heylesdone this year, the price of each last 50s.	134 8 10
In 4 tons tight of plaster of Paris spent—nothing, because it was bought by the lord	
In 461 trays of lime bought from Augustine Bange and Thomas Stalham of Norwich, the price of each tray 2s. 1d., with carting from Norwich to Castre this year	48 0 5
In 13 trays of lime bought from the bailiff of Heylesdone, with carting, price of each tray 2s. 2d.	1 8 2
In 560 stakes bought for burning bricks	0 17 5
In 1,360 faggots bought for the same	3 1 9½
In 64 lasts of turfs bought for the same, price of each last 7s.	22 8 0
In 1,090 stacks of rushes bought for covering the said bricks, price of 100 stacks 10s. 6d., less in all 10½d.	5 12 0
In divers instruments and necessaries bought for maintaining two kilns of the lord burning 3 times this year	2 7 1½
In the wages of John Ede and John Cook in making 55 lasts of bricks this year, for each last 15s. by contract	41 5 0
And paid for removing and carting the said bricks out of the kilns of the lord 3 divers times this year	8 3 4
In wages of master masons and other labourers for making, carting and setting mortar, with stones and the setting, together with the cost of carpenters hired, whereof the details are shown in the paper of the said accomptant, both of their names and days of work	154 0 4
In glass bought, with placing in divers chambers	3 14 10
In iron nails, with other tools of iron bought and used	17 1 10
In oak timber bought, with hard <i>sparrys</i> of oak for repairing <i>lez waynes</i> and carts	30 19 7½
And in making new ditches with plants of thorns and other trees as shown in the aforesaid paper ²	20 13 6
In red colours bought, with their placing this year—paid to Robert Grey <i>Peyntere</i> ³	4 18 0
In expenses about the making of the new house called le Fyfhorns (?) at the east end of the town of Castre, with wages of carpenters, besides 44 trays of burnt chalk, price £4 11s. 8d.—in all expenses	13 7 10½
In lead bought for the work of the lord this year	10 18 4
In carting of timber from Cottone ⁴ to Castre this year	9 1 4
In <i>tenellys</i> and <i>hyrdelys</i> ⁵ bought this year	11 0
In expenses about the making of the new hall at Heylesdone with the lodge there this year—in all expenses	42 16 1

¹ These details are not endorsed on this roll.

² Excavating the moat surrounding the inner court, and see p. 185.

³ See p. 182 (n. 1).

⁴ The manor of Cotton, near Mellis in Suffolk, belonged to Fastolf. There are numerous references to it in the *Paston Letters*.

⁵ Baskets (*Promplorium Parvulorum*) and hurdles (*gabions*).

In expenses of the said accountant riding from place to place, from manor to manor, for buying timber and discharging other business of the lord this year ¹	5 7 6
In wages of the said accountant this year	3 6 8
And paid for the freight of freestone	12 14 2
In parchment bought for making 2 account rolls of the said accountant, both for the past year and for the present year	0 1 4
Sum of all expenses	597 4 6

Endorsed: Compotus Willelm Granour magister nov. operis apud Castre anno 12 H. sex. (XVth C.)
 Compot. Willelm Gradi (*sic.* copied erroneously from Granour above) nov. operis apud Caster (XVIth C.)
 13 H.6 Acct. of Building Sr. John Fastolf's Great House at Castor and his House now Hellesden Hall (XVIIth C.)
 1433-4 (XVIIIth C.)

Add. Ch. 17230 1434-5 (Roll 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ " wide, 50" long. On paper)

Account of William Granour, Master of the new work, and John Elys, Clerk, entering the payments of the workmen of the said William, from the feast of the Epiphany of the Lord in the 13th year of the reign of King Henry VI to the 3rd day of June next following, and thereafter of the said John Elys, Clerk, until the term of the Epiphany of the Lord, thus between them for a whole year.

£ s. d.

