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**The 'Castles of the Downs' in Kent: Deal, Walmer, and Sandown.**

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For Emily, Johnny & Clara





Walmer Castle (Photo author, 2022)

## Declaration of Authorship

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3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
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With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
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## **Abstract**

Deal, Walmer, and Sandown Castles were hastily built on the same stretch of beach on the east coast of Kent between 1539 and 1540 and, together, were known as 'The Castles of the Downs'.

They were built due to a perceived threat of invasion following Henry VIII's separation from Rome. The castles were part of a much larger and more comprehensive 'Device' to fortify the King's realm. They were all built simultaneously with the same craftspeople and were connected to four bulwarks and a series of defensive trenches. Most significantly, they were the first of over twenty-four purpose-built fortifications to be constructed within the King's attempt to fortify the nation. The Castles of the Downs were likely conceived to operate with a distinctive level of singular coordination to defend the increasingly important anchorage of The Downs. The ambition driving these castles' construction, deployment, and symbolism distinguished them from the other fortifications within this Device. Yet, these themes have not been fully explored, nor has the project been appraised as it was built, that is, as one set of fortifications.

Henry VIII was famously a learned client and patron of architecture. Even before ascending to the throne, he took a keen interest in architecture and military engineering. Once King, he acquired, commissioned, and altered an extensive collection of different buildings and became involved with some fifty-five palaces and over twenty castles. The extraordinary measures the King employed at this time resulted in possibly the most extensive programmes of fortification England has ever seen.

In terms of scholarly attention, it is often found that the Device works feature within broader castle studies or Tudor architecture. For many studies, this unique subset of castles that bridge the architectural linkage between the high medieval fortress and the later Martello Towers is often overlooked in favour of the former. Moreover, even less attention has been paid to the castles individually, with almost no study of Sandown Castle, especially within the

last century or so. Yet their significance to the Device programme and the field more generally is crucial. This thesis will attempt to appraise and reconstruct the castles' unique histories, design, symbolism, and later development to trace their broader significance. The analysis will also consider the use of spolia from nearby monastic sites for constructing the castles, exploring the associated meanings and connotations, and how the revivalism theme can be traced consistently throughout their development.

## Acknowledgements

Research on these castles started in earnest in late 2013 when I was commissioned to manage an extensive conservation project at Walmer Castle to mark the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo in 2015. As the programme accelerated, I realised that very little information was readily available on Walmer. Upon identifying that Walmer was one of a trio, I soon realised that very little had been written on Deal and almost nothing at all on the now-lost Sandown Castle. Consequently, the three castles became an obsession, as new research was needed to progress all aspects of this project. Unlike any conservation project I had worked on before, this gave me an excellent induction into architectural research and kindled a passion for archival investigation. I thus combined these two newly acquired preoccupations and undertook a master's degree in building conservation in 2015. The aim was to bring my professional skills into academic research, but a master's was just the beginning, as much remained to be explored about these castles. And that is how my PhD at ADP, the School of Architecture at the University of Kent, began in 2018.

As a part-time student with a full-time professional life, research for this thesis has therefore continued for just over a decade. Consequently, there are many people to acknowledge. Firstly, the one person who has been with me for all of this journey and has served as a First Supervisor and mentor is the meticulous, patient, virtuoso Dr Manolo Guerci. Manolo has reshaped me from being an enthusiastic devotee of historic architecture into a serious researcher. His guidance has instilled in me the most comprehensive understanding of scholarly architectural study. He has challenged and questioned me at every juncture to ensure the highest rigour of academic scrutiny, for which I will always be so grateful.

I have worked with two Second Supervisors. The first was Dr Timothy Brittain-Catlin, from whom I learned so much. Tim is a true polymath, and with his diverse knowledge and contacts, he assisted me in many ways, all of which elevated and diversified my research. Likewise, his successor, Dr Nikolaos Karydis, who, like myself, is professionally involved in

building conservation, has challenged my ideas and aided in my discovery. His enthusiasm and dedication to my progress were much appreciated. Acknowledgements within ADP and the wider university (UKC) are due, particularly as I have been a member of the School for nearly eight years. These include Professor Gerald Adler as former Head, Professor Henrik Schoenefeldt as Director of Graduate Studies, my former boss Professor David Gill at the University's Centre for Heritage, and Dr David Rundle from the Kent School of History's Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies (MEMS), for his assistance in palaeography. I would also like to thank others at MEMS, such as Dr Sheila Sweetinburgh, and Dr Jo Collins, the Postgraduate Development Advisor in the Graduate and Researcher College, for her many training courses and academic coaching sessions. Many thanks to Justine Rush, the former Architecture Faculty Librarian and Liaison Officer for Education and Humanities, for her help sourcing archival material. Likewise, her colleague Katie Edwards assisted me in finding some very rare historical texts, while Rianne Dubois, ADP's former Graduate Studies Administrator, provided invaluable assistance and ensured that I was always in the right places at the right times with the right paperwork. By coincidence, my research crosses over at the same point with the study of monastic architecture in East Kent carried out by my fellow research colleague Anske Bax, whose input I have enjoyed – particularly our joint field studies. Finally, I would like to thank all my colleagues and friends who are engaged as PhD candidates in Architecture and have made the weekly seminars fascinating and stimulating. These UKC people have made my time so enjoyable and so worthwhile, and I am indebted to every single one of them.

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of Architectural Conservation and fellow RICS Awards Judge Henry Russell; Dr John Goodall, architectural editor of *Country Life*; and Professor Simon Thurley for his help with the *King's Works*. Thanks also to a number of colleagues at English Heritage including Roy Porter, Paul Pattison, Rowena Willard-Wight, Ben Palmer, and Sally Mewton-Hynds; Kirsty Wright for obtaining a number of rare sources from the University of York; Professor Stocker from Leeds University for his insights into spolia; Dr Jonathan Foyle for the use of a number of images; Michael Smith from The National Archives; Lauren Alderton of the Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings & Archives Collection at the Victoria & Albert Museum; the team within the Maps & Manuscripts Reference Department at the British Library; Danielle Sellers at the Royal Engineers Museum & Archive; Bryan Williams of Dover Museum; my colleague and friend, architect Frederick Gregory; *Eur. Ing.* Kevin Hogwood for his support; Maureen Curson for her support and translation services; John Playle FRICS for his support and guidance; the Kent Engagement Advisers at the CITB (Construction Industry Training Board) for approving and part-funding this project; The Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors for their guidance and support; Janet Davies for her coaching services; Dover District Council Principal Heritage Officer Alison Cummings; Deal expert Jenny Wall for her support and impartment of local knowledge; Linda Ford, Chair of Sandown Castle Community Garden for the use of her collection of unpublished Sandown Castle photographs; Suzanne Green, Curator of Deal Museum and Archives; my casework team colleagues at the SPAB (Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings); my colleagues at Clague Architects, Canterbury; the listing team at Historic England; the national designation team at the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS); Jo Jones, the Parish Clerk at Eastry Parish Council; my colleagues at the REDEC Group and Hillcrest Conservations Consultants for tirelessly putting up with me; and my parents for my passion for history, their love, dedication, and support – thank you.

Last but not least, paraphrasing the words of the late, great Sir Alfred Hitchcock: I beg permission to mention by name only four people who have given me the most affection, appreciation, encouragement, and constant collaboration for this work. The first of the four is my business partner, the second is a world-class researcher, the third is the mother of our son, Johnny, and the fourth is as fine a chef as ever performed miracles in a professional kitchen. And their names are Mrs Emily Jo Moore. Without her love and support, this vast body of work would never have started, let alone have finished – thank you.



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## Nomenclature

The need for successful warfare engineering has been a long-established practice for centuries. This technology was tested within the confines of the sixteenth century by introducing improved cannon and artillery fire. This advancement in combat ensured the fortress also had to keep pace with these changes, and it was these improvements (such as the bastion) would dominate fortification design for the next 300 years.<sup>1</sup> Various design terms were used during this period, sometimes interchangeably by engineers, the military, and scholars. The following terms have been carefully selected as being more academically accepted and will be used throughout the thesis:

### Blockhouses:

A small fort whose primary objective is that of a lookout, though they did hold guns and were often two storeys tall. Further context is given below.

### Bulwarks:

Trenches dug into the earth, packed and faced with durable timber, and often lined (revetted) with masonry. Some scholars refer to them as 'boulevards', though this is rare, and the term 'bulwarks' has therefore been adopted.<sup>2</sup>

### Castles/Fortresses:

There appears to be no consensus on using these terms. Beric Morley (1943 – 2015), who wrote many English Heritage guides and was a building archaeologist, refers to large Henrician castles as 'castles' and smaller castles as 'blockhouses'.

English Heritage and others, on the other hand, confusingly refer to them all as castles in name but also use the term 'forts' seemingly interchangeably. In several of

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<sup>1</sup> Stephenson, C., *Servant to The King for His Fortifications: Paul Ive and the Practise of Fortification* (London: Military Publishers, 2008).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

his works, Peter Harrington (unknown dates, retired in 2022) shifts between the terms 'castles' and 'forts'. R. Allen Brown (1924-1989) is emphatic with his terms in that he states that a castle has to have some form of residential use and that the Artillery Forts did not; however, this misses the crucial fact that the Captains all had rather agreeable accommodations that by the following century were becoming the paramount uses.<sup>3</sup> Both Andrew Saunders (1931 – 2009) and Howard Colvin (1919 - 2007) use this author's preferred method, which is to stress the breadth of the Device programme and to use the term castles or fortress to describe the large fortifications and to use the term 'blockhouse' to denote a smaller fortification. Both terms were used by the Tudors that built them, initially calling them blockhouses but generally referring to them as 'The King's Castles'.<sup>4</sup> The argument of defining what makes a structure 'a castle' is far more nuanced (it has been a lively topic of scholarly discussion for over a century) and is not an argument that this work will seek to address.

A final note on naming the three castles: For the first century of the existence of Deal, Walmer, and Sandown, they were often collectively referred to as 'The Castles of the Downs'. Likewise, they are also referred to as 'The Castles in the Downs'. However, the more widely used term 'of the Downs' will be used for consistency. The modern spelling for the 'Downs' and the modern English names of the castles will also be used. Finally, some primary sources refer to Deal Castle as 'The Great Castle'; where this is used, it will be emphasised to the reader. This term did not generally survive past the seventeenth century in most primary accounts.

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<sup>3</sup> Allen Brown, R., *English Castles* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004, new ed.), 106-107.

<sup>4</sup> Harrington, P., *The Castles of Henry VIII* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2013)., Saunders, A., D., *Fortress Britain: Artillery Fortification in the British Isles and Ireland* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1989)., Colvin, H., M., *The History of the King's Works*, Vol. IV: Part II (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1982). Gairdner, J., and Brodie, R. H., *State Papers, H. M. Stationery Office, Great Britain. Public Record Office. Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*. Preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum and Elsewhere. Vol. 15, 1540. London, England: H.M. Stationery Office, 1896. Crown Copyright. Entry no. 131. Crown Copyright, 118-132.

**Abbreviations**

EH	English Heritage
HE	Historic England (note the splitting and formation of HE from EH in 2015)
SPAB	Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings
RICS	Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors
HEA	Historic England Archive
RCHME	Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (now merged)
DCMS	Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (UK Government)
MOD	The Ministry of Defence
OoWs	Ministry of Public Building and Works/Office of Works/Property Services Agency (all merged into DCMS)
BL	British Library
BM	British Museum
NC	The National Collection (historic properties and monuments owned by the UK)
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
TNA	The National Archives

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## Figures

### Introduction:

*Fig. 1 shows the main fortifications built during this period and the main settlements nearby. Source: The Castles of Henry VIII, © Osprey Publishing, 2017, used under UK Fair Dealing.*

*Fig. 2 Possible prototype for Deal Castle, c.1530s, Cotton Augustus I i f.21, British Library.*

*Fig. 3 The Castles in relation to the Goodwin Sands, Dover Castle, and Thanet (Ramsgate), © English Heritage.*

*Fig. 4 Table of primary sources found in the National Archives*

*Fig. 5 A photograph of the Original Sandgate Construction Diary, The British Library, Harley MS 1647.*

*Fig. 6 An example of the cover of an ex-MOD record now held at the National Archives, 1971-1972, TNA, MO36/6.*

*Fig. 7 An example of an original Tudor manuscript held in the British Library.*

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*Fig. 9 The author points to a section in the Sandgate Diary that refers to stone procurement.*

*Fig. 10 An unpublished image of the Castles of the Downs, including the original fortified Manor House of Walmer, The Kent Archives, KMLC/IMG/PR/A/DEA/4.*

### Chapter 1: Historical Background and Context

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*Fig. 2 The remains of Corfe Castle, Dorset, 2019, Wikimedia Commons Public Domain.*

*Fig. 3 The ruins of Acton Burnell, Shropshire, 2018, Wikimedia Commons Public Domain.*

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Fig.16 Military map showcasing the Thames Blockhouses in operation,1588, Wikimedia Commons public domain.

Fig. 17 Artist map of the locations of the ancient Cinque Ports by an unknown artist, c. 1930s, Sandwich Guildhall, Used under UK Fair Dealing.

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## **Chapter 2: The Architectural Design of the Castles of the Downs**

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Fig. 2 Pietro Cataneo, *Two Fortresses with Writings on Architecture*, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 41, no. 3 (1982): 181–88.

Fig. 3 Michelangelo's concept drawings for the fortification of Florence show rounded and angular bastions, 1529, Wikimedia Commons public domain.

Fig. 4 A digital recreation of Dartmouth Castle with the added singular bastion, © English Heritage.

Fig. 5 The Battle of the Spurs, c. 1513, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 406784.

Fig. 6 Aerial photograph of St Catherine's Castle in Cornwall, 2018, ©wearecornwall.com (We are Group Ltd), used under UK Fair Dealing.

Fig. 7 A drawing by Dürer for fortifying cities, inspired by his work in Antwerp, Dürer, A., 1527, *Etliche vnderricht zu befestigung der Stett, Schlosz, vnd flecken*, used under UK fair dealing.

Fig. 8 A drawing by Dürer for fortifying cities, inspired by his work in Antwerp, Dürer, A., 1527, *Etliche vnderricht zu befestigung der Stett, Schlosz, vnd flecken*, used under UK fair dealing.

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Fig. 14 Two diagrams, Left: Camber Castle was before the Device works, Right: Calshot Castle after the Device, Wikimedia Commons public domain.

Fig. 15 Camber Castle in the present day surrounded by marsh land, 2017, © Rye Arts Festival Charity (ref: 1175309).

Fig. 16 A rare early concept drawing, sometimes referred to as 'peninsula design' – the ship safely in the harbour is English, whereas the ships under fire are depicted as French, c. 1539, British Library, Cotton MS. Augustus I.i.21., 004977328,

Fig. 17 An artist's rendition of the layout of the Castles of the Downs after construction, 2007, B. Delf, used under UK fair dealing.

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Fig. 21 An etching of Queensborough Castle, Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-77), Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 802761.

Fig. 22 Table showing the timeline of royal houses constructed in the reign of Henry VIII. Thurley, S., *Houses of Power*, Penguin, 2017.

Fig. 23 *Fortifications in Boulogne by Henry VIII*. by J. Rogers, *Fortifications in Boulogne and the Surrounding Area*, 1546, British Library, Cotton MS Augustus I ii 53.

Fig. 26 The interior of the keep at Camber Castle, (photo author, 2018).

Fig. 24 A drawing by Stefan von Haschenperg, *Archaeologia*, reproduced 1945, used under UK fair dealing.

Fig. 25 (left) A drawing by Stefan von Haschenperg, *Archaeologia*, reproduced 1945, used under UK fair dealing. (right) A photograph of the c.1539 Peninsula manuscript, British Library.

Fig. 26 A close-up view of the above 'peninsula' manuscript.

Fig. 27 Haschenperg's signature in the Sandgate Castle Construction Diary, next to a symbol which looks similar to a 'Bluetooth' logo, which in fact it, is just a mason signing his name with an elaborate 'X', British Library, Harley MS 1647.

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Fig. 32 A photograph of an early original surviving concept drawing for Deal Castle, c. 1539, British Library, BLL01004977330.

Fig. 33 'Bologna in Francia', etching by unknown artist, c.1602, includes close-up view, Royal Collection Trust.

Fig. 34 A photograph of the remains of Henry's Otford Palace in Kent, (photo author, 2022).

Fig. 34a A sketch by Albrecht Dürer showcasing the bastion design. Waetzoldt, W., Dürers Befestigungslehre, reproduced in 1916 by J. Bard, used under UK fair dealing.

Fig. 35 Digitally enhanced view due to degradation of the fortifications in Calais as they stood in 1550, attributed to Petit, T., British Library, Cotton Archive.

Fig. 36 A photograph of the Grosse Tour in the Belgium town of Tournai, Jean-Pol Grandmont, 2007, Wiki Commons public domain.

Fig. 37 Map of Tournai by Frans Hogenberg, c. 1588, Alamy Stock Photo, ref: 2B20J3B, used under UK fair dealing.

Fig. 38 A bulwark looking structure on the edge of the famous painting 'The Field of the Cloth of Gold', c. 1545, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 405794

Fig. 39 All of the Henrician forts including blockhouses, and fortified towns, Merriman, M., 1991, History Today, used under UK fair dealing.

Fig. 40 Henry's royal houses at their peak in 1547, Thurley, S., 1993, The Royal Palaces of Tudor England, Yale U.P., used under UK fair dealing.

### **Chapter 3: Setting and Symbolism**

Fig. 1 An artist's impression of the construction works at the Downs by Brian Delf, 2007, Osprey Publishing, used under UK fair dealing.

Fig. 2 'A colored view of the North Cliffs, Dover, shewing 'The Bulwerck under the Castell Dyke', c. 1540/1541, British Library, 004977307.

Fig. 3 'Dover Castle by Wenceslaus Hollar', Unknown date (author lived 1607-1677), University of Toronto Wenceslaus Hollar Digital Collection.

Fig. 4 An etching of the much-redeveloped Mote's Bulwark in Dover, 1784, Wikimedia Commons public domain.

Fig. 5 Photograph of Mote's Bulwark ruins, (photo author, 2022).

Fig. 6 The Sandwich Barbican, (photo author, 2021).

Fig. 7 Remains of an English Civil bulwark built in Cambridgeshire between 1642 and 1645, Historic England Archive, 33583/049.

Fig. 8 Photograph of the remnants of a likely former concrete pad within the grassy area of Walmer Beach, believed to have been used as a foundation for an anti-aircraft gun in WW2, (Photo author, 2020).

Fig. 9 The approximate layout of the bulwarks in association with the castles and The Downs and the Goodwin Sands, 2007, Osprey Publishing used under UK fair dealing.

*Fig. 10 An unpublished map produced by Deal Museum showing the locations of the bulwarks and batteries, Deal Museum, CS1/2.*

*Fig. 11 Modern artwork of how the Downs' bulwarks would have looked after construction, Brian Delf, used under UK Fair Dealing*

*Fig. 12 Stukeley's Drawings of the Downs' bulwarks, Saunders, A., Fortress Britain, (Beaufort, 1989).*

*Fig. 13 A view of Dubrovnik, late fifteenth century, Wikimedia Commons public domain.*

*Fig. 14 Flint Castle (1277-1284), Used under the Wiki Creative Commons.*

*Fig. 15 The Cowdray engraving of the battle of the Solent, 1545, Wikimedia Commons public domain.*

*Fig. 16 Modern Artist's impression of the Gravesend Blockhouse by Chris Forsey, © Chris Forsey, Kent Archaeological Society.*

*Fig. 17 An original depiction of the iconic symbol by Sputzer and Smabs, 'The Tudor Rose', 2020, World History Encyclopaedia. Inset: The Visit England Logo as used on official DfT road signs.*

*Fig. 18 Comparison to depict the stylistic similarities between the Tudor emblem and of Deal Castle's design.*

*Fig. 19 Basement plan of Deal Castle, © English Heritage.*

*Fig. 20 A faded mural of a Tudor Rose, spotted by the author in Canterbury Cathedral, (Photo author, 2022).*

*Fig. 21 Left: Trinity Window at Canterbury Cathedral; Right, quatrefoil graffiti inside the Cathedral, 2022.*

*Fig. 22 The famous quatrefoil mosaic floor in the Trinity Chapel, at Canterbury Cathedral, was installed to display St Thomas a' Becket's Shrine. Neal, D., S., Rodwell, W., 2022, Oxbow Books, used under UK fair dealing.*

*Fig. 23 View of Westminster Abbey's The Cosmati Pavement, 2002, Ashgate Publishing.*

*Fig. 24 Quatrefoils on the front façade at Shurland Hall, Kent (sometimes referred to as Shurland Castle), photo author, 2022.*

*Fig. 25 A sixteenth-century quatrefoil with weathered Tudor Rose in the spandrels of the western doorway of Minster Abbey, the final resting place of Henry VIII's Lord Warden Sir Thomas Cheyney, builder of Shurland Hall, 2024.*

*Fig. 26 Sir Cheyney's funerary monument at Minster Abbey, Kent, (photo author, 2024).*

*Fig. 27 A view of Nonsuch Palace by Dr Jonathan Foyle, contemporary watercolour, used with permission.*

*Fig. 28 A watercolour of the Banqueting Hall's foundations, 1900, Gordon Home (1878-1969).*

*Fig. 29 Twentieth Century brickwork outlines the approximate location of the ruined Nonsuch Banqueting Hall, (photo author, 2024).*

*Fig. 30 The Remains of Bayham Abbey, 1970s photograph, © Hugh Braun (insert by author, 2023).*

*Fig. 31 The symbol was also replicated in the nineteenth century at St. John's Church, Polegate, built near the site of Otham Abbey, (photo author, 2023).*

*Fig. 32 Right: The cloisters of Salisbury Cathedral exhibit foil shapes ranging from three leaves to eight. Left: St Laurence Church, Leaveland in Kent (photos author 2023).*

*Fig. 33 Left: A carved stone Tudor Rose added to the keep at Camber Castle during the works of Von Haschenperg, Camber Castle Guidebook, English Heritage/Friends of Rye Harbour Nature, used under UK fair dealing, right: A Tudor Rose styled emblem carved into the stonework in Deal Castle's Rounds. Both items would have been likely added during construction, (photo author, 2023).*

*Fig. 34 Cover of a 1970s guidebook sold to visitors at Deal Castle, HMSO.*

*Fig. 35 Example of Victorian terracotta tiles found in Canterbury that exhibit Tudor Roses within quatrefoils, (photo author, 2024).*

*Fig. 36 Painting showing Henry VIII and his fleet setting sail from Dover to Calais on 31<sup>st</sup> May 1520 on the way to meet Francis I at the Field of Cloth of Gold, c. 1520-1540, Royal Collection, 405793.*

*Fig. 37 Southsea Castle, 2011, Wikimedia Commons public domain.*

*Fig. 38 Diagram of Walmer Castle's potential dead-zones from the main bastions, partly via Google Earth 2021, used under UK fair use.*

*Fig. 39 Walmer Castle with one of its less-altered bastions, showcasing the reduced coverage due to the restrictive parapet embrasures, (photo author, 2022).*

*Fig. 40 An example of a Tudor cannon displayed at Maidstone Museum, (photo author, 2023).*

*Fig. 41 A truncated version of the Castles of the Downs design, 2023, © Christopher Moore.*

*Fig. 42 Scale models of The Castles of the Downs, resin on card, commissioned by the author.*

#### **Chapter 4: Spolia Use in the Construction of the Castles of the Downs**

*Fig. 1 Map showing the foremost potential locations of the dissolved religious houses.*

*Fig. 2 The above shows references to quarrying for stone for Sandgate from the original site diary, 'Accompt of Works at Sandgate' & 'Ledger of the Works at Sandgate Castle', British Library, Harley MS 1647.*

*Fig. 3 A Victorian interpretation of a pre-Reformation St Martin's Priory, Dover. Plumptre, Rev. F. C., 'Some Account of the Remains of the Priory of St Martin's and the Church of St Martin-le-Grand at Dover', 1861, Archaeologia Cantiana.*

*Fig. 4 A Victorian sketch of the remains of St Martin's Priory, Dover. Plumptre, Rev. F. C., 'Some Account of the Remains of the Priory of St Martin's and the Church of St Martin-le-Grand at Dover', 1861, Archaeologia Cantiana.*

*Fig. 5 All that remains of St Martin-le-Grand Church in Dover, (photo author, 2023).*

*Fig. 6 A contemporary sketch by M. Davis of how the Abbey would have looked before destruction. M. C. J. Davis, St Radegund's Abbey - A Re-Assessment of The Abbey Church, 2017, Kent Archaeological Society.*

*Fig. 7 An etching from the London Illustrated News, 1933, used under UK fair dealing.*

*Fig. 8 'A ledger book for expenses made for the construction of Sandgate Castle by Henry VIII (Volume 1)', The British Library, Harley MS 1647.*

*Fig. 9 'A ledger book for expenses made for the construction of Sandgate Castle by Henry VIII (Volume 1)', The British Library, Harley MS 1647.*

*Fig. 10 'A ledger book for expenses made for the construction of Sandgate Castle by Henry VIII (Volume 1)', The British Library, Harley MS 1647.*

Fig. 11 Farmhouse, St Radigund's Abbey Farm, 2016, Creative Commons Attribution Share-alike license 2.0.

Fig. 12 The rib vaulting to Walmer Castle's keep basement, (photo author, 2018).

Fig. 13 The vaulted ceiling in Lambeth Palace's chapel, (photo author, 2018).

Fig. 14 The ruins of St Radegund's Abbey, (photo author, 2019).

Fig. 15 Left: A doorway at Walmer Castle. Right: The main farmhouse at St Radegund's, (photos author, 2021).

Fig. 16 Photograph of the main house following a recent sale in 2014, *The Daily Mail*, used under UK fair dealing.

Fig. 17 *The Proceedings at Meetings of The Royal Archaeological Institute - The Summer Meeting at Canterbury 15th to 24th July 1929*, published 2013, *The Archaeological Journal*, Royal Archaeological Institute.

Fig. 18 Trees to be felled for the use of scaffolding can be seen above from the original diary of Sandgate, 'Accompt of Works at Sandgate' & 'Ledger of the Works at Sandgate Castle', British Library, Harley MS 1647.

Fig. 19 Carriage paid for the stone at Canterbury, taken from the Sandgate diary. Note Stephen von Haschenberg's approval signature below, 'Accompt of Works at Sandgate' & 'Ledger of the Works at Sandgate Castle', British Library, Harley MS 1647.

Fig. 20 An oil painting depicting Canterbury Cathedral and a selection of plundered ruins believed to be from the early C19, unknown artist, private collection.

Fig. 21 Fig: A heavily consolidated section of damaged walling from Christ Church Priory Infirmary remains standing on the grounds behind the Cathedral, (photo author, 2022).

Fig. 22 A excerpt taken from the Sandgate diary, showing that 'cane stone' (Caen stone) was taken from the Canterbury Cathedral estate, 'Accompt of Works at Sandgate' & 'Ledger of the Works at Sandgate Castle', British Library, Harley MS 1647.

Fig. 23 A plan showing how St Augustine's Abbey had developed up until the Dissolution, 2012, © English Heritage.

Fig. 24 The ruins of St Augustine's Abbey by William Stukeley in 1722, reproduced by T. Tatton-Brown & M. Sparks in 1984, *St Augustine's Abbey Royal Palace*, Canterbury Archaeological Trust Ltd.

Fig. 25 The document that suppressed Christ Church Priory, Canterbury, 1538, *The National Archives*: E/322/492.

Fig. 26 Tudor map of Canterbury listed as 'a pre-1600 map of Canterbury' (likely to be c. 1540 to 1553), showing the size of the now cathedral of Canterbury and the small parkland that the much reduced in size St. Augustine's Abbey resides in during this period, © Canterbury Cathedral Archives, CCA-Map/49.

Fig. 27 Andrews, Dury and Herbert Map from 1769, *Wikimedia Commons* public domain.

Fig. 28 Drawing from the essay by Elizabeth Deighton of the Carmelite Friary at Sandwich, 1994, *Kent Archaeological Society*, *Archaeologia Cantiana*.

Fig. 29 An 1890 OS map depicting the approximate location of the Friary in Sandwich, used under UK Fair Dealing.

Fig. 30 A Bird's Eye View image of the approximate location of the friary in Sandwich, Google. 'Google Maps.' Google Maps, Google LLC, Accessed February 14, 2023, <https://www.google.com/maps>.

*Fig. 31 A map extract from 1870 of Sandwich, Digimap UK, used under UK fair dealing.*

*Fig. 32 An indicative map of the former estate at St Gregory's Priory prior to the Dissolution, reproduced in 1989, Canterbury Archaeological Trust, used under UK fair dealing.*

*Fig. 33 Nineteenth century artist's impression of the remains of St Gregory's Priory. F. Grose, 1773, The Antiquities of England and Wales, Hooper Publishing, used under UK fair dealing.*

*Fig. 34 The original suppression order from the Court of Augmentations for Bilsington Priory, The National Archives, E/32/220.*

## **Chapter 5: The Construction and Early Development of the Castles of the Downs**

*Fig. 1 The Caesar plaque on Walmer Beach, 2012, Wikimedia Commons public domain.*

*Fig. 2 The above map from the eighteenth century shows the treacherous, narrow path of the Downs, colloquially referred to as 'The Shyppe Swallower', 1895, Published by The Religious Tract Society, London.*

*Fig. 3 A portion of the Symonson's Map of Kent, 1596, Wikimedia Commons public domain.*

*Fig. 4 A rarely published oil painting from the Kent Archaeological Society collection, showing the proximity of Walmer Castle to the beach in 1824, KAS Collection.*

*Fig. 5 Possibly the only known contemporary portrait of Perkin Warbeck, Bridgeman Art Library.*

*Fig. 6 The approximate number of shipwrecks between 1450-1699, 1938, Preston Publishers.*

*Fig. 7 The above etching shows a number of ships in the nineteenth century taking refuge inside the Downs from an incoming storm, Wikimedia Commons public domain.*

*Fig. 8 An etching of the Great Storm of 1703, when a number of English Navy ships were lost in the Goodwin Sands, Wikimedia Commons public domain.*

*Fig. 9 The original Tudor well in Deal Castle's Keep, (photo author, 2018).*

*Fig. 10 Front leaf of Benese's book, possibly one of the first books on surveying to be published in England. 'This boke sheweth the maner of measuryng of all maner of lande, Prynted in Southwarke in Saynt Thomas hospitall', c.1537.*

*Fig. 11 Palace of Placentia, after it was rebuilt around 1500 by Henry VII, A historical account of the Royal Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich (1789), UK Fair Dealing.*

*Fig. 12 An illustration by Brian Delf of Sandgate Castle after construction, used under UK Fair Dealing.*

*Fig. 13 An illustration of the construction of a Device Castle, Brian Delf, 2007, used under UK Fair Dealing.*

*Fig. 14 A modern interpretation of the preparations at Deal Castle for the future Queen's arrival, 2021, Emily Jo Moore.*

*Fig. 15 Table showing the gross area of castle construction projects from this period using measurements from The History of the King's Works with modern conversions undertaken by the author (Appendix D).*

*Fig. 16 An aerial view of Blackness Castle (1537-1542), Firth of Forth, Scotland, Wikimedia Commons public domain.*

*Fig. 17 The frontispiece to a manuscript from 1465, © Trustees of the British Museum, Royal MS 16 F II.*



*Fig. 18 The County of Kent's beacon system, c. 1585, Wikimedia Commons public domain.*

*Fig. 19 A page from the complete and surviving accounts from the Castles of the Downs showing the repairs that were undertaken from 1596, The National Archives, E 351/3575.*

*Fig. 20 An excerpt from the 1613 survey, The National Archives, E/134/16Chasl/Mich/29.*

*Fig. 21 Map produced part of Kent and Sussex survey, 1795-1796, held by the Royal Society of London, used under UK Fair Dealing.*

*Fig. 22 Photograph of the former Porter's Lodgings, Deal Castle, 2020.*

*Fig. 23 Cover of 'Separate estimates for repair of Sandown, Deal, and Walmer castles in the Downs and of Archcliff bulwark at Dover, made by Lieutenant-Colonel Paperill, his Majesty's engineer for fortifications, in 1634', SP 16 Secretaries of State: State Papers, 1634.*

*Fig. 24 The Three Castles of the Downs, Oil on Canvas, Seventeenth Century, The Walmer Collection, English Heritage.*

*Fig. 25 Photograph from 1966 showing the original oak Tudor partitions hidden behind much-later additions, Historic England Archive, AL0960/064/04.*

*Fig. 26 The header of the document stating the accounts paid for repairs to Sandown, 1644, The National Archives, E/351/3599.*

*Fig. 27 Map from 1640 showing Deal and Walmer Castles, along with two bulwarks. The Walmer Collection, Map displayed at Walmer Castle, 'Pre-English Civil War map', 1640.*

*Fig. 28 A nineteenth century etching of Sandown Castle showing the advancement of the coastline, private collection.*

*Fig. 29 A photograph by the author of the in-situ precision gauges used in 1927 to detect structural issues at the Castle. The "six" likely denotes June and others have "eight", likely denoting August 1927, 2023.*

*Fig. 30 An example of either purposely carved stonework or spolia removed from another site, (photo author, 2023).*

## **Chapter 6: The Development of Walmer Castle (Eighteenth Century to Modern)**

*Fig. 1 Modern basement plan of Walmer Castle, 2015, © English Heritage.*

*Fig. 2 Modern ground floor plan of Walmer Castle, 2015, © English Heritage.*

*Fig. 3 Modern first-floor plan of Walmer Castle, 2015, © English Heritage.*

*Fig. 4 A painting by William Collins of Walmer Castle, 1824, Tate Gallery London, T05238.*

*Fig. 5 A drawing of the original Gunners' Cabins at Walmer Castle, The National Archives, WORKS/31/1176/25.*

*Fig. 6 Gunners' Cabins, Photograph taken following the 2015 refurbishment, 2016, Historic England Archives, DP261562.*

*Fig. 7 Lionel Sackville, 1st Duke of Dorset, by Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646 - 1723), Oil on canvas, 1719 Wikimedia Commons public domain.*

*Fig. 8 Lord Sackville's Return in Procession to Dover Castle (prior to the move to Walmer), 1727, John Wootton (c.1682–1764), National Trust Images, Used under UK Fair Dealing.*

*Fig. 9 The East Lounge and the West Lounge, showing their presentation by English Heritage in the present day. Insert: How the dining room looked in 1894, both vastly altered from Sackville's initial installation, insert: 1894, Pall Mall Magazine.*

*Fig. 10 A drawing from 1725 showing the castle's layout, 1927, Curzon.*

*Fig. 11 The alterations of 1730, with the new lodgings for the Duke and the Gunners' Cabins, Historic England Archive, MP/WAC0017.*

*Fig. 12 A rare etching of Walmer dated 1801) is probably from slightly earlier than 1801 - though it is dated as such. The artist has also taken some licence with the positioning and window designs, c. late eighteenth century, possibly by or inspired by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck.*

*Fig. 13 An etching of the original Holwood House as Pitt would have known it, 1796, Rev. R.Nixon, published in The Copper Plate Magazine, used under UK Fair Dealing.*

*Fig. 14 Some of the walking trails in the abutting woodland can be seen within this 1870 map of the castle estate,  
© Landmark Information Group Lid and Crown copyright, 2023, used under UK Fair Dealing.*

*Fig. 15 'The Right Honourable William Pitt Colonel Commandant of the Cinque Port Volunteers' (With Walmer Castle in the background), National Army Museum, NAM. 1976-07-52-1.*

*Fig. 16 A map for the conveyancing showing the extra land purchased by Liverpool in 1810, The National Archives, WORK 31/16.*

*Fig. 17 Visible traces of 'Walmer Blue' coloured paint as found in 'The Rounds' of Deal Castle by the author in 2022.*

*Fig. 18 A drawing showing the increased number of bedrooms during the nineteenth century, The National Archives, WORK 31/15.*

*Fig. 19 A postcard depicting Queen Victoria's bedroom, recreated for the public after opening in the early twentieth century, private collection.*

*Fig. 20 A print believed to be from 1848 showing the wild frontage at the castle, c. 1848, unknown artist.*

*Fig. 21 An unpublished example of a formal dinner invitation from the Duke at Walmer Castle, 1834, held in a private collection.*

*Fig. 22 The keep's irregularly slated roof (photo author, 2014).*

*Fig. 23 A rare sketch of Walmer from 1834, The Saturday Magazine.*

*Fig. 24 A lithograph of the Duke in his bedroom study, c.1852, unknown artist, Private Collection.*

*Fig. 25 English School early Nineteenth Century, Walmer Castle with inclusion of an oval portrait of the Duke of Wellington in the foreground, Private Collection.*

*Fig. 26 An etching of the Duke of Wellington's death, 1852, believed to be J.L. (after) Williams, Private Collection, used under UK Fair Dealing.*

*Fig. 27 A previously unpublished miniature painting (unsigned), showing how wild the grounds were – likely during or just after Wellington's tenure, 'Walmer Castle', unknown artist and date, held in a private collection.*

*Fig. 28 A view of Walmer Castle (note: the ruinous Sandown in the background), The Illustrated London News, Volume: 21, Issue: 579, 580, 1852, used under UK Fair Dealing.*

*Fig. 29 An etching by an unknown artist, dated 1852, London Illustrated News, used under UK Fair Dealing.*

Fig. 30 An original Watercolour that may have inspired the above etching, unknown artist, Private Collection.

Fig. 31 A copy of correspondence from the Duke that shows a rare example of the Walmer Castle seal, held in a private collection.

Fig. 32 Figure: Sketch of Walmer Castle by J.M.W. Turner, 1825, Turner, J.M.W., Walmer Castle: Holland Sketchbook, Tate Gallery London, D19394 Turner Bequest CCXIV 279a.

Fig. 33 'The tide is out at Walmer Beach', unknown artist, watercolour, held in a private collection.

Fig. 34 Photograph showing the differing wallpaper samples in the Duke of Wellington's Bedroom, 2015.

Fig. 35 Devey's original drawing showing his alterations and floor raising, in comparison to the earlier alterations on the left-hand side of his drawing, RIBA Collection, PB831/7(1-25).

Fig. 36 An elevational plan by Devey of the newly appointed rooms (drawing, ante and dining rooms) in the neo-classical style, Devey Collection, RIBA Archive held at the V&A, PB831/7(1-25).

Fig. 37 Highlighted in pink on this plan are the newly refurbished rooms that Devey designed, 1874, Historic England Archive, MP/WAC0014.

Fig. 38 The newly refurbished Lord Warden's apartment can be seen on this construction drawing by Devey, 1874, Historic England Archive, MP/WAC0007.

Fig. 39 A sketch by Devey, undated, which refers to the completed works, Devey Collection, RIBA Archive held at the V&A, PB831/7(1-25).

Fig. 40 An original construction drawing used in the works carried out by Devey. A sketch by Devey, undated, which refers to the completed works, Devey Collection, RIBA Archive held at the V&A, PB831/7(1-25).

Fig. 41 First-floor plan of Walmer Castle and how these rooms have developed. Hall, H., 'Walmer Castle', *Country Life*, *Country Life Archive* Apr 13, 1995; 189, 15; 52.

Fig. 42 A plaque installed at the end of the extensive Granville alterations, located above the entrance in the main entrance bastion, c. late twentieth century photograph, Historic England Archives, DP165356.

Fig. 43 The 1884 survey shows that despite the name changes, the layout of this portion of the castle has remained largely the same to this present day, *The National Archives*, WORK14/4/2.

Fig. 44 This undated etching, likely from the nineteenth century, shows the extent to which the Devey alterations had adapted the Castle from 16th Century fortress to a country house, Historic England Archives, RBA01/08/076/02.

Fig. 45 An oil painting of Countess Granville in 1891 on the seaward bastion, Charles Edward Perugini (1839 – 1918), used under UK Fair Dealing.

Fig. 46 An interesting photograph of Prime Minister Gladstone who visited Deal Castle, 1881. It is interesting as it is possibly one of the earliest known photographs of Deal castle, which also shows how the cannons were being used for display purposes, *The National Portrait Gallery*, London, © National Portrait Gallery, London, John Berryman, 1881.

Fig. 47 A sketch from 1890 showing overgrown the moat had become during this period of change, unknown artist, Wikimedia Commons public domain.

Fig. 48 A watercolour showing a heavily overgrown Walmer Castle, John Shapland (1865-1929), c. late nineteenth century, private collection.

*Fig. 49 A rare photo showing how Granville had presented Pitt's Bedroom. Note his unique chair on display, which is still part of the collection in the present day, Lucy, H., W., 'The Lord Wardens of the Cinque Ports', Pall Mall Magazine (1894): 3*

*Fig. 50 A sketch of the Drawing Room as captured in 1891 during W. H. Smith's short tenure as Lord Warden, Life of William Henry Smith, 1894, Sir Herbert Maxwell.*

*Fig. 51 An illustration depicting the pieces in the Walmer Collection, 1892, The Gentlewoman periodical.*

*Fig. 52 Left: A sketch within correspondence from Balfour and Turner Architects to Lord Salisbury, The National Archives, WORK/14/82. Right: A photograph of how this link corridor looks in the present, 2022.*

*Fig. 53 A surveyor's drawing of the castle's grounds in 1904 during the transfer, The National Archives, WORK/14/82.*

*Fig. 54 An unpublished photograph possibly by the Office of Works, unknown date but likely during or before 1904, private collection.*

*Fig. 55 The original letter from the Army stating that the castle was no longer of military use, 1904, The National Archives, WO 32/18241.*

*Fig. 56 Photograph by the author of the loft hooks by the author.*

*Fig. 57 A bust of the Duke of Wellington from the Royal Collection, Historic England Archive, N110118.*

*Fig. 58 A sketch by W. H. Denne Builders from within their original tender for the removal of the faux Tudor chimney in 1904, The National Archives, WORK/14/82.*

*Fig. 59 The official transfer letter that enabled Walmer Castle to open to the public, The National Archives, WO/32/18243.*

*Fig. 60 Photograph taken by the Office of Works prior to opening to the public, c.1904, Historic England Archives.*

*Fig. 61 An Edwardian postcard showing how the Duke of Wellington's bedroom was displayed shortly after opening to the public, c.1905, possibly by J.Davis of Victoria Street, Private collection.*

*Fig. 62 A pair of original entry tickets to Walmer Castle, unknown date, held in a private collection.*

*Fig. 63 An Edwardian postcard depicts the area before the loggia was built, held in a private collection.*

*Fig. 64 Construction drawings of new loggia and public lavatories, Historic England Archives, MP/WAC0089.*

*Fig. 65 New loggia, 1913, Historic England Archive, MJ8988*

*Fig. 66 Photograph showing the now-removed, mock-Tudor-styled chimney and heavy ivy growth, c.1911, Historic England Archives, KL15115. Insert: 'Walmer Front' postcard, Davidson Bros Photo Postcard, 1911, private collection.*

*Fig. 67 Construction drawings for the new oak bridge, 1919, Historic England Archives, HK4884.*

*Fig. 68 Photograph of the Office of Works installing the new bridge, 1919, Historic England Archives, FL01617/02/001.*

*Fig. 69 Sir Winston Churchill (1874–1965), Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Oil on Canvas, John Leigh-Pemberton (1911–1997), National Maritime Museum, BHC2612.*

Fig. 70 A screen capture from 'Young Mr Pitt' shot at Walmer Castle, 1942. Insert: Same location in 2023.

Fig. 71 Photograph of 'The Beach at Walmer' by Winston Churchill, 1938, © BBC News.

Fig. 72 Chartwell's Cinque Ports weathervane, (photo author, 2022).

Fig. 73 Churchill's installation ceremony as Lord Warden at Dover Castle, 1946, *The Sphere* magazine, used under UK fair dealing.

Fig. 74 *The Custodian of the Castle*, Sir Winston Churchill Archive Trust, CHUR 2/355 (409 of 469).

Fig. 75 Scaffolding being erected for repointing works, 1966, Historic England Archives, P/A07039/006.

Fig. 76 Photo showing a number of stonework repairs to the coping areas of the garden-side bastion, 1966, Historic England Archives, P/A07127/004.

Fig. 77 Materials stored ready for use in the repair works, 1969, Historic England Archive, P/A08087/005.

Fig. 78 An aerial photograph of the castle and grounds, 1923, *Illustrated London News*, used under UK fair dealing.

Fig. 79 Four unpublished photographs of the refurbished Lord Warden's apartment, unspecified date – probably 1980s, The National Archives, WORK 65/270.

Fig. 80 An aerial view of the castle showing the grounds are all laid to lawn with no visible signs of food production and no motorcars, 1947, Historic England Archives, P/A00410/007.

Fig. 81 Front cover of a copy of a HMSO 'Deal and Walmer Castles' Guidebook by A. Saunders, 1963, author's private collection.

Fig. 82 Original marked-up elevational drawings of the works to repair the exterior of the Gunners' Cabins, 2014, author's own collection.

Fig. 83 Thomas Shotton Boys watercolour of the Duke's Bedroom, 1852, reproduced in 'Walmer Castle Kent', 1995, © Country Life Magazine, Country Life Archive.

Fig. 84 A photograph of how the room looked in 1995 before the restoration works, reproduced in 'Walmer Castle Kent', 1995, © Country Life Magazine, Country Life Archive.

Fig. 85 Photograph of how the Duke's bedroom looked after the completion of the 2014-2015 works, © English Heritage.

Fig. 86 Marked-up image of the repointing works to the keep, 2015, author's collection.

Fig. 87 Photo of a new separately ticketed night-time event held at Walmer, (photo author, 2022).

## **Chapter 7: The Development of Deal Castle (Eighteenth Century to Modern)**

Fig. 1 An artist's impression of how Deal Castle might have looked in 1540, Historic England Archive, IC031/001.

Fig. 2 A diagram of development at Deal Castle, 1998, © English Heritage.

Fig. 3 Photograph of the weathered plaque at Deal Castle, 2022.

Fig. 4 An etching by Wenceslaus Hollar (1607 – 1677), c. 1640. Hollstein, F.W.H., *The New Hollstein: German Engravings Etchings and Woodcuts 1400-1700*, Amsterdam, 1996 – Hollstein, 2511.

Fig. 5 A closer view of an etching by Wenceslaus Hollar (1607 – 1677), c. 1640. Hollstein, F.W.H., *The New Hollstein: German Engravings Etchings and Woodcuts 1400-1700*, Amsterdam, 1996 – Hollstein, 2511.

Fig. 6 An example of the St Mawes Castle crest (Photo author, 2021).

Fig. 7 A section from the Admiralty Map from c. 1800 showing the former Naval Yard next to Deal Castle.

Fig. 8 Proposed construction drawings, dating from the 1700s and reproduced from a print in the 1950s, Office of Works, Hand-tinted copy of two sections through Deal Castle, and plans of the second-floor and roof of the keep, Historic England Archives ref: MP/DEA0005 & MP/DEA0003.

Fig. 9 A drawing of the castle from 1753 prior to the works. It shows the forebearer of the Captain's House and the ornate gardens. Historic England Archives, PF/DEA/001 (EHC01/022).

Fig. 10 Detail of the inner face of the castle's north-east inner bastion parapet, showing a stone inscribed 'AI 1732', Historic England, 2016, DP187685.

Fig. 11 An image of Deal by an unknown artist, Hasted, 1778, Wikimedia Commons public domain.

Fig. 12 A watercolour of Deal Castle, c.1790s, Princess Sophia of the United Kingdom (1777-1848) from an earlier watercolour by Amelia Noel (1759 - 1818), The Royal Collection.

Fig. 13 A View of Deal Castle, Unknown Artist, held in a private collection.

Fig. 14 An unpublished drawing for a new proposed 'Downs Harbour' by engineer 'Mr Payne', 1749, Deal Museum, PL134.

Fig. 15 A plan showing a smaller building where the grander Captain's House would later be built, c.1802, Historic England Archives, PF/DEA/001 (EHC01 English Heritage Archive).

Fig. 16 An etching by George Shepherd, 1830, Wikimedia Commons public domain.

Fig. 17 An etching believed to be from 1828 by William Daniell (1769–1837), Presented to the Tate Gallery Publications Department 1979, T02949, used under UK fair dealing.

Fig. 18 An elevational drawing of the bell tower, 1993, Historic England Archive, This is part of the Volume: PF/DEA Deal Castle, Deal, Kent; within the Series: EHC01/022 English Heritage Plans and Measured Drawings; within the Collection: EHC01.

Fig. 19 Graffiti found in the belltower reads: 'Wm Verrier, Plumber, Painter, Glazier, 1811', 1993, Historic England Archive, MP/DEA0017, DP187638.

Fig. 20 A ground floor plan showing the layout of the castle, c.1800, The National Archives, WORK 31/9.

Fig. 21 First-floor plan of the castle showing the drawing rooms, c.1800, The National Archives, WORK 31/9.

Fig. 22 The second-floor plan is represented above, showing the number of rooms in the Captain's House from this c.1800 survey, The National Archives, WORK 31/9.

Fig. 23 Basement plan from c.1800, The National Archives, WORK 31/11.

Fig. 24 Unpublished watercolour of Lord Carrington during his tenure as Captain of Deal Castle believed to have been painted by his granddaughter, unknown date c. mid-nineteenth century, Kent History and Library Centre, EK/U1590/C132.

Fig. 25 The crowds gathering at Deal following the death of Duke of Wellington, 1852, Illustrated London News, used under UK Fair Dealing.

Fig. 26 A rare early photograph believed to have been captured in 1892, Private collection.

*Fig. 27 A watercolour by Roget who visited Deal in the late 1880s, Author's Private Collection.*

*Fig. 28 A print from a postcard (possibly sold by the Office of Works) dating from 1905, produced by the Detroit Publishing Co., Catalogue J foreign section, Detroit, Mich. Detroit Publishing Company, 1905, 11222.*

*Fig. 29 Deal Castle Plan surveyed under the direction of Captain A de C Scott, Royal Engineers at the Southampton Ordnance Survey Office, 1860, The National Archives, MPH 1/626/3-4.*

*Fig. 30 Photograph of Deal Castle, c.1865 – 1895, Historic England Archives, AL2400/106/05.*

*Fig. 31 Repointing and galletting works from the 1920s, Office of Works, Labelled plan, detail plan at Deal Castle, 1923, Historic England Archives, MP/DEA0022.*

*Fig. 32 Photographs from Tatler showing the Readings returning to Deal Castle, The Tatler, 1931, Used under UK Fair Dealing.*

*Fig. 33 Structural floor members that were replaced in the 1920s, Office of Works, Labelled plan, detail plan and detail sections of repairs to ground-floor timbers at Deal Castle, 1923, Historic England Archives, MP/DEA0022.*

*Fig. 34 An aerial photograph of the castle showing ongoing alterations, 1923, London Illustrated News.*

*Fig. 35 Deal Castle, Deal, 1927, Photographer/Archive: Aerofilms, Historic England Archives, AFL19270803.*

*Fig. 36 Image of the seaward elevation of the castle, c.1920s, unknown photographer, private collection.*

*Fig. 37 A colourised postcard from the early twentieth century showing the Captain's House is possibly painted in white. Also, note how many chimneys there are, which suggests how densely occupied the castle must have been at this time, unknown artist, private collection.*

*Fig. 38 A close-up photograph from the early twentieth century showing the Captain's House, Private collection.*

*Fig. 39 Castle part-plan from the 1930s showing the ground floor of the north and west bastions and the keep, Historic England Archives, MP/DEA0037.*

*Fig. 40 Second-floor plan of the castle showing the damage caused by the Nazi bomb, April 1945, Historic England Archives, PF/DEA/003.*

*Fig. 41 Deal Castle from above, April 1948, Historic England Archives, AFL19480413.*

*Fig. 42 Unpublished images of the bomb damage to the moat, April 1945, The National Archives WORK/14/1943/120.*

*Fig. 43 Unpublished images of WW2 damage, April 1945, The National Archives, WORK/14/1943/118.*

*Fig. 44 Exterior view showing south-east bastion from the north-east, undergoing rebuilding, Historic England, May 1953, P/A02575/00.*

*Fig. 45 Photograph of the Royal Marines Chapel, 2013.*

*Fig. 46 Detail of the Castle's studded door in the main entrance passage, Historic England, 2016, DP187736.*

*Fig. 47 English Heritage Members' Handbook for 2017/2018, designed by Carter Wong.*

## **Chapter 8: Sandown Castle's Subsequent Development and Lost Modern History**

*Fig. 1 Oil painting by Peter Tillemans (1684–1734), c.1700-1715, private collection.*

*Fig. 2 A sketch of Sandown Castle from 1735, collected by Professor T. H. Lewis, 1884, 'Sandown Castle', Journal of the British Archaeological Association, 40.*

*Fig. 3 An excerpt from Deal Museum's 1749 map of Deal town by a Mr. Payne, © Deal Museum.*

*Fig. 4 A possible eighteenth-century etching of the castle, R D Ingleton, Fortress Kent: The Guardian of England, (Pen & Sword, 2012).*

*Fig. 5 A rare, coloured sketch of Sandown, J. Stadler, 1801, David Rumsey Collection, 11197.012 of 11197.000.*

*Fig. 6 Early nineteenth-century map, showing the locations of the castles and the remaining bulwarks, The National Archives, ADM 352/770.*

*Fig. 7 A sketch by Henry Moses in 1840 depicting Sandown Castle, held in a private collection.*

*Fig. 8 A survey of the removal of shingle that had built-up over previous decades, 1856, The National Archives, CRES 37/12.*

*Fig. 9 A sketch of Sandown believed to be from early 1862, T. Moran, Sandown Castle, Gilcrease Museum, used under UK fair dealing.*

*Fig. 10 Newspaper advertisement for the tender of Sandown Castle as spolia, 1863, South Eastern Gazette.*

*Fig. 11 Photo of Sandown Castle, c. the early 1860s, Historic England Archives, AL2400/106/02.*

*Fig. 12 Construction drawing of the groynes at Sandown Castle, 1860, The National Archives, MPHH/1/626/3/4/002.*

*Fig. 13 Sandown Castle in the c.1860s showing the new groynes, Maidstone Museum.*

*Fig. 14 Photo showing the newly constructed sea wall butting up to the old fortress (the view is from the West, therefore the beachside is to the right of this photo), 1863, The National Archives, WORK36/124.*

*Fig. 15 Photo taken in the late 1800s of the remains of the castle, c.1882, Deal Museum CD1/11.*

*Fig. 16 Photo of the castle, 1860, © Alamy Archive, used under UK fair dealing.*

*Fig. 17 A colourised photograph of Sandown Castle, c. late eighteenth century, private collection.*

*Fig. 18 A sketch of the internal ruins, 1883, The Graphic newspaper.*

*Fig. 19 A Victorian Postcard with a view of the Sandown Area of Deal, c. 1850, Private Collection.*

*Fig. 20 Drawing by Professor Lewis showing the coastline in comparison to the remainder of the castle, 1884, Thomas Hayter Lewis "The Castles of Sandown and Sandgate," Journal of the British Archaeological Association.*

*Fig. 21 Prof. Lewis' sketch of the interior corridor at Sandown, 1883, Journal of the British Archaeological Association.*

*Fig. 22 A drone photograph of the initial damage at Hurst Castle, © ITV Meridian News, used under UK fair dealing.*

*Fig. 23 People gathering inside the ruinous keep at Sandown, unknown date, used with permission of Linda Ford - Chair of Sandown Castle Community Garden, Private Collection.*



*Fig. 24 Photograph of Sandown Castle ruins, c.1872, Reproduction Postcard, used with permission of the private archive of Mrs Jennifer Wall.*

*Fig. 25 Sandown Castle ruins, 1882, The Illustrated London News, used under UK Fair Dealing.*

*Fig. 26 Photograph showing the ruined castle, with the Good Intent Public House in the background and the Sandown windmill. All three were soon to vanish, c. 1884, Deal Town Council Archive, CS415.*

*Fig. 27 A sketch by Thomas Bush Hardy (1842 – 1897), c. late nineteenth century, author's private collection.*

*Fig. 28 Builders demolishing parts of Sandown Castle's structure, Watercolour by J. L. Roget, 1889.*

*Fig. 29 The remaining ruins of Sandown Castle in the c. late eighteenth century, used with permission by Linda Ford, Chair of Sandown Castle Community Garden, Private Collection.*

*Fig. 30 Photograph showing the 'New walkway' at Sandown Castle with sea shelter, c. '1924', Deal Town Council Archive, CS765.*

*Fig. 31 An Edwardian postcard depicting a stormy day in the Downs by G. E. Newton, private collection.*

*Fig. 32 Historic England collection aerial photograph, 1931, Historic England Archives, PC384555.*

*Fig. 33 Sea defences being installed into the ruins of Sandown Castle, c. 1980s, used with permission of Mrs Linda Ford Chair of Sandown Castle Community Garden, Private Collection (Unpublished).*

*Fig. 34 Photo taken by the author in 2015 of the tribute gardens at the former Sandown Castle site prior to the Community Garden being installed.*

*Fig. 35 Sandown Community Garden, 2023, Photo courtesy of Mrs Jenny Wall.*

*Fig. 36 Previously unpublished photograph of the archaeological recording by Dr Brian Philip, c. 1980, used with permission of Mrs Linda Ford Chair of Sandown Castle Community Garden, Private Collection.*

*Fig. 37 Previously unpublished photograph of the remains of Sandown, c.1980, Deal Museum, CS1/4.*

*Fig. 38 Previously unpublished photograph of the archaeological recording by Dr Brian Philip, c. 1980, used with permission of Mrs Linda Ford Chair of Sandown Castle Community Garden, Private Collection.*

*Fig. 39 The remains of the castle as documented in 1980 but only recently published, 2014, Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit.*

*(photo author, 2022).*

*Fig. 40 Photograph of the Deputy Constable's Quarters at Dover Castle (photo author, 2022).*

*Fig. 41 A rare image of Dawson-Scott, 1899, the Navy & Army Illustrated.*

*Fig. 42 Sectional diagram of Constable's Tower, 2015, © English Heritage.*

*Fig. 43 Photograph of the Deputy Constable's quarters at Dover Castle (photo author 2022).*

*Fig. 44 Photographs from inside Constable's Tower (photos author, 2017).*

*Fig. 45 Photographs from inside Constable's Tower (photos author, 2017).*

*Fig. 46 An OS Map from the 1890s of Dover, Landmark Information Group Ltd, Crown Copyright 2024.*

*Fig. 47 Dawson-Scott's construction drawings for the Constable's Tower extension, 1882, The National Archives, WORK 31/825*

*Fig. 48 Battlement within the castle's outer walling at Dover Castle (photo author 2015).*

*Fig. 49 Deal's second pier, dated 1864 on the reverse, private collection.*

*Fig. 50 The entrance to Deal's Second Pier on 'Yachting Day', 1902, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, Adams Collection.*

*Fig. 51 Deal's Second Pier and rough seas in the Downs, c. 1930s, private collection.*

*Fig. 52 The destruction of Deal's second pier in 1940, © Huntley Film Archives*

*Fig. 53 A postcard dated 1906 showing the pier in the background with the conspicuous rounds of earth in the foreground.*

*Fig. 54 The modern pier at Deal (built 1954, photo author, 2023).*

*Fig. 55 Photograph of the stonework in the entrance bastion at Walmer Castle (photo author, 2019).*

*Fig. 56 Photograph showing a drinking fountain donated by Lord Granville to the town of Deal (photo author, 2023).*

*Fig. 57 Walmer Lifeboat Station, front elevation, 2014, Wikimedia Commons public domain.*

*Fig. 58 Boatmen's Rooms, 182 Beach Street, Deal Kent (photo author, 2024).*

*Fig. 59 Side elevation of the reading rooms building in Deal showing how the Sandown stones have been incorporated to build a plinth on the building, 2019, © Google Street View, used under UK fair dealing.*

*Fig. 60 A rare postcard entitled, 'Deal Castle's Bazaar', private collection.*

*Fig. 61 Eastry village, 1932, Historic England collection, AFL193207.*

*Fig. 62 Eastry Chapel (photo author, 2020).*

*Fig. 63 Eastry Chapel (photo author, 2020).*

*Fig. 64 Photographs taken by the author. Top left: Constable's Tower, top right: Eastry Chapel, below: Walmer Castle's entrance bastion. All examples show reused spolia from Sandown Castle.*

*Fig. 65 The remaining cloisters at Canterbury Cathedral, showing the vaulted ribwork that is said to be Purbeck Marble (photo author 2023).*

*Fig. 66 Annotated photograph of the flooring in the nave of St Clement's Church Sandwich, showing the spolia Purbeck Marble floor slabs and their signs of age-related deterioration and wear, photograph by the author, 2022.*

## **Conclusion:**

*Fig. 1 A truncated version of the Castles of the Downs' layout, showing the Castles, bulwarks, ditches, and fosse as one singular fortification, © Christopher Moore.*

*Fig. 2 A tourist information board at Canterbury Cathedral advertising the architectural significance and historical links between three key sites in the city, January 2024.*

*Fig. 3 A chart showing the use and re-use of spolia at Sandown Castle.*

*Fig. 4 Example of a logo for a board to be incorporated to research and market the wider Device Forts, © Christopher Moore.*

*Fig. 5 The current construction site for new build housing surrounding Eastry Chapel, October 2023.*

*Fig. 6 The Author's son explored the woodland at Walmer Castle on one of the dozens of trips to the Castles of the Downs and other sites.*

'Of this I hold me well assured, that King Henry VIII having shaken off the intolerable yoke of the Popish tyranny, and espying that the Emperor was offended by the divorce of Queen Katherine his wife, and that the French King had coupled the Dolpine his son to the Pope's niece, and married his daughter to the King of Scots, so that he might more justly suspect them all than safely trust anyone, determined (by the aid of) to stand upon his own guard and defence; and without sparing any cost he builded castles, platforms, and blockhouses in all needful places of the realm. And amongst other fearing least the ease and advantage of descending on land at this part [Deal] should give occasion or hardiness to the enemies to invade him, he erected near together three fortifications which might at all times keep and beat [sic] the landing-place, that is to say, Sandown, Deal, and Walmer.'<sup>5</sup>

W. Lambarde, *Perambulation of Kent* (1570)

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<sup>5</sup> Lambarde, W., *A Perambulation of Kent, Containing the Description, Hystorie, and Customes of That Shire; Written in the Yeere 1570, First Published in the Year 1576, and Now Increased and Altered from the Author's Owne Last Copie* (Chatham: Baldwin et al., 1826), 130.

## Introduction

Between 1539 and 1547, King Henry VIII (1491 – 1547) instructed the construction and refurbishment of fortifications throughout his realm. Amongst this impressive programme of construction works, he commissioned a series of artillery forts, often called the Device Forts.<sup>6</sup> This ambitious endeavour included the erection of over twenty-four fortifications, which remain one of England's most expansive singular defensive building programmes since the Roman occupation (Fig. 1).<sup>7</sup> It is also notable as one of England's final state-sponsored castle construction programmes.<sup>8</sup> The King issued a Device, a legal directive, mandating the creation of a comprehensive national fortification system. This initiative held historical significance because it occurred when castle building became less prevalent due to the proliferation of gunpowder and its continued refinement.<sup>9</sup>

Henry VIII and his position in history need little introduction. He ascended to the throne on his father's death, Henry VII (1457 – 1509), and in the same year, married Catherine of Aragon (1485-1536), the widow of his deceased brother.<sup>10</sup> This renewed union aimed to strengthen the ties with the Spanish kingdom and solidify the increasingly powerful House of Tudor.<sup>11</sup> However, after several years of marriage, the absence of a legitimate male heir prompted Henry's pursuit of an annulment.<sup>12</sup> The decision catalysed a profound transformation in England, which happened alongside and contributed to a wave of political and religious reforms throughout Europe.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, the King embarked upon an unprecedented course of action by divorcing his Queen, defying the Pope's refusal, and

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<sup>6</sup> Saunders, A., D., *Fortress Britain: Artillery Fortification in the British Isles and Ireland* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1989) 12.

<sup>7</sup> Harrington, P., *The Castles of Henry VIII*, 4-6., Goodall, J. *The English Castle: 1066-1650* (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2011), 420., Merriman, M., 'Realm and Castle: Henry VIII as European Builder', *History Today* Vol 41: Iss 6 (1991): 31-37., Saunders, A., *Channel Defences* (London: B. T. Batsford, English Heritage, 1997), 14.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Brauer, J., van Tuyl, H., *Castles, Battles, and Bombs: How Economics Explains Military History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 45-47.

<sup>10</sup> Meyer, G., J., *The Tudors* (New York: Delacorte Press, 2010), 181.

<sup>11</sup> Weir, A., *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (New York: Open Road and Grove/Atlantic, 2007), 16-18.

<sup>12</sup> d'Avray, D., *Papacy, Monarchy and Marriage 860-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 129.

<sup>13</sup> Harrington, P., *The Castles of Henry VIII*, 4-6.

ultimately severing ties with Rome to enable his control of the Church in England, and of its considerable wealth.<sup>14</sup> The move duly enraged the Pope and Catholic houses of power across Europe, including, most importantly, Spain and France. Consequently, fearing the likely repercussions of war and a possible invasion, Henry took unprecedented actions to protect his territories swiftly.<sup>15</sup> These new artillery fortifications would be commissioned along England's coasts, mainly in the South, to protect against invasion and safeguard vital trade routes and ship-building yards near mainland Europe.<sup>16</sup>



Fig. 1 shows the main fortifications built during this period and the main settlements nearby. Source: *The Castles of Henry VIII*, © Osprey Publishing, 2017, used under UK Fair Dealing.

The Device Forts, built at a great pace and with significant sums, stand out as a distinctive collection of artillery fortresses, marking a significant departure in design from the military fortifications of the period. Artillery essentially rendered the high medieval concentric castles redundant.<sup>17</sup> Serving as defensive strongholds, these older fortifications exerted a commanding presence in the settlements and ports where they were situated. However, with the emergence and then constant refinement of gunpowder, castle design needed rapid

<sup>14</sup> Smith, L., B., *Henry VIII: The Mask of Royalty* (Chicago: Academy Chicago Publishers, 1987), 142-145.

<sup>15</sup> Elton, G., R., *Reform and Reformation: England, 1509-1558* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), 179.

<sup>16</sup> Harrington, *The Castles of Henry VIII*, 6.

<sup>17</sup> Baillie-Hislop, M., *Castle Builders* (Barnsley Pen and Sword, 2016).

change, and this change would come, for the period, in the form of Artillery Fortresses.<sup>18</sup>

While the King's Device was primarily used to fortify the nation against invasion, it was also the catalyst for adopting this new wave of fortification design. Artillery fortification emerged in medieval Europe as defence structures strategically designed to defend territories against enemy attacks, particularly from artillery bombardment. These castles incorporated innovative defensive features such as thicker walls, bastions, and lower profiles to be as offensive as they were defensive. Over time, they evolved into formidable strongholds, playing pivotal roles in military strategies and shaping the warfare landscape during the late medieval and early modern periods. The Castles of the Downs were built during this broader implementation period, but it was near the beginning of England's adoption of this new military engineering. Given the pioneering nature of this design, it was based on trial and error. It is also evident that no other castles within the Device or subsequently were built on the same scale or design, thus making the three castles wholly unique.<sup>19</sup>

Introducing these new designs for the King's Device significantly departed from the conventional concentric castles, characterised by their usual hilltop locations and tall curtain walls. Instead, these innovative structures were purposefully constructed in proximity to the sea, adopting a squat architectural form that maximised the deployment of large-scale defensive artillery technology.<sup>20</sup> As with other older, more established fortress designs, the model of the Device Forts likely originated from mainland Europe, primarily from Italy, where they were deployed to guard essential ports and harbours.<sup>21</sup> The first English examples of any artillery castle design began with fortifications such as Dartmouth Castle, where castle

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<sup>18</sup> Baillie-Hislop, M., *Castle Builders* (Barnsley Pen and Sword, 2016)., Toy, S., *Castles: Their Construction and History* (London: Dover Publications, 1984), 231-233.

<sup>19</sup> Cathcart King, D., J., *The Castle in England and Wales* (London: Croom Helm, 1988), 178.

<sup>20</sup> Saunders, A., *Channel Defences* (London: B. T. Batsford, English Heritage, 1997), 14.

<sup>21</sup> Walton, S. A., *State Building through Building for the State: Foreign and Domestic Expertise in Tudor Fortification* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 2010), 66–84., Whilst the Thames, Downs and Sandgate forts appear to be more inspired by the work of Albrecht Dürer, it is Camber and the rest that appear to be more Italian-inspired: Biddle, M., Hiller, J., and Scott, I., *Henry VIII's Coastal Artillery Fort at Camber Castle, Rye, East Sussex: An Archaeological, Structural and Historical Investigation* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2001), 10-12.



towers were retrofitted as artillery towers as early as 1481. However, this is an essential distinction as Henry VIII's Device Castles were England's first purpose-built artillery fortresses.<sup>22</sup>

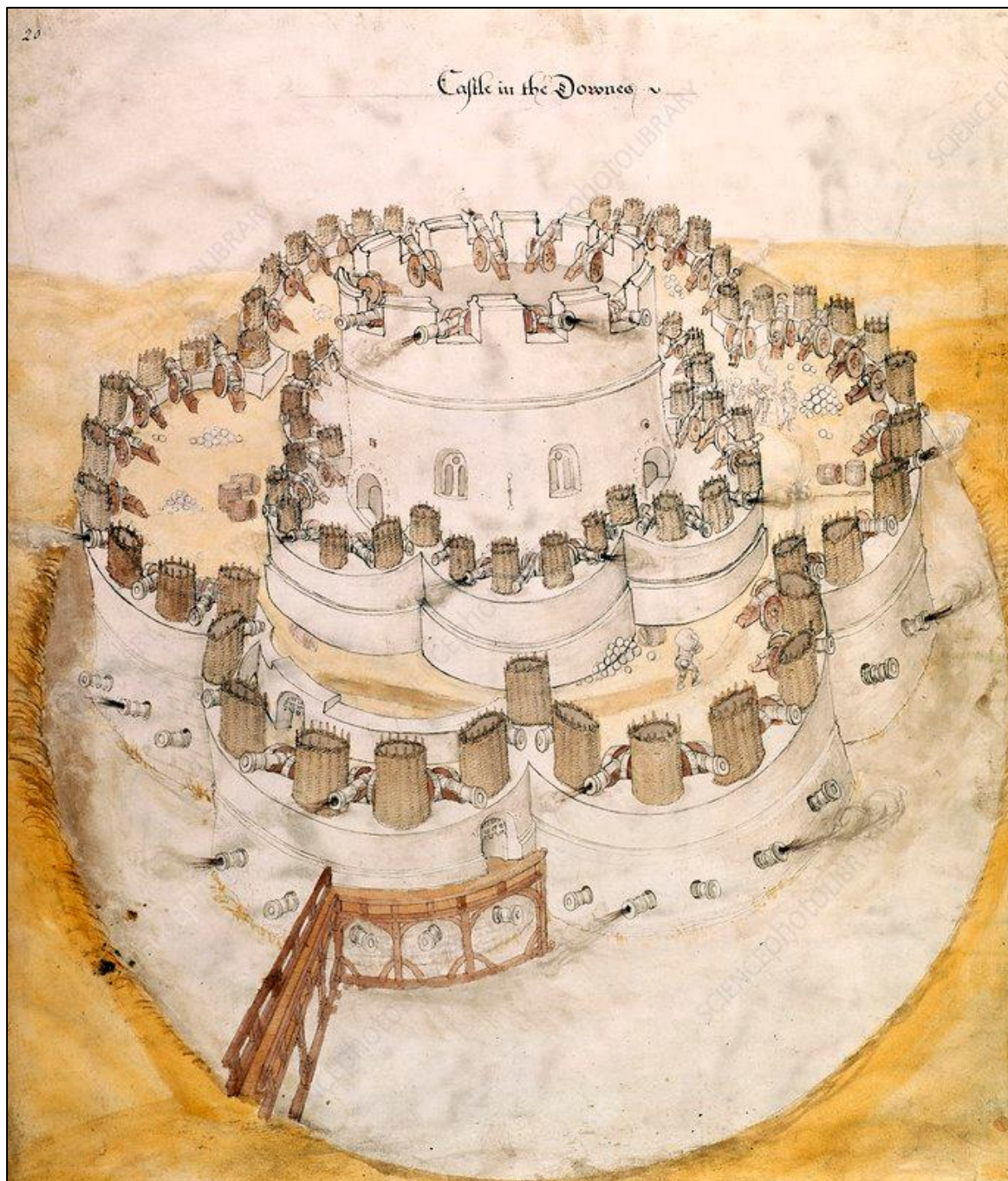


Fig. 2 Possible prototype for Deal Castle, c.1530s, Cotton Augustus I i f.21, British Library.

<sup>22</sup> Harrington, *The Castles of Henry VIII*, 41.



The Device Castles were purposely designed to be squat, stealth-like, and engineered around the central guiding principle of deploying as many guns as possible and working together as much as possible (Fig. 2).<sup>23</sup> In contrast, while the High Medieval fortresses had previously presented almost equal amounts of defence and offence, the new Device castles encompassed far more firepower, tipping their designs towards the offensive.<sup>24</sup> Despite their revolutionary designs, these early Device Castles were far from perfect, and only towards the end of the construction programme did the design improve, years after the threat was reduced, rendering those built at the start practically redundant from their primary design goal.

The construction of the Device Castles occurred against the backdrop of a rapidly changing geopolitical landscape. England's relationship with continental powers, particularly Spain and France, was hostile and complex, and the threat of invasion loomed large. The device issuing, which was prompted by this threat, drove this extensive military building programme. However, the threat was not to last, and the construction efforts had yet to conclude when the alliance between Spain and Rome unexpectedly collapsed.<sup>25</sup> This timing coincided with the completion of the fortifications, resulting in a significant reduction in the perceived threat of imminent invasion.<sup>26</sup> The English continued with the fortification programme, which diminished and ended with isolated examples during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I (1533-1603). Nevertheless, the early Device Castles legacy would endure as a period of transformational and innovational fortification.

Whilst the Castles of the Downs design and construction are critical topics of this thesis, we will also explore their development and contextualise the broader Device programme, design influences, and broader significance. The Castles of the Downs warrant particular attention due to their relatively under-studied scholarly status, and perhaps due to

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<sup>23</sup> Baillie-Hislop, M., *Castle Builders*, (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2016)., Toy, S., *Castles: Their Construction and History* (London: Dover Publications, 1984), 231-233.

<sup>24</sup> Harrington, *The Castles of Henry VIII*, 9-10.

<sup>25</sup> Crowson, P. S., *Tudor Foreign Policy* (London: A&C Black, 1973), 116-117.

<sup>26</sup> Doran, S., *England and Europe, 1485-1603* (London: Routledge, 1991)2-4.

this, it is now time to appraise their significance for the first time, as they were built as one interconnected fortification. Therefore, this offers a unique opportunity to assess their development from concept and design to modern-day use. Moreover, the castles' distinctive and unique architectural designs will engender a compelling challenge in evaluating their significance, considering that our contemporary perspective significantly diverges from the original conceptualisation. The assertion is that these three castles were perhaps more intrinsically designed than we realise today.<sup>27</sup> Many factors contribute to the distinctiveness of Deal, Walmer, and Sandown. All three were built in the same period, with the same craftspeople and materials, and physically connected. However, they have endured vastly different outcomes, enabling us to draw together a study that will reflect their renewed significance in the present day.

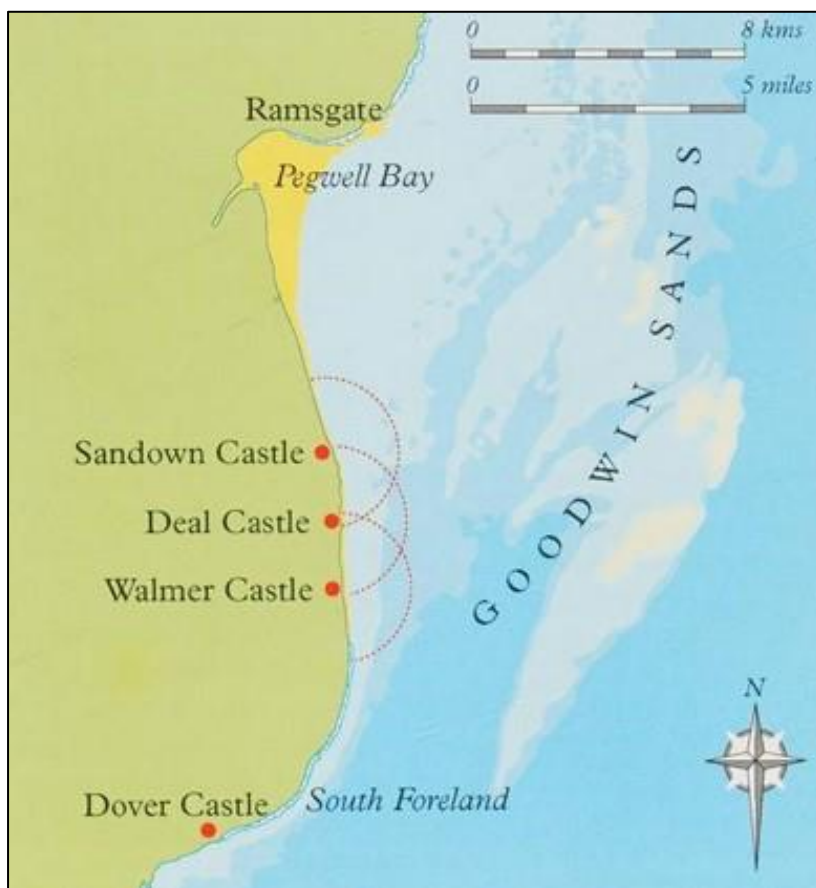


Fig. 3 The Castles in relation to the Goodwin Sands, Dover Castle, and Thanet (Ramsgate), © English Heritage.

<sup>27</sup> Cathcart King, D., J., *The Castle in England and Wales*, (London: Croom Helm, 1988), 178-179.

