FLAMBOROUGH CASTLE, TOWER STREET, FLAMBOROUGH, EAST YORKSHIRE

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY AND MONITORING OF 2017-18 REPAIRS



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FLAMBOROUGH CASTLE, TOWER STREET, FLAMBOROUGH, EAST YORKSHIRE

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Report no: 2017/538.R01

Version: Final

Date: December 2018

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In May 2017, Ed Dennison Archaeological Services Ltd (EDAS) were commissioned by Ms Jakki Wright (owner) to undertake an archaeological survey of Flamborough Castle, Tower Street, Flamborough, East Yorkshire (NGR TA 22581 70344 centred), prior to and during a programme of consolidation and repair to the ruined structure; the site is a Scheduled Monument. The archaeological survey work, which formed part of the overall repair and consolidation project, was funded by Jakki Wright with a grant provided by Historic England.

The project involved the collation of documentary material, an archaeological topographical survey of the surrounding earthworks, a pre-intervention survey of the ruined tower, and the monitoring of the repair and consolidation works. The results were collated into a detailed survey report, which also considers the layout and context of the castle complex, the latter in relation to the village and wider landscape.

A large part of Flamborough was owned by the Earl of Chester in 1086, and one of his tenants was later appointed Constable of Chester and so took the descriptive name. Robert the Constable (d.1185) succeeded to the Flamborough estate in about 1139, and the village remained with the family for almost 400 years. The Constables became significant landowners in East Yorkshire, and they played an increasing role in national and regional affairs. William the Constable (d.1319) was living in Flamborough in 1297, and he built a small private chapel or oratory, presumably in his manor house which is assumed to be on the castle site. His son, Sir Robert Constable (d.1338-9), may have sat in the Parliament of 1319, and helped to defend the Yorkshire coast from pirates and the threat of invasion. Sir Robert's son, Sir Marmaduke Constable (d.1378), was twice Sheriff of Yorkshire in the 1360s, and received licences 'to crenellate' or fortify his manor house in 1351 and 1352. Sir Marmaduke's son, another Sir Robert Constable (d.1400-1), was also a prominent member of the East Yorkshire nobility and a noted soldier. Another Sir Marmaduke Constable (d.1518) inherited the estate in 1488, and he died at Flamborough after reputedly choking on a frog which hopped into his glass from the castle gardens; he has a memorial in the nearby St Oswald's church.

The most notorious of the Constable family was the latter Sir Marmaduke's son, Sir Robert Constable (d.1537). He was a noted soldier for the Crown, and was appointed steward to several important royal estates in East Yorkshire. He was also reported to be hot-headed and quick tempered, and frequently took the law into his own hands. His actions meant he was forced to give up most of his royal appointments, and by the early 16th century he had fallen out with his family's long-standing patrons, the Earls of Northumberland. In 1536, he became involved in the Pilgrimage of Grace, an uprising against the dissolution of the monasteries and other religious changes imposed by the Crown. He was captured, tried and found guilty of treason, and was hung in chains from the Beverley Gate in Hull on 6th July 1537. As a result, all the Constable lands were forfeited to the Crown.

The manor house/castle complex fell into decay after Sir Robert's execution and, although some repairs were carried out in 1541, by c.1573 much had been demolished. Although the Constables were able to reclaim Flamborough and other lands from Elizabeth I in the later 16th century, the castle site was no longer habitable and so they lived at South Hall, to the south of the church. In 1636, the estate was sold by another Sir William Constable (d.1655) to pay off his debts, and in 1650 it was bought by the Strickland family, who built a new manor house on the east side of Tower Street, opposite the former castle site. Although the ruined tower of the former castle was subsequently used as a cattle shed in the 19th century, the main part of the complex has remained largely undisturbed since the late 16th century.

Only three sides of the ruined chalk tower now survive, to a height of 4m, placed towards the south-west corner of raised platform measuring 74m north-south by 55m east-west. Although most of the external facing stone is now missing, it would have originally measured 11.5m east-

west by 9.3m north-south with external walls 1.3m thick, and would have been at least two or possibly three storeys high. The north wall has since collapsed, possibly in 1925, but the extant remains indicate two windows lighting the single ground floor room which had a barrel vaulted roof over. There is evidence for another window in the south wall of the first floor, as well an external doorway in the east wall, and the remains of a garderobe chute in the south-east corner. There are no remains of any second floor. It is tempting to date the tower to the mid 14th century, reflecting the 1351-52 'licenses to crenulate' but, on balance, it is thought that these could relate to the modification or enlargement of an existing, earlier, free-standing tower house by Sir Marmaduke Constable (d.1378), to convert it into a more practical and comfortable solar tower with the addition of a hall and kitchen range to the north.

The tower would have formed part of a large, probably walled, manorial complex. A kitchen, larder house, bake house and brew house are mentioned in 1518, while in 1537 there was the tower with an attached solar, a hall with a chamber above, a 'great parlour', a 'lord's parlour', a chapel, a court house, a mill house, a buttery and pantry with a chamber above, a 'great barn' and a beer house. Many of these structures would have lain within the probably walled castle platform, with others placed immediately outside. Within the castle platform, the earthworks suggest an inner court to the west of the tower, with ranges of service buildings along the north, east and west sides and a possible entrance from Church Street to the south. To the north is a larger outer court, with one or two buildings on the west side, perhaps representing the court house mentioned in 1537. A series of garden enclosures have also been identified on the east side of the castle platform, and a large rectangular earthwork to their south might be the 'great barn'. Outlying building platforms to the north of the castle platform, fed by an open watercourse, are likely to represent the beer and brew houses. To the west and partially underlying the castle platform are the earthworks of an earlier moated enclosure, perhaps forming part of the original manorial centre of the Constable family.

The castle platform and its related earthworks occupy the southern half of a larger enclosure or precinct, bounded by Bempton Lane (formerly Carter Lane) to the west and north, Tower Street to the east and Church Street to the south. The south side has since been occupied by The Rectory and St Oswald's Church graveyard, and the northern half is now given over to housing (Castle Crescent). Whether this northern part formed a 'little park' or pleasure ground containing gardens and orchards is unknown, but there is a large chalk pit which could have supplied the castle's building stone.

An examination of the village's layout, as depicted on the 1766 enclosure map and the 1854 Ordnance Survey map, suggests that there were originally two separate cores of settlement, probably reflecting the two manorial estates listed in the 1086 Domesday Book. The southern core is formed by the church, a large rectangular green to its south, and South Hall (now Beacon Farm) to the south again, and this may have pre-medieval origins. House plots along the east side of the green appear regular and may represent a planned element, and archaeological excavations have revealed medieval occupation dating from the late 12th-early 13th century to the late 14th century to the east of the church. The northern core is based around the North Mere and North Mere Green, and several phases of development can be seen here, including a planned extension to the north and a possible market place to the south. The castle precinct lies between these two cores, and it may be that Tower Street is a later development associated with the expansion or re-development of the castle complex, while regularly-spaced house plots on its east side may also form a planned area of settlement.

1 INTRODUCTION

Reasons and Circumstances of the Project

1.1 In May 2017, Ed Dennison Archaeological Services Ltd (EDAS) were commissioned by Ms Jakki Wright (owner) to undertake an archaeological survey of the site and remains of Flamborough Castle, Tower Street, Flamborough, East Yorkshire (NGR TA 22581 70344 centred), prior to and during a programme of consolidation and repair to the ruined structure. The archaeological survey work, which formed part of the overall repair and consolidation project, was funded by Jakki Wright with a grant provided by Historic England.

Site Location and Summary Description

- 1.2 The archaeological survey covered the whole of the field in which the ruins and earthworks are located (2.27 hectares). It is known locally as Tower Field, and comprises the whole of the Scheduled Monument area.
- 1.3 Tower Field lies between Tower Street on the east and the B1229 Bempton Lane (formerly Carter Lane) on the west, and is bounded by the rear of residential properties and gardens to the north (Castle Crescent), and by the vicarage and an extension to St Oswald's Church to the south (see figures 1 and 2). At the time of the survey work, the field was in pasture, and was used as grazing for a small number of horses. The majority of the eastern boundary of the survey area was formed by wooden post and rail fencing, with a small length of iron railings around a war memorial on Tower Street. Most of the western boundary was a mature hedge (averaging 2.0m wide and standing on a flat-topped bank), the southern boundary was a brick wall of several different phases and heights, and the northern boundary was a variety of fencing forming the rear gardens of residential properties on Castle Crescent. The south-east corner of the field has been encroached upon by an 1918 extension of St Oswald's Church cemetery, and the east side by a war memorial erected in October 1921.
- 1.4 The ground surface within the survey area slopes down from a height of c.45.50m AOD on the east side adjacent to Tower Street to a height of c.42.00m AOD on the west side. However, it does not slope evenly, but in a series of steps. The survey area's eastern edge is set at approximately the same height as the platform on which the castle ruins are located. From this eastern boundary, the ground slopes steadily downwards towards a north-south aligned ditch, beyond which the ground is relatively level until it meets the eastern scarp of the castle platform. The castle platform is again relatively level, but the ground falls away sharply into the area between the platform and the western limit of the survey area, which is significantly lower than the platform. As a consequence, the castle platform assumes a higher, dominant, position in the field.
- 1.5 Full details regarding the history and development of the castle complex are contained in Chapter 2 below. In summary, the 1086 Domesday Survey noted two estates at Flamborough, the larger of which was held as a manor and which passed to the Constable family in the second half of the 12th century. Although there are suggestions that there may been some kind of fortified residence on the site by the late 12th century, and some possible documentary evidence from the early 14th century, the earliest known definite reference to the castle is a licence to crenellate granted in 1351. By the early 16th century, the complex appears to have been quite extensive, with a number of different buildings and structures being

mentioned. However, by c.1540 it was in decay, after the execution of Sir Robert Constable in 1537 for his part in the Pilgrimage of Grace.

Site Designations

- 1.6 The castle ruins stand in the centre of an area of earthworks, covering some 2.27ha. This area is protected as a Scheduled Monument (National Heritage List for England 1014896, first scheduled on 8th April 1946), while the ruins are also a Grade II Listed Building (National Heritage List for England 1083401, first listed on 30th June 1966). The site is also recorded on the National Record of the Historic Environment (Pastscape 81854), the National Monuments Record (TA27SW9), and the Humber Historic Environment Record (HER) (site 1021). The war memorial on Tower Street is a Grade II Listed Building (National Heritage List for England 1391713), first listed on 28th April 2006.
- 1.7 The Scheduled Monument description reads as follows:

"The monument includes the remains of a medieval fortified house and related earthworks known as Flamborough Castle, located in a field behind the war memorial in Tower Street, in the village of Flamborough.

The most visible feature of the site is the ruined tower, which stands in the middle of the site. It is constructed of coursed squared chalk blocks and rubble, probably extracted from a small quarry around 100m to the north of the site.

Originally rectangular in plan, only three sides now survive, and include the full length of the south wall, with parts of the east and west walls remaining to an estimated height of 4m. There is one altered doorway to the east with plain jambs and square head, while the interior retains putlog holes and chamfered springers for a barrel vaulted basement. Until a few years ago, the vaulted chamber was complete but, due to the decay of mortar, has now collapsed. Part of the first floor, with the footings of a door in the south wall, can be traced above the remains of the vaulting. The only evidence for a second floor is a garderobe drain in the south east corner wall. The drain was enclosed in masonry and can be traced up through the basement and first floor level. There are many putlog holes through the walls which may have been filled with clay or wood.

The tower would have been only one element of a building complex. At the death of Sir Robert Constable in 1537, the complex is said to have included a tower, a hall, a 'great parlour', a 'lord's parlour', a chapel, a court house, a mill house, and a great barn.

The foundations of other buildings are visible as overgrown earthwork banks immediately around the tower. Stone forming their upper walls has been largely robbed out, probably to construct later buildings in Flamborough, or for lime burning, leaving only foundations and associated demolition debris. The remains thus identified appear to occupy an almost square platform in the centre of the field; this was the core of the medieval manor house. Around this a series of further earthwork banks and ditches define and sub-divide a series of enclosures and access trackways. The earthworks are difficult to interpret clearly but are thought to include stock yards and enclosures within which less manorial buildings (those associated with agricultural activities such as barns) were located.

There are good historical data which show that it was the seat of the Constable family for many years, until the death of Sir Robert Constable in 1537. In 1315,

William the Constable was licensed to have an oratory, and later in 1351, Marmaduke Constable received licence to crenellate the house. In the 16th century, Leland described it as 'taken for a manor place rather than a castle'. The tower survived, and in 1798 it still contained a vaulted undercroft which was used as a cattle shed. Chalk was then being removed and burned for lime, the lime kilns for which are still evident as circular earthworks on the site, to the east of the tower. The tower is also a Listed Grade II building".

1.8 The Listed Building description reads as follows:

"Castle. Mid C14. Coursed squared chalk rubble with some patching in brick. Originally rectangular on plan, 3 sides only now surviving. 1 altered doorway to east elevation with plain jambs and square head. Interior retains putlog holes and chamfered springers for barrel-vaulted basement. Scheduled ancient monument".

Previous Archaeological Investigations

- 1.9 The upstanding remains of the castle, probably due to their limited nature, have attracted only brief mentions in modern regional castle surveys (for example, Emery 1996, 175, 275-276 & 421; Creighton 1998, 545-546; Salter 2001, 38; Turner 2004, 239).
- 1.10 Prior to the current survey, the only known detailed recording work carried out on the ruin and earthworks was undertaken by J R Earnshaw in c.1964 (Earnshaw 1965, 322). Earnshaw produced a measured survey of the more prominent earthworks around the ruin, but did not include the southernmost part of the enclosure in which it is located; the current work has been able to add substantially to this earlier survey. Earnshaw also produced a ground plan of the tower in May 1964. Although not published, copies of Earnshaw's surveys with some notes are held by the Humber HER (site 1021) (see figure 3). Presumably as a result of this survey, Earnshaw made a reconstruction model of the tower, now held by East Riding Museum Service (ERYMS 1993.1657).
- 1.11 The remains of the castle and the surrounding earthworks have also been the subject of some aerial photography. A number of black and white oblique aerial photographs were taken on 2nd July 1976 by Cambridge University's Aerial Photographic Unit (CUCAP BYV37), and others were taken on 16th February 1990 by Ed Dennison, then of the Humber Archaeology Partnership (HAP 90/4/4-7). The latter show the earthworks particularly well (see figure 4).
- 1.12 A small-scale archaeological trial excavation, comprising one trench measuring 6.0m long by 0.5m wide, was excavated across the eastern bank running parallel to Tower Street, just to the north of the War Memorial enclosure, in November 1995 (Atkinson 1995; Evans & Steedman 1997, 146). The work was required to determine the survival of the perimeter wall and any associated archaeological deposits, prior to the construction of a new fence. The buried wall, composed of chalk blocks, was found to survive at a depth of 0.86m below the existing earth bank, but it had been extensively robbed. However, a clay bank, predating the chalk wall, was also found, and associated pottery suggested a 14th century, or later, date for the construction of the wall.
- 1.13 As part of the preparatory work for the repair and consolidation project, a rectified photographic survey of the castle ruins was undertaken by Gritstone Associates Ltd of Glossop, Derbyshire. The resulting survey data was made available to

EDAS at the start of the survey work by the project architect Richard Maddison of Maddison James Associates Ltd of North Stainley near Ripon.

Aims and Objectives of the Project

- 1.14 The aims and objectives of the project were:
 - to identify and gather sufficient information to establish the extent, nature, character, condition, quality, date, significance and functional relationships of the surviving archaeological and historical features within the survey area;
 - to provide a detailed pre-intervention record of the complex;
 - to monitor the 2017-18 repair and consolidation work, to record any additional archaeological features that might be revealed; and
 - to provide information suitable for use on a public signboard.

Survey Methodologies

1.15 As far as was possible, the archaeological recording conforms to a Level 3 analytical survey as defined by Historic England (2016, 26; English Heritage 2007, 23). Four main phases of work were undertaken as part of the project, namely documentary research and collation, topographical survey, building recording, and monitoring during the repair work. In many cases, there were cross references and links between the various project elements, with some elements informing and determining the scope and scale of subsequent elements.

Collation of Documentary Material

- 1.16 A limited amount of primary documentary research was carried out as part of the project, together with the collation of existing readily-available published and secondary material, to provide an archaeological and historical context for the site.
- 1.17 Information relating to Flamborough village, the survey area and the castle ruins was obtained from the Humber HER. Other on-line data from Historic England's 'Heritage Gateway' website (www.heritagegateway.org.uk), which provides links to the National Heritage List for England (NHLE), the National Record of the Historic Environment (NRHE Pastscape), and the National Monument Record Excavation Index, was also collected. The Ordnance Survey's historic maps of the study area were also consulted, at both 6" and 25" scales, via the National Library of Scotland website (http://maps.nls.uk/index.html) and the East Riding of Yorkshire Archive Office (ERAO).
- 1.18 A range of published and unpublished documentary sources in both local and national collections were consulted for background information and specific data on specialised aspects of the history and archaeology of the village and the survey area. Of particular use were the relevant chapter of the East Yorkshire Victoria County History (Purdy 1974), a 2007 thesis relating to manor houses in east Yorkshire (McDonagh 2007), and other publications relating to Flamborough (e.g. Cottrell Dormer 1894, Herries 1900, Crossley 1910, Brearley 1971). A list of all the sources consulted for this assessment is provided in the bibliography (Chapter 5) below.

Archaeological Topographic Survey

- 1.19 The survey area covered c.2.27ha, forming the extent of the Scheduled Monument. The survey was undertaken at a scale of 1:500 using EDM total station equipment, to record the position and form of all features considered to be of archaeological and/or historic interest. Sufficient information was gathered to allow the survey area to be readily located through the use of surviving structures, fences, walls, water courses, trackways and other topographical features. The survey recorded the position at ground level of all structures, wall remnants and revetments, earthworks, water courses, leats, paths, stone and rubble scatters, ironwork, fences, walls and other boundary features, and any other features considered to be of archaeological or historic interest. Differences in the exposed surface detritus, such as sorted stone and/or rubble scatters, as well as differences in coarse vegetation, were also recorded as these features may aid the functional differentiation and interpretation of the site.
- 1.20 The site survey was integrated into the Ordnance Survey (OS) national grid by resection to points of known co-ordinates. Heights AOD were obtained by reference to the nearest OS benchmark on St Oswald's Church; contours were not plotted across the survey area, although a profile (broadly north-south) was constructed across the field. Survey points were taken from fixed survey stations on a closed traverse around and through the survey area. The locations, descriptions and values of the Bench Marks and control points are stated in the final survey data. On completion of the total station survey, the field data was plotted and re-checked on site in a separate operation - any amendments or additions were surveyed by hand measurement. The resulting site survey was produced at a scale of 1:500 and presented as an interpretative hand-drawn wet ink hachure plan(s) using conventions analogous to those used by English Heritage (1999; 2002, 14; 2007, 31-35). The EDM survey was carried out in May 2017, and the hand enhancement was done in July 2017, with an additional visit in March 2018 when grass growth was at a minimum.
- 1.21 Each individual part or component identified by the topographical survey within the survey area was given an identifier number, and a detailed written description was produced based on notes taken in the field. Photographs were taken to illustrate specific well-preserved parts, details of specific earthworks and/or areas of erosion etc. More general photographs were also taken showing the landscape context of the site. The colour photographs were produced using a digital camera with 12 megapixel resolution, and Historic England's photographic guidelines were followed (English Heritage 2007, 14). All photographs have been clearly numbered and labelled with the subject, orientation, date taken and photographer's name, and are cross-referenced to digital files etc.

Pre-intervention Building Recording

- 1.22 A ground plan of the upstanding ruin was produced at a scale of 1:50 by hand measurement, using the EDM total station footprint survey as a base. All drawings were produced according to the guidelines established by English Heritage (2016), and were keyed into the general topographical survey. The building recording was carried out in June 2017.
- 1.23 A detailed photographic record was made of all external and internal elevations of the ruin, both parallel to the elevation (within the constraints of the site) and from other vantage points to include oblique general views of the structure and showing it in its setting. Close-up photographs were also taken of significant detail, as

appropriate. The photographs were used to show not only the structures' present appearance but also to record the evidence on which the analysis of their historic development is based. As with the topographic survey, the colour photographs were produced using a digital camera with 12 megapixel resolution, and English Heritage photographic guidelines were followed (English Heritage 2016).

Monitoring of Repair and Consolidation Works

1.24 Rather than continuously monitoring the repair and consolidation work, which was done by Historic Building Restoration Ltd intermittently over a period of seven months between late summer 2017 and spring 2018, a number of separate site visits were carried out. A total of five visits were made, on 20th October and 24th November 2017, and 8th, 19th and 28th March 2018. Appropriate drawings were made, including an upper level plan from the scaffolding erected for the repairs, and photographs were taken. The resulting record comprised the equivalent of a Level 3 descriptive record, as defined by Historic England (English Heritage 2007, 23). The results from the monitoring work have been incorporated into the general architectural description of the castle ruin in Chapter 3 below.

Survey Products

Archaeological Survey Report

- 1.25 An EDAS archive archaeological survey report has been produced, based on the results of the documentary collation, and the information obtained during the field work. The report assembles and summarises the available evidence for the survey area in an ordered form, synthesises the data, comments on the quality and reliability of the evidence, and how it might need to be supplemented by further field work or desk-based research. The report has been illustrated by reduced versions of the survey drawings, historic maps and plans and a selection of photographs. The report also contains various appendices, including the structured gazetteer of sites/components, photographic registers and catalogues.
- 1.26 Two hard copies of the final survey report were then provided, to the landowner and the Humber SMR, while a CD containing an electronic copy of the report (as a pdf file) and digital copies of the photographs was also provided to other interested parties including Historic England.

Archaeological Survey Archive

1.27 A properly ordered and indexed archive resulting from the project has been deposited with the East Riding of Yorkshire Museum Service (EDAS site code FCF 17; accession number ERYMS (BAG) 2018.32).

2 ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Constable Family

- 2.1 At the time of the 1086 Domesday survey, there were two estates in Flamborough (Purdy 1974, 154). The larger consisted of 15 carucates of land (1,800 acres or 735ha) which had been held as a manor by Earl Harold in 1066. In 1086 it was in the possession of Hugh d'Avranches, Earl of Chester, and it formed part of the Honour of Chester until at least 1519. The demesne tenant of this estate in 1086 was Hugh, and some time after it passed to William, son of Niel, whose father had been created Constable of Chester by Earl Hugh. One of William's illegitimate descendants. Robert the Constable (d.1185) succeeded to his father's Flamborough estate in about 1139. This Robert was the ancestor of the Constable family of Flamborough whose name is almost certainly derived from the office of the Constable of Chester (Purdy 1974, 154). There are suggestions, for example from Historic England records (Pastscape 81854), that there may have been an earlier castle or manorial centre at Flamborough in 1180-93 when a 'constabularius' is documented, but no primary reference is provided and it is not repeated in the Victoria County History (Purdy 1974). This term can be defined as 'constable, commander, high constable or warden of a castle/manor/parish'; it therefore seems to refer to an individual rather than a structure, although of course such an individual may well have occupied a residence commensurate with their status.
- 2.2 The Constables of Flamborough played a significant role in society in the East Riding of Yorkshire throughout the 14th century. William the Constable (d.1319) was living in Flamborough in 1297, as he was assessed for 3s 8d in the Lay Subsidy of that year (Brearley 1971, 140) and in 1315 he was licensed to have an oratory or small private chapel. It has been assumed that this was located in the fortified manor house complex situated to the north of the church, which is more generally referred to as 'Flamborough Castle' or the 'Danish Tower' (Purdy 1974, 155; see below). His son, Sir Robert Constable (d.1338-9), who may have sat in the Parliament of 1319, was certainly summoned to attend a great council five years later, and he served on many royal commissions and helped to maintain the Yorkshire coast in readiness to defend against pirates and the threat of foreign invasion (Rawcliffe 1993).
- 2.3 Sir Robert's son, Sir Marmaduke Constable (d.1378), served two terms as Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1360-62 and 1366-67 and undertook other administrative duties for the Crown, including Commissioner of the Peace in 1351 (Horrox 2004a). He would have had the necessary resources to undertake rebuilding work at Flamborough, and received a licence to crenellate his house at Flamborough in May 1351, a licence which was repeated in February 1352 (Purdy 1974, 155; Emery 1996, 421); the first licence was for a chamber within the manor of Flamborough while the second was for his dwelling place. The existence of two licenses is not unusual, and repeated and renewed licences can cover a range of circumstances - it is suggested that the second licence was purely a confirmation of the earlier one (Emery 1996, 175). However, it has also been proposed that the two licences were for different properties, one for the main complex and the other for a hall close to the current Beacon Farm, south of the church (www.gatehousegazetteer.info), or perhaps even for a building which protected the harbour (Crossley 1910, 176); however, as will be seen later, it is thought that both licences relate to the castle site. Sir Marmaduke had at least two sons, probably by his first wife, Joan, who was buried at All Saints Church at Holme in Spalding Moor, where the family's other main residence and manor was located (Rawcliffe 1993).