Of arrears of the last account of the said William or of the last preceding year, with £10 0s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. thereof respited—£37 18s. 8d.; and of £216 15s. 8d., which William Granour acknowledged to have received from John Kyrtelynge for wages of workmen and buying other necessaries; and of £160 12s. 6d., which the same William acknowledged to have received from John Grene, bailiff of Castre, as hereafter, in the price of 63 lasts, 4,500 bricks bought by him (from the store)² made in Castir manor this year for the same work; and of £217 13s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., which John Elys, Clerk, acknowledged to have received from John Kyrtelynge in numbered money for the same work this year; and of £37 9s. 9d. received from the lord by William Granour in the price of 109 tons tight of freestone of the lord's providing this year from the parts of France, price 7s. the ton tight; and of 30s. received from the lord by the said William Granour in the price of 3 ton tight of plaster of Paris of the lord's providing this year from the parts of France for the same work, price 10s. the ton tight; and of 8s. 6d. charged on William Granour for divers repairs made by him this year in the counterwall on the east side of the outside of the manor, and disallowed because of the defect of the first foundation; and of 60s. received from the lord by the said William Granour in the price of 900 lbs. of lead of the lord's providing, for the repair of the lodge at Castre, reckoned as 112 lbs. for 8 stone, price 6s. 8d.

Sum total of Receipts £675 8s. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Whereof in 109 tons tight of freestone spent on the new hall and the west and north walls, with windows, price 7s. the ton tight	37 9 9
And in 3 tons tight of plaster of Paris for the same work this year, price 10s. the ton tight	1 10 0
And in 63 lasts of bricks and 4,500 bought from the bailiff of Castre for the said work this year, price the last 50s. with 2 lasts, 6,000 thereof used at Heylesdone this year	158 12 6

¹ He was so engaged for 215 days in this year.

² *de stauro*, deleted in original.

And in burnt chalk, viz. 265 trays, to make mortar of, bought from Augustine Bange and others	25 14 0
In oak timber without carting bought for the same work this year	32 13 5
And in beams (?) of oak and poplar, with carting and expenses of buying	6 6 10
And in <i>botmels</i> ¹ and <i>plankes</i> bought for the said work	0 3 0
And in carting of timber this year, with freightage of freestone, etc.	35 1 8½
And in a new horse mill, bought and placed in the new bakehouse	7 0 0
And in the costs of the manor of Heylesdone, in all expenses there this year, whereof the details are shown in the full accompt made thereof, besides £6 10s. 0d. of the price of 2 lasts, 6,000 bricks received from the manor of Castre this year, with 60s. in lead	54 5 6½
And in <i>lathes</i> and <i>lathenaylles</i> and bricks bought for the hall of Castre this year	6 8 9
In small tools bought for the said work whereof details are shown in the full accompt	2 6 4
In iron tools bought for the doors and windows of the said work	21 4 7
And in other small particulars bought and spent in the said work, with <i>bast-ropes</i> ²	2 18 10½
And in the costs of a new fence at the new bakehouse, with the placing of <i>lez deshes</i> in the chapel	1 6 7½
And in the costs of <i>lez waynes</i> , with servants' wages	3 3 6
And in new ditching at Castre this year ³	15 12 11½
And in buying a new boat, with making and mending the same—now let at farm to one Robert Savage for £8 a year ⁴	15 8 6
In wages of masons, labourers and carpenters, whose names and particulars are shown in the full accompt, besides their board in the lord's hostel	111 7 5½
And in bricklayers hired, with their servants	2 0 6
And in the expenses of William Granour, riding about the purveyance of all the above-written things this year, superintending the workmen at Heylesdone for 24 days of work at 6d. a day, to Pulham for 3 days at 6d. a day, and to Wynferthyng for 12 days at 6d. a day, together with his wage for working within the manor of Castre for 170 days of work by the hostel book at 4d. a day, and for his expenses for 5 days at Wymondham for buying, cutting and carting timber there 6d. a day	4 5 4
And in the fee of the said William for the whole year	3 6 8
And in money paid to John Grene for making bricks at Castre manor this year	84 6 10
And in money paid to the said John Grene for making turfs in Castre manor this year	3 14 4½
And in money paid to John Kyrteyng, clerk, for the workmen's board last year, in the time when John was warden of the hostel	24 4 4
Sum of all Expenses and Payments	£660 12 4½