## Literature Review

### Secondary Sources

Only a few published texts that focus on Walmer and Deal Castles have been published. These works are modern versions of the former Ministry of Works' Souvenir Guides. Often produced by English Heritage (EH)'s in-house staff, the most recent editions of interest are Paul Pattison's *Deal Castle* (2017), Rowena Willard-Wright and Jonathan Coad's *Walmer Castle* (1998), and Peter Harrington's *The Castles of Henry VIII* (2007).<sup>28</sup> These books largely serve as souvenirs in EH's gift shops, offering context on events and dates within room-specific presentations. Despite brevity, they undergo rigorous research and peer review. They will provide scholarly introductions to events of general interest and serve as valuable reference points. These guidebooks have a long publication history (the first was published in 1917), and older copies of the versions above have been obtained and reviewed to reference how these castles were presented in the late twentieth century.<sup>29</sup>

They are just two monographic studies of Walmer Castle. However, both mainly focus on the Lord Warden (whose official residence is Walmer) and their respective interactions with the castle and the surrounding areas. Still, they both provide secondary information and later first-hand accounts (when viewed in the contemporary of their time). The first was the Marquess George Nathaniel Curzon of Kedleston (1859-1925; often referred to as Lord Curzon during his tenure as Lord Warden), whose monograph on Walmer Castle was published posthumously.<sup>30</sup> Curzon was Lord Warden for only a short tenure between 1904 and 1905 but became fascinated with Walmer and its history for the rest of his life.<sup>31</sup> He kept meticulous notes in a series of envelopes and was still working on

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<sup>28</sup> Pattison, P., *Deal Castle – English Heritage Guidebooks* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2017)., Willard-Wright, R., and Coad, J., *Walmer Castle – English Heritage Guidebooks* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2015)., Harrington, Peter, *The Castles of Henry VIII*.

<sup>29</sup> Gill, D., *The Ministry of Works and Souvenir Guides*, (Suffolk: University of Suffolk, 2018), 1.

<sup>30</sup> Curzon, G., N., *The Personal History of Walmer Castle and its Lords Warden* (London: Macmillan, 1927).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

this project when he passed away.<sup>32</sup> After his death, journalist Stephen Gwynn (1864-1950) collated the information and published what he had found in this book.<sup>33</sup> The sources, however, cannot be located, for the 'meticulous notes' are not within the Curzon National Archives, Kedleston Hall's Archive, or Derbyshire's Record Office. There is an ongoing legal battle between the Hall's custodian, The National Trust, and his descendants about using the archive, which may or may not have a bearing.<sup>34</sup> However, from speaking to various archivists on both sides, it appears that most of the papers relate to his time as Viceroy in India, with no apparent mention of Walmer. In his book, he states that he intended to leave all his papers to the State to form part of the 'Walmer Collection'. Historic England does seem to have some of the documents Curzon found while searching the castle for information, particularly architectural drawings.<sup>35</sup> However, the book suggests much more. Speaking to Historic England, English Heritage, and the National Archives, it appears these have probably been redistributed into other archives. Additionally, The National Archives states that Curzon has personal papers deposited within over twenty different archives worldwide, which, although none of these notes any inclusion of Walmer, it would be too much of an occupation to respectively search through all these worldwide repositories, particularly when Walmer, over its sister castles, already has a plethora of primary sources readily available.<sup>36</sup> Despite this, Curzon's original book, *The Personal History of Walmer Castle and its Lords Warden*, contains crucial information, including examples of alteration or development within the castle.

The other monograph was published slightly earlier in the late nineteenth century. Reverend Charles Elvin (b. c.1836), a local priest, published two texts that were partly monographs of *Walmer Castle* (1890) and a history of the Parish of Walmer (1894).<sup>37</sup> While

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<sup>32</sup> Curzon, 1927, vii.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Site: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-11059531/EDEN-CONFIDENTIAL-Curzon-clan-fight-National-Trust-1m-family-archive.html>, accessed: December 2022

<sup>35</sup> Historic England Archive, AL0960/051/01

<sup>36</sup> Site: <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/c/F256764>, accessed: September 2023.

<sup>37</sup> Elvin, C., R., S., *The History of Walmer and Walmer Castle* (Deal: Cross & Jackman, 1894).

Elvin's work includes a few historical inaccuracies and some hearsay, it must be noted that it was presented to Queen Victoria. Thus, the parts that can be corroborated are worthy of use and further scrutiny.<sup>38</sup> The latter text in 1894 is considerably smaller than his original 1890 text, though both contain vital information.

Pritchard's *History of Deal* was first published in the 1860s and later revised by Laker in the 1910s (the latter is more challenging to find owing to a smaller run of copies); both texts offer fascinating local perspectives on events that occurred in and around the Deal area from the Roman conquest to their contemporary.<sup>39</sup> As with Elvin, there are questionable pieces of information in the Pritchard print. However, the later Laker edition appears to have omitted or corrected these. Both texts will be used so far as they can be expended for their parochial information in the context of the events that have a bearing on the architecture of the castles.

One of the key texts for understanding the fabric of the castles is *The History of the King's Works* series.<sup>40</sup> As one may expect, it covers all of the Crown's construction projects and is the most complete research on this topic. Edited by Sir Howard Colvin (1919 – 2007), the book that will be most helpful is Vol. IV: Part II. This book focuses on Henry VIII's palaces and fortifications, which seem to have less scholarly attention than the former, but that is not the case in this example. Of all texts, it is one of the most detailed accounts of the construction of the Henrician castles and is frequently referenced by many scholars. Colvin's work is founded upon an extensive use of primary sources, yet it also acknowledges the substantial gaps in our knowledge due to the loss of historical records. Essentially, what is presented within these volumes is possibly everything known about these castles' construction at their publication. Therefore, *The History of the King's Works* remains an

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<sup>38</sup> Elvin, C. R. S., *Records of Walmer: Together With 'the Three Castles That Keep the Downs'* (London: Henry Gray, 1890).

<sup>39</sup> Pritchard, S., *The History of Deal, and its Neighbourhood*, (Deal: E. Hayward, 1864)., Laker, J., *The History of Deal, and its Neighbourhood*, (Folkestone: Pain, 1921).

<sup>40</sup> Colvin, H. M., *The History of the King's Works*, Vol. IV: Part II.

essential text for studying the construction phase of the Downs, and these lacunae are the areas we shall seek to explore in this thesis.

Colvin famously stated that ‘these works are the most urgent of English scholarly research’.<sup>41</sup> Although he did not individually write this whole series, we refer to him in the singular throughout this thesis but note and appreciate the contributions made by eminent historians: Summerson (1904-1992), Merriman (1946 – 2022), Hale (1923 – 1999), and Biddle (b. 1937) within the same series.

Colvin states the perhaps most significant lacunae that exists for the Castles of the Downs, that no known engineer or devysor has been attributed to the architectural design at the Downs.<sup>42</sup> Studying the other chapters of Colvin’s, it is apparent that other castles within the same Device had known singular persons to whom the design can be largely attributed. Therefore, as Colvin and his attached series of colleagues could not find this information, it should be part of this work to search for this person and provide a new appraisal of this gap in our knowledge. The management of construction projects was changing in England during the broader Tudor period. While military engineering and architecture were heavily influenced in this period by the wider Renaissance, so was how construction projects were being developed. Aside from the medieval arrangement of the Surveyor and his masters, the design role was more generally transferred to how we build today, where an architect is chiefly in charge of all design matters. Therefore, the answer to who designed these castles will be complex but a compelling challenge.<sup>43</sup>

Several significant texts exist that partially explore the construction of the Device Castles, offering valuable insights that will significantly enhance this study. As with Colvin, who commits one large chapter to the Device building works, so does John Goodall in his magnum opus *The English Castle: 1066-1650* (2011) and Andrew Saunders in his *Fortress*

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<sup>41</sup> Colvin 1972.

<sup>42</sup> Colvin 1972, 462-465.

<sup>43</sup> Girouard, M., *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architecture 1540-1640*, (London: Paul Mellon Centre, 2021), 21-23.

*Britain* (1989).<sup>44</sup> The subject of artillery fortifications appears to be a lesser explored topic when studies of wider English fortification are published, appearing more as a defined and separate subject in lieu of the medieval proliferation of castles rather than those that came much later. Contemporary writers who were also engineers of fortifications in the Middle Ages included Vincenzo Scamozzi (1548 – 1616), Paul Ive (Unknown - 1584) and Albrecht Dürer (1471 – 1528). While these contemporaneous publications predominantly addressed the technical designs of artillery fortification, the comprehensive study and scientific examination of fortification architecture emerged as a more prevalent and widely disseminated subject in modern times.<sup>45</sup> Modern interpretations of these listed works, such as Biddle's introduction to Ive's *The Practice of Fortification*, will aid in understanding how fresh and untried the theory of this form of engineering was in England during this period.<sup>46</sup>

In addition to these texts above, there are texts where the three castles are referred to in many works, both collectively and individually. To appraise these works, we should consider them on a chronological basis. This will help us determine which works should be considered and which events that directly impact this work should also be included. Using this format, the two books that have helped research the materials used to create these castles were Woodward's *The Dissolution of The Monasteries* and Moorhouse's *The Last Divine Office: Henry VIII and the Dissolution of the Monasteries*.<sup>47</sup> Both texts largely explain the process and consequences of the English Reformation and give a good overview. Likewise, many of the original sources are listed, showing great gaps in our understanding of spolia and its origins within this short, tumultuous period.

Both books heavily reference David Knowles' *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*.<sup>48</sup> This work was published in 1953 and is also regularly referenced in Colvin's

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<sup>44</sup> Goodall, J., *The English Castle: 1066-1650* (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2011)., Saunders, *Fortress Britain*.

<sup>45</sup> Sometimes documented as Paul Ivey as Mark Girouard notes in his 2021 work.

<sup>46</sup> Ive, P., *The Practice of Fortification* (London: Unknown Publisher, 1589).

<sup>47</sup> Woodward, G., W., O., *The Dissolution of The Monasteries*, (London: Pitkin, 1985)., G. Moorhouse, *The Last Divine Office: Henry VIII and the Dissolution of the Monasteries*, (New York: Bluebridge, 2012).

<sup>48</sup> Knowles, D., *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, (London: Longman, 1972).

*History of the King's Works*.<sup>49</sup> Knowles gives a masterful description of the former monastic and religious houses that peppered the south coast, which may indicate potential sites for spolia extraction. Knowles dedicated his career to researching the monastic orders in Britain, and other texts within his extensive body of work will also be used. Many primary sources may still exist using these last few texts but are unpublished in the pursuit of tracing spolia used in the Downs works. Therefore, it may be possible to answer where the spolia for the Downs originated from using these books as a starting point. In his work, Colvin notes that the locations are unknown and cites only a known mention of a consignment of composite lead.<sup>50</sup> As Colvin's *History of the King's Works* is essentially the best resource for this study, it is interesting that this thesis will aim to answer two of these outstanding lacunae (the unknown architect and the spolia origins).

In contrast to the aforementioned Reformation texts that provide contextual information on the establishment of the Church during that period, Knowles' work assumes a more structured format, serving as a comprehensive reference text. It offers readers a valuable compendium of sites, complemented by a collection of maps that will aid in this line of questioning. All three are limited in scope because they need to accurately define what happened to these buildings or where their materials or possessions were moved. The Court of Augmentations was responsible for this process and has limited information, though resources such as the local *Archaeologia Cantiana* can be beneficial. These often contain articles about particular topics that, when appraised holistically, can significantly help our investigations.

To contextualise the political backdrop that precipitated the construction of these fortifications, it is essential to consult numerous scholarly works that encapsulate the broader Reformation movement. While an extensive array of such works exists, many draw from similar source materials and present their findings in a largely uniform manner. Marshall's

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<sup>49</sup> Colvin, H., M., *The History of the King's Works*, Vol. IV: Part II.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, 457.



1517: *Martin Luther and the Invention of the Reformation* (2017) and MacCulloch's *All Things Made New: Writings on the Reformation* (2016) were the most useful for this research.<sup>51</sup> The former gives a good Europe-wide overview of how Protestant teachings changed the landscape of the sixteenth century and how much of this was fed into the changes undertaken in Western Europe. Marshall casts a critical view over events and reviews how they affected the events of the time and the myths. The second work is engaging and extremely helpful in separating fact from fiction. The first part of his work is very insightful and helps trace the key dates and timelines that led to the construction of the castles. The second half of the text shows how subsequent eras were possibly affected and argues what might have been if the Protestant way of thinking had not been implemented. MacCulloch's work focuses more on England and contains many events that directly led to the Reformation, but not much thereafter. MacCulloch's work is valuable as it focuses on the vernacular issues and how they influenced the influential minds of the period. Still, as he has not continued his argument past this time, it is hard to draw too many conclusions from his work. However, when both texts are considered together, they give a broader context that has been invaluable in drawing together how the process was formed and what key arguments existed. Both texts do not elaborate much on the looting of the monasteries under the Dissolution. They also do not show whether there was a connection between the scale of the development of the King's Device and the amount of money and goods that were plundered from the monasteries.

The study of castles and their construction has long been a focus of many groups with disparate core activities but related interests in England. The one major grouping consists of individuals employed in these buildings' upkeep and administration. These were typically surveyors and masons in the medieval and early modern periods who evaluated old structures for various practical reasons. Construction, maintenance and alteration records

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<sup>51</sup> MacCulloch, D., *All Things Made New: Writings on the Reformation* (London: Penguin, 2017).

were scarce in the sixteenth century, but the retained information level grew as time passed. Texts that will be essential for this period include Mark Girouard's *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architecture* (2021), D. J. Cathcart King's *The Castle in England and Wales* (1988), and O'Neil's contribution as the only biography of von Haschenperg (1945).<sup>52</sup>

A steady rise in general interest in medieval structures was seen during the eighteenth century, combined or inspired by the early development of Gothic revival architecture. Various journals were started within this period to reflect the interest that was being garnered in 'antiquity'. This interest continued well into the nineteenth century when the number of special interest journals burgeoned. *The Archaeological Journal* was first published in 1844 and contained many reports, illustrations, and technical drawings, leading to an increasing readership. During this time, further scholarly attention was paid to our period's secular architecture, which likely contained articles of relevance and great interest. Other examples include *The Builder*, *Country Life*, and *The Gentleman's Magazine*.

The interest in studying the architecture of castles first appeared around the early eighteenth century with the formation of a number of specialist interest groups. This romantic period, the beginnings of domestic tourism, spurred on by the gathering of these groups, would see papers printed on topics that included castles, state court buildings, churches, cathedrals and various ruins. Examples of this authorship include the MP Browne Willis (1682 –1760), who had a special interest in cathedrals, and Edward King (c.1735 – 1807), who presented several texts from April 1776 onwards on ancient English castles.<sup>53</sup> This latter work is possibly one of the first scholarly retrospectives on the study of English

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<sup>52</sup> Girouard, M., *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architecture 1540-1640*, (London: Paul Mellon Centre, 2021)., Cathcart King, D. J., *The Castle in England and Wales*, (London: Croom Helm, 1988)., O'Neil, B.H. St John, 'Stefan von Haschenperg, an Engineer to King Henry VIII, and his Work.' *Archaeologia* 2nd ser., 91 (1945): 137–155.

<sup>53</sup> Willis, B., *A Survey of the Cathedral Church of St. David's, and the Edifices Belonging to It, as They Stood in the Year 1715. To Which Is Added, Some Memoirs Relating Thereto and the Country Adjacent, from a MS Wrote about the Latter End of Queen Elizabeth's Reign. Together, with an Account of the Arch-bishops, Bishops, Precentors, Chancellors, Treasurers, and Arch-Deacons of the See of St. David's. Collected by Browne Willis, Esq; Illustrated with Draughts, and Adapted to the Said Historical Description* (London: Printed for R. Gosling, at the Mitre and Crown against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-Street, 1717).

fortification and shows how late the wider understanding and study of historic architecture had begun. Later in the mid-nineteenth century, the French architect Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814 - 1879) published a number of volumes on historical fortification, but it was not until the publication of George Clark's (1809 - 1898) *Medieval Military Architecture in England* (1884), that the subject came to resemble what we today call 'castle studies'.<sup>54</sup> This work essentially inspired a whole generation of authors on this subject, and the topic flourished throughout the twentieth century. It is worth noting that none of the previous texts references the Castles of the Downs. Still, they are essential reading for us to understand how the castle evolved in both England and mainland Europe from the medieval concentric design to the artillery fortress.

Another text that aids in understanding the design and engineering of these fortresses from this time is Malcolm Baillie-Hislop's *Castle Builders: Approaches to Castle Design and Construction in the Middle Ages* (2016).<sup>55</sup> This work is significant as it highlights many of the key players from this time and how their decisions informed the creation of various castles around the country. This, combined with L. F. Salzman's (1878 – 1971) *Building in England Down to 1540* (1968), gives a good overview of how construction teams were assembled in the Middle Ages and the ideas that informed their design.<sup>56</sup> Both books inform the reader about the groundwork of how these structures were built and what factors impacted their architectural design. Where both of these texts (and quite a few besides) stop is in informing the reader of how these forts transformed from the medieval era when they were wholly defensive (in the defending and opposing nature) to the Tudor era when they developed a more offensive strategy. They give a good overview of their deployment, design, setup and how budgets were controlled within the period, all of which – design being the only exception - continued without change into the Tudor era. Likewise, they show how

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<sup>54</sup> Clark, G., *Mediaeval Military Architecture in England* (London: Wyman, 1884).

<sup>55</sup> Baillie-Hislop, M. J., *Castle Builders, Approaches to Castle Design and Construction in the Middle Ages* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword Social History, 2016)

<sup>56</sup> Salzman, L., F., *Building in England Down to 1540: a Documentary History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968).

modern engineering (particularly military) was informed and to what degree the physical aesthetics of unnatural opposing structures on the plain can affect opposing armies. Sidney Toy's *Castles: Their Construction and History* (1985) is an informative guide to how castle design developed, is presented as more documentative, and will be very useful in aiding this work to show the design evolution.<sup>57</sup>

Toy argues from the very introduction of his book that these castles are the pure 'art of fortification and the dawn of architectural development'. Adding to the other texts that consider castle design, Toy uses the opening chapters to appraise and document the castle's evolution as far back as the Roman period. The other significant achievement by Toy is his use of well over a hundred different sketches of castles to demonstrate how the design was constantly evolving based on the relevant military threats of the periods. Taking each technological improvement (moats, baileys, keeps, donjons, barbicans, double curtains, loopholes and embrasures), he shows their origin, first use and wider deployment. Using this argument and the basis of his chapter on the Device forts, it gives a wider appreciation for the fact that castle design was a rapidly developing field and how Henry's forts were, at the time, incredibly advanced or 'state-of-the-art' in England, but when compared to their mainland Europe counterparts they were, essentially, already out-of-date.

Secondary sources that include high numbers of primary sources pertinent to the castles have varying levels of scarcity. Back in 2013, Historic England commissioned Sebastian Fry, a current staff member, to research the National Collection on which various castles from our master list appear.<sup>58</sup> This research was subsequently published as *A History of the National Collection*. It is mostly concerned with how their heritage sites have been cared for and by whom, mostly in the twentieth century. This work will be very helpful as the monographs of Walmer end in the early twentieth century/late Victorian, and therefore, tracing the development of Walmer, let alone Deal and Sandown, will be

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<sup>57</sup> Toy, S., *Castles: Their Construction and History* (London: Dover Architecture, 1986).

<sup>58</sup> It was still English Heritage when the report was originally authored.

paramount in this period and likely be mainly from archive means. Fry mostly used sources from the National Archives and their own Historic England Archives, and it was the likely genesis for then English Heritage Chief Executive Simon Thurley's book *Men from the Ministry* (2013).<sup>59</sup> The latter will also be used as it expands on Fry's work in certain areas. Sandown remains a vast lacuna as it appears to be under-studied compared to Walmer and Deal. Therefore, from Fry's work, we can see that vast amounts of primary texts may be fruitful in tracing Sandown's history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Fry was not overly concerned with Sandown as it does not exist today as part of the National Collection. Still, from his work, it is clear that likely unpublished primary sources exist that could reveal this important history.

Kent Archaeological Society (KAS) has digitised the majority of all back editions of their *Archaeologia Cantiana*, a Kent-based periodical that dates back to circa 1858. The periodical contains a huge collection of local papers and studies by amateur, interested and professional archaeologists and historians on largely Kent historical matters. The documents range from primary sources to mostly secondary and vary in scholarly interest. Colvin does refer within his *King's Works* to the periodical and does, in the particular instance of W. L. Rutton (unknown dates), assess the works as valuable to his wider study.<sup>60</sup>

Rutton also makes fleeting mentions in an 1896 article on the Walmer and Deal castles about procuring materials for their construction and their likely origins.<sup>61</sup> He also writes about various abbeys that had been demolished and the materials re-tooled as spolia for their use in constructing these castles. This is something that no other writers have deduced with such a definitive standing. Due to this confidence in his essay, further study should be undertaken to explore more about Rutton to see where he obtained this information. We can assume that since Colvin was referencing him, Rutton's work must be

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<sup>59</sup> Thurley, S., *The Men from the Ministry*, (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2013)

<sup>60</sup> Rutton, W. L., 'Henry VIII's Castles at Sandown, Deal, Walmer, Sandgate, and Camber.' *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. 23 (1898): 5-6.

<sup>61</sup> The Times. 1896. 'Sandown Castle, Deal.' *The Times*: September 26, 1896, P. 12. Author: Charles J. Ferguson.

of value. Further study into his work might give us more information, and a starting point might be the articles he referenced in *The Times* in an 1896 article.<sup>62</sup>

As the castles formed part of the Cinque Ports and were administered initially by the Lord Warden, many Cinque Port history texts mention the castles. As the Cinque Ports' history can be traced back to before the Norman Conquest, it is often found that the Castles of the Downs make only fleeting references within most works. Three critical texts on their chequered history will be Margaret Brentnell's work (1972), which appears to be heavily cited in many scholarly works. Other texts include Jessups' work on *The Cinque Ports* (1952) and H. R. Pratt-Boorman's monograph on Kent and its relationship with the Cinque Ports (1957), the latter of which focuses mainly on the twentieth century and will provide interesting commentaries.

As many notable figures have been appointed to the offices of Lord Warden and Captain of Deal Castle, their respective biographies may contain information relevant to this work. Of these notable people, the office holders who made the most alterations or who will aid in contextualising the events at Walmer and Deal the most will be closely scrutinised for relevant information. The most useful and largely most recent biographies will be David Starkey's and Susan Doran's *Henry VIII: Man and Monarch* (2009), Leon Ashworth's *King Henry VIII* (2000), William Hague's *William Pitt the Younger* (2005), Gregory Holyoak's *Wellington at Walmer* (1996), John Person's works on Churchill (1991), and Hugo Vickers' *Elizabeth, the Queen Mother* (2006).<sup>63</sup>

Finally, as mentioned, a prevailing theme that will permeate the majority of this thesis is the subject of spolia. Not only because spolia was used to build these castles, but also as in their later development, spolia was used to build them and was taken from them to build

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<sup>62</sup> The Times. 1896. 'Sandown Castle, Deal.' *The Times*: September 26, 1896, P. 12. Author: Charles J. Ferguson.

<sup>63</sup> Starkey, D., & Doran, S., *Henry VIII: Man and Monarch* (London: British Library, 2009)., Ashworth, L., *King Henry VIII* (London: Cherrytree, 2001)., Holyoake, G., *Wellington at Walmer* (London: Regency, 1996)., Hague, W., *William Pitt the Younger* (London: Harper Collins, 2004)., Pearson, J., *The Private Lives of Winston Churchill* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011)., Vickers, H., *Elizabeth, the Queen Mother* (London: Arrow, 2006).

other unknown structures. Therefore, to trace this usage, we must search to see what scholarly work has been undertaken to fulfil this endeavour. Other than fleeting references and a few suggestions, there are no significant studies on this topic for the Castles of the Downs. Therefore, most of this must be undertaken through archival research. However, before undertaking this, it is prudent to mention the works of Professor Stocker and Tim Eaton. The former has published several texts on English spolia, which will aid this work by looking at pattern behaviour and attitudes to spolia to give this research context. In his singular but notable publication, Eaton has presented a highly commendable text explaining the methods for identifying employed spolia within archaeological contexts. This valuable work will prove instrumental during onsite investigations, enabling the recognition and interpretation of such uses.

### **Research Questions**

As we have discussed, many unanswered questions are related to these castles, but the most apparent lacunae surround their architectural design provenance and subsequent architectural development. Although there is evidence of single-mounted cannons on hastily adapted late medieval structures, before these castles' existence, there were no purpose-built castles designed exclusively around cannon deployment. Therefore, this fortress design was not just an improvement to the erstwhile medieval concentric castle but was revolutionary for castle design in England. Exploring the origins of this design revolution will be a fascinating research endeavour as it could provide a framework that aids in identifying who designed these castles. Equally challenging will be to propose and establish how a country at war with others could hastily and readily put their faith in a new form of defence technology. Exploring the people and purposes behind the design, whilst looking at earlier mainland European examples, will give an insight into how the artillery fortress design was adopted in England and why perhaps the unique Downs' design was not adopted elsewhere.

History has yet to record who designed the Castles of the Downs. Whilst construction projects' designs of this nature were more nuanced, and some projects did not have singular architects (as we shall explore), it is so that nearly every other Device Castle from the same period had a person or persons who likely designed their respective projects.<sup>64</sup> Therefore, this work will look at the conclusions drawn by previous scholars and the surviving evidence and hope to conclude or draw a new perspective to this enduring mystery.

As we shall explore, there are others involved in the project at the Downs that may, too, have had a bearing on the design. We shall explore the other engineers and surveyors from this period to see whether their input at the Downs is replicated on other projects they subsequently connected with. Likewise, we shall use various sources to see whether we can find more evidence of the King's involvement in the architecture by comparing known projects that the King himself would have closely observed. The correlations will be assessed to present a new interpretation of the King's influence on their unique architecture.

The reasoning behind the location of the Castles of the Downs project has evolved over the last two centuries. From Hasted to the twentieth century, it is very much the documented assumption that the exact siting was chosen due to the location being that of the supposed ancient landing place of Emperor Caesar in the Conquest of Britain. However, recent scholarly work shows Caesar probably did not land in this location. Likewise, other geographical and historical events may too have informed this location. Many suggestions also show the part-factual, political and even folkloric reasons behind their respective locations. These will be explored in greater detail, providing both the factual reasons and the more romantic ones that have persisted in many texts (the Tudors themselves being great propagandists of their time). Combining this assortment of sources with new

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<sup>64</sup> Harrington, 12-18.



information will be an interesting topic to assess whether any modern perspective can be applied to this topic.

Another line of questioning will be to look at where the vast quantity of materials was procured to build these castles, as almost nothing is known. A mainstay theory advanced since their construction was that they were mainly built from spolia removed from nearby state-disbanded monasteries during the Dissolution. Tracing their spolia to see whether any new information can be found and then assessing in map form will provide a great insight into the construction programme. Still, it may also provide information that shows why these sites were used. Similarly, the premise of this endeavour as a symbol of defiance, employing the resources of their adversaries to construct the tools of war, will be appraised within the context of the overarching design ethos.

Away from the construction of these castles, we will seek to trace their subsequent development. All three castles remain, in one manner or another, into the present day. However, only Walmer has been the subject of two dedicated monographs ending in the late Victorian period. Therefore, away from topic-specific articles or guidebooks, the latter developments have gone mainly unpublished. Sandown Castle, which physically disappeared in the late Victorian era, possibly has had no scholarly attention for over one hundred years. Therefore, all three make compelling case studies to discover their hidden histories, especially as they begin with parity and slowly diverge into three incredibly different examples of survival.

Lastly, this work aims to re-appraise how the Castles of the Downs are depicted in the modern period. Currently, they are appraised, managed, and presented as individual castles. In contrast, investigating their significance may make it apparent that they should be considered one fortress, as their Tudor builders intended them to be. This may provide a fresh perspective on their future conservation and wider architectural contribution.

To summarise, the critical areas of lacunae that we have established are on the topics of how successful their design was in their connected engineering, who engineered their architecture, how much direct input the King placed into this project and to what ends, along with established vast missing episodes of their development and how much spolia was deployed at the site. As little is written on these three castles, this work will aim to answer these questions and to monographically trace their development from concept and construction to use in the present day.

### **Methodology and Scope**

As we have discussed, the existing scholarship for The Downs as a collective grouping of castles is mainly concentrated on their construction, and then with two monographic texts that compile a mix of their development, connected events, and the patronages of most respective Lord Wardens up until around the beginning of the Twentieth Century. After this, we have additional commentary in Fry and Thurley's work regarding their opening for the public and some concise information within often revised and well-researched guidebooks. The texts for the Cinque Ports contain only fleeting mentions, which is the case for most other works. Therefore, we can confidently state that the main gaps that exist today, which this thesis will attempt to fulfil, will be within the initial development (after construction) and the development from the Victorian to the present day.

This research aims to address these critical gaps in our understanding of these castles' construction and development throughout various historical periods but using a combination of scholarly work and primary sources. Firstly, additional commentary will be provided by drawing upon present-day resources and technology to enrich our comprehension of the construction phase. This approach seeks to augment existing knowledge and shed new light on the subject. Furthermore, a thorough investigation into the usage and evolution of castles during the seventeenth century is imperative due to the

prevailing dearth of comprehensive scholarship in this area. To overcome this challenge, an extensive examination of primary sources will be conducted, with a focus on retrieving authentic historical accounts from various archives. By extensively referencing and cross-referencing other scholarly works from the relevant periods, a contextual framework will be established to contextualise specific details.

The study will then delve into the subsequent developments of castles from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. While the identified monologues will serve as a fundamental narrative foundation, their contents will be expanded upon by meticulously examining other scholarly works. This will enable a comprehensive understanding of the subject, incorporating diverse perspectives and interpretations (mainly as at least one of the two referenced monologues contains some conjecture). Primary sources from multiple archives will be sought to bridge gaps in our knowledge, providing valuable insights into these periods. These primary sources will be critically analysed and integrated with existing knowledge from various fields to contribute to a more holistic understanding of their individual developments.

Lastly, the research will explore the architectural development of the castles from construction completion to the present day, focusing mainly on primary sources. By examining these sources, a comprehensive account of architectural alterations will be constructed, tracing the trajectory of castle development over time. In addition to architectural developments, particular attention will be given to the interaction of castles with spolia, analysing instances of reused materials and their impact on the wider local architectural landscape. This investigation will enable a thorough exploration of East Kent Tudor spolia within the context of not just castle architecture but also that of its originator, the dissolved monasteries.

The scope of this thesis will be delimited to prioritise a detailed examination of architectural developments and their contextual interactions with relevant historical and local events. Consequently, the exploration of the personal histories of the Lord Wardens will be

confined, with only those who have significantly influenced the architectural fabric of the castles receiving any substantial attention. This selective approach ensures that the focus remains on the core subject matter, allowing for a more nuanced analysis of the architectural developments. Correspondingly, the associated elements such as grounds, gardens, and ancillary accommodations, despite their potential significance, regrettably remain outside the remit of this study. Regrettably, these structures have been subjected to a dearth of scholarly attention, making it challenging to provide a comprehensive analysis within the constraints of this research due to word limitations, and also for their relevance to overarching narrative and argument. However, they will be appraised within our research methods to ensure they do not contain relevant information pertinent to our study when excluded.

Through this comprehensive methodology, combining primary sources, cross-referencing scholarly works, and contextualising details, this research aims to significantly contribute to our knowledge of castle construction, development, and their relationship with spolia from initial development to the present. By addressing existing gaps in knowledge and employing rigorous academic methods, this study will provide valuable insights and a more nuanced understanding of the subject matter.

### **Archival Sources**

Due to the significant lacunae in our comprehension of these castles, we must conduct an extensive archival investigation to obtain relevant information. As the Crown built these castles and have been managed and maintained by various departments within the British Government, our initial investigation should commence at The National Archives, the elective repository of most state-backed past documentation. The entire catalogue of all the documents held by the National Archive is available online, and this will be used to provide a schedule of all possible information.

We have, therefore, carefully assessed their availability of primary sources based on a desktop audit, making careful use of their search facility. Records are continually added, but at the time of writing, for this scope, these have been the findings: (in chronological construction order with BH being Block House and C being Castle, also noting that each of these records can be hundreds of pages long – one record found, for example, had over one thousand attached pages)

	<b>Records Found</b>	<b>Deemed to be Relevant</b>
East Cowes (BH)	6	0
West Cowes (BH)	9	0
Sandgate (C)	27	7
Sandown, Kent (C)	13	6
Walmer (C)	837	63
Deal (C)	2,440	25
Calshot (C)	69	18
Camber (C)	5	2
Gravesend (BH)	30	6
Milton (BH)	10	4
Higham (BH)	0	0
East Tilbury (BH)	0	0
West Tilbury (BH)	1	1
Portland (C)	1,102	38
Sandsfoot (C)	15	5
St Mawes (C)	94	18
Pendennis (C)	250	39
Hurst (C)	716	52
Southsea (C)	796	37

Netley (C)	40	15
Brownsea (C)	26	8
Sandown, Isle of Wight (C)	22	8
Yarmouth (C)	629	42

Fig. 4 Table of primary sources found in the National Archives

The 'deemed to be relevant' status is determined using the available fragments of information to critically assess which sources merit further study and which do not. We must be wholly focused on this list and not the gross list, as the total list will contain, for example, ships named after the castles or licensing of public houses of the same name. The search engine does not distinguish and performs only a basic word search. By omitting the obvious erroneous additions, downloaded copies were acquired, including their descriptions, fillings, and origin reports. These were then assessed for relevance to this study by looking closely at their contents. For example, sources that were accounts, surveys, drawings or photographs were all added, and anything else that was either unknown or not of importance was omitted. Using this practice, the list of sources was reduced to the 'deemed to be relevant' category (Fig. 4). A disciplined method was crucial during this analysis to use time efficiently, and this select list helped focus research on relevant texts worthy of investigation. The other important feature of note is that the National Archive is the most comprehensive of all primary source locations, focusing on recent sources (Freedom of Information Requests, photographs, touristic additions etc). As you go back through the centuries, the number of files slowly diminishes. Still, it is fortunate that, unlike some repositories of primary sources, the National Archive can, at the very least, provide documents for every century related to some form of development at these castles.

Concurring with Colvin's analysis of the King's Works, most of the primary sources from this depository are the Downs and Portsmouth groupings, with no significant number for the West of England. Deal has an unusually high number of sources, but this is likely

because the castle was the former ceremonial home to the Royal Marines. Many of the record files relate to Ministry of Defence documents, such as deployment and service records from serving military personnel based there. Without being too statistical in this analysis, it can be said that the best examples of primary sourcing relate to those of the Kent and Sussex projects. Not only have they received more saved documents due to their custodianships, but the records for these are reasonably well documented and contain far fewer gaps in the timeline. Likewise, the Archives will provide surviving information from the Court of Augmentations, which may assist in the tracing of spolia, work reports and correspondence from the Office of Works (this is essential for the twentieth century), and Court Roles to see how the Crown was ruling the castles and the local area in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

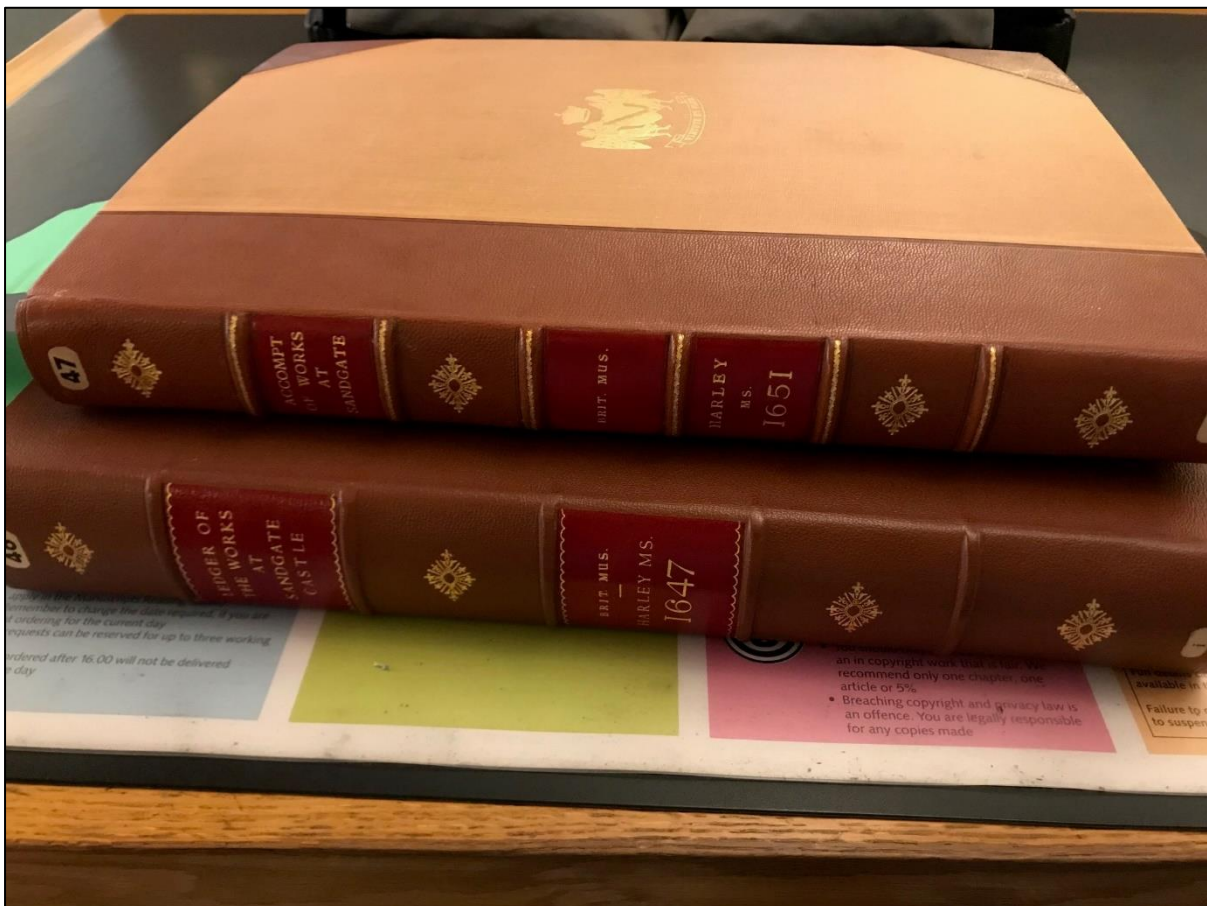


Fig. 5 A photograph of the Original Sandgate Construction Diary, The British Library, Harley MS 1647 (Photo author, 2019)

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**NOTES**

1. The contents of a Branch Folder should be restricted to copies of items on a Registered File, and minor internal branch items.
2. Branch Folders are for use only within the originating division/directorate, or branch. They are not to be sent to other divisions or directorates. Their movements are NOT recorded by the Registry.

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Fig. 6 An example of the cover of an ex-MOD record now held at the National Archives, 1971-1972, TNA, MO36/6.

Another good resource will be the primary sources of the British Library. The institution holds many catalogued and uncatalogued manuscripts procured and then held over from their days in storage at the British Museum. The manuscripts, made available to me under tight security due to their national importance, are large (slightly over a metre) and



are believed to be original Tudor depictions of the works on this Device. The manuscripts indicate how the requirements for such castles had evolved from these early concepts to what was built.



Fig. 7 An example of an original Tudor manuscript held in the British Library (Photo author, 2018).

Another repository of likely crucial primary sources is the Historic England Archive. The Archive contains many primarily visual-based documents (i.e., photographs, plans, sketches). Those relating to this study are primarily from the alterations that have occurred at the castles, with very little available regarding their actual construction. Tracing any potential alterations will be more accessible with future access to their archive, as Historic England (formerly English Heritage) has undertaken an enormous project by collecting the drawings of these alterations, cataloguing them and then uploading previews to them online that allow the user comprehensive access. The collection totals over one million items, and

due to the high volume of documents held, only a general appraisal has been possible so far. The collection warrants closer study in the future to see what documents they own and what gaps they have. They have so many documents relating to these castles because many are now a part of the National Collection. From experience on a previous research project, documents relating to properties that transfer to private ownership often need to be included. The comprehensive cross-section of documents at the HEA will require further evaluation. Interestingly, though, the archive also contains photographs of several very perished documents that, due to time and condition, have yet to be saved physically; several documents relating to Sandown are in this form.

The primary documents of interest at Kent County Council's Archive in Maidstone have been included in the National Archive appraisal (Fig. 4), as the information from Kent's archive is automatically shared with the National Archive. However, Kent does not share all primary sources with the NA's search facility. Work by local scholars is housed here, along with a number of primary sources, including County minute books, manorial records, and early maps; all of which should be very useful. The archive also contains lots of parish information which might help trace occupants of the castles at various times. However, the National Census might be a better outlet for this information, should it be needed. The Royal Engineers Archive will also be considered locally due to this corps' close historical association with Kent and Dover Castle.

Other smaller archives that do not form part of the National Archive search facility also include RIBA's Archive (for architectural plans, but also the papers of George Devey (1820 – 1886), who extensively altered Walmer in the nineteenth century), the SPAB Archive, the Society of Antiquaries of London extensive archives, the Kent Museum Archives in Maidstone, the Deal Museum archives, the Dover Museum archives, and the respective archives of both Lambeth Palace and the Canterbury Dioceses; both of which may hold primary sources for the results of the Dissolution.

*The Times'* archive will be methodologically appraised for information. The archive contains newspapers from the eighteenth to the late twentieth centuries and is bound to contain a wealth of information that scholars in this field have largely untouched. The appraisal will focus on first-hand accounts of events and activities at the castles during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These accounts will be cross-referenced with political and well-known events to present new perspectives.

Likewise, another valuable depository is the British Newspaper Archive, which includes thousands of digital copies of newspapers from all over the UK. Unlike *The Times*, which is still trading, many of the newspapers within this archive are long out of business and would generally be very difficult to locate. These lesser newspapers are vital as they are usually printed closer to the sites of our areas of interest and will often give a great insight into more of the domestic and socio-economic practices of the day. Likewise, having assessed many of the local papers, they include state-advertised tenders and reports by local antiquarians, both of which are not typically seen in other forms of communication as they are specific to a very small readership. The digitisation of old papers is a relatively new source of information for researchers. Unearthed notices within these papers corroborating the same items from other, more formal sources will be a great, largely untapped resource. The methodology of cross-referencing these papers to construct a more comprehensive landscape holds immense potential when indispensable for establishing a robust foundation for this research.

*The Architects' Journal* has been in print since the late Victorian period. It contains many fascinating first-hand accounts from various architects working at the time on the National Collection. Two of these are of particular interest. One is Baines' *Preservation of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings* (1924) and Baldwin Brown's *The government's*

*responsibilities in conserving national monuments* (1906).<sup>65</sup> These articles contain first-hand primary source information on alterations being undertaken to a number of the castles within the research parameters. The accounts of these alteration works and the state of the castles' respective fabrics are also very detailed, as during the early twentieth century, the concept of 'conservation' rather than 'restoration' was emerging. Scholars of this period were beginning to produce documentation that gave finer details of the current state of the structure rather than what the proposed works were. This gives better credibility to these works.

Lambarde's *Perambulation (or 'walkaround') of Kent* is a primary source that includes information on all castles built by 1570.<sup>66</sup> Lambarde gives a fair account of his travels around the sites in Kent where the Castles of the Downs are located, but he also offers his opinions on the castles. For example, he speculates about their geographical siting, and mentions a tale he had heard about Caesar's Kent coast landing location. Ultimately his work, although primary in context, has to be assessed to determine which parts reflect factual evidence and which are conjectures on his part. Hasted also famously undertook a similar tour in the late eighteenth century and remarked upon the conditions of the castles.<sup>67</sup>

Achieving this objective poses challenges when dealing with texts of antiquity, as a considerable portion of the information presented carries a degree of credibility, often accepted on the grounds of being 'probably factual.' It is crucial to remember that the chroniclers of this era, exhibiting varying levels of meticulousness, heavily relied upon oral testimonies of events in conjunction with written source materials. Therefore, all texts will be scrutinised for their merit before being used in this work.

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<sup>65</sup> Baines, F., 'Preservation of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings.' *Architects' Journal* 31, 3rd Series (1924)., Brown, B., 'The Responsibilities of a Government in the Conservation of National Monuments, Transactions of the 7th Session of the International Congress of Architects.' *Architectural Journal* 13 (1906).

<sup>66</sup> Lambarde, W., *A Perambulation of Kent, Containing the Description, Hystorie, and Customes of That Shire; Written in the Yeere 1570, First Published in the Year 1576, and Now Increased and Altered from the Author's Owne Last Copie* (Chatham: Baldwin et al., 1826).

<sup>67</sup> Hasted, E., 'The town and parish of Deal', in *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 10* (Canterbury: W. Bristow, 1800), 1-23.

As previously indicated, Walmer has served as a residence or destination for numerous historical figures but was also renowned for their prowess in diary writing or regular correspondence. The acquisition and evaluation of these records, to extract pertinent information to support this study, assume paramount importance. Prominent individuals such as the Duke of Wellington, Lady Hester Stanhope, and Winston Churchill exemplify such cases. Given that comprehensive biographies have already been published on these figures, a meticulous assessment will be conducted, cross-referencing surviving correspondences to ascertain any omissions made by their respective authors. Notably, none of the authors cited in our Literature Review focused specifically on the architectural evolution of castles, thereby suggesting the possible existence of sources that may harbour valuable insights into this domain.

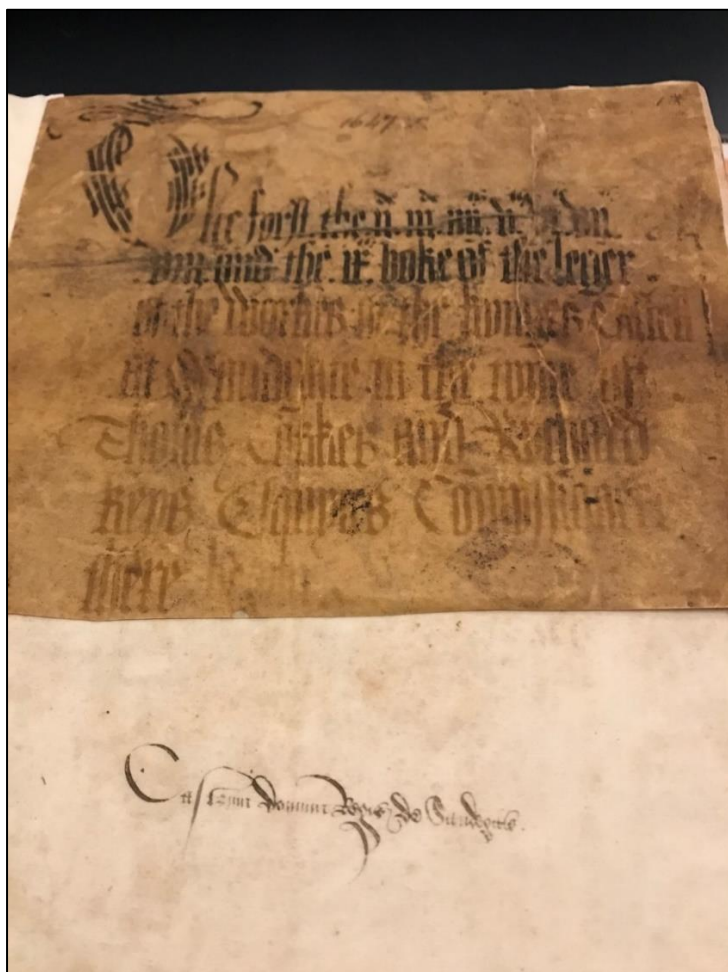


Fig. 8 Photograph by the author of the remains of the front page of the Sandgate Castle Construction Diary, the British Library, Harley MS 1647.

Of all the works within the Device, the only project with a surviving construction diary is that of the nearby castle of Sandgate. This primary text will immeasurably aid in this work as there are many design and context parallels with the Castles of the Downs. At the beginning of this work (2017), the diary was essentially known but lost between the British Library and the British Museum. This author greatly assisted in finding and cataloguing this important surviving Tudor manuscript, and as such, a more detailed account is held in Appendix A.

Lastly, other media such as early photographs, artwork, auction catalogues, and even tourist postcards will be assessed as they provide a richly personal perspective on the development of the Castles of the Downs, which may bridge the gap in our understanding and help illustrate this work.

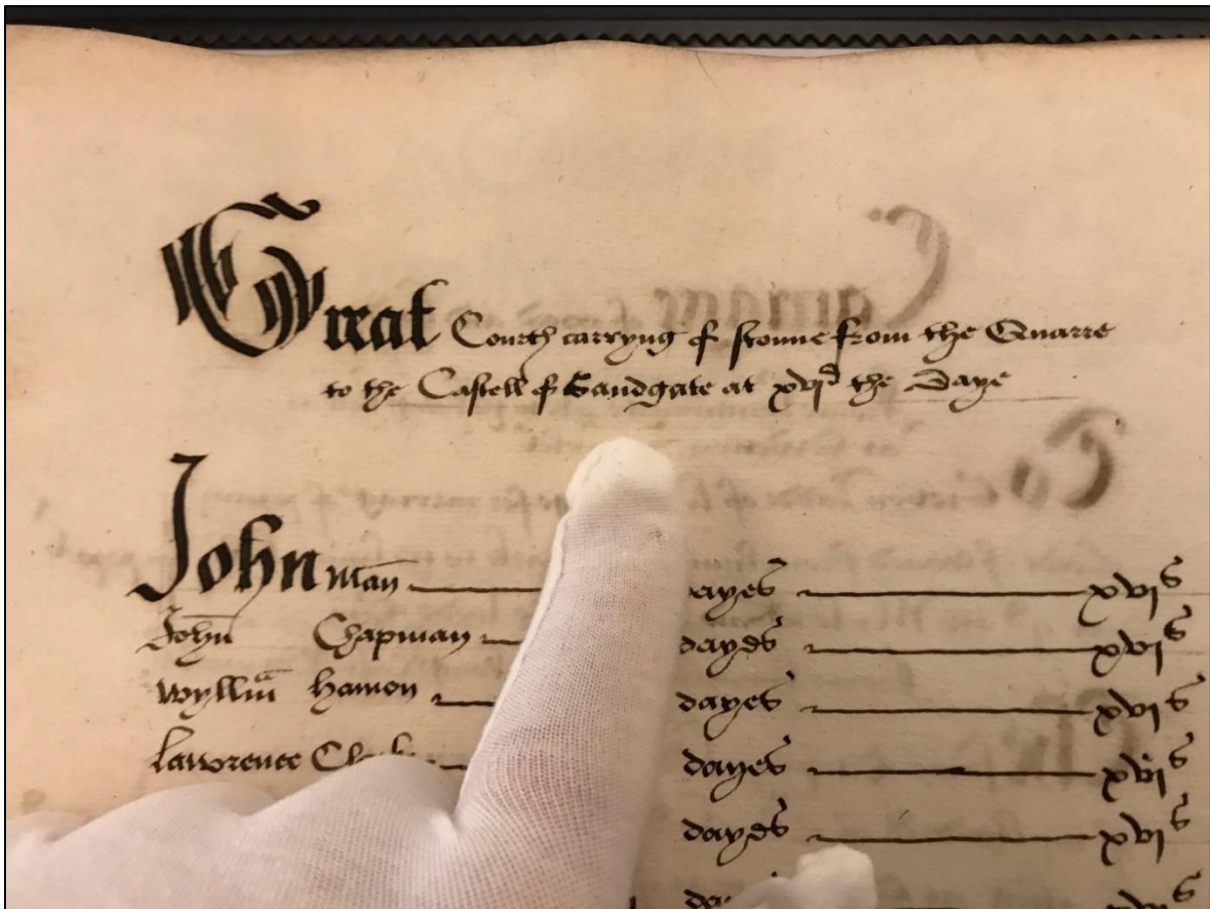


Fig. 9 The author points to a section in the Sandgate Diary that refers to stone procurement, British Library, Harley MS 1647 (photo author, 2018).



Two of the most prominent themes of this work will be the castles' design and their development, particularly in connection with spolia. Their design was unique in England for their time but was almost outdated by the time their construction had been completed. With the evolution of the Device building programme, castle design evolved so rapidly that the Castles of the Downs were soon almost obsolete. A study of the Castles of the Downs allows us to assess and gain insight into the wider evolution of fortress design. There are no such examples of three or more fortresses that are nearly identical within England, standing together, built by the same creators yet meeting such different ends.

The other key area where much research has been undertaken is to assess the morphology of the design and where their inspiration originated. From preliminary research, it would appear that examples of this style of bastion fortress were being used in mainland Europe. While studying the castles individually and comparing their outcomes and significance is essential, we must do this beyond their wider building programme and assess where their inspiration originated from and how it impacted England. From the literature review, it is apparent that much discussion has taken place regarding the evolution of castle design post-sixteenth century, but more needs to be said about the fortresses being constructed during the sixteenth century. We must consider these design influences carefully to fill the gaps in our understanding of how design travelled. A great area for improvement of this research could be that we ignore the mainland Europe precedents, so we must ensure our contextualisation is made to form the basis of this research.

The main research questions and areas for study are to set out how, where, and why these castles were constructed. The area where they were built during the fifteenth century was fairly desolate, so analysing their positioning and their design is crucial to our wider understanding. We ask these questions not just because we do not know the answers but because the answers will form the review this work aims to undertake to present the significance of these castles. We will also consider the more comprehensive castle building and the many connected elements.

We must consider the design, how castle architecture evolved from mainland Europe, and how it was altered during the Device campaign. We will give close consideration to their unique design that will ultimately demonstrate their ineffectiveness in wider military campaigns and how they were essentially found to be combatively a failure. Additionally, as only some original sources exist on the building of these castles, we need to investigate the inspiration for their design.

As stated previously, the Castles of the Downs represent three interesting case studies of preserved, adapted and demolished. Through tracing their development, we shall explore how these castles survive and to what degree. How were they adapted over time, and how did these additions provide scope to ensure their preservation?

Research undertaken to trace the spolia of the castles will inform our investigations. It will help trace the castles' lineage from their originating abbeys and (in the case of Sandown), how these ancient stones have been re-used for further development in the later centuries, something that has not been revealed to us before. From initial research, it would appear that inquiries that the stones for Sandown were re-used elsewhere have been found through archival research from primary sources. It would be a fascinating field of study as almost no academic appears to have focused any of their research in this area. If demonstrable, it will provide a fascinating narrative that can be used to argue for their connected conservation, particularly as one of the possible receivers of these stones is under threat for survival.

The primary sources are vital to this learning, and as we have demonstrated in the literature review, there is a great deal of original source material that will need to be procured, analysed, and then discussed. Relatively few researchers have provided much analysis of these castles choosing instead to produce broader and more contextual studies. The need to appraise these individual original documents is therefore key, as no scholars have really assessed them in great architectural, chronological detail. We can see where the main works of these topics of Colvin (*King's Works*) and Fry (English Heritage/Historic



England) have undertaken some analysis of these sources, with Colvin focusing on the construction and Fry on the alterations undertaken in the early twentieth century, but they have never been pulled together. We can now build on their work by checking their original workings, assessing their relevance to this study, and then forming our own assessment of the period in between. By using known studies as a foundation from which to build, we can assess the sources they left out to see whether a more bespoke conclusion can be drawn (unique to these case studies) and then undertaken an analysis of these gaps. As an example, Devey made significant alterations to Walmer, yet his archive at the University Sheffield holds no documents relating to this work. RIBA and the National Archive each have a small number of Devey's works within their respective collections, and Allibone's catalogue raisonné dedicates no more than a few pages to Walmer.<sup>68</sup> Therefore, we will need to search all of these available repositories to source the overall picture of Devey's work and then build a schedule of the alterations to ensure we can analyse what is relevant to this field of study. A weakness of this approach, much like all historic analyses, will be the incomplete nature of historical archives. However, we will try to ensure that all archives are included, in order to draw on as many primary sources as possible. We will then combine our findings with site visits before highlighting the gaps in our knowledge in order to create as complete an assessment as possible and to give us a good understanding of the work undertaken.

Site visits will be undertaken to all of the sites of the Castles of the Downs for a number of reasons, but particularly to complete our understanding of the design, construction and adaptation. Whilst many primary sources have been investigated, it will be important to examine how the physical forms differ from what we know or can be used. Likewise, we would like to learn more about the Castles of the Downs by looking at the remaining castles constructed by the same teams simultaneously, i.e. those of Camber and Sandgate. Although Sandgate is much altered and Camber is ruinous, there is still much

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<sup>68</sup> Allibone, J., *George Devey: Architect 1820-1886* (St. Edmunds: St. Edmundsbury Press, 1991).

information we can gather, particularly in the case of Camber, as it is perhaps the most-studied of all of the Device Castles with Biddle's, Hiller's, and Scott's 2001 monograph of the site.<sup>69</sup> Additionally, to understand how the materials were procured for these castles, site visits to likely ruinous abbeys and monastic buildings (where they survive and are identified) will provide an insight into how the stone was selected and from where. The final site surveys will be required for the derivative structures constructed using stone from the ruinous Sandown Castle.

A strict scope for this work will be rigorously followed as the temptation to expand this research into areas that may be fascinating or newly discovered within this work will be appraised for relevance to ensure this scope is strictly followed. The necessary focus of this scope is to discover these castles' histories from the quarries that fed their construction through to the successes or failures of their current existence. The focus shall be on specifics rather than painting a picture that is too broad. We intend to demonstrate an identifiable development, omitting background information if it is irrelevant. For example, the political reasons for the castles' existence (widely discussed in many media) will be omitted. Instead, the castles' design provenance will be analysed, and conclusions on how they impacted the Device will be much more worthy contributions to our understanding.

Once we have drawn from all these studies and provided the analysis of the evidence as required, we will draft the overall narrative and provide some conclusions to our research questions. It should be possible to achieve this, as there is an exciting wealth of information from a technical standpoint. But there are areas where we need more information. This point was raised in an article from 1978 in the *Antiquaries Journal* where the author, Kenyon, laments that more needs to be studied about these three castles.<sup>70</sup> Writing a few years later, in 1983, Hale stated the 'fragmentary' nature of the records for all

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<sup>69</sup> Biddle, M., Hiller, J., and Scott, I., *Henry VIII's Coastal Artillery Fort at Camber Castle, Rye, East Sussex: An Archaeological, Structural and Historical Investigation* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2001).

<sup>70</sup> Kenyon, J. R., 'A note on two original drawings by William Stukeley depicting 'The three castles which keep the Downs'. *The Antiquaries Journal* 58, Issue 1 (March 1978): 162 – 164.

the Device Castles' early developments is unfortunate for the Tudor military scholar.<sup>71</sup> Both these points show why work such as this thesis is crucial for exploring an area with so much more to discover.

The final, broader aim of this work will be to provide descriptive and complete architectural histories of these three castles and to show how they were designed and built as one fortress, a fact that appears to have been lost or certainly overlooked over the centuries. Another line of questioning that has eluded most scholarly works is who designed these castles. Whilst many writers have attributed a single name to other castles along the coast, the answer in the Early Modern Period is far more nuanced than that, as the role of the Architect came to England much time after these castles were built. After construction, we must establish how and why they were preserved. The events surrounding their preservation, or in the case of Sandown, their destruction will be crucial. Lastly, and perhaps the most important part of this thesis, is why and how spolia was used to build these castles. Large castles of reusable stone never disappear, and it appears hardly any scholarly attention has been paid to this unassailable fact, so determining where Sandown vanished will be very interesting. It will fill a significant gap in our knowledge of this castle and the buildings that may have derived from it, which may have implications for the architectural history of East Kent.

Aligned with the preceding sections, our objective aim is to consolidate and offer a distinctive historical account of these castles while analysing the castles' wider significance. We will craft a narrative that distinguishes this work by evaluating their local and international importance. Such an approach is poised to reignite interest in the study of these castles and influence decisions regarding their future preservation and that of associated structures. Thus, this thesis endeavours to construct a comprehensive architectural history, examining the construction process from its foundational elements to the present. Moreover, it will

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<sup>71</sup> Hale, J. R., *Renaissance War Studies* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1983), 247.

conduct a detailed analysis of the castles, particularly emphasising the incorporation and significance of spolia and their conservation. It will explore the intersections of social and cultural histories with architectural developments, thereby combining all these elements to provide a comprehensive understanding of how the castles developed and how this could aid in their continued preservation.

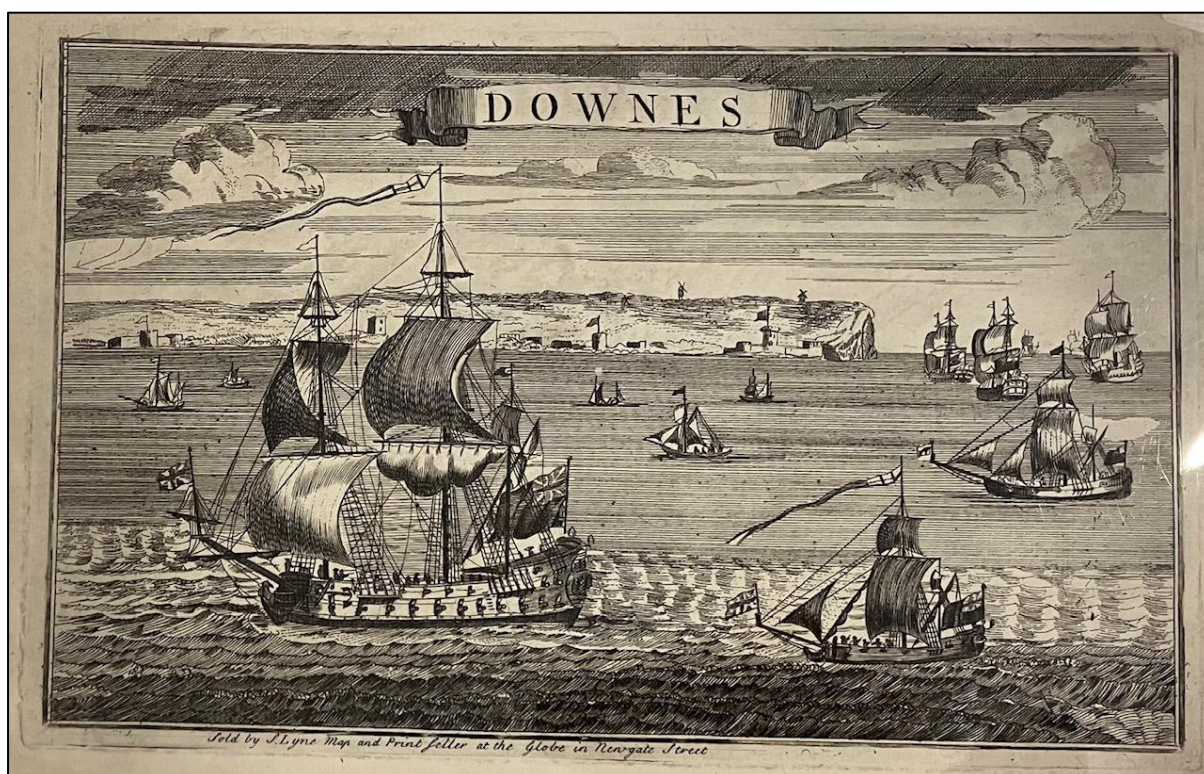


Fig. 10 An unpublished image of the Castles of the Downs, including the original fortified Manor House of Walmer, The Kent Archives, KMLC/IMG/PR/A/DEA/4.

## Chapter One: Historical Background and Context

One of the primary considerations of this thesis is to explore the significance of the Castles of the Downs, from their initial development to how they fit within our broader understanding of the architectural development of fortification. To achieve this, we must first examine how English castles developed to establish how they fit into the broader narrative and evolution of castle design. In this chapter, we will explore the vernacular heritage of castles in England and the wider, more internationally inspired versions of these fortifications to demonstrate how Walmer, Deal, and Sandown uniquely contribute to England's architectural heritage.

### Castle Tradition in England

The Romans were arguably the first to bring the technology of militarised fortification, as we would recognise it today, to the shores of England, or 'Insula Albionum' as they initially called the islands, before reverting later to Britannia.<sup>1</sup> Though 'true castle building' is argued by some, most notably by R. Allen Brown, as not beginning until the Normans arrived.<sup>2</sup> Before the Roman occupation, we knew very little about the defensive arrangements of the tribes that inhabited England before this time. However, the earliest forts were probably built around 2500 BC, with many erected between 800 and 700 BC.<sup>3</sup> These early examples often had a single track of ramparted earth and were located on high ground. Still, by around 400 BC, some hillforts, such as the Old Oswestry in Shropshire (800 BC to AD 43), were being reinforced with multiple rings of defences.<sup>4</sup> We know that timber was abundant during this period, and given the lack of evidence to suggest otherwise, it would appear that the first

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<sup>1</sup> Darvil, T., ed., *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Archaeology*, 'Avenius, Rufus Festus' (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 388.

<sup>2</sup> Allen Brown, R., *English Castles*, (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2004, new ed.), 1.

<sup>3</sup> Hamilton, S., & Manley, J., 'Hillforts, Monumentality and Place: A Chronological and Topographic Review of First Millennium BC Hillforts of South-East England.' *European Journal of Archaeology* 4, no. 1 (2001): 7–42.

<sup>4</sup> Nash, G., *Old Oswestry Hillfort and Its Landscape: Ancient Past, Uncertain Future* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2020), 50.

instances of fortresses constructed from stone resulted from the technological advancement of the Roman occupation of England in the first century.<sup>5</sup>

The first evidence of stone-built castle construction in England occurred during the successful campaign in AD 43 under Emperor Claudius (10 BC–AD 54).<sup>6</sup> In general, the initial Roman fortresses were swiftly constructed of timber, but as the military occupation extended through the country (between AD 43 and the first ten years of the second century), these early timber forts were converted to stone.<sup>7</sup> They included examples such as Hadrian's Wall, established in the early second century, and the three large fortresses at Chester (AD 124), Caerleon (AD 75), and York (AD 71). Likewise, smaller fortresses were deployed throughout their new territory. The total number of the larger fortresses and smaller forts is believed to be circa one hundred and twenty-five.<sup>8</sup> Again, when many of these fortifications became better established, they were often rebuilt and/or enlarged in stone.<sup>9</sup>

Richborough Castle in Kent was one of the earliest - and mostly still standing - examples from the Roman Conquest.<sup>10</sup> Known as 'Rutupiae', the name likely derived from the clay upon which it stands or its proximity to the shore, it was built on this site to defend this newly-established Roman port near the Kentish coast where the River Stour enters the sea.<sup>11</sup> Locally, other developments would see the formation of Watling Street and fortifications at Canterbury (AD 43-54), Dover (AD 43), Lympne (AD 270) and Reculver (AD 200).<sup>12</sup> Unlike the latter examples, Richborough was constructed swiftly by the invading soldiers and not by slaves or local labour, ensuring a near-instant stronghold within their

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<sup>5</sup> Breeze, D., J., *Handbook to the Roman Wall* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, 2006), 55–62.

<sup>6</sup> Jackson, R., *The Roman Occupation of Britain and its Legacy* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020), 125.

<sup>7</sup> Breeze, D., J., *Roman Forts in Britain* (London: Shire Publications, 2008), 47-48.

<sup>8</sup> Chrystal, P., *A Historical Guide to Roman York* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2021), 25.

<sup>9</sup> Historic England, *Roman Forts and Fortresses* (Swindon: Historic England, 2018), 2.

<sup>10</sup> Wilmott, T. & Smither, P., *The plan of the Saxon Shore fort at Richborough* (Cambridge: Britannia, 2020) 1-5.

<sup>11</sup> Wilmott, T., *Richborough and Reculver* (Swindon: English Heritage Guidebooks, 2012), 5.

<sup>12</sup> Site: <https://historicengland.org.uk/whats-new/research/back-issues/roman-richborough/>, accessed: November 2020.



newly conquered territory.<sup>13</sup> Roman stone-built fortresses were built within a day's reach of each other to ensure local disobedience could be quickly quelled. It is hard to appreciate the enormity of their challenge. Still, by combining cutting-edge Roman technology with the ruthless deployment of the invaders' ambition, total dominance was the result and dominance it was. From visits to Richborough, it is apparent that the Romans demolished and took the materials from the local towns and villages to stamp their authority onto the area.<sup>14</sup> Thus, it is essential to note the total supremacy that the Romans enacted, not just by military might but by the symbolism of these structures as physical symbols of their resulting oppression.



Fig. 1 A close-up of the construction of the outer walls at Richborough Castle showing Spolia use and Ceramic Building Material spolia (CBM), June 2021.

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<sup>13</sup> Wilmott, *Richborough and Reculver*, 15.

<sup>14</sup> Beier, Z., & DeCorse, C., *British Forts and Their Communities: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives* (Florida: Florida University Press, 2018), 55.

This process and resulting iconography of using the spoils of your enemy to construct the 'incoming infrastructure' of their new order would also occur in the Norman Conquest, where, most famously at Lincoln Castle, one hundred and sixty-six houses were reduced to rubble with many reused as spolia for the new castle.<sup>15</sup> Conquest and reappropriation are essential to note in our development of the castle in England, as the urgency and symbolism of the use of spolia are pertinent to our appraisal of the Castles of the Downs.

As Roman England declined and new settlers made their way to these shores, the Saxons in AD 410, the Jutes, and the Angles reverted to using timber fortification as the main construction means.<sup>16</sup> Generally, the Anglo-Saxons and the other incoming tribes did not have great fortress-building skills.<sup>17</sup> However, beginning in the latter part of the ninth century, King Alfred the Great (c.848 – 899) and his heirs built several 'burhs' to protect their populace from the threat of Danish Invasion. Lydford Saxon Town (997) and Daws Castle (late ninth century) are examples of these 'fortresses of the folk'.<sup>18</sup>

Following the Normans' victory in 1066, a new generation of castle construction ensued, focusing on stone-built fortresses.<sup>19</sup> When analysing social, cultural, and structural development in English history, the Norman Conquest and its immediate aftermath have long been seen as a crucial period and catalyst for castle design in England.<sup>20</sup> The continuity of Anglo-Saxon society and culture versus assertions that the new Anglo-Norman elite brought about a profound transformation has been the subject of significant discussion. What is clear is that the Normans dominated England, and with that dominance came power and wealth. Throughout the early medieval period, the Normans built hundreds of castles; it is believed they constructed around five hundred, with around ninety still existing today.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Clark, J., Garner-Lahire, J., Spall, C., & Toop, N., *Lincoln Castle Revealed: The Story of a Norman Powerhouse and Its Anglo-Saxon Precursor*, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2021), 51.

<sup>16</sup> Blair, J., *The Anglo-Saxon Age: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1-5.

<sup>17</sup> Le Goff, J., *Medieval Civilization 400–1500*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), 203.

<sup>18</sup> McAvoy, F., 'Proceedings Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society' in *Excavations at Daw's Castle, Watchet*, Vol. 130, (1982), 47-60.

<sup>19</sup> Allen Brown, R., *English Castles*, (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2004, new ed.), 1-5.

<sup>20</sup> Liddiard, R., *Anglo-Norman Castles* (Suffolk: Boydell, 2003), 11.

<sup>21</sup> Gravett C., *Norman Stone Castles: The British Isles 1066-1216: Vol. 1* (Oxford: Osprey, 2003), 18.



For centuries, the design of the castle was relatively unaltered between the days of the Roman occupation and those of the Norman period. In both cases, their architecture symbolised their essential thematic purposes of dominance and control of not just the local populace but also of any later invaders. While the undertaking was relatively similar, the Normans' main divergence from the Romans' work was that of a larger scale and more considered construction with space for residential occupations within.<sup>22</sup> They would also deploy more stone than the Saxons ever did, from reappropriated spolia and well-organised quarries in England and their homelands.<sup>23</sup>

In addition to the occasional use of soldiers as builders, the Normans deployed stonemasons not exclusively for ecclesiastical buildings but also for castle construction, reflecting the intertwined nature of castle and ecclesiastical works.<sup>24</sup> Again, this was not merely an undertaking that conserved resources. Instead, it was yet again about the power of controlling the populace, in this context, with the soft power of religion. 'Regum et sacerdotium' is the medieval political theory of kingship and priesthood being a powerful leadership duality (a theory that arguably continues today).<sup>25</sup> By combining these construction projects, the Normans would effectively have almost total control of the population's physical existence and their spirituality. With this, the Normans would then ensure through construction that their symbolism and, thus, authority were stamped throughout the new architecture. In castle building, they rapidly built vast fortresses, such as The Tower of London (The White Tower), Dover Castle, and Corfe Castle, to name but a mere few, all started just after the 1066 conquest.<sup>26</sup> The Normans swept to power across the country over time, establishing themselves and their new order as the Romans had before them.

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<sup>22</sup> Allen Brown, R., *English Castles*, (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2004, new ed.), 1-5.

<sup>23</sup> Liddiard, R., *Anglo-Norman Castles* (Suffolk: Boydell, 2003), 12.

<sup>24</sup> Bonde S., *Castle and Church Building at the Time of the Norman Conquest* (Oxford: M. A. Dean 1984), 79-96.

<sup>25</sup> Allen Brown, R., *English Castles*, (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2004, new ed.), 106-107.

<sup>26</sup> Toy, S., *Castles: Their Construction and History*, (Dover: Dover Publications, 1984), 70-79.

Whilst London was the visible seat of power, Dover and Corfe (Fig. 2) possibly developed initially in the older motte-and-bailey style before developing into stone-built castles.<sup>27</sup> This process had been adopted in England in the twelfth century, after earlier examples in mainland Europe. Both of these castles, as seen below, followed the ancient practice of constructing fortresses to be as imposing as possible by situating them near (or on) coastlines, often elevated on rocky outcrops, essentially making them a foreboding symbol of power for any traveller by sea or even land.<sup>28</sup>



Fig. 2 The remains of Corfe Castle, Dorset, 2019, Wikimedia Commons Public Domain.

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<sup>27</sup> Toy, S., *Castles: Their Construction and History*, (Dover: Dover Publications, 1984), 70-79.

<sup>28</sup> Daniell, C., *From Norman Conquest to Magna Carta England 1066–1215* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2013), 102.

These new fortifications were unlike anything the Romans had constructed on English soil. The transformation was rapid, but the delivery was far smoother than the Romans' campaign.<sup>29</sup> The Norman nobility established themselves in England to form a solid monarchy, attempting to improve and fortify the country from the very start. Undoubtedly, the Normans' mastery of castle design was a modest yet crucial factor in this transformative victory.<sup>30</sup> The techniques would evolve; one method that the Normans consistently adopted was to reuse anything the Romans had left behind, with the use of spolia being a significant resource at the beginning of their occupation. In addition, whether they were conquering England, France or Italy, the Normans also used any items that the Saxons or natives had already repurposed from the Romans.<sup>31</sup> The theme of the former might of the Roman Empire and its provenance appears to be an enduring theme that we shall return to in the Tudor context.

The way the Normans used their castles was a new concept for the people of Britain; whilst they dominated the settlements, their purpose was not just for control. They were also built to accommodate the Normans' nobility and to provide domestic services for more than just the military community.<sup>32</sup> R. Allen Brown argues that this distinction is what defines them not as fortifications but as castles.<sup>33</sup>

Later, their strategic purpose was given more significance, and the Normans felt the urge to build more structures. They thought it necessary to have a sustainable and competitive advantage over others, particularly regarding any great armies that might try to invade England and take their lands.<sup>34</sup> There were seemingly constant refurbishment and

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<sup>29</sup> Freeman, E., A., *The History of the Norman Conquest of England: Its Causes and Its Results*. Vol. V. (London: Bod Titles, 1876), 550.

<sup>30</sup> Daniell, C., *From Norman Conquest to Magna Carta England 1066–1215* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2013), 85.

<sup>31</sup> Reilly, L. 'Norman Sicily: The Invention of a Kingdom', *The Invention of Norman Visual Culture: Art, Politics, and Dynastic Ambition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 121.

<sup>32</sup> Armitage, E. S., *The Early Norman Castles of the British Isles* (London: John Murray, 1912), 94.

<sup>33</sup> Allen Brown, R., *English Castles*, (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2004, new ed.), 1-5., this is possibly also why he does not refer to Deal, Walmer and Sandown as castles.

<sup>34</sup> Armitage, E. S., *The Early Norman Castles of the British Isles* (London: John Murray, 1912), 211.

extension programmes, and the structures were kept in reasonable military readiness.<sup>35</sup> Most of these new castles were predominantly built in the same locations as the previous Roman forts; even though centuries had passed, it seems that Roman trade routes and infrastructure were still being used, albeit much degraded or entirely altered.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, the need to find places better suited for positioning the troops became increasingly unavoidable. Fortification became an essential part of governance. Keeping the locals under close rule and deterring invaders was the key to prosperity for the new ruling classes; therefore, the castle was as essential as most otherworldly attributes.<sup>37</sup>

The need to procure, improve, and improvise to make defences strong and impermeable grew during the medieval period. By the beginning of the twelfth century, there was a remarkable turnaround in building fortresses in England. Generally, in the medieval period, it was not just the monarch who commissioned the construction of castles but also the nobility, who were awarded spoils from a campaign or for their loyalty.<sup>38</sup> Those who could afford to build castles would use stonework, as timber was now deemed inappropriate and ineffective.<sup>39</sup>

Castles became more accessible and faster to construct as time passed, as building a stone-built fortress had become a well-established industry by the thirteenth century.<sup>40</sup> Previously, before the addition of the new stone keeps, it was easier for attackers to infiltrate and attack with the weapons of the time. It was also easier to breach and penetrate the defending line in case of any advantage gained by the attackers and invaders. Hence, it

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<sup>35</sup> Armitage, E. S., *The Early Norman Castles of the British Isles* (London: John Murray, 1912), 211.

<sup>36</sup> Speight S., *British Castle Studies in the Late 20th and 21st Centuries* (Oxford: History Compass, 2005), 117.

<sup>37</sup> Hislop M., *Castle Builders: Approaches to Castle Design and Construction in the Middle Ages* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2021), 18.

<sup>38</sup> Rickard, J., *The Castle Community - The Personnel of English and Welsh Castles, 1272-1422* (Suffolk: Boydell 2002), 21.

<sup>39</sup> Armitage, E. S., *The Early Norman Castles of the British Isles*, 95.