- 2.4 In 1378, Marmaduke was succeeded by his son, Sir Robert Constable (d.1400-1). Robert had served in France in 1373 under John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and in 1376 he was recommended by the 'Good Parliament' as being a suitable person to serve on a commission of array for the protection of the coastline around Scarborough. His military career continued, and he served under Thomas of Woodstock in France in 1380, and in Scotland in 1383 again under John of Gaunt. He was also active in local government, and was a Justice of the Peace for the East Riding and Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1385-86 and 1394-95. Sir Robert attended the 'Merciless Parliament' in 1388 and had strong connections with the upper ranks of the nobility. It is not thought that he made any substantial additions to the family estates, although in 1395 he did acquire land and tenements in Butterwick in Ryedale. The changing political circumstances of the 1390s, with Richard II's resurgence, saw him less active in national politics, but he did live long enough to see Henry IV's seizure of the throne (Horrox 2004a; Rawcliffe 1993).
- 2.5 In the mid 15th century, Flamborough was held by another Sir Robert Constable (d.1488), although he did not take possession of the manor until he came of age in 1444. In 1451, he inherited the Cumberworth estates of his great uncle Thomas, which gave him a role in Lincolnshire as well as Yorkshire he was Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1461-62 and 1478-79, and of Lincolnshire in 1466-67 (Horrox 2004a). On his death in 1488, Flamborough passed to his son Sir Marmaduke Constable (d.1518), known as 'the little', on account of his height.
- 2.6 By 1470, both Marmaduke and his father were in the service of Henry Percy, 4th Earl of Northumberland. Marmaduke campaigned with the earl in Scotland in the early 1480s, and Northumberland knighted him at Berwick in August 1481. By December 1483, Marmaduke was a Knight of the Body to Richard III, and in March 1484 the King granted him all the major Duchy of Lancaster offices in the north midlands, including the constableship of Tutbury Castle in Staffordshire, as well as other titles. It is not clear whether Sir Marmaduke fought for Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth, but he was granted a pardon by Henry VII in November 1485, was a Knight of the Body to the King by May 1486, and accompanied him to the French wars in 1492. He became Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1488, and played a major role in dealing with the unrest of 1489 in which the Earl of Northumberland was killed. He was nominated to the Order of the Garter in 1509, although was not elected. In 1513 he commanded the left wing at the Battle of Flodden, for which service he received a letter of thanks from Henry VIII; he was over 70 years old at the time, and Henry's letter has been reproduced elsewhere (Cottrell Dormer 1894, 86-87; Brearley 1971, 18-19). He died in November 1518, reputedly from choking on a frog which hopped into his glass in the garden of Flamborough Castle (Horrox 2004b; McDonagh 2007, 213). There is a memorial to Sir Marmaduke in St Oswald's church, and the fragment of the stone effigy depicting the open breast of a skeleton with a toad at its heart may be the origin of this story (McDonagh 2013, 10; Purdy 1974, 163; Pevsner & Neave 1995, 421). Sir Marmaduke's memorial is also reproduced in several sources (e.g. Brealey 1971, 18; Cottrell Dormer 1894,
- 2.7 In the early 16th century, around 1538, the Constables' residential complex at Flamborough was described by John Leland as "taken rather for a manor place than a castle" (Purdy 1974, 155). Sir Marmaduke's will, dated 1st May 1518, notes that the complex contained a kitchen, larder house, bake house, beer house and brew house (Brearley 1971, 182; Raine 1884, 90).
- 2.8 Sir Marmaduke was succeeded by his son, Sir Robert Constable (c.1478-1537). He was also a soldier, and was in the royal army which defeated Cornish rebels at

Blackheath on 17th June 1497 - he was actually knighted on the battlefield. He was a Justice of the Peace and Commissioner for Array for the East Riding from the early 1500s, and he also fought at the Battle of Flodden in 1513 with his father, brothers and cousins. In the early 1530s was part of the King's Council in the North, and his regional influence was augmented by his appointment to a number of stewardships, including the crown lordships of Sheriff Hutton and Hotham, and the Percy lordships of Leconfield and Pocklington; he was also steward of the Liberty of Howden for the Bishops of Durham (Newman 2004). Sir Robert's life has recently been examined, as far as is possible from the available limited documentary sources, specifically those of the central equity courts (McDonagh 2013). These show that he was hot-headed and quick tempered, and frequently took the law into his own hands, for example by withholding deeds, forcibly evicting existing tenants and landowners in favour of his own tenants, and carrying out or being responsible for kidnappings, assaults, riots and even a murder. In most cases, the disputes were over property ownership in the southern Wolds, for example at Hunsley, Hotham, Arras and North and South Cave, although he seems to have been relatively popular in Flamborough.

- 2.9 His actions resulted in several public reprimands in the 1520s and 1530s, and there were calls for him to be dismissed from the Commission of the Peace. In 1532 he was forced to give up the royal stewardship of Sheriff Hutton and Holderness, and he had already been discharged as the steward of Howden by the Bishop of Durham, who was suing him over his claims to arrears. Sir Robert was also losing favour with his family's long-standing patrons, the Earls of Northumberland. Matters reached a head when, in 1536, Sir Robert became embroiled in the Pilgrimage of Grace, an uprising based in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire and fronted by Robert Aske against the dissolution of the monasteries and other religious changes imposed by Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell. Sir Robert was seen as one of the ringleaders (perhaps unfairly), along with Aske and Thomas, Lord Darcy, and he was summoned to London to face charges in February 1537. He evaded the summons and stayed in Flamborough, but all three were committed to the Tower of London in April, and their lands and estates were confiscated. Trumped-up charges of treason and a prejudicial jury meant that they were all found quilty, and sentenced to death; Sir Robert's case was not helped by the fact that he also colluded in a second rebellion against the King led by Sir Francis Bigod and others. Henry VIII decided that Sir Robert should be executed in Hull, which he had garrisoned against government forces in 1536, and he was hanged in chains from the Beverley Gate on 6th July 1537; his bones were probably still there when Henry visited the town in 1540 (McDonagh 2013).
- 2.10 At the time of his execution in 1537, the residential complex at Flamborough included the tower, a hall, a 'great parlour', a 'lord's parlour', a chapel, a courthouse, a mill-house and a 'great barn' (Purdy 1974, 155; Pevsner & Neave 1995, 422). Other structures mentioned in 1573, but referring back to the situation in 1537, included a kitchen, buttery, pantry (larder house), bake house, brew house and beer house, and there was also a chamber over the buttery and pantry, and another chamber over the hall (TNA E178/2564 quoted in McDonagh 2007, 148 & 383). Sir Robert also held some 51 manors at this time, mostly in East Yorkshire but also some in Lincolnshire (Herries 1900, 67). After Sir Robert's death in 1537, the Constable family abandoned the castle and the manor appears to have been neglected; in c.1540 it was noted that it "decays very sore and will do every day more and more except remedy be found betimes" (Purdy 1974, 156).
- 2.11 Sir Robert's estate was forfeited to the Crown, and repairs to the hall, solar and three other chambers at Flamborough were undertaken in 1541-42 (McDonagh

- 2007, 148). Before 1551, the Crown had let out the Constables' manor house and demesne, consisting of ten bovates of land (c.150 acres or 60ha) and several closes, to Alan King and in 1559 to Matthew Keck (Purdy 1974, 154). In 1562 the manor was let to Robert Puckering and eleven other Flamborough inhabitants Puckering already held land in the parish (see below), and in 1540-41 he had been the Crown's bailiff of the manor (Purdy 1974, 154). By c.1573 it is reported that the kitchen at the castle had been pulled down and much of the stone, brick, timber, iron and lead from the hall, tower and other houses had been taken by local men (TNA E101/463/17 quoted by McDonagh 2007, 148).
- 2.12 Largely due to a petition by Robert Constable (d.1591), grandson of the disgraced Sir Robert, Elizabeth I granted the reversion of the manor in 1573 to Michael Fenwick and William Mawburne, to the use of and with the remainder to Constable. In 1582 the gueen granted the manor back to Robert Constable's son, another Robert (d.1600), and re-granted it to him in 1585 for a fine of £500; the restored lands covered six manors including Flamborough and Holme on Spalding Moor (Purdy 1974, 154; Brearley 1971, 20). Entries in the Flamborough parish registers suggest that some members of the Constable family were living in the village in the later 16th century, for example Dorothy Constable married Walter Cawood on 18th May 1575, Lady Dorothy Fenwyke Constable, wife of Sir Robert Constable, was buried on 23rd September 1583, and Robert Constable's son William was baptised on 27th February 1591 (ERAO PE85/1). They were not living at the former castle site, which was presumably now uninhabitable, but elsewhere in the village. A document of 1594 records that Robert Constable was occupying a capital messuage, together with barns, stables and gardens, probably as a tenant, located "at the southern end of [the] fair town of Flamborough", and which was known as South Hall by 1699 (ERAO DDX 22/2; McDonagh 2007, 148). The complex was owned by Sir John Puckering, a noted parliamentarian and lawyer, and Privy Councillor and Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal (Cottrell Dormer 1894, 89); in 1594 it was being sold to William Webster with Robert Constable in occupation (ERAO DDX 22/2). Although not named as such, South Hall is depicted on the 1760s enclosure plan, and is shown on a plan of 1767 as a large two storey pitched roof house, then owned by James Legard Esq (ERAO DDHU/20/1) (see figure 5); his family probably originally leased the holding, which comprised the South Hall, four cottages and 5½ oxgangs of land, from 1699 (ERAO DDX 22/3). South Hall had been demolished by 1854, when it is shown on the Ordnance Survey map of that date as a small T-shaped earthwork labelled as "Site of an Old Hall", although some of the farm buildings remain (the present Beacon Farm) (see figure 6 right). The surviving farm house and other buildings were surveyed in 2001, but they date to the late 19th century (Harrison 2002, 9-12).
- 2.13 By the early 17th century, the manor of Flamborough was held by Sir William Constable (d.1655). He was known for his high living, was knighted by the Earl of Essex in 1599, and created a Baronet by James I in 1611 (English 1990, 18; Herries 1900, 68). However, debts amassed by him and his father (the aforementioned Robert) forced him to sell firstly the other main Constable estate at Holme on Spalding Moor in 1633 for £6,500 and then the Flamborough estate in 1636; some parts of the latter had already been sold to sitting tenants in 1630. Another reason for these sales may have been because he was considering emigrating to the Continent to escape religious persecution (Healy 2010). He subsequently lived near London, but was later imprisoned for refusing to pay Ship Money, and then became a colonel in the Parliamentary army and was one of the signatories to the warrant for Charles I's execution (Cottrell Dormer 1894, 88). He died in 1655, and so escaped retribution at the Restoration, but his body was exhumed and thrown into a paupers grave in London (Healy 2010). Although not

approaching anywhere near the extent of that held by Sir Robert (d.1537), the Flamborough estate still covered some 1,700 acres when it was sold in 1636 (Brearley 1971, 21); this area also included some land in Sewerby (Allison 1974, 97). The purchaser was Sir Henry Griffith of Burton Agnes in 1636, who in turn sold it to Walter Strickland (d.1671) in 1650 (see below) (Purdy 1974, 154).

Other Flamborough Landowners

- 2.14 The second estate in Flamborough recorded in 1086 comprised 1½ carucates (180 acres), held from the King by Clibert, who had also held it before the Conquest. By the 12th century, it had probably passed to the Flamborough family, who took their name from the village, but by 1284-85, the land in Flamborough not held by the Constables or the church, amounting to over five carucates (600 acres or 245ha), was held by several unnamed people (Purdy 1974, 155).
- 2.15 In the 13th century, another estate of some eight bovates (120 acres), comprising meadow, a mill and a capital messuage, was held by William Westingby, while in 1428 another estate of three carucates (360 acres) was held by Dame Catherine Cressy; the latter had probably descended to Robert Constable by the mid 15th century and was subsequently incorporated into his manor (Purdy 1974, 155). A further estate of 20 bovates (300 acres) was held by Thomas Preston in the later 16th century, and it subsequently descended to John Grimston in 1724 (Purdy 1974, 155).
- 2.16 Bridlington Priory also had an estate in the village, organised as a grange, with accounts surviving for the period 1278-1357; the church had been given to the priory in the 12th century and in 1284-85 it held six bovates (90 acres) from William the Constable (Purdy 1974, 156).
- 2.17 As noted above, Sir Henry Griffith of Burton Agnes bought the Constables' former estate in 1636, and then sold it to Walter Strickland in 1650. He seems to have been a member of the Westmorland branch of the family. He died childless in 1671 and is buried in Flamborough church with an impressive monument (Cottrell Dormer 1894, 98-99). The estate then passed to another Walter Strickland, second son of Sir Thomas Strickland of Boynton at enclosure in 1767 Walter Strickland was awarded 1,032 acres. His nephew, another Walter, died childless in 1793 leaving the manor to his widow, with the remainder to Walter, third son of Sir George Strickland of Boynton. Walter succeeded to the manor in 1807, and it descended with this branch of the family until 1870, when another Walter Strickland devised his Flamborough property to his sister Frances Elizabeth, widow of Charles Cottrell-Dormer (Purdy 1974, 154).
- 2.18 It is suggested by several authors that, from the 16th century, the lords of the manor lived in the manor house on the east side of Tower Street, opposite the former castle site, and that this is the house which had 12 hearths in the 1674 hearth tax returns (Purdy 1974, 155) (see below). The site is named as "Constable Hall (Site of)" on the 1854 Ordnance Survey map, and as "Manor House on Site of Constable Hall" on the 1891 map (see figures 6 right and 7 right). However, it has been noted above that the later Constables tenanted South Hall, to the south of the church, and so this new manor house on Tower Street was probably built by the Strickland family after they acquired the Flamborough estate in 1650. This would accord with the current thinking that the complex was built soon after c.1700 but that the house was re-fronted in c.1800; in 1894 Cottrell Dormer (1894, 99) notes that the residential part had been pulled down, but structures to the rear of the

present house are constructed of substantial chalk blocks and are much earlier in date (Green 2005, 16; Pevsner & Neave 1995, 422).

Growth and Development of the Village

- 2.19 The development of Flamborough as a settlement was clearly complex, and has yet to be studied in any detail. The name is thought to derive either from the Scandinavian meaning 'a spit' or 'tongue' of land (a reference to the headland), or from a Norse personal name and 'borg' or 'burgh' meaning a stronghold (Wilson no date, 9). The nucleus of the village is likely to have lain in the area around the church, where the existing roads converge; the church is first mentioned in a charter of c.1094-1100 (Purdy 1974, 160). Mid to late Iron Age pottery, as well as some Neolithic or Bronze Age residual flints, were found in trial excavations undertaken in 1999 in the area of what is now South Sea Mews, to the east of the church; these finds may be associated with an Iron Age settlement on higher ground to the north (George 1999; Evans & Steedman 2001, 109-111). As noted above, Tower Field housed the Constable's manorial complex perhaps from as early as the mid 12th century, and in 1319 four streets were called Robin, Caster, Francis and Fathogg Lanes (Herries 1900, 58); none of these names has survived, but Caster may be the Carter Lane (now Bempton Lane), which runs along the western side of Tower Field. The aforementioned 1999 trial excavations also uncovered evidence for several phases of medieval occupation, comprising building platforms, chalk and cobble wall foundations of houses fronting onto Lilly Lane, yard surfaces and a structure containing an oven or hearth; these remains were dated to the late 12th-early 13th century and had been abandoned by the late 14th century - the site was apparently unoccupied between the late 14th and the 17th centuries (George 1999; Evans & Steedman 2001, 109-111). Further evidence for two medieval buildings was found at the junction of West Street and Lilly Lane in 2017, together with five human burials in part of the former larger St Oswald's churchyard (Adamson 2018).
- 2.20 In terms of its economic base, the village and manor relied on agriculture and fishing. There are many references to open field land in the parish, and by the 16th century there were four arable fields, known in 1572 as East, West, South and North Fields; South Field was also known as Beacon Field by 1767. There were also extensive common pastures and enclosed meadow land - by the mid 16th century, all four of the open fields contained areas known as 'grass farms' or 'grassings', which were probably laid down to augment the supply of pasture and meadow (Purdy 1974, 157). There was a mill in Flamborough by 1209 and two by 1218, with a windmill belonging to the manor in the early 16th century. Flamborough was also a port of some significance between the early 14th and later 16th centuries, stimulated and controlled by the Constable family, with fishing also important to the local economy from at least the beginning of the 13th century (Purdy 1974, 158). The port and harbour was located at South Landing, and in 1544 shipping totalling 140 tons was recorded, well below that of Hull (1,700 tons) but on a par with nearby Bridlington and Whitby (160 tons) (Johnson 1988; Crossley 1910, 177).
- 2.21 In 1377 Flamborough had 278 poll-tax payers (Purdy 1974, 154), and in 1674 there were 102 households, of which 62 were exempted from the hearth tax. Of the 40 households which paid the 1674 tax, 25 had only one hearth, seven had two hearths, four had three hearths, one had five hearths, one had seven, one had eight and one had 12; the unusually high proportion of exempt households suggests that there were many poor inhabitants (Purdy 1974, 154; Purdy 1991, 54). The 12 hearth house was occupied by Lady Strickland (Neave *et al* 2015,

- 333); this is likely to be Walter Strickland's (d.1671) widow, who was probably given the courtesy title of 'Lady' as he had received a 'peerage' in 1657 when he was appointed to Cromwell's House of Lords (Susan Neave, *pers. comm.*; Cottrell Dormer 1894, 98).
- 2.22 The Flamborough Enclosure Act was passed in 1765 (ERAO AP/3/7), and as part of the award, two maps were made of the village and surrounding area, one dating to 1766 (see figure 6 left) and the other to 1767 (ERAO DDX 1236/5). Within the village, the old enclosures included Castle Field (containing the tower ruin), the church, the site of Church Farm, the medieval fishponds at the bottom of Croft Hill, an area around Crofts Farm and two fields behind, and the closes or gardens associated with village houses and cottages (Green 2005, 32). The 1854 Ordnance Survey map also shows the site of South Hall to the south of the church (see above), while to the west of the church there are three east-west aligned rectangular ponds, surrounded by a sub-rectangular moat, named as "Old Fish Ponds"; there appears to be the remnants of ornamental tree planting to the interior of the moat (see figure 6 right).
- 2.23 Based on the 1760s enclosure map and the 1854 Ordnance Survey map, a hypothetical phased outline of the development of the village can be proposed. There seems to have been one early core of settlement at the south end of the existing village, with the church at the north end of what was once a large, rectangular, open green. This green had houses fronting onto the east side, with rear plots extending as far as South Sea Lane which itself runs down to the former port and harbour at South Landing. At the south end of the green was the South Hall complex. However, there also appears to have been a second, originally separate, core at the north end of the existing village, based around the North Mere and another green; the arrangement of the plots and the presence of a back lane (called 'Garth Ends') implies some element of planned development. The two cores are linked by Castle Field and Tower Street; the latter might be a later addition to the village plan. Whether these two centres relate to the two estates listed in Flamborough in 1086, or how they were influenced by the changing comparative importance of the North and South Landings is presently uncertain. The position of the village relative to the headland and the two landings is well illustrated by Jefferys' 1771 map of Yorkshire (see figure 7 left). Quite how the Constables' manorial complex, and other medieval landholdings, may have fitted into the village's development, is explored further in Chapter 4 below.
- 2.24 It is also noticeable from the above maps that the northern street frontage of Carter Lane was free from development. Housing in this area was stimulated by Thomas Woodhouse, the publican at The Ship public house in the village. In 1832 he bought land on Carter Lane, and in the 1860s sold plots of land on it for five houses. The plots were quite large, averaging 11 yards wide and 70 yards deep (10m by 64m). By 1871, there were seven houses on Carter Lane (Green 2006, 25); it is assumed that these are the houses shown to the north of Carter Lane on late 19th century Ordnance Survey mapping. The west side of Carter Lane remained undeveloped until the second half of the 20th century.

Previous Depictions and Descriptions of the Castle

2.25 The tower is depicted on earlier maps, such as the 1766 enclosure map (ERAO DDX 1236/5) and Jefferys' 1771 map of Yorkshire. The enclosure map shows only a black isolated structure, but that the Castle Field covered the whole of the rectangular area between the four roads (Carter Lane to the north and west, Tower Street to the east, and Church Street to the south) (see figure 6 left). There was

little encroachment into the Castle Field, apart from two enclosures on the west side of Tower Street and one building along the north side of Church Street. On the same plan, the building shown on the Stickland's Manor House site is in the same position as that now existing, with another large building set at a right angle to it, although the latter is set further back from the road than the existing large brick barn (Green 2005, 38). As noted above, South Hall, at the south end of the village is also depicted as single building. Although it is difficult to be clear, Jefferys' map appears to show a roofed structure labelled 'Ruin'd Castle', although this may be a diagrammatic representation (see figure 7).

- 2.26 Nineteenth century descriptions of the tower are generally brief, although interestingly many of them make mention of the prominent earthworks surrounding the ruin. For example, in 1811 Hinderwell notes "An ancient ruin stands at the west end of the town, called THE DANISH TOWER, and from the irregular mounds which appear around, there seem to have been many contiguous buildings. This Tower is now almost demolished, having at present only one apartment remaining, which is used as a shed for young cattle in the winter. It is about twenty feet square, and curiously arched. The shell of the building is gradually diminishing, more by the rapacity of man, than the decay of time, as some of the white stone, of which it is constructed, is every year taken away and converted into lime" (Hinderwell 1811, 264).
- 2.27 The south elevation of the castle is just visible in an engraving of Flamborough church, published in 1831 (Prickett 1831, plate XIII) (see figure 8 top), although this image does not appear in later editions (Prickett 1836). The depiction, although very small, shows the same 'dip' in the centre of the top of the south elevation as still exists, and may suggest that the upper parts stepped out above the wall face below, perhaps in the form of a parapet. Despite extensive inquiries, no other 19th century images of the castle have been located during the research carried out for this project.
- 2.28 A mid 19th century guidebook to the area provides an interesting aside. "At Flamborough is part of an old tower or castle, by traditionary history ascribed to the Danes. After the death of the Duke of Rothsay, Robert III of Scotland, being bent with age and infirmities, and alarmed for his son James, secretly embarked him under the care of the Earl of Orkney, for France; but the vessel, on the day after her departure, was taken by an English Privateer off Flamborough Head, and the Prince and his attendants put on shore, and confined in the neighbouring Castle, until the pleasure of the court of London was known concerning them. As an instance of the mutability to which all human labours are liable, it may be mentioned, that the only remaining part of this castle, the keep, is now used as a Cattle Shed" (Anon 1841, 19).
- 2.29 Many of these 19th century texts note that the castle is known as the "Danish Tower". The source for this long-lived label is not known, apart from the fact that it had been so called for many years. It is probably because Danes Dyke, crossing the Flamborough headland to the west of the village was previously thought to be a Danish fortification; modern thinking is that it is more likely Neolithic or Bronze Age in origin, although it may well have been re-used in the 9th and 10th centuries (NHLE 1013191; Brigham & Jobling 2011, 34). The presence of this fortification had led to the idea that the headland had been occupied by the Danes, as suggested by Prickett (1831, 11-12): "the latter, however, has obtained the name of Danes Dyke, and the name of the Danish Tower has also been given to the remains of a castle at Flamborough. There can be no question that the Danes succeeded to the settlements of the Romans, for there is abundant evidence to

show that this part of the coast was a favorite [sic] landing place with them". Slightly earlier, Baines (1823, 203) notes "some vestiges [in the village] yet remain of Danish possessions; an ancient ruin at the west end of the village, is called the Danes Tower, and the entrenchments formed round it, and still visible, have obtained for the place the designation of 'Little Denmark". Green (2005, 10) also notes that Flamborough was also known as "Little Denmark" in the 1800s. However, while there is widespread evidence for prehistoric, Roman and later settlement and burial on the headland, including some from within the village near the church (George 1999), there is, to date, no positive evidence for any actual Danish or Saxon occupation in the village (Brigham & Jobling 2011, 34).