And he owes £14 16s. 1¼d. whereof there are allowed to him 2s. which William Granour paid for 2 ash trees bought for *stagyngtymber*,⁵ and also 12d. which he paid for parchment both for his accompt and for the accompt of the divers bailiffs; and thus there are owed to the lord hereafter £14 13s. 1¼d.; thereof there are respited to William Granour £10 0s. 1¼d., disallowed to him for divers repairs done by him upon the counterwall because of the defect of the first foundation,⁶ and here respited until he shall speak with the lord of what arrangement he shall please to make thereof hereafter; and also 13s. 7d. for repairing the counterwall this year,

¹ We do not know the meaning of this word

² Ropes made of bast fibre.

³ See p. 183 (n. 2).

⁴ Later Fastolf obtained a licence from the Crown to keep no less than six vessels in his service for the carriage of goods and building materials for the use of his household. *Rymer*, XI, 44; *P.L.*, Intro., CXXXV.

⁵ i.e. scaffolding.

⁶ Regarding the "*defects of the first foundations*" of certain of the walls at Caister, see *P.L.*, Intro., 123; John Paston to his brother, Sir John Paston, c., 1468-9. After referring to urgent repairs needed at Caister, proceeds: "and if it be not do thys yer many of the wallys wyll lye in the moot or longe to; ye knowe the febylness of the utter court of old."

disallowed for the aforesaid cause and respited for the aforesaid cause; and thus he owes to the lord hereafter 69s. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. (79s. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.)	
Robert Stele of Clypesby for enlarging <i>le gretelay</i> and cleaning the water-course 10 rods in length, at Castre manor <i>square</i> , as shown in certain indentures made thereof, at 2s. a rod by contract with the lord made last year—disallowed to him, because he did not fulfil the covenant of his indenture	1 0 0
Robert Rede for dredging and cleaning <i>le Fleet</i> at Castre, extending from <i>le brodelay</i> to <i>mauteby planke</i> ¹ 16 standard feet in breadth, by contract with the lord made by indenture in the said last year—and disallowed, because he did not fulfil the covenant of his indenture	1 13 4
Henry Wode, <i>masoun</i> , with 4s. <i>1d.</i> for his wage for one week last year, which he asked beyond what is shown by the hostel book, and with 12s. <i>3d.</i> of his wage, which he asked for half days in coming from Norwich and returning, on which he did no service to the lord—and disallowed to him, until he shall speak thereof with the lord	0 16 4
And on William Granour, now accounting for himself, beyond the £10 13s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. respited to him above	0 9 8 $\frac{1}{2}$

Lyke it yow to wete yt Herry Wode askyt allowaunce of his half dayes comyng to his werk and goyng fro his werk to ye summe above wrete ye qwiche I have disalowid til I have oder comaundement of yow and in lik wyse disalowid Stele and Rede for her covauntes be endenture not performyd but now as it nevere had ben sene

CAISTER CASTLE, NORFOLK

NOTES ON THE BRICKS AND WORKMANSHIP OF THE CASTLE WALLS

By Lt.-Col. S. E. Glendenning, D.S.O., F.S.A.

Source of the Bricks

The accounts show that the bricks were made on the estate, and as there are considerable charges for carting wood and peat-turves but little for cartage of bricks, it seemed a fair assumption that the kilns were either close to the castle or somewhere where water could be used for easy bulk transport.

