THE DATE OF THE KING'S LYNN SOUTH GATE

by Terence Paul Smith, M.A.

The Hall Book of King's Lynn for 1437 records that by that time the South Gate of the town's defences was in a very poor condition and that a London mason named Robert Hertanger was called in to direct the entire rebuilding of the gateway.[1] Subsequently it was recorded that the money set aside for the rebuilding had been squandered before the building was half finished; Hertanger was bankrupt and although he was excused of blame 'because of his poverty' another mason was engaged to complete the work.[2] A later entry in the Hall Book, dated 29 October 1520, records that 'an Indenture is sealed . . . between the Mayor and Burgesses and Nicholas Hermer of East Dereham . . . and Thomas Hermer of Bonwell [*sc.* Bunwell] in Norfolk, freemasons, for making the South Gates of South Lynne, namely with the seal of the office of Mayor, so that the same be finished about 21st September next following.'[3] This has been taken by several writers to refer to a further complete rebuilding, resulting in the extant South Gate, which is thus asserted to be of early sixteenth-century date.[4] The word 'making' in the reference to the indenture makes this a natural reading; but in his Rhind Lectures for 1946 the late Brian St John O'Neil questioned this date, arguing convincingly that the gateway would best fit an earlier date, in the fifteenth century, although O'Neil did not specify any particular date within that century.[5] In a fairly recent paper the present writer suggested a date in the late 1480s or '90s, the argument making use of certain architectural characteristics of the gateway.[6] Three even more recent publications make no reference to O'Neil's argument. J. A. Wight calls the gate a 'rebuilding . . . of a 1437-40 structure' but she adds the significant comment that the 'ashlaring of just [the] main facade [is] unusual for [the] period.[7] H. L. Turner, after referring to the 1520 contract, states that 'in its present form . . . the details of the gate belong to the sixteenth century.'[8] but no clear view of the gateway's history emerges. V. Parker, less ambiguously, hints at a theory when she writes that the South Gate 'was designed by Robert Hertanger of London, but was finally finished in the 16th century. . . .'[9] In the space at her disposal Miss Parker was not able to develop this idea any further. The question of the date of the South Gate is worth re-opening, for I now feel that the view hinted at by Miss Parker is the correct one, and that the surviving evidence supports this.

II

The gateway has been described fully elsewhere,[10] and in the present context the briefest outline will suffice. Attention will be drawn to specific points of detail, as necessary, in the argument which follows. The South Gate of King's Lynn stands across half the present London Road at the southern tip of the medieval town, and was formerly flanked by earthen, not masonry, defences, though there may well have been a wooden palisade running along the top of the earthen bank. In the nineteenth century the gateway was much altered in its bottommost stage by the insertion of two pedestrian passageways, one each side of the main passageway. W. Richards' illustration of before 1812 and W. Taylor's of before 1844 show the gateway before the alterations,[11] and from these illustra-

tions, combined with an examination of the existing structure, it is possible to gain a clear picture of the gateway as it was before the alterations were made.

The gateway is basically rectangular, but from the front (south) face project turrets which in plan consist of three (rather than the more usual five) sides of octagon (Fig. 1); only above the crenellated parapet do the turrets have five sides, their rears being open-gorged. The turrets are set against the angles of the gateway and, at their lowest stage, have been cut away by the nineteenth-century pedestrian passageways. At the rear (north) face of the gateway there are two buttresses, one at each angle, and there is a further buttress-like feature against each side-wall, close to the southern angles; both these features contain garderobes, although the eastern one is substantial enough to have acted as a true buttress also. At the north-east angle, and wholly contained within the gatehouse rectangle, is a newel-staircase which rises to both the upper stages and to the roof. It is likely that the north-west angle had a similar staircase rising from ground-level, but there has been more alteration here and it is possible to trace the former staircase only from the second stage upwards. The entrance passageway, which is not quite symmetrically placed in the gatehouse, rises through almost two stages, and is barrel-vaulted above traces of an intended tierceron-vault. Either side of the entrance passageway, at each of the first and second stages, is a chamber, much damaged in the nineteenth century; and at the third, topmost, stage there is one large chamber, possibly originally divided into three by timber partitions. The chamber is lighted by two windows in each of the front and rear faces and by one window in each side wall. The centre of the chamber contained, or at least was intended to contain, the mechanism for operating the portcullis, the chases for which exist in the jambs of the front archway. There are several gun-ports in the front curtain and turrets and a number of blocked windows elsewhere in the structure. The basic fabric is red brick with stone used for all dressings, but the front face is entirely faced with ashlar.