<sup>40</sup> Salzman, Louis *Building in England Down to 1540: A Documentary History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 32.

was deemed necessary to incorporate new strategies in the design and improve the defence system as soon as possible to protect these immense building structures.<sup>41</sup>

During the twelfth century, castle design evolved - first with circular and quatrefoil keeps and with polygonal ones known as concentric castles; rather than a linear evolution, the castles' engineering advanced based on many factors, including social and economic forces.<sup>42</sup> During this period, some of Europe's tallest and most luxurious structures were built for the grandest nobility and not necessarily for the Royal establishment. Notable examples in England include Rochester Castle (the tallest Norman castle in England, c. 1080s), Rockingham Castle (c. 1070), and Pontefract Castle (1070). The Chateau de Coucy in France (1225 to 1242), Castel del Monte in Italy (c. 1240s), and Malbork Castle in Poland (c. 1274 and 1406) were all impressive structures built during this revolutionary medieval fortress design period; many, such as Chepstow Castle in Wales (1067), were also built using spolia or upon the foundations of previous Roman fortresses.<sup>43</sup>

The proliferation of these structures flourished under the now well-established feudal system, making the castle, the church, and the whole system a remarkable organisation controlling the entire country. Many of the various barons and lords also converted their manorial houses into smaller castles, which blurred the perceived line between a house and a castle.<sup>44</sup> From the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries, the Crown provided 'licences to crenellate', a term coined by later historians that signified that Lords of the Manor could fortify their main houses.<sup>45</sup> Examples of fortified manor houses from the medieval period are Acton Burnell (1284) and Stokesay Castle in Shropshire (late 13th century) and can be seen

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<sup>41</sup> Ramsaran, Rasita, *The Idea of The Castle in Medieval England Through the Lens of Space and Place c.1200-1300* (Clayton, Victoria: Monash University, 2017), 85.

<sup>42</sup> Rickard, J., *The Castle Community - The Personnel of English and Welsh Castles, 1272-1422* (Suffolk: Boydell 2002), 21.

<sup>43</sup> Eaton, T., *Plundering the Past: Roman Stonework in Medieval Britain* (Chichester: NPI Media Group, 2000), 52., Jamieson E., 'Castles and the Biography of Place: Boundaries, Meeting Places and Mobility in the Sussex Landscape.' *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 60 (2019): 341.

<sup>44</sup> There is no agreed definition of what a castle is or is not within the wider study of Castle Studies, source: McAndrew, D., *The catalysts and constraints of castle-building in Suffolk c. 1066-1200*, (London: University College London, Vol 1), 40.

<sup>45</sup> Goodall, J., 2011, 8–9.



in Fig. 3 and 4, respectively. Through this period, not just the nobility built or retrofitted their buildings as fortresses. Influences such as economic changes and social transformations fuelled the end of the feudal system. Thus, the Church and many wealthy individuals (such as successful merchants and lawyers) also built castles or fortified houses. This proliferation continued to flourish later in the early modern period.<sup>46</sup>



Fig. 3 The ruins of Acton Burnell, Shropshire, 2018, Wikimedia Commons Public Domain.

While castle building in all these guises flourished throughout England, it would all begin to change by the fifteenth century when the use of gunpowder started to underline the deficiencies of these medieval designs.<sup>47</sup> Gunpowder was introduced in the mid-fourteenth

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<sup>46</sup> Historic England Listing: Shurland House: early 16th century Great House and associated remains, site: <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1015681?section=official-list-entry>, accessed: May 2021.

<sup>47</sup> Andrade, T., *The Gunpowder Age* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2017), 99-120.

century and was widely deployed, with increasingly superior technology by the early fifteenth century.<sup>48</sup> The nascent cannon technology gained prominence during these centuries and was periodically employed to great effect during the Hundred Years' War from 1415 to 1453. (Fig. 5). Many castles were modified to provide more protection for their inhabitants, whereas others were abandoned or destroyed once the cast-iron cannon design was refined.<sup>49</sup> Whilst there were a great many variations in castle architecture during this period (tower and courtyard, concentric, enclosure, courtyards, integrated, citadels, symmetrical/irregular, fortified manors, etc.), all of these medieval designs soon became obsolete due to this significant development in battlefield technology.<sup>50</sup>



Fig. 4 Stokesay Castle in Shropshire, one of England's finest complete and surviving fortified manor houses, © English Heritage.

<sup>48</sup> Andrade, T., *The Gunpowder Age* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2017), 99-120.

<sup>49</sup> Creighton, O., & Higham, R., *Medieval Town Walls: An Archaeology and Social History of Urban Defence* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005).

<sup>50</sup> Lepage, J., G., G., *Castles and Fortified Cities of Medieval Europe: An Illustrated History*, (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland Publishers, 2015), 186-187.





Fig. 5 Siege of Orléans in 1428 (Vigiles de Charles VII, fifteenth century), © Gallica Digital Library.

As castle designs developed, so did the means to attack them. Until the thirteenth century, the strategies of war relied heavily on the construction and then the defence of the fortresses.<sup>51</sup> The more powerful and tall the structure, the better it could be defended. The better it fared in the wake of any battle of the war, the more often the technology was deployed. This was the case in England during the medieval period; European rulers also adopted similar strategies, though as the cannon proliferated, these strategies began to be reappraised.<sup>52</sup>

James IV of Scotland's army famously used artillery to besiege the English Norham Castle (Twelfth century) in Northumberland for two full weeks in 1497.<sup>53</sup> An English army eventually relieved the garrison during the siege after failed attempts to breach the walls with

<sup>51</sup> Hislop, M., *How to Read Castles* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013) 6-7.

<sup>52</sup> Andrade, T., *The Gunpowder Age*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2017), 99-120.

<sup>53</sup> Dickson, T., *Accounts of the Treasurer of Scotland*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1877), 348.



artillery. Still, as one would expect, it may have been close to collapse if the backup army had not arrived. One of the weapons used in the siege was the *Mons Meg*, a twenty-inch (51 cm) calibre cannon used by the Scots for many sieges to Medieval castles; it is now ceremonially housed in Edinburgh Castle (built c.1103).<sup>54</sup> Others, such as Cahir Castle (b. 1142), a large castle in Ireland, surrendered after three days in 1599 after constant cannon fire, and the smaller Cooling Castle (b. Thirteenth century) in Kent 1554, surrendered within just eight hours of bombardment.<sup>55</sup> However, new solutions were gradually being developed to defend these ageing structures against these emerging gunpowder devices.

Henry VIII had acquired and purchased a vast collection of artillery during his lifetime. He famously purchased the gun known as the 'twelve apostles' and used it at Tournai and Therouanne.<sup>56</sup> He also captured James IV's brass culverins at Flodden.<sup>57</sup> These were said to have been greatly prized by the King. Later, He would establish a centre for cannon building within the Weald to limit the need to purchase across potential enemy lines.<sup>58</sup>

Castle architecture again shifted in response to the development of refined artillery in the late medieval period. By the early fourteenth century, cannons were in use, but as small-calibre anti-personnel weapons, their primary contribution to castle architecture was the emergence of gun loops in otherwise conventional castles.<sup>59</sup> However, by the fifteenth century, outworks or bulwarks (singular canon-attached earthen bastions) were erected in front of older castles to counter the threat as gun calibres increased along with their destructive power.<sup>60</sup> New fortifications started incorporating cannons into their plans for defence and engaging the enemy with fire. Ultimately, these minor additions of the bulwark

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<sup>54</sup> Lead, P., *Mons Meg - a Symbol of Scotland*, (Catrine: Stenlake Publishing Ltd, 2021), 41-42.

<sup>55</sup> Ingleton, R., D., *Fortress Kent*, (Havertown, Pennsylvania: Casemate Publishers, 2012), 71., Falls, C., *Elizabeth's Irish Wars*, (London: Constable & Robinson, 1996), 85.

<sup>56</sup> Loades, D., *Henry VIII*, (Gloucestershire: Amberley Publishing, 2011), 98.

<sup>57</sup> Merriman, M., 'Realm and Castle: Henry VIII as European Builder', *History Today* Vol 41: Iss 6 (1991).

<sup>58</sup> Potter, D., *Henry VIII and Francis I - The Final Conflict 1540-47*, (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 368.

<sup>59</sup> Ingleton, R., D., *Fortress Kent*, (Havertown, Pennsylvania: Casemate Publishers, 2012), 71., Falls, C., *Elizabeth's Irish Wars*, (Reprint, London: 1996), 85.

<sup>60</sup> Hislop, M., *How to Read Castles*, 32.

or the retrofitted adaptations could not keep pace with the improvement of the cannon, and thus, the older castles increasingly became redundant.

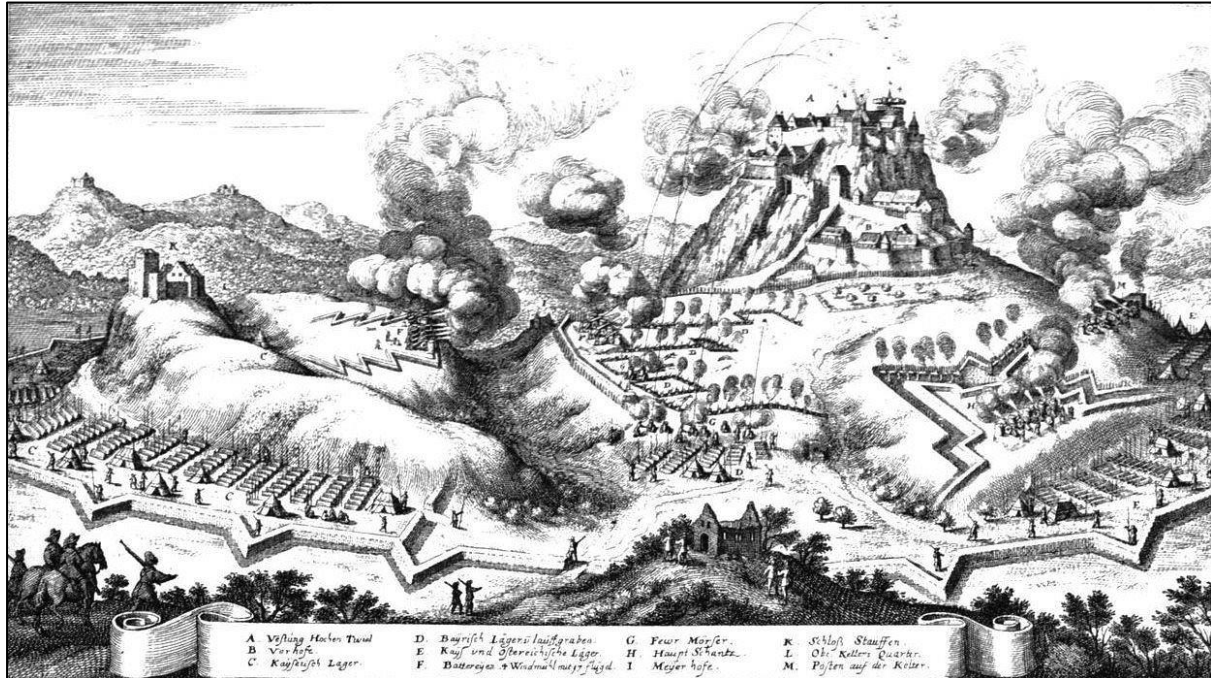


Fig. 6 The 1641 Spanish siege of Hohentwiel showing the bombardment of the fortress from afar using cannons, published c.1648 *Theatrum Europaeum*, used under UK Fair Dealing.

The French first conceived the basic principles of bastion fortification (also known as artillery forts) in line with their honing of cannon technology.<sup>61</sup> Essentially, the design ethos was to bring the retrofitted exterior bulwark into the main castle architecture. Their ideas quickly spread to neighbouring Italy during the Italian Wars (also known as the Habsburg–Valois Wars) between 1494 and 1559, and within a short space of time, the French designs had been absorbed and improved upon. Italy became the first successful pioneer of artillery fortresses in the early sixteenth century.<sup>62</sup> Within just a few decades, the Italians were the

<sup>61</sup> Fissel, M., *The Military Revolution and Revolutions in Military Affairs* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022), 15-32.

<sup>62</sup> Walton, S., *Geometry, Method, and the Rise of Trace Italienne: Fortification in the Sixteenth Century* (Paris: ICOHTEC, 2013)

masters of this new military engineering, and their ideas quickly spread around Europe due to their refinement.<sup>63</sup> We shall explore this critical development in greater detail within the next chapter.

As previously mentioned, it is worth noting Italy's significant influence on England and much of Europe during the late medieval and early modern periods.<sup>64</sup> Italian and English links were powerful, not just through the Catholic Church or the ancient Roman occupation but also widely with increased trade by the early Tudor period.<sup>65</sup> Italian aspects were seen by Tudor society as wealthy and skilful and would provide the noblemen and women of the era with many products and ideas. The plethoric range would include consumables such as luxury goods, literature, and art.<sup>66</sup> The nobility regularly employed Italians, even at Henry's Court, and the linkage between the two countries appears to be great.<sup>67</sup> The Renaissance and its influential ideas of discovery and humanism permeated Tudor society. Likewise, it was also seen that the ideas and possessions from Italy had great worth in Tudor England.<sup>68</sup> Therefore, when we discuss how quickly the concept of artillery fortification spread from mainland Europe, we must consider that it did so not just because the cannon was rapidly improving but also because of the willingness of the English nobility to accept such new ideas as part of the broader cultural development of the Renaissance.

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<sup>63</sup> O'Neil, Brian St. John 'Stefan von Haschenperg, an Engineer to King Henry VIII, and His Work', *Archaeologia* 91, (1945): 138.

<sup>64</sup> There is some speculation that perhaps this although the Roman Empire had fallen, the wider influence of Rome, due mostly to religion, but also other cultural aspects never actually left with the Romans.

<sup>65</sup> Bolland, C., *Italian Material Culture at The Tudor Court*, (London: Queen Mary, University of London, 2011), 15.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*, 177.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid*, 281., noting that Italy was not a unified state until the C19, so the term is used to reflect the people and governments of the wider Italian Peninsula.

<sup>68</sup> Wooding, L., *Henry VIII*, (Abingdon, Oxon: Taylor & Francis, 2015), 142.



Fig. 7 A military map showing how the architecture of this star fort is deployed to allow the best advantage of return fire. This example is by Michelangelo for the fortification of Florence in the 1520s, Wikimedia Commons public domain.

The bastion fortress design moved away from the grand and tall keeps of the high medieval period to more squat designs that incorporated thicker-set stone walls and spiralled bastions designed and reinforced to be as defensive as they were offensive.<sup>69</sup> Soon, these would develop from curved bastions to straight-edged bastions, known loosely as 'star forts'.<sup>70</sup> The improved design spread to France, England, and the Germanic Low Countries as early as the early sixteenth century.<sup>71</sup> The Empirical French Engineer Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban (1633 – 1707) (known as Vauban) would also use the star bastion design for his fortifications, of which it is believed he worked on over 160 examples worldwide.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Toy, *Castles: Their Construction and History*, 230-236.

<sup>70</sup> de Martemont, C., S., *The Theory of Field-fortification* (Washington: W.J. & J. Maynard, 1834), 40-45.

<sup>71</sup> Toy, *Castles: Their Construction and History*, 230-236.

<sup>72</sup> Hope, I., *A Scientific Way of War Antebellum Military Science, West Point, and the Origins of American Military Thought*, (Nebraska: Nebraska Publishers, 2015), 4.

The design would also travel to various American colonies as late as the last decades of the seventeenth century. Built in 1695, the Castillo de San Marcos in the modern-day US state of Florida shows how far the Artillery Fort design has travelled (Fig. 8).<sup>73</sup> This Renaissance-originated design, which arguably evolved with every version built, continued as a fortification system worldwide until the nineteenth century when more substantial artillery effectively made them redundant for military purposes.<sup>74</sup> In the next chapter, we will explore the evolution of the English artillery fortifications to see where the Device Castles and the Castles of the Downs fit within this broader developmental narrative.



Fig 8. Castillo de San Marcos, 2018, St. Augustine, USA (photo author, 2023).

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<sup>73</sup> Taylor, P., *Discovering the Civil War in Florida: A Reader and Guide*, (Sarasota, Florida: Pineapple Press, 2001), 132-135.

<sup>74</sup> Albeit, it is said that parts of North Africa revived this style of fortification in 2015 when the French intervened in Mali under Operation Barkhane, ref: Mizokami, K., *Medieval Star Forts Are Surprisingly Alive and Well in North Africa*, (Popular Mechanics, 2022), site: <https://www.popularmechanics.com/military/weapons/a35084150/vauban-fortification-star-forts-french-army-north-africa/>, accessed: August 2022.

## Fortification Beyond the Tudor Period in England

After the sixteenth century, new-build castle construction declined, although some new castles were built later; most scholarly appraisals of their construction tend to finish at this point, with Allen Brown in 1954, Toy in 1984 and Cathcart King in 1991 seemingly agreeing with this premise.<sup>75</sup> Henry VII, for example, when he took the English throne in 1485, did not besiege any castles or fortified towns, such was the cannon's power and the state of the medieval defences.<sup>76</sup> For many, the relatively short period during which the English built the Device Castles could be seen as the final flourish of the castle-building industry in England (Allen Brown even argues that castle building ceased just before this period).<sup>77</sup> However, their use did not decrease. While they continued to be used mainly for military and residential purposes, they could also be used for administrative, storage, coast guarding, or law enforcement. In some examples, they were slighted (destroyed) and recycled as spolia for other sites.

The nobility, archbishops and the monarchy largely retained their castles, although the monarchy massively reduced its stock after the Tudor era. Elizabeth I, for example, did not acquire or build any new castles or palaces but instead tried to keep or improve the ones that her immediate Tudor ancestors had built.<sup>78</sup> The use of stone-built forts as castles and a means of defence also declined rapidly after this time.<sup>79</sup> The expansion of personal firearms and the increasing use of gunpowder essentially ended the castles' usefulness as military fortifications.<sup>80</sup> Even the best-designed and thickest set of castle walls could not withstand the constant bombardment of fire from a well-designed and carefully positioned cannon. As

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<sup>75</sup> Allen Brown, R., *English Castles*, (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2004, new ed.), Toy, S., *Castles: Their Construction and History* (Dover: Dover Architecture, 1984), King, D.J. Cathcart, *The Castle in England and Wales: An Interpretative History* (London: Routledge, 1991).

<sup>76</sup> Colvin, H. M., 'Castles and Government in Tudor England.' *The English Historical Review* 83, 327, (1968): 255-233.

<sup>77</sup> Allen Brown, R., *English Castles*, (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2004, new ed.), 89.

<sup>78</sup> Thurley, S., *Houses of Power* (London: Penguin Random House, 2017), 416.

<sup>79</sup> Thompson, M. W., *The Decline of the Castle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 104-111.

<sup>80</sup> Fissel, M., *The Military Revolution and Revolutions in Military Affairs* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022), 15-32.



a result, the process of slighting became the standard policy for state-captured castles after the end of the English Civil War.<sup>81</sup>

By the mid-seventeenth century, all of the largest medieval castles in England were deemed almost entirely useless for defence purposes. A slight revival would come in the nineteenth century with the tensions with France, with large artillery fortresses, earthworks, and canals being built; one such example was the heavily redeveloped former Tudor Fort of Tilbury (Fig. 9).<sup>82</sup> This would also include the emergence of highly refined gun towers known as Martello Towers, themselves inspired by the Corsican Torra di Mortella (1563-1564), a highly effective Italian-designed gun tower.<sup>83</sup>

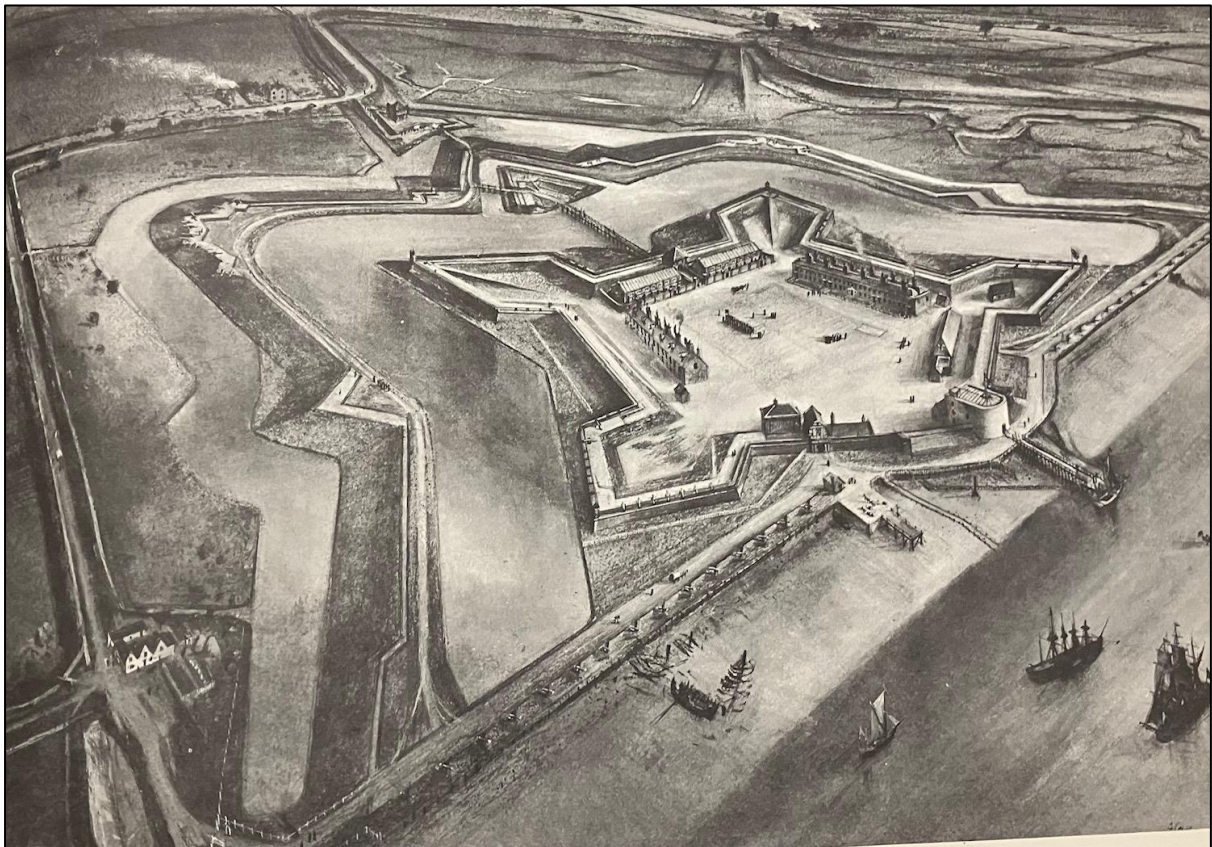


Fig. 9 An illustration of Tilbury Fort after construction completion, 1965, Copyright Alan Sorrell, Used under UK Fair Dealing.

<sup>81</sup> Fissel, M., *The Military Revolution and Revolutions in Military Affairs* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022), 15-32.

<sup>82</sup> Tilbury Fort was initially known as West Tilbury Blockhouse, later as the Thermitage Bulwark, and then the current name, showing why clear nomenclature in castle studies is essential.

<sup>83</sup> Toy, *Castles: Their Construction and History*, 235-236., Sutcliffe, S., *Martello Towers* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson U. P., 1973), 25.

The ruinous medieval structures would become romanticised and, by the early eighteenth century, began to attract visitors. The tourist trade was the result, a trade that was significantly capitalised upon in the twentieth century. This would later include occupied castles through tax mitigation measures or donation via legacy, redundant state-run castles, and even the infrastructure fortresses from the nineteenth century, as noted above. Most castles are now primarily in the guardianship of preservation trusts such as English Heritage and the National Trust. It is difficult to determine when the last English castle was constructed. However, some believe it was Sir Edwin Lutyens' (1869 -1944) Castle Drogo (1930) in Devon, though this is a regularly debated topic, with some believing there are examples in the current century.<sup>84</sup>

As John Goodall states in his most recent work on castles, these ancient buildings continue to adapt to this day to remain as important now as they were then, but for very different reasons; they are essential, as he argues, 'the flotsam and jetsam of England's distant past.'<sup>85</sup> From practical subsequent uses such as prisons (Lancaster Castle, c. C11) or conversion into country houses, they have become a sizeable part of heritage tourism, primarily in the modern era. Even in the metaphysical, within the cultural zeitgeist or as leisurely follies, the castle is a concept that adapts and endures across generations.<sup>86</sup> Broadly, as Goodall argues, in the modern context, there has always been and continues to be a place for castles to exist, be they ruinous, practical or even mythical.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Architects' Journal Library, Castle Drogo, site:

<https://www.ajbuildingslibrary.co.uk/projects/display/id/2623>, accessed: August 2021., Some believe the now ruined Fidler's Castle (2001) was perhaps the last castle to be built in England, though its defensive capabilities are tenuous.

<sup>85</sup> Goodall, J., *The Castle: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022), 465, Kindle Edition., Goodall, J. *The English Castle: 1066-1650*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), Preface, i.

<sup>86</sup> The Castles of the Downs appear to have inspired a late C18 folly in Broadstairs known as 'Neptune's Tower', see appendix R.

<sup>87</sup> Goodall, *The Castle: A History*, 465, Kindle Edition.



## Events, Escalation and Tudor Dominance

As with the castles of the medieval landscape that we have explored, the Tudor dynasty emblemised a formidable metaphoric bastion in England's political and historical evolution. Much has been written about the Tudors in both popular and scholarly forms. However, within this section, we shall focus on how this family came to dominate England and Europe in sixteenth-century politics and select relevant events responsible for the direct development of the Castles of the Downs.

Though the Tudors' ancestral heritage can be traced back to the early thirteenth century, it was not until the fifteenth century before they came to prominence. Their focus on establishing a new order during the Renaissance, a desire for legacy, and a keen determination on strategy ensured they would irrevocably change the course of England's history and, arguably, that of mainland Europe.

The rise of the Tudor dynasty led to a singular event with profound repercussions that significantly shaped the emergence of the Castles of the Downs, causing a transformative shift in society. This pivotal event involved Henry VIII's assumption of absolute leadership over the English Church, marking the end of the Pope's control in England. This ecclesiastical transformation had far-reaching political and cultural effects, playing a crucial role in influencing the trajectory of castle development. England's subsequent rejection of the Catholic Church led to the accumulation of great wealth and the nation's elevation to a prominent position, ultimately establishing it as a superpower. The construction of the Castle of the Downs became a pivotal moment in Henry's efforts to establish England as a powerhouse, solidifying the Tudor legacy. Specifically, for our investigation, the establishment of the Church holds particular significance as the driving force behind the evolution of these fortifications, which materialized as tangible expressions of the Tudors' pursuit of total supremacy and opulence during Henry VIII's reign.

Knowing as we do the events that would transpire in the latter half of Henry VIII's reign, it is interesting to note that Henry previously had a great interest in and commitment to

his Catholic faith.<sup>88</sup> He met with the Dutch humanist scholar Erasmus, who was critical of the Pope's management and practices within the Catholic faith; Erasmus was even said to have referred to Henry as a 'universal genius'.<sup>89</sup> Thanks to the introduction of the printing press, Henry read the *Ninety-Five Theses* protesting against the corruption of the Catholic Church by Martin Luther.<sup>90</sup> Henry was supposedly shocked by the publication and issued his *Defence of the Seven Sacraments* in 1521. This resulted in Pope Leo X (1475 -1521) conferring the title of 'Defender of the Faith' on Henry, a title still afforded to English monarchs.<sup>91</sup>

The Tudors were obsessed with dynasty, and Henry demanded a son. Queen Catherine did give birth to a son, also christened Henry, but, unfortunately, the child died at a very young age. Haunted by the bible verse that prevents the marriage of your brother's widow, the unfortunate series of stillborn children and his ageing Queen, Henry and his court pushed to divorce Queen Catherine.<sup>92</sup>

Years of diplomacy between the English and the Pope ensued as the two parties negotiated Henry's wish to divorce or declare the marriage void but to no avail. Henry naturally anticipated the Pope's cooperation because he had been a prominent member of the global church and had always supported papal power with his immense privilege.<sup>93</sup> When news of the Pope's lack of acceptance of the motion enraged Henry, he sought other means to divorce his Queen. However, annulling marriages was the prerogative of the Pope rather than the monarch.<sup>94</sup> Finally exasperated in all attempts, Henry, who had vehemently opposed Protestantism and its guises, ultimately turned to it with an embracing enthusiasm

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<sup>88</sup> Matusiak, J., *Martyrs of Henry VIII* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: History Press, 2019), 55-58.

<sup>89</sup> Hutton W. H., *Sir Thomas More 1478-1535* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Library, 1895), 44.

<sup>90</sup> Flowers, S., *The Reformation*, (San Diego: Lucent, 1996), 42.

<sup>91</sup> 'Defender of the Faith', Oxford Reference; Accessed 5 Jan. 2021.

<https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095706821>

<sup>92</sup> Downing, C., 'How little it resembles memory: The book of Ruth.' *Soundings: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 80, no. 1 (1997): 41-62., Thurston, H., 'The Divorce of Henry VIII.' *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* (1932): 55-72.

<sup>93</sup> Weinreich, S., J., 'The Title of Defender of the Faith given King Henry by the Apostolic See, and the Reason for This' In Pedro de Ribadeneyra's 'Ecclesiastical History of the Schism of the Kingdom of England', *Jesuit Studies*, Volume: 8 (2017): 137-140.

<sup>94</sup> Rex, R., *The Tudors* (Stroud: Amberley, 2011), 50.

to end his marriage with Catherine. This allowed him to wed Anne Boleyn (c. 1501 - 1536) and thus to complete his succession planning and make him as powerful as his great European rivals. However, due to all these changes, his foreign policy was left in ruins; England was isolated and *de facto* at war with some of its nearest and strongest neighbours. From 1538, the threat of invasion was apparent and very possible. In December of that year, Pope Paul II (1417 -1471) finally lost patience with the situation and reissued the excommunication of Henry from the Faith.<sup>95</sup> Cardinals were sent across mainland Europe to stir up animosity against the English and to isolate England. Unfortunately for Henry, this happened to coincide with Francis I of France (1494 – 1547) and Charles V (1500 – 1558) of the Holy Roman Empire signing a ten-year armistice treaty that very year.<sup>96</sup> Fearing these superpowers would combine and invade England, the country was therefore put on alert across all ports and lookouts.<sup>97</sup> An intelligence report was received from Henry's agent in Venice, who urgently stated to the King that he should '...make strong and perpetual provision for the safety of the realm'.<sup>98</sup> Therefore, national musters took place, extra ships were out on patrol, surveys were commissioned, and England was forced to increase its coastal fortifications. One of the King's first reactions to the crisis was detailed by Edward Hall (c.1496 - 1547) when he wrote in 1538:

'Also he sent dyvers of his nobles and counsaylours to view and searche all the Portes and daungiers on the coastes where any meete or convenient landing place might be supposed. And in all suche doubtful places his hyghnes caused dyvers and many Bulwarks and fortifications to be made.'<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Flowers, S., *The Reformation*, (San Diego: Lucent, 1996), 42.

<sup>96</sup> Starkey, D., and Doran, S., *Henry VIII: Man and Monarch* (London: British Library, 2009), 88.

<sup>97</sup> Hutchinson, R., *The Last Days of Henry VIII: Conspiracy, Treason and Heresy at the Court of the Dying Tyrant*, (London: W&N Publishing, 2006. Kindle edition), 266-267.

<sup>98</sup> Saunders, 1997, 14.

<sup>99</sup> Pollard, A., J., *John Talbot and the War in France 1427-1453* (London: London Press, 1983), 137.

In February 1539, the king issued a Device, an official Crown order, to fortify the nation in preparation for a possible invasion.<sup>100</sup> Commissioners were sent out nationwide, with ports and harbours prioritised.<sup>101</sup> Often, many ports already had considerable fortification programmes in place, and where this was the case, they were strengthened.



Fig. 10 A Tudor map showing how the Tudors perceived the Solent area, c. 1570, Wikimedia Commons public domain.

Commissioners reported on the state of the defences, and a shortlist of locations for increased defences was selected. The South Coast was the main target due to its proximity to mainland Europe and its concentration of shipbuilding and trade ports. The main centres for increased protection were Falmouth Harbour, Weymouth, the Solent, Rye Harbour, the

<sup>100</sup> Gairdner, J., and Brodie, R. H., *State Papers, 'Letters and Papers: April 1539, 11-15, in Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII'*, Vol. 14 Part 1, January-July 1539. London, England: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1894. Entry no. 359-374.

<sup>101</sup> Biddle, M., Hiller, J., and Scott, I., *Henry VIII's Coastal Artillery Fort at Camber Castle, Rye, East Sussex: An Archaeological, Structural and Historical Investigation* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2001), 11.

Thames Estuary and the Downs (the water channel between the Goodwin Sands and the East Kent coast).<sup>102</sup> Later in the same year, the French Ambassador Charles de Marillac (c.1510 – 1560) inscribed an urgent letter to Francis I alerting him to how Henry was now 'fortifying his frontiers in haste with musters everywhere.'<sup>103</sup>

For perhaps as long as his reign, Henry, as with many previous English monarchs, was unhappy that the monasteries had so much money, power and land within his kingdom – answering predominately to the Pope.<sup>104</sup> As he now embraced Erasmus' Christian humanism, his court quickly filled with reformers. The Reformation swept Europe just as the monastic tradition was declining.<sup>105</sup> Henry could obtain the advantage of extracting the country from the power of the catholic church by reappropriating its wealth and power from within the country. Therefore, Henry would use the spoils of this situation to fight against the Pope and his allies.

Nevertheless, Charles V's fervour for an imminent invasion of England waned due to the pressing challenges faced by his vast Holy Roman Empire, including the encroaching Turkish forces along its borders and the proliferating influence of Protestantism in his own lands. The formidable military forces and naval armada that were purportedly amassing in the Channel ports of France and the Netherlands gradually dissipated, albeit not without leaving a lasting impact. And although no invasion was seen at this time, this did not halt Henry's endeavour to fortify England properly.<sup>106</sup>

The construction of fortresses persisted, driven by the understanding that the threat, although temporarily diminished, would inevitably resurface (which it later did). Motivated by the desire to build upon the foundations laid by his father in establishing the House of Tudor

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<sup>102</sup> Davies, J., *The Tudor Arte of Warre 1485-1558: The Conduct of War from Henry VII to Mary I* (Solihull: Helion, 2021), 38-52.

<sup>103</sup> Biddle, M., Hiller, J., and Scott, I., *Henry VIII's Coastal Artillery Fort at Camber Castle, Rye, East Sussex: An Archaeological, Structural and Historical Investigation* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2001), 11.

<sup>104</sup> Nichols, S. J., *The Reformation: How A Monk and a Mallet Changed the World* (Wheaton, Illinois: Crossway, 2007), 85-89.

<sup>105</sup> Pollnitz, A., *Erasmus' Christian Prince and Henry VIII's Royal Supremacy, In Princely Education in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 2015), 110.

<sup>106</sup> Saunders, 1997, 14.

and to solidify his dominion over England, Henry displayed a keen determination to reshape the country according to his vision. The imperative nature of the castle-building program remained unabated, deemed essential to fortify his realm and ensure its overall security. Concurrently, Henry pursued military campaigns in northern France as a potential means of bolstering defence capabilities and extending his influence across Europe.<sup>107</sup> The capture of Boulogne (1544–1546), and the reinforcement of English control over Calais were manifestations of his proactive approach to safeguarding English interests.<sup>108</sup>

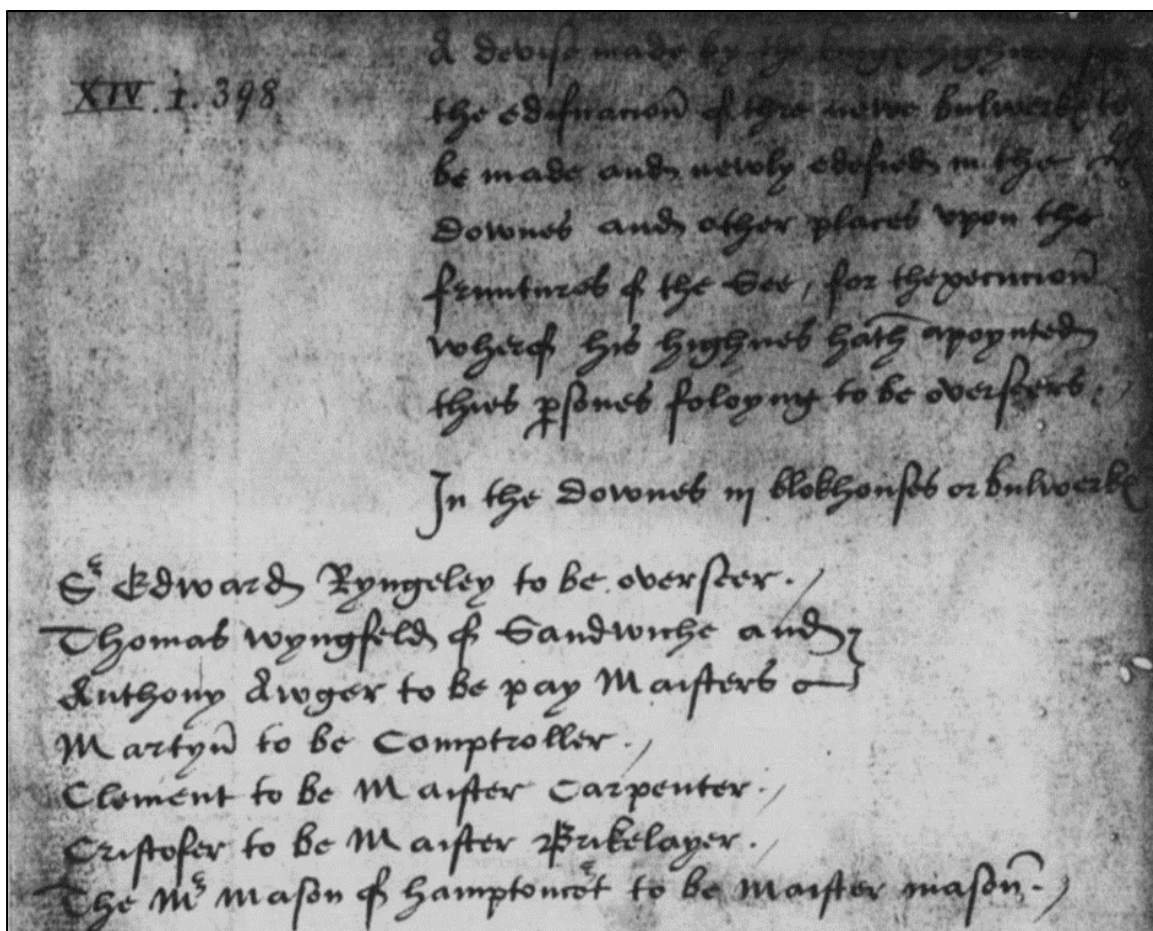


Fig. 11 A portion of a copy of the original King's Device taken from the State Papers, 1539, Crown Copyright.

<sup>107</sup> Saunders, 1997, 14.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*



## The Suppression and Dissolution of the Monasteries

Whilst international events moved at pace, Henry set about deploying his newly acquired powers against the Pope's infrastructure in England. This brings us to the second most important event during the Reformation in England that led to the development of the Device Castles: the suppression and subsequent Dissolution of the Monasteries.

This process largely occurred between 1536 and 1541.<sup>109</sup> This five-year campaign against the religious houses of England affected monasteries, convents, friaries and priories throughout Ireland, Wales and the English counties. At the time of the Dissolution, almost nine hundred religious institutions in England had more than two hundred and fifty monasteries, approximately one hundred forty nunneries, one hundred eighty friaries and three hundred canons.<sup>110</sup> The change affected about 2.75 million people who were part of religious orders at the time.<sup>111</sup>

The monastic tradition swept through England throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Religion controlled vast amounts of parish economies, and the Church owned approximately a quarter of the nation's wealth in the form of property and land.<sup>112</sup>

The seizure of monastic properties and belongings was primarily a result of soaring discontent with the ecclesiastical institutions and the power they wielded. There was a definite hostility towards the Church and clergy because of their wealth and power. This was not new; several former kings of England opposed the power of the Church. Under Henry VIII and the sweeping adoption of Lutheranism, this effectively ended.<sup>113</sup>

Henry passed the Royal Supremacy Act in 1534 to make himself and himself alone the 'Supreme Head of the Church of England', thus invalidating all of the monasteries and

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<sup>109</sup> Walsham, A., Cummings, B., Wallace, B., Law, C., *Memory and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 64-80.

<sup>110</sup> Bernard, G. W., 'The Dissolution of the Monasteries.' *Journal of the Historical Association* 96 (2011): 390–409.

<sup>111</sup> Harrington, 2013, 18.

<sup>112</sup> Dickens, A. G., *The English Reformation*, 2nd ed., (London: Batsford, 1989), 15-32., Harvey, B., *Living and Dying in England 1100-154): The Monastic Experience* (Oxford:Clarendon Press, 1989), 22-41.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

nullifying all of their land and wealth.<sup>114</sup> The Act noted that all rules, laws, honours, pre-eminence, privileges and profits would fall under the King's power and direction. What was unique about this Act was that it did not merely designate the King as fit to maintain these privileges but cited his ruling over everything as a fact. From this point onwards, Henry had turned the House of Tudor from the perceived appeasing stabiliser of the English Monarchy to an all-powerful and now incredibly wealthy Emperor.

The *Submission of the Clergy* was a document that removed the power of the Church of England to formulate Church law. It decreed that the King would impose his decisions rather than allow the Church or monastic rule to make their own decisions. It was passed in 1532 and then moved again in 1534. Initially, Henry sent articles stating that the Church of England would give up its authority to create laws without royal direction, that all canons would function under a governing committee and that the King and the appointed canons would remain intact per the King's consent. Henry reformed the Church and ensured that many articles that aligned the Church with the Reformation, but most importantly, with Henry's requirements, were put in place.<sup>115</sup>

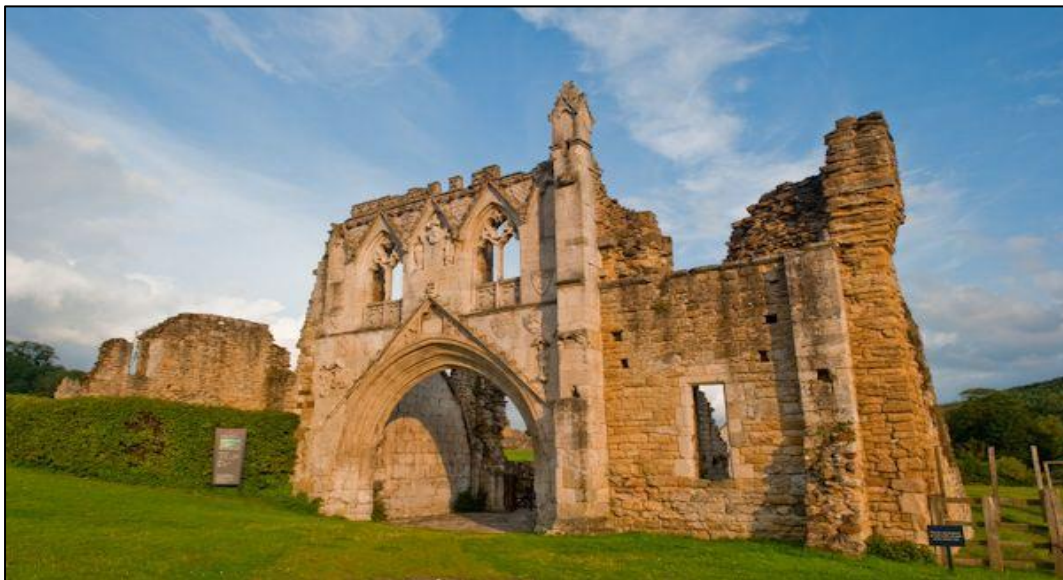


Fig. 12 The ruins of the dissolved Kirkham Priory, Yorkshire, 2012, Wiki Commons public domain.

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<sup>114</sup> Goldberg, Maren *Act of Supremacy England [1534]*, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Act-of-Supremacy-England-1534>, accessed: May 2021.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*



Henry's following targets were the monastery's buildings themselves. During this time, it was common to hear rumours about monastic improprieties and the excessive lifestyles of their inhabitants. However, there were exceptions; the Franciscans and the Carthusians ran strict religious houses with a rigorous prayer and rule system.<sup>116</sup> As a result, Henry favoured them with special endowments and privileges. This is important to note as when we study the loss of abbeys and religious houses for the use of spolia, it is evident that the properties of these two groups were either retained or reduced, unlike the scores of other religious communities who had greater allegiances to Rome or England's perceived enemies.



Fig. 13 Furness Abbey, Cumbria by Elizabeth Cameron Mawson, 1877, Wikimedia Commons public domain.

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<sup>116</sup> Bernard, G. W., 'The Dissolution of the Monasteries' 96 (*Journal of the Historical Association*, 2011), 390–409.

Thomas Cromwell (1485 – 1540), Henry's Chief Minister, was instrumental in bringing the deficiencies of monastic life to light. He was one of Henry's closest courtiers, holding a range of very senior posts within Henry's court.<sup>117</sup> Cromwell highlighted many of the monastic issues of concern and how far the monasteries had strayed from their original intention. Cromwell is considered to be a key figure in the English Reformation. He worked with Henry to direct funds from the religious organisations back to the monarchy. He did this to demonstrate how the funds collected by monasteries were being misdirected. However, some of Cromwell's findings were suspiciously one-sided and biased. Together, he and the King looked for new ways to redirect ecclesiastical revenue for the benefit of the Crown. They believed that the revenue had been unjustifiably diverted away from the Crown in the first place and that returning it was the only proper thing to do. This had been one of Henry's predecessor's primary quarrels with the monasteries for centuries, especially when monies had been readily diverted from England to Rome.<sup>118</sup>



Fig. 14 An image depicting Henry VIII from a fifteenth-century Court of Augmentation document, c.1538, The National Archives, E 344/22.

<sup>117</sup> MacCulloch, D., *Thomas Cromwell* (London: Penguin, 2018), 183.

<sup>118</sup> Norton, E., *The Tudor Treasury*, (London: Andre Deutsch, 2014), 82.





Fig. 15 The ruins of Whitby Abbey, 2018, © English Heritage.

In 1534, Cromwell began to assess the income and endowments of the monasteries in England. He visited the monasteries to assess the financial status of the locations and to 'purify' them by confirming their allegiance to the King rather than their papal authority. Cromwell continued his assessment for three years, reporting his findings to Henry.<sup>119</sup> The King at this time was intent on reform that would bring all monasteries under his direct rule and cooperative obedience. Although reform was the apparent focus, extinction was clearly on the horizon. Furness Abbey (Fig. 13), a significant centre in Lancashire, asked Cromwell if they could surrender - a proposal that Cromwell welcomed.<sup>120</sup> This began a process that allowed monasteries to surrender voluntarily to their King. Abbots were encouraged by their communities to give in to the surrender if they could negotiate reasonable pensions.

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<sup>119</sup> Bernard, G. W., 'The Dissolution of the Monasteries.' *Journal of the Historical Association* 96 (2011): 390–409.

<sup>120</sup> Farrer, William and Brownbill, J., eds. 'Houses of Cistercian monks: The abbey of Furness.' *In A History of the County of Lancaster: Volume 2*, London, (1908): 114-131.

Realising that surrender was a way to avoid treason charges, most abided. In 1536, Cromwell set up the Court of Augmentations to oversee monastery properties' formal and physical dissolution. As a result of this action, spolia became a cottage industry within Tudor England. In 1538, Cromwell appointed local commissioners to carry out the King's wishes of submission from abbots while working out their pensions. The second wave of Dissolutions after 1538 was swift because a process was already in place, and appointed representatives oversaw the transition.<sup>121</sup> There were later dissolutions also, but again, these went smoothly and, on the whole, quickly.

The coordination of the Suppression and subsequent Dissolution of the Monasteries was principally concerned with controlling the religious houses' lands, property and wealth. The subsequent follow-up to this process was often administered by larger religious centres (creating new dioceses) or by courtiers and noblemen.<sup>122</sup> Alternatively, some properties were sold off entirely to wealthy families. Record-keeping was sadly reduced with the demise of the central control that had existed through this Crown-run operation.<sup>123</sup> Existing records vary, but gaps often exist where little to no documented evidence can be sourced.<sup>124</sup> Over the years, archaeologists and historians (most extensively by David Knowles (1896- 1974) have tried to piece together the histories of these buildings after their dissolution.<sup>125</sup> This work has been successful to varying degrees, but due to the fluctuating lack of evidence, we do not know precisely what happened to all the religious houses and when; therefore, we do not have complete histories.<sup>126</sup> For many of these buildings post-Dissolution, we can only use past fieldwork, archival research and the little information we still have. The Court of Augmentations' records vary, but many of those that survive show that many religious

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<sup>121</sup> MacCulloch, D., *Thomas Cromwell*, (London: Penguin, 2018), 166.

<sup>122</sup> Bernard, G. W., 'The Dissolution of the Monasteries.' *Journal of the Historical Association* 96 (2011): 390–409.

<sup>123</sup> Knowles, D., *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, (London: Longman, 1972), 55.

<sup>124</sup> The National Archives holds many of the original documents associated with the Court., Richardson, W., C., *History of the Court of Augmentations, 1536-1554* (Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1961), 483-487.

<sup>125</sup> Knowles, D., *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, (London: Longman, 1972),., Knowles, D., *Bare Ruined Choirs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959).

<sup>126</sup> Knowles, D., *Bare Ruined Choirs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 179.

houses were slated for use as spolia.<sup>127</sup> As with the Romans and Normans before them, the Tudors relied heavily on this practice to provide building materials for a new wave of castle fortification. A more comprehensive study has not yet been commissioned to study spolia use in Kent, and we will need to explore how many of these religious houses existed in this county to determine which sites would have been suitable places to plunder materials.

### **The Device Building Programme**

There is some argument over the number of device castles built for this programme, although many scholars state that only twenty-one examples survive.<sup>128</sup> The confusion is due to some scholars referring to several of these castles as blockhouses. Removing these would make the number of castles seventeen.<sup>129</sup> Combining all fortifications from this brief period, around thirty newly constructed fortifications of varying sizes were built under the King's Device, qualifying them as a wider Henrician Castles category subset. In addition to this, many existing structures were altered or repaired.<sup>130</sup> When including refurbishments, reinstatements, works outside England and in northern England, the actual number is closer to seventy-three new fortifications.<sup>131</sup>

The programme was organised around two main phases, and based on Parliamentary approval, it would concentrate on two main areas: the South East of England and the Solent.<sup>132</sup> Other fortifications were also built in the West Country, at the mouth of the Thames, and on the West Coast of Wales, selected by the Crown to ensure that the

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<sup>127</sup> Examples include: The National Archives, E322/49, E322/50.

<sup>128</sup> Harrington, *The Castles of Henry VIII*, 4.

<sup>129</sup> Lowry, B., *Discovering Fortifications*, (London: Shire, 2006), 14-15.

<sup>130</sup> Colvin, H., M., *The History of the King's Works*, Vol. IV: Part II, 369., Harrington, *The Castles of Henry VIII*, 4-6., Goodall, J. *The English Castle: 1066-1650*, (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2011), 420., Merriman, M., 'Realm and Castle: Henry VIII as European Builder,' *History Today* Vol 41: Iss 6 (1991).

<sup>131</sup> Goodall, J., *The Castle: A History*, (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale, 2022), 175.

<sup>132</sup> Harrington, *The Castles of Henry VIII*, 1-11.

most vulnerable parts of the realm were protected in either combat strength or with advantageous, forewarning lookout points.<sup>133</sup> Likewise, further repair and alteration works were undertaken in the English-controlled parts of France (Guînes and Calais), Hull (1543), Scarborough, Norham (1554), Newcastle, and Berwick.<sup>134</sup>

In the South-East of England, the construction of fortifications in Kent and East Sussex took precedence. Subsequently, the castles of this thesis were constructed in Kent between 1539-1540: Deal, Sandown, and Walmer (the Castles of the Downs).<sup>135</sup> Due to their vicinity to the anchorage's name, rather than that of the nearby hills - a common misconception.<sup>136</sup> These castles were connected by a great network of ditches, ramparts, and four bulwarks. Deal likely derived its name from the nearby settlement, Walmer was named thus as it was located in the medieval Manor of Walmer (which already had a castle/fortified manor – see appendix S, the name probably derives from 'sea wall'), while Sandown probably came from the tremendous sandy mounds that once formed in the area where it was built as it was occasionally known as 'Sandhills' in the Court Rolls.<sup>137</sup>

Sandgate near Hythe was constructed between 1539 and 1540, and Camber in East Sussex was constructed between 1539 and 1540.<sup>138</sup> This initial fortification at Camber was built to protect the Cinque Port of Rye (though it is located confusingly in Winchelsea). It had been established on the site in 1513, and in 1543, it was further developed as an extension

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<sup>133</sup> Harrington, *The Castles of Henry VIII*, 1-11.

<sup>134</sup> Porter, W., *History of the Corps of Royal Engineers* (London: Longmans Green, 1889), 22-23., Colvin, H., M., *The History of the King's Works*, Vol. IV: Part II, 475.

<sup>135</sup> Harrington, *The Castles of Henry VIII*, 1-11.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 455.

<sup>137</sup> Hasted, E. 'The Liberty of the Cinque Ports (continued): Walmer', In *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 10*, edited by W. Bristow, 1800 (Canterbury: W. Bristow, 1800), 23-29., Institution of Civil Engineers, 'Minutes of Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers', *Institution of Civil Engineers 87* (1886): 164–165., A lot of this sand was likely used to develop the three internationally acclaimed golf courses located just north of the castle. There is also archaeological evidence that great pockets of sand were found in the ruins of Sandown Castle in 1980: Philp, B., *Discoveries and Excavations Across Kent, 1970-2014*, 12th Report (Kent: Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit, 2014), 153-159., Lewis, S., 'Walmer - Walsoken', in *A Topographical Dictionary of England*, (London, 1848), 444-449., Chapman, H.S., *Deal: Past and Present* (London: Reeves & Turner, 1890), 29., Knighton, C. S., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Edward VI, 1547-1553, Preserved in the Public Record Office*. Revised Edition. London, England: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1992. Crown Copyright.

<sup>138</sup> Harrington, 8.

with additional works, likely due to latent defects.<sup>139</sup> Additionally, in the Kent region, three blockhouses, Gravesend, Higham, and Milton, were erected between 1539-1545 as a final line of defence for London (Fig. 16).<sup>140</sup>

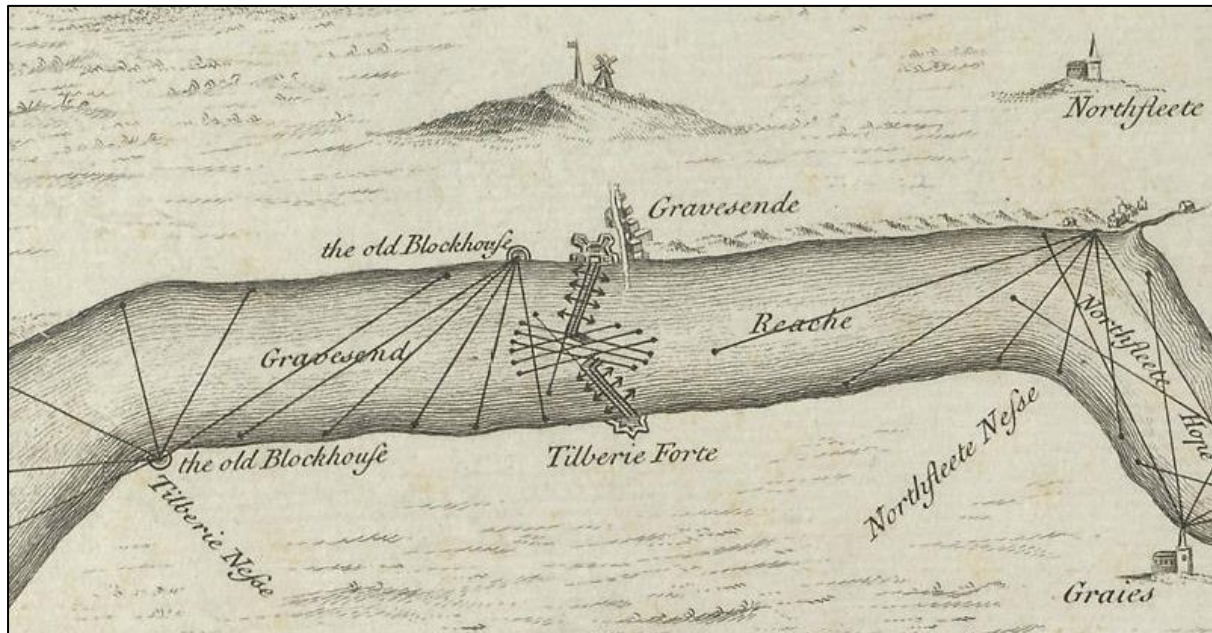


Fig.16 Military map showcasing the Thames Blockhouses in operation,1588, Wikimedia Commons public domain.

A notable concentration of castle construction emerged near Portsmouth, Southampton, and the Isle of Wight, strategically aimed at safeguarding the vital Tudor ports along the Solent.<sup>141</sup> Subsequently, additional castles were erected in close proximity. Remarkably, this comprehensive building program was executed swiftly for its time, with most castles being completed and occupied by garrisons by the conclusion of 1541. This included Calshot (1539-1540), Portland (1539-1541), and Sandsfoot (c.1539-1541). The remaining structures were finished by the end of 1547, representing the second phase of construction, those of St Mawes (1540-1545), Pendennis (1540-1545), Hurst, (1541-1544),

<sup>139</sup> Biddle, M., Hiller, J., & Scott, I., *Henry VIII's Coastal Artillery Fort at Camber Castle, Rye, East Sussex*, (Swindon: English Heritage, 2001).

<sup>140</sup> Saunders, A., *Channel Defences*, (Swindon: B. T. Batsford, English Heritage, 1997), 49.

<sup>141</sup> Harrington, 2007, 8.

St Andrew's Hampshire (1543-1544), Southsea (1544), Netley (c.1544), Brownsea (1545-1547), Isle of Wight's Sandown (1545), and Yarmouth (1547).<sup>142</sup>

Other blockhouses included East and West Cowes (c.1539-1542), Brightlingsea (1543), Langar Point (c.1540), Langar Rode (c.1543), Falmouth (1540-1545), Cudmore Grove (1543), St. Catherine's (1538-1540), three at Harwich (c.1543), St. Helen's (1539-1545), St Osyth (1543), Sharpenrode (1545-1547), Dale (1539), and East and West Tilbury (1539-1546).<sup>143</sup> As we can appreciate, the wider Device building programme was a vast fortification programme, even by modern standards.

### **The Cinque Ports and the Lord Warden**

When the King issued his Device in 1539 for new fortifications to be hastily built across the land, his coffers were full from the spoils of the monasteries, complete with a collection of empty religious buildings stood ready to be plundered for the construction of these castles. But Henry still needed people to implement his plans; ideally, he needed local dignitaries with local knowledge and power to facilitate such a rapid construction programme throughout the country.

Once built, the Castles of the Downs were handed to the Lord Warden, head of the Cinque Ports.<sup>144</sup> The Confederation of Cinque Ports is a historical association of coastal communities in southeast England, primarily in Kent and East Sussex, with one outlier (Brightlingsea) in Essex. The name is Old French and refers to the original five members: Hastings, New Romney, Hythe, Dover, and Sandwich; the town of Sandwich had control

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<sup>142</sup> Harrington, 2007, 8., Saunders, A., *Channel Defences*, (Swindon: B. T. Batsford, English Heritage, 1997), 48-49., Lowry, B., *Discovering Fortifications*, (Shire, 2006)

<sup>143</sup> Harrington, 8, 33., Colvin, H., M., *The History of the King's Works*, Vol. IV: Part II, 470-475., Saunders, A., *Fortress Britain: Artillery Fortifications in the British Isles and Ireland*, 51, 61., Lowry, B., *Discovering Fortifications* (Princes Risborough, Buckinghamshire: Shire, 2006).

<sup>144</sup> Chisholm, H., 'The Cinque Ports.' *Encyclopædia Britannica* Vol. 6, 11th ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911).377–378.



over the limbs of Deal and Walmer.<sup>145</sup> The confederation had over forty members when it reached its height in the late medieval period (Fig. 17). It was initially established for trade and military purposes but now serves only ceremonial purposes in modern times.<sup>146</sup>



Fig. 17 Artist map of the locations of the ancient Cinque Ports by an unknown artist, c. 1930s, Sandwich Guildhall, Used under UK Fair Dealing.

The Cinque Ports' exact beginnings are unknown, but they are thought to date from the reign of Edward the Confessor (1042–1066) in the late Anglo-Saxon era.<sup>147</sup> In exchange for providing ships and provisions, the confederation received specific local privileges from the Crown. The Domesday Book (1086) mentions the shipping service of Romney, Dover, and Sandwich but not the confederation as a whole. The term 'Cinque Ports' was coined in 1135, and in 1155, a royal charter established the ports to keep ships available for the

<sup>145</sup> Merewether, H. A., & Stephens, A. J., *The History of The Boroughs and Municipal Corporations of The United Kingdom* (London: Branch Line Press, 1835), 1701-1702.

<sup>146</sup> Sweetinburgh, S., *Later Medieval Kent, 1220-1540*, (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2010), 69-70.

<sup>147</sup> Burrows, M., *The Cinque Ports*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1888), 25 – 29.

Crown in the event of need—the first general charter from 1260 granted liberties to the ports in common. Additionally, the Magna Carta of 1297 mentions their rights.<sup>148</sup> The primary corporate duty placed on the ports was to provide the King with fifty-seven ships annually for fifteen days of service, with each port fulfilling a portion of the overall duty.<sup>149</sup>

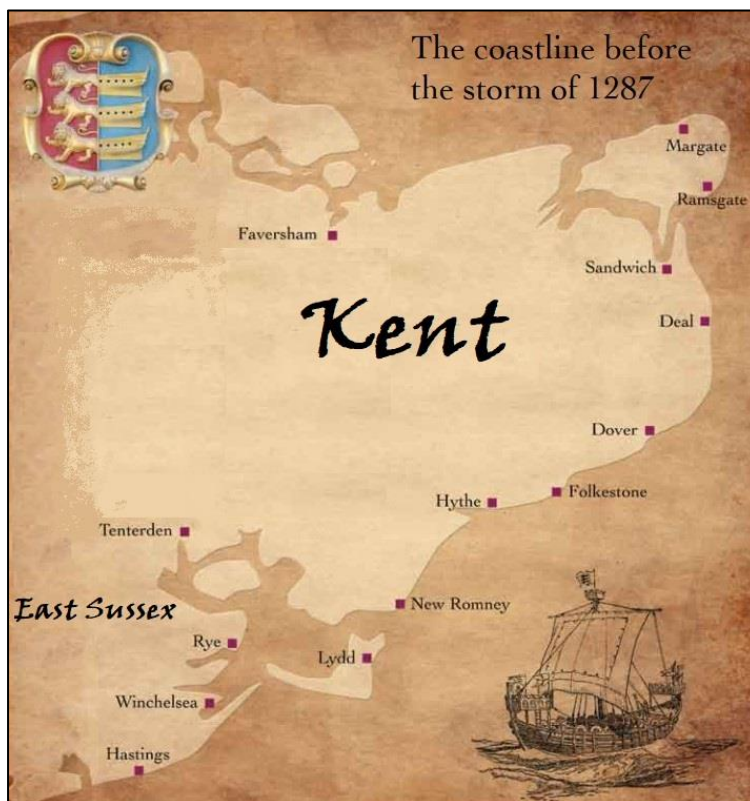


Fig. 18 The modern Cinque Ports and the coastline from before 1287, [visitingcinqueports.co.uk](http://visitingcinqueports.co.uk), used under UK Fair Dealing.

It is claimed that the Cinque Ports had a significant impact on the growth of the Royal Navy. The rationale for the privileges granted, the maintenance, and the expansion of the ports over several centuries was that the Crown needed a reliable supply of men and ships in times of war. It is questionable, however, that the agreement was ever meant to raise a

<sup>148</sup> Murray, K. M. E., *The Constitutional History of the Cinque Ports* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1935), 21-24.

<sup>149</sup> Sweetinburgh, S., *Maritime Kent Through the Ages: Gateway to the Sea* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2021), 277 - 297.

genuinely adequate naval provision, and the Cinque Ports certainly did not significantly increase English maritime strength relative to other English ports of comparable size.<sup>150</sup>

The administration of the south-eastern ports was given to the Cinque Ports (including Dover, Sandwich, Romney, Hythe, and Hastings, among others), and due to their demonstrated efficacy, enabled kings to consider their ships as a valuable naval resource during times of emergency.<sup>151</sup> In return, the confederation was granted a number of unique rights and privileges. The Confederation contributed to the realm's defence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, even though this contribution waned later. By the time the Castles of the Downs were constructed, the confederation's significance had significantly reduced. By the eighteenth century, the whole federation had declined, rendering the confederacy and the Lord Warden's role largely ceremonial.<sup>152</sup>

The Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, or 'Keeper of the Coast' as they were formerly known, has existed at least since the twelfth century. The Cinque Ports were initially under the control of The Lord Warden, and the title is bestowed by the Crown, often cited as one of the highest honours that the Sovereign can bestow.<sup>153</sup> Before the fifteenth century, the role was arguably one of the most important in England, as the role-holder was charged with undertaking a number of essential tasks, including defending the coasts in this part of England. The title has frequently been held by members of the Royal Family or prime ministers, particularly those who have played a significant role in defending Britain during times of war.<sup>154</sup>

The Lord Warden was also solely in charge of tax collection, the detention of criminals, and the return of all writs to the Crown. His court met in St. James's Church, close to Dover Castle, and he had roughly chancery-like jurisdiction there. Additionally, he had

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<sup>150</sup> Pratt-Boorman, H. R., *Kent and the Cinque Ports* (Maidstone: Kent Messenger, 1957), 362.

<sup>151</sup> Saunders, 1997, 29-30.

<sup>152</sup> Williams, G., *The Heraldry of the Cinque Ports* (Newton & Abbott: David & Charles, 1971), 18., Saunders, 1997, 29-30.

<sup>153</sup> Body, E., *The Cinque Ports and Lords Warden: a history in verse and prose*, (Maidstone: Kent Messenger, 1992), 189.

<sup>154</sup> Draper, G., *Urban privilege? The advantages and enjoyment of Cinque Ports' status in the Middle Ages, Maritime Kent Through the Ages: Gateway to the Sea* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2021), 277–297.

'lieutenant's powers of muster' and the Dover Castle Constablenesship, which was later added to the warden's office in 1267. This entitled him to maintain a garrison and administrative staff, including the castle's clerk and lieutenant.<sup>155</sup> The post's ceremonial quarters eventually moved from Dover Castle to Walmer Castle, which would have an instrumental effect on the status of Walmer and its preservation, which we shall explore in the Walmer Chapter.

The Cinque Ports' status began to wane significantly in the sixteenth century. During the critical defence against the Armada in 1588, the Cinque Ports' contribution to the fleet consisted of just seven new vessels; considering the gravity of the situation, this contingent appeared relatively meagre.<sup>156</sup> Subsequently, in the latter sixteenth century, whenever the Cinque Ports provided vessels for royal use, they did so in exchange for payment, following the same practice as other coastal and riverside towns.<sup>157</sup> Queen Elizabeth I (1533 – 1603), known for her frugality, expressed dissatisfaction in 1587 with the growing disparity between the great privileges and obligations of the Cinque Ports. She announced her intention to revoke these privileges and subject them to the same terms as all other coastal communities, and whilst she managed to remove some of their privileges, others were not removed until decades later.<sup>158</sup> Thus, the catalyst for the Lord Warden's role to become more ceremonial was instigated under Elizabeth. The Lord Warden and his Captains would take command of the Downs Castles in 1540, but as we shall see, their importance to the military would, as with the Warden himself, also diminish over time. Having established the historical context in which these castles were constructed, we must shift our focus toward examining their architectural design.

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<sup>155</sup> Body, E., *The Cinque Ports and Lords Warden: a history in verse and prose* (Maidstone: Kent Messenger, 1992), 5.

<sup>156</sup> Jessup., F., Jessup, R., *The Cinque Ports*, (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1952), 28.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*





Fig. 19 The Coat of Arms for the Cinque Ports, Faversham, © Copyright David Anstiss and licensed for reuse under this Creative Commons Licence.

## **Chapter Two: The Architectural Design of the Castles of the Downs**

Chapter One investigated the historical context that significantly influenced the development of the Castles of the Downs. Building upon this foundation, this chapter shall further examine the origins and widespread influence of Artillery Forts across Europe and other regions. Our focus will also shift towards evaluating the Castles' architecture, highlighting their distinctive design elements and unique distinctiveness within the wider King's Device and among the hundreds of examples of artillery forts worldwide. We will also investigate and identify the likely originator of this innovative design advancement of these three distinct castles. This aspect holds particular significance, as history has not recorded the architect of The Castles of the Downs.<sup>1</sup> This fact is even more compelling as many of the other castles within the Device have known persons who contributed or completely designed their respective fortress projects (Fig. 20).

By exploring these topics, this chapter aims to provide valuable new insights and potential answers to these long-standing lacunae and contribute to a broader analysis of the distinctive characteristics inherent in these three castles. Ultimately, this analysis will lead to a deeper understanding of these castles' significance within the wider architectural landscape.

### **Artillery Fortress Design History**

As we have seen, the most significant catalyst for the evolution of the Artillery Forts was the deployment of the cannon. Cannons possibly first appeared on the English battlefield in

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<sup>1</sup> 'Architect' is used not as the professional role (the role had largely not been introduced to England at this time), but rather as the principal progenitor of the design thesis. The history of the English architect: Girouard, M., *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architecture 1540-1640*, (London: Paul Mellon Centre, 2021), 21-23.

1327, marking a significant advancement in military technology.<sup>2</sup> By the 1450s, cannons had become the primary weapon in castle sieges, although their unwieldiness and weight hindered their complete refinement until much later.<sup>3</sup> During the late fifteenth century, the French possessed the most formidable cannons, as demonstrated by Charles VIII's (1470-1498) invasion of the Italian peninsula in 1494.<sup>4</sup> The devastating impact of the improved French cannons and their initial use of singular fortified bastions prompted the Italians to enhance and develop artillery forts to improve defensive capabilities while maintaining offensive potential.<sup>5</sup> This strategic shift allowed the Italians to respond and expand their control over increasingly greater portions of land. Italy (de facto Rome), renowned for its longstanding tradition of assimilating and enhancing defensive structures, embarked on a protracted development later known as the Star Forts, or 'Trace Italienne,' during the mid to late fifteenth century.<sup>6</sup> These fortifications, from the crude singular bastion or bulwark to the refined Traces Italiennes fortresses, are what we now recognise as artillery fortresses.<sup>7</sup>

As we have discussed, the concentric medieval castles were mainly defensive and usually occupied positions on the top of hills with high vantage points and large curtain wallings. The emerging artillery castles had rounded bastions, were squat, packed with artillery, strategically placed (usually close to the sea), and provided both defensive and offensive capabilities. Early examples include Fortezza Medicea (Arezzo) in the 1470s, Priamar Fortress, Michelangelo's (1475 – 1564) designs for the defence of Florence in 1529, and the Fortress of Poggio Imperiale (Poggibonsi) in the late fifteenth century-early sixteenth

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<sup>2</sup> Bottomley, F., *The Castle Explorer's Guide*, (London: Crown Publishers, 1983), 24.

<sup>3</sup> Baker, P. S., 'Napoleon: Apex of the Military Revolution.' *Saber and Scroll* Vol. II Iss IV (2013): 104.

<sup>4</sup> Parker, G., 'The Military Revolution, 1560-1660: A Myth?' *The Journal of Modern History* 48, no. 2 (1976): 195-214., Mallett, M., 'Diplomacy and War in Later Fifteenth Century Italy', *Proceedings of the British Academy* v. 67 (1982): 270.

<sup>5</sup> Hale, J. R., *The Early Development of the Bastion: An Italian Chronology, c. 1450–c. 1534*, in Hale, John, Highfield, Roger and Smalley, Beryl eds., *Europe in the Late Middle Ages* (London: Faber & Faber, 1965), 466-494., Parker, G., *The Military Revolution 2nd ed.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 11.

<sup>6</sup> Townshend, C., *The Oxford History of Modern War* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 111-115.

<sup>7</sup> Duffy, C. *Fire and Stone, the Science of Fortress Warfare 1660–1860* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1975) 104

century.<sup>8</sup> Michelangelo's concept designs for Florence showed a mixture of rounded and angular bastions. However, as the rounded bastion was the initial deployment of many of these early artillery fort designs, the angular bastion had almost completely replaced it in Italy by the middle to the late sixteenth century.<sup>9</sup> These angular designs were adopted first by the mainland European powers and later by the English towards the end of the Device-building programme. Baldassare Peruzzi (1481 – 1536) also constructed several forts using an amalgamation of these early designs to form a definitive version.<sup>10</sup> He possibly schooled or inspired the later Italian engineer Pietro Cataneo (c.1510–c.1574), who also used the same distinctive mix of features (Fig. 2).<sup>11</sup> Another project from the same window of time that incorporates the same features and is also largely still standing today is the Fortezza Medicea in Arezzo, Tuscany (c.1538-1560, Fig. 1) as designed by Florentine architects Giuliano and his brother Antonio da Sangallo (c.1445 – 1516, and c. 1453 – 1534).<sup>12</sup>

The artillery fort concept propagated across Italy, driven, respectively, by two generations of Sangallo engineers and Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439–1501) and his commissions.<sup>13</sup> Equally important was Francesco di Giorgio Martini's military engineering work in the late fifteenth century with Michele Sanmicheli (1484–1559), the great Venetian military engineer and architect. Jacobo Seghezzi (unknown dates), Galeazzo Alghisi (1523-1573), and Baldassarre Lanci (1510-1571) works to re-fortify the ancient city of Lucca using angular bastions show perhaps one of the first developments towards true Star Forts in the late 1550s.<sup>14</sup> The successor to these men and a big advocate of the artillery fort concept

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<sup>8</sup> Pepper, S., 'Sword and Spade: Military Construction in Renaissance Italy'. *Construction History* Vol. 16 (2000): 13-28.

<sup>9</sup> Bissonnette, D., L., & Binda, M., *The Genius of the Sculptor in Michelangelo's Work*, (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1992), 460-461.

<sup>10</sup> Duffy, C., *Fire and Stone, the Science of Fortress Warfare 1660–1860* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1975), 85-95.

<sup>11</sup> Marani, P. C., 'A Reworking by Baldassare Peruzzi of Francesco Di Giorgio's Plan of a Villa', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 41, no. 3 (1982): 181–88. Site: <https://doi.org/10.2307/989872>.

<sup>12</sup> Hale, J., R., *Renaissance War Studies*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1983), 42-43.

<sup>13</sup> Black, J., *Fortifications and Siegecraft: Defence and Attack through the Ages* (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2018)., Addis, B., 'Francesco Di Giorgio's Contribution to the Development of Building Engineering.' *Construction History* 31, no. 2 (2016): 39–58. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26476235>.

<sup>14</sup> Barsali, B., ed., *Atti del Convegno Il Palazzo pubblico di Lucca architetture, opere d'arte, destinazioni* (Lucca: M. Pacini Fazzi, 1980), 84.



was Vincenzo Scamozzi (1548 – 1616), whose extensive work into the early seventeenth century combined many architectural and engineering disciplines.<sup>15</sup>



Fig. 1 Photograph of Fortezza Medicea in Arezzo, Tuscany - much altered from the 1470s, 2023, © l'Ortica, used under UK Fair Dealing.



Fig. 2 Pietro Cataneo, Two Fortresses with Writings on Architecture, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 41, no. 3 (1982): 181–88.

<sup>15</sup> Hemsoll, D., *Emulating Antiquity: Renaissance Buildings from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo* (Connecticut: Yale U. P., 2019), 206.

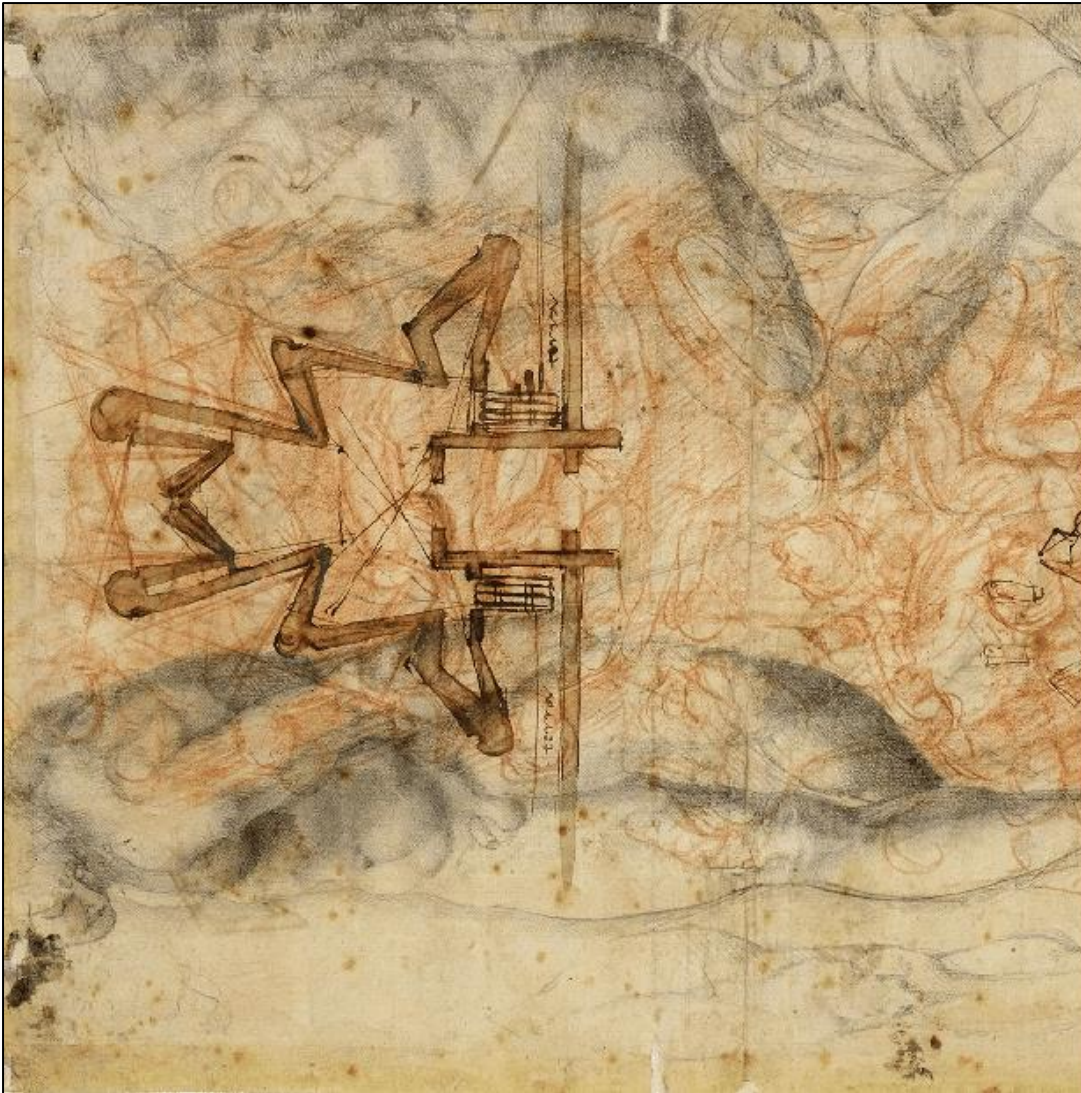


Fig. 3 Michelangelo's concept drawings for the fortification of Florence show rounded and angular bastions, 1529, Wikimedia Commons public domain.