An examination of the bricks themselves indicated that they were made from estuarine clay. This directed attention to a site on the marshes of the present estate on the banks of the River Bure, still known locally as "Brick Pits". This is 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of the castle by the old main road and a marsh track, and would have been 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles by water when the Pykerell Fleet was navigable.

It is an area of about 4 acres, covered with shallow workings in a stratum a few feet thick of estuarine clay, and on the southern edge of the site next the river were found all the usual debris of a brickyard. There were many half-burnt bricks, a few fully burnt but broken, and fragments that had been over-fired to the point of vitrification.

The fully-burnt brick-ends matched up with bricks in the castle walls, as did the half-burnt bricks and samples of marsh clay off the site, when fired at a bright red heat by way of experiment.

¹ P.L., Intro., 57-8, 1456 2 May, Sir John Fastolf to John Paston, from which it appears that the "Fleet", separated the manors of Caister and Mautby. A modern footbridge now takes the place of the Mautby "planke".

The bricks in the site as far as at present examined are of fourteenth or, at latest, fifteenth-century type, and (as far as irregular sizes can be compared) correspond more to the east wall of the base-court rather than to the castle itself.

Structural Examination

The east wall, with the two "drum" towers, apart from some obvious patching, including the (probably) medieval rebuilding of some of the upper part, seems to be undisturbed original work.

There is some flint in the base, and the bricks vary very much in size, with a good proportion of very small bricks, about 7 by $3\frac{1}{4}$ by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. These are mixed in the same course with bricks of more usual size, say $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ by 2 in. and 8 by 4 by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.

The bond is very irregular indeed, with a large proportion of headers, and the coursing is irregular where the bricks are of different thicknesses.

The indications are that it is early work, say, some time in the fourteenth century. If the structure is later, older material was almost certainly re-used, and by unskilled workers.

In the castle buildings proper, the west wall, the Great Tower, and the north-west return gable, the bricks are more regular in size, mainly $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{4}$ by $2\frac{1}{4}$ in., with some variation in length ($9\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 in.) and down to 2 in. in thickness. Bricks of odd sizes (possibly re-used) occur mainly on the inside of the walls.

The bond is English bond, with some irregularity in the way of extra stretchers in the west wall, and the lower part of the north-west return wall, but becoming regular in the careful brickwork of the Great Tower.

The "squat" round tower and the adjacent barge house are similar to the west wall (i.e. not quite English bond), but the tower has some small bricks, only $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. thick. These are, however, separately coursed, showing the bricklayer was trying to give a fair face to his wall.

This round tower might thus be somewhat earlier than the main castle buildings. Alternatively, being a less important out-building, it may have had to "make do" with some re-used material and less skilled labour, and might be of a rather later date than one would otherwise guess.

Type of Bricks

The bricks differ from the contemporary bricks in Norwich and other inland parts of Norfolk, possibly owing to cultural intercourse with the Low Countries, and partly due to the different clay available.

In Norwich the near-surface or pond clay used was "strong" and sticky and would not mould easily. The clay would therefore be trodden out into a thin layer on a hard floor or "place" strewn with straw or hay to prevent the clay sticking. It was then sliced up into not very regular sizes about $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. These bricks further warped and shrank irregularly in drying.

The Caister bricks are made from a more sandy clay, still fairly "strong" and not so sandy as the brick earth from pits used in modern times.

There are indications that the bricks were individually moulded into rough

four-sided frames—still on to a floor or “place” strewn with sand or grass to prevent sticking. They seem to have been left there for the first stage of drying till fairly hard.

The result was a clean sharp-cornered brick with variations in size mainly due to the frames not being all the same. The well-burnt bricks are hard and strong, but those imperfectly burnt (used in some of the walling—mostly interior) are soft and sandy.

As usual at this period, the clay was worked up only enough to make it mould, and there was no attempt at an even mix. Hence the different colours, and one may get buff, a soft pink, and a streak of yellow sand, all in one brick.