III

It is perhaps worth remarking here that the plan with turrets showing only three sides of the octagon seems to be not specially common in gatehouse design. But, though fairly unusual, this feature cannot be used for dating purposes, since recorded examples of the feature range widely in date. The town of King's Lynn, in fact, had an example of a gatehouse with such turrets in its now-demolished East Gate, which is known to us from illustrations and which probably dated from the middle of the fourteenth century.[12] The New Gate of Winchelsea, Sussex, of *c.* 1415 has twin three-sided turrets, although these are on the face of a single-arched gateway, not on a gatehouse proper.[13] The gatehouse to Tattershall College, Lincs., founded in 1440, had one turret of very close design, though its twin on the other side of the entry-arch was of the more usual five-sided type.[14] The two upper stages of the Water Gate to Newport Castle added during the fifteenth century, also have three-sided turrets.[15] But the best parallel of all is probably the gatehouse of Hertford Castle, a brick-built structure with stone dressings, raised between 1461 and 1465.[16] A late fifteenth-century example occurs in the gatehouse of St. Osyth's Priory, Essex.[17]

The staircases contained wholly within the structure are a further feature of note; these are not so very uncommon, but they are certainly less usual than staircases contained within a projecting turret. Here again, however, the feature cannot be used for dating purposes, since staircases housed within the basic

structure occur throughout and beyond the fifteenth century; those at Rye House, Herts.[18] and Someries Castle, Beds.[19] are fifteenth century examples. that at Christ's College gatehouse, Cambridge is of early sixteenth-century date.[20]

IV

It was on the more minute details that O'Neil based his argument for a date earlier than 1520: '. . .the architectural evidence of the similarities in the details on the gateway with those of the Red Mount Chapel near by, which was built in 1485, make [*sic*] it difficult to reconcile its "makyng" with the year 1520.'[21] Apart from the fact that both buildings are of red brick with stone dressings the similarities of detail between the South Gate and the Red Mount Chapel are limited to the two small quatrefoiled openings in the north-east stair-turret of the gateway, which can be paralleled by one such opening in the west wall of the Chapel and perhaps by the much larger quatrefoiled openings in the topmost, cruciform stage of the Chapel.[22] Although this evidence may support a fifteenth-century date for the South Gate it does not lead to the conclusion that the gateway is of the *late* fifteenth century, say the 1480s or '90s, as I suggested elsewhere.[23] On the contrary the detail is not an uncommon one and would be at home in any fifteenth-century context, early or late. In other respects the two buildings differ: the mouldings of the window jambs are of different patterns, and the buttresses are also different, particularly in the profiles of their offsets. Furthermore, the bricks are quite different in size: whereas those of the South Gate measure quite consistently 8-9 (but most 8-8½) by 4 by 2 inches those of the Red Mount Chapel are far less regular in size, varying between 6½-9½ (though mostly 8-8½) by 4-4½ by 1¾-2½ inches. This in itself might not be so very significant but for the fact that the South Gate bricks can be matched very closely by those of the early fifteenth-century St. George's Guildhall in Lynn (see below, p. 228).

The more important part of O'Neil's argument relates to the form of the gun-ports which occur in the front face of the South Gate: these 'are of the type to be seen at Raglan Castle (*c.* 1435-45) and Warwick (*c.* 1470), that is, simple round openings, 10 inches in diameter, with embrasures splayed internally, having flat beds 28 inches above floor level. In 1520 such gun-ports would be classed as antique, and it would be surprising to find them as innovations at so eminent a port as King's Lynn.'[24] Gun-ports of basically similar sort, that is having the simple circular openings with a flat bed to the embrasures, occur also at Sir John Fastolf's Caister Castle in Norfolk, started in 1432 and finished some ten years later.[25] Caister is of brick, as is Herstmonceux Castle in Sussex, started by Sir Roger Fiennes *c.* 1441, which also has the same type of gun-ports, though here combined, as at Raglan, with cross-loops of late medieval type.[26] The type also occurs, with a single-slit-loop above, at Lord Hastings' Kirby Muxloe Castle, Leics., built (though never completed) between 1480 and 1484.[27] As the science of artillery developed so gun-ports altered, and improved, in design; and certainly those of Kirby Muxloe are to be regarded as already somewhat old-fashioned when seen against those of the contemporary Dartmouth Castle, Devon, started in 1481. Here the gun-ports are rectangular and much wider. As O'Neil himself put it, 'there is a great difference between the Dartmouth gun-ports and those of the contemporary Kirby Muxloe Castle.' He adds that Kingswear Castle, close to Dartmouth and begun in 1491, has gun-ports very similar in style to those of Dartmouth itself.[28]