- 2.30 The first detailed depiction of the ruin and surrounding earthworks uncovered during the research undertaken for this report is that shown on the 1854 Ordnance Survey 6" to 1 mile map (see figure 6 right). This names the castle as 'Site of an Ancient Castle', with the ruin as 'Tower'. Extensive earthworks, in the form of ditches and banks, are shown around the ruin, apparently forming a series of subrectangular enclosures and boundaries. One bank extends around the western and northern perimeter of the enclosure containing the earthworks, around Carter Lane, whilst a ditch runs on a north-east/south-west alignment from the east end of Carter Lane towards the main area of earthworks. To the north, within the same enclosure, there is a large circular feature marked as an 'Old Chalk Pit'. To the south-west of the ruin, a 'Summer Ho.' (summer house) is named and shown as a small circular structure. To the south-east, there is a circular pond with a trackway leading to it from Tower Street.
- 2.31 Mid 19th century tourist guides add little to the descriptions of the castle. A typical example reads: "The Danish Tower is the name given to some small remains of an ancient tower at the west end of the town. There is no record of the time and purpose of its erection. The irregular mounds by which it is surrounded are perhaps the foundations of other buildings" (Black 1858, 61). In c.1885, the undercroft or basement of the tower was described as being about 14 feet (4.2m) in height, with the vaulting consisting of eight stone ribs with chalk blocks between. Access to the first floor room was apparently via a newel stair through an ogeeheaded doorway (Purdy 1974, 155).
- 2.32 Although the tower was ruinous, it continued to play a part in the life of the village. In May 1861, the Flamborough artillery volunteers, joined by others from the surrounding area, assembled at Danes Dyke and then marched to the tower where they stacked their rifles. Slightly later, in 1863, on the occasion of the marriage of the Prince of Wales to Alexandra, Princess of Denmark, many of the village's buildings, including the tower, were decorated with bunting; furthermore, because it was known as the 'Danish' tower, the castle ruin displayed a Danish flag (Green 2006, 119 & 131; *Bridlington Free Press* 14th March 1863).
- 2.33 A J Browne, writing in the Yorkshire Herald on 4th January 1890, records that the 'Danish Tower' name was a misnomer: "... There is nothing Danish about it. It is a remnant of the once famous feudal residence of the great family of Constable, for centuries the Lords of Flamborough. The castle, or Manor place, appears to have been originally an extensive and powerful structure of parallelogram construction, and moated. From the indications of the foundations the buildings appears to have been of immense size, and to have covered a large space. It had towers at each angle, and the ruin, which still remains standing, seems to have been that at the south-east corner". He also notes that the Royal Archaeological Institute visited in 1866, when Mr Parker (one of the members and an eminent authority on castles)

- said "Call that a Danish Tower! Why the arch which supports the roof is of the time of Edward III" (i.e. 14th century) (Browne 1890).
- 2.34 Another detailed depiction of the ruin, earthworks and surrounding area is provided by the earliest 25" to 1 mile Ordnance Survey mapping, published in 1891, and this can be compared to the surviving earthworks (see figure 7 and Chapter 3 below).
- 2.35 Bulmer's 1892 Directory provides slightly more elaborate description of the castle than the earlier publications, typically collating previous accounts: "THE DANISH TOWER Equally improbable is the story that attributes the erection of this tower to the same people. The ruined keep, the only portion of the fortress now remaining, stands near the church at the west end of the village, and contains a vaulted chamber with groined roof of one span. From the many irregular mounds of earth that lie about it, and the occasional discovery of foundations, it appears to be only the fragment of a once much larger structure. The style is Norman, but there is no record of its erection in the pages of history. The Duke of Rothsay, son of Robert III, of Scotland, whilst escaping to France with his son James, was captured by a privateer off Flamborough Head, and confined, it is said, in this tower or fortress, until the intentions of the English monarch with regard to the royal captive were known" (Bulmer 1892).
- 2.36 The 1891 Ordnance Survey map also shows a 'Grave Yard' in the south-east angle of Carter Lane and Church Street, with gardens and the large 'Vicarage' to the east (see figure 7). These had replaced houses and plots on the street frontage shown in 1854, although 'The Parsonage' was present. This new grave yard was consecrated in 1878, and additions to the north were made in 1918 and 1936 (Purdy 1974, 163). These extensions can be seen on the historic mapping; the initial 1918 extension virtually doubled the size of the grave yard, resulting in the truncation of the west side of a prominent north-south earthwork shown here on earlier maps. At some point after 1953, the burial ground must have been extended to the east again for a short distance, encompassing and destroying the remainder of the earthwork.
- 2.37 Two early 20th century postcards have been identified showing the ruined tower, from an album formerly belong to Elsie Sergant (ERAO DDX 1314/30). Both show the tower looking north-west across the circular pond with, in one, horses drinking from it (see figure 8 bottom). It is assumed that these postcards depict the tower before the collapse of the vaulted roof over the ground floor, but this is difficult to confirm. However, when compared to the existing structure, the north-east corner seems to be much more intact with more stonework visible, and this is also similar to a sketch produced by Brearley (1971, 183) (see figure 9); this is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3 below. It is not known precisely when the vault collapsed, to leave the ruins as they survive today, but Brearley's sketch is annotated "The Tower (before the fall of 1925)".

3 DESCRIPTION OF SURVEY AREA

Introduction

- 3.1 The survey area is described below in a logical sequence, based on the information gathered during the pre-intervention survey work. Reference should also be made to the survey plans and plates, and the photographic record which appears as Appendix 2; digital photographs are referenced in the following text in italics and square brackets, the numbers before the stroke representing the film number and the number after indicating the frame e.g. [5/32].
- As has already been noted above, each identified feature within the survey area has been given an identifier number; in some cases, they have also been broken down into sub-components (see Appendix 1). This has been done purely for the purposes of description, and does not infer any phasing or chronological relationship; the phasing and development of the earthworks is set out in the Discussion and Conclusions (Chapter 4) below. The unique identifiers are indicated in the text in brackets and bold type e.g. (1). Finally, in the following text, 'modern' is taken to mean dating to after c.1945.
- 3.3 As also noted in Chapter 1 above, the survey area is bounded by Tower Street and Bempton Lane (formerly Carter Lane) to the east and west respectively, by the rear of residential properties and gardens to the north, and by the vicarage and churchyard extension to the south (see figure 2). At the time of the pre-intervention earthwork survey, the field was used as pasture for a small number of horses, and there was a small fenced paddock at the west end of the house plots on the north side of the survey area [5/849]. The ground surface within the survey area slopes down from c.45.50m AOD on the east side adjacent to Tower Street, to c.42.00m AOD on the west side, in a series of steps [1/774-1/777] (see figure 11 and plate 1).
- 3.4 The results from the archaeological monitoring work carried out during the repair and conservation works are also described, where relevant, in this chapter.

Earthwork Description (see figure 10)

Site 1: Sunken watercourse or leat, northern part of the survey area

3.5 In 1854, a linear depression depicted as earthworks is shown leaving the east end of Carter Lane, at the point where it met what was then Garth Ends, and running south-west (see figure 6). It was crossed by a trackway leading to a large disused chalk pit, and then continued south-west, forming the rear boundary of the plots extending off the west side of Tower Street. It enters the survey area, apparently crossing other earthworks (Site 3B) but stops at the northern limit of the castle platform. It is similarly depicted in 1891, although by this date the rear boundary of some of the plots had begun to encroach upon the earthwork (see figure 7). It appears little changed in 1910 and 1928. In 1964, Earnshaw shows the earthwork within the survey area as a linear depression, flanked by banks, apparently cutting the earthworks to either side (see figure 3). By the time he undertook his survey, the depression stopped short of the northern boundary of the survey area. The continuation north-eastwards to the former junction of Carter Lane/Garth Ends now lies within the back gardens of modern housing off Castle Crescent, and is assumed to have been largely infilled.

- 3.6 The earthwork is formed by a well-defined and prominent linear depression, set on a shallow north-east/south-west alignment [1/795, 1/796; 5/847] (see plate 2). It measures c.36.0m in length and has an average width of 3.5m across the top but only c.1.5m across the base. The steeply scarped sides of the depression have a maximum depth of c.1.0m at the south end, but generally average 0.6m or less. The depression is flanked by flat-topped banks, which have a chalk rubble content. They are again more prominent towards the south end, perhaps because the linear depression is either cut through an earlier earthwork (Site 3B) or possibly because this end of the earthwork represents a feature, such as a former building, towards which the linear depression ran. Although the depression fades some 5.0m short of the northern boundary of the survey area, the banks can be traced as far as the boundary. The depression cannot be traced quite to the north side of the castle platform (Site 6), although there is a slight break in the bank defining the north side in line with the depression.
- 3.7 The nature of the earthwork is uncertain, but it appears to be too narrow to represent a former trackway or approach to the castle complex. It is more likely to be a former open watercourse, which may well explain why the alignment has been respected by the post-1760s house plots on the west side of Tower Street. The fact that the earthwork terminates within a building platform (**Site 3B**) on the north side of the castle complex might suggest that this structure is a former brew house, documented on the site in 1537, which would have had to have been supplied with water. The watercourse may then have been recut through the remains of this building once the complex had been abandoned and site returned to agricultural use.

Site 2: Bank, north part of the survey area

- 3.8 The bank is shown in 1854 as a double feature, with possibly a field boundary along it, running as far as a linear depression (**Site 1**) on a different alignment (see figure 6). In 1891, it is shown as a bank with parallel ditch to the north side; the bank has a small right-angled spur placed towards the eastern end of the south side (see figure 7). It is similarly depicted in 1910 and 1928. In 1964, Earnshaw shows the earthwork as an intermittent bank containing at least four narrow breaks, with a parallel ditch to the north side and a spur (see figure 3).
- 3.9 The bank is a prominent and sharply defined feature, set on a very shallow north-east/south-west alignment [4/647; 5/850] (see plate 3). It measures c.80.0m long, and has an average width across the base of 3.0m. The sides, particularly to the north, are very steeply scarped, and the bank stands up to 0.9m high, with a flattened top; where erosion has taken place, it can be seen to contain a high proportion of chalk rubble [1/789, 1/794]. The same four narrow breaks shown by Earnshaw in 1965 are still present [1/791]. At its west end, the bank appears to merge with the east-facing scarp present at the base of the hedge line along most of the western boundary of the survey area, but it may actually overlie it. At its east end, the bank becomes more spread and merges with the banks flanking a linear depression (1). The short, 5.0m long, spur to the south side remains visible, and this also appears to have a high chalk rubble content.
- 3.10 A shallow ditch, with an average width of 4.0m, runs parallel to the north side of the bank [1/793], and begins to curve around to the north at its western end. Between the ditch and the northern boundary of the survey area, there is an area of what appears to be very low ridge and furrow [1/792], although it is very denuded. The earthworks are set on a very shallow north-east/south-west alignment, parallel to the bank to the south, and are now contained within an area measuring c.100.0m

long by c.35.0m wide. The ridges are set at c.5.0m centres but are now so faint that it is difficult to estimate an average width. There appears to be a curving area of modern disturbance placed broadly centrally to the north side of the ditch.

- Site 3: Earthworks, north and west of the castle platform
- 3.11 In 1854, an east-west aligned bank is shown in this general area, running towards the rear of the southernmost plot on the west side of Tower Street and then curving to the south (see figure 6). In 1891, it appears as a slight north-facing scarp (see figure 7). It is similarly depicted in 1910, 1928 and on Earnshaw's 1964 survey (see figure 3).
- The earthworks form what appear to be two structures or building platforms to the 3.12 north of the northern edge of the castle platform, between it and the abovementioned bank to the north. The western platform (Site 3A) is sub-rectangular in plan, c.15.0m long by c.5.0m wide [5/851, 5/852] (see plate 4). The west end is formed by the above-mentioned well-defined spur leaving the south side of the prominent bank (Site 2) to the north, and there is a gap in that bank in line with the platform, suggesting a possible entrance. The eastern platform (Site 3B) is also sub-rectangular in plan, with the sides defined by a slightly raised outer bank. It is 20.0m long by 10.0m wide and its west end is cut through by a prominent linear depression (Site 1) running in from the north-east [4/648]. The slight north-facing scarp shown running towards the rear of the southernmost plot on the west side of Tower Street between 1910 and 1965, which was presumably a continuation of either bank (Site 2) or platform (Site 3B), is no longer visible; its former line is now followed by a wooden post and rail fence. Between the two possible building platforms is a small sub-circular mound.
- 3.13 To the west of the two platforms described above, and the spur from the prominent bank (**Site 2**), a spread bank on the same orientation can be followed west for a distance of 35.0m before it fades. This bank has a parallel shallow ditch, never more than 0.50m deep, to the south [5/853]. The ditch (**Site 3C**) returns through an approximate right angle to the south where the bank ends, and this depression can be followed for 25.0m as far as a 0.4m wide break in a more prominent eastwest bank (**Site 3D**) [1/785, 1/790; 3/297]. This latter bank appears on all mapping and surveys between 1854 and 1965; to the west of the gap it can be traced downslope as far as the east side of Bempton Lane, and upslope (east) as far as the large scarp forming the western edge of the castle platform (**Site 6**) [1/788], and possibly slightly beyond it. Its precise relationship with the ditch is unclear; it does appear to cross the ditch, albeit in a much denuded form, but it is not certain whether the bank has slumped into the ditch or the ditch cuts through it. There is also a shallow ditch parallel to the south side of the bank.
- 3.14 The line of the main ditch (**Site 3C**) appears to resume to the south of the bank (**Site 3D**) [1/787; 5/865, 5/867] (see plate 5) it remains as a slight feature, but runs south for c.40.0m before widening and curving around to the east, where it fades and is perhaps overlain by the castle platform (**Site 6**). At this point, to the immediate south, is another bank (**Site 3E**) of similar appearance to that to the north (**Site 3D**) and on the same orientation, although it is not as long; again, it is shown on most mapping and surveys between 1854 and 1965, originally extended as far as the east side of Bempton Lane.
- 3.15 Within the area defined by the north-south ditch (**Site 3C**), there are two enclosed areas, divided by the east-west cross bank (**Site 3D**), which have a slight east-to-west slope [5/864]. The northern area may have two small sub-square raised

features to the west side, but it is also crossed by what are probably old vehicle tracks which have re-vegetated. The southern area is bisected by a wide spread east-west bank, and has several small and poorly defined mounds to the southern side. To the south of the prominent east-west bank (**Site 3D**), and west of the ditch (**Site 3C**), there may be several poorly defined platforms running parallel with the east side of Bempton Lane. Earnshaw showed a more prominent triangular earthwork here in 1965 (see figure 3), but this is no longer clearly visible.

Site 4: Bank, north-eastern part of the survey area

- 3.16 In 1854, this bank is shown as an eastward continuation of the earthwork defining the northern side of the castle platform; it appears to have a boundary running along it, and a short spur leaves the north side to meet the south-west corner of the southernmost plot extending westwards from Tower Street (see figure 6). It is similarly depicted in 1891, 1910 and 1928, when it was shown as being continuous with the scarp adjacent to the post and rail fence to Tower Street (see figure 7). In 1964, Earnshaw drew the spur as overlying the bank extending east from the north side of the castle platform, and also suggested that the main east-west aligned part of the earthwork did the same (see figure 3).
- 3.17 The bank is a prominent and sharply defined feature, set on a very shallow northeast/south-west alignment [1/798; 5/839, 5/840, 5/848] (see plate 6). It measures c.45.0m long, and has an average width across the base of 3.0m. The sides, particularly to the north, are very steeply scarped, and the bank stands up to 0.9m high, with a flattened top; where erosion has taken place, it can be seen to contain a high proportion of chalk rubble [5/843]. There is a narrow break, caused by modern disturbance, towards the western end, and then the bank returns to the north for c.8.0m [5/842] (see plate 7). It does not quite meet the south-west corner of the southernmost plot extending westwards from Tower Street, but the fence of the plot is also placed on a slight bank. At its east end, the bank becomes more spread, and curves around to the south to merge with the west-facing scarp forming the west side of Tower Street. Earnshaw's 1965 depiction of the bank as overlying that (5A) which extends east from the north side of the castle platform is confirmed, as the latter can be seen projecting slightly from the former's south side [1/797]. It is possible that the earlier bank once continued as far as the eastern boundary of the survey area. There is a narrow flat area of ground between the bank and the property boundary of the house to the north [5/885].

Site 5: Garden earthworks, east part of the survey area

- 3.18 In 1854, this area appears as three conjoined sub-rectangular enclosures on the west side of Tower Street, with a single larger one to the west; the divisions between the enclosures are shown as ditches (see figure 6). In 1891, the earthworks are similarly depicted, but with greater clarity (see figure 7). The southern side of the enclosures appear to be overlain by a bank (7) to the south. A small mound is also shown in the north-west corner of the larger enclosure. The earthworks are similarly depicted in 1910 and 1928. In 1964, Earnshaw recorded the main north-south ditch as being more prominent than, and cutting, the eastwest ditches; the area was essentially divided into four quadrants (see figure 3). In the north-west quadrant, the mound shown on the earlier maps was present, with a second mound to the south-west quadrant. Earnshaw also drew a small curving bank in the area to the immediate north of the north-west quadrant.
- 3.19 The area defined by the features described above is c.70m square, excluding the smaller south-eastern enclosure [2/969; 5/875] (see plate 8). On its eastern side,

the area is set at approximately the same height as the castle platform (**Site 6**) to the west, but it then slopes steadily downwards towards the centre. The western half of the area is relatively flat before it meets the eastern scarp of the castle platform. The north side of the area is defined by a spread bank (**Site 5A**) which runs east from the north-east corner of the castle platform; as previously noted, this bank is overlain by a later bank (**Site 4**) on the same alignment, but it may once have continued east as far as the boundary forming the west side of Tower Street (see plate 10).

- 3.20 Bank **5A** turns south to continue along the west side of Tower Street, where it is more prominent and is now surmounted by a post and rail wooden fence [3/335]. Along the roadside, the bank measures c.0.6m high, but the lower ground level to the west means that it is c.1.0m high. The alignment along the street frontage has been disturbed by the War Memorial enclosure, constructed in 1921. Towards the southern end of the alignment, the bank become less prominent on the castle side, and it appears to turn west to head towards the south-east corner of a larger structure (**Site 7**). As noted in Chapter 1 above, the bank to the north of the War Memorial was subject to an archaeological investigation in 1995, which revealed a buried but robbed wall of chalk blocks 0.86m below the existing earth bank. A clay bank, predating the chalk wall, was also found, and associated pottery suggested a 14th century, or later, date for the construction of the wall (Atkinson 1995; Evans & Steedman 1997, 146).
- 3.21 This part of the survey area contains four enclosures of broadly equal size, divided by a north-south ditch and three east-west ditches [4/653]. The main north-south ditch (**Site 5B**) is c.55.0m long and has an average width across the top of 6.0m [1/799; 5/838, 5/882] (see plate 9). The steeper east scarp stands up to 1.0m high, whilst the west scarp is 0.6m high; the base is relatively flat. The three east-west ditches are up to 5.0m wide but are much shallower; the junctions between them and the north-south ditch suggests that the latter is either wholly later and cuts through them, or that it was perhaps once similar to them but was subsequently recut to a greater depth, perhaps to form a water feature. To the north of the northwest quarter, the curving bank drawn by Earnshaw in 1965 is still visible, and it may define the west end of an east-west aligned sub-rectangular structure or platform (**Site 5C**), perhaps measuring as much as 25.0m long by 7.0m wide [5/844] (see plate 10).
- 3.22 The north-west quarter has a prominent sub-rectangular mound on the west side (Site 5D), shown on maps and surveys between 1891 and 1965, and standing up to 1.2m high [5/841, 5/861] (see plate 11). There is a sub-circular area of erosion to one side of the top, possibly exposing chalk rubble within. Earnshaw also depicted a similar but smaller mound in the north-west corner of the south-west quarter. However, at the time of the EDAS survey, there was only a small angled bank visible here, possibly representing the remains of a small structure (**Site 5E**) [2/971; 3/288, 3/324; 5/837] (see plate 12). There appears to be another structure set across the south-west corner of the quarter and terraced into the slope here, measuring c.10.0m long by c.3m wide (Site 5F). Two sub-circular patches of nettles on the east side of the same quarter probably cover modern disturbance. The south-east quarter has a similar area of disturbance running the full length of the west side, whilst the south-east corner is now overlain by the raised enclosure around the war memorial [3/329, 3/331; 5/881] (see plate 13). However, at the north-east corner, there are two parallel, west-facing scarps, perhaps defining a small level platform (Site 5G), aligned north-south, and a similar platform can be seen on the south side of the war memorial enclosure [5/877]; these may be archaeological in origin, or perhaps they result from the construction of the war

memorial enclosure. The north-east quarter may also have a north-south aligned platform along its eastern, internal, side.