In England, the very first artillery-inspired castle to come into use was probably Dartmouth Castle.<sup>16</sup> The existing castle, built in 1388, was redeveloped and retrofitted as a gun tower that acted as a bastion to protect the port entrance to the main waterway. This alteration was undertaken in 1481, but not until the Device Castles did the first purpose-built artillery forts come into operation.<sup>17</sup> About Dartmouth, Harrington states that 'when

<sup>16</sup> Ayers, B., Smith, R., Tillyard, M., Smith, T., P., 'The Cow Tower, Norwich: a detailed survey and partial reinterpretation.' *Medieval Archaeology* 32:1 (1988): 184-186., Davison, B. K., *Dartmouth Castle, Devon* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2000), 1-9.

<sup>17</sup> Davison, B., K., *Dartmouth Castle, Devon* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2000), 1-9.



completed in 1495, it was regarded as the most advanced fortified structure in the country.<sup>18</sup> As a means to mount a cannon for return fire, the bastion was the latest military technology for this period, a response to the refined cannon on the battlefield. It was one of the few ways castle buildings had been improved to make them relevant once again in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.



Fig. 4 A digital recreation of Dartmouth Castle with the added singular bastion, © English Heritage.

<sup>18</sup> Harrington, *The Castles of Henry VIII*, 9-10.

In addition to Dartmouth, Kingswear Castle was constructed in 1491, along with some smaller-scale artillery lookouts.<sup>19</sup> It is likely that Henry VIII first saw an accurate and complete artillery fortress during his Battle of the Spurs in August 1513 (Fig. 5).<sup>20</sup> During the Italian Wars, the battle formed part of a broader campaign called the League of Cambrai.<sup>21</sup> With an alliance with the Holy Roman Empire, Henry besieged the towns within the area now known as Pas-de-Calais and later at Tournai from his camp at Enguinegatte.<sup>22</sup> The fight was notable for the time for three reasons: the increased use of heavy artillery, the new fortifications found in France and the capture of several French knights.<sup>23</sup>



Fig. 5 The Battle of the Spurs, c. 1513, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 406784.

<sup>19</sup> O'Neil, B. H. St. John, 'Dartmouth Castle and Other Defences of Dartmouth Haven' *Archaeologia* 85 (1936): 129–159.

<sup>20</sup> Raymond, J., *Henry VIII's Military Revolution: The Armies of Sixteenth-Century Britain and Europe* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007) 19–27.

<sup>21</sup> Kaufmann, J. E., & Kaufmann, H. W., *The Medieval Fortress: Castles, Forts, and Walled Cities of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Da Capo Press, 2001), 88–89.

<sup>22</sup> Mullett, M., *Historical Dictionary of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation*, (Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2010), 235.

<sup>23</sup> Kaufmann, J. E., & Kaufmann, H. W., *The Medieval Fortress: Castles, Forts, and Walled Cities of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Da Capo Press, 2001), 88–89.



The fortifications Henry encountered were ditches lined with masonry to facilitate surprise attacks and better sighting for the heavy artillery guns, making these possibly the first crude use of bastions (or indeed bulwarks) that Henry had encountered.<sup>24</sup> By 1522, there was a renewed risk of French retaliation. As a result, the blockhouses of Brixham and Worsley's Tower (c. 1522) were constructed in the Solent (where the Henrician castle of Hurst Point would be subsequently constructed in 1541).<sup>25</sup> Both are now lost, with the latter described as a crude nineteen-foot-tall octagon-shaped structure, with a cannon placed onto the roof and gun-ports below.<sup>26</sup> Henry also commissioned St Catherine's Castle in 1536 in Cornwall, using the existing rounded part of the castle as a gun tower.<sup>27</sup> These castles were not as advanced as the later versions of the Henrician Device castles. They show an evolution of design and, although not a fully developed concept, provide evidence of design features that would later develop into the complete artillery fortress of the latter Device works.



Fig. 6 Aerial photograph of St Catherine's Castle in Cornwall, 2018, ©wearecornwall.com (We are Group Ltd), used under UK Fair Dealing.

<sup>24</sup> Kaufmann, J. E., & Kaufmann, H. W., *The Medieval Fortress: Castles, Forts, and Walled Cities of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Da Capo Press, 2001), 88-89.

<sup>25</sup> Harrington, *The Castles of Henry VIII*, 10.

<sup>26</sup> Colvin, 563-565.

<sup>27</sup> Thompson, M. W., *The Decline of the Castle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 14-23.

One of the first authors of this new emerging science of military engineering was the Germanic-born Albrecht Dürer (1471 - 1528), who was employed as a design advisor for a number of fortifications, most famously at Antwerp in 1520.<sup>28</sup> In his 1527's '*Etliche vnderricht, zu befestigung der Stett, Schlosz, vnd flecken*' - roughly translated from medieval German into modern English as '*Some Lessons in Fortifying the City, Palace and Town*' – he wrote:<sup>29</sup>

'Since today in our time many unheard of things happen, it seems to me imperative to consider how a fortification should be built in which kings, princes, lords and cities can defend themselves, not only such that a Christian will be protected from another Christian, but also such that the countries in vicinity of the Turks will be secure from their violence and their projectiles. Therefore, I have undertaken to show how such a structure is to be built.'<sup>30</sup>

His designs combined defensive and offensive forms of fortification using a series of geometrical and method-based calculations to show how this new form of military engineering could be readily deployed. This text includes his ideas for the curved bastion, gun embrasures, the thick-set artillery walls and their placement near the coast for the ultimate defence of essential ports and shipping lanes. Unlike the Italian architects, Dürer's book publicised the curved bastion, and it is possible that his ideas, in print, may have made their way to England, though there is no evidence of this.<sup>31</sup> As Henry's Court and preference for employing the foreign artisans of his allies and enemies, it is possible these people heading from mainland Europe to England would bring both Dürer and the Italian Renaissance architects' design ideas with them. At least in the case of the Castles of the

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<sup>28</sup> Engberg-Pedersen, A., *Empire of Chance* (Harvard University of Press, 2015), 25-27.

<sup>29</sup> Dürer, A., *Etliche vnderricht zu befestigung der Stett, Schlosz, vnd flecken* (Gedruckt zu Nürenberg, 1527), 18-22., Translated by M. P. Curson, Canterbury, October 2019

<sup>30</sup> Engberg-Pedersen, A., *Empire of Chance* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 25-27.

<sup>31</sup> Hale, J., R., *Renaissance War Studies*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1983), 78.

Downs, the rounded bastions of Dürer's work may have had the most bearing on their design (perhaps also as Dürer was known in the 1520s to have been sympathetic to Luther's views on Protestantism).<sup>32</sup> As we shall explore, engineers and craftsmen from these parts of northern Europe, where these ideas were first published, did come to work on the project at The Downs.

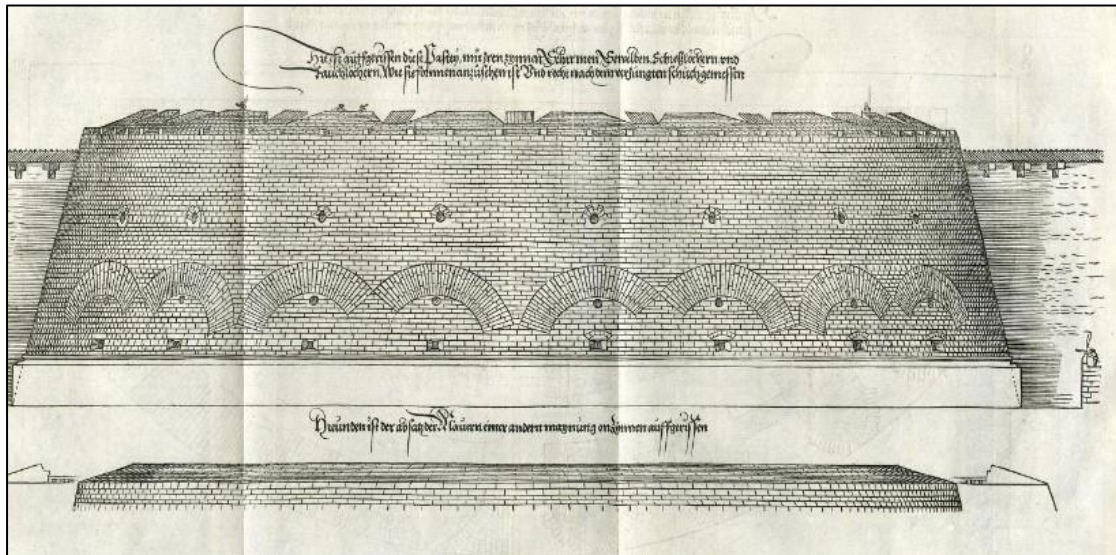


Fig. 7 A drawing by Dürer for fortifying cities, inspired by his work in Antwerp, Dürer, A., 1527, *Etliche vnderricht zu befestigung der Stett, Schloß, vnd flecken*, used under UK fair dealing.

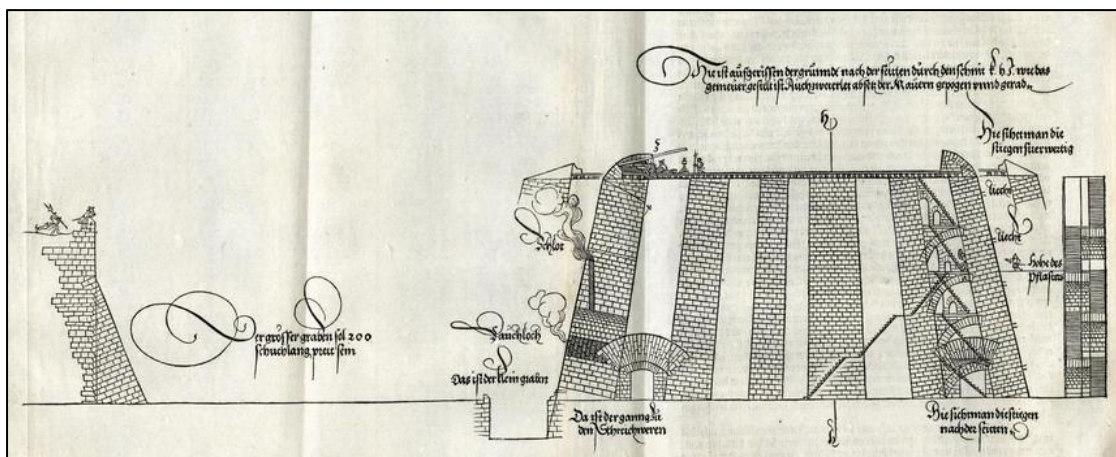


Fig. 8 A drawing by Dürer for fortifying cities, inspired by his work in Antwerp, Dürer, A., 1527, *Etliche vnderricht zu befestigung der Stett, Schloß, vnd flecken*, used under UK fair dealing.

<sup>32</sup> Price, D., *Albrecht Dürer's Renaissance: Humanism, Reformation, and the Art of Faith* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 242.

## The Castles of the Downs' Architecture

The Henrician artillery forts across England were built at differing speeds, with differing designs to varying degrees of success.<sup>33</sup> No two were alike (other than the two sister castles, Walmer and Deal). While Sandgate retained a trefoil layout similar to the other two Castles of the Downs across the south coast, others had less intricate bastions and more gun towers surrounded by protecting baileys that held return fire capabilities. Examples included Pendennis Castle (1540-1545) and Hurst Castle (1541-1544) (Fig. 9).<sup>34</sup> Towards the end of the building programme, the English aligned their designs with those of their European mainland counterparts and dropped the curved bastion for the straight-edged version; this is evidenced at Yarmouth Castle, built in 1547 and with the later Elizabethan forts (1559 - 1560s), such as Upnor (Appendix K). Therefore, within this small but productive window, England's design development would effectively produce the unique Castles of the Downs.

1539	1540	1541	1542	1543	1544	1545	1546	1547
East & West Cowes Blockhouses								
Sandgate								
Sandown								
Walmer								
Deal								
Calshot								
Camber I								
Gravesend								
Milton								
Higham								
East & West Tilbury*								
Portland								
Sandsfoot*								
St Mawes								
Pendennis								
Hurst								
Camber II								
Southsea								
Netley								
Brownsea								
Sandown, Isle of Wight								
Yarmouth								
*approximate								

Fig. 9 Table showing the main Device Forts' construction dates.

<sup>33</sup> Harrington, *The Castles of Henry VIII*, 8.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*



The Device works continued until 1547 when the last fort (under Henry's reign) was completed and handed to the military for immediate use. Initially, the Kent castles were thick-set and spiralled, with deep merlons that protected a rounded, inner keep.<sup>35</sup> The fortresses were also designed to be incredibly defensive, with an opportunity within the spiralled bastions to mount a similar counter-offensive for any potential battles. Due to this, the walls of the Castles of the Downs were extremely thick, with some up to 4600mm.<sup>36</sup> Additionally, as with the other forts within this Device, the purpose of the castles was not just to avert a possible invasion but also to protect any sizeable landing points or anchorages, remarkably previously unguarded anchorages such as the Downs.<sup>37</sup> The Downs is a famous anchorage on the east coast of Kent that runs the closest and deepest to shore at the town of Deal, essentially making Deal a natural harbour. The new Castles of the Downs were designed to be squat enough in the landscape not to be immediately detected and powerful enough to destroy enemies that tried to anchor within it.



Fig. 10 Photograph of the landward (westerly) bastion at Walmer Castle showing the deep splayed embrasures, (photo author, 2019).

<sup>35</sup> British Library, MS 34147.

<sup>36</sup> Survey by the author, July 2021, appendix B.

<sup>37</sup> Saunders, A., *Fortress Britain*, 37.

Castles throughout the country varied, but broadly they were a rounded keep with a concentric bailey above a dry moated area built near to the sea. They still featured more traditional medieval design elements such as lancet windows, portcullises, murder holes and standard drawbridges.<sup>38</sup> These were combined, though, with newer features such as large, splayed embrasures with cambered sills that were incorporated to allow cannon fire and reduce damage caused by any possible return fire (Fig. 10). The Device Castles were the first of their kind in England to be designed and fully built around maximising the use of cannon technology. Therefore, they are the evolutionary stepping-stone between the traditional medieval fortress and the defensive fort and later gun towers, such as the later Martello Towers.

Very few original concepts or construction drawings still exist from the Device works; those that remain are an amalgamation of traditional 'views' and elevational sketches, as was the style at the time.<sup>39</sup> One surviving manuscript, probably of Deal, and probably a concept drawing for the King's approval, can be seen in Fig. 11. Starkey and Doran stated that the drawing was discovered in the Whitehall Palace's Drawing Office in Holbein Gate, which would have been the Offices of the King's Works at the time. The King probably ordered this design in February 1539. As it was found in this office, it likely never reached the construction site.<sup>40</sup> Additionally, the drawing shows gabions in lieu of stone embrasures, reinforcing the idea that this is a concept sketch as it shows some design development. Its peculiarities do not stop there, as it shows decorative merlons with unnecessarily carved coping stones, a string course (though this could be reinforced bracing as seen at Deal Castle, Appendix B), a cornice, and gothic-styled glazed windows (with narrow tracery); all of which one may wish to find in a fortified manor house of the time or one of the King's

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<sup>38</sup> Harrington, *The Castles of Henry VIII*, 8

<sup>39</sup> This appears to be a style of drawing from the medieval period where some construction drawings encompass both elevations and on-plan views, often referred to as 'a View'. From the sixteenth century onwards, this type of drawing dies out and becomes more like modern construction drawings where the elevations and the plans are shown separately.

<sup>40</sup> Colvin states in the *King's Works* that the drawings were likely from this office, whereas Starkey and Doran, and the British Library reference state this as a fact.

residences but not on a structure designed to withstand cannon fire.<sup>41</sup> These questionable stylistic additions in this image are also accompanied by a depiction of an excessively large quantity of guns, all firing at once with only a small number of men supplying them. This final point is possibly the design's most significant selling point to the monarch.

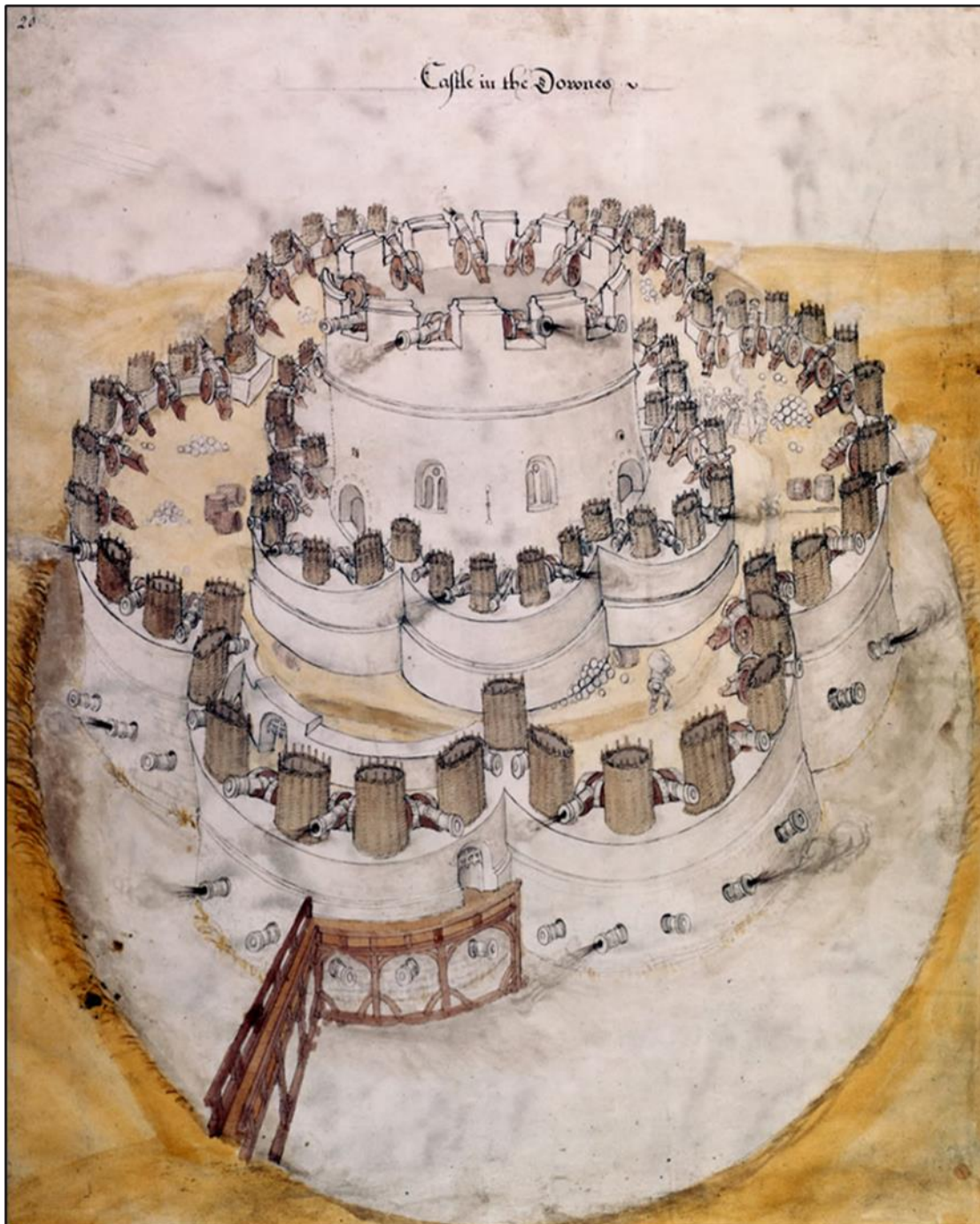


Fig. 11 An original concept drawing for the Castles of the Downs, British Library, MS 34147.

<sup>41</sup> Deal Survey by the author, 2021, see Appendix B.

Equally, military-styled drawings that emerged at this time often showed their 'line of sight' and would propose how the enemy might be captured or destroyed or how the castle would defend the town, shore or watercourse; these are all missing in these early OoW manuscripts. In the Downs, they attempted to create a design without necessarily having the right experience or skills. It is quite possible, however, that this design is, in practice, attempting to build something that, in the drawing, seems quite simple but, in practicality, would be far more complex. The King, who had experienced artillery fortress design then, may have been so impressed with the concept that he approved it. However, the fact that this design is not replicated elsewhere in the country may suggest how complicated these castles were to construct or perhaps how special they were to the King.

Walmer and Deal Castles retain much of their original construction detailing, making it easier to show their original layout. Deal is the most authentically preserved due to the number of alterations made at Walmer by the various Lord Wardens. Sandown is now destroyed but was almost identical in shape and size to Walmer.<sup>42</sup> Deal was the largest and most complex of the three Downs castles and is also situated closer to the historic parts of Deal town.<sup>43</sup> Deal deployed the most and the largest guns, which were mounted on four different levels in the castle, enabling maximum offensive power to fend off the potential attack from various vantage points. Deal was situated in the centre, with the other two castles about one mile to the North and South, respectively.<sup>44</sup> Walmer and Sandown, with their slightly more modest designs and more isolated positions, were more defensive than offensive, with both having the inclusion of a sally-port to the main entrance, offering the ultimate defence if all was lost (though Deal more interestingly had this feature within its bastions). Due to the changing nature of the coastline, Walmer has, over time, receded

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<sup>42</sup> Rutton believed that Walmer was only slightly larger by a few feet, but otherwise, it was identical to Sandown, the source of this is the citation below.

<sup>43</sup> Rutton, W. L., 'Henry VIII's Castles at Sandown, Deal, Walmer, Sandgate, and Camber.' *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. 23 (1898): 5-6.

<sup>44</sup> Harrington, 14-17.

further inland. In contrast, the sea gradually encroached on Sandown, catalysing its later destruction.<sup>45</sup>

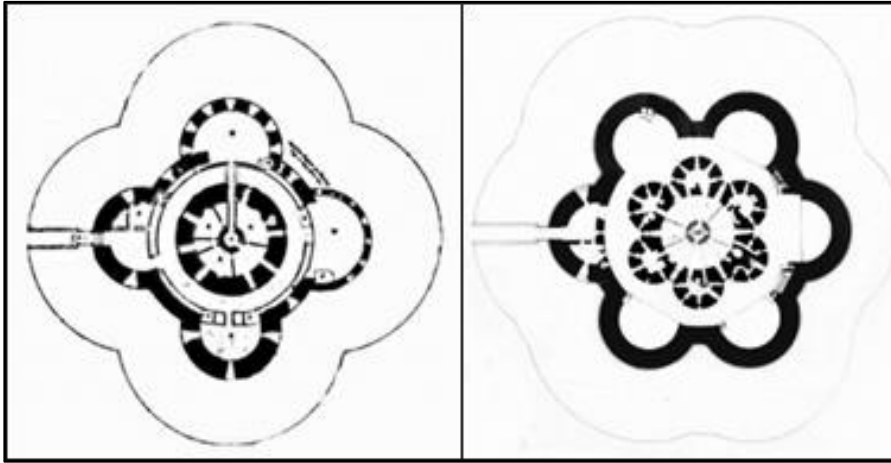


Fig. 12 Rutton's layouts of Walmer Castle and Deal Castle (not to scale), 1898, *Archaeologia Cantiana*.

The defences of Walmer and Sandown would have included many guns. Large oak joists used to construct the floors and roofs show that a heavy bearing was placed on these structures.<sup>46</sup> The roof of this room would have acted as a platform where large guns were sited, with a second level on which further guns could be mounted if needed. Lower guns were fired through gun ports with large external splays with cambered embrasures. Rounded parapets (for cannonball deflection) and a sally-port completed the defensive options.<sup>47</sup> Thirty-nine openings were initially built for heavy gun use, with an additional thirty-one hand-gun openings.

Rutton produced a helpful table in his work that shows the difference in size between the castles. It shows the magnitude and ambition of Deal Castle in contrast to the other nearby Device Castles.

<sup>45</sup> Lewis, T. H., 'The Castles of Sandown and Sandgate,' (*Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 40:2, 1884): 173-178.

<sup>46</sup> Author's survey in 2015

<sup>47</sup> Pattison, P., 'The Castles of the Downs Lecture', *Sandwich Local History Society*, Sandwich Kent, 12<sup>th</sup> October 2023.



CASTLE.	Outer Diameter of Keep.	Number of Lunettes.	Approximate Form.	General Dimensions.†		
				Feet.	Acres.	
The Castles of the Downs	Sandown - -	83	4	Quatrefoil	165 × 165	0.59
	Deal - - -	86	6	Sextfoil	234 × 216	0.85
	Walmer - -	83	4	Quatrefoil	167 × 167	0.61
	Sandgate - -	48	3	Trefon	200 × 190	0.66
	Camber - - -	70	4	Quadrangle	200 × 190	0.73

Fig. 13 Rutton's table shows how Walmer and Sandown were almost the same size, 1898, *Archaeologia Cantiana*.

The linked entrenchments and the four bulwarks between the castles added a last resort option for the castles' defenders; these were 'hidden' behind a fosse (banked ditch) that stretched from Sandown to Walmer, with further interlinking trenches that were the last, unseen line of defence against any potential invasion (Fig. 17). These design elements can be seen in another early unpublished manuscript drafted for the Crown's approval to show the range of features the new Device Castles would offer (Fig. 16). This drawing, a view, pictures a ship in the lagoon beyond, with two St George's flags at full mast. A battle rages in the main channel; note the sinking ships to indicate the successful nature of the intended design.<sup>48</sup> Simplistic and optimistic, it appears to be a basic merge of an artillery tower with a medieval concentric design, with canons between the merlons. This unsophisticated design suggests that although the sketch is believed to be from 1539, it might have been a concept drawing from much earlier, an early draft of Calshot Castle (1539-1540), or Camber Castle (fig).<sup>49</sup> The King's Works Offices may have been toying with this concept for some time

<sup>48</sup> For a period during this time, French ships used flags that were red with white crosses, so it is likely these sinking ships were intended to be French vessels.

<sup>49</sup> It is this author's view that this drawing (Fig. 16) may have been of Camber Castle. Both Camber and Sandgate are sometimes batched together, erroneously, as Castle of the Downs – which may explain the archiving name. Likewise, before Stefan von Haschenperg altered Camber, it was an artillery tower similar to this design from 1512 to 1539, and ancient maps show that Camber Castle was built upon a singular long sand-spit. Therefore, this drawing could be that of Camber protecting Rye's Harbour. Sand-spit and building reference: Madox, F., *The Cinque Ports; a historical and descriptive record*, (Edinburgh: Blackwoods, 1900), 103., map: Lewin, T., *Invasion of Britain by Julius Caesar*, (London: Spottiswood & Co.), 1862, 56-57.

before the Device programme was hastily launched due to the proliferation of these forts in mainland Europe.

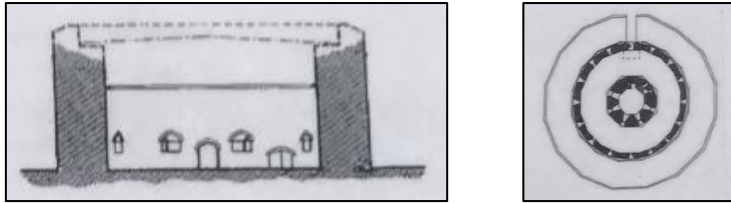


Fig. 14 Two diagrams, Left: Camber Castle was before the Device works, Right: Calshot Castle after the Device, Wikimedia Commons public domain.



Fig. 15 Camber Caste in the present day surrounded by marsh land, 2017, © Rye Arts Festival Charity (ref: 1175309).

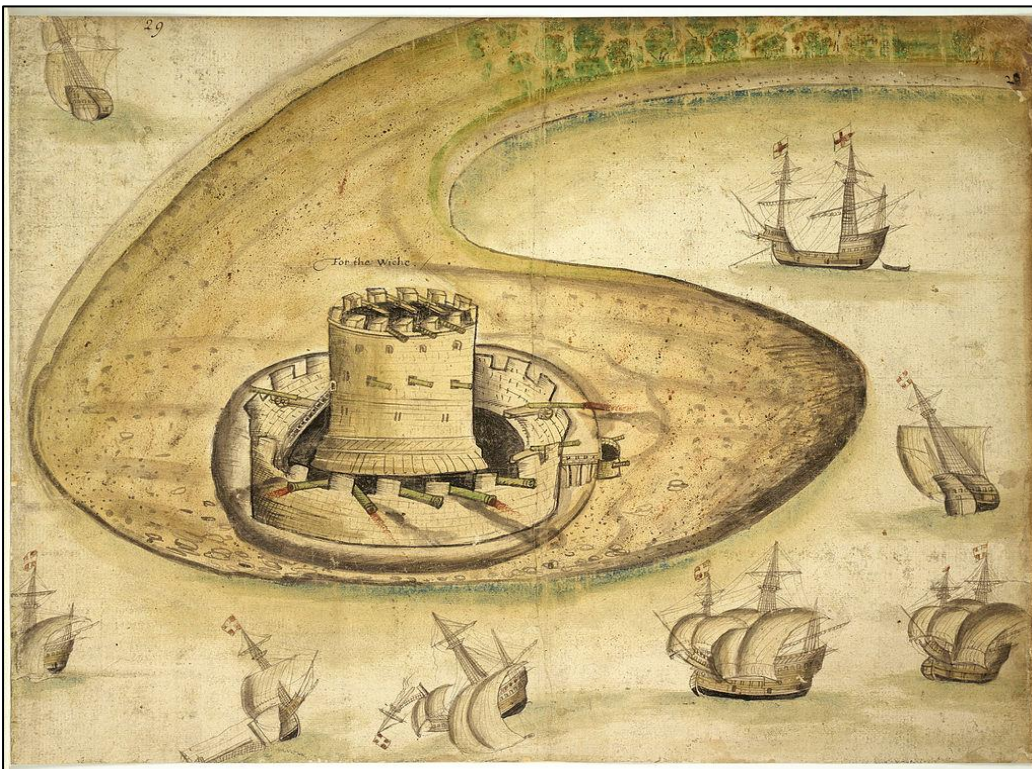


Fig. 16 A rare early concept drawing, sometimes referred to as 'peninsula design' – the ship safely in the harbour is English, whereas the ships under fire are depicted as French, c. 1539, British Library, Cotton MS. Augustus I.i.21., 004977328,



This previously unpublished image was found in the British Library and was originally collected by Sir Robert Bruce Cotton (1571–1631, Fig. 16).<sup>50</sup> His vast collection was eventually one of the first donations to the British Museum. The Augustus portion of this collection contains many sixteenth-century manuscripts for built and unbuilt fortresses.<sup>51</sup> This one, in particular, is of interest due to its age and the fact that it was historically catalogued as being attributed as an early design for the Castles of the Downs. As such, it offers tantalising clues to the early thought processes of these castles' designs and perhaps suggests their priority for the fortification programme during this period.

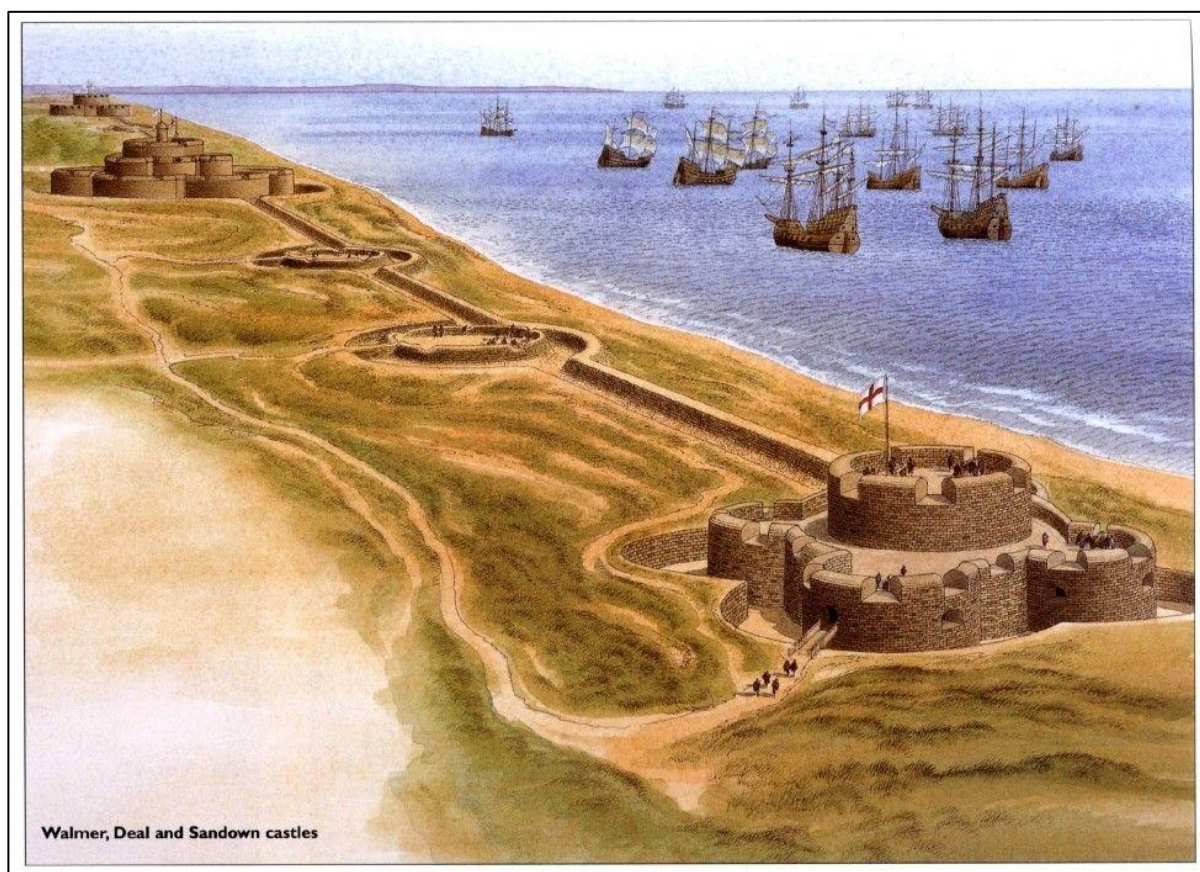


Fig. 17 An artist's rendition of the layout of the Castles of the Downs after construction, 2007, B. Delf, used under UK fair dealing.

<sup>50</sup> Handley, S., *Cotton, Sir Robert Bruce, First Baronet (1571–1631)*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Matthew, H.C.G. and Harrison, B.H. eds. (Oxford University Press., 2004), 88-89.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

Deal was designed to support the network, with the main defence being complemented by over sixteen gunners on three levels within six bastions, in contrast to the two levels and ten gunners each on both Walmer and Sandown.<sup>52</sup> The platforms on the top of the outlying bastions sloped outwards so that they would reset into the correct position when the canons recoiled. This enabled the military personnel to reload them immediately, which is an ingenious design attribute. They also served as excellent vantage points, providing large gunsights. Whilst Deal had the tactical advantage of providing more comprehensive cannon fire and larger guns, it had less protection from return fire.<sup>53</sup>

Another distinctive and exclusive architectural feature at the Castles of the Downs is 'The Rounds' (Appendix B and W). This addition designates a system of interconnected tunnels situated along the periphery of the keep, facilitating the swift movement of soldiers between different segments of the castle. This provision is an alternative route, particularly when the Sally Ports are in operation or expedited movement within the castle is required. They also enabled protected gunfire from as low down as the base of the moats via sporadically placed gunports. Additionally, they were a suitable means of escape if captured bastions had been enacted to close off sections during an invasion, similar to a Sally Port. Likewise, if invaders got into the moat, scaled the outer walls and made their way to the castle, they would be an easy target as they would have nowhere to shelter from gunfire. These additions are not without their problems, though. One downside was that occasionally, the open gunports left the castle open to seasonal flooding. Due to their proximity to the shore, the dry-designed moats were known to fill and flood with seawater. Traditionally, that is precisely what moats were designed to do. However, the Castles of the Downs were actively designed to present the enemy with the opposite of what they might expect. Therefore, the dry moat was designed to lure unsuspecting intruders into a false sense of security.

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<sup>52</sup> Saunders, *Fortress Britain*, 47.

<sup>53</sup> Colvin, *History of the Kings Works*, 455-465.



*Fig. 18 Deal Castle's moat shows the gunports on the external side of 'The Rounds' (Photo author, 2021).*



*Fig. 19 Deal Castle's 'The Rounds', (Photo author, 2023).*

## The Architect of the Castles of the Downs

History does not record who the architect of these unique castles was. Many scholars have speculated about it over the years.<sup>54</sup> Unlike Sandgate Castle, we have no comprehensive construction diary from which we can glean information, and as no original accounts exist, we must attempt to explore this query with the available sources at hand.

It is worth noting that the title of 'Architect' was not a role that materially existed in England during the sixteenth century. The more ancient title of Surveyor was widely used across England, and the head of the King's Works, who had started in the fourteenth century as the Clerk of the Works, had become the Clerk Surveyor or just Surveyor by this time.<sup>55</sup> Many other Device Forts did have named engineers who were attributed to the design, but not in the case of the Downs, as there is no mention in the Court Rolls (Fig. 9) or elsewhere.<sup>56</sup>

In the sixteenth century, when a client wanted to build something and needed someone to direct the process, they would nearly always instruct the services of a surveyor. The King already employed surveyors via his Works Office. It is also worth noting that the role of artificers, a term not existing in professional practice today, was also used. For this period, the artificers had significant input into the design and management of construction sites. They were essentially the best tradesmen of their respective trades and were usually referred to as 'Master Mason', 'Master Carpenter' etc. The surveyor was not necessarily an artificer of a trade. However, they may have been 'made-up' (promoted) to the surveyor, subject to their more comprehensive knowledge, as the surveyor's role was entirely separate. There were no master surveyors, but they would have been among the few

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<sup>54</sup> Colvin, H., Biddle, M., Summerson, J., *The History of the King's Works, Vol. IV, 1485-1660 (Part II)*, (H.M. Stationery Office, 1982), 367-602; Goodall, *The English Castle: 1066-1650*, (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2011), 420-421; Rutton, W., L., 'Henry VIII's Castles at Sandown, Deal, Walmer, Sandgate, and Camber,' *Archaeologia Cantiana* 23 (1898).

<sup>55</sup> Girouard, M., *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architecture 1540-1640*, (London: Paul Mellon Centre, 2021)1-21, note: The term 'Chartered Surveyor' for a surveyor who is appraised by his or her peers as being professionally competent and therefore licensed to practice, came much later in the nineteenth century.

<sup>56</sup> Gairdner, J., and R H Brodie. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, Volume 14 Part 1, January-July 1539. London, England: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1894.



people on site who would be addressed as ‘Mister’ or ‘Sir’.<sup>57</sup> This form of site organisation is left over from the medieval period, thus reinforcing the evolutionary transitional stage these unique castles exhibit.<sup>58</sup>

<b>Fortification Name</b>	<b>Probable Engineer/Surveyor</b>	<b>Construction Date (noting some are approximate)</b>
Sandgate	Stefan von Haschenperg	1539-1540
Calshot	William Fitzwilliam, the Lord Admiral, and William Paulet	1539-1540
Camber	Stefan von Haschenperg	1539-1540 (plus 1542-1543)
Portland	Lord Russell	1539-1541
Sandsfoot	Lord Russell	1539-1541
St Mawes	Mr. Treffry of Fowey	1540-1545
Pendennis	Mr. Treffry of Fowey	1540-1545
Hurst	William Fitzwilliam, the Lord Admiral, and William Paulet	1541-1545
Southsea	Anthony Knyvett,	1544
Netley	William Paulet	1544
Sandown, Isle of Wight	The Italian engineer Giovanni Portinari, and William Ridgeway, Surveyor	1545
Yarmouth	George Mills under the direction of Richard Worsley, the Captain of the Island	1547

Fig. 20 Table of attributed designer names to a selection of Device Forts from the respective 1539 and 1544 Device Programmes.

The role of the architects, as a concept, is a product of the Renaissance. The role, as we know it today, started to emerge in the sixteenth century in mainland Europe,

<sup>57</sup> Girouard, M., *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architecture 1540-1640* (London: Paul Mellon Centre, 2021), 1-21.

<sup>58</sup> Hale, J., *England and the Italian Renaissance*, (New York: Fontana Press, 1996), 89-96.

especially in Italy.<sup>59</sup> And whilst there was a great cross-pollination of trades and professionals between England and mainland Europe, the profession was very scarce in England. Indeed, only two men were considered architects in this period in England, and both were said to have inherited the title from working in Europe. The profession did not appear to be established in any mainstream manner in England until the seventeenth century, likely due to a significant relaxation of travel rules under the early Stuarts, who actively recruited European architects to work in England.<sup>60</sup>

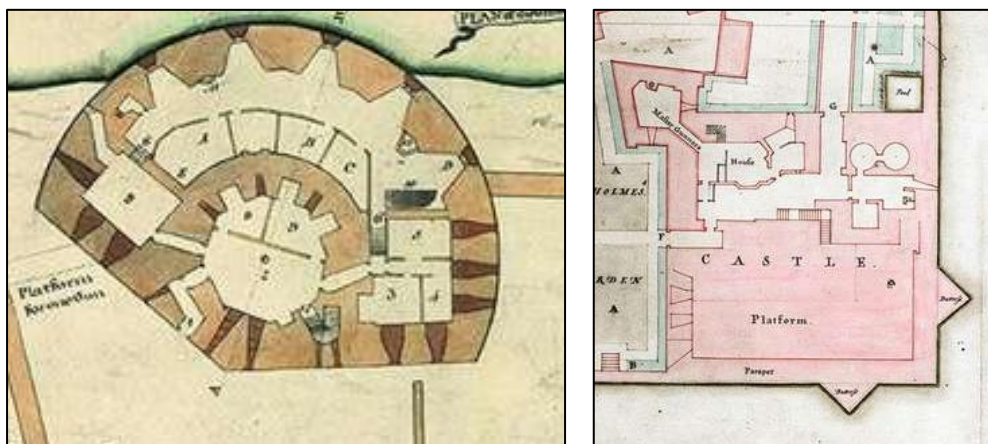


Fig. 21 The Device Castles of Portland (1541) compared to Yarmouth (1547), Wikimedia Commons public domain.

Due possibly to the pace of construction for the Device building programme, the surveyors of each Device project and their commissioners were probably given more freedom on design as time, not money, was the principal driver of this urgent requirement; this is evidenced in the great differences between them in styles. Therefore, whilst Tudor England largely still built houses and castles in the site organisational style established in England for centuries, these new castles may also have been built in a continental European style. Therefore, as the style of the castle evolved, so did how they were designed and built. Whilst the Device Castles are not the catalyst for this change, they, like their architecture,

<sup>59</sup> Girouard, M., *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architecture 1540-1640* (London: Paul Mellon Centre, 2021), 1-21.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

were in the midst of a great transformation in the wider Renaissance. As a result, each phase of building within this Device-building programme resulted in each castle being slightly different from the last. For example, Portland and Yarmouth Castles, built under the same Device some six years apart (Fig. 9), are very different in style. Yet, they all encompassed the exact design requirements but appeared to be executed differently. Many scholars have posed the question, and it is crucial to emphasise that the query on who the architect of the Castles of the Downs was requires a significantly nuanced approach. This is perhaps a contributing factor to why this question has never been answered. In this next section, we will look more closely at who had the most input in the architectural design rather than who the literal architect was. With these points contextualised, let us consider the possible candidates.



Fig. 22 'A Coloured bird's eye view of 'A Castle for the Downes', c.1539, British Library, Cotton Augustus I i f.21.



## The King's Office of Works

The King appointed Surveyor Richard Benese (unknown to 1546) and Master Mason, Christopher Dickenson (unknown to 1540) to oversee castle construction around the country under this fortifying Device. As these were Henry's most senior craftsmen, it is possible that they were joint drafters of the previous original manuscripts (Fig. 16., 22). Dickenson as a master mason, would probably be suitably qualified to undertake this task.<sup>61</sup>

With our little surviving information, we can see that Dickenson had been previously engaged (by 1531) at Westminster (Whitehall) Palace. In 1536, he was Devysor at Hampton Court Palace.<sup>62</sup> In addition, William Clement (master carpenter, 1528 - 1540) shared the same office at Whitehall Palace, but he too had been mainly engaged in the works at Hampton Court (1533-1535) and then Nonsuch Palace (1538-1540).<sup>63</sup> We cannot completely rule out that these men had no military engineering experience, as the records are incomplete. Still, we can say that Dickenson and Clement were engaged in the King's palaces in the immediate term. It is also unclear whether they knew Italian artillery fortress design before working on this Device, though it is assumed they had some knowledge.<sup>64</sup> At best, they may have been aware of the addition of English gun-tower architecture typified by the Cow Tower at Norwich (1398-1399) or Dartmouth Castle (1480-1494).<sup>65</sup> Some inspiration may have come from Queenborough Castle (1361-1367) with its squat and rounded keep, though as some scholars have pointed out, it was local to the Downs but an unlikely inspiration for the OoW.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Colvin states in the *King's Works* that the drawings were likely from this office, whereas Starkey and Doran, and the British Library reference state this as a fact.

<sup>62</sup> Stevens Curl, J., *A Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 1093.

<sup>63</sup> Girouard, M., *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architecture 1540-1640*, (London: Paul Mellon Centre, 2021), 96-97.

<sup>64</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 42.

<sup>65</sup> Goodall, J., *The English Castle: 1066-1650* (Connecticut: Yale, 2011), 421., Site: <https://historicensland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1197563?section=official-list-entry>, accessed: June 2020

<sup>66</sup> Oswald, A., 'Country Houses of Kent.' *Country Life* (1933): 11.

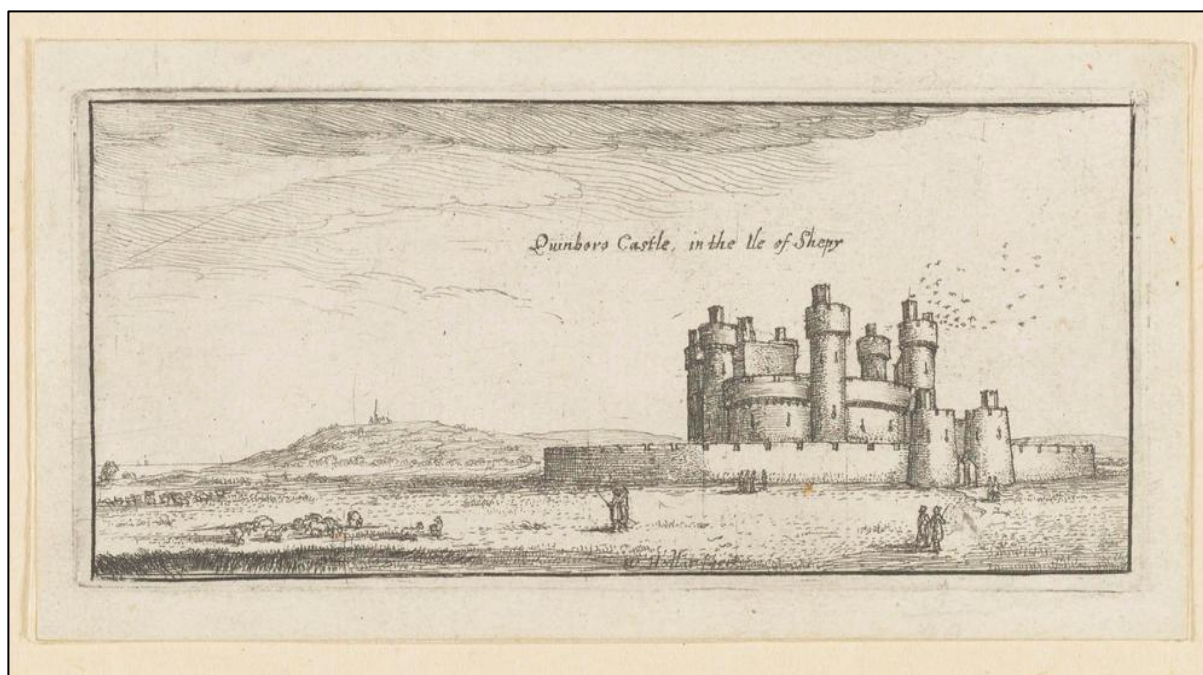


Fig. 23 An etching of Queensborough Castle, Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-77), Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 802761.

The main maintenance and 'keepers' of any of the Royal Castles were the Constables appointed at every site to manage and generally undertake upkeep, therefore, the King's Artificers would not have had much experience in these specifically militarily fortified places as their past experiences mainly derives from Henry's domestic works.<sup>67</sup> Whilst they may have had some design input to the Castles of the Downs, as they were overseeing the whole Device building programme, their attention seems to have been spread across multiple sites. Add Henry's other domestic works, particularly the expensive and complex Nonsuch Palace project, and we appreciate that they could not have undertaken the detailed onsite work that would be required in this period to undertake such a role.

<sup>67</sup> Thurley, S., *Houses of Power* (London: Penguin Random House, 2017), 194.

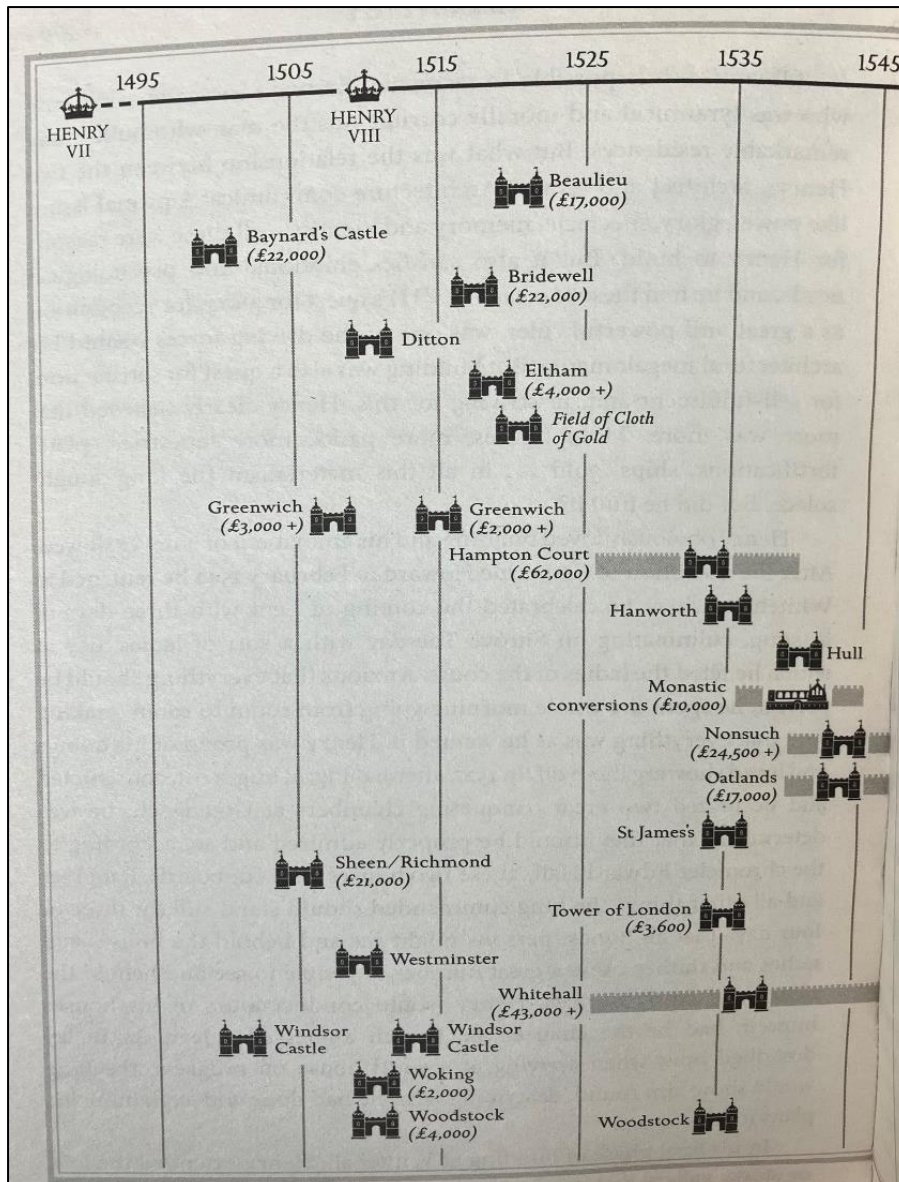


Fig. 24 Table showing the timeline of royal houses constructed in the reign of Henry VIII. Thurley, S., *Houses of Power*, Penguin, 2017.

Of the three masters, Dickenson is more likely to have contributed to the design due to his prior experience. By 1536, his expertise and diligent work saw him promoted by Henry to manage Hampton Court Palace's entire works.<sup>68</sup> Colvin remarks that Dickenson's work at Hampton Court was 'ingenious' and a 'tour-de-force', bringing a most extraordinary

<sup>68</sup> Harvey, J., *A Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 88-95.

combination of maths and art to the brickwork and chimneys for the time.<sup>69</sup> Occasionally, Colvin and others remark that many craft masters may have travelled to and from mainland Europe, specifically France.<sup>70</sup> Although masons were employed in Tudor England from all over Western Europe, it is unlikely that Dickenson and his contemporaries would have travelled to Italy during these decades or have taken much interest in Italy during this period.<sup>71</sup> It is also worth noting, as 'The Red Mason' Gerard Lynch (b. 1955) stated in his 2006 tome that the roles of bricklayer and stonemason were two completely different occupations that were usually (and confusingly) listed as 'mason' in several accounts.<sup>72</sup> Yet Dickenson is not mislabelled as either; he was, as Lynch points out, an expert practitioner in both fields, which shows why perhaps Henry appointed him to lead on so many of his most significant projects, including The Downs.

As we have seen, the Italians led the way in this new wave of artillery fortification, and the Office attempts to capitalise on this. Dickenson makes an essential appointment in late 1537 that indicates how mainland Europeans started having significant roles within the King's Works Office. Nicholas Bellin (d. 1569), from Modena, arrived in England in early 1537 and was appointed to the Nonsuch Palace building works due to his previous employment with Henry's great rival Francis I. He was said to have produced some of the greatest stuccoworks and gilding at the now-lost palace. As a political asylum seeker, he was granted English citizenship and continued as an artificer on the King's Works until he died in 1569. Biddle says that Bellin may have introduced many skills and new techniques that may have elevated the King's works at the time.<sup>73</sup> This is entirely plausible as fragments of slate found at Nonsuch have French inscriptions upon them, likely from Bellin

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<sup>69</sup> Colvin, 1982. 22.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> Lynch, G., *Gauged Brickwork* (London: Routledge, 2006), 27.

<sup>73</sup> Biddle, M., 'Nicholas Bellin of Modena. An Italian Artificer at the Courts of Francis I and Henry VIII', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd series, XXIX, (1966): 106-121.

telling the roofers exactly which part of the building each piece of carved slate was to be located.<sup>74</sup>

If Bellin had introduced these new techniques into England, it is plausible that he may have introduced the concept of Artillery Fortresses to his employer, Dickenson. By Colvin's estimate, Dickenson was unlikely to have travelled to Italy, so it gives a compelling connection to this new wave of fortress design undertaken in mainland Europe. We can, therefore, speculate that this concept just may have been transferred to Dickenson by way of Bellin. Dickenson, who by this time was probably Henry's closest architectural confidant (based purely on the significant project positions he was awarded) may have been one of the leading proponents of the design of the Castle of the Downs.

Likewise, other Italians, such as Girolamo da Treviso (1508 – 1544), were employed by Henry VIII (and his father's court, where they were instrumental in constructing the Savoy Hospital, c.1505). By chance, the famed sculptor and painter had been presented to the King in 1540. Strangely, he introduced himself as a military engineer, a role Henry likely needed at this time (though whether he masterminded this employment in this knowledge, we do not know). He presented a portfolio of work that was said to have greatly impressed Henry.<sup>75</sup> Unfortunately, the timings for the Castle of the Downs design do not work for da Treviso, and crucially, this meeting shows that Italians with military design experience were within Henry's Court. Likewise, the Italian engineers Giovanni Portinari (unknown dates) and Jacopo Aconcio (c. 1520 – c. 1566) were also critical Italian engineers working for Henry, but not on the Castles of the Downs.<sup>76</sup> This possible third-party design theory via Bellin (or da Treviso on the latter Device castles) may go some way towards explaining why the Castles of the Downs were designed in the manner they were, where the priority seems to be their

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<sup>74</sup> Museum of London, NON59/S293.

<sup>75</sup> Vasari, G., 'Lives of the Most Eminent Painters Sculptors and Architects', (*The Project Gutenberg*, Vol. 5, 2009) 171.

<sup>76</sup> Walton, S. A., 'State Building Through Building for the State: Foreign and Domestic Expertise in Tudor Fortification.' *Osiris* 25, no. 1 (2010): 66-84.

idealistic and iconographic appearance rather than their defensive practicalities (more of this premise we will discuss in Chapter 3). This confusion of design may either represent an immature design or anachronism (as many have pointed out), or it may, as we have seen, be an interesting hybrid of Italian and English architecture coming together.<sup>77</sup>



Fig. 25 Fortifications in Boulogne by Henry VIII. by J. Rogers, *Fortifications in Boulogne and the Surrounding Area*, 1546, British Library, Cotton MS Augustus I ii 53.

Foreign workers appear prevalent throughout the King's Works at all levels of the Crown's operations, not just in the artificers.<sup>78</sup> Some examples of the craftsmen, found by this author in the construction diary of Sandgate Castle works include 'Phellyp Bloft' and 'Walter Fendyke', which, due to the spelling of their names, suggests that they might have been recruited from mainland Europe.<sup>79</sup> Likewise, it is well documented that French and

<sup>77</sup> Goodall, J., *The English Castle: 1066-1650* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2011), 422.

<sup>78</sup> Walton, S. A., 'State Building Through Building for the State: Foreign and Domestic Expertise in Tudor Fortification.' *Osiris* 25, no. 1 (2010): 66-84.

<sup>79</sup> British Library, Harley MS 1647 – no further records of these two men can be found.



Low Countries craftsmen were engaged at Hampton Court and, as stated, a small number of Italians at Nonsuch, all managed by Dickenson.<sup>80</sup> A much later secondary text from the nineteenth century cites various lost Royal Engineers' papers stating that they believed many Italians were engaged in the construction at the Downs.<sup>81</sup> Armourers were recruited from Germany and Italy, cannon foundries were established by Germans and run by Welshmen, and mining experts were bought in from the Low Countries.<sup>82</sup> Therefore, when contextualised by the manner in which these construction projects were managed, in that the masters organised the works in a more collective manner than modern construction sites, we could see how readily these foreign influences could impact, hone, or even guide the design at the Castles of the Downs.

Finally, it is important to note that the King ordered his most senior artificers to present the manuscripts (Fig. 16., 22). By appointing the trio that worked on the grandest of his palaces and prioritising this project, we can suggest how important the Castles of the Downs were to the King in this new wave of English fortifications.

### **Stefan von Haschenperg**

One of the key foreign engineers in England during this period appears to be the engineer von Haschenperg (unknown dates). The morphology of the design from the European examples to these artillery fortifications is evident, which is why some historians have automatically attributed the Castle of the Downs design to Stefan von Haschenperg. One of the few probable links was that von Haschenperg hailed from the continent and was known to have been onsite.<sup>83</sup> It is a weak assumption to attribute the foreign-inspired designs

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<sup>80</sup> Dent, J., *The Quest for Nonsuch*, (London: Hutchinson & Co, 1988 reprint), 49-54.

<sup>81</sup> Porter, W., *History of the Corps of Royal Engineers* (London: Longmans, Green, 1889), 22.

<sup>82</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, Vol. IV, 462-465

<sup>83</sup> The National Archives, E101491/31



solely to him based on his foreign origin, especially, as we have explored, considering the diverse nationalities within Henry's team of artificers and craftsmen, as previously discussed.

Little is known of von Haschenperg, but perhaps the best and possibly only account of his life was by Bryan O'Neil (1905 - 1954) in 1945, and even then, the information that O'Neil could find on the illusive fellow is very limited.<sup>84</sup> As previously noted, von Haschenperg became the Devysor for the Device castles of Sandgate (1539-1540) and Camber (1539-1543) after the Castles of the Downs were complete. He may have worked on the Downs' earthworks; if so, these must have been complete for him to move to Sandgate in 1539, but they were not. His style was also very different to that of the Downs castles; therefore, it is unlikely he had much input on their designs.<sup>85</sup> The photograph (Fig. 26) was taken at Camber. Within the main keep, many stylistic and technical differences are evident that are not present in the Downs castles (see Appendix G). This singular photograph shows overly decorative Tudor arched doorways instead of structurally sound embrasures, irregular and crudely shaped floor joist pockets, and an excess of brickwork from the first floor. This would make the keep less structurally secure and probably have caused it to collapse if a direct hit had ever been received. There is also an out-of-place and rather lavish baronial fireplace installed below a door where the presumed flue would make the doorway (supposed to be an embrasure) structurally unsound against return fire, and there is generally too much packing-out with brickwork. These are just this author's observations; further issues are detailed in Biddle's (et al.) monograph on Camber, which outlines the magnitude of the defective works von Haschenperg undertook.<sup>86</sup>

Von Haschenperg replaced a basic early Tudor gun tower with an overly elaborate, complex, undefendable castle. It is no wonder the Crown needed to rebuild it only eighteen months after von Haschenperg had completed his works. As O'Neil summarises in his

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<sup>84</sup> O'Neil, B.H. St John, 'Stefan von Haschenperg, an Engineer to King Henry VIII, and his Work', *Archaeologia*, 91 (1945).

<sup>85</sup> Walton, S. A., *State Building through Building for the State: Foreign and Domestic Expertise in Tudor Fortification* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 2010), 71.

<sup>86</sup> Biddle, M., Hiller, J., and Scott, I., *Henry VIII's Coastal Artillery Fort at Camber Castle, Rye, East Sussex: An Archaeological, Structural and Historical Investigation* (Oxford: English Heritage, 2001), 31.

biography of von Haschenberg, '[he] was really a land surveyor and nothing else.'<sup>87</sup> And as Goodall states, his work was 'intrinsically idiosyncratic'.<sup>88</sup>



Fig. 26 The interior of the keep at Camber Castle, (photo author, 2018).

Likewise, as Colvin conjectures, if you compare the surviving drawings of the Downs with the drawings that von Haschenberg was known to have drawn at Carlisle, they are completely different in artistic style and were not of the same hand (an example of this can be seen in Fig. 27).<sup>89</sup> Many scholars point to von Haschenberg's travels to and from the Castles of the Downs during construction (from the Sandgate Diary and a letter sent by von Haschenberg), but this does not prove that he had been engaged in their design or as the

<sup>87</sup> O'Neil, B.H. St John, 'Stefan von Haschenberg, an Engineer to King Henry VIII, and his Work', *Archaeologia*, 91 (1945): 153.

<sup>88</sup> Goodall, *The English Castle*, 421.

<sup>89</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, IV, 464.

project's surveyor.<sup>90</sup> Therefore, within two years, that alone attaches him to the Downs, Sandgate and Camber, which he indeed could not have been the Surveyor at all five castles.<sup>91</sup>

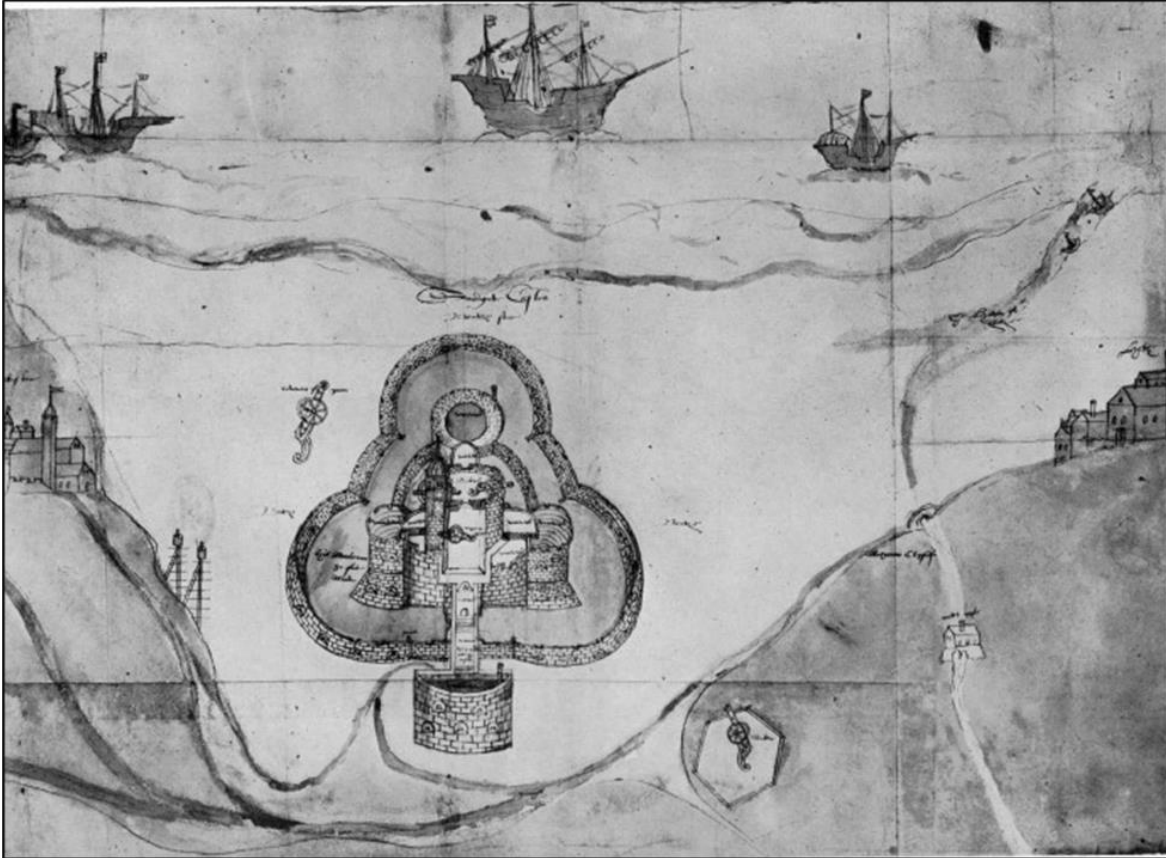


Fig. 27 A drawing by Stefan von Haschenperg, *Archaeologia*, reproduced 1945, used under UK fair dealing.

It is within the *King's Works* that Colvin makes his case for why he believes this to be incorrect. He states:

‘Deal, Sandown and Walmer were designed by the same person: the two latter are virtually identical, and they share with Deal so many detailed similarities that their design by different hands is unthinkable.’<sup>92</sup>

<sup>90</sup> O’Neil, ‘Stefan von Haschenperg, an Engineer to King Henry VIII and his Work’, *Archaeologia* 91 (1945): 140.

<sup>91</sup> Harrington, 80.

<sup>92</sup> O’Neil, ‘Stefan von Haschenperg, an Engineer to King Henry VIII and his Work’, *Archaeologia* 91 (1945): 140.

However, this author found that when the Deal concept drawing (Fig. 35) is compared to the 'peninsula' concept sketch that was believed to have been found in the Drawing Office (Fig. 28., 29), we can see a similar hand in the drawings.<sup>93</sup> The shading of the coastline, the ship designs, irregular ruler use and the medieval tradition of 'a view' can be compared across the two drawings. Likewise, Fig. 28, another early concept sketch, shares several features. Finally, one very interesting addition to the 'peninsula' sketch exists. It has been found that the phrase 'for the wiehe' is very close above the firing bastion (Fig. 29). As a presentation introduction, it probably translates as 'this is the way' or 'this is how'. Still, as it is written in a combination of English and Germanic languages, it could add weight to linking von Haschenperg to these early concept designs.

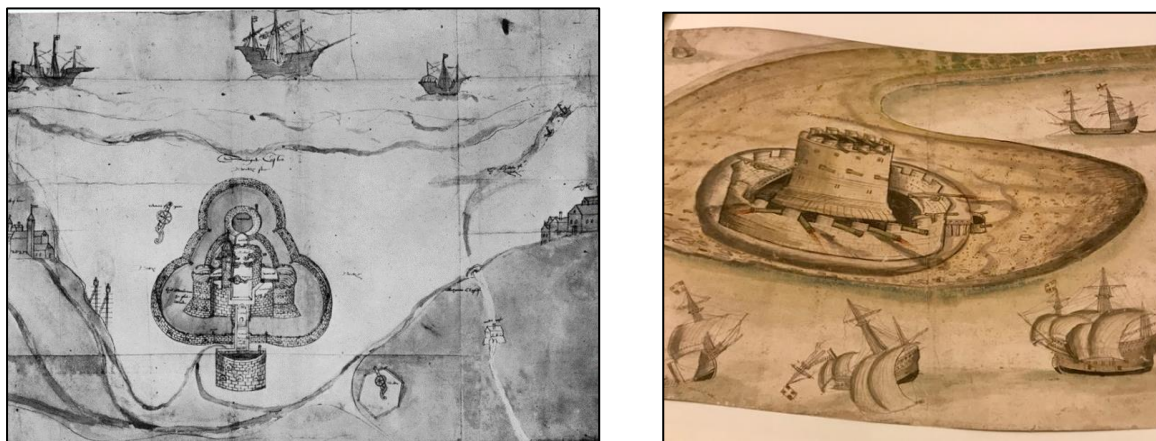


Fig. 28 (left) A drawing by Stefan von Haschenperg, *Archaeologia*, reproduced 1945, used under UK fair dealing. (right) A photograph of the c.1539 Peninsula manuscript, British Library.

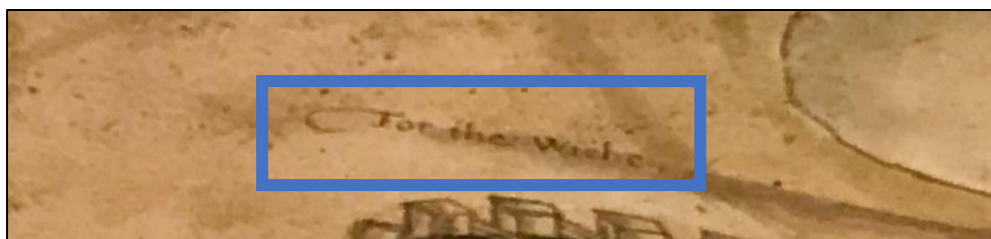


Fig. 29 A close-up view of the above 'peninsula' manuscript.

<sup>93</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 4, 464.

Sir Edward Ryungeley (1497-1543), the Crown-appointed overseer of the works at the Downs, had previously employed von Haschenperg in Calais to make alterations to their fortifications.<sup>94</sup> Therefore, it was Ryungeley who likely brought von Haschenperg to England to work on these new fortifications for the Crown at the time that the above 'peninsula' sketch was made. Therefore, it could be argued that von Haschenperg provided some of the original designs - possibly the concept design - for the Castles of the Downs.

In his 1921 work, the Edwardian author John Laker (unknown dates) stated that he believed von Haschenperg to be the Castles of the Downs architect. His is the only text available that states this with some confidence. Laker cites his principal source for these reasonings as 'A letter in Latin written by him to Cromwell, dated 12<sup>th</sup> April, 1539, Ex Dol' (from Deal), from which we gather that when Sir Ryungeley was absent, von Haschenperg was left in charge. An entry in the Ledger of the Building of Sandgate Castle shows he did travel from Sandgate to the Downs.<sup>95</sup> The King was also accustomed to summoning von Haschenperg once a year to attend the Privy Council to present work plans for the following twelve months. Henry also sent spies to France, and von Haschenperg was one of them, which probably explains why von Haschenperg was appointed to such important works and why he reported directly to the King. This intelligence-gathering mission was to record the details of the Castle of Arles (1536-1542).<sup>96</sup> Laker makes a persuasive argument; being summoned regularly and being trusted by the King must have shown von Haschenperg's perceived worth to the Crown.

Whilst these are compelling reasons, they are all circumstantial. He is attributed differently throughout the Sandgate Diary and other texts, making tracing his history difficult. His name is often spelt incorrectly or inconsistently, and, in the Sandgate Diary, when he is not present, he is referred to as 'Stephen the Almayn', 'Stephyn the Devisor', or even simply

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<sup>94</sup> Laker, J. *The History of Deal* (Folkestone: Pain, 1921), 89.

<sup>95</sup> British Library, Harley MS 1647

<sup>96</sup> Hale, J.R., *Renaissance War Studies* (London: Hambledon, 1983) 63-97.



as 'the Alman' (Fig. 30).<sup>97</sup> However, by 1544, he left England in disgrace following several severe complaints to the King about his manner and undertakings at Carlisle. It was written at the time,

'[von Haschenperg] is called a man that will pretend more knowledge than he hath indeed; he is better known there, as it is showed me, than I do know him.'<sup>98</sup>

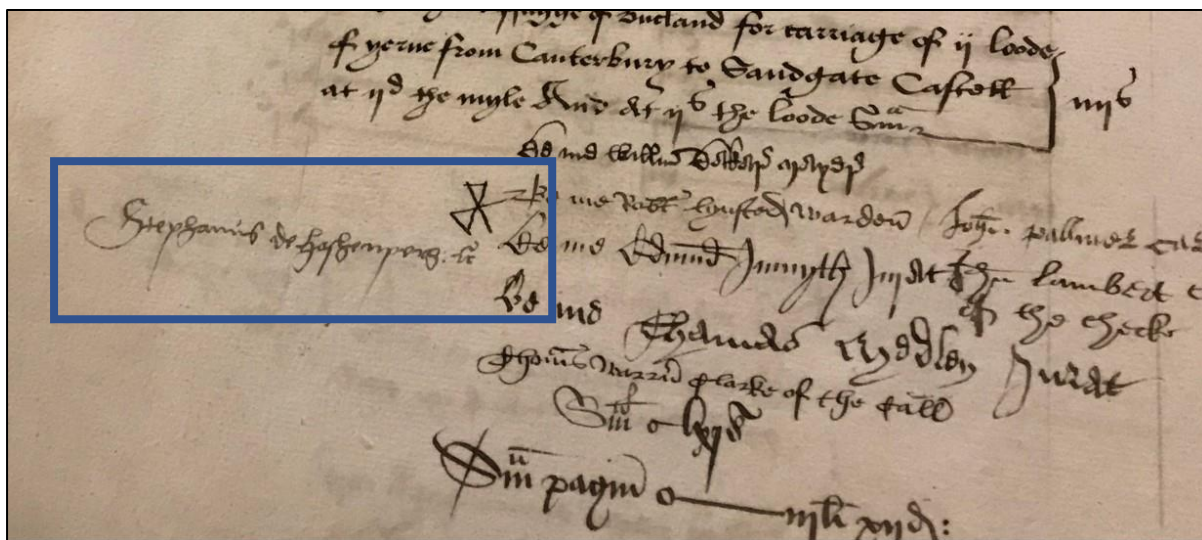


Fig. 30 Haschenperg's signature in the Sandgate Castle Construction Diary, next to a symbol which looks similar to a 'Bluetooth' logo, which in fact it, is just a mason signing his name with an elaborate 'X', British Library, Harley MS 1647.

This author also discovered a much later primary text that found that during the destruction of Sandown Castle in the late nineteenth century, the castle's foundations consisted of 'metamorphosed' footings, which appeared to be sandstone in look and texture. This discovery was found in recently published engineers' reports from the 1880s. The nineteenth-century engineers hypothesised that the Tudor masons had constructed footings with cement mixed with sand found at the time (just north of Sandown) and that they had mixed it with lime to make a form of concrete.<sup>99</sup> This is odd as the Tudors and medieval

<sup>97</sup> 'Alman' was a Middle English slang term (possibly derogatory) during this period for someone from the area known now as Germany.

<sup>98</sup> O'Neil, 'Stefan von Haschenperg, an Engineer to King Henry VIII, and his Work' *Archaeologia* 91 (1945): 150.

<sup>99</sup> Institution of Civil Engineers, *Minutes of Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers* 87 (1886): 164–165.

masons before them did not pour foundations in this manner.<sup>100</sup> The tensile strength of this concrete was said to be '236lb per square inch' (or 236 psi).<sup>101</sup> This is far less than modern concrete foundations (usually 2,000 psi +), but it does show an interesting technological development in the development of foundations. The report also stated that a port in France (possibly Calais) had the same unique substructure composition.<sup>102</sup> This is interesting as several of the King's surveyors and engineers had worked on the fortifications of Calais before the Downs were built. Furthermore, when von Haschenperg was expelled from England, he wrote from exile in 1545 asking to return, and in his letter, he promised to 'reveal various chemical and hydraulic inventions'.<sup>103</sup> One can only wonder if there is a connection here. We also know from documented evidence that von Haschenperg very likely designed the earthworks at the Downs, and we know he had previously been employed at Calais.<sup>104</sup> This gives a previously unknown and exciting connection of von Haschenperg to the construction works of the castles (albeit in the ground).