The type of gun-ports exhibited at the King's Lynn South Gate would seem to have been in vogue mainly during the middle half of the fifteenth century, with the Kirby Muxloe examples already somewhat anachronistic. We may, then, safely assume that the South Gate is earlier than 1520 and that it belongs to the middle of the fifteenth century.

But if this be so we are left with the problem of reconciling this fact with the entry of 1520 recording the 'making' of the South Gate. The word 'making' has often been taken, naturally enough, to mean 'building'; yet the very entry in the Hall Book suggests that something less than building was involved. The entry is dated 29 October 1520 and the two Hermers contracted to finish their work by 21 September 'next following', that is by 21 September 1521. Even had work started immediately this would have given a period of fewer than eleven calendar months for the complete building, *de novo* of the gateway. And in fact little work could have been done, especially on the brink of a very muddy creek, in the winter months; work in earnest could have begun, at the earliest, at the beginning of the 1521 building season about the beginning of March 1521, leaving a period of fewer than seven calendar months for the completion of the work. On the theory that 'making' means 'building' that work would have involved the complete building, from the foundations up, of a large gatehouse structure including two fairly tall newel-staircases and, in the original intention, a tierceron vault of two bays over the entrance passageway. It would have taken two very sanguine masons indeed to have bound themselves by contract to carry through such a task in such a short time. Further, it may not be without significance that the indenture seems to have made no mention of demolishing the old gateway before work began on the new one.

It is much more likely that 'making' should be given some different interpretation, and I have elsewhere suggested, though tentatively, that what was involved in 1520-21 was simply the facing of the front curtain and turrets with stone.[29] This suggestion could have been made with less reservation, for there is, in fact, some pretty clear structural evidence that the ashlar facing is a later addition to a pre-existing structure. First, there is the evidence of the western window at third-stage level in the front curtain. The western jamb of this window is dealt with very clumsily, for it is far too close to the south-west turret and in consequence the vertical section of the square label and its returned stop are both on the cant of the turret rather than, where they should be, on the curtain itself. If we imagine the turret without the few inches extra thickness of the ashlar facing then there will be just sufficient room for the entire label, with its stop, to be on the curtain. The present awkwardness can thus be explained by supposing that the window was built into a structure without the present facing and that when the facing was added to the turret the label of the window, which was already in position, had to be returned onto the turret-cant.

Secondly, although the stones of the facing are in general very precise rectangles, those which adjoin the jamb-stones of the archway and of the third-stage windows are often cut to somewhat irregular shapes as though to fit around pre-existing stones. The jamb-stones themselves are thus a part of the original fifteenth-century build incorporated in the refacing. The outer ends of the jamb-dressings of the archway and of the windows are not cut to a straight line but are left 'ragged', and so it is clear that even in the original design the faces of these stones would have been set flush with, not projecting from, the wall-face. And thus the work of facing the curtain must have been preceded by the cutting-back of the

brick wall-face by a few inches, equivalent to the thickness of the facing stones. This, though a laborious task, would have been necessary to avoid making the existing openings recessed behind the new facing. The awkwardness of the west window-label, already mentioned, is evidence that the faces of the turrets were not similarly cut back; here, indeed, such treatment was unnecessary since there are no openings other than the simple gun-ports, for which further simple holes in the new masonry were provided.