Site 6: Castle platform, central part of the survey area

- 3.23 In 1854, the castle platform is shown as a sub-rectangular area, divided into a number of smaller separate areas or enclosures and labelled "Site of Ancient Castle" (see figure 6). The largest enclosure on the south side has the ruin positioned towards the south-east corner, and a narrow east-west enclosure to its north side. There was a sub-square enclosure to the north of this, and a second narrower enclosure to the west, aligned north-south, which ran the full length of the castle platform. In 1891, the earthworks of the platform are shown with a slightly less regular plan, although the arrangement is broadly the same as in 1854 (see figure 7). They are similarly depicted in 1910 and 1928. In 1964, Earnshaw recorded the castle platform as a regular, sub-rectangular area (see figure 3). As in 1854, the largest enclosure to the south contained the ruin, and Earnshaw also drew what appeared to be another earthwork structure to the north-western part. The narrower enclosure along the west side of the platform appeared to have two parallel structures to its northern half, with a third regular enclosure occupying the north-east part of the platform. The ruins of the castle (Site 6G) are described separately below.
- 3.24 The castle platform has a relatively regular sub-rectangular plan, measuring a maximum of 74.0m north-south by 55.0m east-west [4/643, 4/645, 4/651]. The west side is the most prominent, and is defined by a steep west-facing scarp standing up to 2.0m high [1/786], set considerably higher than the other earthworks (Site 3) on the lower ground to the west (see plate 14). There is a partial break in the approximate centre of the west side, where the scarp becomes less steep and curves inwards, possibly marking a former entrance/exit point to the platform. The south side of the platform appears to be marked by an east-west aligned bank, standing up to 0.7m high. The southern part of the east side comprises an irregular east-facing scarp, standing up to 1.5m in height, whereas the northern part is again formed by a more regular bank. The north side of the platform is most prominent at the west end, approaching the same height as the west side, but it gradually becomes more spread as it moves east, becoming a bank rather than a scarp. There is a break in the bank opposite a prominent linear depression (1), but it continues beyond the eastern extent of the castle platform, where it is then overlain by a later bank (Site 5) on the same alignment. The platform is also guite prominent from the east [5/883, 5/884] (see plate 1).
- 3.25 The platform is occupied by earthworks varying between 0.5m and 1.0m in height, representing a number of different structures, enclosures and other sub-divisions. On the historic maps and surveys, the southern half of the platform is often shown as a single area or enclosure, but it is in fact two. The smaller eastern space contains the castle ruin (see below) at its south end. The larger, western, space (Site 6D) is formed by a regular square, measuring 25.0m along each side, surrounded by banks up to 0.7m high [1/784, 1/810; 5/868] (see plate 15). At its north-west and south-west corners, there are shallow depressions, each 5.0m square, and a shallow north-south bank runs across the space, perhaps defining a platform or structure to its east side. To the north side of the square, an earthwork structure (Site 6F) shown by Earnshaw in 1965 remains visible, although it is not as regular as he suggests. It is represented by a raised sub-rectangular mound measuring 17.0m long by 15.0m wide with buried chalk walls. To the immediate east of this structure, there is another raised sub-rectangular mound (Site 6E) of a similar size and on the same orientation [4/651; 5/859, 5/860]. It is possible that

- earthworks **6E** and **6F** actually form one long single building [1/809; 4/645; 5/819] (see plate 16).
- 3.26 The northern part of the castle platform is occupied by the largest enclosure, subrectangular in plan. measuring 32.0m long by 25.0m wide (Site 6A) [1/811. 1/812: 2/970; 5/846, 5/857] (see plate 17). This enclosure is bisected by a shallow north facing east-west aligned scarp. The scarp defining the southern side of the enclosure, i.e. backing onto the one or two probable structures (Sites 6E and 6F), is significantly higher than the other three sides of the enclosure, and is possible that the area between it and the shallow scarp may form a platform for a structure. On the west side of the enclosure is the northern of two long, north-south aligned. structures which occupy the western side of the castle platform. The northern structure (Site 6B) is represented by a platform measuring 18.0m long by 10.0m wide, and there is a narrower secondary platform to the west [1/813, 1/814; 4/650; 5/820, 5/854, 5/855, 5/858] (see plate 18); at one point, buried chalk walls could be seen as parch marks around the west end of the structure (see plate 19). The southern structure (Site 6C), which measures at least 30.0m long by c.8.0m wide, actually lies on the west side of the other flat enclosure, probably forming a small courtyard, adjacent to the ruined castle (Site 6D) [4/644; 5/821, 5/863] (see plate 20).
- 3.27 A further sub-square earthwork depression, c.10,0m square, lies on the western side of the castle platform, between building platforms **6B** and **6C**. This may represent the site of another structure, although it is not so well preserved as the others. The presence of a smaller structure here would effectively 'close' the U-shaped plan of the buildings around the courtyard **6D**.
 - Site 7: Structure, south-eastern part of the survey area
- 3.28 In 1854, a right-angled bank is shown in this area, partly continuous with those defining the enclosures (**Site 5**) to the north; at its east end, there is a small rectangular enclosure (see figure 6). By 1891, the bank appears as a single feature, apparently overlying the earthworks to the north (see figure 7). It is similarly depicted in 1910 and 1928. In 1964, Earnshaw was the first to show the western half of the bank as defining a large structure (see figure 3). The eastern half merged with a prominent scarp running along the eastern boundary of the survey area parallel to Tower Street.
- 3.29 It is clear that, as Earnshaw shows, the western half of the bank does form part of a large sub-rectangular structure, aligned east-west and measuring c.32.0m long by c.15.0m wide [4/652; 5/873, 5/878] (see plate 21). The banks defining the north and east sides are on average 5.0m wide across the base and stand up to 1.2m in height, with flattened tops [1/781; 5/845]. There is a 2.0m wide break to the north side, to the east of centre, but the bank does not clearly overlie the earthworks to the north (Site 5), as suggested by the historic mapping. There is another break to the immediate east of the structure, and then a bank, 1.0m high, resumes in line with the south side. This bank appears to return to the south, but does not clearly merge with the bank running parallel to Tower Street [1/780]. It has a north-south aligned platform, defined by a curvilinear, west facing scarp, to its north side, similar to those visible to the north of the war memorial (see Site 5 above).
 - Site 8: Pond and adjacent features, south-east part of the survey area
- 3.30 In 1854, a circular pond, possibly a dew pond, is shown as water-filled, with a trackway running towards it off Tower Street to the east (see figure 6). It remained

water-filled in 1891, 1910 and 1928, but the trackway is no longer shown (see figure 7). The pond was dry by the time that Earnshaw surveyed it in 1964 (see figure 3). He showed a narrow linear depression leaving the eastern boundary of the survey area at Tower Street, cutting through a prominent west-facing scarp and heading towards the pond, although not entering it. Brearley (1971, 199) suggests that the earthwork represents the site of a post or horse mill.

3.31 The dew pond is 15.0m in diameter, with sides scarped at an angle of 45 degrees, and is up to 0.75m deep [1/779; 3/326; 5/814, 5/879, 5/880] (see plate 22). An area of stock trampling to the centre has revealed traces of chalk lining to the base. The trackway shown leading to the pond in 1854 remains visible as a shallow depression, as does the 0.5m deep linear depression (a former drain?) marked by Earnshaw in 1965 [1/778]. There are denuded curvilinear earthworks to the south of the pond, which are difficult to interpret, but to the west, above the pond's edge, there is at least one (and possibly two) small structures. The better defined structure is c.4.0m across, and has a 'C' shape in plan, open to the northeast; it may incorporate buried wall footings [1/782].

Site 9: Mound, southern part of the survey area

3.32 No earthworks are shown in this area on any of the historic maps, and Earnshaw did not appear to extend his 1964 survey into this area. There is a large oval-shaped mound to the south of the castle platform (**Site 6**), measuring a maximum of 35.0m long by 20.0m wide [4/642]. The mound is generally flat-topped and stands up to 1.5m in height, although the sides are very gently sloping [1/783]. The mound has been tipped from north-west to south-east. The earthwork seems slightly incongruous and not part of the complex surrounding it, and it could have been created either between 1910 and 1928 or after 1953, when earthworks to the west (**Site 11**) were destroyed by successive extensions to the church's burial ground. Alternatively, it may result from the demolition of other buildings in the vicinity, for example from the castle platform, once the complex had been abandoned.

Site 10: Banks, southern part of the survey area

3.33 Two north-south aligned parallel banks are shown here in 1854, but they do not appear in 1891 or subsequently (see figures 6 and 7). The straight bank remains visible as a very spread, intermittent feature, over a distance of 50.0m. It ends slightly before the southern boundary of the study area which here is a wall of brick and chalk construction of several phases. It is all of the same height, although it rises to the west, but a central 10m wide section has been rebuilt wholly in brick; this section is in line with the bank running away to the north and so might be connected with an earlier entrance into the castle precinct from the south [5/813, 5/870, 5/871] (see plate 23). To the south-east of the straight bank, a spread curvilinear bank is visible running for c.27.0m.

Site 11: Former earthworks, south-west part of the survey area

3.34 In 1854, two parallel north-south banks are shown running between the south-west corner of the castle platform (**Site 6**) and the rear of the enclosed gardens to the south (see figure 6). The banks are linked by a short cross-bank, with a subcircular feature marked between the banks to the north of the cross-bank, possibly a pond. In 1891, the two banks visible in 1854 are depicted as a platform or terrace, containing two prominent regular depressions, the north one sub-circular in shape and the southern more square (see figure 7). They are similarly shown in

1910. In 1918, a northern extension was made to the church's burial ground at the very south-west corner of Tower Field (Purdy 1974, 163). The east side of this extension ran north-south through the centre of the earthworks and appears to have truncated them somewhat, although it did not destroy them altogether. At some point after 1953, the burial ground must have been extended to the east again for a short distance, encompassing and destroying the remainder of the earthworks here. There are now no visible remains of the earthworks within the burial ground. The earthworks may represent the site of former lime kilns.

Description of the Castle Ruin (Site 6G) (see figures 11 and 12)

3.35 As noted in Chapter 1 above, observations made during the monitoring of the repair work have been included in the general text below.

Plan and Materials

- The remains of the castle are formed by three conjoined, upstanding walls, 3.36 comprising the remains of a rectangular building, with maximum surviving external dimensions of 10.90m east-west by 6.40m north-south. The north wall is now almost completely lost above ground, although Earnshaw's plan suggests slightly more rubble forming its alignment was visible in 1964 (see figure 3); its approximate position is now indicated by a steep-sided linear bank, but a small section of the internal face remains visible to the bank's southern scarp [5/862] (see plate 24). This demonstrates that the original internal dimensions of the building were 8.40m east-west by 6.10m north-south. Allowing for the loss of external facing stone (c.0.30m depth to each side) and assuming that were no attached structures, the building would originally have measured some 11.50m east-west by 9.30m north-south. The three surviving walls stand to a maximum height of c.4.0m, and have an average width of 1.30m [1/815] (see plate 25). The detailed 1891 25" Ordnance Survey map also shows a small buttress-like projection off the north-west corner of the tower (see figure 7 right), the remains of which were shown by Earnshaw and have also been identified by the current survey, although this could, of course, be a 18th-19th century addition to stabilise the ruin when it was in use as a cattle shed (see below).
- 3.37 The building is built almost entirely from chalk, although there is some limited evidence for calcareous sandstone dressings surviving; there are also some minor, more recent, repairs using brick, cement and pantile. With the exception of limited areas to the top of each external elevation, almost all of the exterior chalk facing blocks have been removed. However, they are still present to the interior walls, which are built of coursed squared chalk blocks, set with a buff, sandy lime mortar containing a high proportion of gravel/small beach or river pebbles. The Scheduled Monument description suggests that the chalk "was probably extracted from a small quarry around 100m to the north of the site" this is presumably the large sub-circular 'Old Chalk Pit' shown in the field to the immediate north on mid-19th century Ordnance Survey mapping (see figure 7).

External Elevations

3.38 Commencing with the west external elevation, there are two putlog holes, one above the other, to the centre of the surviving structure, with a third example to the upper south end of the elevation [1/803] (see figure 12A and plate 26); unless the latter is placed at an acute angle in plan, then it appears to be running into the core of the south wall. The lowest putlog hole is not quite straight, running at a slight angle to the wall faces [2/987]. Close to the uppermost putlog, there is also a

small surviving area of facing stone. Earnshaw's 1964 plan suggests the west side of the ruin formerly extended further to the north, with a narrow opening, probably a window, in the approximate centre (see figure 3). The splayed south side of this opening is still just visible at the base of the surviving north end of the west wall [4/798; 5/810] (see plate 27), whilst the wall beyond shown by Earnshaw is now represented by chalk eroding out of the grassed bank here; the rest of the wall end is corework [2/986]. Earnshaw also depicted further chalk walling or corework to the north-west corner of the structure (see figure 3), sandwiched between the two parts of the buttress shown here on the 1891 Ordnance Survey map. No walling is now visible but the two parts of the buttress still remain. To the former interior of the building, there is a 0.80m long low wall of rough brick and chalk construction, whilst to the exterior, there is a 1.80m long parallel wall, built of neatly-moulded handmade red bricks, sloping downwards from south-east to north-west [4/800; 5/808, 5/809] (see plate 28).

- 3.39 At the centre base of the south external elevation, three pieces of calcareous sandstone, totalling 1.15m long, project out from the wall face above [1/807; 5/832] (see plate 29). They are almost certainly the remnants of a plinth, and there is possibly another in situ piece just visible in plan only at the south-east external corner of the building. The stone is set forward of the surviving corework by 0.31m, and presumably marks where the wall face once was. There are three lines of putlog holes to south elevation, set c. 1.40m, 2.60m and 3.80m respectively above the central ground level (see figure 12B and plate 31). The lowest line comprises five holes, the middle line seven holes and the upper line six; the spacing of the putlogs is not exactly the same to each line, although they broadly correspond. Where they could be examined, the outer putlogs of the lowest line are set at quite acute angles to the wall face, whereas the central examples are broadly at right angles. This also appears to be the case for the uppermost line, although the outer putlogs, unless they are placed at an acute angle in plan, appear to run into the core of the east and west walls. To the centre of the upper part of the elevation, there is a marked dip in the level of the ruinous wall top, crudely repaired with cement and pantile fragments, suggesting a previous phase of undocumented repairs [2/975, 2/976]. This depression is visible on the 1831 engraving (see figure 8 top), and is suggested by the Scheduled Monument description to be the remains of a doorway. It is flanked by shallow areas of surviving wall facing; the facing to the west projects some 0.30m beyond the corework below, and preserves a single quoin [1/804; 2/974, 2/978; 4/779].
- The east external elevation has an inset at the south-east corner (see figure 12C 3.40 and plate 32). At the base of the elevation, the inset has rather ragged sides, but as it rises up the elevation, the internal facing stone survives, lining a rectangular garderobe chute once serving one of the structure's upper levels; the chute has maximum internal dimensions of 0.50m east-west by 0.30m north-south [1/806; 2/962, 2/963, 2/968, 2/990; 3/291, 3/292, 3/311; 4/764, 4/765, 4/792-4/794; 5/833 (see plate 30). The Scheduled Monument description states that the chute is the only evidence for a second floor to the tower, but provides no argument as to why it could not have been serving a garderobe on the first floor; unfortunately, clearance around the head of the feature during the monitored conservation works provided no definitive evidence one way or the other. Slightly to the north of centre, there is low opening with a shallow arched head [3/312]. This opening is largely built of neatly-moulded handmade red brick (average dimensions 220mm by 115mm by 70mm), set with a lime mortar; the courses are angled at the east end of the north side to resemble a buttress. There is a small area of chalk surviving to the interior to the west end of the north side. The underside of the arched head is strengthened with iron strap work, and there is a large socket or hole passing

through the wall built into the brickwork over the arch. There are two putlog holes to the south of the opening, at the same level as the lowest line of the south elevation, and two putlog holes above, at the same level as the middle line on the latter. Towards the upper part of the elevation, there is an area of surviving wall facing. At the north end of the upper part, the south jamb of an opening remains visible. It appears to be slightly splayed, and is set 0.85m south of the existing north end of the corework [1/805; 3/314, 3/315; 5/834] (see plate 33). Closer examination of this feature during the conservation works revealed the opening to be a doorway, perhaps once accessed by an external flight of wooden stairs. The internal surround was once chamfered, but it only survived to a single course in height, and the doorway was rebated to the east (former external) side [2/972; 3/289; 4/766-4/769] (see plate 34).

Internal Elevations

- 3.41 At the base of the south wall, the wall face steps out by 0.14m, the step being visible across the whole elevation. Three chamfered sandstone springers for the vault ribs survive *in situ* at the eastern end of the step, possibly with a fourth truncated example to the west [1/808; 4/797] (see plate 35). There are two damaged areas to the west end of the step at the same spacing as the surviving springers, and it appears that there were eight transverse ribs in all, set at 1.10m centres. The ribs supported a chalk vault over; a chamfered chalk springer course for the vault sat directly on top of the step, although the only remnants are a block to either end. It is curious that, above the step, there is no clear evidence for any damage left by the removal of the floor supported by the vault. The wall face is very clean, with no indication that there was ever corework over the vault which was tied into the wall, or even evidence for a timber floor laid above the vault. There are three lines of putlog holes visible, five to the lowest line, five to the middle line, and two to the upper line [1/801; 3/278] (see figure 12E) (see plate 25).
- 3.42 The same marked dip to centre of the south wall top is present as described to the external south elevation. It is better preserved on this side however, with the apparent remnants of jambs indicating that it was c.1.55m wide. This is somewhat wide for a doorway, as suggested by the Scheduled Monument description, and it may instead have formed the base of a window opening. This was confirmed during the conservation works undertaken to the top of the south wall. The removal of turf and fallen material revealed the remains of the rear of a window opening. The west jamb returned at a right angle to the wall face, and retained traces of plaster when first exposed, whereas the east jamb was splayed, probably as a result of later alteration or damage. The opening measured 1.4m wide at its maximum extent [2/988, 2/993-2/995; 3/269-3/273, 3/275, 3/276, 3/281-3/283, 3/293, 3/304, 3/305] (see plate 36). A narrow opening 0.35m wide had also been cut through the window to the external wall face at a later date [3/322]. The chalk blocks forming the base of the window opening projected into the interior of building c.0.05m beyond the wall face to either side [4/785-4/787].
- 3.43 The internal east wall of the structure also retains part of a broad barrel vault, defined by a chamfered chalk string course (see figure 12F and plate 37); the wall face above and below the vault is set in the same plane, so that the string course projects from the wall. There are two lines of putlog holes to the wall, at the lower and middle levels, each comprising two holes, and the low doorway to the base below the vault. The opening at the base of the wall has a monolithic chalk lintel to this face, and was 1.04m wide before it was blocked with brick [1/800; 3/318; 4/796]. The bottom chamfer of the upper level doorway jamb at the north end of the wall is also visible [4/795].

- 3.44 The internal west wall of the structure also retains part of a broad barrel vault, defined by a chamfered chalk string course (see figure 12D); as with the east side, the wall face above and below the vault is set in the same plane, so that the string course projects from the wall [1/802] (see plate 38). There are also two surviving putlogs, one above the above at the south end of the wall face. As noted above, Earnshaw's 1964 plan shows a window opening in the approximate centre of this elevation, lined with brick on the north side (see figure 3), but the elevation now terminates at what was presumably the south side of the opening. Another possible window opening was also visible at the top of this elevation [3/279], but closer inspection showed it to be a small area of localised collapse.
- 3.45 Only a very small section of the internal north wall remains visible in plan, with two chamfered sandstone springers as described to the south wall [1/816]. However, this does allow the north-south dimension of the tower to be determined.

Summary of Repair Works to the Tower

- 3.46 In order to facilitate the repair works, the castle ruins were scaffolded, although only the upper level was boarded out as this is where the majority of the works were due to be carried out [2/960, 2/983-2/985; 3/319, 3/320, 3/323, 3/325, 3/328, 3/332-3/334; 4/801; 5/869, 5/874]. The tops of the surviving three walls forming the tower were covered with a dense mat of grass vegetation, some of which was already dead [2/977, 2/979-2/982, 2/991, 2/992, 2/996-2/999; 3/284-3/286, 3/295, 3/296, 3/298, 3/299, 3/301-3/303] (see plate 40). There were also some areas of decaying concrete, for example around the southern wall top window opening [2/989]. Underneath this, the chalk was very loose and heavily fragmented, to a depth of about 0.7m [2/964-2/967] (see plate 39).
- 3.47 The repair works involved stripping off this material and the underlying loose debris until a firm or stable wall top was reached. Some limited rebuilding and chalk replacement was done to maintain the original profiles, and the uppermost courses to the internal and external faces were repointed [3/290: 4/763, 4/770-4/778, 4/780, 4/782, 4/783, 4/788-4/790] (see plate 41). New soil was then put in place on the wall tops, and a new covering of turf laid over the top; the turf was held in place using short lengths of bamboo cane [5/811, 5/812, 5/815-5/818, 5/822, 5/824-5/831, 5/836, 5/872, 5/876] (see plate 42). Some spare turf was placed around the base of the castle [5/832], and within the newly exposed window reveal [5/823] (see plate 44). Most of the putlog holes, internal and external, were also blocked with recessed clay tile slips as part of the repair works to prevent water ingress and nesting birds [3/277, 3/307, 3/310, 3/316, 3/321; 4/799] (see plate 41). The north end of the west wall was also consolidated in its entirety [3/280, 3/317; 5/835] (see plate 43), although the remainder of the wall faces, below the level of scaffolding, were not repointed [4/791] (see plate 45).
- 3.48 The monitoring of the repair works proved to be extremely useful, in that it allowed further information to be gathered on the former window openings at the top of the south wall and at the lower north end of the west wall, and also the first floor doorway at the north end of the east wall. The relevant information has been added to the descriptive text above.

4 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

4.1 The survey work undertaken at Flamborough has recorded the surviving earthworks and ruined structure in far greater detail than previously achieved and this, together with the documentary research, has raised a number of issues meriting further discussion. Although, as is discussed later, the complex forming the subject of this report probably always resembled a manorial residence/centre rather than a castle, for the purposes of description it is referred to in the following text as the 'castle complex', in order to differentiate it from the later manor house on the east side of Tower Street. When considering the various interpretations set out below, reference should be made to figures 10 and 13.

The Castle Complex

An Earlier Enclosure?

4.2 There are a number of earthworks within the survey area which are demonstrably cut or disturbed by others and, taken together, some of these appear to define an earlier ditched or moated enclosure. Principal amongst these is a broad shallow ditch (Site 3C) which encloses or defines a sub-rectangular area measuring at least 40m east-west by a more definite 70m north-south. The east side of this area does not appear to be clearly defined on the ground, although it might be represented by a broad deeper north-south aligned ditch (Site 5B) to the east of the castle platform, despite it being on a slightly different alignment. However, this would make for a sizable enclosure, and it is possible that the eastern side lay further to the west, for example along the east side of the later castle platform. This ditched or moated enclosure is set at a lower level than the main castle platform, which appears to overlie its eastern and southern sides. It is possible that the buildings or structures (Sites 3A and 3B) to the north of the castle platform, themselves partly cut by a later earthwork (Site 1), were associated with this earlier enclosure although, on balance, they are probably later. At present, any date of this possible earlier ditched or moated enclosure can only be speculated. However, the Constable family held the manor of Flamborough from the Earls of Chester from at least the early 12th century, with Robert le Constable inheriting the estate in 1139. The ditched or moated enclosure could therefore represent the early manorial centre of the Constable family, which was subsequently remodelled as their fortunes expanded.

The Castle Platform

4.3 The castle platform (Site 6) has a relatively regular sub-rectangular plan, measuring a maximum of 74m north-south by 55m east-west. The west side is the most prominent, standing up to 2m in height. It overlies the earlier possible moated or ditched enclosure discussed above, and is itself likely to have undergone several different phases of development. Excavation and earthwork survey at Ayton Castle (North Yorkshire) demonstrated that the standing tower house was only the most recent of a series of structures on the site which had been modified over an extended period of occupation (Rimington & Rutter 1967; Dennison & Richardson 2008). It is almost certain that the same process will have occurred at Flamborough, and what appears to be a relatively regular arrangement may represent only the greatest extent of the complex in its later stages of occupation. The only known excavation on the site, a single small-scale trench by the Humberside Archaeology Unit in 1995 (Atkinson 1995), revealed two phases of activity on the east side of the survey area, close to Tower Street (Site 5A). The first consisted of a clay bank, c.2m wide, presumably forming a boundary to the

castle enclosure or precinct, and containing a single sherd of 13th/14th century pottery. This bank was later replaced by a wall of chalk blocks set in clay, 0.86m below the existing ground level. The regional political prominence of the Constable family from the later 13th century onwards suggests that the castle platform is likely to have developed from at least that date, and was probably modified several times during the 14th and 15th centuries.

- 4.4 A considerable amount of earthmoving must have been involved to create the castle platform (Site 6), an aspect of the setting out of medieval residential complexes which is often overlooked; Hislop (2016, 11-28) has recently outlined surviving earthwork and documentary evidence for such activities. Flamborough, it is probable that the castle platform was set within a larger precinct or curia, seemingly occupying all of the enclosure shown on the 1766 enclosure map as being bounded by Carter Lane to the west and north. Tower Street to the east and Church Street to the south (see figure 6 left). The castle platform lay in the southern half of this enclosure. Even allowing for the impact of later development, the northern half of the enclosure appears relatively devoid of earthworks in 1854 and 1891, apart from a large chalk pit. The use to which this northern area was put is presently unknown, but it was presumably associated with the castle. The possible presence of low ridge and furrow might suggest that it was an area of arable, although it is more likely to have contained orchards and possibly gardens, as well as outlying structures.
- 4.5 There is no definitive surviving evidence for an entrance onto the castle platform, although several suggestions can be made. There is an indentation to the approximate centre of the west side of the platform, where the scarp becomes less steep, perhaps leading into a small square structure placed between longer buildings (Sites 6B and 6C), but this is not convincing. The slope here is still steep enough to make access awkward, and there is no other surviving evidence for a ramp or other approach if anything, this would seem to be a minor route or 'back entrance' into the area to the west of the platform.
- 4.6 More plausible is a possible semi-formal approach from the south, partly defined by a surviving bank (Site 10) and running parallel to now destroyed earthworks (Site 11) to the west. It could be significant that a single building is shown on the south side of the larger enclosure containing the castle complex on the c.1760 enclosure map, fronting onto Church Street, which appears to have been demolished by 1854 and replaced by the vicarage (see figure 6). This may have had no association whatsoever with the castle, but could it have been some kind of outer gatehouse or gate structure, allowing access to a southern approach? The existing brick and chalk wall forming the south side of the survey area is clearly of several phases, and there appears to be a more recent wholly brick central section which could represent infilling of an earlier entrance. It is not clear how this southern approach would have entered the castle platform, although the bank that defines the southern limit does have a break towards its western end. Might the structure or building (Site 6C) at the south-west corner of the castle platform, rather than representing a structure placed within an enclosed yard, have actually allowed access into it?
- 4.7 Finally, it is quite possible that, as part of some re-modelling or expansion of the castle complex, there was a re-orientation of the layout, creating the need for a new principal access from another direction. For example, an east-bank (**Site 4**) in the north-east corner of the survey area may represent the south side of an entrance from Tower Street; this bank marks the southern extent of the later house

plots on the west side of Tower Street, and overlies an earlier bank (**Site 5A**) on the same alignment.