However, as Colvin points out, we have evidence that he was the Devysor at Sandgate and, latterly, at Camber. These two project examples share features that are not replicated elsewhere.<sup>105</sup> Therefore, Colvin's probable view was that von Haschenperg was likely not the Castles of the Downs architect, as little is shared between the Downs' castles and these examples. O'Neil also stated in his biography of Haschenperg that he found that perhaps of all the engineers working for the Crown at this period, Haschenperg, despite the criticism of his work, devised the most striking resemblance to the models advocated by Albrecht Dürer.<sup>106</sup>

As stated, there is little information on von Haschenperg and no known images of him. However, this author would like to suggest an exciting find found within the Sandgate

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<sup>100</sup> Tudor oversites were essentially large boulders infilled with a form of limecrete to form a level sub-base – author's own experience.

<sup>101</sup> Liverpool Engineering Society, *The Building News and Engineering Journal* 33 (1878): 268.

<sup>102</sup> Institution of Civil Engineers, *Minutes of Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers* 87 (1886): 164–165.

<sup>103</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 4, 378.

<sup>104</sup> O'Neil, 'Stefan von Haschenperg, an Engineer to King Henry VIII, and his Work' *Archaeologia* 91 (1945): 143.

<sup>105</sup> Colvin, *The History of the Kings Works*, 4, 378.

<sup>106</sup> O'Neil, 'Stefan von Haschenperg, an Engineer to King Henry VIII, and his Work' *Archaeologia* 91 (1945): 150.



Construction Diary. The Diary includes many grotesque-styled portrait sketches (known as 'drolleries') added by the Clerk of the Ledger, Thomas Busshe (c. 1490, Fig 31, Appendix L).<sup>107</sup> Most of these appear cheerful, except for one striking portrait at the very beginning of the diary. It shows a bushy-bearded man with a hat who looks incredibly sad or perhaps even anxious. Whilst there is no evidence to suggest this is Haschenperg, it is interesting that a hat-wearing man (which indicates some form of authority) is seen at the very beginning of this diary (a place of importance), and within a significant official document of the Court; one does wonder if this is a morose looking von Haschenperg. As previously stated, his next project would be Camber Castle, which went wrong with many defects and required subsequent rebuilding. Therefore, if this is von Haschenperg, this portrait foreshadows his future fate and may also reveal that not all works at Sandgate were without issue. Perhaps this discrete imagery suggests that Busshe knew von Haschenperg was a charlatan.<sup>108</sup>



Fig. 31 A drollery portrait within the text of 'The Sandgate Diary', British Library, Harley MS 1647.

<sup>107</sup> British Library, Harley MS 1647., Bovey, A., *Monsters and grotesques in medieval manuscripts*, (University of Toronto Press, 2002), 14-27.

<sup>108</sup> Biddle, M., Hiller, J., and Scott, I., *Henry VIII's Coastal Artillery Fort at Camber Castle, Rye, East Sussex: An Archaeological, Structural and Historical Investigation*, (Swindon: English Heritage, 2001), 22-36.

One final consideration that this author has discovered in the course of this research is that the modern German town of Hachenburg was heavily fortified and had a medieval castle up until the seventeenth century.<sup>109</sup> It was also believed to have been retrofitted in the 1530s with a bulwark.<sup>110</sup> Therefore, although this is circumstantial, this would fit von Haschenberg's timeline as he did not appear in England until the late 1530s, and the 'von' being the Germanic 'of/from' with a similar last spelling to his last name.<sup>111</sup> These earthworks may well have been the same portfolio of works he presented to Henry in the emerging protestant lands in Germany which secured his employment in England.<sup>112</sup>



Fig. 32 A twentieth-century postcard using an earlier etching of the town of Hachenburg in 1590, private collection.

<sup>109</sup> Unknown Author, *Hachenburg das alte Zuhause*, (Preussische Geologische Landesanstalt, 1934), 5-8.

<sup>110</sup> Site:

[https://web.archive.org/web/20170412224724/http://www.burgenlexikon.eu/15.html?&tx\\_ttnews%5Bsword%5D=hachenburg&tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=285&tx\\_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=16&cHash=71227c50a00f71b19427344f3541d0d0](https://web.archive.org/web/20170412224724/http://www.burgenlexikon.eu/15.html?&tx_ttnews%5Bsword%5D=hachenburg&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=285&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=16&cHash=71227c50a00f71b19427344f3541d0d0), accessed: September 2023., site:

<https://www.regionalgeschichte.net/westerwald/staedte-doerfer/orte-h/hachenburg/einzelaspekte/infos-zur-stadtgeschichte/bauten-und-oertlichkeiten-623/schloss-129.html>, accessed: September 2023.

<sup>111</sup> O'Neil, 'Stefan von Haschenberg, an Engineer to King Henry VIII, and his Work' *Archaeologia* 91 (1945): 150.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

## Robert Lorde, Paymaster

In his 2007 work, Harrington suggests that the design might be attributed to Robert Lorde (1483 – 1542) as he was paid very early in the design process (though his sources for this are not noted).<sup>113</sup> Lorde was the first Earl of Sussex and was invested as a Knight, Order of the Bath (K.B.) in 1509. From 1512 to 1513, and then in 1522, he campaigned in France. He was created 1st Viscount FitzWalter on 18th June 1525. He was appointed as a Privy Counsellor before 5th February 1526. Still, his appointment to the office of Chamberlain to the Exchequer between 1532 and 1542 (and later Great Chamberlain between 1540 and 1542) began his involvement with the Downs project.<sup>114</sup> He held the budget when the works were commissioned, and he likely held the local project team to account for the finances they were spending on behalf of the Crown.<sup>115</sup>

Lorde is unlikely to be the designer of the castles as he was the paymaster for the whole Device works (budget holder), he may have received the money to pay someone else and not have undertaken the design himself (though this is just an assumption on both parts).<sup>116</sup> Likewise, Lorde does not appear to be engaged in any design works in the King's Works (Hampton Court Works and Nonsuch Palace) or the Sandgate Diary.<sup>117</sup> Additionally, other projects, such as the Thames Blockhouses (1539-1540), which Lorde was appointed to, are far more muted in design and are unlike the Castles of the Downs and their bulwarks. Their surviving drawings are also more sophisticated, even if their construction is compact and more straightforward. With all these points, Lorde should be completely ruled out of being the architect of the Downs.

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<sup>113</sup> Harrington, *The Castles of Henry VIII*, 12.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>115</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 455-468.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> Thurley, S., 'Henry VIII and the Building of Hampton Court: A Reconstruction of the Tudor Palace.' *Architectural History* 31 (1988): 38.

### John Rogers (Master Mason) and Sir Richard Lee (Surveyor)

In his 1967 biography of the Tudor mason John Rogers (c.1473-1558), the author Lon Shelby (1935 - 2018) stated that works undertaken in Guines, France and Hull by English Tudor masons were incredibly similar to those of Walmer and Sandown castles, particularly the use of quatrefoil designs.<sup>118</sup> He was also called back to London three times during this period to ensure he was working on plates Henry had made, which possibly shows not just their working relationship but also how Henry wanted his fortifications to be designed.<sup>119</sup> Rogers was also attributed as the architect of Hull Castle in 1541, though he may have had some input on nearby Guines as he was deployed in Calais. Likewise, Sir Richard Lee (1513–1575), one of Henry's most senior surveyors and later military engineers was the documented engineer of Guines between 1539-1541.<sup>120</sup> As Shelby concedes, whilst the Castles of the Downs share some stylistic features with Guines and Hull, they also had differences, such as water-filled moats (Guines).<sup>121</sup> Additionally, Fig. 33 shows a string course of stonework, which is believed to be a reinforcing course for cannon fire. Such string courses are also evident at Deal and Camber (appendix B and G). As the designs are similar in style but vast distances away from each other, this would likely rule out both Rogers and Lee.

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<sup>118</sup> Shelby, L., *John Rogers: Tudor Military Engineer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 139.

<sup>119</sup> Hale, J., R., *Renaissance War Studies*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1983), 72.

<sup>120</sup> Site: <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/plan-of-the-town-and-castle-of-guines>, accessed: May 2020., Sir Lee appears to be incredibly busy in 1538-1540 and appears on a number of occasions throughout the Court Rolls visiting a seemingly lengthy list of fortification projects in addition to his main site-based role in Guines: Gairdner, James, and R H Brodie, eds. *Letters and Papers: February 1539*, 26-28, In *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 14 Part 1, January-July 1539*, 143-166. London, England: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1894. Crown Copyright.

<sup>121</sup> Shelby, *John Rogers*, 143.

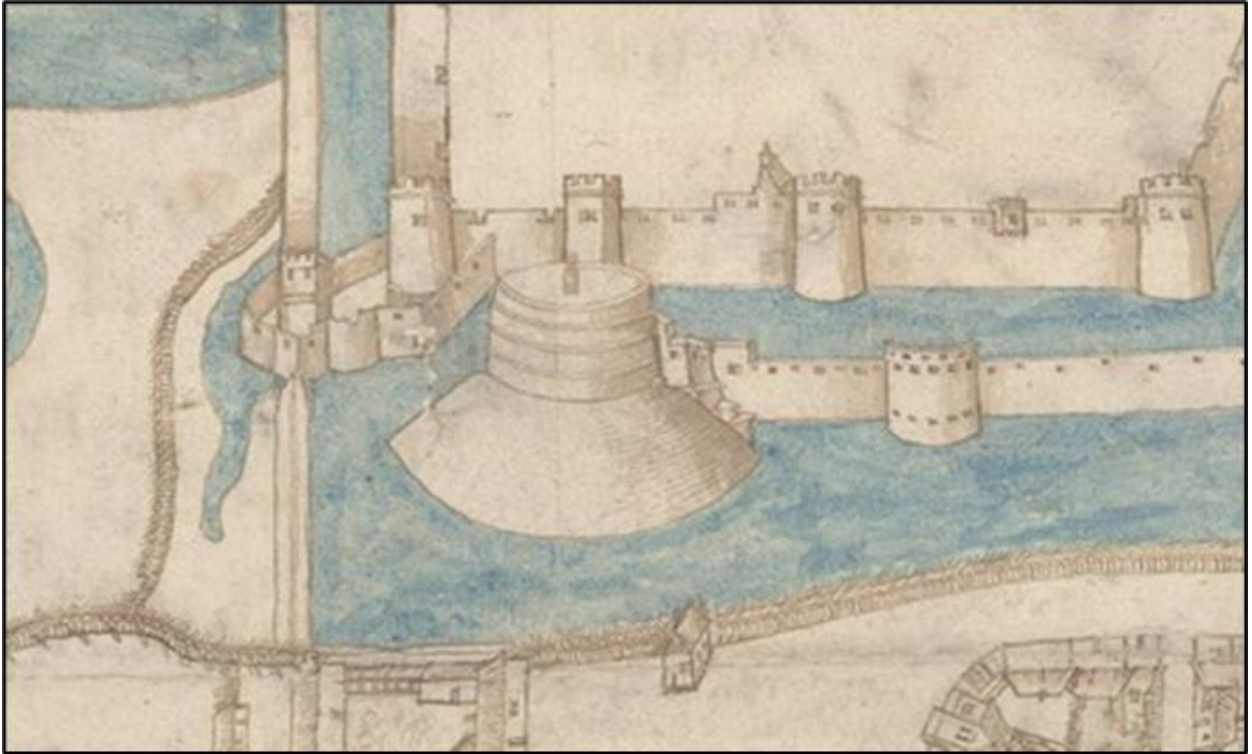


Fig. 33 The fortifications at Guines, Cropped view of Plan of the town and castle of Guines (Pas-de-Calais), British Library, Cotton MS Augustus I ii 23.

### **The King's Passion for Military Engineering**

Away from Henry's loyal artificers, it is plausible that the patron of these architecturally exceptional castles may have been the one to exert the most influence in their design and, even construction. While there is little surviving evidence, clues from within states papers reflect Henry's deep interest in fortification design. In a minuted item of the Privy Council meeting on 4<sup>th</sup> October 1541 regarding the proposed fortification of Hull, it was stated:

'Conclusions taken for the fortification of Hull - A bulwark to be made at the Watergate as the King shall devise. The little round brick tower on Holderness side to be 'enlarged to bear the chain and to beat the haven,' and a guard to be established in it. The brick gate at Northend 'to be mured up and made platform to

beat the flank of the town' and haven according to the King's device. The Corner tower to be made 'larger out,' to answer to the brick gate and the 'gate where Constable hangeth,' which is to have a barbican to defend it. Milgate to be left open because lying propicely for the ferry of Hasil and resort of the townfolk to their pastures. The town ditches to be scoured, and the water to serve the town brought through the King's house. The sluices to be viewed and new made so as to 'drown about the town' if required. The King's house to be made a citadel as the King shall devise.'<sup>122</sup>

Clues on the direct input from Henry are few but small snippets of information survive that show that Henry designed other sites such as the bulwark in East Cowes (lost – unknown dates), fortifications in Guines built before 1541 and a bulwark in Calais (1540).<sup>123</sup> .

However, at least here in this account at Hull (a much larger scheme), there seems to be some reflection and desire by the King to ensure his exact wishes are undertaken: 'The King's house to be made a citadel as the King shall devise.' The word 'devise'/'devising' is similar to 'Device', 'Devysor', and of course, 'Surveyor'. All the uses of this similar term seem to point to supreme design decision-making, and perhaps the King may have had more of a hand in these design decisions than previously thought.

It is worth noting that the design of Hull's fortifications, a central artillery fort flanked by two blockhouses/bulwarks, is essentially the same design as the Castles of the Downs (Fig. 34). Hull's design is slightly more of a citadel with a large, interconnecting wall, but if this is replaced with a ditch and rampart then the comparison is complete, especially as the Downs were essentially a citadel or bastille that was protecting the main shipping channel to

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<sup>122</sup> Gairdner, J., and Brodie, R. H., *State Papers, Henry VIII: October 1541, 1-10. Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, Vol. 16, 1540-1541. Originally published by Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1898. Accessed online via [british-history.ac.uk](http://british-history.ac.uk), November 2019.

<sup>123</sup> Kenyon, J., R., *Antiquaries Journal* 58, Issue 1, (March 1978): 162 – 164., Hale, J., R., *Renaissance War Studies*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1983), 72.



London or to the West. These combined items show a great connection to the design at the Downs, which cannot be ignored.



Fig. 34 The Tudor fortifications of Hull, built in 1541. A view of Hull from the west, drawn by Wenceslaus Hollar before 1640. This version is in colour, and is thought to date to about 1638, © Hull History Centre.



Fig. 35 A photograph of an early original surviving concept drawing for Deal Castle, c. 1539, British Library, BLL01004977330.

The King seems to have learned a great deal from the first phase of the Device works. Records show he was actively correcting design mistakes for fortifications in Tynemouth in 1545 to 1546 and then in Boulogne in 1546.<sup>124</sup> Italian architects Antonio de Bergoma (unknown dates) and John Thomas Scala (unknown dates) visited the site in Tynemouth to see how the English were implementing their artillery forts (the architects were described as ‘expert men in the skill of fortifying’), with plates going back and forth from Henry to Italy.<sup>125</sup> Eventually, the same Italians left and implemented their first design at Boulogne (c. 1567), a fort that saw more action than Henry’s Device castles and also never fell in combat. Boulogne had been significant to Henry due to its proximity to the English-held Calais. Likewise, it was there that Henry had built a small fortress known as Fort Bouleberg, for which little to no surviving information can be found.<sup>126</sup> It is suggested that this surviving etching of Boulogne contains a small image of this fort which is remarkably similar in style to a Device Fort, despite the fact that Colvin states it would probably have been built from timber.<sup>127</sup>



Fig. 36 ‘Bologna in Francia’, etching by unknown artist, c.1602, includes close-up view, Royal Collection Trust.

<sup>124</sup> Lambeth Palace Library, MSS – Manuscripts, MSS/3192-3206 - Talbot Papers, Folio 247., Merriman, M., ‘Realm and Castle: Henry VIII as European Builder’, *History Today* Vol 41: Iss 6 (1991).

<sup>125</sup> Lodge, E., *Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners*, vol. 1, no. 35, (London: Unknown Publisher, 1791)., Walton, S. A., ‘State Building Through Building for the State: Foreign and Domestic Expertise in Tudor Fortification.’ *Osiris* 25, no. 1 (2010): 66-84.

<sup>126</sup> Colvin, 696-697.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, site: <https://militarymaps.rct.uk/other-16th-century-conflicts/boulogne-1549bologna-in-francia>

There is one final important aspect to note about Henry's involvement with the Castles of the Downs and perhaps a crucial aspect that is often overlooked, that is the fact that Henry himself, as a young Prince, as the then Duke of York, was made Lord Warden at the age of just two in 1493.<sup>128</sup> This fact is often overlooked as the future King's role as Warden was deputised to a loyal Henry VII courtier, Sir Edward Poynings (1459 – 1521), who was already leading the King's peace commission in Kent and was Constable of Dover Castle since 1504, he was also later appointed on Henry VIII's accession to the throne in 1509 and would continue as Lord Warden until his death.<sup>129</sup>

Records of Henry's wardenship are very scarce, though as we can see from the timings above, he spent all of his formative years in the role. Likewise, the wardenship would have been one of many titles the young prince would have held.<sup>130</sup> Still, during this time of great upheaval, the Cinque Ports would have played a part in cementing the Tudor rule over the local barons, defeating the number of rebellions and dealing with the rising privateering in the area. All of which must have been communicated to, managed, or overseen by the Young Prince in some fashion, along with spending time in nearby Dover.<sup>131</sup> Indeed, when the Great Pretender Perkin Warbeck (c.1474 – 1499) landed in and was defeated by the people of Deal in 1495, Henry, as Lord Warden at the age of just four, would have been made acutely aware of the weakness of this part of Kent.<sup>132</sup> Later, Henry VII wrote to the Cinque Ports Barons in 1495 (the same year as the Warbeck landing), commanding the barons to obey his child Prince to enforce the Tudor rule.<sup>133</sup> Unfortunately, we know very little of Henry's younger days, as one scholar stated this is likely because

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<sup>128</sup> Green, I., *King Henry the Eighth and Dover*, (Dover: Dover Society, 2010), 24-28., Unknown Author. *A Brief History of Dover Castle; Or, a Descriptive Account of That Ancient Fortress* (Dover: G. Ledger, 1787), 108.

<sup>129</sup> Site: <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-22683>., Ellis, S., G., 'Poynings, Sir Edward (1459–1521), administrator, soldier, and diplomat', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004; accessed: May 2023.

<sup>130</sup> Starkey, D., *Henry: Virtuous Prince*, (London: Harper Perennial, 2009), 95.

<sup>131</sup> Green, I., *Dover and the Monarchy*, (Philadelphia: Triangle Publications, 2001), 67.

<sup>132</sup> Royal Historical Society, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* Volume 16 (1878): 67.

<sup>133</sup> 'Catalogue of the important collection of manuscripts, from Stowe. Which will be sold by auction, by messrs. S. Leigh Sotheby & Co., 11th June, 1849, and 7 following days': London, Southeby, 1849, 34.

Henry was 'the spare' and the focus would certainly have been on his elder brother Prince Arthur (1486 – 1502).<sup>134</sup>

John Leland in his work as Henry VIII's Surveyor, notes the connection and affinity that the King held with Kent and his affinity with the county that he was born in; likewise, let alone the time he spent travelling through the county or time spent in his houses within it.<sup>135</sup> Leland noted within his journal between 1538 and 1543 the King's relationship with the county:

'Christe there firste restorid. Let this be the firste chapitre of the booke. Caesar praysaith the Kentish Men. The King hymself was borne yn Kent. Kent is the key al Englande.'<sup>136</sup>

We do not know whether the King held such sentimentality for Kent. Still, there are many folkloric reasons why someone might have been proud to be from Kent during this time, all possibly dating back to the Norman invasion and the implementation of 'gavelkind' (special land tenures given predominantly in Kent by the Crown).<sup>137</sup> After all, legend has it that Henry likely originated the famous Kent moniker, 'the Garden of England'.<sup>138</sup> Simon Thurley argues that Kent was a regular route through which the Tudor monarchs and their predecessors would travel, and many large houses, palaces and associated infrastructures were established along that route. Such was the frequency of his visits that Henry VIII sited a number of his own palaces along the main routes of the county (Fig. 37).<sup>139</sup> And as we in

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<sup>134</sup> Norwich, J. J., *Four Princes*, (London: John Murray, 2016), 13.

<sup>135</sup> Moore, C., C., *The History of Heritage*, (Canterbury: Eskdale & Kent Publishing, 2016), 29-32., Henry was born in 1491 the Palace of Placentia, in Greenwich which at this time would have been in the county of Kent.

<sup>136</sup> Leland, J., *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543*, Ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith (London: Bell, 1910), 201-215.

<sup>137</sup> The verbal legends of 'Kentish Men' and 'Men of Kent': Kingsford, C., L., *A History of Gavelkind and Other Remarkable Customs in the County of Kent*, (Montana: Kessinger Publishing, 1851), 1-24.

<sup>138</sup> Wahlgren-Smith, L., 'Heraldry in Arcadia: the court eclogue of Johannes Opicius', *Renaissance Studies* Vol 14 (2000): 215.

<sup>139</sup> S. Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1993), 163-175.



the present consider it the 'Gateway to Europe', Leland was calling it the 'key' to England, we can see the importance and priority of fortifying this part of England.



Fig. 37 A photograph of the remains of Henry's Otford Palace in Kent, (photo author, 2022).

Therefore, all these matters considered, we can suggest that the King may have designed and prioritised these castles on the East Kent coast due to his own expert knowledge of the county and his experiences in his formative years as holding such an important title that was essentially England's historical connection to Europe and principal defender of the realm.<sup>140</sup> It is plausible that Henry, with the imminent threat of war in mind, sought to elevate the stature of the Wardenship title by constructing these castles according to his vision and under his direct supervision. By doing so, he may have aimed to reinforce the Wardenship Office renewed under Tudor rule as the bastion for defending England's closest quarters to Europe by constructing a trio of the most powerful and technologically advanced fortresses ever built at that time.

As we have seen with the Privy Council Minutes for Hull Castle, Henry VIII took a keen interest in fortress design, and he may have decided upon the intrinsic design feature of the circular bastion. Hale argues that Henry sought to discover how the French were currently building their forts, as much of Henry's campaign experience had been in France, and he knew this opponent well.<sup>141</sup> As stated, he sent spies to gather intelligence and record the details of the Castle of Arles.<sup>142</sup> Therefore, it is likely that the circular-styled bastion fort that took precedence in England early on was a design decision based on accelerated military need due to military intelligence. It seems to have been based on what the nearest enemies were seen to be obtained rather than a carefully considered design dogma. Perhaps even, as stated earlier, hastily being inspired by the then-printed designs of Albrecht Dürer.

Tantalisingly, Henry made visits 'to the coasts' during the construction period. Rutton, in his article referencing Sandgate Castle, states evidence from a contemporary writer, Hall, that in 1539:

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<sup>140</sup> Starkey, D., *Henry: Virtuous Prince*, (London: Harper Perennial, 2009, Kindle Edition), 79-80.

<sup>141</sup> Hale, J., *England and the Italian Renaissance* (New York: Fontana Press, 1996), 88-96.

<sup>142</sup> Hale, J.R., *Renaissance War Studies*, 63-97.



'His Majesty in his own person, without any delay, took very laborious and painful journeys towards the sea-coasts for the purpose of determining with his counsellors the fortifications necessary, and, as may be inferred, for the inspection and hastening of their construction.'<sup>143</sup>

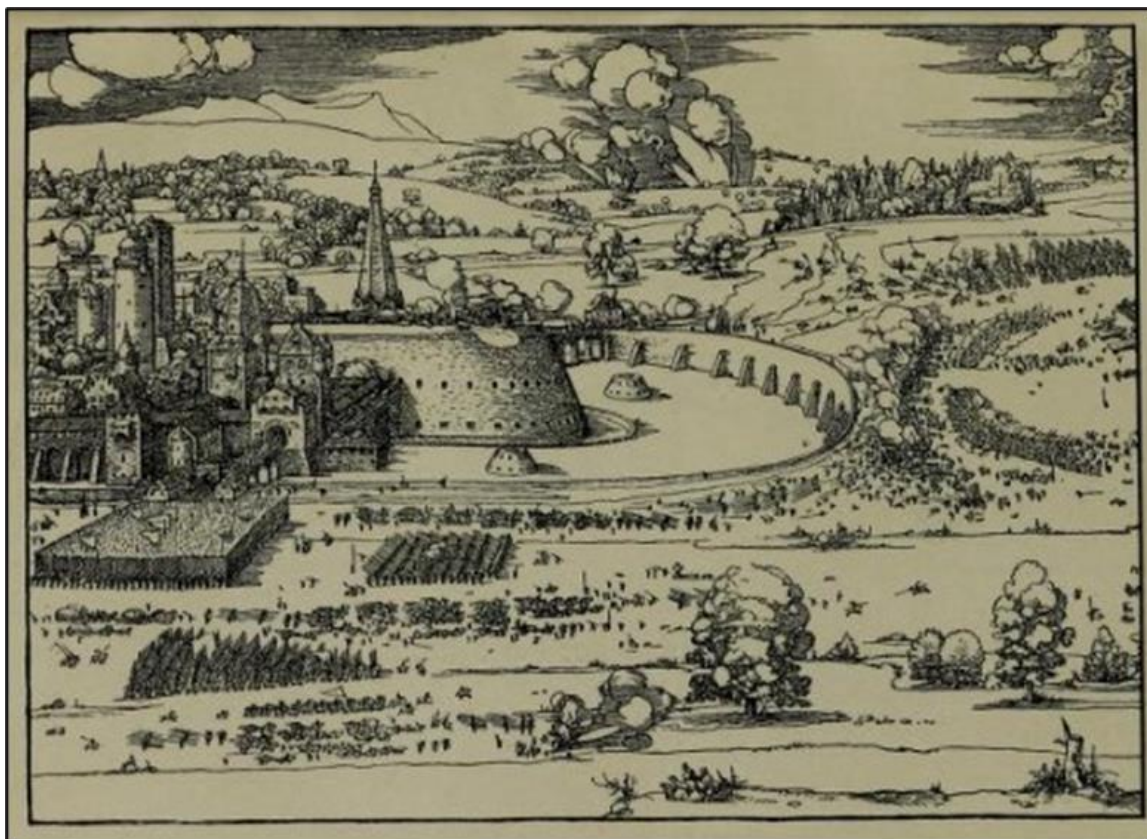


Fig. 37a A sketch by Albrecht Dürer showcasing the bastion design. Waetzoldt, W., *Dürers Befestigungslehre*, reproduced in 1916 by J. Bard, used under UK fair dealing.

Rutton also inspected the municipal records of the closest town of Folkestone that had been drafted by a Mr S. J. Mackie (unknown dates), showing evidence that the King visited the town on 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1542.<sup>144</sup> By this time, the castles would have been completed (Sandgate included), so it is likely the purpose of the visit was to inspect the ongoing works at Folkestone Harbour, though it would not have prevented him from inspecting his new fortresses on the same trip. Regardless of this second point, at the very least, we can see

<sup>143</sup> Rutton, W. L., 'Sandgate Castle, A.D. 1539-40'. *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. 20 (1893): 228-257.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*

evidence of the King's multiple trips to the coasts, which were likely some post-completion inspections. Victorian writers would later also state, but more romantically and without citation, that 'The King himself rode along the coast to hasten their completion'.<sup>145</sup> Whilst we cannot find primary sources showing his input into the design of these three castles, we can see a pattern of interest by the King. During these years, he would have had many grave issues to contend with, so his interest here is essential and shows that he must have had some impact on the design. After all, the visit of a monarch to any project, even today, has a highly regarded significance. In his monograph of Deal Town, John Laker also believes that the King visited the construction site at the Downs at least twice, though his sources are also not cited.<sup>146</sup>

We should also consider that Henry intended to use these recently constructed castles as a showpiece. In Deal, the imminent arrival of his prospective queen, Anne of Cleves (1515 – 1557), made it imperative that these castles be designed to make a favourable impression on his future Queen and her whole entourage.<sup>147</sup> While it was not known at the time of the construction that Anne would be landing here, the fact that Henry later selected this location for her arrival underscores the significant importance he attached to the Castles of the Downs.

We can also note from the Battle of the Spurs that Henry was not there just to fight his campaign but to showcase some of the new techniques in military fortification design. At the very least, Henry arguably built his first true artillery-styled fortification during this campaign from 1513 to 1519 in the small, now-Belgium town of Tournai.<sup>148</sup> Whether these works are overlooked due to their mainland Europe location or because little now remains of these fortifications (most were removed in the seventeenth century), it is an important addition for which this author has found very few references.

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<sup>145</sup> Murray, J., *Handbook for Travellers in Kent*, (London: Murray, 1904), 170., Dallas, E., S., *Once a Week*, (London: Bradbury, Evans, & Co., 1866), 624.

<sup>146</sup> Laker, *The History of Deal*, 96.

<sup>147</sup> Norton, E., *Anne of Cleves: Henry VIII's Discarded Bride*, (Gloucestershire: Amberley Publishing Limited, 2009), 88-92.

<sup>148</sup> Davies, C. S. L., 'Tournai and the English Crown, 1513–1519.' *The Historical Journal* 41, no. 1 (1998): 1-26.

The tower and citadel were built by Henry during this conflict, and due to the structure's size and wall thickness, it is far removed from the medieval castles that were still being built across the Channel in England. Works commenced in 1515 and were initially overseen by the former master of the Berwick works, William Pawne (unknown dates), who was said to be incredibly knowledgeable about fortification engineering and had worked as Master Gunner since the reign of Edward IV (1442 – 1483).<sup>149</sup> However, whether Pawne was giving Henry his first taste of military engineering or whether Henry had acquired this interest in the subject before this, we do not know. Still, we know he had many passions in his youth, some of which were a deep interest in mechanics and mathematics in addition to his sporting endeavours.<sup>150</sup> Nonetheless, we see Henry become increasingly fascinated to the point of obsession with the construction works in Tournai.

As little is known of Pawne other than Tournai was possibly his last project, the ageing military engineer may have essentially been schooling the young King in military architecture.<sup>151</sup> Surviving evidence shows that Henry, although absorbed with the work details, would amend or even correct Pawne's drawings and generally interfere throughout the whole duration of the project.<sup>152</sup> These works were potentially Henry's first new-build fortification, where he had expended the grandest amount of input with the alterations he directly made. This ensured that the design of Tournai was very much that of Henry's.

Part of a series of towers and city walls to fortify the town, it was one of the largest foreign building projects the Crown had undertaken since Calais, though Calais had evolved with various monarchs. This design progression can be seen overleaf, where Calais had evolved to include both artillery fort and concentric features (Fig. 38).

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<sup>149</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 3, Part I, 376.

<sup>150</sup> Starkey, D., *Henry: Virtuous Prince*, (London: Harper Perennial, 2009), 352 (Kindle edition).

<sup>151</sup> Scamperdale, A., 'A Common Heritage', *The Royal Engineers Journal*, March, Vol. 80 (1966): 70.

<sup>152</sup> Merriman, M., 'Realm and Castle: Henry VIII as European Builder', *History Today* Vol 41: Iss 6 (1991): 31-37.

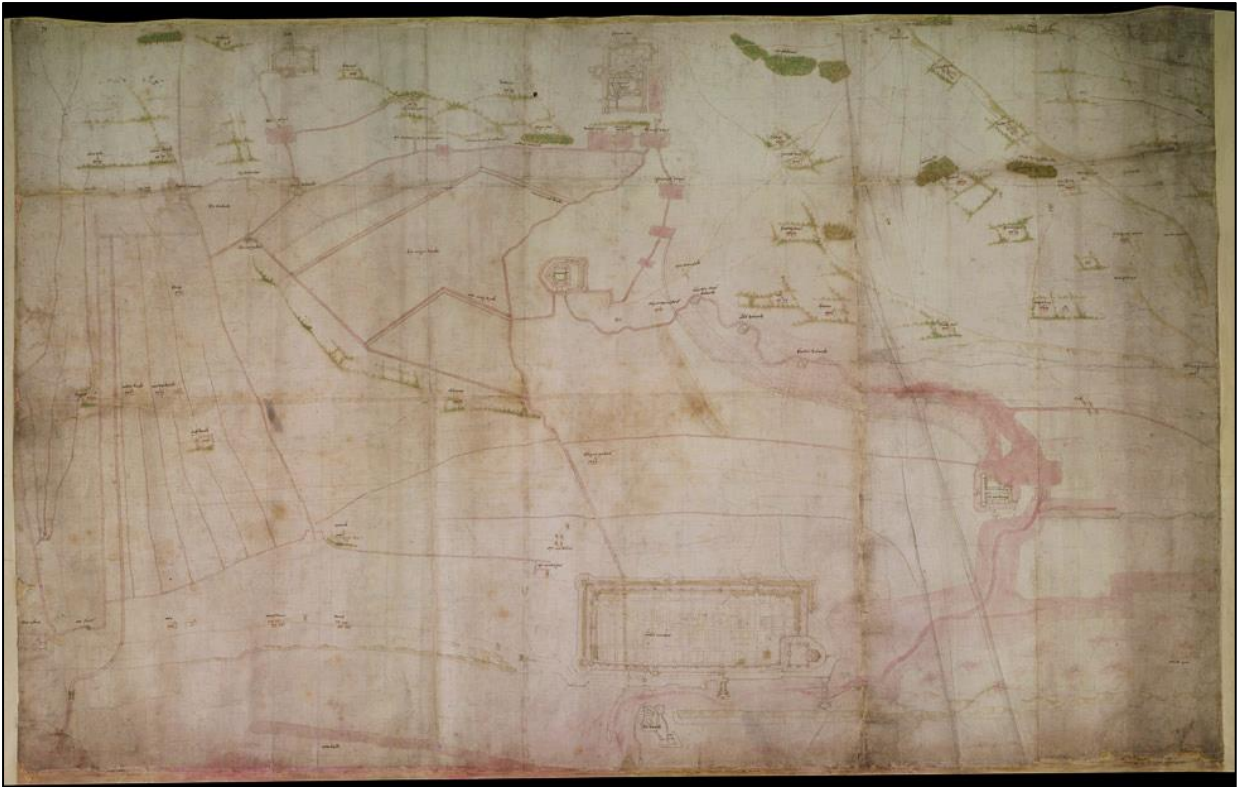


Fig. 38 Digitally enhanced view due to degradation of the fortifications in Calais as they stood in 1550, attributed to Petit, T., British Library, Cotton Archive.

Overseen by Pawne but built mostly by local, Low Countries masons (circa 379 masons and 1,062 workmen), it was not just Henry's first foray into new-build artillery fort design but also his first involvement with architecture that was not for his own domestic requirements.<sup>153</sup> The fast pace of execution ensured the King's full commitment to approving a number of aspects of the new citadel to fortify the town, from tower placement and thickness to the installation of kilns to avoid buying lime locally. He even gave the fortification political representation by appointing MPs to Parliament which shows Henry's vested interest in Tournai.<sup>154</sup>

<sup>153</sup> Cruickshank, C., G., *The English Occupation of Tournai*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 22-35.

<sup>154</sup> Hower, J., S., *Tudor Empire: The Making of Early Modern Britain and the British Atlantic World 1485-1603*, (London: Springer International Publishing, 2020), 109-110.





Fig. 39 A photograph of the Grosse Tour in the Belgium town of Tournai, Jean-Pol Grandmont, 2007, Wiki Commons public domain.

To give some idea of the scale of the building works at Tournai:

'Listing the materials and equipment provided for the spring offensive on the King's works. There were already upon the ground 24,000 quarters of lime, 60,000 feet of hewn stone, 8,000 tons of filling or ragstone, 700 tons of wood, and 1,000 loads of sand.'<sup>155</sup>

The volume of materials required, the size of the workforce and the swift pace of progress must have been a learning curve for the new monarch. The design required an offensive presence as well as a defensive stand to protect the town. During this period, the early use of gunpowder meant that the engineers had to ensure that all of the defensive towers where

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<sup>155</sup> Cruickshank, *The English Occupation of Tournai*.

cannons were mounted were strong enough and thick enough to endure return fire. The walls of the towers were all stone-built and were constructed to be twenty-five feet thick (Colvin says twenty-two feet), with a diameter of ninety feet (the Castle of the Downs' keeps are just under ninety feet).<sup>156</sup> Likewise, the city walls were all twenty-one feet thick.<sup>157</sup> The tower had vaulted chambers utilising stone and brick, irregularly spaced ribs, three embrasures, and a gothic arched window.<sup>158</sup> The embrasures are different in scope as they are smaller than those of the Castle of the Downs in terms of projective space from which to manoeuvre a cannon. This fault was corrected on the Castles of the Downs but was still inadequate for longer distance firing out to sea. The haphazard ribbing, vaulted ceilings, wall thickness and sizing are similar to the Castles of the Downs. In the very least, this would suggest the designer of the works at the Downs would have visited and known of the works in Tournai.

Lastly, as with the later Device castles, spolia was used, with townspeople being compensated for any stone or other materials donated to the King's masons to expedite the building programme. This is interesting, and it must have shown Henry the value and worth of spolia in terms of the acceleration of his programme. It is interesting to reflect on how this campaign affected Henry's learning and understanding of fortification design implementation.

As few plans or drawings remain, it is difficult to reflect on the architecture that has been lost. The earliest known map of the fortifications appears to be from 1588, though how accurate this is and how much of this was undertaken by the earlier Tudor masons is unknown. What is apparent is the scale and magnitude of their work (Fig. 40). The magnitude of the undertaking, the use of spolia, the design, the general 'modus operandi', and the speed all have comparable features kin to the later works in The Downs.

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<sup>156</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 3, Part I, 381.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*





Fig. 40 Map of Tournai by Frans Hogenberg, c. 1588, Alamy Stock Photo, ref: 2B20J3B, used under UK fair dealing.

Another potential influence for Henry's passion for military engineering may have come from William Hart (unknown dates). Less is known of Hart than Pawne. However, he was appointed into Pawne's longstanding role (Master Gunner) and would survey the King's fortifications in the North in 1522.<sup>159</sup> Records show that it was Hart's direct input to the King that would suggest the designs for future fortifications by having lowered bastions, packed/reinforced with earth and spolia taken from the lowering process, and ensure all guns could be flanked to out-manoeuvre any enemy advancement.<sup>160</sup> Whilst Hart made

<sup>159</sup> Merriman, M., 'Realm and Castle: Henry VIII as European Builder', *History Today* Vol 41: Iss 6 (1991): 31- 37.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*

alterations to Berwick, little is known of his life and career indeed, he makes no mention within the Device works despite being the one who essentially suggested these critical design elements to Henry many years earlier.

Whilst the campaign of Tournai was undertaken when Henry had only recently inherited the throne from his fiscally prudent father, the Device castles were not built with such frugality. From the 1530s, as taxes rose and religious properties were disbanded and sold, Henry amassed vast wealth and a large property portfolio; within the last decade of his life, he was the wealthiest monarch who had ever lived up until this point. He owned over sixty properties (big and small), and his interest in and commissioning new building works (primarily for his use) is well known.<sup>161</sup> With his experiences in Tournai, he fitted firing towers at Dover Port and Berwick in the 1520s. One courtier was remarked to have said that the King possessed 'excellent knowledge in devising of all kinds of fortifications'.<sup>162</sup> In 1520, he also personally inspected the fortifications of Calais on his way to meet King Francis I of France and was said to have designed the mock forts and rounded bastions used to effectively and ostentatiously display English military engineering at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520 (Fig. 41).<sup>163</sup> Therefore, if Tournai was the catalyst for the King's interest in military architecture, we can see a pattern developing in smaller schemes following Tournai, where his passion is evident and increasing. It shows a King who was not just commissioning works but a King with an expert eye who was instructing on the details he wanted to see, a very learned client.

Likewise, further and more local design interaction can be evidenced in Calais, Southsea, and East Cowes, where, on these occasions, it is recorded that Henry, yet again, changed the architectural designs of his masons.<sup>164</sup> Saunders suggests that the King played

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<sup>161</sup> Merriman, M., 'Realm and Castle: Henry VIII as European Builder', *History Today* Vol 41: Iss 6 (1991): 31- 37.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid*, 32.

<sup>163</sup> Dent, J., *The Quest for Nonsuch*, (London: Hutchinson, 1962), 36.

<sup>164</sup> Harrington, 15., Walton, S. A., *State Building through Building for the State: Foreign and Domestic Expertise in Tudor Fortification* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 2010), 70.

a pivotal role in many fortifications, acting as the primary driving force and bringing together various elements to ensure their construction and military effectiveness.<sup>165</sup>



Fig. 41 'The Field of the Cloth of Gold', c. 1545, Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 405794

Harrington and Goodall refer to Henry's visit to Dover Castle during the construction works at the Downs in 1539.<sup>166</sup> Henry potentially provided input and feedback on the final architectural drawings during a hasty visit to Dover in March of that year.<sup>167</sup> Notably, this visit coincided with their involvement in an ambitious but ultimately fruitless endeavour to extensively augment the harbour in Dover, representing a remarkable undertaking in its scale.<sup>168</sup>

Additionally, it has been found that in the State Papers from December of 1539, there is a mention that the King 'has seen the castle and the blockhouses and other fortresses' whilst again staying at Dover Castle.<sup>169</sup> This ambiguous reference could allude to the

<sup>165</sup> Saunders, A. D., *Fortress Britain: Artillery Fortification in the British Isles and Ireland* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1989), 45..

<sup>166</sup> Goodall, 421., Harrington, 15.

<sup>167</sup> This is debatable as the passage could infer that he visited his castles within the Device or he issued 'a device' or plan for the works; suggesting a plan/revision for the work at the Downs.

<sup>168</sup> Goodall, 421.

<sup>169</sup> Gairdner, J., and Brodie, R. H., *State Papers, Letters and Papers: December 1539, 1-5, in Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, Vol. 14 Part 2, August-December 1539. London, England: Her Majesty's



Castles of the Downs, which were still being constructed. This mention potentially signifies a subsequent visit by the King, indicative of his ongoing involvement and interest in the progress of these new fortresses. Although comprehensive records are unavailable for all the Device construction projects across the country, there is no evidence that the King inspected other building sites from within his Device programme; thus this shows how important the Castles of the Downs must have been for the King.

Finally, let us contextualise Henry as the learned client. Consider these two maps (Fig. 42 and Fig. 43); these show the royal houses he occupied, built, and maintained, and all the works he commissioned during his reign. Such a mighty and impressive collection of buildings and forts demonstrates (especially when compared to his frugal father) that Henry had a passion for construction and a true passion for architecture in all its forms. Never before or since can we say that a monarch has continually invested his time and the Crown's wealth extensively in domestic and military architecture across his entire kingdom.

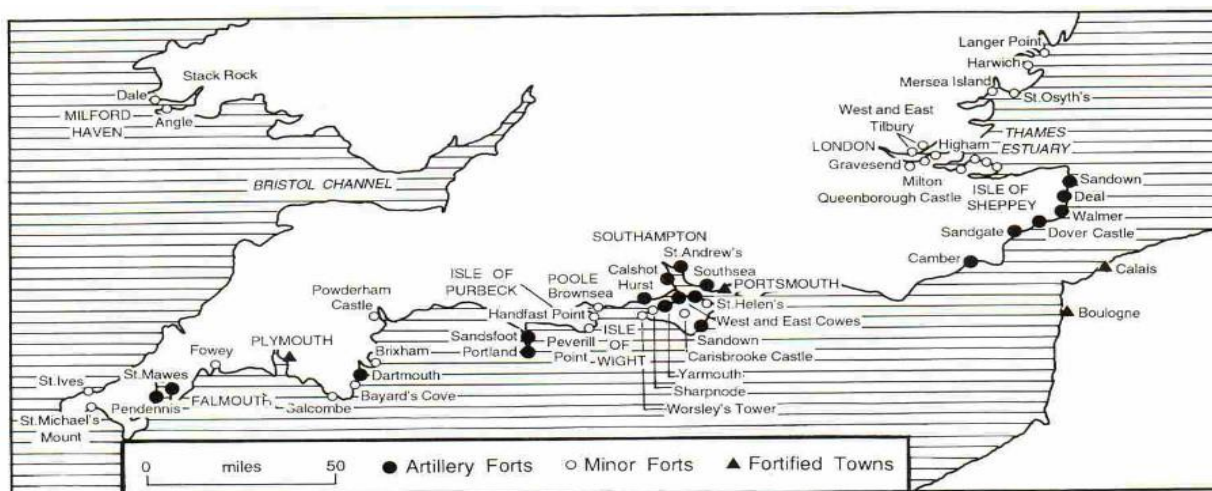


Fig. 42 All of the Henrician forts including blockhouses, and fortified towns, Merriman, M., 1991, *History Today*, used under UK fair dealing.

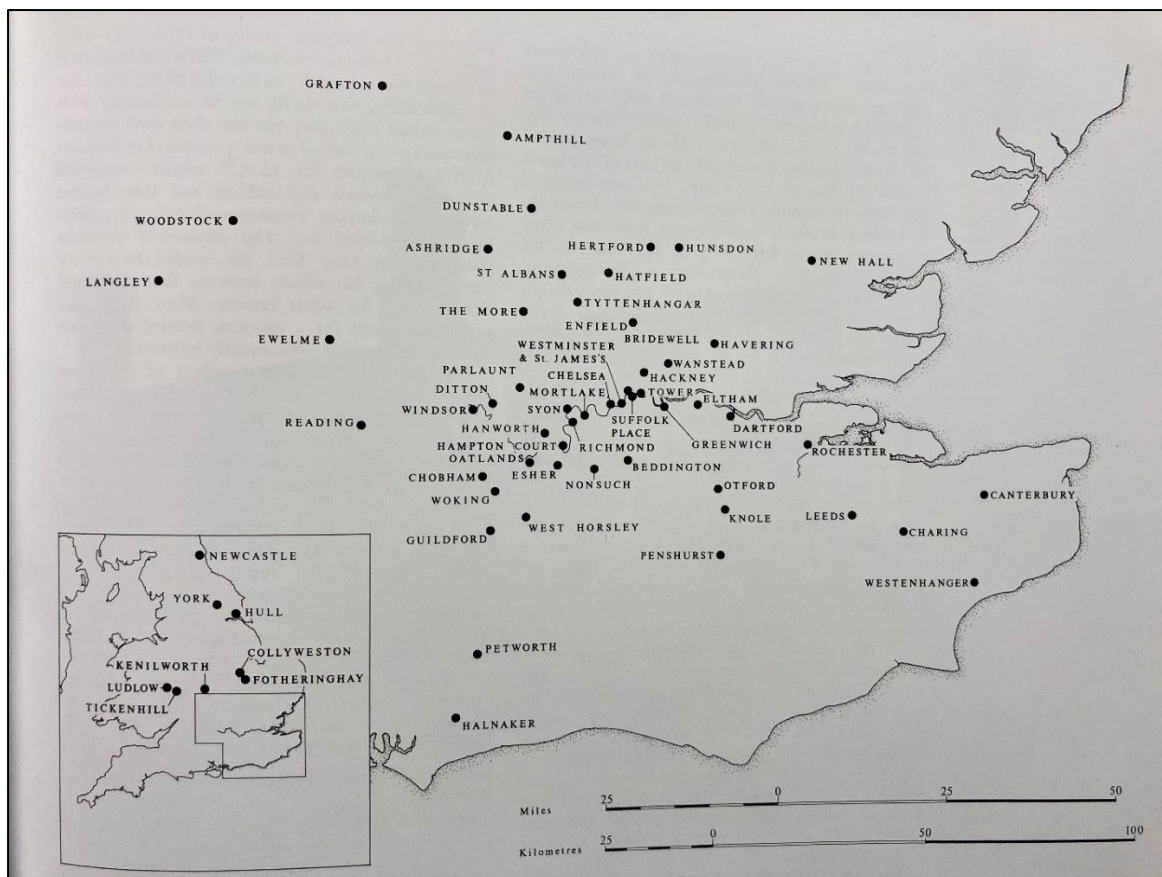


Fig. 43 Henry's royal houses at their peak in 1547, Thurley, S., 1993, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England*, Yale U.P, used under UK fair dealing.

Our exploration of the design of these three castles has given us a glimpse into their intricate and elaborate nature, hinting at their design characteristics that potentially serve as symbolic representations of numerous influential factors. However, this discussion has left much more to be explored in the forthcoming chapter. While the architect's identity remains unknown, it is highly probable that the King, patron of these castles, played a pivotal role in shaping their design, with his majestic level input and vision guiding the design process. This factor, too, would explain as to why the Castles of the Downs are not without their design flaws. In the next chapter, we shall further investigate the multifaceted aspects of these unique castles, providing insight into this design, including their flaws, which may also allude to a greater symbolical significance.

### Chapter Three: Setting and Symbolism

As we have seen, four bulwarks were built in conjunction with the three main castles at the Downs. These subordinate structures, accompanied by an intricate system of ditches and a fosse, have remained significantly under-studied in the modern period, probably due to their less permanent construction and limited archaeological evidence. Nevertheless, their significance to the overall configuration of the Castles of the Downs cannot be overstated. Thus, this chapter will examine the nature and importance of these hurried temporary structures within the castles' overall design to explore how they worked symbiotically to form a single fortification. Subsequently, we shall explore the Castles of the Downs as a form of 'citadel for the sea' with the symbolic implications this collective concept may have inconspicuously built in. As we shall explore, this fortification was not just a defence against a potential invasion. They were perhaps symbolic architectural expressions of resistance, and why the emblematic meaning of these collective structures has probably been lost in the contemporary setting.

As we have seen, the Downs Anchorage was becoming a well-known natural port by the Tudor period.<sup>1</sup> Other than neighbouring Sandwich's decline, there were other reasons why it was becoming popular. Namely, there were no other serviceable ports between the Downs and Portsmouth, and the fact that ships could shelter there against bad storms (as long as the wind was not blowing from the East) made it a popular stopping-off point with sailors.<sup>2</sup> The Downs were also the fastest way to London. All these aspects combined to ensure that it became an essential piece of English infrastructure by the Tudor period, even if it was naturally formed.<sup>3</sup> This importance had grown rapidly, and as we have seen, it had been the site of a few small-scale incursions and possibly the site of previously more

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<sup>1</sup> Saunders, A., *Deal and Walmer Castles* (Swindon: Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, 1982), 6.

<sup>2</sup> Treanor, T. S., 'The Deal Boatmen.' *The Leisure Hour*, Jan. 1877-Oct. 1903 (March 1892): 337-344.

<sup>3</sup> Saunders, A., *Deal and Walmer Castles* (Swindon: Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, 1982), 6.



extensive invasions. All of this ensured that this stretch of beach was quite possibly under-fortified by the Tudor period and needed to be readdressed immediately.

Whilst the Castles of the Downs was a singular response to this threat, for the last century, many scholars, interest groups, and tourist bodies have still considered the still-existing castles of Walmer and Deal as individual respective castles or as part of the wider King's Device. Hardly any scholars, perhaps until this work, have considered the three castles as one, as perhaps a citadel, bastille or fortified port. All works have either respectively considered each respective castle or appraised the whole Device building programme; no scholar has studied all three castles together as one with one unified design, which, as we have explored, was the likely design philosophy. With this in mind, it is crucial also to consider the bulwarks that were constructed alongside the castles. If little has been studied on these three castles (compared to the other castles within the National Heritage Collection), then even less has been researched on the bulwarks. Even Elvin laments in 1890 that when the British Archaeological Association visited Deal, they regretted that very little surviving information remains on these fortifications.<sup>4</sup> As we shall discuss, the design purpose of all these works was one set of defences working together as one ambitious singular fortification.

### **The History of the Bulwark**

The Bulwark likely developed around the same time as the Bastion, contemporaries with the development of the cannon.<sup>5</sup> As the medieval fortifications became obsolete in the face of gunpowder, ground-level, semi-circular earthworks could often be quickly constructed and used to guard the older pre-cannon fortifications.<sup>6</sup> The Bulwark essentially was a speedy

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<sup>4</sup> Elvin, 1890, IX., Our Literature Review also confirms this.

<sup>5</sup> Keeley, L.H., Fontana M., and Quick, R., 'Baffles and Bastions: The Universal Features of Fortifications.' *Journal of Archaeological Research* 15 (2007): 55–95.

<sup>6</sup> Hinds, J. R., Fitzgerald, E., *Bulwark & Bastion*, (Minnesota: Pioneer Press, 1996), 1 – 2.

addition to these older fortifications, protecting them against mechanised gunpowder without costly and time-consuming rebuilding. During the Middle Ages, when castles and fortified cities were prevalent, bulwarks were important in warfare, and thus, with the advent of the cannon, they proliferated across Europe. Bulwarks were often placed carefully to create overlapping fields of fire, giving defenders a clear line of sight and the ability to fire at attackers from various vantage positions.

The name and the usage may have derived from the earlier fortification of 'Barbican', which, although used well into the medieval period, was essentially a fortified outpost that lay ahead of the castle, often built into the city walls such as for citadels.<sup>7</sup> The Bulwark initially used this positioning but was essentially built low and squat (for perhaps surprise tactics) to ensure the entrance to an older fortress would be protected. However, as castle rebuilding was gathering pace, the bulwark would largely be phased out or redeveloped into more substantial fortifications. The bastion evolved into a better-fortified and permanent version of the bulwark.<sup>8</sup> The difference in their deployment here in the Downs fortifications is that the bulwarks were positioned to complement the castles and act in an interconnected, symbiotic manner with their lines of site protecting both themselves and the other castles within the overall fortification.

There are very few remnants of sixteenth-century bulwarks in the UK, and those often were heavily adapted, particularly in the nineteenth century.<sup>9</sup> Most were built as:

'Trenches dug into the earth or mounds, packed and faced with durable timber and often lined (revetted) with masonry and with a mounted gun or guns'.<sup>10</sup>

Some scholarly confusion is found in their terminology with the terms 'barbican', 'boulevards' and even 'batteries' being used, all adding additional confusion. Likewise, as the bulwark

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<sup>7</sup> Hislop, M., *How to Read Castles*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 246.

<sup>8</sup> Hinds, J. R., Fitzgerald, E., *Bulwark & Bastion*, (Minnesota: Pioneer Press, Rev. Ed., 1996), 1 – 2.

<sup>9</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 195.

<sup>10</sup> Stephenson, C., *Servant to The King for His Fortifications: Paul Ive and The Practise of Fortification*, (London: Military Publishers, 2008), 23.

developed in and around the time of the bastion, these two terms seem, by a few, to be interchangeable.<sup>11</sup> Finally, some writers appear to confuse them with ditches or trenches (sometimes, confusingly, referred to as fosses in several military texts), for which, although they share similar construction qualities, they were not mere banked ditches. Saunders even notes in his work on these artillery forts that some scholars flip between the uses of blockhouses and bulwarks because some in the early sixteenth century interchanged these titles.<sup>12</sup> However, some scholars, such as Lon Shelby, make the distinction that blockhouses were primarily built with more stone and had more significant elevations.<sup>13</sup> One of the best artist impressions of how the Downs bulwarks were constructed can be seen in Fig. 1, by Brian Delf.



Fig. 1 An artist's impression of the construction works at the Downs by Brian Delf, 2007, Osprey Publishing, used under UK fair dealing.

<sup>11</sup> Hislop, M., *How to Read Castles*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 246.

<sup>12</sup> Saunders, A. D., 'Hampshire Coastal Defence Since the Introduction of Artillery with a Description of Fort Wallington'. *Archaeological Journal* (1966): 170.

<sup>13</sup> Shelby L., *John Rogers: Tudor Military Engineer*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 144.

## Bulwark Design

It is difficult to contextualise the history of the bulwark as it is so intrinsically linked with the rapid retrofitting and subsequent adoption of the artillery fortress that much has not been documented or archaeological evidence has been lost.<sup>14</sup> Those that remained were often rebuilt into more standalone and significant structures; an example of this would be Mote's Bulwark in Dover, which, due to adaptation, has been reused and rebuilt several times so that from construction under Henry VIII to the mid-nineteenth century, it was in somewhat regular use.<sup>15</sup>

As Mote's Bulwark was essentially an elaborate shelter for guns, we only have little information to analyse their original design. However, we can see elsewhere what may have appeared after completion. The frailty of design to weather and time can be seen in Fig 2., that of a drawing from a manuscript by the same King's Works from c.1540/1541 of Mote's Bulwark. It shows a banked earthen fort with crude timber buttresses around a raised portion for two cannons. What remained of the same bulwark can be seen in Fig. 3 from the seventeenth century. Whilst these later much-altered depictions do show the conventional parts of a bulwark, it is said that this bulwark did also contain a building (probably used for storage), which may have given the bulwark its name of Mote, that of 'mote and bailey'.<sup>16</sup> Whether this was unique to this bulwark or whether this feature was shared on the bulwarks at the Downs, we do not know, as little description survives.

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<sup>14</sup> Parker, G., 'The Military Revolution, 1560-1660: A Myth?' *The Journal of Modern History* 48, no. 2 (1976): 195-214., Bukal, G., 'Relations Between Medieval and Modern Defensive Architecture.' *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Archaeologica* 14 (1991): 49-71.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Coad, J. G., *Book of Dover Castle and the Defences of Dover*, (London: B.T. Batsford, 1995), 59.

<sup>16</sup> Ingleton, R., D., *Fortress Kent: The Guardian of England*, (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2012), 112



Fig. 2 'A colored view of the North Cliffs, Dover, shewing 'The Bulwerck under the Castell Dyke', c. 1540/1541, British Library, 004977307.

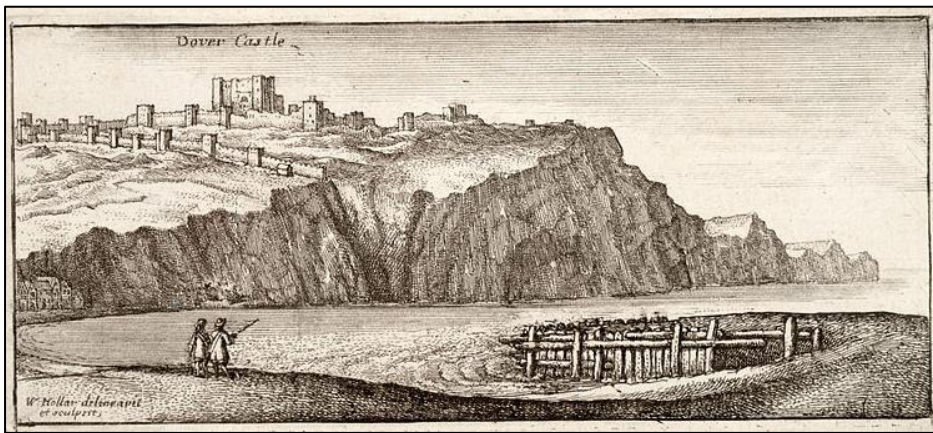


Fig. 3 'Dover Castle by Wenceslaus Hollar', Unknown date (author lived 1607-1677), University of Toronto Wenceslaus Hollar Digital Collection.

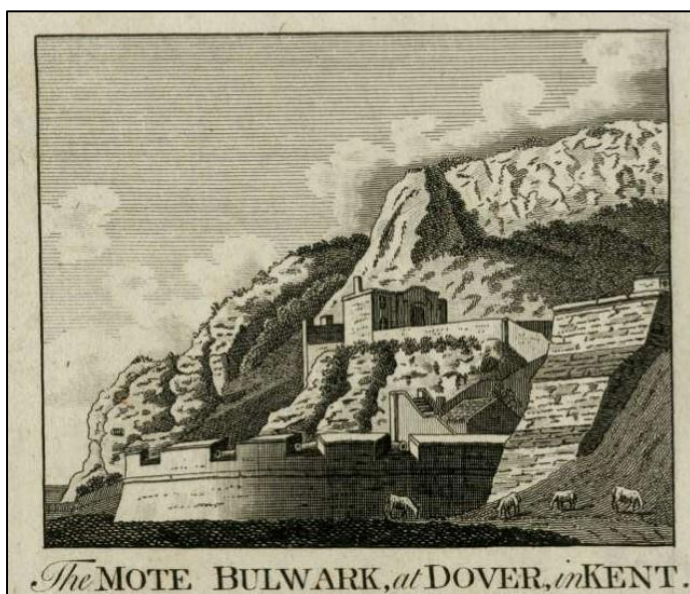


Fig. 4 An etching of the much-redeveloped Mote's Bulwark in Dover, 1784, Wikimedia Commons public domain.





Fig. 5 Photograph of Mote's Bulwark ruins, (photo author, 2022).

The grandest local to the Downs and perhaps one of the oldest constructed English bulwarks near Deal was the Great Bulwark, built in Sandwich in 1451.<sup>17</sup> Whilst it is believed that nothing remains of this bulwark, it was said to be two stories tall and be partly constructed from timber and stone.<sup>18</sup> The bulwark was part of other medieval works that were deployed to fortify this vital ancient port. Armed with cannons, this structure was a formidable obstacle to potential attackers. However, during the French attack in August 1457, the tower was eventually breached and ransacked.<sup>19</sup> In the following years, efforts were made to improve and repair the fortifications. Repair work was carried out at the Great Bulwark, and a second bulwark, made of brick, was erected near another entry gate called Fisher Gate (late 1450s).<sup>20</sup> Financial grants and exemptions were provided to support the

<sup>17</sup> Clark, H., *Discover Medieval Sandwich: A Guide to Its History and Buildings*, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011), 62.

<sup>18</sup> Ingleton, R., D., *Fortress Kent: The Guardian of England*, (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2012), 118.

<sup>19</sup> Clark, H., *Discover Medieval Sandwich: A Guide to Its History and Buildings*, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011), 88-92.

<sup>20</sup> Clinch, G., *English Coast Defences from Roman Times to The Early Years of The Nineteenth Century*, (London: G. Bell, 1915), 125-126.



maintenance and repairs of the fortifications, demonstrating the town's commitment to strengthening its defences. The accounts and records from that period shed light on the extensive construction and renovation activities, including purchasing materials like stone and constructing crenellations on the walls.<sup>21</sup> These efforts highlight the town's ongoing investment in fortification measures to protect against potential threats, thus demonstrating that this part of East Kent was vulnerable to attack.

The town's barbican, built later, possibly in the fourteenth century, largely remains today (Fig. 6).<sup>22</sup> Again, the seemingly interchangeable nature and lack of consensus of the term 'bulwark' could be demonstrated in this structure, albeit it appears to have been rebuilt and much altered.<sup>23</sup> A recent visit to Sandwich by the author has shown many buildings have been built or reconstructed using spolia therefore, these former fortifications within the town, including the castle and perhaps even the former Friary, have likely been assimilated by the local populace into various houses and roads leaving little physical above-ground archaeology to explore in this regard.<sup>24</sup>

While these two local structures may have inspired or informed the Downs Bulwarks' designs, there were others, albeit few, with not much archival evidence of their existence in the rest of England. The little-known Tudor engineer William Hart (mentioned in the previous chapter) also designed and built the Bulwark-in-the-Snook at Berwick in 1522-1523.<sup>25</sup> 'Snook' is an Old English term for projecting land mass.<sup>26</sup> The major earthwork project saw

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<sup>21</sup> Clinch, G., *English Coast Defences from Roman Times to The Early Years of The Nineteenth Century*, (London: G. Bell, 1915), 88-92.

<sup>22</sup> Site: <https://historicengland.org.uk/services-skills/education/educational-images/the-barbican-high-street-sandwich-2298>, accessed: June 2021.

<sup>23</sup> The Author's opinion is based on a site visit in June 2021, as it clearly displays significant areas of repair and replacement possible due to its proximity to three main highways that all meet at this structure. For example, the above plinth stone and flint diapering are typical of Tudor domestic architecture, but the wall stonework does not match the stonework at the plinth. The plinth's stonework is uniform and appears to be locally quarried. Yet, the diapered stones appear to be a form of freestone, and it is highly improbable that Tudor stonemasons would have deployed freestone (such as Caen) on a bulwark or in such an unnecessarily decorative pattern. Therefore, it suggests this structure has been refurbished many times, probably in the Victorian period, using honorific spolia.

<sup>24</sup> Deighton, E., 'The Carmelite Friary at Sandwich.' *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. 114 (1994): 317-328.

<sup>25</sup> Quennell, P., 'Fortifications of Berwick.' *History Today* Vol. 41 (1991): 33.

<sup>26</sup> Lamont-Brown, R., *The Life and Times of Berwick-upon-Tweed* (Edinburgh: J. Donald, 1988), 54.

the bulwark built on the shore on reclaimed projecting land to fire cannons at enemy ships.<sup>27</sup> As previously mentioned, Hart had no direct input into the design and building of the Device Castles on the south coast, though his works in Berwick to the Bastions and this Great Bulwark would likely inspire the designs of these structures.



Fig. 6 The Sandwich Barbican, (photo author, 2021).

Beyond the confines of Kent, various instances of fortification can be observed throughout Henry's realm. Notably, in the 1480s, Southampton implemented bulwarks, followed by those in the 1520s in Rye.<sup>28</sup> In 1538, Rogers introduced temporary bulwarks in Hull, while in the 1550s, Poole and Guines underwent similar retrospective fortification

<sup>27</sup> Merriman, M., 'Realm and Castle: Henry VIII as European Builder', *History Today* Vol 41: Iss 6 (1991).

<sup>28</sup> Gunn, S., *The English People at War in the Age of Henry VIII*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 111, 125.

measures.<sup>29</sup> The trend persisted with the construction of bulwarks around York in 1642 and other parts of England from 1642 to 1651 (English Civil War), illustrating their continued deployment over subsequent centuries.<sup>30</sup>



Fig. 7 Remains of an English Civil bulwark built in Cambridgeshire between 1642 and 1645, Historic England Archive, 33583/049.

### The Unknown Pre-Device Downs Bulwarks

The bulwarks in the Downs that Henry VIII built may have been built on the site of older bulwarks. We know this is possible as it has been found that bulwarks were manned from 1534 onwards; therefore, some form of fortification must have existed before the Downs

<sup>29</sup> Gunn, S., *The English People at War in the Age of Henry VIII*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 111, 125., D.H. Evans. 'The Fortifications of Hull between 1321 and 1864.' *Archaeological Journal* 175:1 (2018): 87-156. DOI: 10.1080/00665983.2017.1368156., Lambert of Ardres and Shopkow, L., *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 98.

<sup>30</sup> Lockwood, H., and Cates, A., *The History and Antiquities Of The Fortifications To The City Of York*, (Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Publishing Co, 1834), 78., Kent, P., 'Fortress' in *East Anglian Fortifications in the Twentieth Century*, *Fortress* Vol. 3' (1989): 43-57.

Works in 1539.<sup>31</sup> If true, it could have some bearing on the construction design of the Castles of the Downs, as they may have defined their siting, they may have contributed to the pace of construction, and they may have contributed to the accommodation of the workers to aid in the pace of the delivery of the works. The antiquarian John Leland, in his perambulation in c. 1535-39, stated:

‘Deale half a myle fro the shore of the sea, a Finssheher village three myles or more above Sandwic, is upon a flat shore, and very open to the se, wher is a fosse or a great bank artificial betwixt the town and se, and beginnith about Deale and renneth a great way up toward S. Margarets Clyfe, yn as much that sum suppose that this is the place where Cæsar landed in aperto Litore. Surely the fosse was made to kepe owt enemyes ther or to defend the rage of the se, or I think rather the casting up beche or pible.’<sup>32</sup>

We cannot be sure about the exact date of Leland’s visit, but as it was before the construction of the Downs castles, it gives a fascinating account that some ramparts and fosse were already present.<sup>33</sup> We also know from the previous chapters that the works to construct the castles and the bulwarks were, for the time, exceptionally fast, so existing earthworks could likely have been re-used. This is possible, as we have seen with von Haschenperg, and his later works show a degree of engineering naivety, which may reinforce the idea of re-use, as it would have been easier for him to do.

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<sup>31</sup> Bindoff, S. T., *The History of Parliament, The House of Commons, 1509-1558*, Appendices A-C. London: Secker & Warburg, 1982. Crown Copyright, 608.

<sup>32</sup> Hasted, E. ‘*The Liberty of the Cinque Ports (continued): Walmer*’, In *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 10*, edited by W. Bristow, 1800 (Canterbury: W. Bristow, 1800), 58.

<sup>33</sup> Roget, J., L., *Sketches of Deal, Walmer, and Sandwich By the late John Lewis Roget*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1911), 38-39.

In the early seventeenth century, Camden concurred with Leland's reports and claimed that the earthworks found at Walmer were old, possibly Roman.<sup>34</sup> Hasted visited in 1800 and also stated that some earthworks were in existence before the Castles were built:

'Before these three castles were built, there were between Deal and Walmer castle, two eminences of earth, called the Great and Little Bulwark; and another, between the north end of Deal and Sandown castle, (all which are now remaining;) and there was probably one about the middle of the town, and others on the spots where the castles were erected. They had embrasure for guns, and together formed a defensive line of batteries along that part of the coast, when there was deep water, and where ships of war could approach the shore to cover the disembarking of an enemy's army.'<sup>35</sup>

Hasted's analysis suggests that certain surviving bulwarks underwent modifications during their existence. If his assertions are correct, this would have significant implications for the speed at which the construction was undertaken at the site.<sup>36</sup> Likewise, the topographer Edward Brayley (1773 – 1854) referenced Camden when he speculated that some of these earthworks might have originated in Caesar's encampment. However, due to the passage of time and the uncertainty regarding Caesar's precise landing locations, it is challenging to concur entirely with Camden's proposition. Nonetheless, his perspective corroborates Leland's earlier accounts, which indicate the existence of earthworks predating the aforementioned construction in 1539.

It is also relevant to note that Colvin's examination characterises the fortifications at The Downs as entirely newly constructed.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, it should be acknowledged that

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<sup>34</sup> Hasted, E., *General history: Roman Kent in The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 1* (Canterbury, 1797), 13., Note that the prism of how we view the distance between Roman and Tudor times is obviously different for people living in Tudor times.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 18., The issue with the account is that it refers to seven bulwarks and not the traditionally held account of six.

<sup>36</sup> Brayley, E. W., *The Beauties of England and Wales: Kent* (London: Thomas Maiden, 1806), 411.

<sup>37</sup> Colvin, 1982.

Colvin draws primarily from original and some surviving documents, predominantly from the State Papers. It is conceivable that in their haste to orchestrate these fortifications, the Crown may not have been unaware of the existence of preexisting bulwarks at The Downs, regardless of their modest scale.

In his 1915 work on the defences of the Cinque Ports, Clinch asserts that during the medieval period, it would have been unthinkable for such an extensive coastline, with its proximity to a significant pilgrim route to and from mainland Europe, to have remained unprotected in any capacity, given its proximity to a deep anchorage.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, this suggests that some form of defence must have existed before the works at the Castles of the Downs commenced, mainly because medium-scale landings had already been undertaken on these beaches before the castles were built.

### **The History of the Henrician Downs Bulwarks**

As we have seen, the bulwarks at the Downs were all said to have been built between 1539 and 1540, probably by Stephen von Haschenperg. They were also manned and in use by October 1540.<sup>39</sup> From surviving records, we know that he was likely the overseer of the earthworks.<sup>40</sup> It is believed that there were four bulwarks constructed during the works at the Castles of the Downs, they were, from north to south: the Great Turf Bulwark, the Little Turf Bulwark, the Great White Bulwark of Clay and the Walmer (or Black) Bulwark.<sup>41</sup> And whilst historians have attributed these names to them, the exact location and surviving

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<sup>38</sup> Clinch, G., *English Coast Defences from Roman Times to The Early Years of The Nineteenth Century*, (London: G. Bell, 1915), 161.

<sup>39</sup> Colvin, H., M., *The History of the Kings Works - Volume 4 Part 2 Edited*, (Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1982), 454-465., Gairdner, J., and Brodie, R. H., *State Papers, H. M. Stationery Office, Great Britain. Public Record Office. Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*. Preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum and Elsewhere. Vol. 15, 1540. London, England: H.M. Stationery Office, 1896. Crown Copyright. Entry no. 131. Crown Copyright., 118-132. British History Online, accessed May 31, 2022, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol15/pp118-132>.

<sup>40</sup> O'Neil, B.H. St John, 'Stefan von Haschenperg, an Engineer to King Henry VIII, and his Work.' *Archaeologia* 2nd ser., 91 (1945): 137-55., The National Archives, E/351/3199.

<sup>41</sup> Colvin, H., M., *The History of the Kings Works - Volume 4 Part 2 Edited*, (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1982), 455-456.



archaeological evidence is hard to find; it has been a point of speculation for many years. It is also worth noting that four batteries were erected along this same coast in the nineteenth century, and then further anti-aircraft guns in the Second World War (the latter has remnants left behind (Fig. 8).<sup>42</sup>

This author has undertaken an in-depth analysis of all the surviving records of the Downs Bulwarks to determine their probable modern-day locations (Appendix C). This is important to state, as should future archaeological investigations be commenced, that this work has probably used all surviving records. Further field archaeological analysis would need to be conducted to verify this.



Fig. 8 Photograph of the remnants of a likely former concrete pad within the grassy area of Walmer Beach, believed to have been used as a foundation for an anti-aircraft gun in WW2, (Photo author, 2020).

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<sup>42</sup> Giraud, E., F., *A Guide to Deal, Walmer, and the Neighbourhood*, (London: E. F. Giraud, 1861), 21., *Canterbury Journal, Kentish Times and Farmers' Gazette*, 11<sup>th</sup> February 1854, 17., *This C19th official report by the Royal Engineers confuses bulwarks with batteries*: Royal Engineers (Various), *Professional Papers of the Corps of Royal Engineers: Occasional Papers*, (Corps of Royal Engineers, 1887), 71.



Fig. 9 The approximate layout of the bulwarks in association with the castles and The Downs and the Goodwin Sands, 2007, Osprey Publishing used under UK fair dealing.

After construction, the bulwarks were only manned for a short while as they were found to be 'defaced' in 1547, and the guns were subsequently removed and taken to Dover Pier. By the 1550s, they were said to be wholly abandoned.<sup>43</sup> This is the accepted historical view to date; however, this thesis has found more precise dates. Primary sources have been sourced that show the abandonment after 1553 as the most northern bulwark, the Great Turf Bulwark, appointed a new captain, Thomas Patche (1504-1553), though he died in the same year as his appointment.<sup>44</sup> Further primary sources show that in 1553, the Clay Bulwark appointed a new Captain, William Oxenden, who remained in the role until he died in 1558.<sup>45</sup> It is possible that as the bulwarks' captains died or moved commission, they were not replaced in their roles, and the bulwarks were left to dilapidate within this decade. Lost records appraised in the nineteenth century found that a survey was undertaken shortly after Elizabeth I became Queen at the end of 1558, and it showed that the Little Turf Bulwark had one gunner stationed; the Great White/Clay Bulwark had four gunners and two soldiers, and

<sup>43</sup> Harrington, P., *The Castles of Henry VIII*, 54.

<sup>44</sup> Bindoff, S. T., *The History of Parliament, The House of Commons, 1509-1558*, Appendices A-C. London: Secker & Warburg, 1982. Crown Copyright, 69.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*, 39-40.

the Walmer/Black Bulwerk had one porter and one gunner. The Great Turf (nearest Sandown) appears to have already been abandoned.<sup>46</sup> After this period, the priority seems to be staffing the castles rather than the bulwarks.

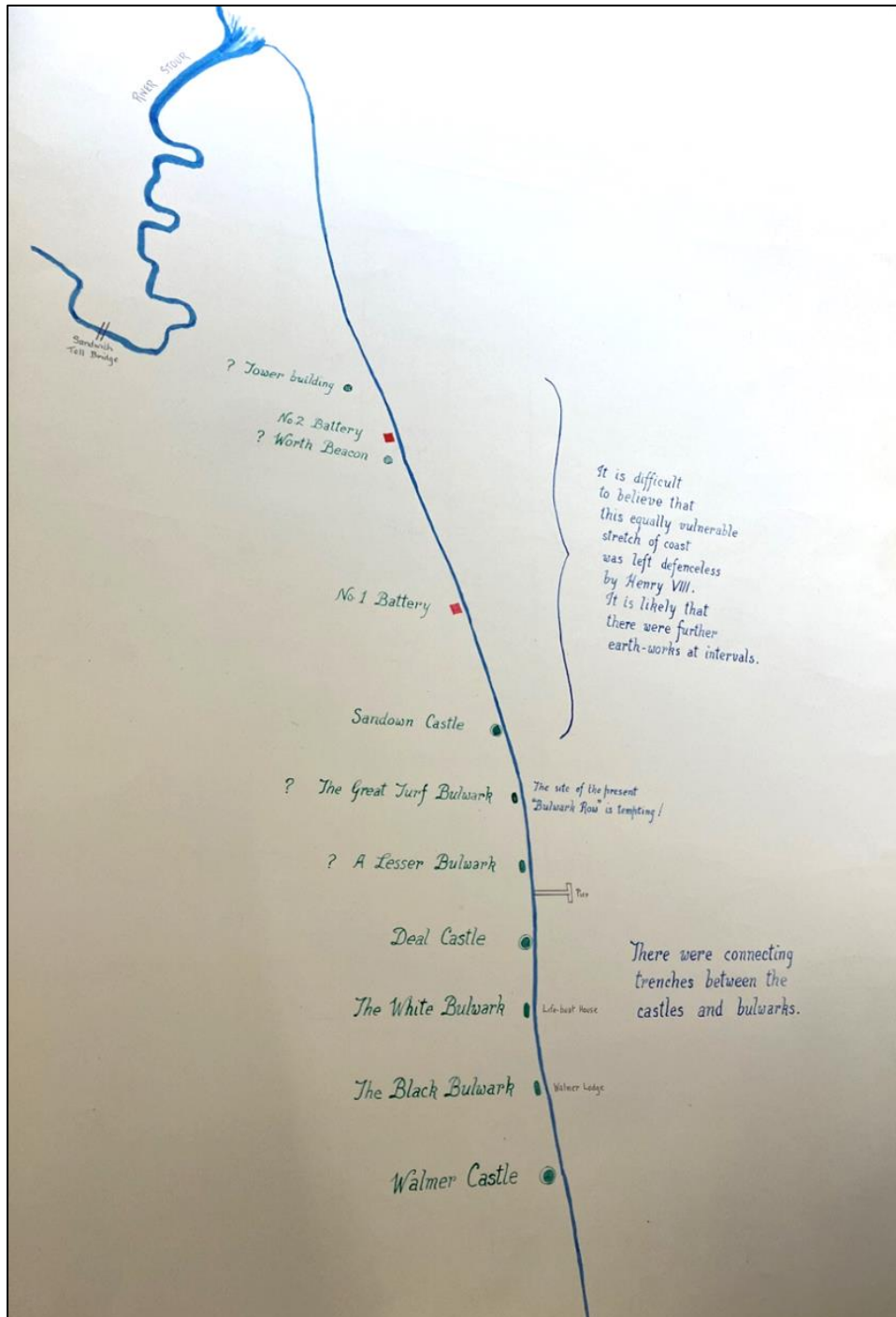


Fig. 10 An unpublished map produced by Deal Museum showing the locations of the bulwarks and batteries, Deal Museum, CS1/2.