The refacing which this evidence suggests provides an interpretation of the word 'making' which occurs in the 1520 entry in the Hall Book.[30] This leaves us free to accept the architectural evidence for a fifteenth-century date for the gatehouse. The problem remains, however, of deciding *precisely* when the gatehouse was put up. Elsewhere I have suggested the 1480s or '90s.[31] This suggestion was based on similarities to the Red Mount Chapel of *c.* 1485. But this is unsatisfactory; it has already been pointed out within this paper (above p. 226) that the similarities between the two buildings are limited and not very significant; the differences are far greater and much more important. Furthermore, the gun-ports, although the evidence of Kirby Muxloe shows that they *could* occur at such a late date, would be far more likely in an earlier context, at some time within the middle half of the fifteenth century. But the principal objection to a date in the 1480s or '90s is simply that it requires us to postulate a major municipal building project which has entirely escaped notice in the very complete records provided by the Hall Book. It would obviously be far more satisfactory if the building of the present South Gate (minus its 1520 facing) could be identified with some building programme mentioned in the Hall Book record. And the work of 1437-40, begun under Robert Hertanger, provides just such a programme. This brief period of work falls within the fifty years or so during which gun-ports of the South Gate type were in vogue, though they now become early instances of the type rather than late occurrences. There is nothing in the structure to militate against such an early dating; and indeed there is other evidence in its favour.

In a recent outline of the development of moulding-types H. Forrester has written that 'the shape of the earlier examples [of the ogee moulding] can be related to one side of a roll-and-fillet of the time, the convex portion being larger than the concave portion, giving a moulding of graceful outline.'[32] Just such an ogee occurs in the jambs of the first-stage window in the west face of the gatehouse.[33] Such a moulding would seem to be more appropriate to the first half than to the second half of the fifteenth century. Further, the bricks of the gatehouse correspond exactly in size (*cf, above*, p. 226), colour, and texture to those of the Guildhall of St. George in King Street, Lynn. The correspondence is so marked that it is likely that the bricks for both buildings were made by the same brickmakers; and the bricks of both buildings contrast with those of other relevant buildings in Lynn, for example those of the Red Mount Chapel, whose sizes have already been given (above, p. 226). The Guildhall dates from after 1406, and in one place Miss Parker dates it to *c.* 1410;[34] but its scissor-braced and collared rafter roof, without tie-beams, would seem to be a development of the roof of the Trinity Guildhall in Saturday Market Place, which is basically similar but with tie-beams.[35] The Trinity Guildhall was building between 1422 and 1438, following a fire which destroyed its predecessor on a different site.[36] The most likely date for the Guildhall of St. George would therefore seem to be somewhere in the period *c.* 1435-50. And if, as is here suggested, the bricks indicate a broadly similar date for the Guildhall of St. George and the South Gate

then we have here further supporting evidence for dating the building of the present South Gate to the period 1437-40, when Robert Hertanger and his successor were at work.

There is one further matter which requires examination, and which will, in fact, provide yet further confirmatory evidence of the date here suggested for the building of the South Gate. The Hall Book records that Hertanger was dismissed and his successor engaged at a stage when the gatehouse was not half finished. It records also that the money set aside for building the gate had been squandered. If this were so then the work continued under the new mason must have been undertaken on a restricted budget. These various vicissitudes in the history of the building might be expected to express themselves in the structure.