The Platform Structures

- 4.8 Leland's early 16th century statement that the complex at Flamborough was "taken rather for a manor place than a castle" (Purdy 1974, 155) is important in understanding the layout of the buildings within the castle platform. In 1518, the complex contained a kitchen, larder house, bake house, beer house and brew house, and Sir Robert Constable's inventory taken after his execution in 1537 mentions the tower, a hall with a chamber over, a 'great parlour', a 'Lord's parlour', a chapel, a court-house, a mill house, and a 'great barn' (Purdy 1974, 155). Other structures mentioned in 1573, but referring back to the situation in 1537, included a kitchen, buttery and pantry with a chamber over, bake house, brew house and beer house (TNA E178/2564 quoted in McDonagh 2007, 148 & 383). After Sir Robert's execution, the Constable family abandoned the site, and in c.1540 it was noted that it "decays very sore and will do every day more and more except remedy be found betimes" (Purdy 1974, 156). Repairs were later undertaken to the hall, solar and three other chambers in 1541-42, but by c.1573 the kitchen had been pulled down and much of the stone, brick, timber, iron and lead from the hall, tower and other houses had been taken for use elsewhere (TNA E101/463/17 quoted by McDonagh 2007, 148).
- 4.9 The surviving earthworks on the castle platform will reflect its latest form prior to abandonment and at least some of the buildings listed in 1537 ought to be represented. However, as already noted above, the castle complex will have evolved over a period of several hundred years, and it should not necessarily be assumed that all earlier structures were replaced, and so some of the buildings recorded in 1537 could have been considerably earlier in date. It is also possible that, from at least the mid 14th century, the castle platform was walled, with the external faces of those buildings set against the edges of the platform forming part of the boundary.

a) The Tower

- 4.10 Only one of the buildings listed in 1537 can be located with any certainty. This is the tower, now represented by the existing ruin in the south-east corner of the platform. Emery (1996, 284) characterises the structure as a 'solar tower', i.e. one with an attached hall. The earliest solar tower built in Yorkshire was a polygonal structure built in the early 14th century at Knaresborough Castle by Edward II, with Steeton Hall (West Yorkshire) also of the early to mid 14th century (Emery 1996. 285 & 402). However, the majority of Yorkshire solar towers are stated to date to the 15th century, and often from the mid to later 15th century (Emery 1996, 285). Conversely, Ryder notes that, while little dateable detail survives at Flamborough, the building appears to have been a stand-alone tower house (Ryder 1982, 122). A reconstructed model of the tower, built by Earnshaw and held by East Riding Museum Service, shows it as a three storey detached building, with an entrance to the vaulted basement/ground floor in the east elevation, and an external wooden stair leading to a first floor doorway in the south elevation; there are also projecting machicolations to the four corners of the second floor, copied from those at Ayton Castle (North Yorkshire), topped by a low parapet wall, above which rises a pitched roof (ERYMS 1993.1657).
- 4.11 It is feasible that Emery and Ryder are *both* correct. In terms of the surviving remains, allowing for the loss of external facing stone, the tower would originally

have measured some 11.5m east-west by 9.3m north-south. The external walls have an average width of 1.3m, and the original internal ground floor dimensions of the structure were 8.4m east-west by 6.1m north-south. The tower was built of chalk, almost certainly rising from an external sandstone plinth, and comprising at least two and perhaps three storeys. The ground floor was covered by a broad, ribbed vault of eight transverse sandstone ribs, and in c.1885 was described as having a total height of c.4.20m (Purdy 1974, 155). It is curious that there is no clear evidence for any damage left by the removal of, for example, the corework over the vault which was tied into the walls; there were apparently chalk blocks between the ribs (Purdy 1974, 155). Similarly, there is no surviving evidence for a timber floor laid above the vault. The chamfered jamb of the first floor doorway in the east wall and the base of the first floor window in the south wall (see below) are both placed c.0.30m above the top of the vault's centre, and at approximately the same level there is a deeper course of chalk blocks which runs around all three surviving internal walls; it is possible that this course represents a repair, infilling the damage left by the removal of the original first floor. The ground floor was almost certainly lit by opposed windows in the east and west walls, both of which are now much altered or virtually destroyed. There is no surviving trace of a doorway or any heating, although of course they could have been located in the now missing north wall. There was apparently once a newel stair entered through an ogee-headed doorway somewhere to the ground floor (Purdy 1974, 155). although again no trace of this remains visible today. To the first floor, there was a window in the centre of the south wall, and a doorway located towards the north end of the east wall. The garderobe shaft at the south-east corner could have served either the first or a second floor, but there is no surviving evidence for any heating at these levels.

- 4.12 Given that there is no evidence for an attached structure or projection that the first floor doorway in the east wall led into, it is assumed that it served an external wooden or stone stair. This would make more sense with a stand-alone tower house, as suggested by Ryder, and as shown on Earnshaw's reconstruction model; it could indicate that in its earliest form, Flamborough resembled something like the hall houses built in medieval Ireland. These were two storey buildings with first floor entrances, which appear to have originated in the early 13th century and where the ground floor was reached by an internal staircase descending from the first floor. These often appear to be isolated structures, but are sometimes surrounded by earthworks and therefore perhaps formed part of a larger complex (Sweetman 1999, 89-100). There are also similarities with the 16th century and later bastle houses of the northern Pennines (Ryder 1996).
- 4.13 However, such an arrangement would be unusual for a later medieval Yorkshire tower house; the early to mid 15th century tower house at Cocklaw (Northumberland) is described as a rare example of such a structure with an external first floor approach, although this may not necessarily have been connected to an external stair (Emery 1996, 70-71). It therefore begs the question of what date the Flamborough tower actually is. It is tempting to associate it with the licences to crenellate granted to Sir Marmaduke Constable (d.1378) in 1351 and 1352 although, as Ryder (1982, 122) has previously noted, there is little dateable detail. Earnshaw's reconstruction model is clearly inspired by Ayton Castle (North Yorkshire), and it is understandable why, as there are some similarities between the two structures. The tower at Ayton was almost certainly constructed by Sir Ralph Eure (1349-1422) in the late 14th or early 15th centuries, and is placed within an earlier complex established by Sir Gilbert de Ayton (c.1275-1349) (Dennison & Richardson 2008). Both (Hislop 2007, 28) and Emery (1996, 298) note the similarity of Ayton to other tower houses further north, and cite Eure's

Northumbrian background as a likely influence in this. Ayton is of a similar size to Flamborough, and also has ribbed vaulting to the lowest floor, although this space is divided into two parts; the upper floors were accessed via an internal newel stair. These upper floors were well lit, and provided with fireplaces and garderobes. One might also draw parallels with the c.1370-1380 Belsay Castle (Northumberland), a three storey structure with a single chamber to each floor (Hugill 1970, 43-44; Emery 1996, 48-50).

- 4.14 A possible explanation might be that an earlier free-standing tower house was modified or enlarged as a result of the 1351-52 licences, perhaps as part of a more extensive scheme of works to the complex. It could have been heightened and perhaps also converted into a solar tower with the addition of a hall: the earthworks suggest that this could only have been added to the north. An interesting comparison is provided by Yanwath Hall (Westmorland), where Emery proposes that the upper level of the mid 14th century tower was added or rebuilt within a hundred years of the original construction. At this site, the tower stands at one end of a 15th century hall range (possibly replacing an earlier similar structure), with a 15th century kitchen block at the opposite end, and also a contemporary east range (Emery 1996, 258-261). Alternatively, the Flamborough tower house could have been a wholly new free-standing structure erected as a result of the 1351-52 licences, including the unusual feature of a first floor entrance. At a later date, an adjoining north range was constructed. The presence of a hall or other structures adjoining the tower could explain why the north wall is completely missing above ground level, as it may have collapsed during or as a result of the removal of the former. In this scenario, one might seek parallels or contrasts with other solar towers where the tower and hall range were of different dates, such as Paull Holme tower on the north bank of the river Humber to the east of Hull - here, the tower is brick-built, and it was constructed in the late 15th century at the north end of an existing timber-framed manor house which was demolished in c.1830 (Dennison 1992; Pevsner & Neave 1995, 646).
 - b) The Other Castle Platform Structures
- Although the various details of the structures within the castle complex given in 4.15 1518, 1537, 1541-2 and 1573 are extremely useful, not all of the same elements are listed in each document. For example, a kitchen, larder house, bake house and beer house are referenced in both 1518 and 1573, and the tower appears in the 1537 inventory, but the 1541-42 repairs make reference to the solar but not the tower. Depending on how the complex was then structured, the solar may have remained within the tower or have been placed somewhere within an adjoining range. Nevertheless, by combining the documentary and earthwork evidence, a general deposition can be proposed. It is suggested that there was an arrangement something like the aforementioned Yanwath Hall (Westmorland), where the tower stood at one end of a hall and kitchen range. At Flamborough, the juxtaposition of the earthworks within the castle platform suggests that the hall range must have stood to the north of the tower, where there is a generally flattened area, measuring 15m north-south by 10m east-west, defined by earthworks on the north and west sides. In 1537, the hall is described as having a chamber over, suggesting that it was by then a single storey hall, perhaps created by inserting a first floor into a former open roofed structure. The kitchen, panty, buttery and bake house could have been placed at the north end of the hall range, and may be represented by structural earthworks (Site 6E), forming part of a longer east-west range with adjacent earthworks (Site 6F).

- 4.16 The location of the chapel, great parlour and lord's parlour listed in 1537 are less certain. Grenville (1997, 115) states that, by the end of the Middle Ages, the great chamber had typically taken on more of a formal function, and so the private dining room of the lord and his immediate family moved to the parlour, often upgraded from the service room beneath the solar or chamber. The usual position for the main parlour was on the ground floor beyond the high end of the hall, beneath the great chamber. One might therefore imagine that, at Flamborough, one of the parlours was placed either within the tower, or perhaps that an intermediate area had been created between the hall range and the tower. If the earthwork to the west (Site 6C) is not associated with an entrance, as speculated above, then it could form a detached west range, possibly with a sub-square structure at the north end. The linear bank defining the south side of the castle platform suggests a wall here, closing off the fourth side of a small rectangular court or yard measuring c.50m by 45m (Site 6D); the earthworks suggest buildings grouped around three sides of this court, some with evidence for possible internal subdivision.
- 4.17 Such an arrangement would have effectively created a sub-division of the castle platform into two areas, with a group of buildings (including the main residential structures) ranged around three sides of a western inner court or yard (**Site 6D**), and a separate outer court (**Site 6A**) to the north, with a single building (or perhaps two parallel structures) (**Site 6B**) set along its west side. Might the latter have been the court house listed in 1537? The court house would have needed to be accessible to all those travelling to attend the various court meetings, but was kept secure by placing it within the enclosed castle platform. Its location here might strengthen the case for a main approach to the platform from the east, so that those attending the courts did so without passing through the yard containing the residential structures to the south. It is likely that the Main castle complex was surrounded by a stone boundary wall, as shown on figure 13, with a southern entrance into the inner court and another entrance into the outer area.

Other Structures

- 4.18 It is tempting to see the large earthwork building (**Site 7**) to the south-east of the tower as representing the 'great barn' referred to in 1537; at c.32m long by c.15m wide, it was a substantial structure, perhaps comparable to the 'greate barne' with stone walls 14 feet high which was dismantled before 1595 in the outer court of Sheriff Hutton Castle in North Yorkshire (Wright & Richardson 2005, 103). The barn at Flamborough would have been expected to be placed within an outer court (see below), and it is probable that the mill house noted in 1537 would be located in the same area. It is likely that the latter reference relates to a horse mill, rather than a wind or water mill, and Brearly places a horse mill on the site of the dew pond (**Site 8**) (Brearley 1971, 199). One would also have expected stabling to be present.
- 4.19 A number of other buildings, represented by earthworks, lie close to, but outside, the castle platform. On the north side, two structures (Sites 3A and 3B) might form the brew house and beer house, with the angled earthwork approaching from the north-east (Site 1) perhaps being its water supply, although the earthworks might suggest structure 3A is later in date. The other earthworks (Site 11) to the south of the castle platform that were destroyed by the burial ground extension may also have been the remnants of further structures, although it is now impossible to be certain.

Gardens and Pleasure Grounds

- 4.20 It is undeniable that the earthworks within the enclosure to the east of the castle platform are, at a glance, strongly reminiscent of medieval gardens (**Site 5**). Their overall sub-square form, the division of the interior into four quadrants or areas of broadly equal size, the profile, and the visual relationship with the tower, all resemble the gardens illustrated in late medieval illustrations (for example, see Bartlett 2001, 24 or Calkins 1986, figs 6 to 8). In Yorkshire, excavated examples have been dated to the 14th century at the former Augustinian Friary in Hull (Ayers 1993, 58-72), and others, such as those at Ravensworth Castle in North Yorkshire, have been examined in detail (Richardson & Dennison 2014).
- 4.21 The position of the possible gardens at Flamborough and their relative height in relation to the buildings on the castle platform are in some ways similar to Ravensworth Castle. At c.25m square, the quadrants at Flamborough are also close in size to the garden enclosures at Ravensworth that were argued to be the remains of an earlier phase that was subsequently remodelled (Richardson & Dennison 2014, 33-36). Earthwork gardens, even those associated with well documented building complexes, are notoriously difficult to date closely (Rowe, Taylor & Williamson 2011). At Ravensworth, it was argued that an earlier phase was either replaced by later gardens following a late 14th century remodelling of the castle complex, or that both phases pre-dated the late 14th century remodelling (Richardson & Dennison 2014, 33-36). It is guite possible that the Flamborough earthworks represent a garden created in the mid 14th century to accompany a remodelling of the castle complex associated with the licences to crenellate granted to Sir Marmaduke Constable (d.1378). Another interesting feature is the slightly differing nature of the interior of each quadrant, which was again noted in the gardens at Ravensworth. At Flamborough, the south-east quadrant has a possible small structure at one corner (Site 5G), the south-west quadrant contains two possible structures (Sites 5E and 5F), the north-east quadrant has spread banks around all four internal sides, whilst the north-west has a prominent subrectangular mound to the west side (Site 5D). The latter might be considered to be some kind of viewing platform or prospect mound for the garden; however, given the extent of possible post-abandonment disturbance, caution must be exercised, and it could also represent material dumped from the adjacent castle platform prior to the late 19th century.
- 4.22 Any interpretation of the earthworks as gardens depends to a large extent on the division of the area into four quadrants. The junctions between the three east-west ditches and the north-south ditch (Site 5B) which create these quadrants suggests that the latter is either wholly later and cuts through them, or that it was perhaps once like them but was subsequently re-cut to a greater depth, perhaps to form some kind of water garden feature like a canal; it was also speculated above that this might also represent the eastern arm of the possible earlier moat. In the first case, this might argue against the use of the area as a garden, as it would then lack the division into quadrants. Indeed, the fact that both of the east-west areas defined by the shallow ditches appears to have a platform at the east end adjacent to Tower Street (e.g. Site 5G), with a third example to the immediate south of the war memorial enclosure, could be taken to indicate a number of house plots extending back off Tower Street itself. However, these plots would be rather wide when compared to those elsewhere in Flamborough, for example, those extending west from the High Street at the north end of the settlement, and there is no other evidence for the presence of houses on the west side of Tower Street before c.1760.

- 4.23 In the second case, it suggests a remodelling of this area. It is noticeable that the north-south ditch (**Site 5B**) is broadly in line with the east end of the large earthwork proposed above to be the 'great barn' to the south (**Site 7**). To the north, if the sub-rectangular structure or platform (**Site 5C**) was indeed 25m long, then it would have a similar relationship with the ditch as the 'great barn'. Taken together, the three begin to resemble some kind of forecourt or outer court, with an approximately symmetrical layout. Forecourts are not an uncommon addition to earlier complexes during the 16th century, often walled with a central gatehouse, although there is no evidence for such at Flamborough. This scenario would also imply an approach to the main castle platform from the east. As with the main castle complex, the gardens area is also likely to have been surrounded by a wall, which also provided privacy from Tower Street to the east, as shown on figure 13.
- 4.24 Finally, it is possible, or indeed even probable given the status of the Constable family, that the castle complex was provided with a wider associated landscape of pleasure beyond its immediate courts and yards. Although the survey has uncovered no evidence for a park associated with the castle, it is possible that the northern half of the precinct or curia containing the complex may have functioned as some sort of Little Park, a smaller pleasure ground which would have fulfilled differing needs to the agricultural, hunting and forestry functions of any larger park. Alternatively, the elongated, sub-rectangular enclosure to the immediate west of the village containing the moated fishponds (now surviving only as low earthworks) may have formed a detached pleasure ground. Although some medieval fishponds were surrounded by hedges or fences to protect stock from poachers and animals (Moorhouse 1981, 744), the use of an encircling moat is more suggestive of an ornamental layout. In the absence of other evidence, such moated ponds are difficult to date closely, with ponds enclosed by moats of varying form remaining a fashionable element of water gardens laid out around larger houses into the late 16th century at least (Henderson 2005, 130-135). All this, of course, is speculation, until further research and/or excavation has been undertaken.

Abandonment and Post-Medieval Use

The 16th Century

- 4.25 The most recent major phase of activity recorded by the earthwork survey was represented by those earthworks which are more sharply defined, cut or overlie earlier earthworks, and contain a high proportion of chalk rubble, possibly obtained from demolished structures within the castle complex. They almost certainly represent a re-ordering of the castle landscape after the decay and disuse of the complex in the second half of the 16th century.
- 4.26 The formerly large castle enclosure or *curia* on the west side of Tower Street was sub-divided into two parts of roughly equal size by an east-west aligned bank (**Site 2**); it is possible that a physical boundary is depicted on the bank in 1854 (see figure 6 right). This bank had a small sub-rectangular structure or building attached to its south side (**Site 3A**), which might have had an agricultural function such as a barn. A second bank (**Site 3D**), which also appears on the 1854 map, may also be of this phase, although it is curious that the alignment is broken by the former moat and so it could be earlier. New house plots were laid out along the west side of Tower Street within the northern half of the former castle precinct between 1766 (the date of the enclosure plan) and the 1850s (see figure 6). The south side of these house plots is marked by an east-west bank (**Site 4**), which overlies an earlier bank (**Site 5A**) on the same alignment. A sunken earthwork

(Site 1) ran along the rear of the new house plots on an angled alignment. This earthwork cuts or passes through an earlier structure (Site 3B), and is aligned on a gap in the bank marking the north side of the castle platform (Site 6). As noted above, this earthwork appears to be an open water course, and may have been associated with a possible brew and/or beer house here which would have needed a water supply. However, the fact that it appears to pass through the building (Site 3B) suggests it was later re-cut, to provide a supply to those buildings outside the castle platform and/or after it had fallen out of use as a residence - this area would still have formed a useful agricultural unit, to house stock or perhaps even form a small farm complex. At Ayton Castle, it was noted that the area to the south-west of the tower contained a number of crude unmortared walls apparently built after the castle had ceased to be permanently occupied, which were interpreted as being a series of cattle or sheep enclosures built in the 18th or 19th century (Rimington & Rutter 1967, 38).

The 18th to 20th Centuries

- 4.27 By the turn of the 19th century, although the basement vault of the tower remained intact, it was being used to house cattle. Hinderwell (1811, 264) noted that by the early 19th century, stone was being taken away from the tower every year to be burnt to produce lime. The Scheduled Monument description states that the lime kilns "are still evident as circular earthworks on the site, to the east of the tower". This may be a reference to two sub-circular mounds recorded on the west side of the possible garden area (Sites 5D and 5E), and the top of the prominent mound in the north-west quadrant (Site 5D) is set at a height that would have made it easy to load limekilns here from the adjacent castle platform. There are also two possible structures to the immediate west of the dew pond (Site 8), but these are seemingly too small to represent lime kilns; the dewpond itself was present by 1854, and was probably dug in either the late 18th or early 19th centuries. A more likely location for the lime kilns are the two features shown on the historic Ordnance Survey mapping in the southern part of the survey area (Site 11), which were destroyed by the later extension to the churchyard (see figure 7).
- 4.28 Map evidence indicates that the earthworks within the survey area remained relatively undisturbed during the 19th century. Indeed, the only major disturbance up until the present day appears to have been the removal of those earthworks (**Site 11**) to the south of the castle platform, in two stages, firstly between 1910 and 1928 and then again after 1953. It is highly probable that the landscaping of these earthworks produced the large mound (**Site 9**), tipped from north-west to southeast. Presumably Earnshaw chose not to show the mound in 1965 because he knew it related to modern activity. Another, more minor, incursion into the castle earthworks is the creation of the war memorial on the west side of Tower Street in October 1921.
- 4.29 The ruined tower (**Site 6G**) continued to be used as a cattle shed and presumably agricultural storage until at least 1892, and was probably used as such for some time after. It is not known when the vaulted basement collapsed, to leave the ruins as they survive today, but Brearley (1971, 183) does show a sketch of the east external side of the castle, annotated "The Tower (before the fall of 1925)" (see figure 9). The detailed 1891 25" Ordnance Survey map shows a small buttress-like projection off the north-west corner of the tower, the remains of which were also shown by Earnshaw (see figures 3 and 7) and which have also been identified by the current survey. The presence of brick within the remnants of the buttress suggest that it is a 19th century addition, built to stabilise the ruin when it was in use as a cattle shed. Given that brick was also used in both of the former windows

to the east and west walls of the ground floor, and that there may be evidence for re-facing of the inner walls of the tower using chalk to hide the scar left by the removal of the first floor, perhaps there was a more extensive scheme of restoration concerned with stabilising the ruin during the 19th century. This would be in keeping with the role that the ruin played in community celebrations and events in the later 19th century, and might also have been related to Flamborough's growing tourist trade.

Castle and Settlement

- 4.30 It is self-evident that any interpretation of the castle earthworks requires them to be placed within the structure of Flamborough village as it developed as a settlement. Flamborough clearly has a complex sequence of development, involving multiple phases, and a detailed study of this lies beyond the scope of the current report. Nevertheless, some ideas are proposed below to begin to place the castle within the settlement's history.
- 4.31 The 1766 enclosure plan and the 1854 Ordnance Survey map depict a number of features which are of interest (see figure 6). At the north end of the village, the High Street curves into the centre of the settlement from the north-east, linking it the North Landing on the northern coast of the headland. The properties fronting onto the west side of High Street have rear plots running as far as a wide road named Garth Ends (now Chapel Street). In the mid 19th century, this road terminated just north of the end of the plots, but the earlier enclosure map shows that it returned through a right angle back to the High Street. There are fewer, less regular, properties on the east side of the High Street, and their rear plots are not as long, as they border on the North Mere (since infilled) and a triangular area named 'North Mere Green'. A wide road (South Sea Lane) runs south from the green, having a junction with Lighthouse Lane which leads east to the coast; the first road continued south, providing a link to the South Landing.
- 4.32 The central part of the village is formed by the houses and plots fronting onto Tower Street. At the south end of the east side of Tower Street is the Manor House (labelled as 'Site of Constable Hall' in 1854), within its own large enclosure; it has been shown in Chapter 2 above that this label is a misnomer, and it is, in fact, associated with the Strickland family who purchased that Flamborough estate in 1650. The area to the west contains the castle within a much larger enclosure, with Carter Lane running around the west and north sides. Apart from two small enclosures on the west side of Tower Street, the 1766 enclosure plan shows no encroachments into the castle field. However, on the east side of Tower Street, to the north of the Manor House, is a group of five regular plots, with buildings on the street frontage, running east to South Sea Lane.
- 4.33 At the southern end of the village, the church (not shown on the enclosure map but within block 21) stands on the south side of the road running west towards Bridlington. To the south of this road is a prominent rectangular enclosure, containing some sub-divisions and buildings at its north end. A narrow lane runs around all four sides of this enclosure; on the east side, there are houses fronting onto the east side of the lane (Church Lane), with long plots running to the rear (east) as far as South Sea Lane. To the immediate south of the enclosure lay the site of South Hall, together with probable gardens, other enclosures and farm buildings (now Beacon Farm). The west side of the large rectangular enclosure is formed by Butlers Lane, while to the west is another smaller enclosure, and a similar feature, to the north-west formed by Water Lane. The adjacent large enclosure to the west contains the "Old Fish Ponds".