<sup>46</sup> Colburn, H., 'Article by H Colburn.' *United Service Journal Naval and Military Magazine*, Part II, (1837): 297.



It has been found that at least one Downs bulwark was repaired in the seventeenth century (that of the Great Turf, though it may have been the Black/Walmer Bulwark; the one closest to Walmer Castle – the records are not conclusive on this).<sup>47</sup> The outbreak of the English Civil War in 1642 saw all three castles held by the Royalists. By 1648, Parliamentary forces responded, eventually capturing all three. If only briefly, one bulwark was repaired and re-used during this campaign with the local confrontations. ‘The Bulwark was thrown up’ suggested that one bulwark was repaired in haste.<sup>48</sup> We know this as the same bulwark was documented when Pitt later used it for drilling his volunteers during exercises he undertook as Lord Warden in 1803.<sup>49</sup> This same bulwark was also noted in 1803 (also with the wrong name) when Pitt and Lady Stanhope stood on the ramparts of it to watch the Downs Pilots give a ceremonial salute at sea.<sup>50</sup> The source of both of these events comes from private correspondence from Pitt, which is why the name may have been likely stated incorrectly.

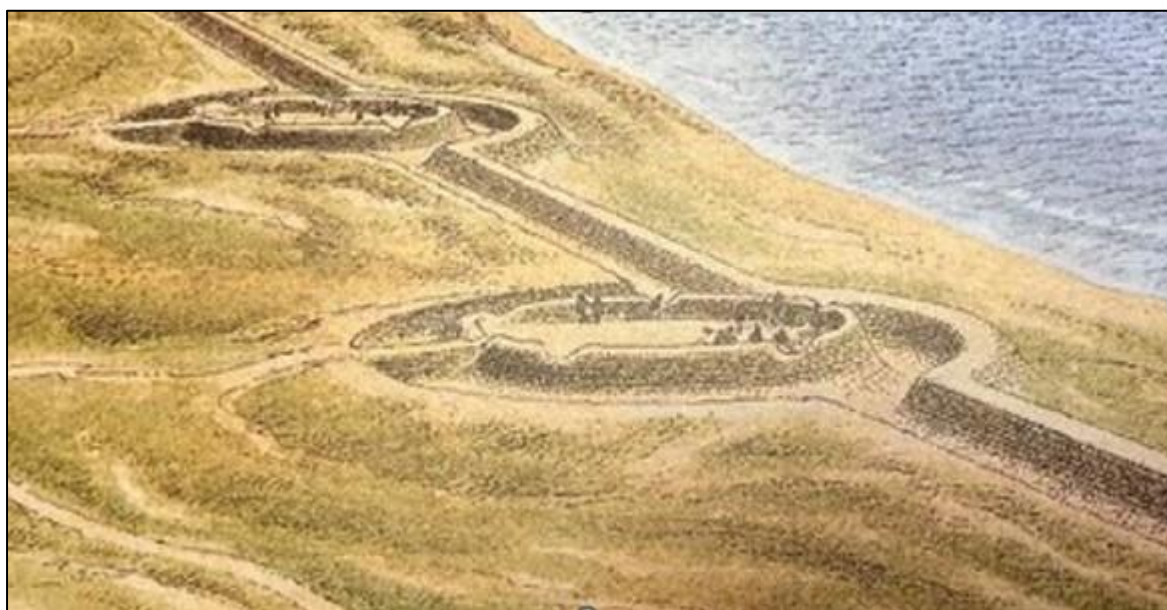


Fig. 11 Modern artwork of how the Downs' bulwarks would have looked after construction, Brian Delf, used under UK Fair Dealing

<sup>47</sup> Lambeth Palace Library, MS 630.

<sup>48</sup> Pritchard, S., *The History of Deal, and its Neighbourhood*, (Deal: E. Hayward, 1864), 225-226

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> Laker, J., *The History of Deal*, (Deal: T. F. Pain & Sons, 1921), 325

Although very few images of the Downs Bulwarks remain, they appear to be formidable in size (a modern artist rendition Fig. 11). Both Stukeley in 1725 and an unpunished map by 'Mr. Payne's for a proposed new harbour in 1749 shows that they were comparable in size to the two limb castles (Fig. 12 – 13). After this period, the bulwarks are seldom mentioned again in any primary sources.

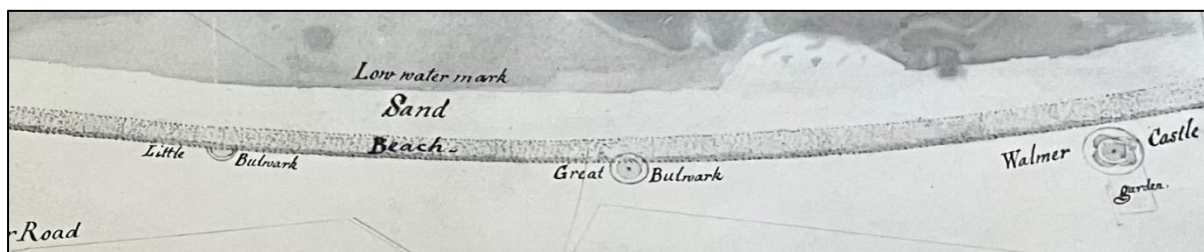


Fig. 12 An excerpt from an unpublished drawing for a new proposed 'Downs Harbour' by Mr Payne, 1749, Deal Museum, PL134.

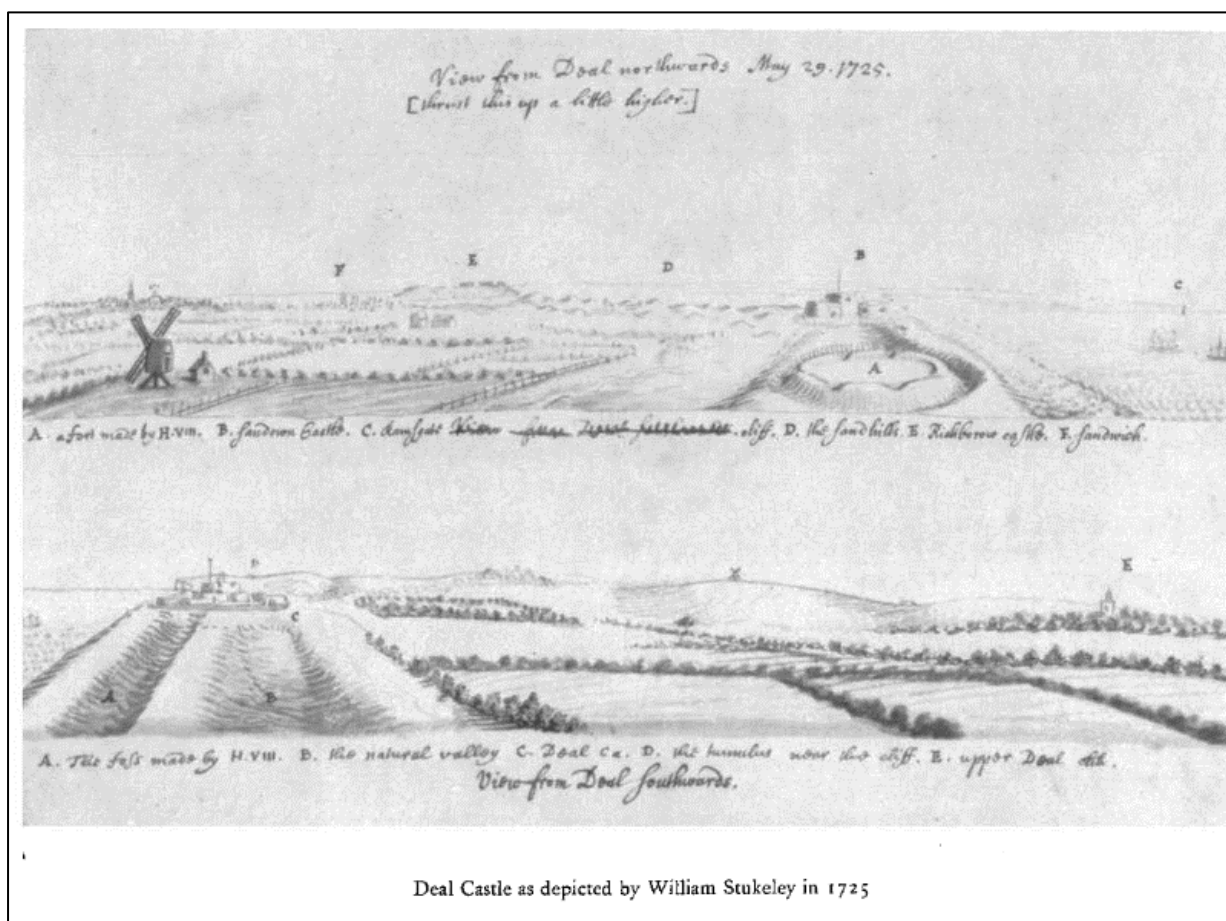


Fig. 13 Stukeley's Drawings of the Downs' bulwarks, Saunders, A., Fortress Britain, (Beaufort, 1989).

### **The Importance of the Bulwarks within Networked Defence**

As we have seen, the three castles were built so that each had the firepower and coverage to protect the other. This is combined with the symmetry of Walmer and Deal, the iconic nature of Deal's tiered design, and the overall iconography of the three castles built together. When considering the two pairs of bulwarks and interconnecting ditch networks, these points show more of a fortified port rather than three individual castles. They were essentially bound together, and all components were designed to act as one. This is why they were essential because it demonstrates that the bulwarks were integral to the overall design of the Castle of the Downs.

Let us also mention some of the latter uses of the Downs castles, including as a prison, a lifeguard station, a form of customs, the respective ceremonial homes of the Lord Warden and Royal Marines, and general militaristic operations.<sup>51</sup> Whoever designed the Castles of the Downs did so not just to repel the enemies of these shores, but they were essentially fortifying this part of the coast of East Kent and unifying the operations in this area that would benefit the fishermen, prevent piracy, protect sailors, protect the emerging Navy and enable the growth of Lower Deal, a growth that, as we have seen, would eventually outstrip its head Cinque Port of Sandwich.<sup>52</sup> Henry's fortified port transformed this region significantly. As revealed in this research, whether this nuanced perspective has been obscured by the castles' successive custodians or the loss of Sandown and the bulwarks remains uncertain. However, it is clear that Henry's vision for these castles fundamentally reshaped the area in the following centuries. Considering much of Henry's actions during his reign, the enduring repercussions manifest prominently in the contemporary landscape of the Downs. The bulwarks, albeit now long absent, contribute

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<sup>51</sup> Keeble, N. H., 'The Colonel's Shadow': Lucy Hutchinson, Women's Writing and the Civil War.' in *Ashgate Critical Essays on Women Writers in England, 1550-1700*, Routledge, (2017): 241-261., Stone, R. C., 'Lord Warden.' *Royal United Services Institution Journal* 100 (1955): 415-420., Laker, 303.

<sup>52</sup> Pritchard, 200-201.



substantively to this idea, and their absence potentially augments the equally lost interpretation of the Downs as one singular fortification.

### Other Fortified and Networked Ports

The significance of fortified ports increased as trade and commerce grew in the medieval period, compounded also by the introduction of gunpowder deployment.<sup>53</sup> During this timeframe, many ports built elaborate fortifications like such as walls, watchtowers, and gates to defend their lucrative trade routes and keep their commercial supremacy.<sup>54</sup> Port cities like Venice, Genoa, and Dubrovnik became significant European maritime powerhouses. To protect their lands and trade routes, these city-states constructed impressive fortifications. For example, Dubrovnik's walls, built in the thirteenth century, helped the city withstand many sieges and preserve its trading independence (Fig. 14).<sup>55</sup>



Fig. 14 A view of Dubrovnik, late fifteenth century, Wikimedia Commons public domain.

<sup>53</sup> Kaufmann, J. E., and Kaufmann, H. W., *The Medieval Fortress: Castles, Forts, and Walled Cities of the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Da Capo Press, 2001), 153.

<sup>54</sup> Baika, K., 'The Fortification of Shiphsheds and Naval Arsenals.' *Shiphsheds of the Ancient Mediterranean* (2013): 210-230.

<sup>55</sup> Pounds, N., *The Medieval City* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2005), 17.

Fortified ports became increasingly important during the Age of Exploration due to the expansion of global trade and colonial aspirations. Cities like Lisbon, Seville, and Antwerp developed into crucial hubs of international trade to connect Europe with other continents.<sup>56</sup> These ports built massive fortifications, including citadels, bastions, and sea-facing defences, to safeguard their wealth and maintain their status quo.

England's sporadic conflicts with Scotland and Wales in the High Medieval period also strongly emphasised the logistics of military supply chains, which frequently involved coastal landowners. Edward I (1239 – 1307) had great experience fortifying buildings near the coast to make the best use of campaigns from the sea, a process that he practised on the Scottish, and also with the castles he initially built at Aberystwyth (1277–1289), Built (c.1277), Flint (1277–1284), and Rhuddlan (1277 to 1282), known as the Welsh 'Ring of Iron Fortresses' (Fig. 15).<sup>57</sup> These did not necessarily work together, but they were close enough that some coordination of their military prowess was likely undertaken.

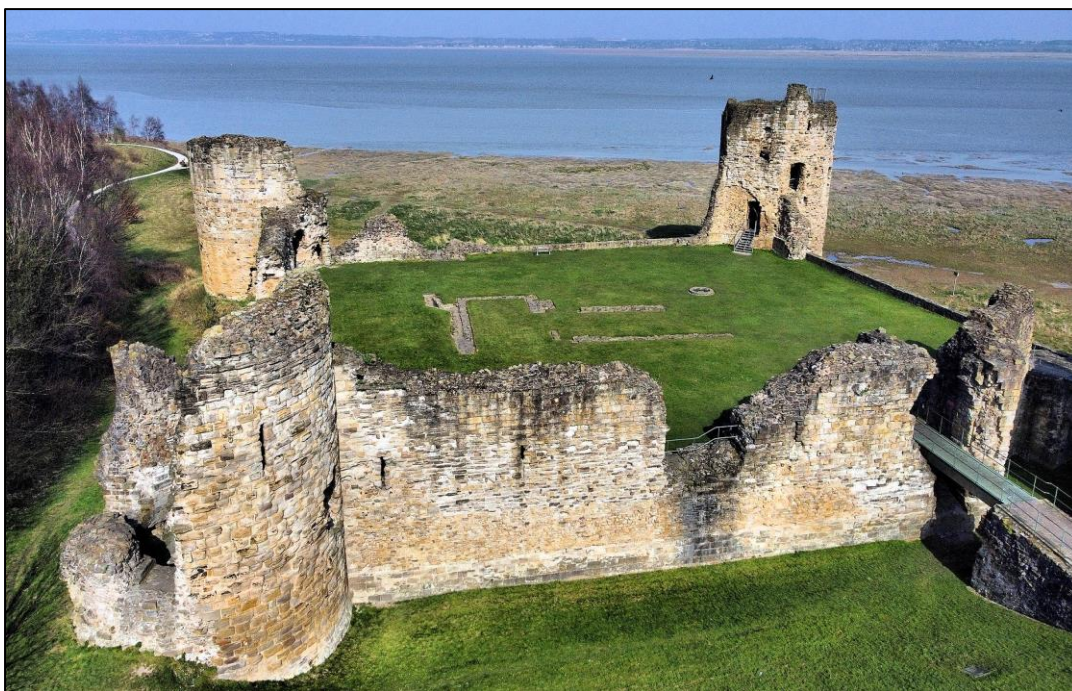


Fig. 15 Flint Castle (1277-1284), Used under the Wiki Creative Commons.

<sup>56</sup> Kaufmann, J. E., and Kaufmann, H. W., *The Medieval Fortress: Castles, Forts, and Walled Cities of the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Da Capo Press, 2001), 153-165.

<sup>57</sup> Taylor, A. J., *The Welsh Castles of Edward I*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1986), 1-37.

As gunpowder use increased many fortified ports underwent extensive renovations to withstand the developing siege warfare techniques. Fortified ports' function and significance changed with the end of the medieval era and the emergence of modern nation-states. The emphasis shifted away from individual ports and toward naval complexes and dockyards with the development of naval power and the move toward larger naval bases. This change ushered in a new era in developing port fortifications and maritime defence.<sup>58</sup>

A notable architectural response emerged after the introduction of gunpowder by accommodating the mounting of guns, thus equipping coastal installations with a practical defensive capability. As mainland castles were embracing this change, so too were coastal fortifications. Along with the Device Forts, the Tudors also responded to threats from France and Scotland as maritime defence measures akin to those in Hull, Tynemouth, and Berwick were implemented. Notably, Portsmouth and the aforementioned locations demonstrated comprehensive utilisation of port-based cannon fortifications.<sup>59</sup> The refinement of the cannon away from the costly bronze versions to the more powerful and better deployed cast-iron versions would also increase the strength and firing distances of these coastal fortifications.<sup>60</sup> Therefore, the priority of fortifying the coast was seen in this period since these fortifications could successfully return fire to destroy their enemies before they even set foot on land; at least, that was the intent.

The Solent benefited from nine different individual fortifications, including castles and blockhouses. These stretched from approaches to the Solent at Portland (1539) to castles at Calshot (1539), Southsea (1544) and Netley (1544) to blockhouses on East and West Cowes (1539) on the Isle of Wight, all of which led into the important trading port of Southampton and the crucial port of Portsmouth.<sup>61</sup> The latter was also fortified and

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<sup>58</sup> Baika, K., 'The Fortification of Shiphsheds and Naval Arsenals.' *Shiphsheds of the Ancient Mediterranean* (2013): 210-230.

<sup>59</sup> Tomlinson, H., 'The Ordnance Office and the King's forts, 1660–1714: The Inadequacy of Coastal Defences and Dockyard Fortifications'. *Architectural History* 16 (1973): 8-16.

<sup>60</sup> Hildred, A., ed., *Weapons of Warre: The Armament of the Mary Rose*, (Portsmouth: The Mary Rose Trust Ltd, 2011), 18-19.

<sup>61</sup> Harrington, 6-7.



extended by Henry in 1540.<sup>62</sup> It is important to note that it was not until 1544 that the whole area was fortified to the point that any comprehensive network of Tudor firepower covered the waterways of this area, though, through trial and error and a few visits by the King, the area eventually got to this crucial networked stage by 1544.<sup>63</sup> Fig 16., shows the English forces' camp at Cowdray in Sussex, with a view of the English and French fleets at the start of the battle by James Basire (1730–1802), which was engraved from a previous painting. The Cowdray engravings are a collection of pictures depicting Henry VIII's campaign in France in the summer of 1544 and the events of July 19, 1545, in Portsmouth, the Solent, and the Isle of Wight, which show the attempt by the forces of the French King, Francis I, to invade England and seize the crown from Henry. The sinking of Henry's vice flagship, the *Mary Rose* (1510 to 1545), is one of the most notable incidents to have taken place during the 'Battle of the Solent', and the image below depicts this and Southsea Castle in the centre.



Fig. 16 The Cowdray engraving of the battle of the Solent, 1545, Wikimedia Commons public domain.

Likewise, Henry built the castles at Pendennis and St Mawes to protect the Carrick Roads (Cornish waterway). Both were positioned on peninsulas facing each other to guard

<sup>62</sup> Hewitt, P., *A Portsmouth Miscellany* (Chichester: Summersdale, 2013), 23

<sup>63</sup> Pettifer, A., *English Castles: A Guide by Counties*, (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2002), 86

any enemy entry into the waterway.<sup>64</sup> The Thames, as we have seen, benefited from the construction of a network of blockhouses at Gravesend (1539), Milton (1539), and Higham (1539) on the south side of the river, and West Tilbury and East Tilbury (1539) on the opposite side of the river.<sup>65</sup> They were smaller than castles and could be erected much faster. However, their size was governed by the waterway they protected, in that they were serving a river, and like the entrances to the other ports around the country at this time, the Tudor engineers probably felt that blockhouses could undertake this vital endeavour better and quicker than full-sized castles.

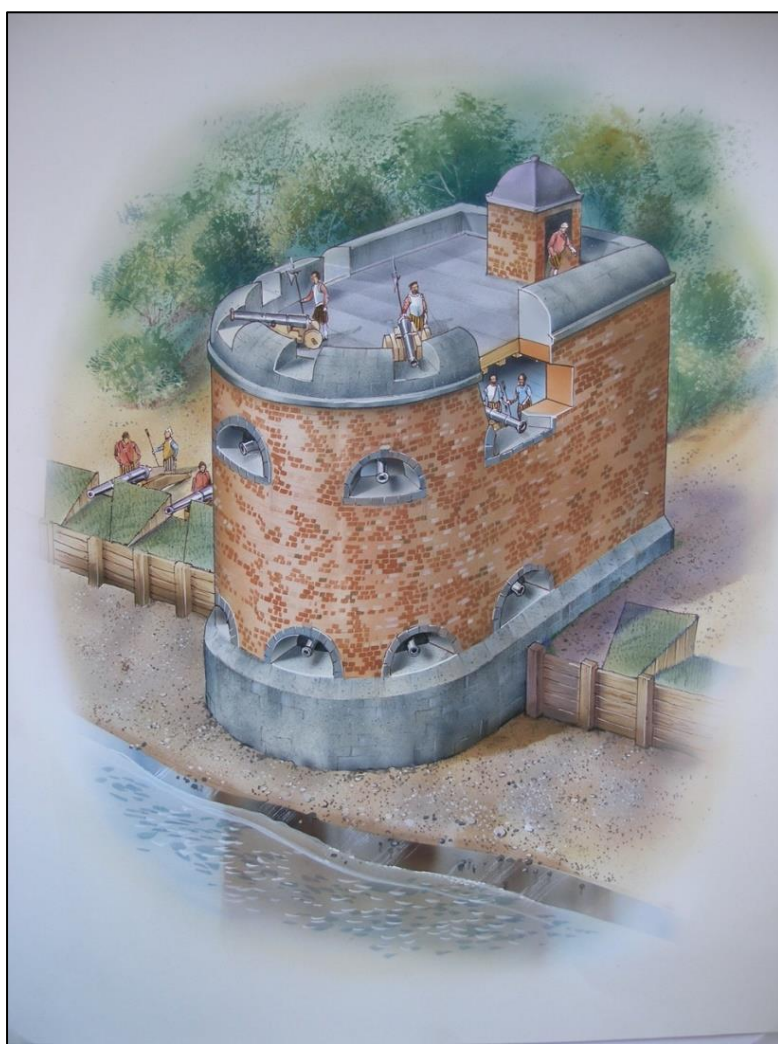


Fig. 17 Modern Artist's impression of the Gravesend Blockhouse by Chris Forsey, © Chris Forsey, Kent Archaeological Society.

<sup>64</sup> Oliver, S., P., *Pendennis and St. Mawes*, (London: W. Lake & Co, 1875), 4.

<sup>65</sup> Harrington, 6, 7.

The Solent and the Thames forts survive as important examples of where the Henry and his engineers were trying to form small networks of forts that would work together, using cannon fire, to suppress any foreign invasion. Therefore, while it may be overlooked in modern times, the design intent in these examples aimed to fortify the Downs and preserve them as a fortified port, safeguarding a unique natural feature with a history of invasion and the strategic ability to control access to London and the West. This is why the Tudors built three castles at the Downs, which were networked with four blockhouses and interconnecting trenches, they were essentially attempting to build a truncated networked port system akin to what others were building in The Solent area.

As we have seen, the introduction of the artillery fort and the fortified port across Europe were crucial developments in warfare in the medieval and early modern periods. Another crucial element of these works was their symbolic imagery. Symbolism held significant importance within the context of fortified ports in medieval Europe. The walls embodied notions of power and defence, signifying the port's fortified boundaries.<sup>66</sup> Gateways as thresholds denoted the transition from the outside realm to the secure haven within the port. Towers, distinguished by their embellishments, functioned as visual representations of the perceived power and control of viewing above and beyond the incoming fleets. Heraldic emblems and coats of arms prominently displayed throughout the ports communicated the respective cities' unique identity and unwavering allegiance. Sculptures and reliefs portraying mythical creatures and nautical motifs exemplified symbols of defence and maritime prowess. Through their architecture, the symbolism within these fortified ports effectively attempted to convey their authoritative nature, power, and great significance.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Tomlinson, H., 'The Ordnance Office and the King's forts, 1660–1714: The Inadequacy of Coastal Defences and Dockyard Fortifications'. *Architectural History* 16 (1973): 8-16.

<sup>67</sup> Baika, K., 'The Fortification of Shiphsheds and Naval Arsenals.' *Shiphsheds of the Ancient Mediterranean* (2013): 210-230.



It may be lost in the modern-day, however the Castles of the Downs also enacted many of these symbolic features in many different ways. Despite the artillery forts dispensing with the tall, imposing walls and other elements of the high medieval fortress, they did still undertake, within their architecture, enough symbolism that for many years has been rather under-appraised.

### **The Symbolism of the Castles of the Downs**

The Tudors, notably Henry VIII, were notable iconoclasts. Part of their regime involved asserting themselves as the new order and reclaiming the historical legitimacy that previous monarchs had enjoyed by default. Part of this progression towards absolute power in the Dissolution was effectively merging the lines between monarch and bishop. Part of this objective was to bring about symbolism that reinforced the Tudor rule, contributing and potentially crucial to this symbolism was that of the Tudor Rose. We will now explore how this symbol was deployed and try to answer whether the long-held perception that Deal Castle was built in the style of a Tudor Rose holds any merit in the twenty-first century. The historiography of this idea cannot be traced, nor has it had much scholarly scrutiny, perhaps as the idea had proliferated mainly in the twentieth century and the advent of touristic guides.<sup>68</sup> It is possible that this hidden meaning within the architecture has been lost over time. How we interpret the castles today perhaps reinforces a false interpretation of their original architectural intent.<sup>69</sup> To analyse this new perspective, we must trace the Castles of the Downs architectural concept sources and then assess the symbolism of their design as, until now, this has escaped much academic scrutiny. Several sources have proposed that the

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<sup>68</sup> The earliest mention found by this author was 1945 from a biography of Lord Reading: Isaacs, G., *2nd Marquess of Reading, Rufus Isaacs, First Marquess of Reading, 1914-1935. Vol. II* (London: Hutchinson, 1945)), 359.

<sup>69</sup> Colvin, H., Biddle, M., Summerson, J., *The History of the King's Works, Vol. IV, 1485-1660 (Part II)*, (H.M. Stationery Office, 1982), 367-602., Goodall, *The English Castle: 1066-1650*, 420-421., Rutton, W.L., 'Henry VIII's Castles at Sandown, Deal, Walmer, Sandgate, and Camber.' *Archaeologia Cantiana* 23 (1898).

Castles of the Downs are symbolically designed to show defiance to the enemy they were built to repel. Therefore, when we contextualise the shape of Deal, the shapes of its limb castles of Walmer and Sandown, and them working as one fortification, we perhaps discover a new meaning that has never been discussed. However, as we shall now explore, this new assessment may bring a revised perspective to their architectural symbolism that may have lasting consequences for their future preservation.

## Iconography

The Tudor rose is the historic emblem of the House of Tudor and was first introduced by Henry VII.<sup>70</sup> The rose is a composite of the respective houses of York and Lancaster emblems and is now a widely identifiable symbol of Great Britain.<sup>71</sup> Upon taking the crown in 1485, Henry VII sought to unite his realm by bringing the quarrelling Plantagenet houses together. As a king with a new dynasty, he was keen to portray the Tudors as the literal embodiment of both families and thus figuratively end the War of the Roses. As we know, the Wars of the Roses did not end at the Battle of Bosworth. Henry VII fought repeated battles for the throne, continuing a protracted dynastic feud.<sup>72</sup> Even after his death, the conflict endured well into the reign of Henry VIII. Henry VII was said to have seldomly used the emblem, but by Henry VIII's reign, it was widely deployed and is now spotted within the architecture, art, and literature of the period.<sup>73</sup> Today, it is still used, often with touristic connotations, whereby it is famously repurposed by Visit England (formerly the English Tourist Board) as their logo and can be seen on many road signs around the country.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Fox-Davies, A. C., *The Art of Heraldry: An Encyclopædia of Armory* (London: T.C. & E.C. Jack, 1904), 197.

<sup>71</sup> Noting that the House of Tudor was technically Welsh, though by many it is seen as quintessentially English.

<sup>72</sup> Goodall, *The English Castle: 1066-1650*, 383-384.

<sup>73</sup> Ryrie, A., *The Age of Reformation: the Tudor and Stewart Realms, 1485-1603* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017), 47.

<sup>74</sup> Site: <https://www.visitbritain.org/visitengland-advisory-board-meeting-13>, accessed August 2023.



Fig. 18 An original depiction of the iconic symbol by Sputzer and Smabs, 'The Tudor Rose', 2020, World History Encyclopaedia. Inset: The Visit England Logo as used on official DfT road signs.

Whether it was the early Tourist Boards, Tudor propaganda, or even a colloquial legend, the origin of the idea that Deal Castle is built in the shape of a Tudor Rose cannot be traced, despite the idea's endurance. It is a common, unsubstantiated legend often manifested in various guidebooks, children's history books, and general interest periodicals.<sup>75</sup> It endures to this day and was prevalent in the twentieth century, yet no original primary sources from the sixteenth century (or later) have been found that show its origin.<sup>76</sup> Whatever the provenance, we should give it some credence, as even Historic

<sup>75</sup> Tellem, G., *Canterbury and Kent Guidebook* (Norwich: Jarrold, 2002), 69., Finlay, S., 'An unspoilt treasure on our coastline', *Mid Kent Living* (Nov 2020): 26., Ashworth, L., *King Henry VIII*, (London: Cherrytree, 2001), 25.

<sup>76</sup> This author has assessed nearly all Tudor manuscripts and primary sources from the sixteenth century that still exist. Although record keeping from then is vastly incomplete, no mention has been found from that century.

England features the claim within its education section on its website.<sup>77</sup> And after all, as little scrutiny has been applied to this legend, it is perhaps time for some investigation to challenge this idea, as it may hold some truth.

Deal's plan (Fig. 20) would suggest that the whole castle is reminiscent of one giant, Tudor Rose. This idea of a Godly perspective is not new. In the medieval gothic tradition, ecclesiastical design for many centuries was principally about replicating humanity's respect for the heavens above by resembling the cruciform or reflecting a portion of heaven on Earth.<sup>78</sup> With Henry's break from Rome and the formation of his new church, it could be argued that Henry may have sought to build some form of physical manifestation of his international defiance. A recent article about Deal Castle refers to its architecture as 'a geometric legacy of Henry's vanity', which could be a fair assessment.<sup>79</sup> The likeness can be seen below in Fig. 19.

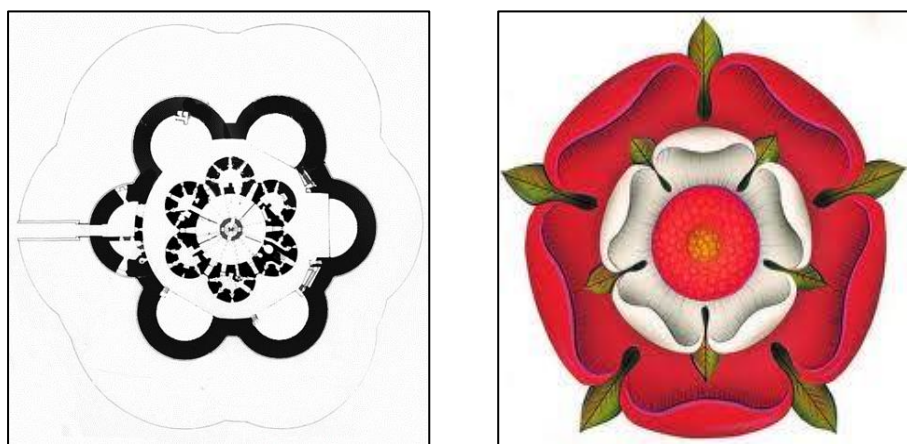


Fig. 19 Comparison to depict the stylistic similarities between the Tudor emblem and of Deal Castle's design.

<sup>77</sup> Site: <https://historicengland.org.uk/services-skills/education/educational-images/deal-castle-deal-10807>, last accessed: December 2021. It also appears within the description of the manuscript as shown in fig. 6 from the British Library, and in situ at Dover Museum.

<sup>78</sup> Hope, W. H. St. J., 'On The Premonstratensian Abbey of SS. Mary and Thomas of Canterbury, at West Langdon Kent.' *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. 15 (1883): 62., Wells, E., J., *Heaven on Earth: The Lives and Legacies of the World's Greatest Cathedrals*, (London: Apollo, 2023), 1-18

<sup>79</sup> Finlay, S., 'An unspoilt treasure on our coastline', *Mid Kent Living* (Nov 2020): 26.

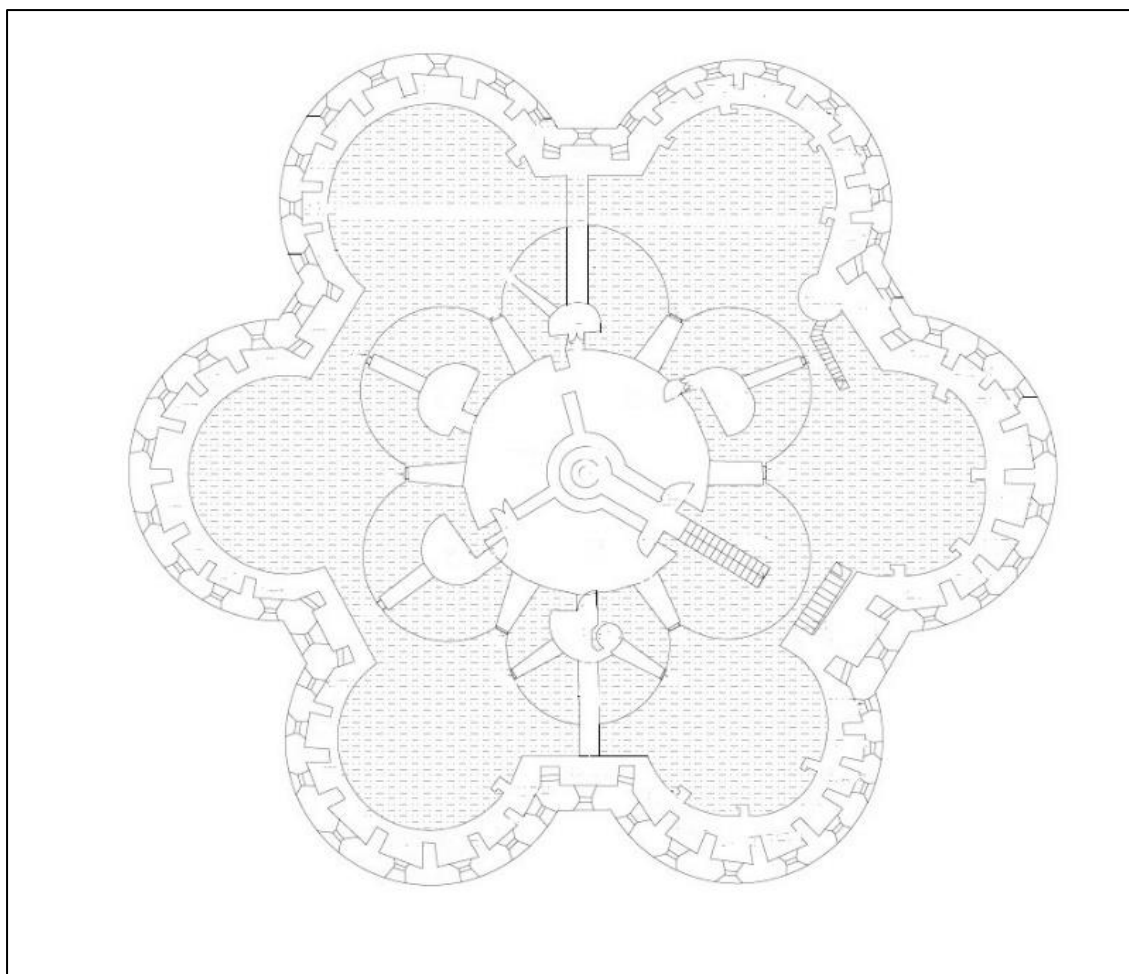


Fig. 20 Basement plan of Deal Castle, © English Heritage.

The placing of the upper bastions would indicate a preference by the architect to place them in a fashion that would be representative of a Tudor Rose, and after all, no other castles in the Device (or after) repeated this design choice. Therefore, Deal and its limb castles are completely unique in design.<sup>80</sup> In some cases, such as the Castles of the Downs, it is likely that the Tudor rose theory is just a romantic coincidence that museums, guidebooks and other tourist bodies have perpetuated throughout the years as something romantic and exciting to sell the area to tourists. Likewise, the Tudors themselves have courted and have been afforded many idealistic legends through the centuries, from the

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<sup>80</sup> Harrington, 15-18.



provenance of the *Greensleeves* song to portrayals in the Shakespearian plays, which are probably all examples of Tudor propaganda which primarily still exist to this day.<sup>81</sup> As our previous discussion underscores, Henry's extensive involvement and keen interest in The Downs strongly suggests that incorporating the Tudor Rose in its architectural design is not a mere coincidence. This becomes particularly noteworthy given Henry's evident tendency to employ this symbol prolifically in various other contexts.

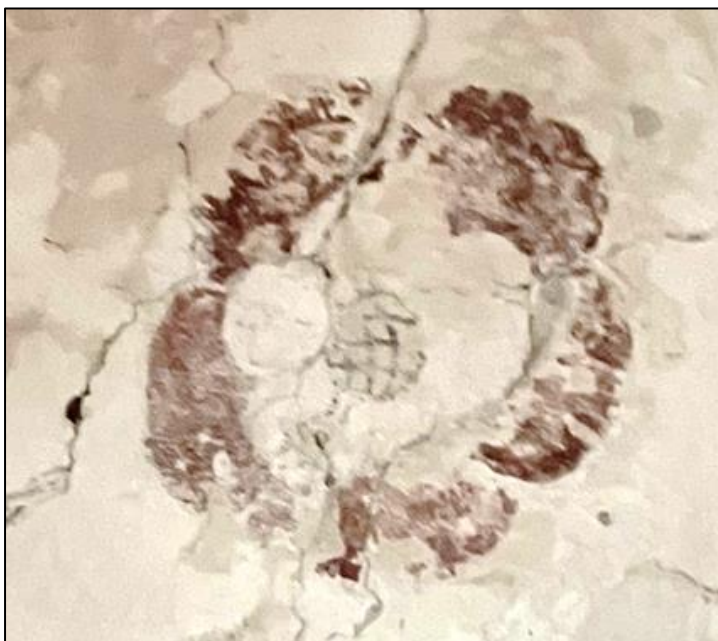


Fig. 21 A faded mural of a Tudor Rose, spotted by the author in Canterbury Cathedral, (Photo author, 2022).

Using the notion of Deal as a Tudor Rose from a more divine vantage point, we can also posit that Walmer and Sandown may also have iconographic considerations. In that case, it is worth adding that Walmer and Sandown (braced at either end of the bulwarks and ditches, with Deal at the centre) are also potentially symbolic in their quatrefoil shape attached to their centrepiece, the Tudor Rose.<sup>82</sup> The fortification scholar Sidney Toy agreed

<sup>81</sup> Site: *Greensleeves: Mythology, History and Music. Part 1 of 3: Mythology*, Pittaway, I., link: <https://earlymusicmuse.com/greensleeves1of3mythology/>, visited: July 2018

<sup>82</sup> Oswald, A., 'Country Houses of Kent.' *Country Life* (1933): 11.



that they were probably constructed as such.<sup>83</sup> In contrast, Langmead and Garnaut's *magnum opus* on feats of engineering states we should not be tempted to consider this as they believed these to be crucial engineering elements.<sup>84</sup> However, the quatrefoil, this ancient symbol, often attributed to the early Christian churches and Islamic mosques, is a commonly applied religious symbol. In English architecture, it was deployed throughout ecclesiastical architecture. Famously as a giant mosaic in the Trinity Chapel at Canterbury Cathedral to display the shrine of St. Thomas a' Becket (a floor made out of thousands of pieces of Roman spolia), this is also the same shrine Henry had destroyed – but not the floor, which shows the significance of the symbol to the Crown.<sup>85</sup> Likewise, the quatrefoil and the Tudor Rose are presented throughout this 'Mother Church' in stained glass, stone carvings, mosaics, fabrics, and even graffiti. Anecdotally, one may say on visiting that the two symbols are nearly as prevalent in Canterbury Cathedral as the Christian Cross is.

The quatrefoil holds significant religious value in various contexts. The symbol's wider Christian iconography is often associated with the Four Gospels (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John) and represents their unified message within the Christian New Testament. Latterly in the Early Modern Period, it was also occasionally used to demonstrate the Trinity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit under God Almighty, probably where the Trinity Chapel name derives from.<sup>86</sup> Thus, if the symbol has great meaning within the Christian Church and its New Testament, it is possible to argue that this renewed sense of identity for the Church is apparent in this tumultuous period's redeployment of the symbol to reflect the church's core message. Therefore, this wholesale destruction of Rome's authority of its

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<sup>83</sup> Toy, S., *A History of Fortification*, 245.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, Langmead, D., & Garnaut, C., *Encyclopedia of Architectural and Engineering Feats* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2001), 92.

<sup>85</sup> Neal, D., S., Rodwell, W., *Canterbury Cathedral, Trinity Chapel: The Archaeology of the Mosaic Pavement and Setting of the Shrine of St Thomas Becket*, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2022), 206-207., Stone, K., A., *The History and Origins of The Opus Alexandrinum Pavement in The Trinity Chapel in Canterbury Cathedral*, (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University, 2017), 26.

<sup>86</sup> Stone, K., A., *The History and Origins of The Opus Alexandrinum Pavement in The Trinity Chapel in Canterbury Cathedral*, (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University, 2017), 107.

church in England and the reappropriation of it as a Tudor symbol of power and wealth could be manifested in the quatrefoil by Henry.

The symbol was clearly personal to the King and was manifested by him in many ways. One interesting, yet often overlooked example is the symbol's use in both Henry VII's and Henry VIII's signatures. The symbol is an overly elaborate 'R' for 'Rex' (King) and is used by his heirs in the perhaps more traditional sense of an 'R' as we would recognise it with an elongated looping tail. However, with both Kings, the 'R' is more similar to a quatrefoil. Both Kings were occasionally known as 'rex omnibus', meaning 'King of all', which is perhaps why the symbol is used.<sup>87</sup> Whilst there is no evidence to suggest it is a quatrefoil, as it could merely be a decorative flourish, but the inclusion of the symbol within the King's signature is worthy of note. It perhaps demonstrates the value of this symbol to the Tudors, where the symbol seems to permeate throughout their architecture.

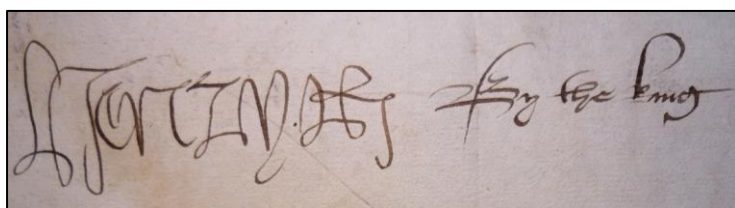


Fig. 22 Henry VIII's signature (handwritten, probably not his Royal Stamp), showing the quatrefoil type flourish,

© Copyright of The University of Winchester, 2017.



Fig. 23 Left: Trinity Window at Canterbury Cathedral; Right, quatrefoil graffiti inside the Cathedral, 2022.

<sup>87</sup> Flannigan, L., Signed, stamped, and sealed: delivering royal justice in early sixteenth-century England, *Historical Research*, Vol. 94, Iss. 264, (2021): 267–281.

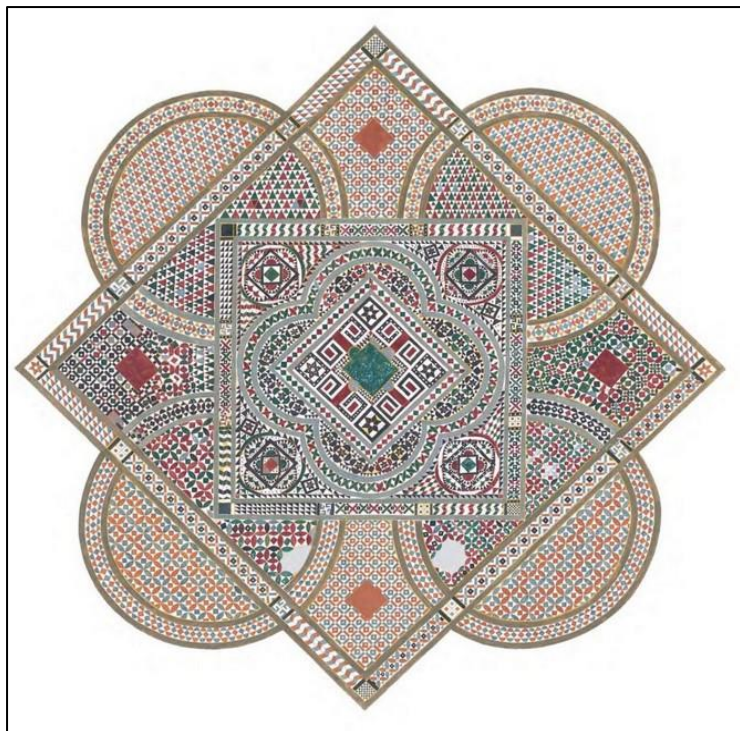


Fig. 24 The famous quatrefoil mosaic floor in the Trinity Chapel, at Canterbury Cathedral, was installed to display St Thomas a' Becket's Shrine. Neal, D., S., Rodwell, W., 2022, Oxbow Books, used under UK fair dealing.

The quatrefoil is also seen as a symbol of the four elements (earth, air, fire, and water), the four seasons, or the four cardinal virtues (justice, prudence, temperance, and fortitude).<sup>88</sup> In Gothic architecture, quatrefoil is commonly used in tracery and stained-glass windows, symbolising divine perfection and the presence of God. The overarching meaning of the symbol is essentially unity, which is probably why the House of Tudor may have been so keen to deploy it. Away from Canterbury it is perhaps most famously used at the Crown's most significant church, Westminster Abbey. It can be found most prominently within the thirteenth-century Cosmati pavement, the exact site where English monarchs are crowned. Note also that this significant pavement is also constructed from Roman spolia.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Stone, K., A., *The History and Origins of The Opus Alexandrinum Pavement in The Trinity Chapel in Canterbury Cathedral*, (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University, 2017), 107.

<sup>89</sup> Grant, L., *Westminster Abbey: The Cosmati Pavements* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2002).





Fig. 25 View of Westminster Abbey's The Cosmati Pavement, 2002, Ashgate Publishing.

The symbol also appears across many smaller churches in the medieval period, with a resurgence in many surviving Tudor buildings of the Henrician period, including Hampton Court Palace (early sixteenth century), Waynelete Tower and Gatehouse, Esher (both late fifteenth century), Little Moreton Hall (1504 to 1508), and Shurland Castle (c.1520-1532, also partly constructed from spolia) to name but a few. Nonsuch Park House is an early nineteenth century country house built close to the site of Henry's most splendid but famously lost palace of the same name.<sup>90</sup> It was designed to honour the architecture of said Palace by

<sup>90</sup> It is sometimes, more recently, referred to as Nonsuch Manor House.

using many surviving manuscripts and paintings.<sup>91</sup> Within this building's fabric are many Tudor Rose and quatrefoil symbols, thus highlighting a Henrician interpretation of the importance of the two symbols.<sup>92</sup> If accurate with Henry's designs, it would exemplify the Crown's use of these two wildly endemic symbols.

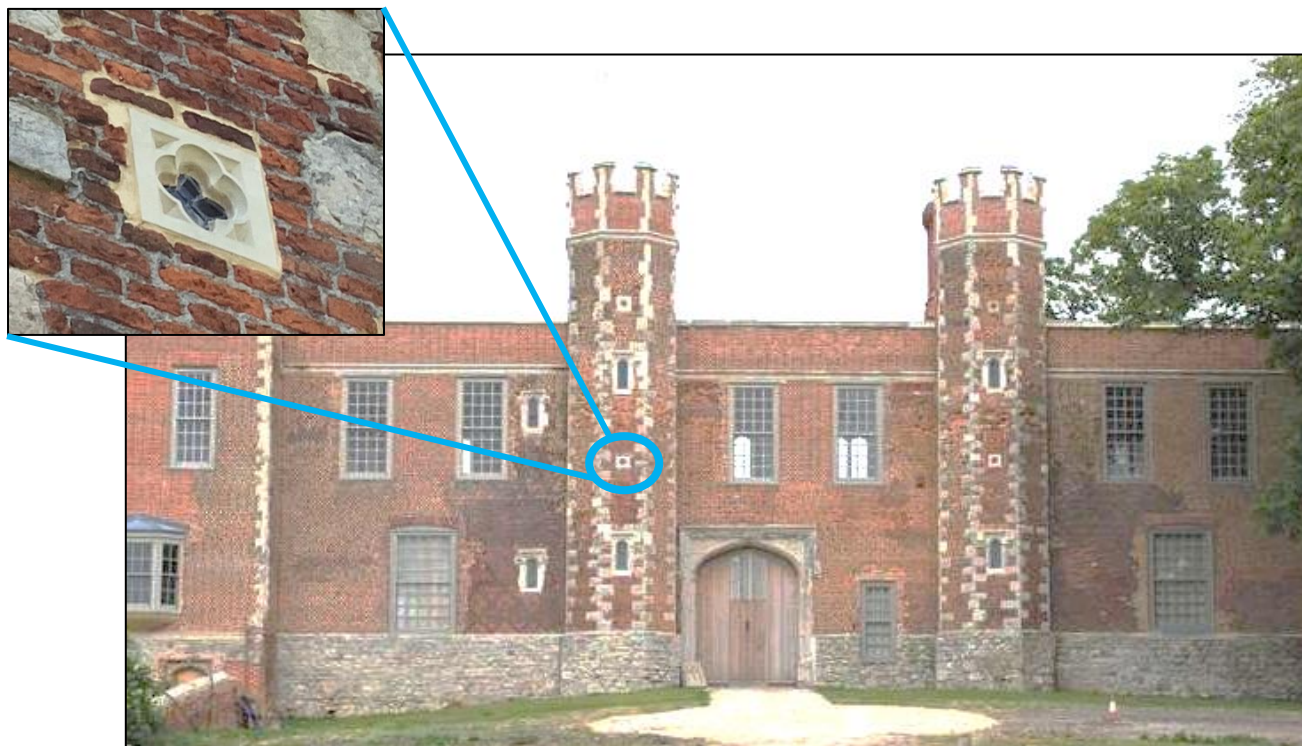


Fig. 26 Quatrefoils on the front façade at Shurland Hall, Kent (sometimes referred to as Shurland Castle), photo author, 2022.

Shurland was built by loyal courtier and Lord Warden during the construction of the Castles of the Downs, Sir Thomas Cheyney. One of Henry's closest courtiers, he was fiercely loyal to the House of Tudor and served all of the Tudor monarchs, which in itself is

<sup>91</sup> O'Brien, C., Nairn, I, Cherry B., *Surrey (Pevsner Architectural Guides: Buildings of England)*, (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2020), 387.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*



an impressive achievement.<sup>93</sup> Curiously, his grave in Minster Abbey (close to Shurland Hall) is well adorned with Tudor Roses and quatrefoils (Fig. 28).<sup>94</sup>



Fig. 27 A sixteenth-century quatrefoil with weathered Tudor Rose in the spandrels of the western doorway of Minster Abbey, the final resting place of Henry VIII's Lord Warden Sir Thomas Cheyney, builder of Shurland Hall, 2024.



Fig. 28 Sir Thomas Cheyney's funerary monument at Minster Abbey, Kent, (photo author, 2024).

<sup>93</sup> Site: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/cheyne-sir-thomas-148287-1558>, accessed: Jan 2024., Wyatt, C., S., *Cheneys and Wyatts*, (Carey & Claridge, 1959), 29.

<sup>94</sup> Minster Abbey is the ancient and colloquial name of the church, and its official title is 'The Abbey Church of St Mary and St Sexburga'.



## The Nonsuch Connection

The original Henrician Nonsuch Palace (c. 1538-1547) was apparently packed with architectural symbolism, and it could be argued both this lost palace and the Castles of the Downs share not just the same learned client, artificers, and timeline (they were constructed mainly at the same time) but also with a great wealth of other similar features.<sup>95</sup> Both structures seemingly exhibit a harmonious fusion of Gothic and early modern design elements, exemplified by both harbouring unique architectural compositions that set them apart from their contemporary counterparts. Where Nonsuch was the grand palace to showcase the finest palatial building of the period, The Downs were the same but for military engineering. Both showcased the power and wealth of the House of Tudor.

Even in their names, there is a sense of grandiose ambition, with 'The King's Great Castle in the Downs' and 'Nonsuch' referring to the palace being unlike or better than (non-such) any palace in the world. Noting also that the architects responsible for conceiving both of these projects have been lost, though the recurrent design connection here is obviously the King and his Works Office.<sup>96</sup> It could also be stated that as the design concept of the trio castles working together as one singular fortress is lost (Sandown and the bulwarks are also physically lost), so is Nonsuch, which is almost entirely lost (but for some archaeological remains). Thus, with their physical loss, we, perhaps in the modern period, forget their legacy and design intent.

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<sup>95</sup> The Castles of the Downs were built between 1539 and 1540 (though some works may have started in 1538). Nonsuch Palace was built between c. 1538 to 1541., site: <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1017998?section=official-list-entry>, accessed: May 2022.

<sup>96</sup> Biddle, M., 'The Stuccoes of Nonsuch.' *The Burlington Magazine* 126, no. 976 (July 1984): 411-417., Lipscomb, S., 'Nonsuch: Henry VIII's Lost Palace – interview with Martin Biddle.' *Not Just the Tudors, History Hit*. Ep. 180. 12th January 2023. Site: <https://shows.acast.com/not-just-the-tudors/episodes/nonsuch-palace>: contains an extensive interview with Professor Martin Biddle regarding Nonsuch Palace.



Fig. 29 A view of Nonsuch Palace by Dr Jonathan Foyle, contemporary watercolour, used with permission.

Both projects share notable iconographic features. The stucco panels famously recovered from the courtyards of Nonsuch, along with the symbolic Tudor Rose and quatrefoil motifs at the Downs, collectively convey parallel visual narratives through their architectural elements (Fig. 29). Nonsuch seems to have been covered in the famous emblem as both stucco, timber and carved slate examples remain (mostly in the Museum of London's archive).<sup>97</sup> Some of these are also similar to carved Tudor Roses found in Deal's Rounds (Appendix B). An apparent connection to Roman antiquity is also apparent in both sites; Deal Castle is believed to occupy the site where Julius Caesar made his historic landing, while the stucco panels at Nonsuch Castle were thought to depict romantic tales

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<sup>97</sup> Museum of London, NON59 series.

from Roman history.<sup>98</sup> Likewise, both Nonsuch and the Castles of the Downs were part-built from Monastic spolia. In his seminal work on Nonsuch, John Dent (unknown dates) notes the Priors that were destroyed 'to feed the construction site' at Nonsuch.<sup>99</sup>

As we have seen, the influence of Italian design, channelled through the King's Works Office, is readily discernible in the architectural composition at both sites. As Dent and Colvin respectively state, Henry had a predilection for employing exceptionally skilled foreigners for his building projects.<sup>100</sup> Finally, the likely genesis of these two projects can be directly traced to Henry's rivalry with Francis I, underscoring their historical and strategic significance in the broader context of the period.<sup>101</sup> Even opportunistically employing some of the very tradespeople who had worked on Francis' magnificent projects, such as Fontainebleau (1528–1547) and Château de Chambord (1519-1547).<sup>102</sup>

The final comparison and connection with the building project at Nonsuch is the Banqueting Hall, which was built to the west of the site at the same time as the palace and thus would have been overseen by Henry and the same builders (Appendix X).<sup>103</sup> This is important as the building was constructed as a type of folly but in the design of an artillery fortress. This is made all the more interesting as the shape of the building is reminiscent of a quadrilateral shape (with slight angular elevations) and a bastion in each corner, which is very clearly evocative of a quatrefoil. Whilst banqueting halls would become more popular during the Tudor period, the shape, based on surviving examples appears to be very unique to Nonsuch.

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<sup>98</sup> Biddle, M., 'The Stuccoes of Nonsuch.' *The Burlington Magazine* 126, no. 976 (July 1984): 411-417., Henry was believed to have been depicted in these panels, as a form of godly interpretation. This, too, adds value to the 'godly perspective' of the Castles of the Downs as being Tudor Roses and quatrefoils as viewed from above: Lipscomb, S., 'Nonsuch: Henry VIII's Lost Palace – interview with Martin Biddle.' *Not Just the Tudors, History Hit*. Ep. 180. 12th January 2023. Site: <https://shows.acast.com/not-just-the-tudors/episodes/nonsuch-palace>. Site: <https://shows.acast.com/not-just-the-tudors/episodes/nonsuch-palace>.

<sup>99</sup> Dent, J., *The Quest for Nonsuch*, (London: Hutchinson & Co, 1988 reprint), 49-54.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid*, 49.

<sup>101</sup> Lister, L., *Nonsuch: Pearl of the Realm*, (London: Sutton Leisure Services, 1992), 8-9., Dent, J., *The Quest for Nonsuch*, (London: Hutchinson, 1962), 34-38.

<sup>102</sup> Dent, J., 49-50., site: <https://fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/learning/look-think-do/nonsuch-palace>, accessed November 2022.

<sup>103</sup> Dent, J., 52.



Fig. 30 A watercolour of the Banqueting Hall's foundations, 1900, Gordon Home (1878-1969).

Similar to the palace, this structure was not merely a folly, it was designed to be functional; it embodied a concept of opulence, meticulously constructed and well-adorned.<sup>104</sup> Positioned on a modest elevation, it would have been conspicuously visible from the palace windows on at least two elevations, and within it, it would have commanded great views of the newly developed parkland.<sup>105</sup> The financial investment, envisioned purpose, architectural design, and strategic location collectively suggest that Henry aspired for this hall to constitute an integral component of his palatial construction. The resemblance of the hall to the quatrefoil-like Walmer and Sandown Castles implies a deliberate homage.<sup>106</sup> The construction of this faux artillery fort within the grounds of his new palace arouses scholarly curiosity. Particularly noteworthy is the structural quatrefoil resemblance to the Downs castles, prompting an inquiry into whether this build constitutes a deliberate homage to Henry's endeavours in the Downs or whether these are mere coincidences. We will never likely know whether this was Henry's intent or not. However, these points indicate some connection between Nonsuch and the Downs. As Biddle reflects in his most recent writing on Nonsuch, the palace was essentially the greatest architectural example of Tudor

<sup>104</sup> Dent, J., 60.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, Norton, E., 'The Lost Palaces of Henry VIII.' *Tudor Places special issue 01* (2024): 56-62.

<sup>106</sup> It is also not unlike the layout of the rebuilt Camber Castle in 1542-1543.



propaganda for its time.<sup>107</sup> Therefore, if Nonsuch is the embodiment of Henry's wealth and dynasty, perhaps the Downs were also propaganda, but for the architecture of defiance, military might and new power.



Fig. 31 Twentieth Century brickwork outlines the approximate location of the ruined Nonsuch Banqueting Hall, (photo author, 2024).

### Defiant Symbolism

In the Tudor period, as we have seen, the quatrefoil was a widespread and popular symbol, it could be suggested that the Castles of the Downs were deliberately designed in this style but as a sign of defiance by the country's new order. In addition to the Tudor Rose, which was seen as the symbol of restoration under Henry VII, the combination of this and the quatrefoils is a convincing demonstration of power and does provide a compelling argument.<sup>108</sup> This idea is compounded by the fact that Henry was breaking away from Rome to form his Church of England, with the Castles of the Downs manifesting this defiance. The

<sup>107</sup> Biddle, M., *Nonsuch Regained*, (London: London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, 2012), 11.

<sup>108</sup> Keen, M., H., and Coss, P., *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2003), 101-102.

evidence reflects that the King, with his passion for architecture and military engineering, must have had some bearing on the design of the Castle of the Downs. Likewise, the use of the Pope's houses, literally broken down to feed the construction of these sites as spolia and built right on the soil closest to mainland Europe on the edge of Kent, Henry's ceremonial county of birth of what the Tudors called 'the great frontier'; all points reinforce this theory.<sup>109</sup> It could be that the King, his ego and his expectations of empire were to use these fortifications to symbolise his newfound wealth and power.

In contrast, we could describe the Tudor Rose resemblance as a coincidence, mainly because there are more lunettes than petals on the rose's design.<sup>110</sup> With its rounded bastions, the design is undoubtedly reminiscent of the Tudor Rose, but it is not exact as there are too many bastions to petals. It could be argued that the bastion was a pre-designated size to fit the operation of the cannon. This is evident at Deal and Walmer today, as the bastions are all around 20m in diameter.<sup>111</sup> Indeed, if they had not worked to a prescribed sizing for the bastions, they could have reduced the outer bastions to match the Tudor Rose design. Therefore, if the limiting size of the bastion restricted the designer of these castles, this would account for the design choice. However, it is also worth noting that these castles were built during war when minds would be concentrated on delivery. Nonetheless, the Castles of the Downs design may have been gestating long before commissioning to the site due mainly to the highly detailed and well-preserved Cotton manuscripts; the threat of war may have just expedited their plans as the surviving manuscripts are not dated.

One additional consideration remains regarding the configuration of the outer six bastions, a feature that may offer a substantive contribution to the architectural design. The cusped hexagonal shape, known as a sexfoil, derives its nomenclature from the Latin

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<sup>109</sup> Murphy, N., *The Tudor Occupation of Boulogne: Conquest, Colonisation and Imperial Monarchy, 1544-1550*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 110.

<sup>110</sup> Budd, C.J., *Mathematics Galore! Masterclasses, workshops, and team projects in mathematics and its applications*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 150.

<sup>111</sup> Author survey, 2022.



'folium', meaning leaf. With its rounded contours, this hexagonal motif bears both medieval and contemporary significance, often symbolically referred to as 'the egg of life' in modern discourse.<sup>112</sup> Its connection to monastic architecture is interesting as it is not a widespread symbol, unlike the quatrefoil or cinquefoil.

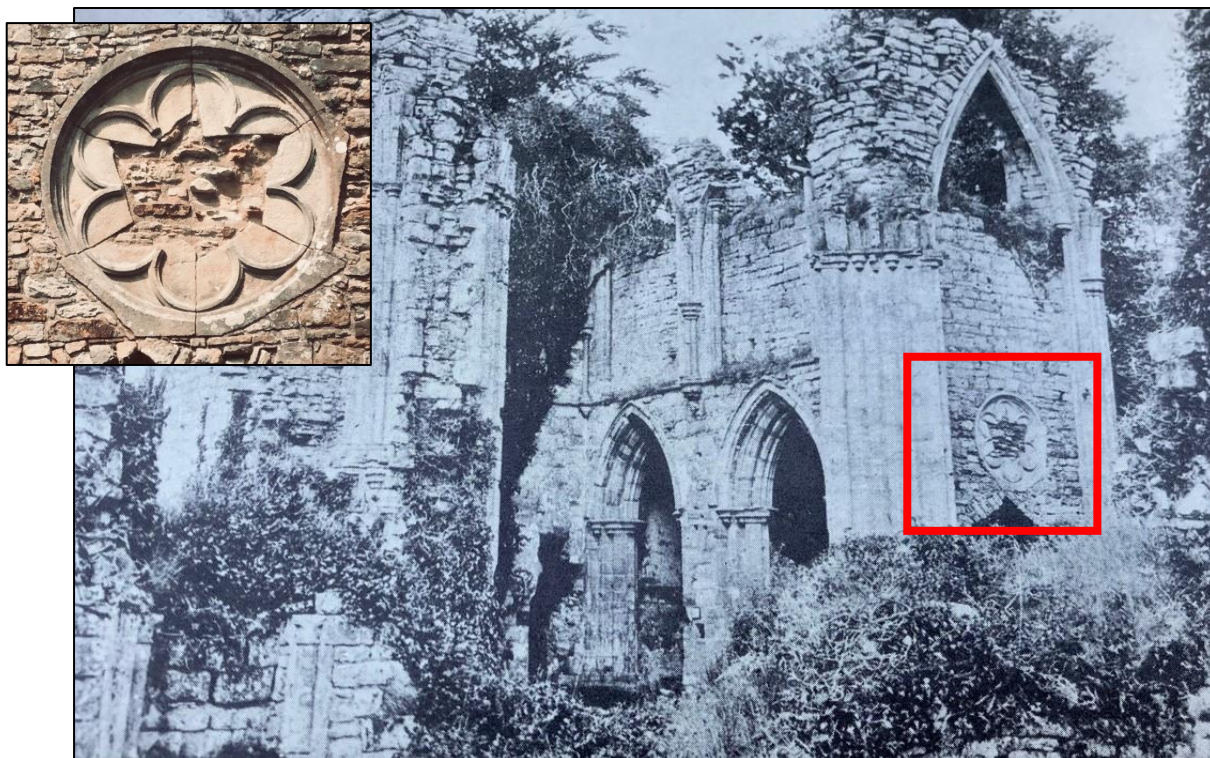


Fig. 32 The Remains of Bayham Abbey, 1970s photograph, © Hugh Braun (insert by author, 2023).

Nevertheless, a noteworthy observation emerges regarding the prevalence of the sixfoil motif within the extant remains of Premonstratensian monastic establishments, posing the possibility that the symbol may have some connection or meaning to this religious order. Such examples have been documented at Bayham Abbey, Strahov Monastery of Prague, Ely Prior's Lodgings, possibly Easby Abbey, Wendling Abbey, Otham Abbey, and Titchfield Abbey (Appendix T).<sup>113</sup> The connection of this peculiar symbol within these

<sup>112</sup> Davies, N., and Jokiniemi, E., *Dictionary of Architecture and Building Construction*, (Abingdon, Oxon: Taylor & Francis, 2008), 338.

<sup>113</sup> Bayham (Fig.31), Strahov seen in metal tracery, Ely was not a Premonstratensian house but had a Bishop from that order Richard Redman in the late fifteenth century to 1505, Easby and Wendling are quite ruined but display circular armorial space within the tracery for the motif, Otham is possibly replicated at the C19 church

specific abbeys raises intriguing speculation, particularly given the historical circumstances surrounding their dissolution during the reign of Henry VIII and subsequent repurposing as spolia. It prompts thought as to whether a meaningful correlation exists between incorporating this symbol in the architecture of Deal Castle and the connection to the Premonstratensians. At the very least, it accounts for the extra leaf in the 'Tudor Rose' idea, away from the proposition that the extra bastion was added for tactical reasons.



Fig. 33 The symbol was also replicated in the nineteenth century at St. John's Church, Polegate, built near the site of Otham Abbey, (photo author, 2023).

Oculus configurations within tracery are prevalent within ecclesiastical architectural design, often exhibiting examples of trefoil or quatrefoil motifs. However, instances of larger foliate forms are relatively scarce. Notably, the sixfoil, although not exclusively associated with the Premonstratensian Order or Orders that follow the Rule of Saint Augustine, appears to have some significance in many Premonstratensian sites, particularly evident in their tracery compositions. Despite its rarity, prominent examples of the sixfoil motif include its

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(Fig. 32), and Titchfield is seen only in surviving encaustic tiles. Ely: Holton-Krayenbuhl, A., 'The Prior's Lodgings at Ely.' *Archaeological Journal* 156, no. 1 (1999): 294-341. doi:10.1080/00665983.1999.11078908.



presence at renowned sites such as Notre-Dame Cathedral, the cloisters of Salisbury Cathedral, and various parish churches, of which no connection can be found to either the Premonstratensians or the Rule of Saint Augustine (the overarching doctrine).<sup>114</sup> Regardless of the connection, the sexfoil remains a highly significant religious symbol often deployed, especially within tracery, to reflect divine presence and harmony. Frequently, this harmony was achieved by geometric ‘procedural conventions’ that masons deployed through their work. This understanding of geometry allowed masons to design and build on prescribed patterns and measurements that allowed them to create the great buildings of their time. Much of these conventions were based on the ‘Divine Portion’ and the ‘six-petalled rosette’, which enabled basic equations to be deployed to enable a building to be swiftly set out and worked upon. Therefore, the sexfoil layout of Deal Castle could be explained within the architecture (number of bastions/lunettes) due to the masons’ prescribed preference for working with these ‘procedural conventions’.<sup>115</sup> Therefore, all these elements combine to give a challenging and nuanced interpretation of the evidence for and against the symbolism and potential of ‘the Tudor Rose’ in Deal Castle’s architecture.



Fig. 34 Right: The cloisters of Salisbury Cathedral exhibit foil shapes ranging from three leaves to eight. Left: St Laurence Church, Leaveland in Kent (photos author 2023).

<sup>114</sup> Watkin, D., *A History of Western Architecture*, (London: Laurence King Publishing, 2005), 156-157.

<sup>115</sup> Wright, J., *Historic Building Mythbusting*, (Cheltenham: The History Press, 2024), 68-73.

In her work on the history of the Cinque Ports, Margaret Brentnall states that Deal Castle was blatantly designed in the form of the Tudor Rose; Brentnall is one of the few scholars who are adamant about this assessment.<sup>116</sup> But as new artillery developments were spreading across the continent, by the time they arrived in England, it was perhaps just a coincidence that the architecture of the Tudor Rose emblem was to marry so brilliantly with the needs of military engineering; at least, that is what Brentnall argues.<sup>117</sup> The Tudor Rose and quatrefoil layout may have been a coincidence, or, as stated above, there is some potential that these were defiant symbols to mainland Europe and the King's enemies.<sup>118</sup> Perhaps, like Mason's Marks, the builders of these castles have given us discreet clues to this design choice, as the Tudor Rose emblem can be found hidden in at least two Device Forts. At Deal, it is hidden up high in relative darkness within The Rounds (Fig. 35 and Appendix B), with a further example being discovered at Camber Castle (Fig. 35). Both sites had a subsequent apportioning of workers, notably with von Haschenperg.



Fig. 35 Left: A heavily weathered carved-stone Tudor Rose on the keep at Camber Castle added during the works of Von Haschenperg, Camber Castle Guidebook, English Heritage/Friends of Rye Harbour Nature, used under UK fair dealing, right: A Tudor Rose styled emblem carved into the stonework in Deal Castle's Rounds. Both items would have been likely added during construction, (photo author, 2023).

<sup>116</sup> Brentnall, M., *The Cinque Ports and Romney Marsh* (London: John Gifford, 1972), 216-218.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid*, 218.

<sup>118</sup> Unstead, R. J., *Castles* (London: A&C Black, 1970), 77.

Whereas the medieval (and earlier) tradition of the design of a castle was that of aesthetic oppression and defence, the genius of the Tudor artillery fortresses was that they were unimposing and squat, hidden from the enemy until at close quarters, when supposedly it would be too late. The mainland European counterparts were more developed and were principally designed under the more modern ethos of 'form follows function'. Therefore, for these Downs Castles to be designed in such a symbolic manner, they are either masterfully designed (which, as we will see, their engineering may suggest otherwise, though not all scholars agree), or this symbolism is merely a coincidence that had been leapt upon by those that seek to market these castles. If it is the former, it might be that the engineering pitfalls of these castles exist due to this dogmatic approach to ensure their symbolic manner.

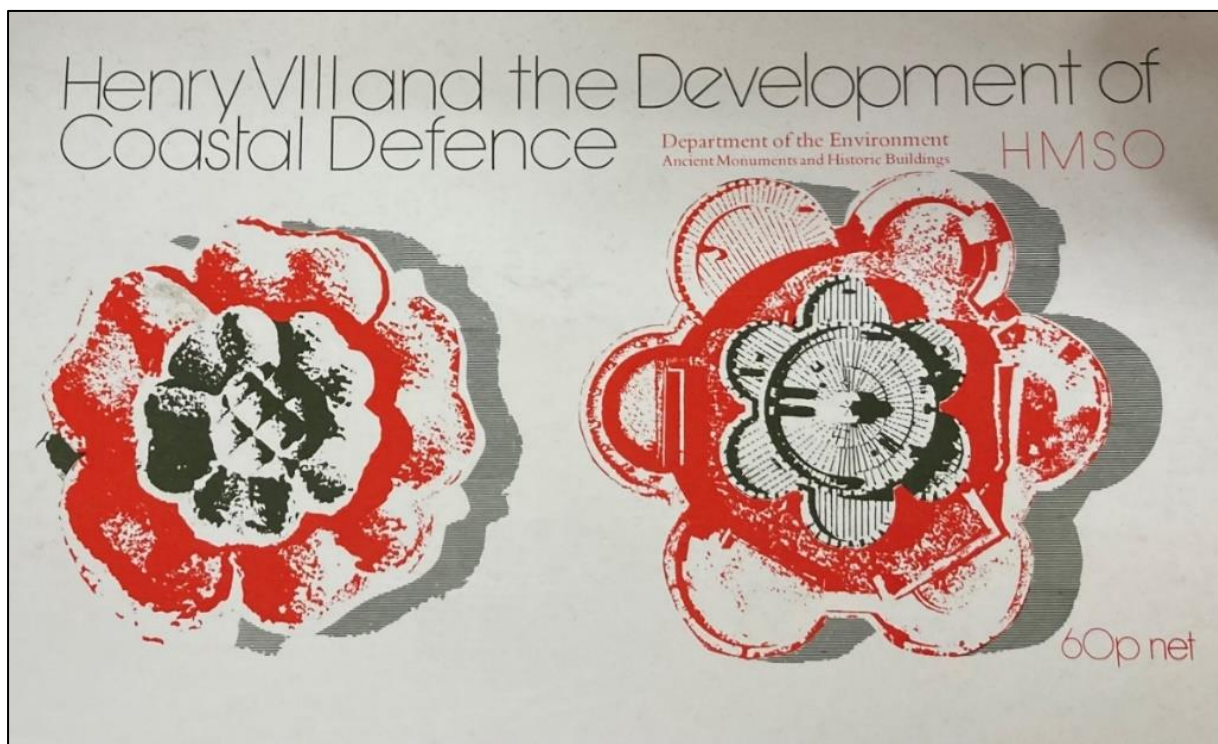


Fig. 36 Cover of a 1970s guidebook sold to visitors at Deal Castle, HMSO.





Fig. 37 Example of Victorian terracotta tiles found in Canterbury that exhibit Tudor Roses within quatrefoils, (photo author, 2024).

### **Success and Failings of the Architecture of the Castles of the Downs**

Both Cathcart King and Colin Platt before him argue that the Device Castles are not merely a tower with a collection of bastions aimed at the approaching enemy (which all the others in the design essentially are). They maintain that the Device castles are a combination of quarters for the troops and quarters for the officers, but also that they are a form of ‘reinforced fortification’; a bastion within a bastion to slow or confine enemies in a compartmentalisation design is very clever. Even small details such as Deal’s inner gatehouse entrance being off-centre to prevent sieges or ‘The Rounds’ as a means of a secret last-minute escape are all ingenious design elements that incorporate sally ports vastly improve on their former counterpart castles.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Coad., J., *Deal Castle*, (Swindon: English Heritage, 1998), 6.





Fig. 38 Painting showing Henry VIII and his fleet setting sail from Dover to Calais on 31<sup>st</sup> May 1520 on the way to meet Francis I at the Field of Cloth of Gold, c. 1520-1540, Royal Collection, 405793.

Towers that enabled soldiers to fire at passing ships or artillery towers were not new, and, as we have found, examples can be sourced before the Henrician castles in both England and mainland Europe (notably around the ancient ports of South-west England). Fortified cities or citadels were also not new. King argues against the design of the Castles of the Downs being inspired by mainland Europe because the designs are too different from one another. He felt that the Device Castles were too experimental, and each building along the coast was different from the last, so they could not have all been individually inspired by castles elsewhere.

The architecture of the castles was experimental yet uncultivated, with specific reference to how the bastions operated that seems to have been lost on the Tudor masons. War, or the threat of war, has brought many innovations through the centuries, some great and some not so great, all of which would not be possible without the desperation of pace and a vast quantity of money. For this reason, Merriman stated that many modern historians would refer to the Device forts by the architectural term, '*retardataire*'.<sup>120</sup> This meant that the

<sup>120</sup> Merriman, O., 'Realm and Castle: Henry VIII as European Builder' *History Today* (1991): 35.

Device forts were executed in an earlier or outdated style, equating to a tentative design concept. This meaning is inaccurate as far as the Castles of the Downs are concerned, as they are pretty different to the rest of the Device-built castles. A comparison of this photograph of Southsea Castle, built in the latter stages of the Device programme, shows a somewhat different design. The rounded bastions have been replaced with straight elevational bastions with more cannon fire opportunities. These latter castles have far more in common with the Italian star forts developing around the same time.