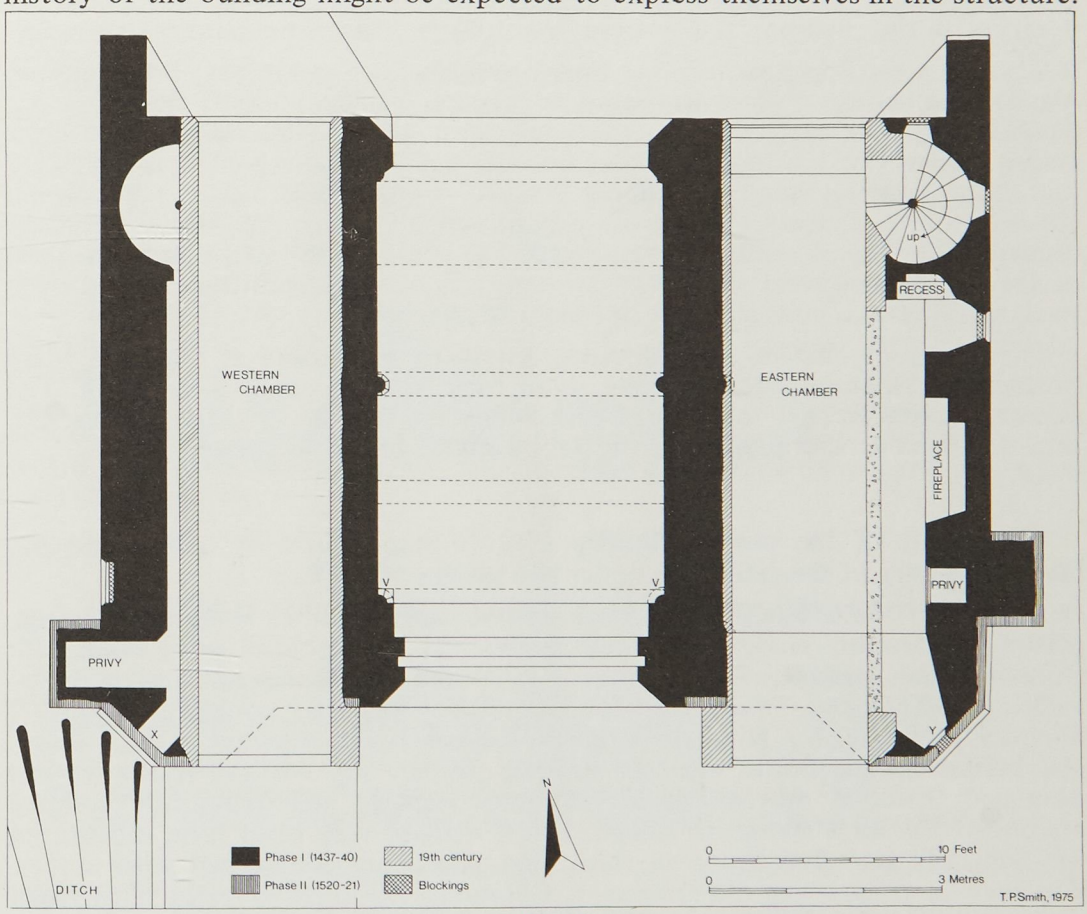

Fig. 1
Plan of the South Gate King's Lynn

They do. The gateway passage has four angle-shafts and two wall-shafts, some with bases and all with capitals, for a vault of two bays which was never built. In the south-east and south-west angles of the passageway the first few courses of the vault were built and still remain, showing that what was intended was a tierceron-ribbed vault (at 'V' on Fig. 1). What actually covers the passageway is the plainest of utilitarian vaults: a barrel-vault of brick supported by five stone transverse ribs of plain rectangular section. The southernmost rib springs from the incomplete vaulting conoids in the angles and the northernmost and central ribs

spring from the shaft capitals. The other two ribs spring from corbels and bear no relation to what happens in the wall-faces below. When this change of design took place the passageway, and probably the rest of the gatehouse too, was up to a level a little above the south-face bottommost string-course; that is to say, the gatehouse was just a little short of half-built. At about the same level there is a further indication of a change of design. At the southern end of each of the east and west walls of the passageway, next to the angle-shafts and immediately beneath the vaulting conoids, is a recess which is apparently the surround of a window which was never completed. Within the chambers on either side of the passageway there are no signs of these windows, which thus did not form part of the final design. These features are best explained as alterations of design contemporary with the change in the conception of the vaulting of the passageway.

There is some evidence too that the eastern chamber was to have been vaulted. Against the centre of its west wall is a semi-octagonal wall-shaft and there is a quarter-octagonal angle-shaft in the south-west angle. These shafts pass right across the level of the first floor and serve no function whatever. It seems likely that they were intended to support a vault, together with other shafts which either have not survived or were never built, and that when the change of mason occurred the idea of a vault was dropped. The shafts were carried up to the level of the second stage and a fairly heavy timber floor was substituted at first-stage level; this floor has now gone but its joist-holes remain.[37]

These various changes of design are surely to be located at the time when Hertanger was dismissed and his successor took over direction of the work. The changes testify to that shortage of cash which the Hall Book entry implies; and thus they lend further support to the dating argued for in the present paper.

VI

The results of the present inquiry may be summarised by setting out the building-history of the gatehouse under two phases of work.