- 4.34 Within the village layout shown in 1766 and 1854 (see figure 6), a number of phases of development can be seen. There was an early centre of settlement at the south end of the existing village, with the church at the north end of what was once a large, rectangular, open green. The green had houses fronting onto the east side, along Church Lane, with rear plots extending as far as South Sea Lane. A recent study of some of the buildings in Flamborough by the Yorkshire Vernacular Buildings Study Group suggest that several of the former and surviving buildings along Church Lane (e.g. Grove Farm and Ogle's Cottage) were 17th century longhouses with cruck frames, although they could represent rebuilding of earlier structures (Birdsall 2002, 39-40). Recent archaeological excavations have also recorded the remains of medieval settlement fronting onto the north side of the green (Lilly Lane) (George 1999; Adamson 2018). At the south end of the green was South Hall, possibly a seigniorial residence, although the date of this complex is not known; the hall itself had been demolished by 1854. The area of the settlement did not extend any further to the south, as surviving earthworks of the open field system are still visible on modern vertical aerial colour photography immediately south and east of the 'Site of an Old Hall' marked in 1854. These would have fallen within the South Field, recorded in 1572, but known as Beacon Field by 1767 (Purdy 1974, 157).
- 4.35 There may have been a second focus of settlement at the north end of the existing village, based around the North Mere and North Mere Green. Purdy (1974, 160) suggests that the early nucleus of the village lay around the church, with a gradual extension northwards as the North Landing gained a predominant role in the village economy. However, the pier, first mentioned in 1400-01, was located at the South Landing, and this was the site of the medieval harbour and port (Johnson 1988). Alternatively, if there were two early centres of settlement rather than one, then phased infilling between the two might also have created the existing village layout. Whether these two originally separate centres relate to the two estates listed in Flamborough in 1086, or how they were influenced by the changing comparative importance of the North and South Landings, is presently uncertain, although it does seem likely.
- 4.36 It appears that the southern core remained relatively unchanged, and the excavations east of the church showed that the houses here were abandoned by the late 14th century (George 1999). However, the central and northern part of the village seem to have been extended in several different phases, some parts possibly as part of deliberate planned expansion. Many of the existing buildings along the High Street are 19th century in date, but the plots to the western side, extending as far as Garth Ends to the rear, may be earlier. It is also possible that the rectangular area now occupied by the Dog and Duck Inn complex may formerly have been an open market place, lying at the south end of the High Street; in 1731, a market and fair were said to be appurtenant to the manor but there are no further references to the market (Purdy 1974, 158), and apparently no earlier ones either.
- 4.37 There was a slightly smaller, but still substantial enclosure to the west of Water Lane, containing the moated fishponds at its south-eastern corner; modern vertical colour aerial photography (Google Earth) suggests that there are further earthworks to the north and south of the fishponds which do not appear on historic maps. During the 16th century, demesne closes that were probably in use as arable included Pond Close and Fishcroft, whilst fishponds belonged to the manor in 1559 (Purdy 1974, 152 & 157). Whilst it is not certain that these refer to the earthwork fishponds, the latter are almost certainly of medieval or early postmedieval date. Mayde Lands, recorded in 1260, was located to the immediate

- south of the enclosure with the fishponds (Purdy 1974, 157), and survived as Maidlands on the 1854 Ordnance Survey map.
- 4.38 It may well be that Tower Street is a later phase in the development of the village. either linking the two earlier settlement cores to provide a more direct connection than South Sea Lane, or pushed north from the southern centre around the church. However, a third scenario is possible. The area to the west of Tower Street was occupied by the castle *curia*, which was also defined by Carter Lane to the north and west, and Church Street to the south; Carter Lane may be the Caster Lane noted in 1319 (Purdy 1974, 152). Precisely when the castle complex was laid out is open to debate, but the original moated site may well be pre 12th century in date, forming the manorial centre which then went on to become the core of the Constables' estate. Perhaps Tower Street, and the small number of regular seemingly planned plots on its east side, is associated with a re-development of the village by the one of the Constable family. This could be Robert the Constable (d.1185), who inherited the estate in 1139, or one of his descendants, or even Sir Marmaduke Constable (d.1378) who may well have been responsible for remodelling the castle complex in the mid 14th century. Perhaps Tower Street formed another approach to the castle/manorial centre, with the single building shown on the 1760s enclosure map positioned at right angles to the west side of the street making the entrance into the complex?
- 4.39 The final major phase of development appears to post-date the abandonment of the castle complex. After the execution of Sir Robert Constable in 1537, as a result of his involvement in the Pilgrimage of Grace, the complex was abandoned. A new manorial house was built on the east side of the south end of Tower Street by the Strickland family some time after 1650, and houses were laid out on the west side of Tower Street between 1776 and 1854, within the former castle precinct. The former castle precinct was then further sub-divided into two plots of roughly equal size. It is significant that, within the EDAS survey area, all of the features (see below) which are likely to be associated with this phase of development cut or overlie earlier earthworks, are very well defined, and contain a high proportion of chalk rubble; the latter might have been obtained from the demolition of structures within the castle complex.
- 4.40 It is currently difficult to place anything other than approximate dates on the various phases of development outlined above. There were two estates in Flamborough in 1086, and there is likely to have been some associated settlement; a possible, pre-Conquest, settlement, might have been centred on the area surrounding the church (where some Iron Age material was found in 1999), perhaps with another centre to the north which had developed around the North Mere. The 'Old Hall' marked to the south of the church could represent the estate centre of the 'constabularius' documented in 1180-1193, or perhaps an earlier residence established by the Constable family before the castle complex was laid out. Alternatively, it might be the capital messuage belonging to the William Westingby referred to in 1268.
- 4.41 During the medieval period, there was either infilling between the proposed north and south settlement cores, or the southern core was expanded to the north, creating one much larger settlement. This almost certainly happened in a number of different phases, at least one of which may have been associated with the licences to crenellate received by Sir Marmaduke Constable in 1351-52. These licences almost certainly marked a major phase of rebuilding of the castle complex, and it is possible that this was also accompanied by associated remodelling of the settlement in the form of a planned extension, such as took place on a much larger

scale in the later 14th century when castles were built at Sheriff Hutton (North Yorkshire) (Dennison 2005, 10-16) and at Wressle (East Yorkshire) (Richardson & Dennison 2015; Dennison & Richardson 2017, 81-82). It seems likely that the rebuilding of the castle complex took place within a large precinct or *curia* whose boundaries were already established by the early 14th century, and that any planned extensions had been completed by the middle of the same century, given that there were 278 poll-tax payers in Flamborough in 1377 (Purdy 1974, 154). The fish pond complex to the west of the church may also be medieval in origin, whilst the estates of Bridlington Priory and how these may have affected the village's morphology also need to be taken into account.

4.42 The final major phase of development post-dated the abandonment of the castle complex, perhaps in the second half of the 16th century. The manorial centre was moved to the east side of the south end of Tower Street, and only then were houses laid out on the west side of Tower Street, within the former castle enclosure. The former castle enclosure was further sub-divided into two parts of roughly equal size; the south part, containing the castle, was subsequently encroached upon by development associated with the vicarage and its gardens and most recently by a burial ground extension.

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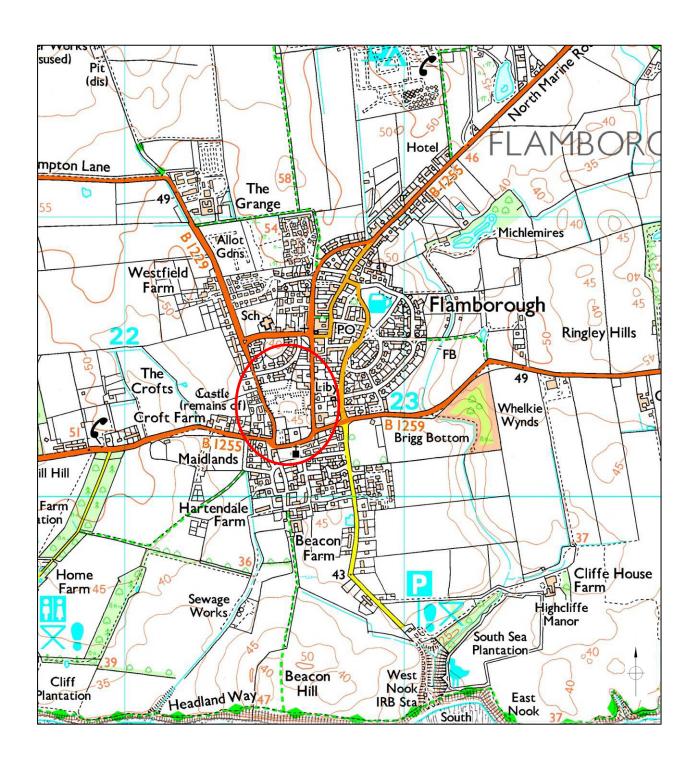
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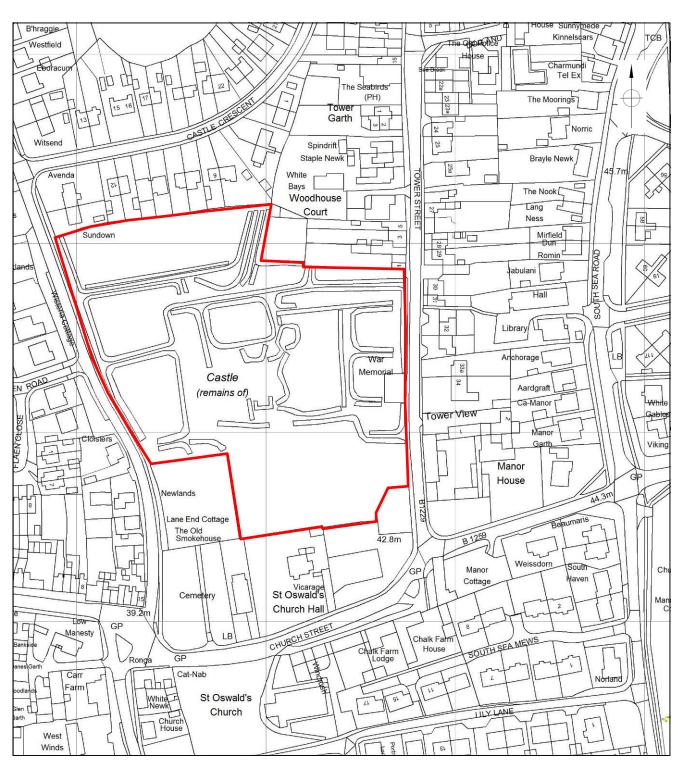
6 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

- 6.1 The archaeological recording and monitoring was commissioned and funded by the landowner, Jakki Wright, with a grant provided by Historic England. The conservation and repair work to the ruined castle was undertaken by Historic Building Restoration Ltd, under the auspices of Richard Maddison of Maddison James Associates Ltd, again with funds provided by Historic England. EDAS would like to thank all those involved in the project, including Steve Arrowsuch of HBR, and Jenny Irvine and Jenny Lee of Historic England.
- 6.2 The earthwork survey work was undertaken by Shaun Richardson of EDAS, in conjunction with Benchmark Surveys of Leeds. The monitoring of the repair work was undertaken by Ed Dennison. Ed Dennison also carried out the documentary research with Dr Susan Neave providing information on the Constable family. The final report and other drawings were produced by Ed Dennison and Shaun Richardson, with the former taking responsibility for any errors or inconsistencies.



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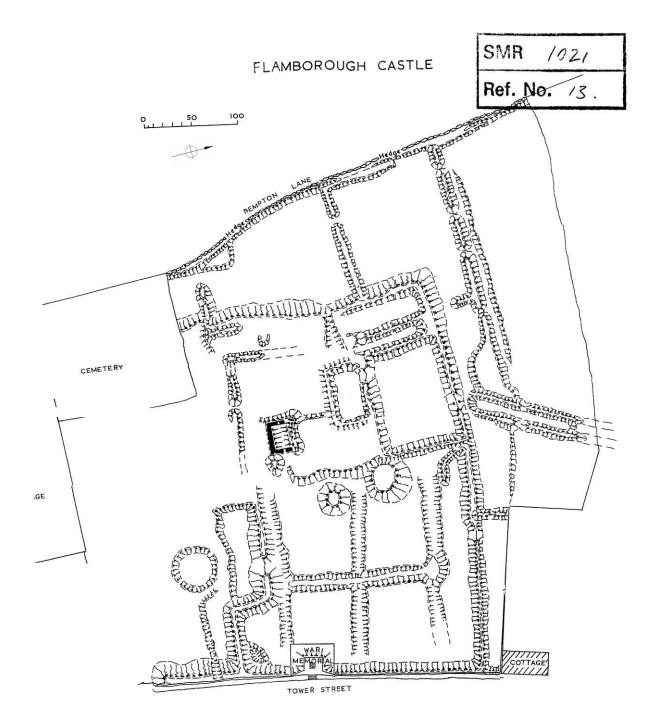
FLAMBOROUGH CASTLE	
GENERAL LOCATION	
NTS	DEC 2018
EDAS	FIGURE 1

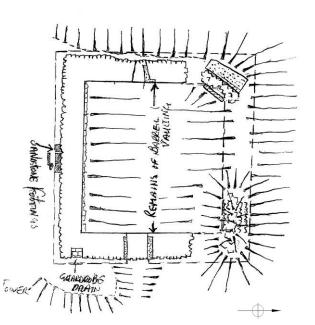


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FLAMBOROUGH CASTLE	
AREA OF SURVEY	
AS SHOWN	DEC 2018
EDAS	FIGURE 2





Source: Humber HER 1021.

Lower sketch annotated "Ground Plan of the Peel Tower of Flamborough Castle May 1964. Scale 10' = 1"".

FLAMBOROUGH CASTLE	
EARNSHAW'S 1964 SURVEYS	
SCALE NTS	DEC 2018
EDAS	FIGURE 3

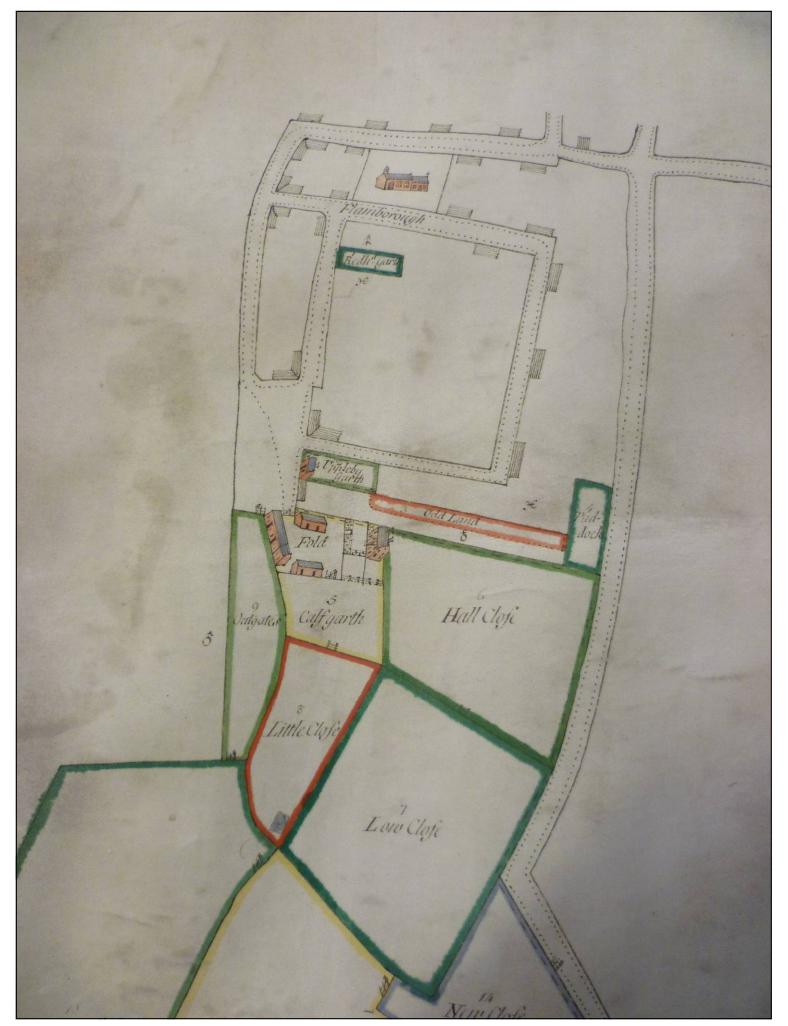


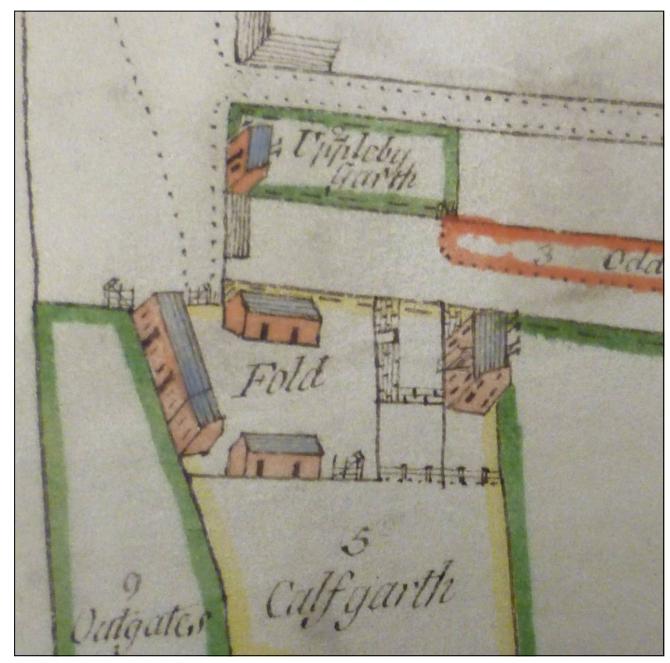


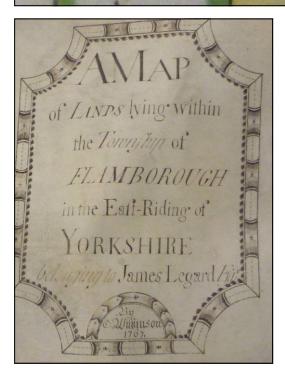
Top: Aerial photograph looking south-west. Bottom: Aerial photograph looking east.

Source: Humber HER aerial photographs taken 16th February 1990 by Ed Dennison (HAP 90/4/4 (top) & HAP 90/4/7 (bottom)).

FLAMBOROUGH CASTLE	
1990 AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHS	
NTS	DEC 2018
EDAS	FIGURE 4

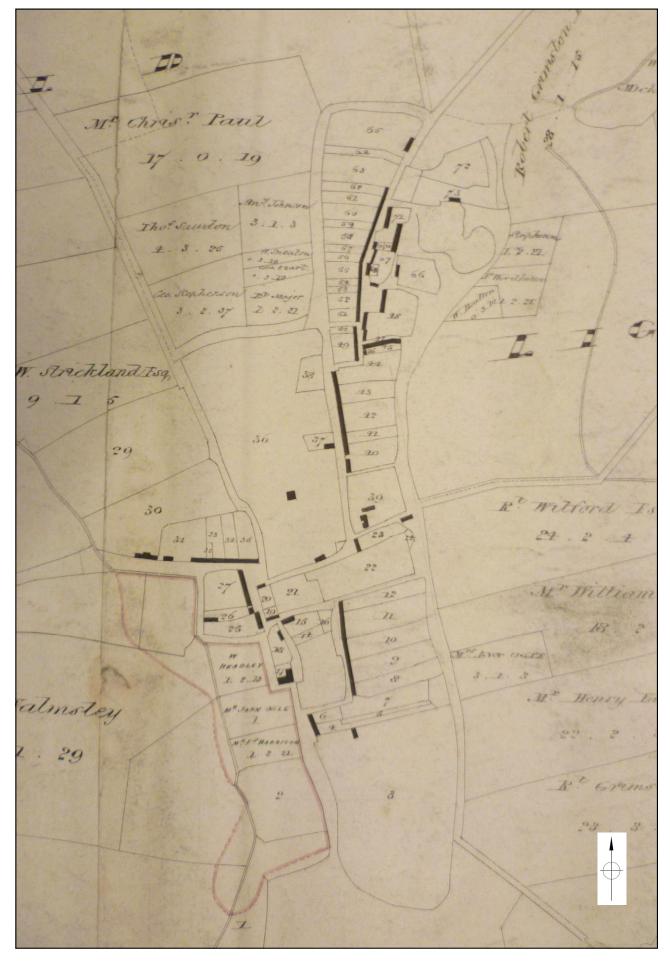


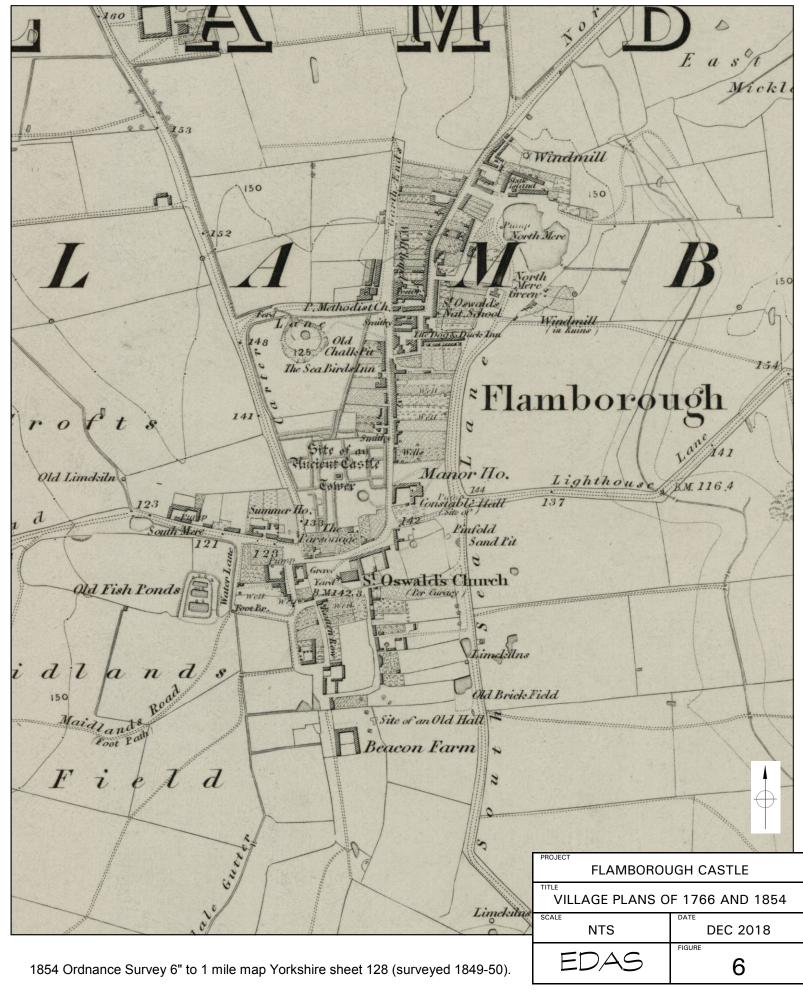




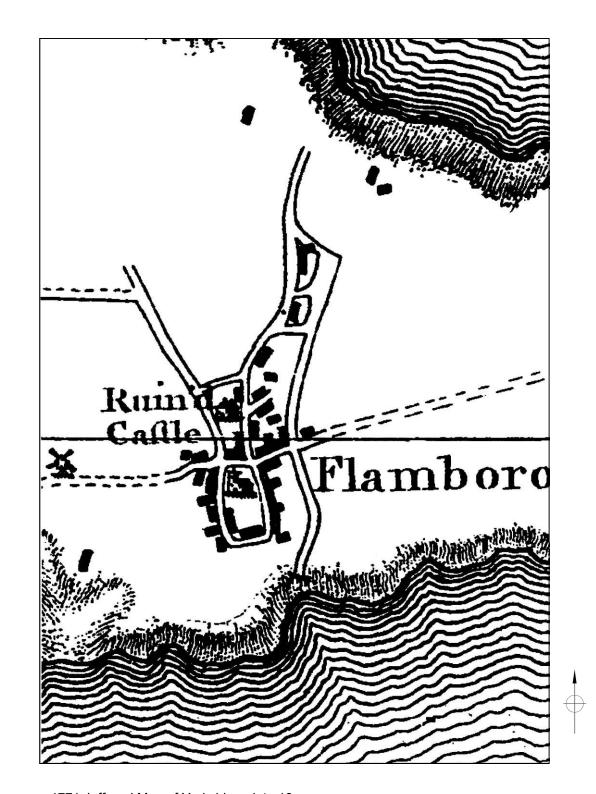
A Map of Lands lying in the Township of Flamborough in the East Riding of Yorkshire belonging to James Legard Esq, by C Wilkinson 1767 (ERAO DDHU/20/1).