Eventually, the design would develop further to be even more angular and star-like, hence the name. Andrew Saunders disagreed with the 'outdated' assessment of the Device castles. He said that, 'being self-contained, self-defensible and carefully sited', these castles played a decent role for the time.<sup>121</sup> Saunders also remarks that the Castles of the Downs were the most formidable of the Device Castles due to their interconnected design. He would argue that if we consider the Castles of the Downs' role in the broader Device, they fulfilled their designed role. He could also be correct if we view Merriman's blunt assessment of the Device Forts. Whilst Saunders is correct, so is Merriman. The urgency and scale of design and construction are warranted, but as Merriman points out, the execution of the design is where the problems lie.



Fig. 39 Southsea Castle, 2011, Wikimedia Commons public domain.

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<sup>121</sup> Saunders, *Fortress Britain*, 37-40.

Merriman's conclusion and the main reason he described the Castles of the Downs as '*retardataire*' was the likely large number of dead zones within their gun ranges. Deal Castle had many more cannons than Walmer and Sandown, but these latter two were particularly poor at defending the sea around them. Consider the mock-up (Fig. 40), which shows how much 'dead-zoning' (or 'blind spots') there was around Walmer. It shows Walmer Castle's approximate layout after the building work was completed. It is also positioned roughly where the castle was built, close to the sea, before longshore drift changed its current position away from the coastline. Von Haschenberg was said to be concerned about this dead-zoning, and when he was appointed as the architect for Camber Castle in late 1539, he actively tried to correct the plans to omit this design flaw.<sup>122</sup>

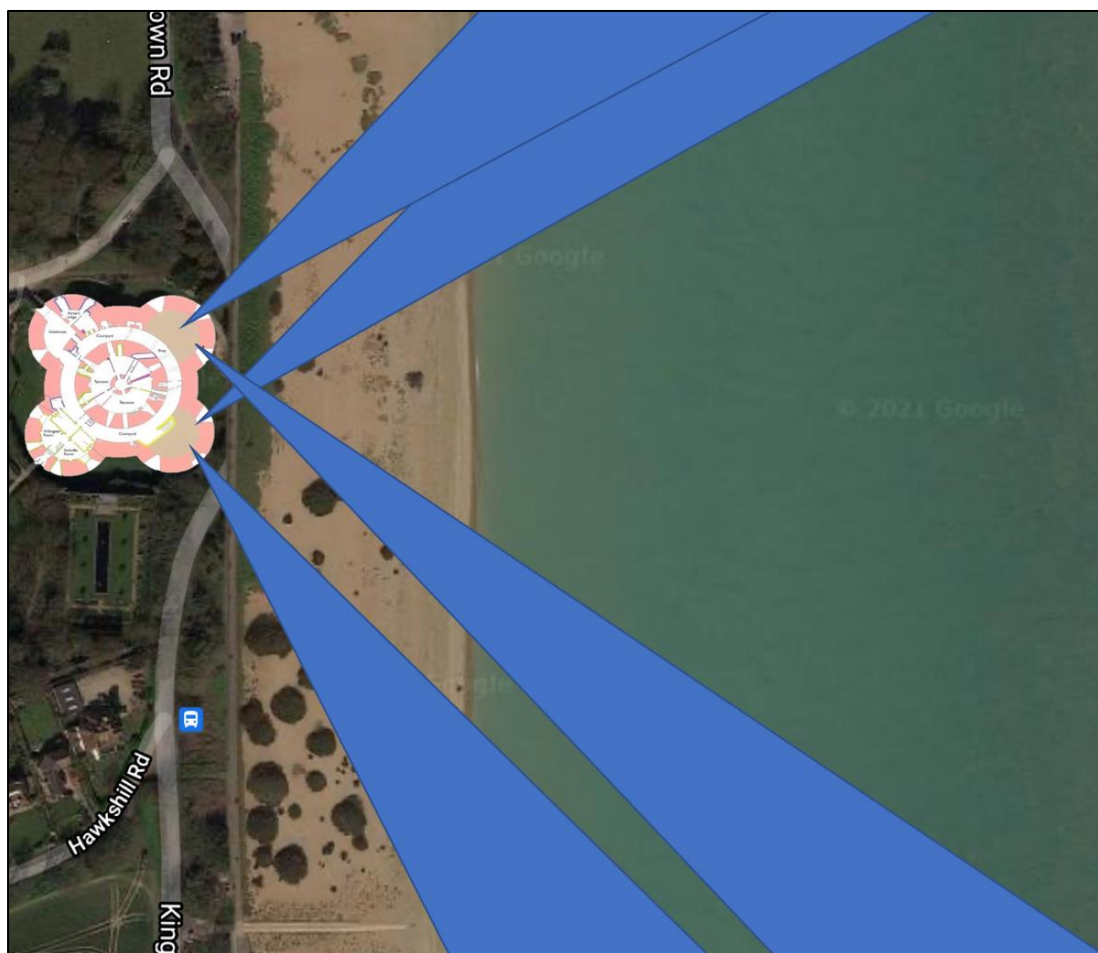


Fig. 40 Diagram of Walmer Castle's potential dead-zones from the main bastions, partly via Google Earth 2021, used under UK fair use.

<sup>122</sup> Harrington, *The Castles of Henry VIII*, 22.

As we can see, despite the castles being supplied with some of the best weaponry available, including cannons that could allegedly fire up to 1500 yards, it matters not a great deal unless the target ships were strictly within their narrow ranges. Additionally, as we can see on the two bastions, there is potential for unnecessary crossfire. These ranges are dictated by the stone embrasures, which would likely be effective at protecting the soldiers but wholly restrictive in getting the 360-degree range that could potentially be achieved if no protection was provided. In Britain, it was not until the introduction of the Martello Towers in the nineteenth century that a proper and swift 360-degree range could be achieved with little 'dead-zoning'. New, angular forts were built between the development of the Martello Towers and the early Device castles. These provided vastly improved coverage and were arguably more structurally sound to withstand return fire. This is possibly why the rounded Device castles were phased out so swiftly.<sup>123</sup> William Hart had successfully deployed bastions and bulwarks in the 1520s but had never used angular bastions.<sup>124</sup> John Rogers brought these to England via his work in Calais in the late 1530s.<sup>125</sup> In 1541, he would deploy more Italian-inspired designs to Hull, which were said to have significantly impressed Henry.<sup>126</sup> Therefore, during the last remnants of the Device and into Elizabeth's reign, any new artillery forts were designed with the angular bastion over the rounded one to reflect this significant shift in design ethos (such as Upnor Castle, see Appendix K).

While Deal had a better range, it was still limited and had a significant close-range 'dead-zone'. This issue was corrected decades later in the eighteenth century by adding arguably traditional, medieval crenellations to the seaward bastions of the respective three Downs castles.<sup>127</sup> Note also that cannon technology had improved by this point, meaning that the castles needed fewer working guns and by the early nineteenth-century, cannon

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<sup>123</sup> Harrington, P., *English Civil War Fortifications 1642–51* (Oxford: Osprey Publications, 2013), 12.

<sup>124</sup> Merriman, M., 'Realm and Castle: Henry VIII as European Builder.' *History Today* Vol 41: Iss 6 (1991): 31-37.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>127</sup> See the Sandown Chapter. There is no architectural history of Sandown, yet we know from a small number of artworks and photographs that crenelated parapets were added.

technology advanced so well that the British heavy 32-pounders were tested and could range over 4km, which could essentially cover the majority of the Down anchorage.<sup>128</sup>

By 1697, the pioneering female travel writer Celia Fiennes (1662 – 1741) visited Deal and said of the castles:

‘The Downes seems to be so open a place and the shoar so Easye for Landing I should think it no difficulty to Land a good army of men in a little tyme, there is only three Little forts, or Castles they Call them, about a miles distance one to another – Warworth at Deal, and Sandwich which holds a few Guns, but I should think they would be of Little Effect and give the Enemy no great trouble.’<sup>129</sup>

She also stated that the town of Deal was, by this point, a hamlet no more and was ‘thriving’, and we know of how Lower Deal developed in the seventeenth century therefore, this could arguably have been a success of the Castles of the Downs’ design or at least the Crown’s investment in the area by building them here, but equally, this could just have been a consequence of Sandwich’s port silting-over.<sup>130</sup>

From their squat positions, it cannot be argued that their design was imposing (as others in the Device were). Essentially, the Castles of the Downs were at worst ‘defective’ in their design, or at best ‘experimental’, but they are wholly unique for the period. These scholars argue they were, in effect, an experiment in designing a fortress based wholly around the cannon but without the finesse needed to deploy those cannons to their maximum advantage. However, when we consider the design symbolism outlined earlier, we can see that perhaps the designs were somewhat flawed if they dogmatically followed these overarching symbolic requirements.

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<sup>128</sup> Douglas, H., *A Treatise on Naval Gunnery*, (London: John Murray, 1855), 565.

<sup>129</sup> Fiennes, C., *Through England on a Side Saddle: In the Time of William and Mary* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 105.

<sup>130</sup> Laker, J., *History of Deal*, (Folkestone: T. F. Pain & Sons, 1921), 46-47.





Fig. 41 Walmer Castle with one of its less-altered bastions, showcasing the reduced coverage due to the restrictive parapet embrasures, (photo author, 2022).

We know Henry took a keen interest in the Castle of the Downs; perhaps these castles were different because he took such an interest. Is it possible that Henry was monitoring the masons more closely at the design and construction stages (as he did at Tournai and other sites). As we have seen, the King was not a novice in architecture and military engineering. We will probably never know how much the King contributed to the Castles of the Downs as the evidence is long lost, but it would help explain why their design was so unique yet clearly not without flaws.

The Tudor masons soon found that the Device Castles were defective and later made alterations to make them more efficient. They realised that whilst stone was a great castle-building material in terms of repelling the enemy, it also caused problems when a return fire occurred. Stone-faced walls, especially those with flint gallets, splintered during an enemy fire, causing fragments to shatter and injure nearby servicemen. Likewise, when firing the largest cannons from casements on the lower parts of the bastion aimed at ships at sea, the cannons would produce toxic fumes filling the poorly ventilated spaces. These

fumes could incapacitate or even suffocate the gunners. It took several years for the Tudor masons to understand these issues, but eventually, they tried to correct them. Adding extra earth was the solution; it was cheap to move, plentiful and a quick fix. Across the country, they added additional ramparts to mount cannons; rolls of turf were installed to the outside of keeps; and some had new bulwarks added. We know that the process of rolling turf over the bastion walls continued into the seventeenth century as it was documented that 'men and boys of Deal' were quickly employed to cover all the Downs Castles in 1667 due to tensions with Holland in the Second Anglo-Dutch War.<sup>131</sup> In the case of Deal and nearby Camber, whole bastions were filled with earth. The soil absorbed the incoming projectiles, so it could be easily topped up and even loaded with heavier guns.

Some of these alterations were made after Henry VIII's reign. Whether this had a bearing, we do not know, but they started in earnest under Edward VI and were accelerated under Elizabeth when the troubles with Spain were renewed. As Queen, she also added to these artillery forts with her own assortment of new and renewed castles at Berwick-upon-Tweed, Upnor (Appendix K), and Plymouth.<sup>132</sup>

According to Merriman's argument, the Device Castles demonstrated considerable effectiveness when viewed within the historical context.<sup>133</sup> Although modern criticisms highlight certain shortcomings, it is crucial to consider the prevailing circumstances at the time of their construction.<sup>134</sup> Primarily intended to besiege vulnerable pre-Armada Ships, these castles fulfilled their primary design objective. However, a potential drawback encountered by the castle engineers, reminiscent of their medieval counterparts, was the limited adaptability of these structures, consequently hindering their ability to remain highly functional in the face of future challenges.

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<sup>131</sup> Royal Engineers (Various), *Professional Papers of the Corps of Royal Engineers, Occasional Papers Vol. 12* (1887): 81.

<sup>132</sup> Maurice-Jones, K.W., *The History of Coast Artillery in the British Army* (London: Naval and Military Press), 6-7.

<sup>133</sup> Merriman, M., 'Realm and Castle: Henry VIII as European Builder', *History Today* Vol 41: Iss 6 (1991): 31-37.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*



Fig. 42 An example of a Tudor cannon displayed at Maidstone Museum, (photo author, 2023).

Whilst these flaws were addressed, the three Castles of the Downs were successful in other ways. The infamous diarist Samuel Pepys was very impressed with the Castles of the Downs when he visited the area in 1660. The ship in which he was travelling anchored amongst the Royal fleet in the safety of the Downs, and he saw a great spectacle:

‘About five o’clock we came to the Goodwin, so to the Castles about Deal; where our Fleet lay, among whom we anchored. Great was the shout of guns from the castles and ships, and our answers, that I never heard yet so great rattling of guns. Nor could we see one another on board for the smoke that was among us, nor one ship from another.’<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Pepys, S., *The Diary of Samuel Pepys Vol 1*, ed. H.B. Wheatley (London: George Bell, 1904), 101.

Whilst this display was essentially a show for the visitors that day, it demonstrated the prowess of the military's castles in the Downs. It showed their perceived strength and their potential. Unfortunately (or fortunately), this potential was never actually realised. Still, for locals and visitors in the seventeenth century, the castles appeared to provide enough of a show of strength to make a difference. This difference is hard to quantify, but essentially, if one looks at how small Deal was as a hamlet-type settlement when the Castles of the Downs were built to how the town developed into Upper and Lower Deal, incorporating Walmer and Kingsdown too, we must acknowledge the castles' combined contribution on some level to this local development.

To comprehensively analyse the design rationale behind the Castles of the Downs, it is essential to examine the potential integration of the Tudor Rose and two quatrefoils as constituents of a unified fortification or networked port. Reassessing the interplay between these elements can achieve a more nuanced understanding of their collective functionality, thereby shedding light on the underlying reasons for their configuration. The design considerations implemented within these structures may mitigate the aforementioned criticisms, warranting a careful evaluation of their intended purpose and the extent to which they effectively address these challenges.

### **A Singular Symbolic Fortification**

Considering the castles collectively, we have one main fortress with the greatest number of guns, two smaller limb forts, flanking between them are two pairs of bulwarks, running the length of the whole site is a fosse and then connecting all of these elements together is a network of ditches to allow men and artillery to be moved between sites during any operation. Suppose we allow an artist licence and truncate the design. In that case, we can see a better view of how all these elements would have operated as one fortress (Fig. 43). Thus, even in the interconnected design of the overall Downs project, we can see

foreshadowing within how the organisation that was initially controlling these castles ran its operations.<sup>136</sup>



Fig. 43 A truncated version of the Castles of the Downs design, 2023, © Christopher Moore.

Never before, or perhaps since, has such a large fortification been constructed on such a desolate stretch of land. Tournai (1510s) had perhaps been Henry's most significant project that he personally had a close hand in designing. After this and during the time of the Device, he personally was engaged with a great many fortified port builds (let alone his own houses and other projects).<sup>137</sup> All of these forts were constructed at great expense to protect a harbour or in-land stronghold. All of these were constrained, but none bears much relation to the complexity and ambition that is clearly evident in the Castles of the Downs.

Whereas with the Downs, Henry built a fortification bigger than any of these past projects and behind was only the fledgling town of Deal. Defence of the town must indeed have been an additional benefit, as Henry sought to utilise and protect the channel of the Downs and its increased importance. It was an importance that he recognised, and he

<sup>136</sup> Noting also that at the time of construction, Deal was a mere hamlet, and the ancient Cinque Port of Sandwich was very near Sandown. Deal Castle was never referred to as 'Deal Castle' by the Tudors; it was always referred to as 'The Great Castle in the Downs'.

<sup>137</sup> Calais (1539-1541), and Boulogne (1546) or the later citadels of Carlisle (1541), Guines (1541), Hull (1542), and Berwick-on-Tweed (1539-42).



would be proved correct as such importance would last for centuries.<sup>138</sup> By building this complex fortification of great iconographic significance, he could control this critical and unique channel and effectively protect several of his most strategic sites, including the capital. An ambitious commission, covering miles of a shipping lane, required an ambitious fortification: this is precisely what the Castles of the Downs were built to achieve.

This research showed that Henry deeply understood fortification techniques and had acquired, by this time, a level of comprehensive proficiency and interest in military engineering. This active engagement highlights his intention to establish authority over the land amidst an almost unified Europe, potentially utilising physical manifestations of his new Royal House symbol as an overarching design motif. It is evident that only an individual of Henry's regal status, combined with his ambitious nature, would have proposed such a bold thematic approach at this time.

Considering the Device's purpose and broader implications, it becomes apparent that Henry aimed to encircle his entire realm with cutting-edge fortresses. The sheer magnitude of this ambition during the sixteenth century, which remains astonishing even by contemporary standards, underscores Henry's visionary mindset. His endeavours reflect not merely a display of ego or privilege but rather a testament to his exceptional organisational capacity and aspirational thinking on an unprecedented scale. In this context, Henry emerges as a true disruptor, akin to modern interpretations of the term, embodying the ability to challenge and revolutionise established norms. It is part of this ambitious build at The Downs that enabled the use of three interconnected fortresses that are built with the bulwarks as integral to their design. As we have seen, this is unlike the earlier versions of the bulwark, which were retroactively added to medieval fortresses. This is an example of taking what is an antiquated yet reliable tool of war and reconfiguring it to make it more

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<sup>138</sup> Rodger, N. A. M., 'The Naval Service of the Cinque Ports.' *The English Historical Review* 111, no. 442 (June 1996): 636-651.

relevant in their present. This shows not just a level of military expertise but also a designer who will challenge the established norms of their time.

Perhaps also Henry was driven, in part, by rivalry. Henry, Francis I of France, Charles V of Spain and even Suleiman the Magnificent of the Ottoman Empire all reigned mainly simultaneously.<sup>139</sup> They were all born within a single decade, and, between them, they respectively reigned over vast swathes of land and would accrue great wealth and power.<sup>140</sup> This dynamic may be missed when we contextualise the political environment within which the Device Forts were built. One of Henry's longest rivals was perhaps that of Francis I, and where Henry considered himself the great builder, so did Francis. Both of them account for many large palatial schemes, and while many scholars will note that Francis' projects in Paris, Fontainebleau (1528–1547), and Château de Chambord (1519–1547) on the banks of Loire still exist.<sup>141</sup> They will also note that the only Palace Henry built on a similar scale that remains today is St. James Palace (1531–1536) – not least forgetting Nonsuch, which we mentioned earlier. However, this fact ignores Henry's many alteration projects, smaller houses and castles, and, of course, his mighty network of Device Forts. As the two men were rivals on this scale, using architecture as the ultimate symbol of wealth and power, we must consider the Castles of the Downs within this framework as these three castles, as one fort, were a massive undertaking for the period. Therefore, such a large, mighty fortress built close to Francis' territory in the provocative symbol of the House of Tudor would not have gone unnoticed.

Whereas the mainland European or English projects were constrained by time, budget, geography, or logistics, at the Downs, Henry was furnished with a great new wealth of not just money but also materials in the form of spolia, which he deployed so readily and with urgency to ensure this was the first project, not just of its kind, but the first major project

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<sup>139</sup> Norwich, J., J., *Four Princes*, (London: John Murray Publishers, 2016), 3-4.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-16.

of his Device. Therefore, Henry could go bigger and bolder in his design and attempt a citadel for a natural port, which was an incredibly courageous and audacious effort for the time. His focus on this project demonstrated the unique design we have seen, likewise, the Tudor use of the title 'Great Castle', all of which demonstrate that the Tudors viewed these three castles with priority, and this, therefore, suggests they were uniquely special.

Scholars miss this ambition in past attempts to assess the significance or success of these castles, in that the Castles of Deal, Walmer and Sandown were wings of the same fortification. They are not merely one of twenty-four other new fortifications in the country (the more comprehensive Device); they are effectively one of three, and the three are one. The lack of monographic study of these three castles, the loss of Sandown, or the way they are presented today for heritage tourism all seem to miss what the Tudors knew: how exceptional these castles were. This would also explain their defective defence capabilities, in that they were perhaps not built for just defence; these castles were symbolic in that Henry was attempting to make a statement with their deployment. An almost divine statement of his House of Tudor, officially placing onto the map his image, that of the Tudor Rose that was flanking and controlling the quatrefoils of the church, and thus stating his divine right to lead and protect his realm with this incredible symbolic gesture of architecture. Scholars label Henry as an iconoclast, which he was during the Dissolution.<sup>142</sup> But here, we see a reappropriation of a religious symbol with his emblem to form a new interpretation of supremacy and defiance.

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<sup>142</sup> Caviness, M. H., 'Iconoclasm and Iconophobia: Four Historical Case Studies.' *Diogenes* 50, iss. 3 (2003): 99–114.



Fig. 44 Scale models of The Castles of the Downs, resin on card, commissioned by the author.

As we transition our analysis to the later development of the respective castles, it is essential to acknowledge that they operated collectively as one, as intended, into at least the beginning of the seventeenth century. During this period, maintenance and resources were shared among them. However, it is noteworthy that as Walmer Castle's significance increased, so did the rivalry between the castles. This rivalry, geography, and other factors eventually led to the breakdown of their singular fortress design concept, particularly when Sandown Castle became uninhabitable. Consequently, it is crucial to examine the post-Tudor era development of each castle and explore how the transformation from a single fortification to three distinct individual castles was undertaken.

It is impossible to fully deduce the architect of these complicated yet compelling castles in the Downs. Yet the evidence is clear: it shows a monarch with an appetite for military engineering with an assembled team of his best artificers who excelled at their professions and primarily knew how to keep their client happy. In the fullest sense of the word's meaning, the architect was King Henry himself. He commissioned them, likely built by plans he approved, and displayed them on a world stage next to not just the most critical shipping channel in Europe but also closest to mainland Europe, hosting the countries he

most quarrelled with. In effect, if our re-appraisal of the iconography of these castles is correct, these castles are essentially a physical manifestation of Henry's power and brilliance but also his flaws. Therefore, when we consider who the architect of these castles was, in a way, whoever it literally was, it does not overly matter as these castles are as part of the Tudor franchise as any of his grandest palaces of state. By default, they are a symbolic manifestation of Henry and thus are Henrician in every sense of the word.

It is worth noting that the successes of these castles far outweigh their design flaws, which, as we have seen, were swiftly corrected later. In terms of their retainment, their use, and above all, their iconography, these points cannot be ignored. To these ends, the Castles of the Downs provide an exceptional example of Tudor architectural prowess as they do for the propaganda machine they were created within.

As we have considered the many qualities of their design within this chapter, we must now seek to explore how they were constructed, but in doing so, we must first appraise a significant consideration of their construction works: the use of spolia. Little is documented about the use of spolia at the Castles of the Downs, yet from modern-day visits to the castles, it is evident that spolia was a prime construction component. Therefore, let us explore how spolia, the stones of Henry's current enemies, were deployed in the Castles of the Downs, and how the symbolism of this use may have more extraordinary facets than just the physical application.



## Chapter Four:

### Spolia Use in the Construction of the Castles of the Downs

'The material of which the facing of these forts was built was Kentish rag, i.e. a hard limestone from the rocks on the sea coast, Caen stone was taken for the chiselled or sculptured work from the dismantled Pories in the neighbourhood, which Henry's policy had exposed to the depredations alike of private persons and the Crown.'<sup>1</sup>.

The employment of spolia, the reuse of architectural elements or materials from earlier structures, has been a significant aspect of architectural history. This chapter will explore the vast amount of reused materials that were deployed in constructing the Castles of the Downs. By examining the practice of repurposing materials from monastic houses following the Dissolution, we seek to uncover the intriguing narrative behind how spolia was incorporated into the fabric of these unique fortifications.

We will draw upon various scholarly resources to undertake this investigation, including C. R. Cuncer's analysis of Kent's monasteries and Knowles' *Medieval Religious Houses*.<sup>2</sup> These works offer valuable insights into the origins, fate, and potential availability of spolia from nearby monastic houses. By meticulously exploring primary sources and archaeological evidence, we aim to comprehensively understand how spolia was utilised in constructing the Castles of the Downs. Our analysis will encompass the selection, transportation, adaptation, and incorporation of these repurposed elements to assess how spolia was used so effectively.

Using these two crucial texts as a starting point and then cross-referencing many other sources, it is possible to provide a list of potential religious sites that may have been

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<sup>1</sup> Curzon, G., N., *The Personal History of Walmer Castle and Its Lords Warden* (London: Macmillan, 1927), 4.

<sup>2</sup> Cuncer, C., R., *Dissolution of The Kentish Monasteries* (Maidstone: Kent Archaeology Society, 1935).  
Knowles, D., *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London: Longman, 1972).

used in the construction of 'The Castles of the Downs'. To develop this schedule of likely sites, we must use the following criteria as a starting point:

**Dissolved by the Crown:** A limited number of monasteries continued after the Dissolution. Their sites were largely not plundered by the Crown, apart from the most significant sites with a surplus of smaller buildings within their curtilage. Some records from the Court of Augmentations remain, particularly their dissolution orders; where possible, these should be obtained as they often contain vital primary information.

**Proximity:** As we will see in the following chapter, the builders of the Castles of the Downs were working to a strict programme regime and needed to source quality materials from the nearby area without delay. The procurement of materials for medieval (and earlier) construction projects has predominantly been driven by the objective of sourcing appropriate materials that align with the specific project requirements; for castle construction, a vast amount of stone and mortar would be required. Therefore, if a large palace or cathedral was being constructed, it could take more time and money to procure the best materials, potentially from a greater distance. The same cannot be said here, as these castles were built in an emergency and needed to be built quickly.<sup>3</sup> We must, therefore, only consider sites within the county of Kent due to their proximity to the Downs.

**Known Examples:** The Sandgate diary confirms that the masons largely 'robbed stone' from the nearest dissolved houses.<sup>4</sup> Other well-documented examples of local spolia occurring in the same period are the sites we previously mentioned. The King ordered reused stone from the Dissolved Merton Priory (1114 - 1538) for his palace at Nonsuch, some twenty miles apart.<sup>5</sup> Archbishop Cranmer probably used spolia at his new

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<sup>3</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 455-465.

<sup>4</sup> 'Robbed stone' is the term masons have used for centuries when referring to the process of taking and deploying spolia.

<sup>5</sup> Dent, J., *The Quest for Nonsuch*, (London: Hutchinson, 1962), 38.

Archbishop's Palace at Bekesbourne owing to the stone found at the ruined site.<sup>6</sup> Likewise, the Tudor Lord Warden we discussed in the last chapter, Sir Thomas Cheyney, built Shurland Hall, his vast country house, partly with spolia.<sup>7</sup> The castle's ruins display a vast amount of early medieval stone spolia, which were probably obtained from the ruinous walls of Chilham Castle some twenty-four miles away.<sup>8</sup> These contemporary examples indicate the distances between the sources of spolia and the construction sites where they were deployed.<sup>9</sup> These examples show the distances builders likely took to remove spolia during this period.

Change of ownership: Whether the sites that remained in the Crown's possession (such as St Augustine's Abbey, which was transferred to the dioceses) or were transferred into private hands is worthy of consideration. Buildings that were not required for this purpose were primarily sold off or demolished. The same can be said of the dioceses, though this was largely due to the requirements and management of the dioceses. Some private owners retained the buildings for dwellings or private chapels. There were also merchants and businessmen who plundered their spoils, selling off quality materials and using the grounds for commercial purposes such as tenantry, chevalering (horse rearing) or pannage (pig farming), all of which were popular land uses in Kent at the time (even the monks themselves were known to be making money doing this).<sup>10</sup>

Records: Only sites with documented, evidential locations are considered, as the need to substantiate their existence in the first place is a mighty endeavour that can be

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<sup>6</sup> Tatton-Brown, T., 'Excavations at the 'Old Palace', Bekesbourne, near Canterbury.' *Archaeologia Cantiana* 96 (1980): 27-58, (44)., Emery, A., *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales, 1300–1500: Volume 3, Southern England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 323.

<sup>7</sup> Cave-Browne, Rev. J., 'Shurland House', *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. 23 (1898): 89.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> It is not known when it was built, but Historic England's listing (ref: 1258505) states that it was probably built shortly before Henry's visit in 1532. This author visited in early 2023, and the clues of reworked medieval stones, along with Tudor brick diapering (the pinnacle of brickwork fashion in the early sixteenth century), were all apparent and still in situ in this part-converted and part-ruinous structure. It is also known as 'Shurland Hall'.

<sup>10</sup> Hoare, N., 'The High Weald.' *Geographical Magazine* (May 2008): 10-14.

reversed for others. Therefore, only properties that are known to have existed and have some form of evidence of their demise can be assessed within the scope of this work.

Time: The Dissolution commenced in 1536, and although there is some documentation to show when the local sites closed, the sites we require will need to have been dissolved on or before the castles' construction programme of 1539 to 1540. The Dissolution and sell-off of land continued after this period, well into at least 1541.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, searching for properties outside this window will likely be unfruitful for our assessment.

Based on this criterion, we can propose the following map (see Fig. 1) outlining nearby sites in the vicinity of the Castle of the Downs that existed during this period and could have potentially supplied spolia for constructing the castles. Due to the varying development timelines and affiliations with different religious orders, these monastic sites exhibit diverse construction compositions, resulting in distinct constituent stones. Archival records and on-site investigations will be employed, whenever feasible, to discern these discrepancies and evaluate these sites as potential sources of materials utilised in constructing the Castles of the Downs.

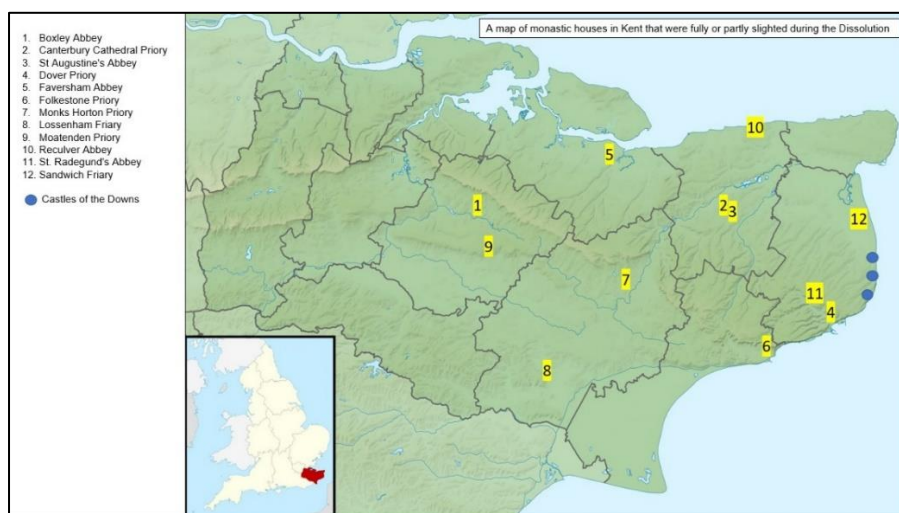


Fig. 1 Map showing the foremost potential locations of the dissolved religious houses.

<sup>11</sup> Baskerville, B., *English Monks and the Suppression of the Monasteries* (Yale U. P., 1937).

It is worth noting that little is known about sourcing the materials for the construction works, and we must only use the information available to provide a scope of the likely targets that the Tudor builders might have selected. Unlike Sandgate, no diary has ever been found to demonstrate where they were plundering. Stone would have been the main target of all plundering exercises from these former monastic buildings; stonemasons from this period would have preferred working with freestone over the Kentish ragstone for the lintel and structural detailing, though the vernacular abundance of Kentish ragstone would have ensured it was used mainly for the formwork. This is likely because Kentish ragstone is challenging to work beyond a three-foot block; it would be easier to take already large, strong, and worked lintel stones from the monasteries that could then be positioned quicker into the construction works.<sup>12</sup> This would ultimately save time and money for the construction works at the Downs, with time pressures being the probable main consideration.

Whereas the use of Caen stone (freestone) had a previous ecclesiastical and religious significance, the stonemasons of this period were not just building for the Church.<sup>13</sup> They were building for the King, who had established himself as the Church, and thus, the stonemasons likely wanted to source the best and most effective stone possible for its intended military use. Caen, with its robust reputation at the time, was ideal for jambs, lintels, parapets, and embrasures as a good re-workable freestone.<sup>14</sup> The fact that it was easier to work with and could be sourced locally were contributing factors that made it desirable due to the added constraints of the construction pace. Likewise, non-workable freestone or perishing stones could have been redeployed and used within the mortar.

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<sup>12</sup> Historic England, *Building Stones of England, Kent Vol.* (Swindon: Historic England, 2023)., Interview with Heather Newton, Head of Conservation at Canterbury Cathedral, 2022.

<sup>13</sup> Downer, G., *The Stones of St Augustine's Abbey* (Maidstone: Kent RIGS Group, 2009), 8.

<sup>14</sup> Rutton, W.L., 'Sandgate Castle, A.D. 1539-40', *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. 20 (1893), v and vi.



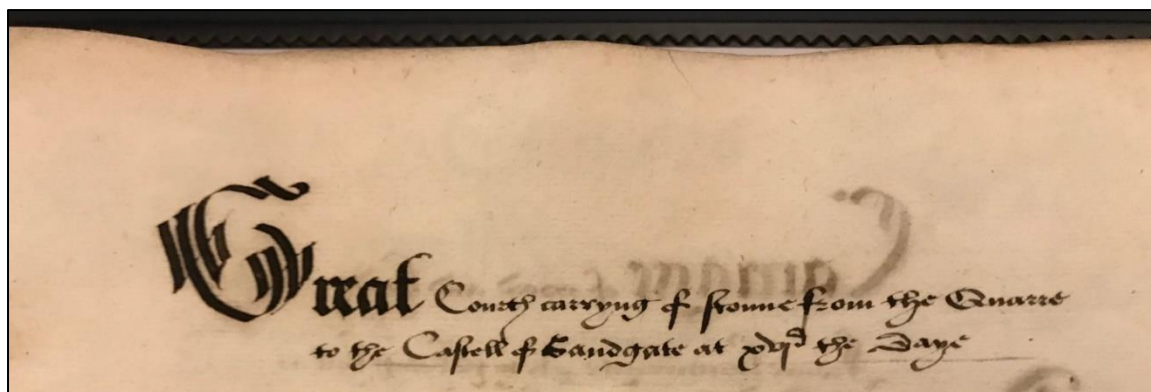


Fig. 2 The above shows references to quarrying for stone for Sandgate from the original site diary, 'Accompt of Works at Sandgate' & 'Ledger of the Works at Sandgate Castle', British Library, Harley MS 1647.

### Potential Extraction Sites

Using this selection criterion and our assessment of how to archaeologically detect in situ spolia at the Downs (see appendix H before proceeding), we will now consider these potential plundered sites to, for the first time, draw a possible conclusion about which sites were used to feed the construction works at the Downs. Large construction projects of this type must have required a great deal of stone tonnage, so let us consider the previous map and examine the evidence to discover which sites were the likely targets of the plundering Tudor builders. Of these builders, the writer John Bale, who travelled with John Leland, stated in 1549:<sup>15</sup>

'To destroye all without consyderacyon, is and wyll be unto Englande for ever, a moste horryble infamy amonge the grave senyours of other nacyons.'

<sup>15</sup> Bale, J., *The laboryouse Journey & serche of Johan Leylande for Englandes Antiquitees*, (London: London Publishing, 1549), 18.

### **St Margaret of Antioch, St Martin's Priory (Dover Priory) and St Martin-le-Grand, Dover**

The proximity of Sandgate Castle and its surviving construction diary indicates the potential provenance of spolia utilised in the construction of the Castles of the Downs. It is inconceivable that Sandgate, situated merely seventeen miles from Deal, and the contemporaneously conducted construction activities did not involve an interplay of resources to some degree. As we have seen, a demonstratable crossover of labour exists, exemplified by the movement of von Haschenperg between these construction sites. In his essay entitled *The Castles that keep the Downs*, the Victorian antiquarian Rutton found:<sup>16</sup>

‘The Caen-stone used at Sandgate for facing the masonry had equally been handled, squared, and worked by Norman masons, not indeed at Sandgate, but at the Pories . . . , on their suppression and demolition, the material was carted to Sandgate, and there used second-hand.’<sup>17</sup>

Rutton writes as if it were new information and references letters sent to *The Times* between 11<sup>th</sup> September and 5<sup>th</sup> October 1896 by Charles J. Ferguson (1840 – 1904).<sup>18</sup> Ferguson is perhaps the first person to detect the use of spolia at Sandgate Castle accurately. He compares it with nearby churches with similar stones and mason tool marks. He mentions St Margaret's Church at Cliffe (near Dover) in 1896 letters.<sup>19</sup> This is interesting as the church was constructed between c.1100 and 1140; it would suggest the slight possibility that Sandown Castle's stonework might have been reclaimed from churches built at the same period and by the same hands. A nearby church plundered and fell within this timeframe would be a good candidate for spolia used in the Downs.

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<sup>16</sup> Rutton, W.L., ‘Henry VIII's Castles at Sandown, Deal, Walmer, Sandgate, and Camber’, *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. 23 (1898): v and vi.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> The Times. 1896. 'Sandown Castle, Deal.' *The Times*: September 11, 1896, P. 12. Author: W. Rutton.

<sup>19</sup> Ferguson, C.J., ‘The Growth of Architecture; Being the Address at the Opening Meeting of the Architectural Section at the Shrewsbury Meeting’, *The Archaeological Journal Royal Archaeological Institute*, Vol. 51 (1894): 325.

St Martin's Priory (today referred to commonly as Dover Priory) was constructed between 1131 and 1139 in the centre of the nearby town of Dover. The new church would remain a 'limb' of the higher cathedral church at Canterbury and be under the strict Benedictine Order; it was built to give the Archbishop more influence in this vital English port. In 1538, this church was dissolved, stripped of its assets and partly demolished. The remains form parts of later buildings, including a part of the public school, Dover College.<sup>20</sup>

According to the Victorian antiquary Rev. F. C. Plumtre, that stone had been built with the permission of King Henry I (1068 – 1135) from the quarry of St Martin.<sup>21</sup> This quarry was later named as such due to the vast quantity of stone that was taken to build this church. Plumtre references this fact from Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* in papers from the then Archbishop Corboil; he does not, however, cite the volume number. Only this volume (part one) has been assessed as this is the only volume that could be located, but no relevant records were found.

Later Rutton also writes to *The Times* shortly after, on 5th October 1896, correcting Plumtre on a number of facts, including Plumtre's presumption that Sandown incorporated Norman tooled stones because it was likely that there was a Norman fort on the same site before the church's construction.<sup>22</sup> Rutton is almost certainly correct, as there has been no archaeological evidence that such a fort existed. This letter from Rutton and this author's analysis of the Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* to find evidence of quarrying raises doubts about Plumtre's analysis of Sandown. However, we should not completely ignore Plumtre's analysis of St Martin's Priory as he seems to have dedicated more of his work until this point to monastic life in Britain rather than post-Dissolution studies of the same

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<sup>20</sup> Woodward, G.W.O., *The Dissolution of The Monasteries* (London: Pitkin, 1985), 189.

<sup>21</sup> Plumtre, Rev. F. C., 'Some Account of the Remains of the Priory of St Martin's and the Church of St Martin-le-Grand at Dover', *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. 4 (1861): 1-26.

<sup>22</sup> Dugdale, Sir W., *Monasticon Anglicanum, or, The history of the ancient Abbies, and other monasteries, hospitals, cathedral and collegiate churches in England and Wales. With divers French, Irish, and Scotch monasteries formerly relating to England* (Unknown publisher, 1693)., *The Times*. 1896. 'Sandown Castle, Deal.' *The Times*: October 5, 1896, P.5. Author: F. C. Plumtre.

topic.<sup>23</sup> Due to the proximity to the Castles of the Downs, the alleged size of Dover Priory (circa 2,300m<sup>2</sup>), and its similarities with the aforementioned nearby church of St Margaret of Antioch at Cliffe, it is a likely candidate for the supply of spolia.<sup>24</sup>

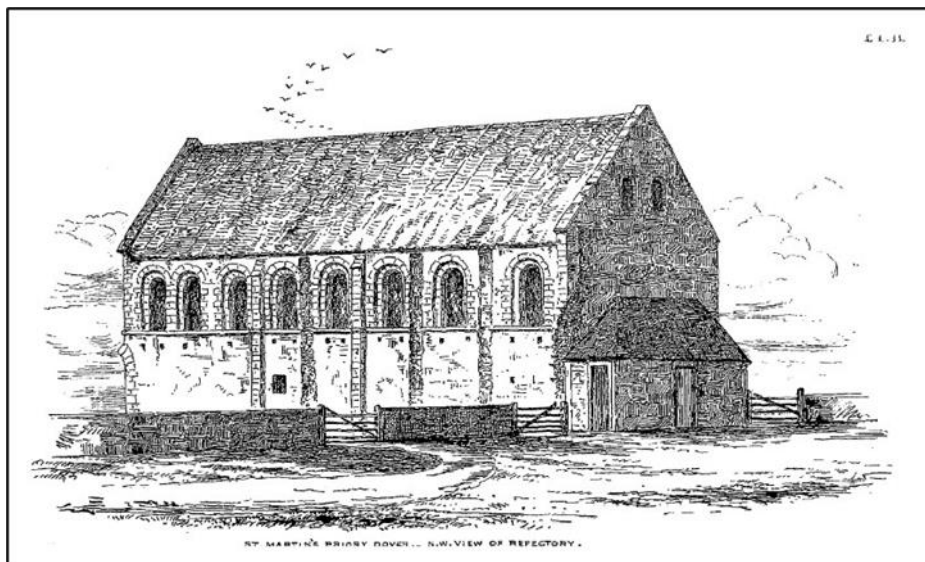


Fig. 3 A Victorian interpretation of a pre-Reformation St Martin's Priory, Dover. Plumptre, Rev. F. C., 'Some Account of the Remains of the Priory of St Martin's and the Church of St Martin-le-Grand at Dover', 1861, *Archaeologia Cantiana*.

Plumptre provides us with a sketch of how St. Martin's Priory might have appeared before it was partly demolished; he uses the remains of the building still in situ in 1861 and information from archaeological investigations undertaken before this date to perfect his sketch (Fig. 3). He also produces lists from the surviving Tudor records from his time to show that the spolia for the building was used for '*repairs to the town gates, town walls and for erecting of private houses.*' Additionally, he lists the nearby St Martin-le-Grand, another lost church founded in AD696. It was extended and altered in the same period as Dover Priory and was also demolished during the Dissolution. While Plumptre's account does not

<sup>23</sup> University College Oxford, UC: MA40 *Papers of Frederick Charles Plumptre (Master 1836-70)*, Univ Online Catalogues, site: <https://www.univ.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Plumptre.pdf>, accessed: November 2019

<sup>24</sup> Haines, C. R., *Dover Priory: A History of the Priory of St Mary the Virgin and St Martin of the New Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge Press, 1910).

give exact evidence of spolia use from these churches, it suggests some possible linkage, especially when considering Rutton's accounts.

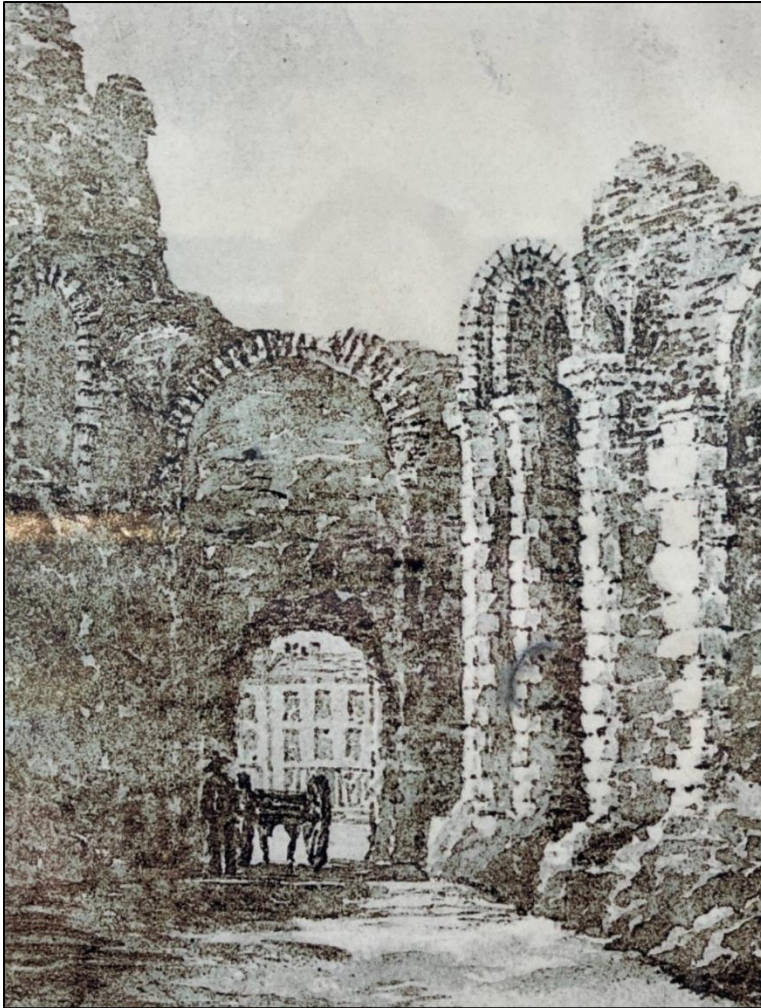


Fig. 4 A Victorian sketch of the remains of St Martin's Priory, Dover. Plumtre, Rev. F. C., 'Some Account of the Remains of the Priory of St Martin's and the Church of St Martin-le-Grand at Dover', 1861, *Archaeologia Cantiana*.

Not much additional evidence can be obtained from the records on all three sites to tie them directly to the Castles of the Downs. The Court of Augmentation processed St Martin-le-Grand, and we know from surviving records that the land around it was sold off to private hands, the ruins are now part of Dover Museum's grounds (Fig. 5). It is possible that this site was also plundered for material, but as with the others we have mentioned here, it is difficult to indicate whether they were used at the Castles of the Downs.





Fig. 5 All that remains of St Martin-le-Grand Church in Dover, (photo author, 2023).

### **St Radegund's Abbey, Dover<sup>25</sup>**

Founded in 1192/1193 in Bradsole, near Dover, St Radegund's Abbey was built on land provided by Richard I, the Lionheart (1157-1199).<sup>26</sup> The Premonstratensian Order resided at the Abbey, with their mother church being the Abbey of Prémontré in Aisne, France.<sup>27</sup> The order was a part of forty-seven other monastic sites within England that housed

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<sup>25</sup> There are a variety of spellings for St Radegund's Abbey. This author shall use the spelling 'Radegund' as this was the preferred spelling of Mr F. Brittain, the noted Cambridge historian who popularised the use in the Edwardian era following his biography of the Saint of the same name - *Dover Express*. 12<sup>th</sup> June 1925, 9.

<sup>26</sup> Gribbin, J. A., *The Premonstratensian Order in Late Medieval England*, (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2001), 4.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, IX.



Premonstratensian Canons.<sup>28</sup> This unique French Order would often be described as enigmatic as they would choose to build their abbeys, quite peculiarly, 'far from men'.<sup>29</sup>

Initially, the abbey prospered, controlling five churches in Kent and one in Sussex. However, by the thirteenth century, the abbey had fallen into disrepair, though by the time Leland visited in the late 1530s, it was then described as being '*netely mayntayned*'.<sup>30</sup> The Premonstratensian were known to undertake a lot of building work, so it is perhaps odd that St Radegund's had experienced periods of dilapidation. Many of the monks were said to be perhaps preoccupied with building works at Dover Castle for some time, and this, combined with their dedication to their limb church repair and alteration work, may suggest that they ignored their own site; Braun writing in 1971 could agree with this assessment.<sup>31</sup> Alternatively, perhaps, as Victorian antiquarian S. E. Winbolt commented in 1931, they were just 'lazy' (though their vast network of buildings would suggest otherwise).<sup>32</sup> In 1500, Abbott John Newton (unknown dates) inspected and allegedly found the monks,

'frequenting taverns on Sundays and feast days, and with bad language and incontinence; and the visitor ordered him to repair the whole monastery, which was visibly ruinous.'

It was also stated that only nine canons were, on average, recorded in residence between 1478 and 1500.<sup>33</sup> Despite these varying accounts of condition, by the Dissolution, eleven monks (including the abbot) lived on the expansive site; perhaps Newton's earlier visit had

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<sup>28</sup> Newman, J., 'The Buildings of England: North East and East Kent', *Archaeologia Cantiana* (1882): 439-440.

<sup>29</sup> Burton, J. E., *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain: 1000-1300*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 57.

<sup>30</sup> Kirkfleet, C.J., *The White Canons of St Norbert, A History of The Premonstratensian Order in The British Isles and America* (Wisconsin: St Norbert Abbey, 1943), 116., St John Hope, W. H., 'On The Praemonstratensian Abbey of St Radegund Bradsale in Polton Near Dover.' *Archaeologia Cantiana* 14 (1882): 142.

<sup>31</sup> Braun, H., *English Abbeys*, (London: Faber & Faber, 1971), 225.

<sup>32</sup> Winbolt, S. E., 'St Radegunds Abbey Dover', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 43, (1931): 187-198.

<sup>33</sup> Knowles, D., *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London: Longmans Green, 1953), 168.

improved the site's conditions, though what was to come would ignore this rectification work.<sup>34</sup>

As the Abbey was large and in close proximity to the Castles of the Downs, it is suggested that perhaps it made a fortuitous place from which the King's builders could plunder materials. No records exist to show material extraction between 1536 and 1539 (though it is entirely likely). However, we know the library and other artefacts were removed first (as was nearly always the process in the Dissolution).<sup>35</sup> The pace and scale of the destruction were such that by 1590, the site was a mere ruin and was sold (with the land) to a private buyer, thus demonstrating how comprehensive the extraction of materials must have been.<sup>36</sup> From the Sandgate Castle construction diary, we can see that the builders obtained materials from St Radegund's Abbey and also Horton Priory at Monks Horton (the latter we shall return to).<sup>37</sup> Other materials were collected from a nearby quarry and the coastline (though the last two sites may be in the same location, as Colvin also notes).<sup>38</sup>

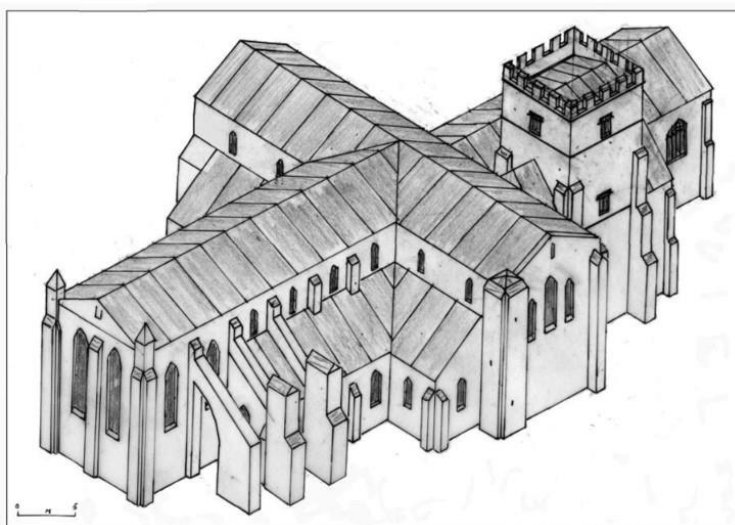


Fig. 6 A contemporary sketch by M. Davis of how the Abbey would have looked before destruction. M. C. J. Davis, *St Radegund's Abbey - A Re-Assessment of The Abbey Church*, 2017, Kent Archaeological Society.

<sup>34</sup> Knowles, D., *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London: Longmans Green, 1953), 168.

<sup>35</sup> Article about the lecture of Major B. Dryer: *Dover Express*. 1937. John Bavington Jones. 'Our Vanishing Landmarks.' *Dover Express*: November 19, 1937, P. 14.

<sup>36</sup> Newman, J. 'The Buildings of England: North East and East Kent', *Archaeologia Cantiana* (1882): 439-440.

<sup>37</sup> The British Library, Harley MS 1647.

<sup>38</sup> The Times. 1896. 'Sandown Castle, Deal.' *The Times*: October 5, 1896, P.5. Author: F. C. Plumtre., The British Library, Harley MS 1647, held at the Manuscript's Office, accessed: July 2019., Colvin, 375.

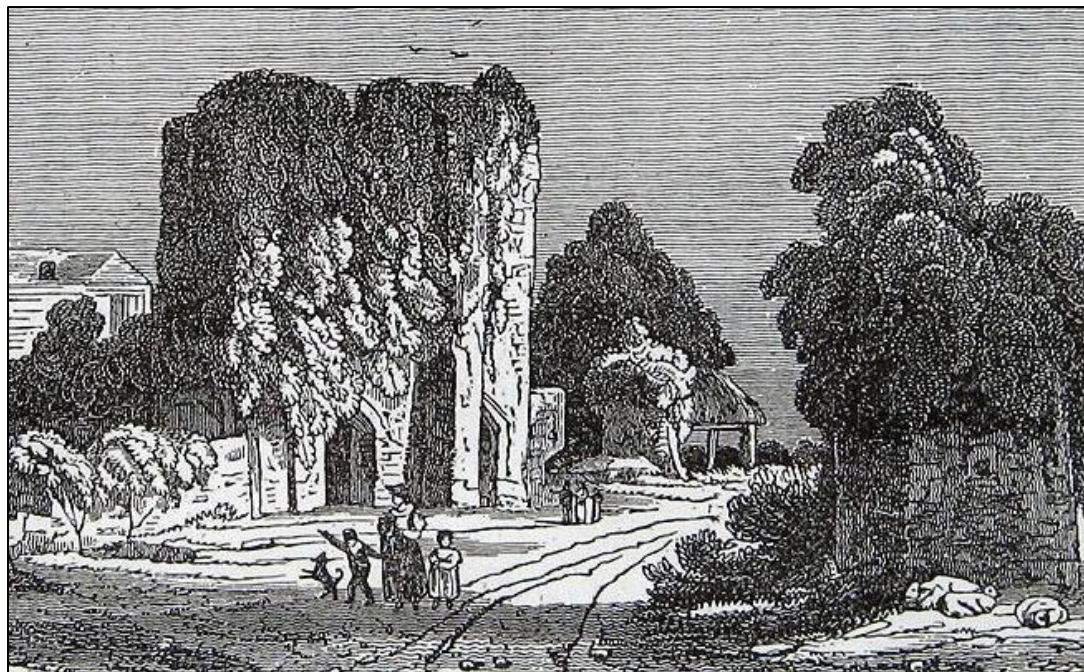


Fig. 7 An etching from the London Illustrated News, 1933, used under UK fair dealing.

A 2017 study by Kent Archaeological Society, using existing plans and archaeological assessments, produced a sketch showing how the abbey would have appeared in the sixteenth century before being demolished (Fig. 6). As you can see from this sketch, it would have been a sizeable source of stonework. Sitting atop the hill in this area would afford views and undoubtedly would have dominated the landscape.

The London Illustrated News visited in the late Victorian period (Fig. 7) and demonstrates the large quantity of material that was potentially removed from the site. We cannot be sure that everything removed was for the construction of the castles. However, it is possible that what remained by 1590 was used to build a singular Farmhouse that still stands (this is evident due to the spolia examples found within the house's exterior walls, Fig. 11).<sup>39</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Newman, J, *The Buildings of England: North East and East Kent*, (London: Penguin, 1983), 439-440.

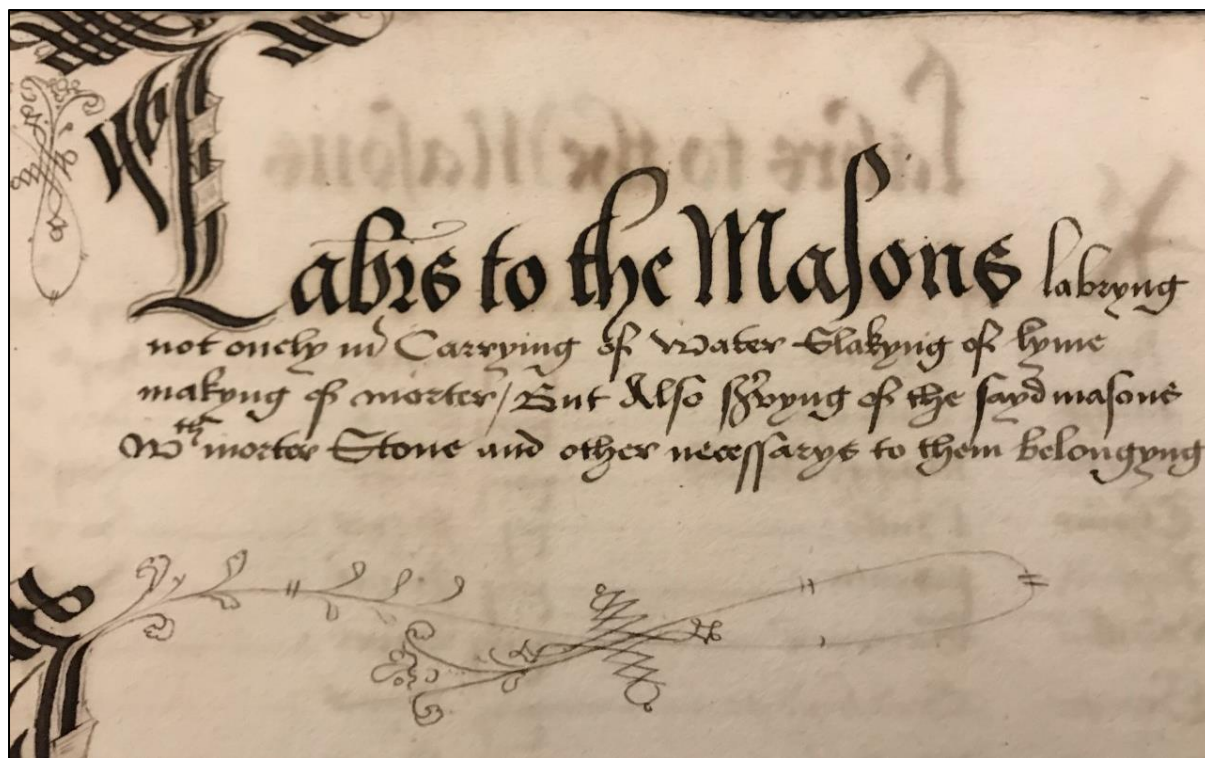


Fig. 8 'A ledger book for expenses made for the construction of Sandgate Castle by Henry VIII (Volume 1)', The British Library, Harley MS 1647.

Stone (of all calibres) was likely being removed from St Radegund's, calcinated in the documented kiln built on the same site, transported in the form of quicklime to Sandgate castle, and slaked on site before being used to build its immense walls.<sup>40</sup> Suppose the clay content of the stone was used to determine whether the mortar was hydraulic. If so, then it would make sense to use it at the heart of the large heavysset walls and piers, where only a hydraulic mortar can be set in a reasonably short period. Sandgate was heavily restored in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (and now partly lost), so it would be difficult to determine this today. The Sandgate Diary confirms that lime was being made in a kiln at St Radegund's for the first two months. It mentions, '*a kiln to burn lime in and out of the main chalk*'. Some 46 loads were made (it is unclear how much a load would have been, but we can assume it would either be enough for a horse and carriage to pull or an imperial ton – Rutton favours the latter) and taken on a daily basis to Sandgate. However, the distance

<sup>40</sup> The British Library, Harley MS 1647.



from the working site appeared too far (a probable assumption by Rutton) as after the second month, the process was disbanded, and a kiln in nearby Cheriton was used.<sup>41</sup> The use of kilns at Sandgate being fed from St Radegund's and the abbey's current ruinous state suggests that the same process was likely being undertaken at the Downs project.

Therefore, when we look today at the remaining Castles of the Downs, it is quite possible that the limestone required to make the bedding and pointing mortars was likely contributed from the superstructure of St Radegund's.

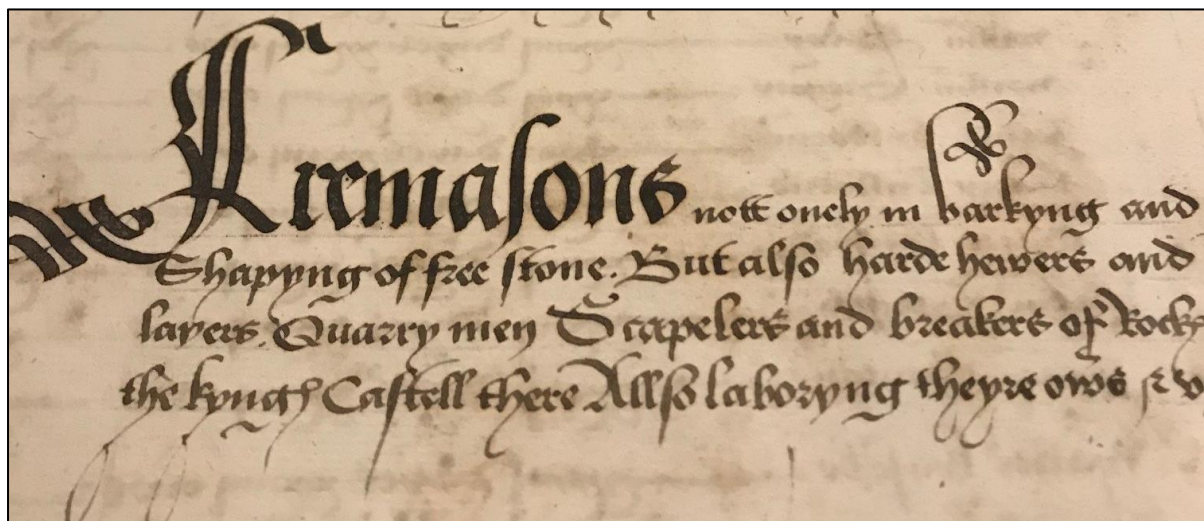


Fig. 9 'A ledger book for expenses made for the construction of Sandgate Castle by Henry VIII (Volume 1)', The British Library, Harley MS 1647.

The Sandgate diary also confirms that timber, coal and bricks were all sourced locally, with Colvin suggesting from his research into the state papers from the time that the only material sourced from outside of the county were metal fixings.

<sup>41</sup> Rutton, W. L., 'Sandgate Castle, A.D. 1539-40', *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. 20 (1893): v and vi.



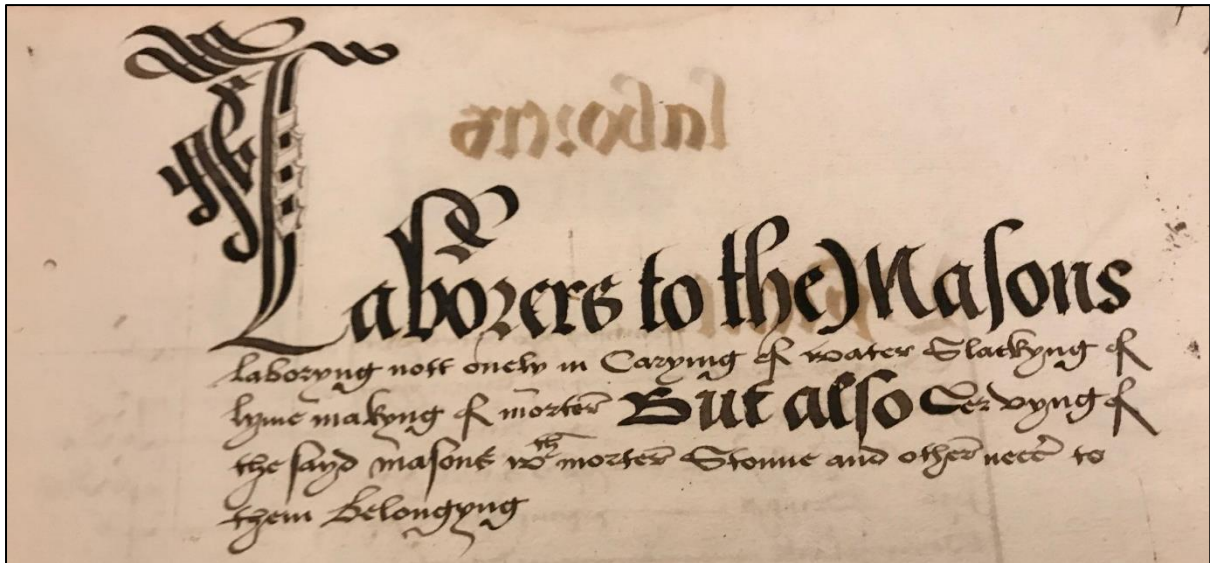


Fig. 10 'A ledger book for expenses made for the construction of Sandgate Castle by Henry VIII (Volume 1)', The British Library, Harley MS 1647.



Fig. 11 Farmhouse, St Radigund's Abbey Farm, 2016, Creative Commons Attribution Share-alike license 2.0.

According to its listing at Historic England and from visits to the abbey, parts of it still stand, albeit in a vastly diminished state. The Tudor house, albeit much altered, is still within the grounds, the gatehouse and a few parts of a tower connected to the transept still stand today. The quantity of stone removed must have been vast. The Sandgate Diary refers to hundreds of days spent 'berkyng and skapelyng' (breaking and shaping stone), mainly used for the foundations.<sup>42</sup> As a number of men were employed to undertake this task, we can understand how quickly the building would have been razed to the ground, mainly as it was feeding Sandgate, and probably Deal, Walmer and Sandown too.

An article that appeared in local papers by an unknown author in 1933 proposes that their local church in the Alkham Valley (between Dover and Folkestone) bore strikingly similar features in its chapel to those of the abbey's ruins.<sup>43</sup> The unknown author suggests that some of the stone may have been removed from the abbey to enhance and ornament his local church, though this has never been studied or verified. Interestingly, Historic England believes that this church was appropriated by St Radegund's for episcopal control in 1258, which may date the north chapel work and provide some evidence to this theory.<sup>44</sup>

This valley has several churches, including the well-appointed Temple Ewell Church (the English coastal church of the ancient Knights Templar).<sup>45</sup> Whilst this is a fascinating and potentially overlooked clue, it would need to form part of further study to identify what perhaps these monks were doing that forced them to neglect their own abbey. We do know that the limb churches of this abbey are said to be the church of Alkham; the Chapel of Mauregge, now Capel; the church of Leysdown in Sheppey; the church of Postling; the church of Portslade; the church of Aldrington in Sussex; and the church of Shepherdswell.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> The British Library, Harley MS 1647.

<sup>43</sup> Folkestone, Hythe, Sandgate & Cheriton Herald, 'Local News.' *Folkestone, Hythe, Sandgate & Cheriton Herald*, April 15, 1933, P12.

<sup>44</sup> Historic England, Official Listing of the Church of St Anthony the Martyr, Alkham Valley Road

<sup>45</sup> Harris, P., *Dover in 50 Buildings*, (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2023), 18.

<sup>46</sup> Page, W., 'Houses of Premonstratensian canons: The abbey of Bradsole or St Radegund.' In *A History of the County of Kent Vol. 2*, (1926): 172-175.

It also owned a number of parsonages and manors. Given the extensive and geographically dispersed nature of the abbey's estate, it is conceivable that the monks, in their efforts to manage the broader property, may have inadvertently overlooked the maintenance of their own abbey. Consequently, considering the potential challenges of repairing these properties, compounded by a declining monastic tradition, it is plausible that the masonry at St Radegund's Abbey had become susceptible to dilapidation and, therefore, may have been subsequently repurposing as spolia by the time of the Dissolution (particularly, as we have seen, ground-up as mortar) an easy decision.<sup>47</sup>



Fig. 12 The rib vaulting to Walmer Castle's keep basement, (photo author, 2018).

Another interesting connection to the Castles of the Downs can be seen onsite at Walmer. Whilst there is no surviving evidence, it can be said that the rib vaulting to the ceiling of the basement in the keep of Walmer Castle is very similar to stone found at the ruins of St Radegund's; it is plausible that this rib vaulting could have been lifted from the

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<sup>47</sup> Braun, H., *English Abbeys*, (London: Faber & Faber, 1971), 228, 230.



former refectory at the Abbey (Fig. 12). Interestingly, it has been found that Tim Tatton-Brown's study of Lambeth Palace details plans that were drawn up in 1880 by W. H. St John-Hope of the Abbey, showing that their refectory vaulting was incredibly similar to that of the undercroft of the chapel at Lambeth Palace (Fig. 13).<sup>48</sup> Additionally, a 2017 study shows the rib profiles at the Abbey, indicating that they are almost identical in profile and colouration.<sup>49</sup> This is interesting as the Abbey's ribs do not exist, though this may suggest they were reused at Walmer. When compared to limited stone samples still in situ at the Abbey, we can see a connection between all three sites (Fig. 14).



Fig. 13 The vaulted ceiling in Lambeth Palace's chapel, (photo author, 2018).

These intriguing findings contribute significantly to the emerging conclusion that the builders of the Castles not only repurposed materials but also meticulously replicated the original designs of the selected source buildings. Although the chapel at Lambeth and the

<sup>48</sup> Tatton-Brown, T., *Lambeth Palace: A History of The Archbishops of Canterbury and Their Houses* (London: SPCK, 2000) 25.

<sup>49</sup> Davis, M. C. J., *St Radegund's Abbey - A Re-Assessment of the Abbey Church* (Maidstone: Kent Archaeological Society, 2017), 18-25.

refectory at St Radegund's Abbey were constructed centuries apart and exhibit limited architectural similarities, the cumulative evidence reinforces the possibility that the rib vaulting discovered in the keep of Walmer Castle originates from St Radegund's. While the pitch of the ribs may differ, the consistent choice of stone, precise profiling, matching sizing, and identical tooling techniques observed in both structures indicate a solid resemblance to worked stone found at St Radegund's



Fig. 14 The ruins of St Radegund's Abbey, (photo author, 2019).



Fig. 15 Left: The main farmhouse at St Radegund's, Right: A doorway at Walmer Castle. (photos author, 2021).



Likewise, additional examples of spolia at the Downs, likely from St Radegund's, can also be observed. A doorway at Walmer Castle, possibly built using a lancet or clerestory window header, is probably from the Abbey (Fig. 15). The Tudor farmhouse, converted into sections of the former Abbey, has a great brick and stone diapering using recycled stones, tiles, corbels, flagstones, etc., to the front façade of the house; many of these visibly match freestone samples at Deal and Walmer (Fig. 15). More photos are contained in Appendix P.

While numerous dissolved monastic sites display differing levels of plunder, St. Radegund's exemplifies a nearly complete demolition process. The conspicuous absence of such a substantial and locally prominent structure from the skyline raises intriguing questions regarding the other potential motives of the Tudor builders beyond the apparent consideration of its proximity to construction sites. This author proposes one final consideration for why this site was so carefully selected to provide such a quantum of spolia. As the Abbey had been established by the Premonstratensian Order, having sent canons over to England from their mother abbey in France, did this have a potential contribution to St Radegund's demise?

The Order also included many other abbeys, priories, and cells throughout England. Some of their most significant sites were Bayham Abbey, Easby Abbey, Leiston Abbey, Shap Abbey, and Newsham Abbey, which all suffered significant slighting during this period.<sup>50</sup> Except for a few buildings, including Titchfield Abbey, purchased and converted into a Tudor Mansion in 1590, it would appear that the order was ecclesiastically and physically extinguished in England (Appendix T).<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Gribbin, J., *The Establishment of the Premonstratensians in England and the Development of the Provincia Angliae in The Premonstratensian Order in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2000), 20-89.

<sup>51</sup> Bottomly, F., *The explorer's guide to the abbeys, monasteries, and churches of Great Britain* (London: Avenel Books, 1984), 229.

As mentioned, an air of mythos seems to follow this Order, perhaps exacerbated by its refusal to accept visitors and wholly private nature.<sup>52</sup> Even reports of apostasy and misconduct may have contributed to this (albeit surely, no orders of this period would have been without their issues, and perhaps Tudor propaganda may feed into this argument).<sup>53</sup> Likewise, suppose the Premonstratensians cared for their other main abbeys in the way they cared for St Radegund's. In that case, it might show that the architecture of this order severely needed refurbishment or rebuilding, but a further study would need to confirm this.

However, whilst there is no evidence of them being singled out, it might suggest that this expressly French-controlled, wealthy, and secretive order may have been more aggressively targeted.<sup>54</sup> How their order was removed from England wholesale might suggest that England, in her break from Rome and subsequent angering of nearby mainland countries, probably targeted the Premonstratensians more readily because of England's dire diplomatic relationship with France in this period.

In light of France's involvement as one of the main adversaries in this period, it could be inferred that this order's edifices would have been subjected to a greater priority for their substantive destruction. Given the prolonged history of England and France oscillating between periods of conflict and reconciliation over the past five centuries, one may posit that this recurring pattern might account for the rapid and thorough dismantlement at St Radegund's. It could be stated that having little to lose in antagonising the French at that juncture, the English were motivated to eradicate this order more swiftly. This hypothesis also explains why alternative sites in closer proximity were potentially overlooked when the construction efforts commenced in 1539.

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<sup>52</sup> Gribbin, J. A., *The Premonstratensian Order in Late Medieval England* (Suffolk: Woodbridge, 2001), 20-89.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 'apostasy' is the abandonment or renunciation of a religious or political belief or principle.

<sup>54</sup> Burton, J. E., *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain: 1000-1300*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 57.

Similarly, as suggested in the preceding chapters on architecture and symbolism, the design principles underlying the Castles of the Downs might have aimed to manifest a posture of provocation and assertion of newfound power through their architectural expression. If this hypothesis is also conveyed here at St. Radegund's, the ruthless and total eradication of the physical Premonstratensian monasteries from the English landscape could be perceived as a deliberate act of provocation and thus gives some credence to our argument over the robust and symbolic architectural design displayed at the Downs.

### **Monks Horton**

Further afield, near Ashford, was another former monastic site that was 'robbed'. Horton Priory was founded in 1155 and was further west (some 10km away from Deal) but still likely within proximity for regular deliveries using the ancient road of Stone Street (first constructed by the Romans).<sup>55</sup> This route would have led to Hythe and then Sandgate, where the stone may have continued by cart or been transferred to a barge.<sup>56</sup>

Presently, the priory is fully converted into a well-appointed house, and whilst some archaeological surveys have been undertaken, most of the external walling of the main priory was used to construct the house; therefore, it is difficult to ascertain how much spolia may have been taken. The main cloisters survive only by their foundations (now buried over), with significant traces of former buildings to the east of the site, including a gatehouse, a burial chamber and other nearby monastic buildings. They were likely all pulled down in 1536 when the priory was dissolved.<sup>57</sup> It is merely the western range of the priory that partly survives, which forms the primary basis of the current dwelling, which was converted in

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<sup>55</sup> Miller, W., *Jottings of Kent*, (London: Thomas Hall Publishing, 1864), 43.

<sup>56</sup> Knowles, 98.

<sup>57</sup> Page, W., *Houses of Cluniac monks: The Priory of Monks Horton: A History of the County of Kent*, Vol. 2, (London: VCH, 1926), Historic England Scheduling, Horton Priory, Listing Entry Number: 1018878.

1913.<sup>58</sup> The size of the house today, which only likely occupies a small portion of the former Priory, shows that the monastic site must have been a sizeable building with great scope for removing a fair volume of stone.<sup>59</sup>



Fig. 16 Photograph of the main house following a recent sale in 2014, The Daily Mail, used under UK fair dealing.

Whilst a full drawing of the priory's size cannot be sourced, the part drawing in Fig. 17 indicates the scale of the demolition in the sixteenth century. The State Papers relating to the Court of Augmentations and *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, it would appear that records are relatively scarce for this priory. We can see from these sources that following the Dissolution, all artefacts and book collections were sent back to the Crown, and then the good stone, lead, timber, etc., were all auctioned off. They note that the building was partly '*pulled-down*' and that the property was transferred to Archbishop Cranmer, who then conveyed monies back to the Crown. It was later leased to

<sup>58</sup> Page, W., *Houses of Cluniac monks: The Priory of Monks Horton: A History of the County of Kent*, Vol. 2, (London: VCH, 1926), Historic England Scheduling, Horton Priory, Listing Entry Number: 1018878.

<sup>59</sup> Viewing of the property in June 2019 via Google Earth.