Phase I (1437-40). Building designed by and started under Robert Hertanger, mason, of London. Ground-plan determined and walls started using brick with stone for the dressings. Tierceron vault intended and shafts for this built and vaulting commenced. Shafts for probable vault in eastern chamber also built.[38] Surrounds of intended windows in gatehouse passageway erected. At this point, just before the gatehouse was half finished, money ran out and Hertanger was dismissed. Another mason was subsequently engaged and under him building continued but on a restricted budget. Barrel-vault of very plain form substituted for originally intended tierceron vault, and side chambers floored with timber. Windows in passageway discontinued. Gatehouse finished in brick with stone dressings.

Phase II (1520-21). Front face refaced with ashlar by Nicholas and Thomas Hermer.

VII

The South Gate of King's Lynn thus takes it place as an early example of a major building in brick. Prior to *c.* 1375 Englishmen did not take readily to the use of brick as a principal material for building, and the work at Little Coggeshall Abbey, Essex, of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century,[39] and the fourteenth-century work at Hull[40] remained purely local phenomena without

influence beyond the immediate surroundings of either locality.[41] Brick was indeed used in somewhat haphazard combinations with other materials – notably flint – in East Anglian buildings even during the early fourteenth century, for example in town walls at Norwich, Great Yarmouth, and Lynn itself; such purely utilitarian use of the material also occurs in church walls in the Great Yarmouth district. But a real brick architecture does not begin until the final quarter of the fourteenth century, with such buildings as Shirburn Castle, Oxford. (*c.* 1377),[42] and Thornton Abbey gatehouse, Lincs. (*c.* 1382),[43] in both of which brick occurs as the principal material. Throughout the first half of the fifteenth century use of the material increased, although it had not really established itself widely until *c.* 1450. Major brick buildings dating to the period *c.* 1375 to *c.* 1450 are therefore fairly rare, and most seem to be the result of patronage by wealthy nobles; but there were some municipal and guild uses of the material in the period too. Norwich began early with the erection of the Cow Tower as part of the city defences in the closing years of the fourteenth century;[44] and in the fifteenth century there are a few further examples, like the North Bar of Beverley, Yorks. (1409-10),[45] the Guildhall of St. Mary at Boston, Lincs, (probably the first half of fifteenth century),[46] and, significantly, the Trinity Guildhall (1422-38) and the Guildhall of St. George (second quarter of the fifteenth century) at Lynn itself.[47] Prior to the fifteenth century brick had been used only as a minor material, for example in the construction of the fourteenth-century vault at Clifton House in Queen Street,[48] where the brick, however, was covered by plaster, and – as we have previously noted – haphazardly in portions of the town wall. Along with the two guildhalls the South Gate is therefore one of the first uses of the new material on a major scale. Its greater significance lies in the fact that it is an early use of the material on a major scale not only in Lynn but in the country as a whole.

April 1974

[1] H. J. Hillen, *History of the Borough of King's Lynn* (Norwich and London, n.d. but preface dated 1907), 761.

[2] Hillen, 761.

[3] Hillen, 761; I have replaced Hillen's 'Borewell' by 'Bonwell'; the place-name has been read differently by different writers: J. H. Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects: a Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1954), 134 repeats 'Borewell', which he identified with Burwell, Cambs.; V. Parker, *The Making of King's Lynn* (London and Chichester, 1971), 140 gives 'Benwell'; I am grateful to Paul Rutledge for encouraging further research into this matter and to Jonathan Pepler for ascertaining that the correct reading is indeed 'Bonwell'.

[4] E.g. Hillen, 761; N. Pevsner, *North-west and South Norfolk* (Harmondsworth, 1962), 236-7.

[5] B. H. St. J. O'Neil, *Castles and Cannon: a Study of Early Artillery Fortifications in England* (Oxford, 1960), 46.

[6] T. P. Smith, 'The Medieval Town Defences of King's Lynn', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd series, 33 (1970), 63-4.

[7] J. A. Wight, *Brick Building in England from the Middle Ages to 1550* (London, 1972), 331.

[8] H. L. Turner, *Town Defences in England and Wales: an Architectural and Documentary Study AD 900-1500* (London, 1970), 127.

[9] Parker, 140.

[10] Smith (1970), 61-72.