FLAMBOROUGH CASTLE	
1767 PLAN OF SOUTH HALL	
NTS	DEC 2018
EDAS	FIGURE 5

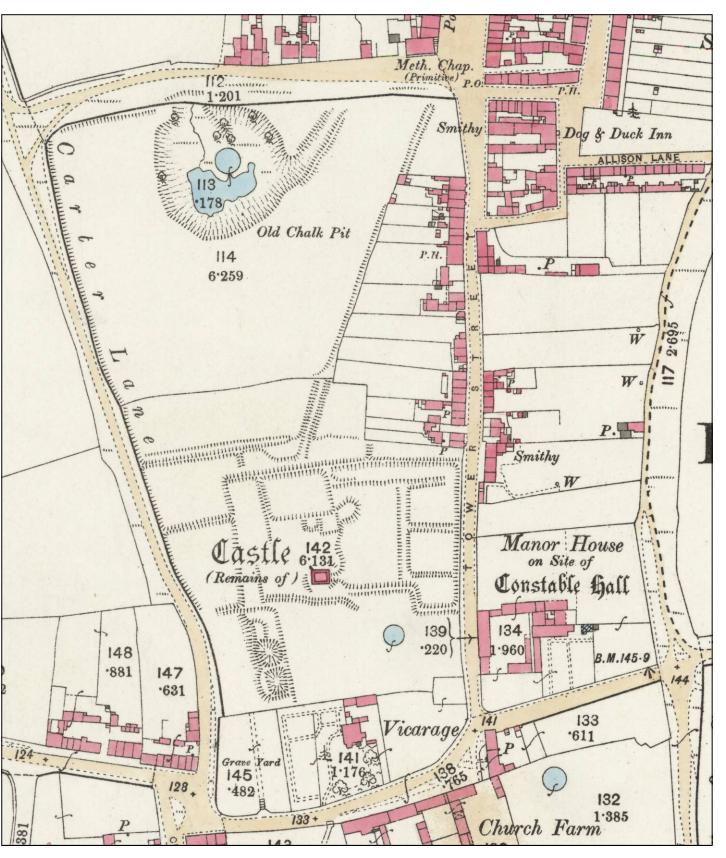




1766 Flamborough enclosure plan (ERAO DDX 1236/5).

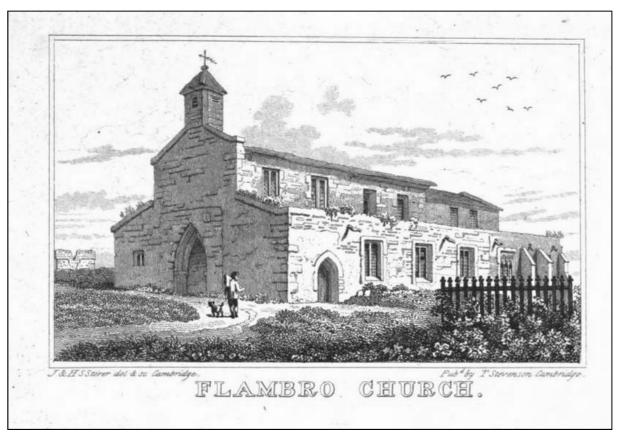


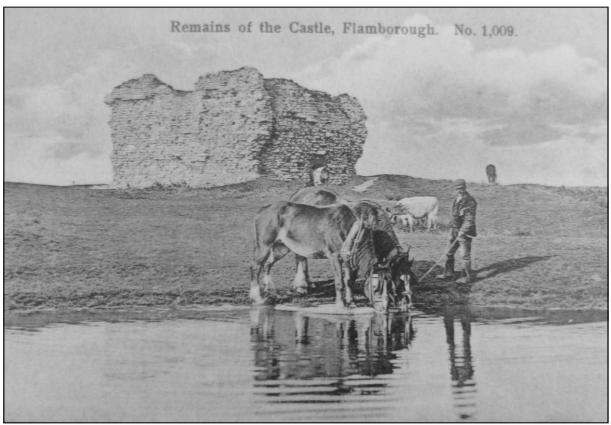
1771 Jefferys' Map of Yorkshire, plate 10.



1891 Ordnance Survey 25" to 1 mile map Yorkshire sheet 128/12 (surveyed 1889).

FLAMBOROUGH CASTLE	
VILLAGE PLANS OF 1771 AND 1891	
SCALE NTS	DEC 2018
EDAS	FIGURE 7

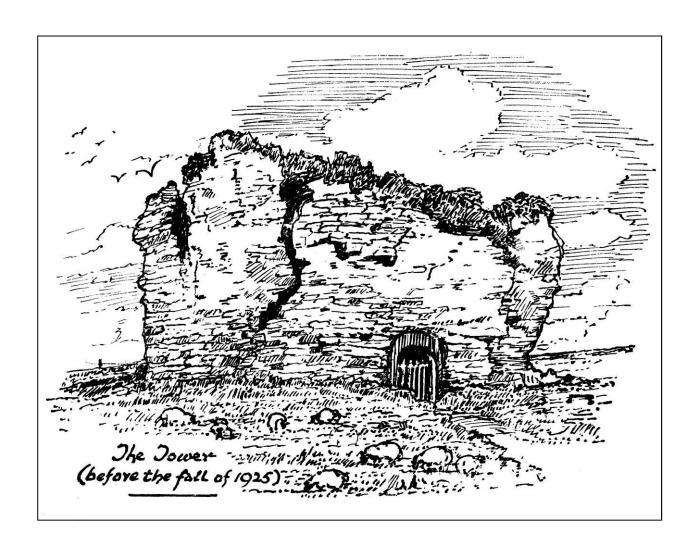




Top: Engraving of Flamborough church, with castle in the background. Source: Prickett, M 1831 *An History and Architectural Description of the Priory Church of Bridlington in the East Riding of the County of York*, plate XIII.

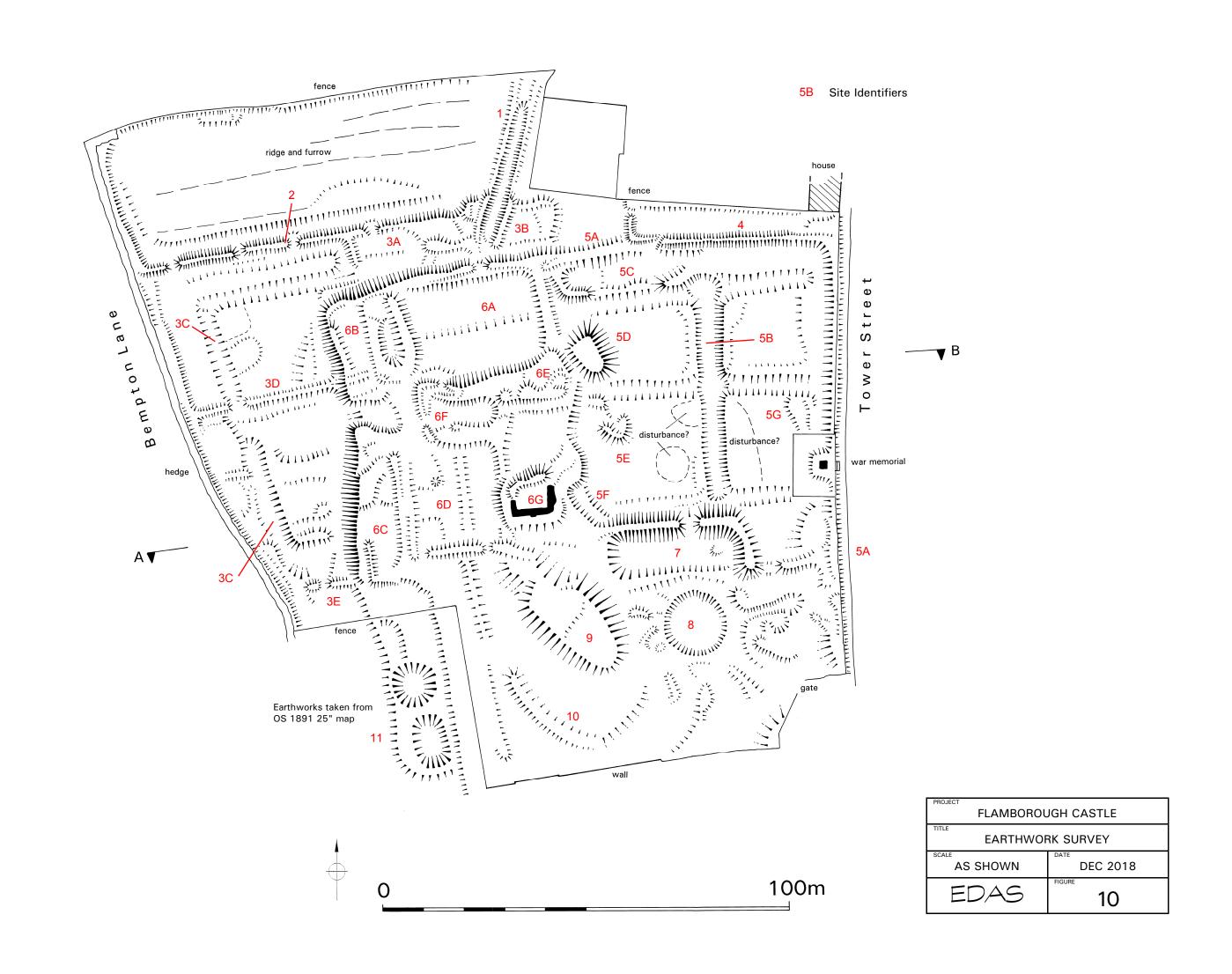
Bottom: Early 20th century postcard. Source: Elsie Sergant's postcard album, 1900-20 (ERAO DDX 1314/30).

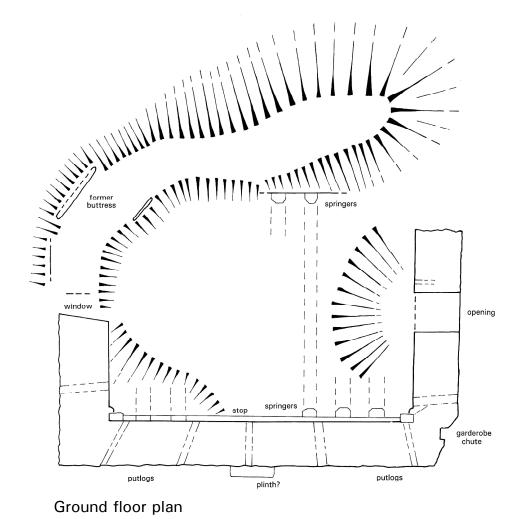
FLAMBOROUGH CASTLE	
DEPICTIONS OF CASTLE	
NTS	DEC 2018
EDAS	FIGURE 8

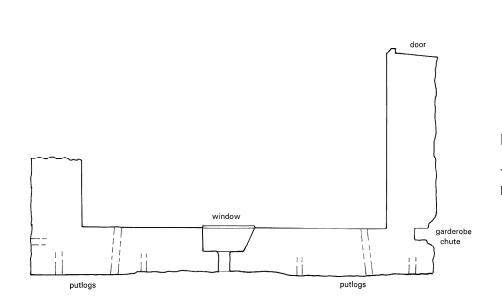


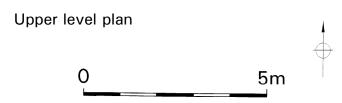
Sketch of the tower before the fall of 1925. Source: Brearley, F 1971 *A History of Flamborough*, p.183.

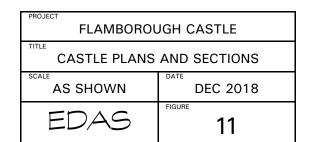
DDO IECT	
FLAMBOROUGH CASTLE	
BREARLEY'S SKETCH OF CASTLE	
NTS	DEC 2018
EDAS	FIGURE 9

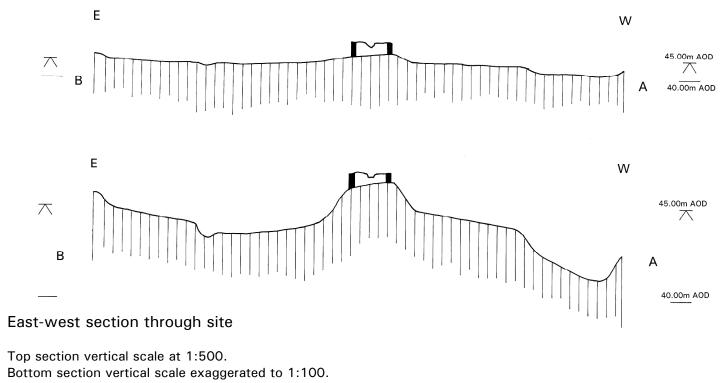












100m



A: West external elevation



B: South external elevation



C: East external elevation





D: West internal face



E: South internal face



F: East internal face

Source: Gritstone Associates Ltd (Geomatics), May 2016, supplied by Richard Maddison, project architect.

FLAMBOROUGH CASTLE	
CASTLE ELEVATIONS	
AS SHOWN	DEC 2018
EDAS	12

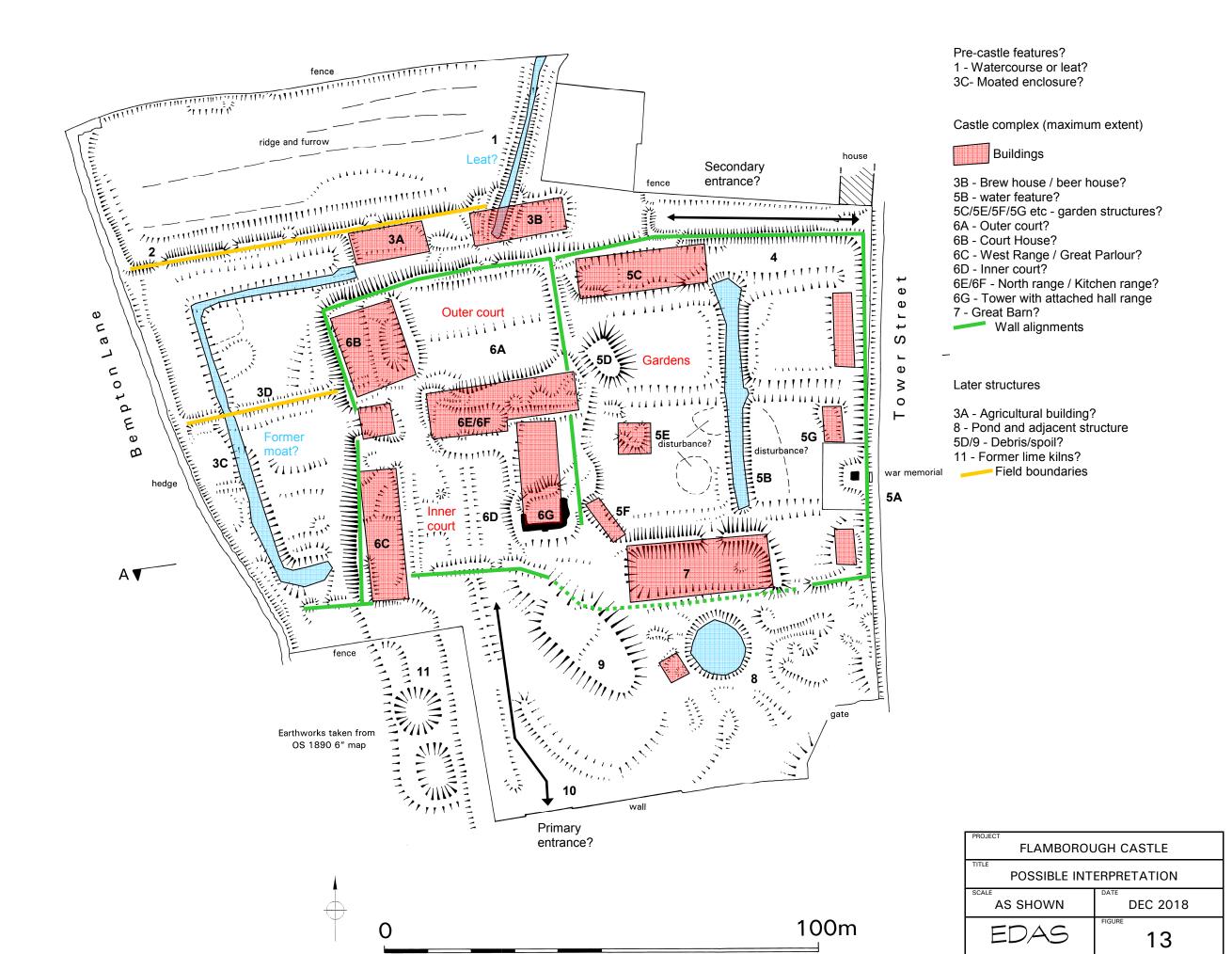




Plate 1: General view of castle (Site 6G), across earthworks, looking W (photo 5/884).



Plate 2: Sunken watercourse or leat (Site 1), looking N (photo 5/847).



Plate 3: Bank (Site 2) with ditch on N side, looking E (photo 5/850).



Plate 4: Bank (Site 2), with building platform (Site 3A) in foreground, looking E (photo 5/851).



Plate 5: Former moat (Site 3C), central part, looking N (photo 5/865).



Plate 6: Bank (Site 4), looking E (photo 5/840).



Plate 7: Bank (Site 4), right-angled section, looking NW (photo 5/842).



Plate 8: View of gardens area (Site 5) from top of castle, looking NE (photo 2/969).



Plate 9: Central north-south ditch (Site 5B) in garden area, looking N (photo 5/838).



Plate 10: Building platform (Site 5C) and bank (Site 5A) on edge of gardens area, looking NE (photo 5/844).



Plate 11: Mound (Site 5D) in gardens area, looking NE (photo 5/861).



Plate 12: Mound (Site 5E) in gardens area, looking SW (photo 5/837).



Plate 13: War memorial enclosure, looking NE (photo 5/881).



Plate 14: Bank forming west side of castle platform (Site 6), looking N (photo 1/786).



Plate 15: Bank forming south side of inner court (Site 6D), looking NE (photo 5/868).



Plate 16: Building platforms (Sites 6E & 6F) and possible outer court (Site 6A) beyond, looking N (photo 5/819).



Plate 17: Possible outer court (Site 6A), looking NE (photo 5/857).



Plate 18: Building platform (Site 6B), looking N (photo 5/855).



Plate 19: Building platform (Site 6B), west end shown as parch marks, looking NE (photo 1/817).



Plate 20: Building platform (Site 6C), viewed from top of castle, looking W (photo 5/821).



Plate 21: Structure (Site 7), looking NE (photo 5/873).



Plate 22: Pond (Site 8), looking SW (photo 5/879).



Plate 23: Bank forming one side of possible entrance (Site 10), looking SW (photo 5/871).



Plate 24: Castle (Site 6G), remains of former north wall, looking S (photo 5/862).



Plate 25: Castle (Site 6G), internal elevations, looking SE (photo 1/815).



Plate 26: Castle (Site 6G), west external elevation, looking E (photo 1/803).



Plate 27: Castle (Site 6G), north end of west wall, window opening, after repair, looking S (photo 4/798).



Plate 28: Castle (Site 6G), remains of former buttress at north-west corner, looking NE (photo 5/809).



Plate 29: Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation, exposed plinth at base of wall with area of returfing, looking NE (photo 5/832).



Plate 30: Castle (Site 6G), east external elevation, detail of chute, looking W (photo 1/806).



Plate 31: Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation, looking N (photo 1/804).



Plate 32: Castle (Site 6G), east external elevation, looking W (photo 1/805).



Plate 33: Castle (Site 6G), east elevation, doorway at north end of elevation under repair, looking S (photo 3/314).



Plate 34: Castle (Site 6G), east elevation, doorway at north end prior to clearance, looking W (photo 2/972).



Plate 35: Castle (Site 6G), internal south-east corner after repair, showing springer for vault, looking SE (photo 4/797).



Plate 36: Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall top, window after clearance, looking SW (photo 3/270).



Plate 37: Castle (Site 6G), east internal elevation, looking E (photo 1/800).



Plate 38: Castle (Site 6G), west internal elevation, looking W (photo 1/802).



Plate 39: Castle (Site 6G), east elevation wall top prior to clearance, looking N (photo 2/966).



Plate 40: Castle (Site 6G), east internal wall top prior to clearance, looking SE (photo 3/301).



Plate 41: Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall top, east end, after repointing, looking S (photo 4/772).



Plate 42: Castle (Site 6G), general view of soft capping, looking SE (photo 5/822).



Plate 43: Castle (Site 6G), north end of west wall after repairs and soft capping, looking S (photo 5/835).



Plate 44: Castle (Site 6G), south elevation wall top, window opening after soft capping, looking E (photo 5/817).



Plate 45: Castle (Site 6G), south and east elevations with soft capping, looking NW (photo 5/874).