[11] W. Richards, *The History of Lynn* (King's Lynn, 1812), frontis.; W. Taylor, *The Antiquities of King's Lynn* (King's Lynn, 1844), opposite 156.

[12] *Cf.* Smith (1970), 86-7.

[13] Turner, 178-9.

[14] See the brief notice of excavations by L. Keen, *Medieval Archaeology*, 12 (1968), 168 and Fig. 43.

[15] See, e.g. S. Toy, *The Castles of Great Britain* (4th ed., London, 1966), 250-51.

[16] D. F. Renn, *Medieval Castles in Hertfordshire* (London and Chichester, 1971), 16-18; T. P. Smith, 'Fifteenth Century Brick Buildings in Hertfordshire' (forthcoming).

[17] Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *An Inventory of . . . Essex*, 3 (London, 1922), 203.

[18]T. P. Smith, 'Rye House, Hertfordshire. and Aspects of Early Brickwork in England', *Archaeol. J.* 132 (1965), 137-8.

[19]T. P. Smith, 'Someries Castle', *Beds. Archaeol. J.*, 3 (1966), 35-54; for the date of this building see T. P. Smith, 'The Early Brickwork of Someries Castle and its Place in the History of English Brick Building', *J. Beds. Arch. Ass.*, (forthcoming).

[20]Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *An Inventory of . . . the City of Cambridge* (London, 1959), 27 and plan opposite 28.

[21]O'Neil, 46.

[22]*Cf.* Smith (1970), 63; for a brief description of the Red Mount Chapel see 'Report of the Summer Meeting at King's Lynn', *Archaeol. J.*, 89 (1932), 337.

[23]Smith (1970), 63.

[24]O'Neil, 46.

[25]H. D. Barnes and W. D. Simpson, 'Caister Castle', *Ant. J.*, 32 (1952), 35-51.

[26]W. D. Simpson, 'Herstmonceux Castle', *Archaeol. J.*, 99 (1942), 110-22; *cf.* O'Neil, 30-31.

[27]C. Peers, *Kirby Muxloe Castle, Leicestershire* (D. of E. guide, London, 1970 edition), 13-19.

[28]O'Neil, 38.

[29]Smith (1970), 64.

[30]*Cf.*, for an earlier use of 'making' in this sense: work at Nottingham Castle in *c.* 1252 included 'the making ("finishing" would be the better word) of the wooden dais in the hall "with French (franco) plaster".' L. F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540: a Documentary History* (Oxford, 2nd edition, 1967), 155.

[31]Smith (1970), 63.

[32]H. Forrester, *Medieval Gothic Mouldings* (London and Chichester, 1972), 18.

[33]Illustrated in Smith (1970), 70, Fig. 5.

[34]Parker, 74, caption to Fig. 17.

[35]*Cf.* Parker, 142-7.

[36]Parker, 143.

[37]The corresponding portions of the western chamber have been partly destroyed and partly obscured by the nineteenth-century alterations, so that it is not possible to say whether similar shafts occured in that chamber.

[38]And possibly in the western chamber too; see previous note.

[39]J. S. Gardner, 'Coggeshall Abbey and its Early Brickwork', *JBAA* 3 (1955), 19-32.

[40]F. W. Brooks, 'A Medieval Brick-yard at Hull', *JBAA* 3, 4 (1939), 151-74.

[41]I have written further on this theme in Smith (1975), 129-31; and in T. P. Smith, 'Major Brick Buildings in England, 1375-1450: a Survey' (forthcoming).

[42]W. A. Pantin in *Victoria County History of Oxfordshire*, 3 (1964), 179.

[43]A. W. Clapham and P. K. Baillie Reynolds, *Thornton Abbey, Lincolnshire* (D. of E. guide, 1969 edition), 10-14.

[44]*Report of the* [Norwich] *City Committee as to the City Wall* (Norwich, 1910), 11, and 56; also Turner, 135, and Wight, 339-40.

[45]J. Bilson, 'The North Bar, Beverley', *E. Riding Ant. Soc. Trans.*, 4 (1896), 38-9; and A. F. Leach, 'The Building of Beverley Bar', *E. Riding Ant. Soc. Trans.*, 4 (1896), 26-7; also Turner, 99, and Wight, 394.

[46]Wight, 299.

[47]See above, p.228.

[48]Parker, 89-91.