APPENDIX 1 LIST OF IDENTIFIED SITES

FLAMBOROUGH CASTLE: LIST OF IDENTIFIED SITES

See figure 10 for site locations

Site no	Name	NGR
1	Sunken watercourse, northern part of the survey area	TA 22597 70418-TA 22589
		70376 linear
2	Bank, north part of the survey area	TA 22503 70378-TA 22583
		70390 linear
3	Earthworks, north and west of the castle platform	TA 22547 70343 centred
3A	Building platform, north of the castle platform	TA 22567 70374 accurate
3B	Building platform, north of the castle platform	TA 22582 70379 accurate
3C	Former moat, west of the castle platform	TA 22580 70373-TA 22554
		70301 linear
3D	Bank, west of the castle platform	TA 22547 70343 accurate
3E	Bank, west of the castle platform	TA 22562 70296 accurate
4	Bank, north-eastern part of the survey area	TA 22621 70387-TA 22671
		70380 linear
5	Garden earthworks, east part of the survey area	TA 22643 70344 centred
5A	Boundary bank, north-east and east of castle platform	TA 22618 70377-TA 22675
		70274 linear
5B	Central ditch of gardens area	TA 22641 70366-TA 22645
		70316 linear
5C	Building platform, north side of gardens area	TA 22626 70373 accurate
5D	Mound, west side of gardens area	TA 22611 70354 accurate
5E	Mound, west side of gardens area	TA 22620 70335 accurate
5F	Building platform, west side of gardens area	TA 22623 70316 accurate
5G	Building platform, east side of gardens area	TA 22666 70337 centred
6	Castle platform, central part of the survey area	TA 22598 70340 centred
6A	Possible outer court, north side of the castle platform	TA 22584 70359 centred
6B	Building platform, north-west corner of the castle platform	TA 22560 70356 centred
6C	Building platform, west side of the castle platform	TA 22569 70311 accurate
6D	Possible inner court, west side of the castle platform	TA 22584 70313 centred
6E	Building platform, north side of the castle platform	TA 22587 70343 accurate
6F	Building platform, north side of the castle platform	TA 22579 70341 accurate
6G	Castle ruins, central part of survey area	TA 22598 70315 accurate
7	Structure, south-eastern part of the survey area	TA 22631 70301 accurate
8	Pond and adjacent features, south-east part of the survey area	TA 22638 70285 centred
9	Mound, southern part of the survey area	TA 22611 70729 accurate
10	Bank, southern part of the survey area	TA 22606 70287 accurate
11	Former earthworks, south-west part of the survey area	TA 22574 70264 centred

APPENDIX 2 EDAS PHOTOGRAPHIC CATALOGUE

FLAMBOROUGH CASTLE PHOTOGRAPHIC CATALOGUE

- Film 1: Colour digital photographs taken June 12th 2017 (pre-intervention survey)
- Film 2: Colour digital photographs taken 20th October 2017 (pre-intervention survey)
- Film 3: Colour digital photographs taken 24th November 2017 (watching brief during repairs)
- Film 4: Colour digital photographs taken 19th March 2018 (end of stonework repairs)
- Film 5: Colour digital photographs taken 28th March 2018 (as complete photographs)

Film	Frame	Subject	Scale
1	774	General view of survey area, looking W	-
1	775	General view of survey area, looking SW	-
1	776	General view of survey area, looking N	-
1	777	General view of survey area, looking SW	-
1	778	Drain, east of pond (Site 8), looking W	1m
1	779	Pond (Site 8), looking NW	1m
1	780	Building (Site 7), looking NW	1m
1	781	Building (Site 7), looking E	1m
1	782	Structures, west of pond (Site 8), looking N	1m
1	783	Mound (Site 9), south of castle, looking NE	1m
1	784	Platform (Site 6D), west of castle, looking NE	1m
1	785	Earthworks (Site 3), west of castle platform, looking N	-
1	786	Bank forming west side of castle platform (Site 6), looking N	1m
1	787	Possible moat (Site 3C), looking N	1m
1	788	Bank (Site 3D), looking SE	1m
1	789	Boundary bank (Site 2), looking E	1m
1	790	Possible moat (Site 3C), looking S	-
1	791	Boundary bank (Site 2), looking E	-
1	792	Area of possible ridge and furrow, north of boundary bank (Site 2), looking NE	-
1	793	Boundary bank (Site 2), looking W	1m
1	794	Boundary bank (Site 2), looking W	1m
1	795	Possible watercourse, S end (Site 1), looking SW	1m
1	796	Possible watercourse, N end (Site 1), looking NE	1m
1	797	Boundary bank (Site 4), looking E	1m
1	798	Boundary bank (Site 4), looking E	1m
1	799	Central ditch of gardens (Site 5B), looking SE	1m
1	800	Castle (Site 6G), east internal elevation, looking E	1m
1	801	Castle (Site 6G), south internal elevation, looking S	1m
1	802	Castle (Site 6G), west internal elevation, looking W	1m
1	803	Castle (Site 6G), west external elevation, looking E	1m
1	804	Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation, looking N	1m
1	805	Castle (Site 6G), east external elevation, looking W	1m
1	806	Castle (Site 6G), east external elevation, detail of chute, looking W	-
1	807	Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation, detail of plinth, looking NE	1m
1	808	Castle (Site 6G), south internal elevation, detail of springer, looking E	1m
1	809	Buildings (Sites 6E & 6F), looking NW	-
1	810	Platform (Site 6D) to west of castle, looking SW	-
1	811	Interior of platform (Site 6A) to north of castle, looking NW	1m
1	812	Interior of platform (Site 6A) to north of castle, looking NE	1m
1	813	Building (Site 6B), looking N	1m
1	814	Building (Site 6B), looking N	1m
1	815	Castle (Site 6G), looking SE	1m
1	816	Castle (Site 6G), springers to former north internal wall, looking E	1m
1	817	Building (Site 6B), west end shown as parch marks, looking NE	-
2	960	View of castle (Site 6G) at start of repairs, looking NW	-
2	962	Castle (Site 6G), east elevation, top of garderobe chute, prior to clearance, looking SW	0.5m
2	963	Castle (Site 6G), east elevation, top of garderobe chute, prior to clearance, looking SW	0.5m
2	964	Castle (Site 6G), east elevation wall top prior to clearance, looking S	0.5m
2	965	Castle (Site 6G), east elevation wall top prior to clearance, looking N	0.5m
2	966	Castle (Site 6G), east elevation wall top prior to clearance, looking N	0.5m
2	967	Castle (Site 6G), east elevation wall top prior to clearance, looking N	0.5m

	000		0.5
2	968	Castle (Site 6G), east elevation, top of garderobe chute, prior to clearance, looking	0.5m
_	000	NW	
2	969	View of gardens area (Site 5) from top of castle, looking NE	-
2	970	View of north side of castle platform from top of castle (Site 6A), looking NW	-
2	971	View of mounds in gardens area (Sites 5D & 5E) from top of castle, looking NE	-
2	972	Castle (Site 6G), east elevation, doorway at north end prior to clearance, looking W	0.5m
2	974	Castle (Site 6G), south elevation, surviving external wall face, looking W	1m, 0.5m
2	975	Castle (Site 6G), south elevation wall top, east part, prior to clearance, looking E	1m
2	976	Castle (Site 6G), south elevation wall top, west part, prior to clearance, looking W	1m, 0.5m
2	977	Castle (Site 6G), south elevation wall top, prior to clearance, looking E	1m, 0.5m
2	978	Castle (Site 6G), south-west external corner wall tops, prior to clearance, looking NE	1m
2	979	Castle (Site 6G), south elevation wall top, prior to clearance, looking E	-
2	980	Castle (Site 6G), south and east elevation internal wall tops, prior to clearance,	-
	001	looking E	
2	981	Castle (Site 6G), south-east corner wall tops, prior to clearance, looking E	-
2	982	Castle (Site 6G), east elevation wall top, prior to clearance, looking N	-
2	983	Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation prior to repairs, looking N	-
2	984	Castle (Site 6G), east internal wall prior to repairs, looking E	-
2	985	Castle (Site 6G), west internal wall prior to repairs, looking SW	-
2	986	Castle (Site 6G), north end of west wall prior to repairs, looking S	-
2	987	Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation, typical putlog hole prior to repairs, looking	-
	000	N	
2	988	Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation, former window base, prior to clearance,	-
	000	looking NE Castle (Site 6G), south elevation wall top, prior to clearance, looking W	
2	989		-
2	990	Castle (Site 6G), east external elevation, garderobe chute, prior to repairs, looking W	- 1 m
	991	Castle (Site 6G), east internal wall top, prior to clearance, looking NE	1m
2	992	Castle (Site 6G), east internal wall top, prior to clearance, looking NE	1m
	993	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall top, former window, prior to clearance, looking SW	1m
2	994	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall top, former window, prior to clearance, looking	1m
_	334	SW	11111
2	995	Castle (Site 6G), south-west internal corner wall tops, prior to clearance, looking SW	1m
2	996	Castle (Site 6G), west internal wall top, prior to clearance, looking W	1m
2	997	Castle (Site 6G), south-west internal corner wall tops, prior to clearance, looking W	1m
2	998	Castle (Site 6G), south-west internal corner wall tops, prior to clearance, looking E	-
2	999	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall top, prior to clearance, looking W	_
	000	Guotio (Gito Ga), Goulli internal wall top; prior to disaration, foothing **	
3	269	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall top, window after clearance, looking SE	1m
3	270	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall top, window after clearance, looking SW	1m
3	271	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall top, east side of window after clearance, looking	1m
		SW	''''
3	272	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall top, window after clearance, looking S	1m
3	273	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall top, west side of window after clearance, looking	1m
	_, 5	S	1
3	275	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall top, window after clearance, looking SW	1m
3	276	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall top, window after clearance, looking SE	1m
3	277	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall, blocked putlog at east end, looking S	1m
3	278	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall, putlog at west end, looking S	1m
3	279	Castle (Site 6G), west internal wall top during repair, looking W	1m
3	280	Castle (Site 6G), west internal wall top after rebuilding, looking W	1m
3	281	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall top, window after clearance, looking SE	1m
3	282	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall top, east side of window after clearance, looking	1m
		SE	''''
3	283	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall top, west side of window after clearance, looking	1m
		SW	1
3	284	Castle (Site 6G), east wall top during clearance, looking E	1m
3	285	Castle (Site 6G), south-east corner internal wall tops during clearance, looking SE	1m
3	286	Castle (Site 6G), east internal wall top during clearance, looking NE	1m
3	288	General view of gardens area (Site 5) from top of castle, looking NE	-
3	289	Castle (Site 6G), east external wall top, doorway at north end, under repair, looking	1m
		W	1
3	290	Castle (Site 6G), east external wall top, under repair, looking N	1m
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291 Castile (Site 6G), east external elevation, garderobe chute, during clearance, looking V 292 Castile (Site 6G), south walt top, window after clearance, looking down 3 293 Castile (Site 6G), south external wall top, upon of garderobe chute during clearance, looking W 3 296 Castile (Site 6G), south external wall top, top of garderobe chute during clearance, looking W 3 297 Castile (Site 6G), south external wall top, top of garderobe chute during clearance, looking N 3 298 Castile (Site 6G), south external wall top, top of garderobe chute during clearance, looking N 3 299 Castile (Site 6G), south external wall top during clearance, looking NE 3 299 Castile (Site 6G), south external elevation during clearance, looking SE 3 299 Castile (Site 6G), south external wall top during clearance, looking SE 3 290 Castile (Site 6G), south external elevation during clearance, looking SE 3 291 Castile (Site 6G), internal south-west corner during clearance, looking SW 3 292 Castile (Site 6G), south external wall top, east side of window after clearance, looking SW 3 293 Castile (Site 6G), south external elevation, blocked putlog at west end, looking S 3 294 Castile (Site 6G), south external elevation, blocked putlog at west end, looking S 3 295 Castile (Site 6G), south external elevation, blocked putlog at west end, looking S 3 296 Castile (Site 6G), south external elevation, blocked putlog at west end, looking S 3 297 Castile (Site 6G), south external elevation, looking up garderobe chute after clearance - 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	0	001	Cookle (Cite CC) and outside a location to a fragraduate about displaying allocation	1 4
W Castle (Site 6G), south external wall top, window after clearance, looking down	3	291	Castle (Site 6G), east external elevation, top of garderobe chute, during clearance, looking W	1m
295 Castle (Site 6G), south external wall top during clearance, looking W - Castle (Site 6G), east external wall top, top of garderobe chute during clearance, looking N - Castle (Site 6G), south external wall top during clearance, looking E - Castle (Site 6G), west external elevation during clearance, looking E - Castle (Site 6G), west external elevation during clearance, looking E - Castle (Site 6G), west external elevation during clearance, looking SW - Castle (Site 6G), east internal evalid top during clearance, looking SW - Castle (Site 6G), east internal wall top during clearance, looking SW - Castle (Site 6G), east internal wall top during clearance, looking SW - Castle (Site 6G), east internal wall top, east side of window after clearance, looking SW - Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall top, east side of window after clearance, looking SW - Statle (Site 6G), south external elevation, blocked putlog at west end, looking S - Statle (Site 6G), south external elevation, blocked putlogs, looking N - Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation, looking by garderobe chute after clearance - Castle (Site 6G), east external elevation, poping to base of elevation, looking NW - Castle (Site 6G), east external elevation, poping to base of elevation, looking NW - Castle (Site 6G), east external elevation, donoway at north end of elevation under repair, looking S - Castle (Site 6G), east external elevation, donoway at north end of elevation under repair, looking S - Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation, blocked putlogs under repair, looking S - Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation, blocked putlogs, looking N - Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation, donoway at north end of elevation under repair, looking S - Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation, under repair, looking S - Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation under repair, looking S - Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation under repair, looking S - Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation under repair, looking N - Castle (Site 6G), sou	3	292	Castle (Site 6G), east external elevation, garderobe chute, during clearance, looking	-
296 Castle (Site 6G), east external wall top, top of garderobe chute during clearance, looking NV - 2 Castle (Site 6G), south external wall top during clearance, looking NE - 2 Castle (Site 6G), west external wall top during clearance, looking NE - 3 299 Castle (Site 6G), west external elevation during clearance, looking NE - 3 301 Castle (Site 6G), east internal wall top during clearance, looking NE - 3 301 Castle (Site 6G), internal south-west corner during clearance, looking SW - 3 303 Castle (Site 6G), internal south-west corner during clearance, looking SW - 3 303 Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall top, east side of window after clearance, looking SW - 3 303 Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall top, east side of window after clearance, looking S SE - 3 301 Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation, blocked putlog at west end, looking S SE - 3 311 Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation, blocked putlogs, looking N - 3 312 Castle (Site 6G), east external elevation, looking up garderobe chute after clearance - 3 3 312 Castle (Site 6G), east external elevation, looking up garderobe chute after clearance - 3 3 315 Castle (Site 6G), east external elevation, looking up garderobe chute after clearance - 3 3 315 Castle (Site 6G), east elevation, doorway at north end of elevation under repair, looking S - 3 3 315 Castle (Site 6G), east elevation, doorway at north end of elevation under repair, looking S - 3 3 315 Castle (Site 6G), south internal elevation, blocked putlogs under repair, looking S - 3 3 315 Castle (Site 6G), south internal elevation, under repair, looking S - 3 3 316 Castle (Site 6G), south internal elevation under repair, looking S - 3 3 3 3 Castle (Site 6G), south external levation under repair, looking NE - 3 3 3 3 Castle (Site 6G), south external levation under repair, looking NE - 3 3 3 3 Castle (Site 6G), south external levation under repair, looking NE - 3 3 3 3 Castle (Site 6G), south external levation under repair, looking NE - 3 3 3 3 Castle (Site 6G), south external levation, window	3	293	Castle (Site 6G), south wall top, window after clearance, looking down	1m
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3 299 Castle (Site 6G), west external elevation during clearance, looking NE 3 301 Castle (Site 6G), internal south-west corner during clearance, looking SW - Castle (Site 6G), internal south-west corner during clearance, looking SW - Castle (Site 6G), internal south-west corner during clearance, looking SW - Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall top, east side of window after clearance, looking SW - Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall top, west side of window after clearance, looking SW - Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation, blocked putlogs, looking S - Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation, blocked putlogs, looking S - Castle (Site 6G), east external elevation, looking up agredrobe chute after clearance - Statle (Site 6G), east external elevation, looking up agredrobe chute after clearance - Statle (Site 6G), east external elevation, opening to base of elevation, looking NW - Castle (Site 6G), east elevation, doorway at north end of elevation under repair, looking S - Castle (Site 6G), east elevation, doorway at north end of elevation under repair, looking S - Castle (Site 6G), south internal elevation, blocked putlogs under repair, looking S - Castle (Site 6G), south and east internal elevations under repair, looking S - Castle (Site 6G), south and east internal elevation under repair, looking S - Castle (Site 6G), south and east internal elevation under repair, looking S - Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation under repair, looking S - Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation under repair, looking N - Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation under repair, looking N - Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation under repair, looking N - Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation under repair, looking N - Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation under repair, looking N - Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation under repair, looking N - Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation under repair, looking N - Castle (Site GG), south external elevation under repair, looking N - Castle (Sit	3	297	General view of earthworks from top of castle (Sites 2 & 3), looking NW	-
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4 766 Castle (Site 6G), east external elevation, south end, after repair, looking S 1m			SW	
	4	766	Castle (Site 6G), east external elevation, south end, after repair, looking S	1m

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4	767	Castle (Site 6G), east elevation, former doorway at north end of wall, after repair, looking down	0.5m
4	768	Castle (Site 6G), east elevation, former doorway at north end of wall, after repair, looking W	0.5m
4	769	Castle (Site 6G), east elevation, former doorway at north end of wall, after repair, looking E	0.5m
4	770	Castle (Site 6G), east internal wall top after repair, looking NE	1m
4	771	Castle (Site 6G), east internal wall top after repair, looking E	1m
4	772	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall top, east end, after repair, looking S	1m
4	773	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall top, after repair, looking SE	1m
4	774	Castle (Site 6G), east external wall top after repair, looking N	-
4	775	Castle (Site 6G), south external wall top after repair, looking W	1m
4	776	Castle (Site 6G), south external wall top after repair, looking E	1m
4	777	Castle (Site 6G), external south-west corner wall top after repair, looking NE	1m
4	778	Castle (Site 6G), south external wall top after repair, looking E	1m
4	779	Castle (Site 6G), external south-west corner elevation after repair, looking NE	1m
4	780	Castle (Site 6G), east internal wall top after repair, looking E	1m
4	782	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall top, east end, after repair, looking S	1m
4	783	Castle (Site 6G), internal south-west corner wall tops after repair, looking SW	-
4	785	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall, window opening after repair, looking S	1m
4	786	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall, window opening after repair, looking SE	1m
4	787	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall, projecting cill to window opening after repair, looking E	1m
4	788	Castle (Site 6G), east internal wall after repair, looking E	-
4	789	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall, exposed putlog at west end, before repair, looking S	1m
4	790	Castle (Site 6G), west internal wall after repair, looking W	1m
4	791	Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation, base, after repair, looking W	1m
4	792	Castle (Site 6G), east external elevation, bottom of garderobe chute, after repair, looking NW	1m
4	793	Castle (Site 6G), east external elevation, bottom of garderobe chute, after repair,	1m
4	794	looking SW Castle (Site 6G), east external elevation, garderobe chute, after repair, looking W	_
4	795	Castle (Site 6G), east internal wall, upper level chamfered doorway jamb, looking E	-
4	796	Castle (Site 6G), east internal wall, opening at base after repair, looking E	-
4	797	Castle (Site 6G), internal south-east corner after repair, looking SE	_
4	798	Castle (Site 6G), north end of west wall, window opening, after repair, looking S	1m
4	799	Castle (Site 6G), internal south-west corner after repair, looking SW	-
4	800	Castle (Site 6G), remains of former buttress at north-west corner, looking NW	1m
4	801	Castle (Site 6G), internal west wall after repair, looking W	-
5	808	Castle (Site 6G), remains of former buttress at north-west corner, looking NW	1m
5	809	Castle (Site 6G), remains of former buttless at north-west corner, looking NE	1m
5	810	Castle (Site 6G), remains of former window at north end of west wall, after repair,	1m
		looking SE	
5	811	Castle (Site 6G), east elevation wall top after soft capping, looking N	-
5	812	Castle (Site 6G), south elevation wall top, east part, after soft capping, looking NE	1m
5	813	Possible entrance (Site 10) and boundary wall, from top of castle, looking SE	-
5 5	814 815	Pond and building (Sites 7 & 8) from top of castle, looking SE Castle (Site 6G), south elevation wall top, window opening after soft capping, looking	-
		NE	
5	816	Castle (Site 6G), south elevation wall top, W part, after soft capping, looking NW	1m
5	817	Castle (Site 6G), south elevation wall top, window opening after soft capping, looking E	-
5	818	Castle (Site 6G), west elevation wall top, after soft capping, looking NE	1m
5	819	Buildings (Sites 6E & 6F) and platform (Site 6A) from top of castle, looking N	-
5	820	Building (Site 6B) from top of castle, looking NW	-
5	821	Building (Site 6C) from top of castle, looking W	-
5	822	Castle (Site 6G), general view of soft capping, looking SE	-
5	823	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall after soft capping, looking SW	1m
5	824	Castle (Site 6G), west internal wall after soft capping, looking W	1m
5	825	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall, W end, after soft capping, looking S	1m
5	826	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall after soft capping, looking SE	-
5	827	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall, E end, after soft capping, looking E	1m

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5	828	Castle (Site 6G), south internal wall, detail of soft capping, looking E	-
5	829	Castle (Site 6G), south-east internal corner after soft capping, looking E	1m
5	830	Castle (Site 6G), east internal wall after soft capping, looking NE	1m
5	831	Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation, soft capping to window, looking N	-
5	832	Castle (Site 6G), south external elevation, exposed plinth at base of wall with area of returfing, looking NE	1m
5	833	Castle (Site 6G), east external elevation, garderobe chute after soft capping, looking W	-
5	834	Castle (Site 6G), east internal wall, upper level chamfered doorway jamb, looking E	_
5	835	Castle (Site 6G), north end of west wall after repairs and soft capping, looking S	1m
5	836	Castle (Site 6G), general view after soft capping, looking W	-
5	837	Mound (Site 5E) in gardens area, looking SW	1m
5	838	Central ditch (Site 5B) in gardens area, looking N	2 x 1m
5	839	Bank (Site 4), looking E	2 x 1m
5	840	Bank (Site 4), looking E	2 x 1m
5	841	Mound (Site 5D) in gardens area, looking SW	-
5	842	Bank (Site 4), right-angled section, looking NW	1m
5	843	Bank (Site 4), erosion to top, looking NE	1m
5	844	Building (Site 5C) and bank (Site 5A) on edge of gardens area, looking NE	1m
5	845	Building (Site 7), north side, and adjacent garden enclosure, looking E	1m
5	846	Platform (Site 6A), looking SW	1m
5	847	Watercourse (Site 1), looking N	2 x 1m
5	848	Bank (Site 4), looking NE	-
5	849	Paddocks in north-east part of survey area, looking NE	_
5	850	Bank (Site 2) with ditch on north side, looking E	2 x 1m
5	851	Bank (Site 2), with building (Site 3A) in foreground, looking E	2 x 1m
5	852	Bank (Site 2), with building (Site 3A) in foreground, looking E	2 x 1m
5	853	Possible moat (Site 3C), north arm, looking E	2 x 1m
5	854	Building (Site 6B), looking N	2 x 1m
5	855	Building (Site 6B), looking N	2 x 1m
5	857	Platform (Site 6A), looking NE	-
5	858	Building (Site 6B), looking NW	1m
5	859	Building (Site 6E), looking N	2 x 1m
5	860	Building (Site 6E), looking N	2 x 1m
5	861	Mound (Site 5D) in gardens area, looking NE	-
5	862	Castle (Site 6G), former north wall, looking S	-
5	863	Building (Site 6C), looking N	2 x 1m
5	864	Bank (Site 3D) and possible moat (Site 3C), looking NW	-
5	865	Possible moat (Site 3C), central part, looking N	2 x 1m
5	867	Possible moat (Site 3C), central part, looking N	-
5	868	Platform (Site 6D), bank forming south side, looking NE	2 x 1m
5	869	Castle (Site 6G), looking NE	-
5	870	Southern wall of survey area, showing possible entrance gap, looking SW	-
5	871	Bank forming one side of possible entrance (Site 10), looking SW	2 x 1m
5	872	Castle (Site 6G), south elevation with soft capping, looking N	-
5	873	Building (Site 7), looking NE	-
5	874	Castle (Site 6G), south and east elevations with soft capping, looking NW	-
5	875	General view of gardens area with mound (Site 5E) in foreground, looking NE	-
5	876	Castle (Site 6G), east elevation with soft capping, looking W	-
5	877	Platform to south of war memorial enclosure, looking NE	-
5	878	Building (Site 7), looking W	-
5	879	Pond (Site 8), looking SW	-
5	880	Pond (Site 8), looking E	-
5	881	War memorial enclosure, looking NE	-
5	882	Gardens area with central ditch (Site 5B), looking N	-
5	883	General view of castle (Site 6G), across earthworks, looking NW	-
5	884	General view of castle (Site 6G), across earthworks, looking W	-
5	885	Bank (Site 4), looking W	-