Richard Tate, whom Edward VI later knighted. It was likely to be Tate, or possibly the subsequent occupiers of the site, who first used the remains for residential use.<sup>60</sup>

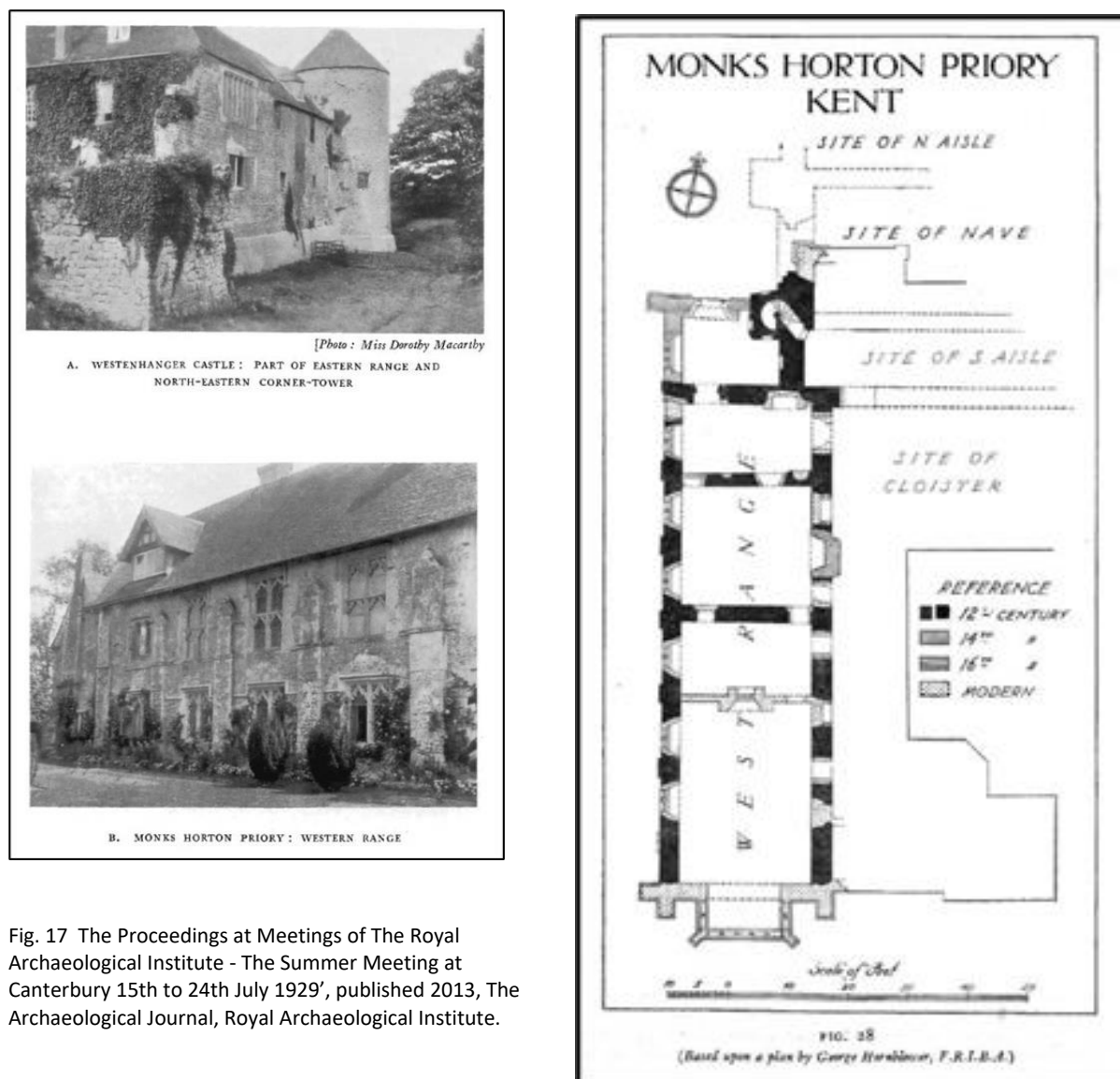


Fig. 17 The Proceedings at Meetings of The Royal Archaeological Institute - The Summer Meeting at Canterbury 15th to 24th July 1929', published 2013, The Archaeological Journal, Royal Archaeological Institute.

As evidenced by surviving scholarship, the priory is a significant site for the extraction of spolia, as documented in the Sandgate Diary. Regrettably, this examination reveals that while the Caenstone (likely referring to various types of freestones) was indeed

<sup>60</sup> Hasted, E., *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 8* (London: Bristow, 1799), 52.



extracted, the absence of corroborating secondary sources precludes the acquisition of further insights or any connection with the Downs.<sup>61</sup>

The surviving primary sources on the quantity and quality of the stonework are mainly unknown for Horton Priory (the same is true of the lead).<sup>62</sup> However, the Sandgate diary does include sections showing that the former monks were responsible for a considerable amount of woodland in the more extensive manor.<sup>63</sup> Some ten large oak trees were felled there, totalling '26 tons' and transported to Sandgate for construction. It also mentions that the 'hewing' or woodworking of the timber ready for construction was undertaken at Horton Woods; other nearby forests were also used to harvest good timber. It is interesting to note that not all timber was used in the construction of the castle; some of this timber was used to build wheelbarrows, carts, tools, and scaffolding in order to enable the works. The Diary refers to this at the beginning of the works.<sup>64</sup> It is a fascinating account of how the masons of the time were not just constructing buildings but were actively making their own mortars, tools, and access (scaffolding) to provide the service the Crown demanded.<sup>65</sup>

To corroborate the many additions of timber extraction at this site, there is evidence that timberwork in Walmer Castle was reused from other sites as tree-ring dating for timbers in the keep show they were felled in c.1535-60, ceiling joists in the stockroom of c.1533-58, and a partition in the servants' hall dated to c.1490-1515; the latter of which is a strong possibility of being either reused timber or timber taken from this site.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> British Library, MS 1647, Original Manuscript

<sup>62</sup> Sandgate Improvement and Publicity Association (Various), *Sandgate Castle 1539-1950: Historical Notes* (Sandgate: Waldrons of Sandgate, 1965), 3.

<sup>63</sup> British Library, MS 1647, Original Manuscript.

<sup>64</sup> The British Library, Harley MS 1647.; Rutton, W. L., 'Sandgate Castle, A.D. 1539-40', *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. 20 (1893): v + vi.

<sup>65</sup> This is perhaps why builders of the broader medieval period were sometimes attributed as 'farmers' as they had to assemble/manufacture not just their materials but also their tools.

<sup>66</sup> Index of Tree-Ring Dated Buildings in England, County List approximately in chronological order for the County of Kent, revised to VA51 (2020), Vernacular Architecture Group, site: <https://www.vag.org.uk/dendro-tables/england/county/kent.pdf>, accessed: March 2023.

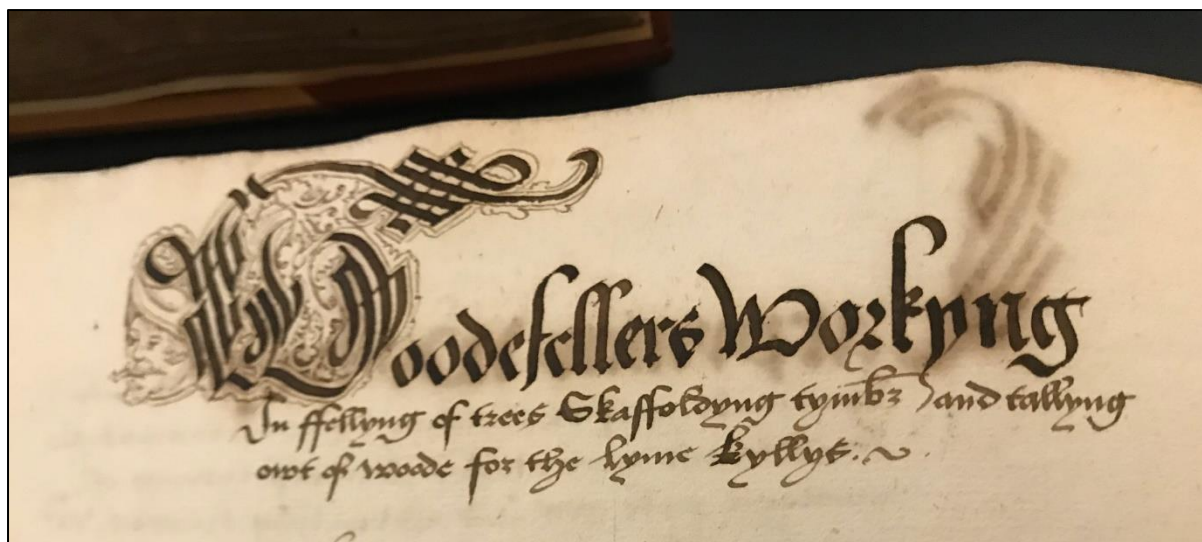


Fig. 18 Trees to be felled for the use of scaffolding can be seen above from the original diary of Sandgate, 'Accompt of Works at Sandgate' & 'Ledger of the Works at Sandgate Castle', British Library, Harley MS 1647.

As little survives of the original priory and access is difficult due to it currently being a private dwelling, we cannot be sure if the Castles of the Downs used this priory. At the very least, no primary or secondary sources that link the two sites have been found.

### **Canterbury Christ Church Priory and St Augustine's Abbey**

Within the Sandgate Diary, Canterbury Christ Church Priory periodically appears as a source of good 'cane stone' (Caen, Fig. 22).<sup>67</sup> It is also later referred to within the text as 'Christ's Church, Canterbury', recording that a Mr Byngham (unknown dates) was paid for the stone. This is an odd inclusion as Christ's Church, and later in the text, it is occasionally written as '*Crychyrche*'. This is, of course, the high church, which today we would call Canterbury Cathedral.<sup>68</sup> However, it seems that the actual cathedral structure itself was likely not subject to much plundering. During the Dissolution, Canterbury Cathedral ranked

<sup>67</sup> This is as it is written, British Library, MS 1647, Original Manuscript.

<sup>68</sup> British Library, MS 1647, Original Manuscript.

as the third most financially affluent ecclesiastical institution in England, following only Westminster and Glastonbury Abbeys, attributed mainly to the significant events attributed to the martyrdom of Archbishop Thomas Becket in 1170.<sup>69</sup>

The buildings around the cathedral, which formed the wider then Priory of Christ's Church, had a number of buildings demolished during the re-ordering of the premises by the King in 1541.<sup>70</sup> Since late 1538, much of what Henry had been planning was not merely about enforcing his new order but also about rectifying what he saw as the errors of the past, particularly in relation to Becket's actions against his predecessor, Henry II.<sup>71</sup> Henry would order the destruction of the shrine of Archbishop Becket, took their treasures (some twenty-six carts of bullion), and ransacked their other buildings.<sup>72</sup>

Many survived beyond this period and are now occupied by the cathedral's operations or the adjoining King's School.<sup>73</sup> According to the surviving Court of Augmentations certificate of dissolution in March 1540, the dissolution appears to have taken much time to prepare due to its vast wealth and status.<sup>74</sup> Due to this investment of time, it is possible that some of the stonework may have been taken for the Castles of the Downs as they were under construction until the autumn of the same year.<sup>75</sup>

The buildings around the cathedral, which formed the wider Priory of Christ Church, had a number of buildings demolished during the re-ordering of the premises by the King in

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<sup>69</sup> *Plans of Christ Church Priory and New Foundation* (Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Trust, 1993), 2.

<sup>70</sup> Collinson, P., 'A History of Canterbury Cathedral.' *The Catholic Historical Review* 83, no. 2 (April 1997): 285-286.

<sup>71</sup> Butler, J., R., *The Quest for Becket's Bones: The Mystery of the Relics of St. Thomas Becket of Canterbury*, (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1995), 33.

<sup>72</sup> 'Henry VIII: November 1536, 11-15', in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 11, July-December 1536*, (London, 1888) pp. 418-435. British History Online <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol11/pp418-435>, accessed: March 2023.

<sup>73</sup> Noted from the author's visit in February 2018 and from his professional experience of working on the premises.

<sup>74</sup> The National Archive, E/322/50.

<sup>75</sup> Tatton-Brown, T., *Plans of Christ Church Priory* (Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Trust, 1984), The National Archives, E/322/50., Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 464.

1541.<sup>76</sup> Many survived beyond this period and are now occupied by the cathedral's operations or the adjoining King's School.<sup>77</sup> It would also appear that its Dissolution took much time to prepare due to its wealth and status (according to a surviving account from 1535). Because of this, it was not fully dissolved until 1540, when the Castles of the Downs were already under construction.<sup>78</sup> The Court of Augmentations appears to have been present, taking charge of the physical Dissolution in March of 1540.<sup>79</sup> Work commenced on the Downs project in April 1539 and is thought to have been completed by 30th September 1540.<sup>80</sup>

Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that as the Court of Augmentation had been progressing the dissolvment of the Priory for some time, the builders may have only taken a modest amount of stone, mainly as many of the main cathedral and the ancillary buildings do primarily exist today. The diary states (Fig. 19) that two tonnes were taken for Sandgate. This is despite reports to the contrary from Victorian historians, who believed that all of these ancillary structures were plundered for stone.<sup>81</sup> Only the lesser monastic infrastructure, such as the bathhouse, barn, stables, and bakehouse, seemed to have been destroyed in the 1540s, and it is also unclear whether Caen stone would have been used to construct these tertiary buildings on the estate.<sup>82</sup> Two tonnes for Sandgate is also a small amount for the Castles of the Downs; they would have needed far more than this. Therefore, due to the small amount taken for Sandgate Castle and the dates of the Augmenters, it is a fair assumption that little to no stone from Canterbury Cathedral was used to build the castles of

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<sup>76</sup> Collinson, P., 'A History of Canterbury Cathedral.' *The Catholic Historical Review* 83, no. 2 (April 1997): 285-286.

<sup>77</sup> Noted from the author's visit in February 2018 and from his professional experience of working on the premises

<sup>78</sup> Tatton-Brown, T., *Plans of Christ Church Priory* (Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Trust, 1984).

<sup>79</sup> National Archives, E 322/50.

<sup>80</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 464.

<sup>81</sup> Daily Telegraph & Courier (London). 1899. 'Notes.' *Daily Telegraph & Courier (London)*: April 7, 1899, P. 5.

<sup>82</sup> Tatton-Brown, T., *Three Great Benedictine Houses In Kent: Their Buildings and Topography* (Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Trust, 1984), 179.

Walmer, Deal or Sandown. However, it was not just stone that the Tudor builders were plundering.

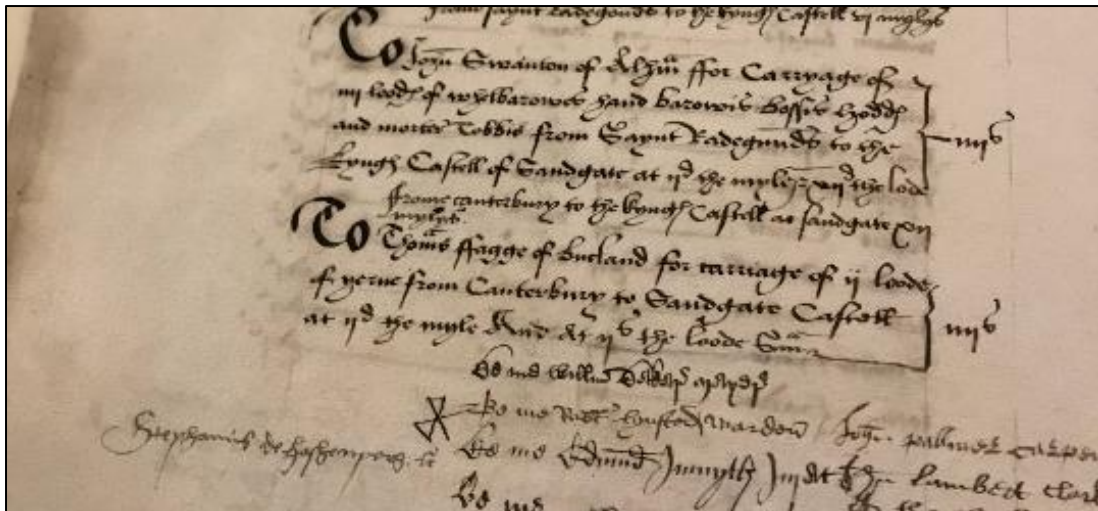


Fig. 19 Carriage paid for the stone at Canterbury, taken from the Sandgate diary. Note Stephen von Haschenberg's approval signature below, 'Accompt of Works at Sandgate' & 'Ledger of the Works at Sandgate Castle', British Library, Harley MS 1647.



Fig. 20 An oil painting depicting Canterbury Cathedral and a selection of plundered ruins believed to be from the early C19, unknown artist, private collection.





Fig. 21 Fig: A heavily consolidated section of damaged walling from Christ Church Priory Infirmary remains standing on the grounds behind the Cathedral, (photo author, 2022).

There is one final probable spolia linkage that this author has found between the Castles of the Downs and Canterbury Cathedral. The original Court of Augmentation instruction of dissolution provides vital information about using Christ Church Priory as a leadwork source.<sup>83</sup> According to the dissolvment certificate, Commissioner Sir Richard Rich (1496 – 1567), appointed Solicitor General for England and Wales at the time, gave exact instructions on how the priory would be dissolved in March 1538.<sup>84</sup> While this document does not mention the cathedral's potentially vast stonework resource, it explicitly and adamantly details the extraction of the leadwork from around the entire estate.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>83</sup> The National Archives, E322/50/2.

<sup>84</sup> Hasted, Edward, *The priory of Christchurch: Dissolution*, in *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Vol. 11* (Canterbury: W Bristow, 1800), 485-496.

<sup>85</sup> The National Archives, E322/50/2.

Additionally, and according to Colvin, he found a primary source that documented an eyewitness account of '*vast quantities of lead were being stockpiled at Dover Castle in the summer of 1538*'.<sup>86</sup> As Dover Castle was the administrative office for the works at the Downs, this leadwork was probably taken there and then re-used in the construction work at the Downs. Pure medieval lead was vastly reworkable and not as contaminated as modern-day lead.<sup>87</sup> Therefore, this leadwork taken from the cathedral estate would have been perfect for reuse and, if taken to Dover Castle, would likely have been reused for the Downs. This shows a very probable connection between the two sites. Therefore, this odd inclusion of the Court of Augmentations to specially instruct the taking of the lead from the Cathedral but not from St Augustine is a curious admission.<sup>88</sup> It is as though the Crown wanted some physical association between the Downs and the Cathedral. We see the connection in the architectural design between the two sites; perhaps we may appreciate a physical linkage, too. Spolia was perhaps not just a means for free materials, but it connected the idea of spoiling the opponent's property and taking the old to rebuild the new; an idea we have seen in Henry's treatment of the Becket relics too.<sup>89</sup> It is as though Henry was deriving power from the architectural design of the Downs and this previously unknown physical material linkage. This collection of symbolic motions and the deriving of power from them are all interesting ideas that give a renewed and compelling value to the idea of spolia use at the Castles of the Downs.

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<sup>86</sup> Colvin, H., *The History of the King's Works*, 242.

<sup>87</sup> Ousterhout, R., G., *Eastern Medieval Architecture: The Building Traditions of Byzantium and Neighbouring Lands*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 92.

<sup>88</sup> Two other surviving Court certificates have been found: St Augustine's and Bilsington Priory; both do not mention the leadwork.

<sup>89</sup> Butler, J., R., *The Quest for Becket's Bones: The Mystery of the Relics of St. Thomas Becket of Canterbury*, (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1995), 33.

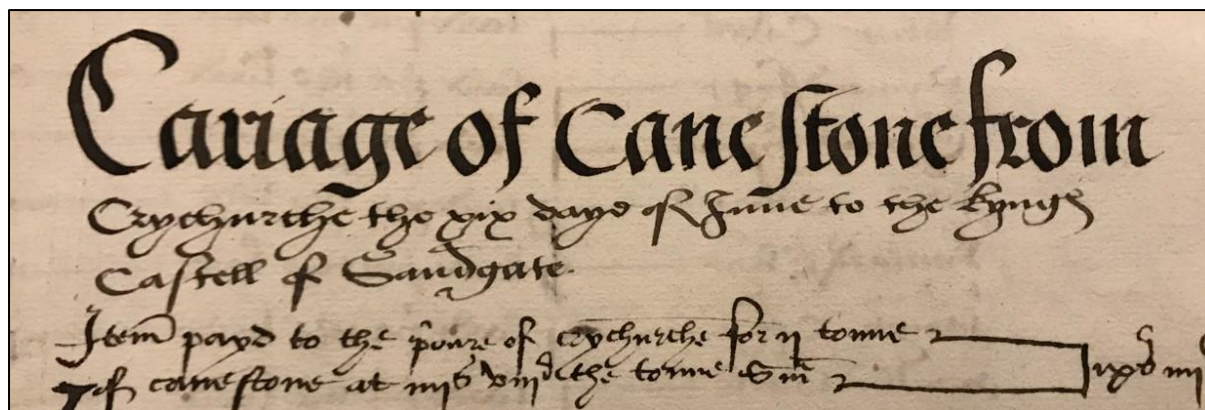


Fig. 22 A excerpt taken from the Sandgate diary, showing that 'cane stone' (Caen stone) was taken from the Canterbury Cathedral estate, 'Accompt of Works at Sandgate' & 'Ledger of the Works at Sandgate Castle', British Library, Harley MS 1647.

As we can probably discount stone spolia taken for the Downs at Christ Church Priory, then perhaps the nearby abbey of St Augustine, which was heavily stripped of stone and other materials during this time, could have supplied the works in the Downs (Appendix U). However, St Augustine's Abbey was not entirely demolished as, during this period, the future Queen of England, Anne of Cleves, would subsequently stay there following her visit to Deal. She stayed in a portion of it (the Abbott's Lodgings Quarter) on 29<sup>th</sup> December 1539, on her way to London to meet her future husband.<sup>90</sup> As Thurley recently argued, Henry seemed to want this well-appointed Norman church, given that he visited the building more times than any other non-royal residence.<sup>91</sup> This is evident from his trips to Canterbury - nine times before the Dissolution and four times after it had been acquired - which would explain why the alterations and demolitions were so rapid.<sup>92</sup>

It is worth noting that there is some confusion between Christ Church Priory and St Augustine's Abbey. Apparently, this was due to confusion about the sites when the original Court of Augmentation officially settled both accounts and formed the Dioceses of

<sup>90</sup> Tatton-Brown, T. and Sparks, M., *St Augustine's Abbey Royal Palace* (Canterbury Archaeological Trust, 1984).

<sup>91</sup> Thurley, S., *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1993), 182.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*



Canterbury in 1541. As a result, tracing the stone that came ‘from Canterbury’ is perhaps an even trickier task if some primary sources from the time are actively reflecting the wrong site.<sup>93</sup> However, this author has read the original Court of Augmentation dissolution certificates, which are both very clear about the instructions from the Crown for both respective sites.<sup>94</sup>

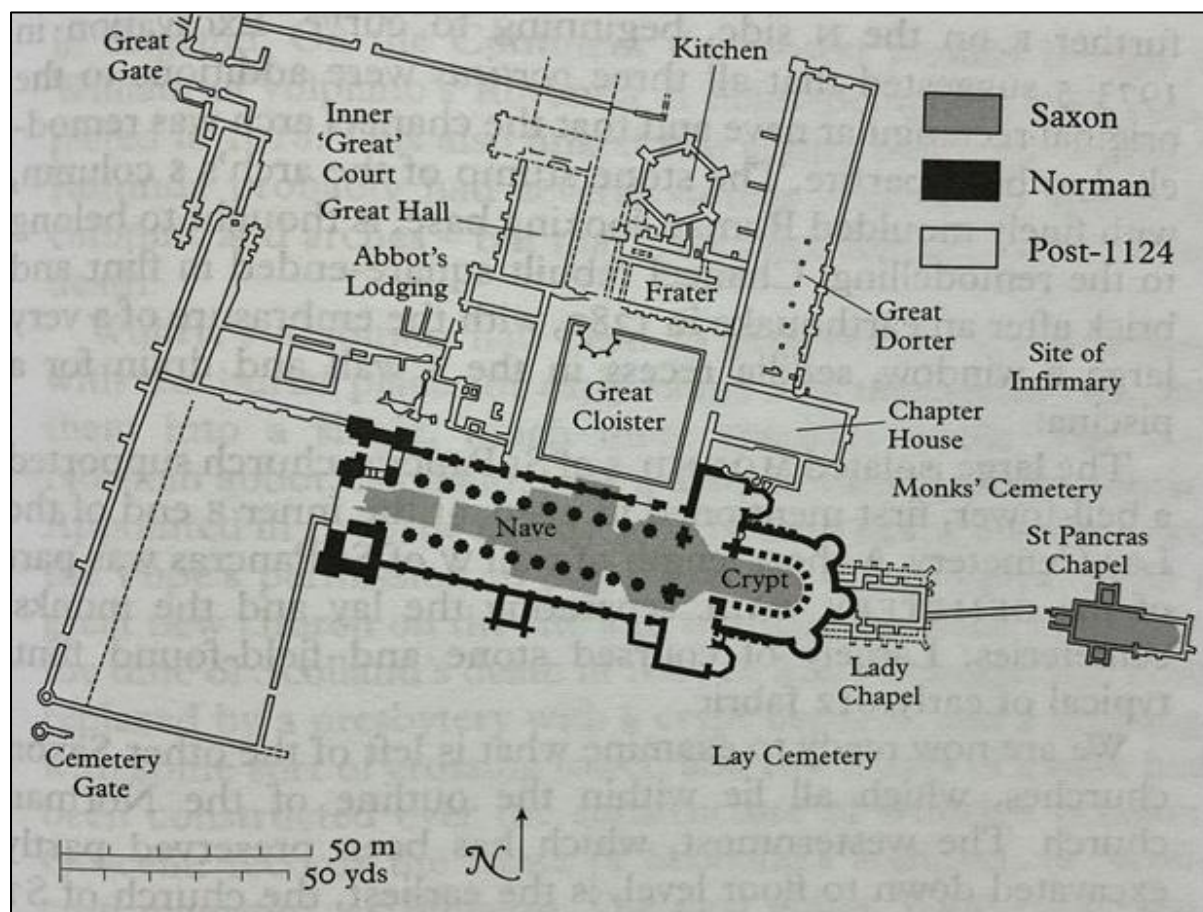


Fig. 23 A plan showing how St Augustine's Abbey had developed up until the Dissolution, 1539, © English Heritage.

The aforementioned, Mr. Byngham of Canterbury may have sold or administered the stones from the Sandgate Castle project from either of the Canterbury sites; it is also possible that he was just a merchant who lived in Canterbury and had some stone to sell.

<sup>93</sup> Rosenfield, M. C., *The Disposal of The Property of Monastic Houses, with a Special Study of Holy Trinity Aldgate* (London: University of London, 1961), 182-196.

<sup>94</sup> The National Archives, E/322/49, E/322/50.

Unfortunately, the diary is not clear; occasionally, some men who have supplied goods are represented with the parish from which they trade and not necessarily from where the stone is being sourced.

The records for any slighting at St Augustine's Abbey are incomplete and very scarce. Due to what remains and its former size, it is a likely target for some stone removal.<sup>95</sup> Christ Church Priory is less likely; it must have been afforded some protection as it was to be a new cathedral and the centre of the new faith. Plans for the new English cathedrals were said to have been considered as early as 1537, with a preference to retain the Benedictine monks' (one of the oldest established orders in the country) monastic centres.<sup>96</sup> Therefore, the retainment of Christ Church Priory into Canterbury Cathedral would have been significant. St Augustine's Abbey may also have been more dilapidated than the neighbouring priory at the time of the Dissolution, as only ten monks occupied this large structure.<sup>97</sup>

We know some of the St Augustine stonework and 'good timber' was shipped to Calais for fortification work, and we also know that a lot of stone was sold locally.<sup>98</sup> It is, however, documented by G. Nicholls, Surveyor of the Palace, under Sir Thomas Moyle (1488 – 1560), that by 1553 (fourteen years later), the site had been heavily plundered and even described as a 'parkland' (a parkland is shown on a map from the time, Fig. 24):

'...lay spread over the ground in heaps of ruins and rubbish, and were sold by degrees, at so much a load, to all the neighbouring places. This rubbish was

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<sup>95</sup> Gomme, G. L., *The Gentleman's Magazine Library: Being a Classified Collection of the Chief Contents of the Gentleman's Magazine from 1731 to 1868*, Vol. 18 (Leicester: University of Leicester, 1895), 37.

<sup>96</sup> Coppack, G., *Abbeys and Priories* (Stroud: Amberley, 2012), 112-153.

<sup>97</sup> Green, I., *Dover and the Monarchy* (Philadelphia: Triangle, 2000), 74.

<sup>98</sup> Roebuck, J., *St Augustine's Abbey Guide* (Swindon: English Heritage, 1997); Colvin, H. *The History of the King's Works*, 352-357.



especially from the great church, the walls of the undercroft, broken gravestones, corbel stones, and the pillars of the church southward.<sup>99</sup>

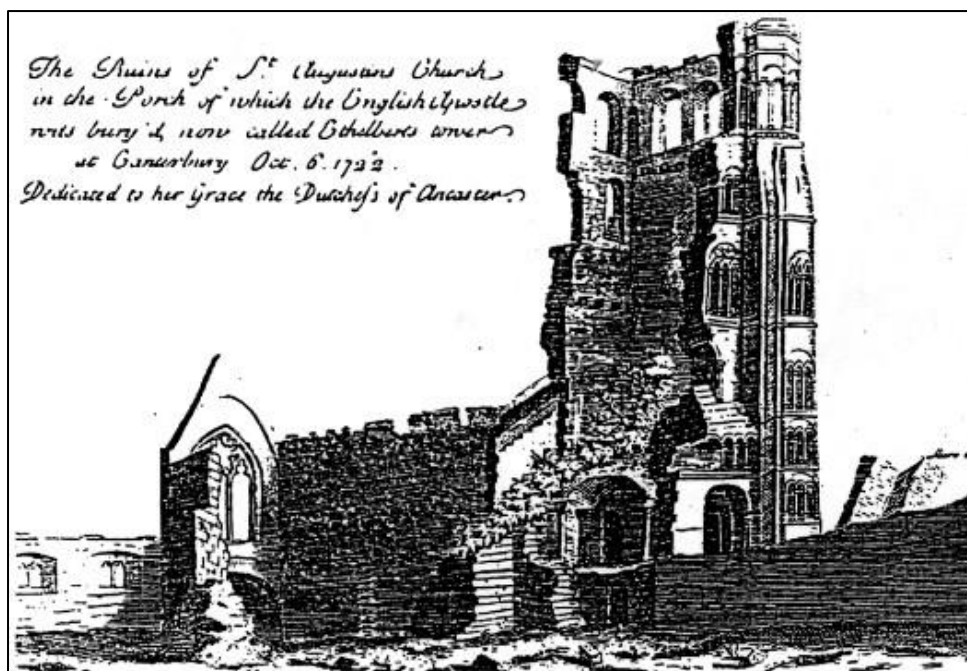


Fig. 24 The ruins of St Augustine's Abbey by William Stukeley in 1722, reproduced by T. Tatton-Brown & M. Sparks in 1984, St Augustine's Abbey Royal Palace, Canterbury Archaeological Trust Ltd.

From these sources we can see that a vast quantity of stonework (and other materials) would have been secured but whether these made their way to Sandgate and the Castles of the Downs is unclear. It is entirely plausible, though, particularly as St Augustine's Abbey as a celebrated and important ecclesiastical building, probably contained a vast array of good stone, but most especially that of freestone due to the long-established use of the material within this area. The only argument against this theory is that, at the time, there was some local argument about whether the building should be pulled down. It was eventually demolished, but the resulting delay in instruction may have restricted any material being

<sup>99</sup> Maclear, G. F., *St Augustine's, Canterbury: Its Rise, Ruin, and Restoration* (London: Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., 1888).

used on these projects.<sup>100</sup> There was also a local disagreement regarding the spolia leaving Canterbury, namely that the stonework should be used to repair tenements across the city instead. This is important, as it reflects that not all stone had been torn down and reused when this issue was first reported in 1542, after the construction of the Castles of the Downs.<sup>101</sup> Whether this disagreement continued or not, St Augustine's is depicted as mere parkland by before 1600 as shown in a recently discovered map in Fig. 26.

Regarding Mr Byngham, records do not reflect his role at the time of the dissolution of St Augustine's Abbey. However, in 1560 George Byngham became the Chamberlain of Canterbury.<sup>102</sup> This ancient role, similar to that of a modern-day Chief Financial Officer for the City, was a high-profile appointment. The appointment was through election by the city's aldermen, and the office was held until the aldermen dismissed the Chamberlain or they resigned. Byngham had by 1559 also become an Alderman.<sup>103</sup> To have been appointed to the post, Byngham must have been a gentleman of the area or one of the noble classes. Though this is speculation, he may have been the administrator or 'comptroller' for dismantling the abbeys and, therefore, not a merchant.

Later, during the reign of Edward VI, a surviving, albeit heavily damaged, court paper shows that George Byngham brought a case against another man for lands in Bilsington and Newchurch.<sup>104</sup> These villages are between Ashford and New Romney. Lastly, another damaged surviving court paper shows Byngham suing another defendant again over the use of lands. The lands are difficult to read on the surviving manuscripts, but one such site contains 'the Priory of St Gregory's without Canterbury'.<sup>105</sup> The document states that

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<sup>100</sup> Grainger, F. and Collingwood, W. G., 'The cartulary and other records of the important Cistercian house of Holm Cultram, Cumberland and Westmorland.' *Antiquarian and Archaeological Society Record Series 7*, XI. (1929): 12-25.

<sup>101</sup> The National Archives, E318/27/1523.

<sup>102</sup> Palmer, J., *Politics, Corporation and Commonwealth: The Early Reformation in Canterbury, c.1500- 1565* (Canterbury: University of Kent, 2016), 353.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> The National Archives, C1/1291/69-70.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

Bynham owns this former dissolved site; within the final years of Edward VI, some legal issues had arisen against the widow of Richard Nevill (unknown dates), who is listed as 'formerly a Gentleman of Canterbury'. Therefore, as we shall discuss, both St Gregory's and Bilsington are potential sites for spolia and Bynham's connection to the pair and the two Canterbury abbeys, shows that he was obtaining wealth through the process of their dissolution. This is interesting as it ties this man to three spolia sites that potentially fed the Downs.

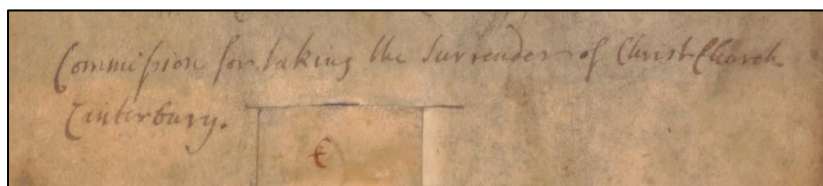


Fig. 25 The document that suppressed Christ Church Priory, Canterbury, 1538, The National Archives: E/322/492.



Fig. 26 Tudor map of Canterbury listed as 'a pre-1600 map of Canterbury' (likely to be c. 1540 to 1553), showing the size of the now cathedral of Canterbury and the small parkland that the much reduced in size St. Augustine's Abbey resides in during this period, © Canterbury Cathedral Archives, CCA-Map/49.

## Other potential sites

Rutton surmises in his account of the Sandgate Diary that the builders were likely procuring stones from as far away as 20 miles and between them and the site smaller, more closely located monasteries must have also been plundered but not necessarily mentioned.<sup>106</sup> The Diary does mention fleeting references to a few but they are more colloquially depicted so it is difficult to correctly ascertain exactly what they may have been. Rutton also seems to miss the fact that the Downs project, far bigger in scope and far more accelerated in progress would also have likely plundered some of these smaller sites too. Rutton's quantified the Sandgate used spolia:

'The total number of loads thus obtained — the load being reckoned as a ton weight—was 459, of which more than half, viz., 237, came from St. Radegunds, 90 from Horton, 32 from Canterbury, 33 from Hythe, 57 from places in the Hundreds of Bircholt Franchise, Hayne, Stowting, and Street, and 10 came by sea from Sandwich.'<sup>107</sup>

Using the above measurements, if taken as rough imperial ton loads this would mean (assuming the spolia was used for just the outer walls at Sandgate Castle), that this spolia would only account for 36% of the stone required to build just these walls (consider the author's calculations in Appendix D). We can conclude two outcomes from this: the measurements above are incomplete or inaccurate, or, if correct, this could mean that other sites were used for spolia and were not listed in the diary. Let us not forget that the builders of both sites were quarrying new stone to complement the spolia use and that much of the spolia was likely used in the substructure (due to the amount of mortar required) and partly for making that mortar for the entire structure.

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<sup>106</sup> Rutton, W. L., 'Sandgate Castle, A.D. 1539-40' *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. 20 (1893): 228-257.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

While speculative, we can state that the Castles of the Downs were prioritised for construction due to the urgency, provenance, and location.<sup>108</sup> Therefore, we could conclude from these calculations that most sites were plundered for the Downs, with what was left being used on the smaller castles of the South-East, such as Sandgate and possibly Camber. This theory would go some way towards explaining why St Radegund's and St. Augustine's were almost completely razed to the ground.

There are other interesting references in the Sandgate diary about stone procurement. Michael Carver, a stone carver whose origins are unclear, provided stone, although it is uncertain whether it came explicitly from Hythe.<sup>109</sup> The 'Hundreds of Bircholt Franchise,' a collection of small manors, contributed 57 tons of stone.<sup>110</sup> Stone was also sourced from the 'Hundreds of Hayne' (the Hundreds of Heane – which referred to villages in and around the modern-day town of Hythe), the village of Stowting, 'Horton,' 'Christchurch,' and 'Street'; the latter three we have discussed.<sup>111</sup> Caen stone was transported by sea from Sandwich, and large quantities of lime for Sandgate were supplied by the King's kiln at Swetton in Cheriton parish (Folkestone).<sup>112</sup> The precise location of the quarry feeding the kiln remains unknown, though this may have been spolia or chalk quarrying from the nearby cliffs.<sup>113</sup> The existence of St Enswyth's Chapel, a stopping point for pilgrims, is mentioned but to this day has never been found.<sup>114</sup> It is believed to have been situated along the watercourse that fed

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<sup>108</sup> Harrington, 8.

<sup>109</sup> Rutton, W. L., 'Sandgate Castle, A.D. 1539-40', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, Vol. 20, (1893): 228-257., Hasted, E. 'The Hundred of Bircholt Franchise: Introduction', In *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 8*, edited by W. Bristow, 1799 (Canterbury: W. Bristow, 1799), 1-2.

<sup>110</sup> The British Library, Harley MS 1647., Gilbert Scott, Sir A., 'The Substance of an Address Delivered Therein Before The Kent Archaeological Society on 30th July 1874', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, Vol. 10 (1876): 114-129.

<sup>111</sup> The British Library, Harley MS 1647., Greenwood, C., *An Epitome of County History*, Vol. 1., (Self Published, London, 1838), 311-312.

<sup>112</sup> Richardson, A., *Archaeological Excavation Report of St Eanswythe's Water Morehall Recreation Ground, ref: 2019/116* (Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Trust, 2019), 8.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> Site:

<https://webapps.kent.gov.uk/KCC.ExploringKentsPaStWeb.Sites.Public/SingleResult.aspx?uid=MKE4267>, accessed November 2021., Dugdale, M., *St Eanswythe's Watercourse from Fountain Head to the Bayle Pond Folkestone, Part I* Eaton, T., *Plundering the Past: Roman Stonework in Medieval Britain* (Chichester: NPI Media Group, 2000), Part I, 7.



Folkestone Priory. Another kiln was established at St Radegund's, utilising stonework from the abbey for producing mortar as discussed previously.<sup>115</sup>

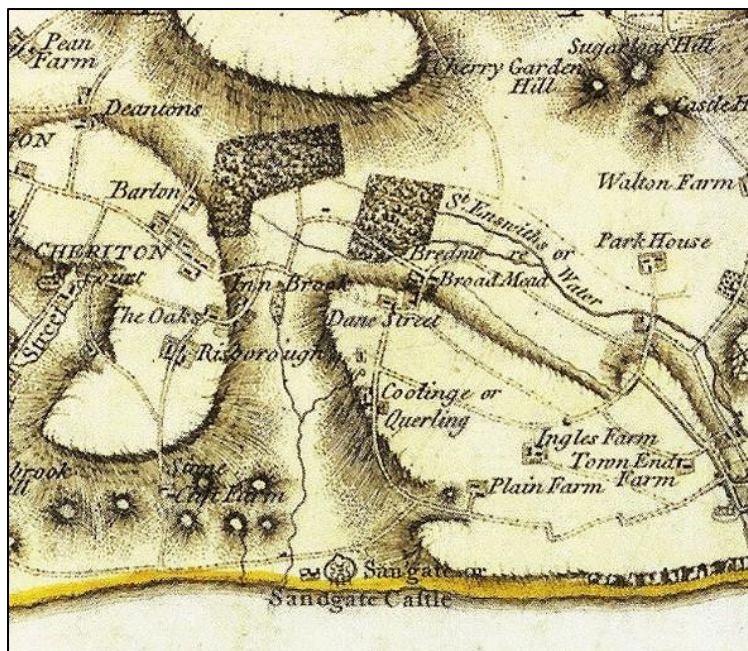


Fig. 27 Andrews, Dury and Herbert Map from 1769, Wikimedia Commons public domain.

It is not easy to translate, but it appears that the Comptroller paid for the delivery of lime from the kiln at 'Ersetsy'.<sup>116</sup> Neither Rutton nor Colvin mention this, but there appears to be a final source of lime for Sandgate that is not stated elsewhere. This author has found no further mention of this and can speculate that it could mean 'Eastry' as this is a nearby village toward Dover. Whether this lime was quarried or plundered would be hard to ascertain. There is evidence of lime quarrying in Eastry (though it is not well documented). During this time, Eastry was also known and spelt as '*Estrege*' (Leland's spelling), which does not resemble the Ealy Modern English spelling depicted in the diary. This is perhaps why this location was not mentioned.<sup>117</sup> Likewise, Knowles does not account for any

<sup>115</sup> The British Library, Harley MS 1647.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> Smith, L. T., *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543* as ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith (London: George Bell & Sons, 1910), 195-215.

monastic site in Eastry within his work, though it is possible it could have been nearby to Eastry.<sup>118</sup>

### **Sandwich Friary**

Moving away from what we can link from the Sandgate diary, Rutton, Hull, Langmead, and Garnaut believe that traces of stonework at Sandown were believed to have been sourced from a nearby Carmelite Friary.<sup>119</sup> The closest of this kind would be the Carmelite Friary of Sandwich (founded in 1272), which would have been a short distance from Sandown.<sup>120</sup> Also, as the Port of Sandwich had silted up by the beginning of the sixteenth century, it is unlikely that this stone was from ships ported in Sandwich; therefore, it is likely that the Friary or something else was pondered.<sup>121</sup>

Elizabeth Deighton discovered from the State Papers that the friary was sold in 1540.<sup>122</sup> In her work, she notes that no records remain of occupation or what happened to the friary after the sale, adding that it is possible some stonework was removed in 1538 prior to the sale to facilitate the works at Sandown due to its proximity.<sup>123</sup> Little is known of the architecture of the friary, though Deighton states that it was considerable in size:

‘It stood about 30 yds. in from what we now term the Cattle Market running from south-west to north-east at approximately right angles, therefore, to both New Street and the Rope Walk. It was a considerable building with a nave of 90 ft. running into a

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<sup>118</sup> Knowles, D., *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, (London: Longman, 1972)

<sup>119</sup> Langmead, D. and Garnaut, C., *Encyclopedia of Architectural and Engineering Feats* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2001).

Hull, L., E., *Britain's Medieval Castles*, (Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 2006), 179-180., Rutton, W., L., ‘Henry VIII's Castles at Sandown, Deal, Walmer, Sandgate, and Camber’ *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. 23, (1898): 5-6.

<sup>120</sup> Knowles, *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales.*, Indeed, the Sandgate Diary does make a few small references to ‘Sandwich’ for procurement of materials.

<sup>121</sup> Silting appears to commence within C14 and lasts until 1492 when only very small vessels can make entry: Draper, G., M., Sweetinburgh, S., *Late Medieval Kent 1220-1540*, (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2010), 59.

<sup>122</sup> Deighton, E., ‘The Carmelite Friary at Sandwich.’ *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. 114 (1994): 317-328.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

quire of 60 ft., thus 150 ft. in all; it had one aisle extending alongside the nave, and the width of the nave and aisle together was nearly 40 ft., the width of the quire alone 21 ft.<sup>124</sup>

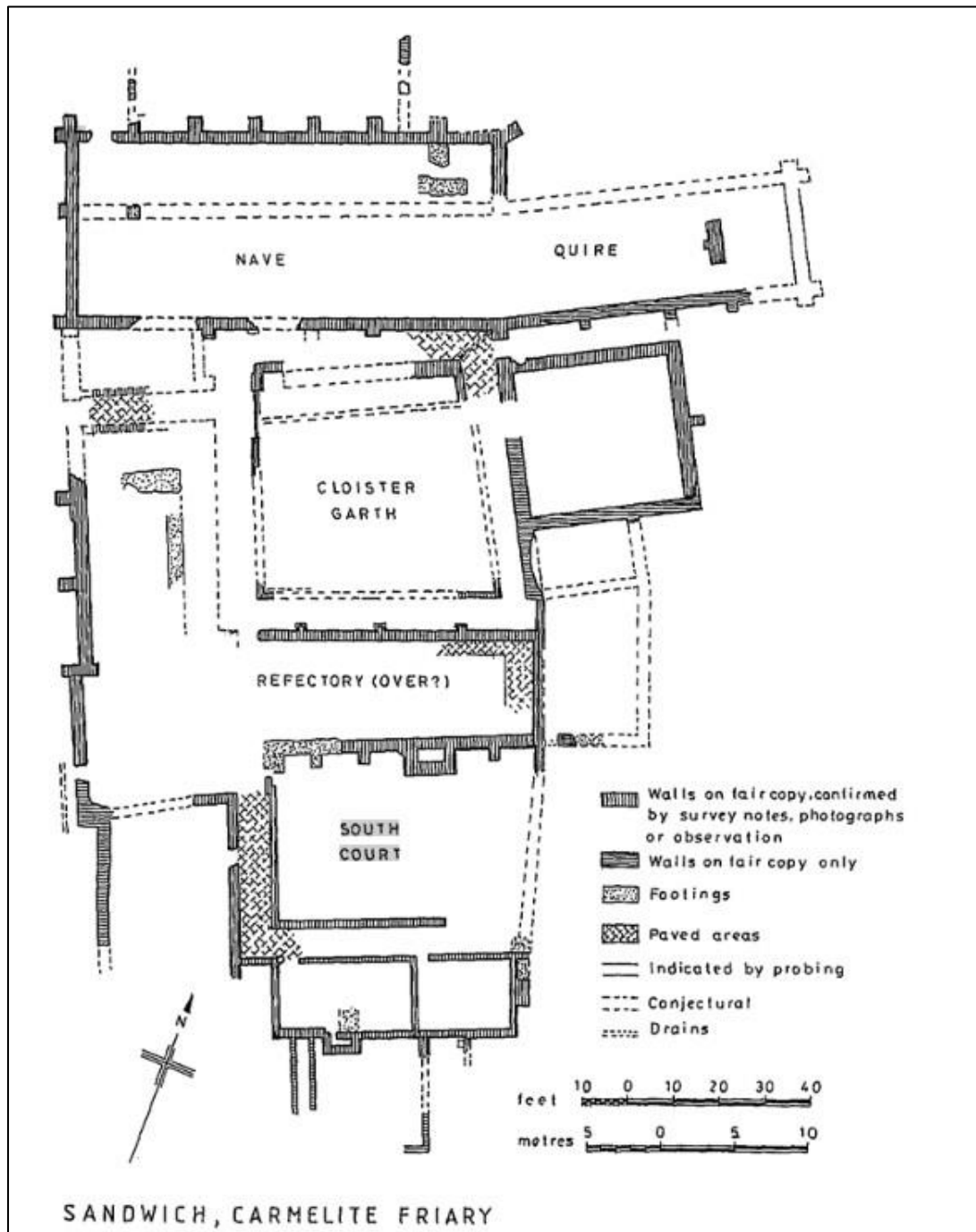


Fig. 28 Drawing from the essay by Elizabeth Deighton of the Carmelite Friary at Sandwich, 1994, Kent Archaeological Society, *Archaeologia Cantiana*.

<sup>124</sup> Deighton, E., 'The Carmelite Friary at Sandwich.' *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. 114 (1994): 317-328.



Fig. 29 An 1890 OS map depicting the approximate location of the Friary in Sandwich, used under UK Fair Dealing.

The site is depicted on early and mid-twentieth century maps, by the 1970s the area begins to be developed for housing and parks. A rough indication of its location and vast scale can be seen in Fig. 30.



Fig. 30 A Bird's Eye View image of the approximate location of the friary in Sandwich, Google. 'Google Maps.' Google Maps, Google LLC, Accessed February 14, 2023, <https://www.google.com/maps>.



An archaeological dig in 1936 (Fig. 28) also confirmed the massive size of the friary, showing how extensive in size the friary would have been, additionally encompassing some five acres of grounds.<sup>125</sup> The same excavation also found traces of broken Caen and Purbeck stone. This in itself does not confirm the extraction for Sandown. Purbeck is a more decorative stone and very hardy, often used for fine ashlar or columns. It is uncommon for the area of East Kent as it is quarried in Dorset but we do know Sandown Castle was partly built with Purbeck (see later Sandown Chapter). We know also that Caen was used at Sandown. The entrance bastions at Deal and Walmer Castles contain a hardy floor covering of unworn flat stones, and another article from 1994 does remark that the friary did have Purbeck stone floors similar to the still-standing St Clement's Church in Sandwich.<sup>126</sup> Therefore, it is possible that this friary did supply materials to the Downs. In terms of the use of these reused stones, Rutton says (in reference to Sandgate):

‘The Caen stone was doubtless used in the jambs, lintels, parapets, and embrasures, and wherever the easily-worked freestone was preferable to the obdurate ‘Kentish Rag.’ Two special purchases of stone we find in the twelfth month, viz., six gravestones for the covering of six doors, 20s. (the place whence they came is not named), and a fair mantel stone for a chimney 10s.’<sup>127</sup>

Away from the Friary but also in Sandwich was another structure which may also have been plundered. According to legend, Henry VIII ordered the destruction of a castle near the port town of Sandwich.<sup>128</sup> As we have seen, Sandwich is closely associated with Deal and would often share resources and military personnel. It is also believed that the thirteenth-century

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<sup>125</sup> Boys, W., *Collections for an history of Sandwich in Kent: With notices of the other Cinque Ports and members, and of Richborough*, (Canterbury: W. Bristow, 1792), 175.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>127</sup> Rutton, W. L., ‘Sandgate Castle, A.D. 1539-40’ *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. 20 (1893): 228-257., It is interesting to consider that grave stones were taken and used from the monastic sites as many of these former monasteries were often viewed in this period as haunted or cursed, the fact that these masons resorted to using plundered gravestones (as seen in the above quote from Rutton), makes one wonder why the castles were not also considered as such.

<sup>128</sup> Stewart, J. ‘Archaeological investigations at Sandwich castle’, *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. 120, (2000): 51–75.



castle that once stood here was also demolished and for spolia use during the timeframe the Castles of the Downs were being constructed.<sup>129</sup> If accurate, this is potentially the only site that Henry's officers raided for materials that was not a religious site. Little is known of Sandwich Castle, and the legend that it was converted into spolia is challenging to confirm. However, archaeological excavations in and around the likely castle grounds confirm that little development was undertaken to the land after the Middle Ages, suggesting the castle ceased to be during toward the end of this period.<sup>130</sup> Rutton stated that Sandwich was one of the most probable sites, though he theorises the friary and does not mention the castle.<sup>131</sup> However, not much was likely known of the castle during the late nineteenth century as the ruins were only found during a school construction project in 1910.<sup>132</sup> A map (Fig. 31) indicates its small size and location in 1870.

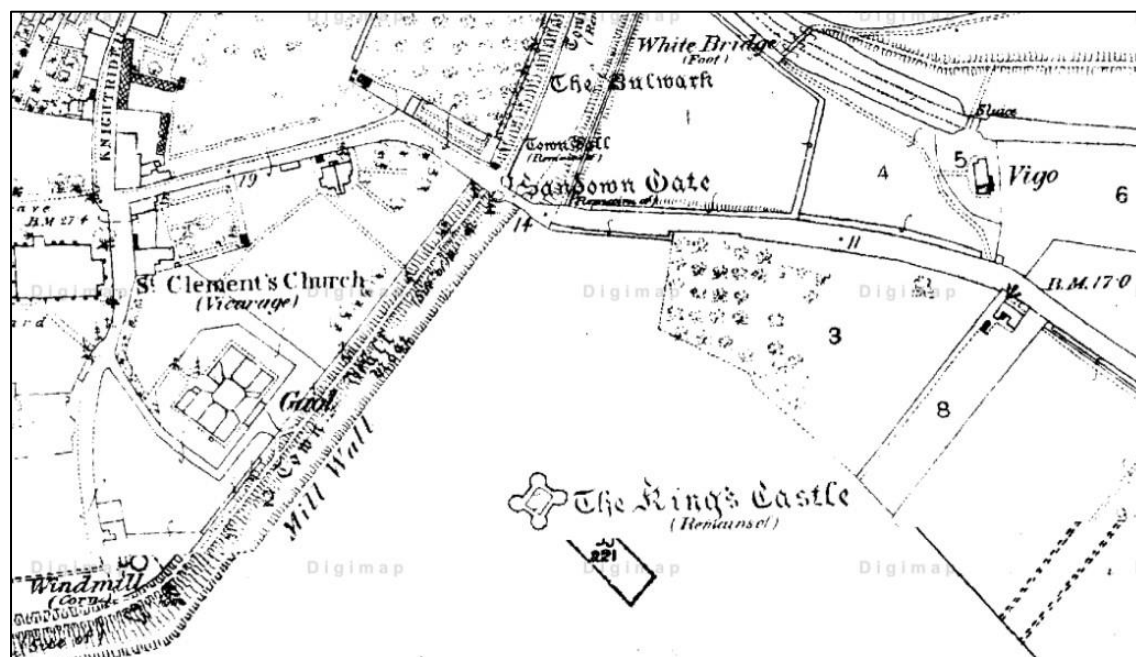


Fig. 31 A map extract from 1870 of Sandwich, Digimap UK, used under UK fair dealing.

<sup>129</sup> Stewart, J. 'Archaeological investigations at Sandwich castle', *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. 120, (2000): 51–75.

<sup>130</sup> Clarke, H., Pearson, S., Mate, M., Parfitt, K., *Sandwich: 'Completest medieval town in England*, (Oxford: Oxbow, 2010), 21.

<sup>131</sup> Rutton, W. L., 'Henry VIII's Castles at Sandown, Deal, Walmer, Sandgate, and Camber.' *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. 23 (1898): 5-6.

<sup>132</sup> Sandwich Castle's listing, Kent County Council, ref: TR 3347 5791, site: <https://webapps.kent.gov.uk/KCC.ExploringKentsPaStWeb.Sites.Public/SingleResult.aspx?uid=MKE7178>, accessed: May 2021.

Indeed, the last known official and surviving reference to the castle is in 1547, when the town paid for the castle's gates to be repaired.<sup>133</sup> As we have seen, the slighting at St Radegund's and others occurred around this time, with formal construction works commencing at the Downs castle in late 1538 or 1539. All that remained was the castle's tower, which was demolished in the 1890s.<sup>134</sup> Henry VIII visited the medieval castle and stayed at the nearby friary. He and his courtier and Downs Commissioner, Ryngeley clearly knew these sites well, and it is entirely plausible they were plundered for use at the Downs. Leaving the tower, for example, may have been to leave some form of visual deterrent to enemies or just as a reassurance to the townspeople. An alternative theory is that the spolia was needed to build Dover's harbour. However, as we have seen, the spolia would have been needed in 1536, which is unlikely, as repair to the tower was undertaken a year later in 1537.<sup>135</sup> Therefore, it is entirely plausible that this thirteenth-century castle was plundered for stone for the works to build the Castles of the Downs.

One final point of note. As we have seen in the previous chapter, it is evident that St Mary's and St Clement's Churches and many other buildings within the town are constructed in whole or in part using spolia (Appendix Q). It seems spolia in the Tudor period and thereafter must have been a significant preoccupation within the town. Combining the loss of the castle and the friary in the same period would have meant a large amount of stone would have been available. Therefore, it appears the town made the best of this situation by repurposing a lot of the stonework within sites in and around the town. Hopefully, some of this material would have found a purpose in their construction due to the close proximity of the Castles of the Downs.

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<sup>133</sup> The National Archives, E101/3/18.

<sup>134</sup> Clarke, H., Pearson, S., Mate, M., Parfitt, K., *Sandwich: 'Completest medieval town in England'*, (Oxford: Oxbow, 2010), 162.

<sup>135</sup> Stewart, J., 'Archaeological investigations at Sandwich castle'. *Archaeologia Cantiana* 120 (2000): 51–75.

## St Gregory's Priory, Canterbury & Bilsington Priory

As mentioned previously in connection to Mr. George Byngham, St Gregory's Priory, famously rediscovered in Canterbury in the 1980s, was an early site to yield to the Suppression.<sup>136</sup> The site was let for a time, and meticulous records exist of where a great number of items were relocated (including books, pews, domestic features etc). This was due to St Gregory's being used as a limb of nearby Christ Church Priory and was the home of many of their archives. This storage continued until 1537, when it is said that all the estate buildings of the priory were then demolished, except the prior's house and the bell tower (according to archaeological analysis in the 1980s, these were the most modern parts of the building). The other buildings on the site, including the cloisters, refectory, kitchen, and dormitories, were all pulled down, and their stone was carted away for reuse; where it was used we do not know.<sup>137</sup> A drawing was produced in the 1980s depicting the size of the estate prior to the Dissolution alterations (Fig. 32).

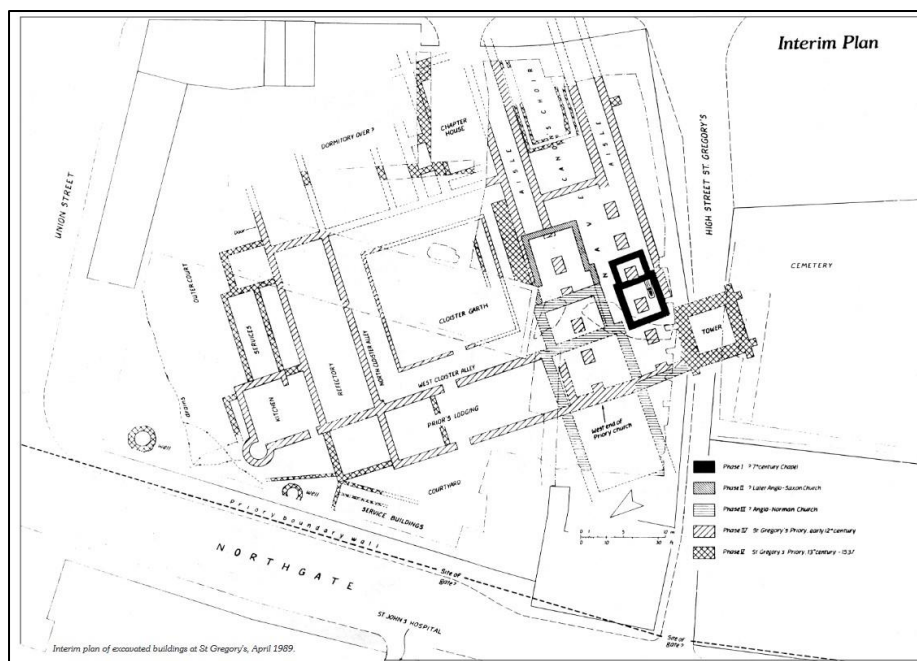


Fig. 32 An indicative map of the former estate at St Gregory's Priory prior to the Dissolution, reproduced in 1989, Canterbury Archaeological Trust, used under UK fair dealing.

<sup>136</sup> Sparks, M., 'St Gregory's Priory, Canterbury a Re-Assessment', *Archaeologia Cantiana* (1998)

<sup>137</sup> Canterbury Archaeological Trust, *St Gregory's Priory Canterbury Excavation 1988-1989*, (Canterbury Archaeological Trust, 1989), 17.

After 1537 the records are very scarce. However, as documented earlier, a damaged court paper still exists to show that Byngham owned either the priory or its land by the reign of Edward VI.<sup>138</sup> At some point around the start of the seventeenth century Sir John Boys, a prominent county lawyer and a parliamentary veteran, was recorded as living in St Gregory's and it was described as being well-converted and plush.<sup>139</sup> After this period, however, and to 1848, we do not know what happened to the priory. All we do know for sure is that parts remained in 1848 before being demolished the same year.<sup>140</sup> The etching in Fig. 33 depicts the only known image of the priory from this time.<sup>141</sup>



Fig. 33 Nineteenth century artist's impression of the remains of St Gregory's Priory. F. Grose, 1773, *The Antiquities of England and Wales*, Hooper Publishing, used under UK fair dealing.

<sup>138</sup> The National Archives, C1/1291/69-70,

<sup>139</sup> Canterbury Cathedral Archives, CC/FA/22(1), f. 70., Canterbury Cathedral Archives, PRC32/41, f. 54.

<sup>140</sup> Sparks, M., 'St Gregory's Priory, Canterbury a Re-Assessment'. *Archaeologia Cantiana* 118 (1998): 77-90.

<sup>141</sup> Grose, F., *The Antiquities of England and Wales* (London: Hooper, 1773), 231-251.

Another potential site with a Byngham connection was the Priory of Bilsington. It is located c.35km away from the Castles of the Downs, which would normally discount such a place. However, the site was gifted on a 50-year lease to knight of the realm, Sir Anthony St Leger of Ulcombe (1496 – 1559), and during this period the village would have been close to the sea via the Rhee Wall (before the natural expansion of the Romney Marsh).<sup>142</sup> St Ledger had been a prominent courtier of both Henry VII and Henry VIII, being Lord Deputy of Ireland and a man of Kent and as such, had a role within the coastal defences of the country. St Ledger's connection to the Castles of the Downs is unknown, but his name was included in the state papers for the commissioning of the works.<sup>143</sup>

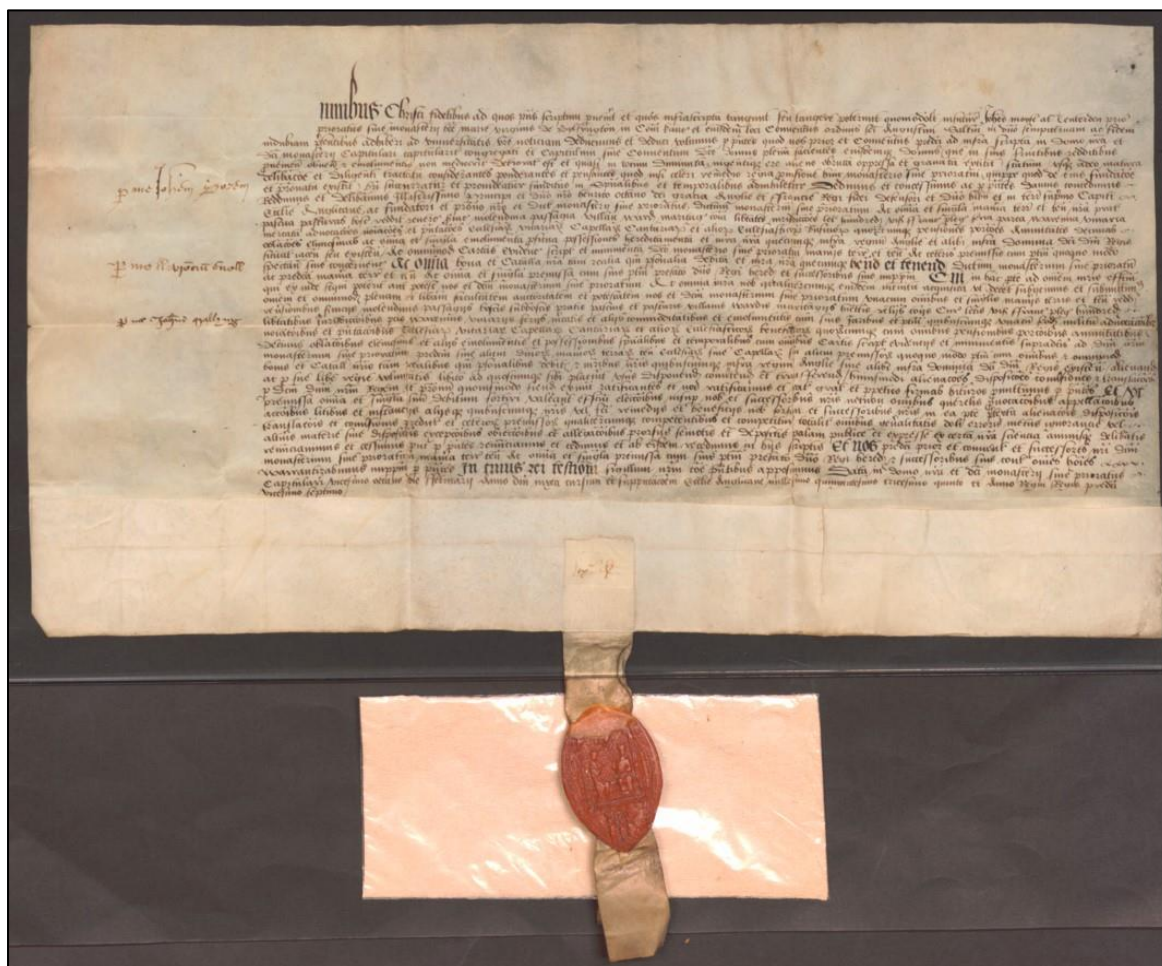


Fig. 34 The original suppression order from the Court of Augmentations for Bilsington Priory, The National Archives, E/32/220.

<sup>142</sup> Chantler, B., *Rother Country*, (Self-published, 2014), 11., The National Archives, E/32/20.

<sup>143</sup> Piveronus, P., *The Life and Career of Sir Anthony St Leger of Ulcombe - Biographical Study of the Tudor Anglo-Irish Policy* (Michigan: Michigan State University, 1972), 18-21.



The Crown gifted the Priory of Bilsington to St Leger in late 1538. It had been empty since February of that year, when the monks, fearing their fate with the Crown, actively collapsed their order a few days before the Court's deadline for Suppression.<sup>144</sup> This gift to St Leger may have been linked with his work in connection with the Suppression at Christ Church's Priory or perhaps due to his appointment to the Privy Council in the same year.<sup>145</sup> After his death, Bilsington Priory was handed by his estate to the Dioceses in Canterbury and was possibly reduced in size due to demolition; it is stated as 'remains of Bilsington Priory'.<sup>146</sup> The records are unclear on this, but he did not necessarily need to stay at the abbey as the Crown had gifted him a manor and other property simultaneously. The presence of his undisclosed State-level association with the Castles of the Downs, his significant role within the Court, his proximity to a stone-constructed abbey near the site, and the subsequent return of this abbey to the Dioceses as 'remains' collectively suggest a compelling possibility that this site might have contributed materials for the construction of the Castles of the Downs.

### **Smaller Monastic Sites**

Laker mentions a monastic site in his *History of Deal* in Northbourne near Mongeham, a pair of small villages near Deal.<sup>147</sup> Little is known of this monastic site, and it has been much altered from this time into a rather splendid Tudor Manor that still exists today as a private boarding school. Somewhat paradoxically, it appears to have been the ancestral home of Eadbald, King of Kent, who, generations later, would offer the place as an abbey. As the abbey is much altered and under-studied, it is unclear how much spolia would be available from this site.<sup>148</sup> In his seminal monastic study of England, even Knowles does not provide

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<sup>144</sup> Knowles, D., *Bare Ruined Choirs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 179.

<sup>145</sup> Note: St Ledger's name first appears on the Privy Council list in June 1538

<sup>146</sup> Woodruff, C. H., 'Bilsington Priory', *Archaeologia Cantiana* (1904): 27-48.

<sup>147</sup> Laker, J., *The History of Deal* (Folkestone: T. F. Pain, 1921), 91.

<sup>148</sup> Northbourne, Lord, 'Northbourne Court', *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. 24 (1900): 96-107.

any reference to this supposed abbey.<sup>149</sup> One final consideration on this site could be the earlier references to Eastry as it does neighbour Mongeham.

A final source for spolia evidence at the Castles of the Downs comes from Jackie Hall's essay on the geology of the stones at nearby Camber Castle. Hall's essay on the topic states the new Tudor alterations and additions:

'Much of the reclaimed stone certainly came from the religious houses of Winchelsea, as is well documented. In phase III a mixture of reclaimed stone was again used both in the stirrup tower first floors, and in the lower levels of the curtains and bastions. This may have come from parts of the phase II structure that were being scrapped or altered, and possibly still from the religious houses of Winchelsea, although this is not documented. It is documented that 129 tons of Caen Stone were supplied in 1540. Freestone was also brought from Mersham, near Ashford. The sources of the stone used in the final building phase are not so well documented. Freshly quarried grey sandstone was used in the upper levels of the Keep, the bastions and the Curtain Wall (with bricks internally in all of these), and also in the gunports of the Entrance Bastion. Caen Stone appears to have been used for mouldings throughout the building work. Although the mixture of reclaimed stone in both phases II and III confuses the issue, it is probably fair to assume that the majority of architectural pieces were cut from stone specially quarried for Camber, ie from yellow sandstone in phases I and II and grey sandstone in phase III, and from Caen Stone in all phases.'<sup>150</sup>

This is interesting as it provides two additional sources of possible spolia: Winchelsea and Mersham. These could be discounted if we assume that Tudor masons would not travel as far as Winchelsea to obtain stone for the Castles of the Downs. However, at the same time,

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<sup>149</sup> Knowles, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 202-210.

<sup>150</sup> Biddle, *Henry VIII's Coastal Artillery Fort*, 137.

they were travelling as far as from Rye to Ashford to obtain spolia (which Winchelsea today is a part of Rye). Unfortunately, Knowles does not record any religious houses that were plundered in Mersham.<sup>151</sup> Though it is worth noting that Mersham and Bilsington are neighbouring villages. As we have seen with the 'Canterbury' reference, this could also be a merchant, or a quarry. As for Winchelsea, the four sites were dissolved and a further four within Rye. Moreover, as we have also seen with travel times, it is unlikely that any of this spolia in Rye made its way to Deal for the Castles of the Downs unless it went via barge.

This comprehensive analysis of available sources reveals a deliberate and expedited strategy behind constructing these Device castles, wherein local monastic buildings were systematically and speedily repurposed as sources of spolia. This strategy reflects meticulous planning, encompassing the procurement of superior materials and efficient labour deployment. The execution of these projects, though swift, exhibited a high degree of organisation. The surviving records from the Court of Augmentations indicate an annual addition of £140,000 to the Crown's treasury, which is believed to be a conservative estimate.<sup>152</sup> This newfound wealth, coupled with acquisitions such as books, artefacts, and spolia, greatly fortified the Tudor monarchy for decades, with substantial investments directed toward fortifying the country through projects like the King's Device.<sup>153</sup>

Though spolia played a significant role in financing these projects, architectural reuse was even more crucial. The deliberate dismantling of structures served to assert the Crown's authority and acted as a physical defence against the resurgence of the Catholic faith. As these monastic buildings clashed with the new religious order and were slated for demolition, repurposing their materials for constructing the Castles of the Downs and others or potential sale brought additional advantages in reappropriating this wealth. While some may view acquiring spolia during the Tudor Dissolution as state vandalism, it is essential to

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<sup>151</sup> Knowles, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 2.

<sup>152</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, Vol. IV, 455., Knowles, *Bare Ruined Choirs*, 287.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*

recognise the dedication and effectiveness of those executing these orders. Their resourcefulness within the technological constraints of time deserves profound appreciation or at least acknowledgement. The strategic utilisation of spolia, extracted from the Tudors' adversaries, to construct symbolic fortresses of defiance carries profound implications. The builders conveyed a potent visual message of triumph and dominion by repurposing materials seized from their perceived foes. Incorporating these spoils into the Castles of the Downs symbolised the subjugation of opposing forces and served as a tangible reminder of defiance. Furthermore, the deliberate decision to integrate spolia added practical value in terms of construction materials but also endowed the resulting structures with symbolic significance, perpetuating the House of Tudor's new narrative of papal defiance and renewed power. Having considered their symbolic designs and examined their spolia, we will now draw our attention to what we might learn from the construction process and early development of this trio of castles.

## Chapter Five:

### The Construction and Early Development of the Castles of the Downs

All three Castles of the Downs were believed to be constructed simultaneously, with the same people, and using the same materials.<sup>1</sup> Despite this construction parity, the fates of the three castles would be very different. Considering that all three were built simultaneously, it is essential due to the lacunae in our understanding of how they diverged so differently. Therefore, before we seek to analyse their respective developments, we must see how they came to be and what we can learn from their construction and early development, the latter of which is practically undocumented in any form.

As detailed in the Literature Review, most of our understanding of these castles' construction programmes (and many other historic construction projects) is primarily due to Colvin's *History of the King's Works*.<sup>2</sup> His (and others') tireless and career-long dedication to researching this area is well-noted. Yet, even from his work, we can see that many gaps in our understanding of this construction remain. This chapter will use Colvin's work as a foundation upon which new information will be presented to inform our analysis of the castle's joint significance at this early juncture.

### The Exact Siting of the Castles

As we have discussed, the strategic placement of the Castles of the Downs was determined by their proximity to the European mainland and their significance in safeguarding the anchorage. This anchorage, vital due to its deep waters and proximity to London, was a

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<sup>1</sup> Harrington, *The Castles of Henry VIII*, 6., Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 455.

<sup>2</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*.



crucial point for the royal fleet and merchant ships.<sup>3</sup> Preceding the Tudor era, defensive earthworks were already in place. Moreover, during this period, many ports, including Sandwich, had become inaccessible due to silting, leaving few safe havens between the Downs and Portsmouth during inclement weather.<sup>4</sup> Except for easterly winds, the Downs provided a rare safe harbour for ships traversing the South Coast or bound for London, especially as most of England's exports moved through the Thames estuary, likely passing through the Downs.<sup>5</sup>

One of the more anciently held reasons, and one we have only briefly mentioned previously, was the castle's siting, upon the supposed landing location of the Roman Emperor Julius Caesar in 55BC.<sup>6</sup> Many historical accounts appear to propagate this theory, including William Lambarde's *A Perambulation of Kent* from 1570 and Carl Ploetz's *Epitome of Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern History* from 1888.<sup>7</sup> Even the infamous *Baedeker's Guide Book of Great Britain* includes this theory in its section regarding Walmer Castle.<sup>8</sup> John Leland, in 1545, also propagated this idea, '*Jadat Dela novas Celebris arces: Notus Csefareis locus trophaeis*' or '*The new famous towers, the place of Little Caesar is known by the trophies*', when referencing the choice for the building of the castles in Deal.<sup>9</sup>

Whilst this is hard to verify due to the lack of archaeological evidence, there is nearby evidence of Roman activity with a settlement within Walmer's neighbouring parish. Recent excavations at Downlands (a residential lane nearby, some 600m from Walmer Castle)

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<sup>3</sup> Parkin, E. W., 'The Ancient Cinque Port of Sandwich'. *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. 100 (1984): 189-216.

<sup>4</sup> Saunders, A., *Deal and Walmer Castles* (Swindon: Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, 1982), 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Stone, L., 'Elizabethan Overseas Trade', *Economic History Review*, Second Series (1949): 30-38., Stone, L., *The Causes of the English Revolution, 1529-1642*, (London: Routledge, 1972), 70-71.

<sup>6</sup> Henshall, K., *Folly and Fortune in Early British History: From Caesar to the Normans* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

<sup>7</sup> Lambarde, W. *A Perambulation of Kent, Containing the Description, Hystorie, and Customes of That Shire; Written in the Yeere 1570, First Published in the Year 1576, and Now Increased and Altered from the Author's Owne Last Copie* (Chatham: Baldwin et al., 1826).

<sup>8</sup> Baedeker, K., *Great Britain, England, Wales, and Scotland as far as Loch Maree and The Cromarty Firth Handbook for Travellers* (Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, 1887), 10.

<sup>9</sup> Smith, L. T., *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543 as ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1910), 22.

revealed that a barn, possibly associated with a villa, was built by Roman settlers around the time of the Roman conquest.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, there is wider evidence of reusing Roman locations, even combining Roman spolia, on a regional basis for new early medieval builds. Pevensey Castle, St Martin's Church in Canterbury, St Andrew's Church, built in the medieval period on the same site as the former Roman fort of Calstock, and London's Guildhall are examples.<sup>11</sup> There is also the possibility of reuse, that building upon any foundations, be they ancient or recent, would be considerably cost-effective, let alone the symbolic nature of such undertakings.<sup>12</sup> However, the significance that the King placed on Roman items is well noted within the King's Works on other projects within the same period, making it possible that the siting and accrument of any Roman association must have had some form of significance in the Downs.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, it is not a theory that should easily be dismissed, particularly as we have seen the Romanesque designs undertaken at Henry's Nonsuch Palace.

Exactly where Caesar landed is unknown, but modern archaeologists suggest it was between Dover and Thanet.<sup>14</sup> Recent archaeological research from the University of Leicester indicates that the Roman landing location was probably Pegwell Bay in Thanet (some 11 miles away from Deal).<sup>15</sup> Pegwell Bay does make sense from a military point of view, as Thanet was still an island during the Conquest and would have been easier to

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<sup>10</sup> A direct path measurement between the two points, a.k.a. 'As the crow flies'. Crispin, J., *Excavations at Downlands in Walmer*, (Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Trust, 2010)., Downlands was a commercial archaeological site (probably a condition of planning), so no further holistic exploration has ever been undertaken at the parish of Walmer.

<sup>11</sup> Site: <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1242166>, accessed: May 2020, Historic England listing, 1242166., Selkirk, A., 'The London Amphitheatre'. *Current Archaeology* Vol. XII, no. 137 (1994): 164–171.

<sup>12</sup> Bell, T., 'Churches on Roman Buildings: Christian Associations and Roman Masonry in Anglo-Saxon England.' *Medieval Archaeology* (1998): 1-18., Bowsher, D., Dyson, T., Holder, N., Howell, I., *The London Guildhall: an archaeological history of a neighbourhood from early medieval to modern times* (Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2007).

<sup>13</sup> Dent, J., *The Quest for Nonsuch*, (London: Hutchinson, 1962), 37.

<sup>14</sup> Site: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/julius-caesar-invasion-britain-uk-site-evidence-first-discovered-kent-a8081056.html>, accessed: June 2019.

<sup>15</sup> Allen, M., *In the Footsteps of Caesar: the archaeology of the first Roman invasions of Britain Julius Caesar and the Roman base at Ebbsfleet and Thanet in Kent* (University of Leicester, Archaeology and Ancient History Dept, 2019).

fortify.<sup>16</sup> Interestingly, historical research in 1907 suggested that the landing possibly occurred on Walmer Beach, and a plaque was installed to commemorate this. However, before 1907, Caesar's landing place was believed to be the site of Deal Castle.<sup>17</sup> It is, therefore, possible that the siting of the largest and central fort within the Castles of the Downs' fortifications was due to its previous Roman connection. A plaque predating the Walmer stone plaque was erected before 1907 on the gate of Deal Castle that read 'SPQR'; an abbreviation of '*Senātus Populusque Rōmānus*'.<sup>18</sup> This abbreviation is still used today on public inscriptions and denotes the ancient parts of the Roman Empire across modern-day continental Europe and Africa.



Fig. 1 The Caesar plaque on Walmer Beach, 2012, Wikimedia Commons public domain.

<sup>16</sup> Perkins, D. R. J., 'The Roman Archaeology of the Isle of Thanet', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, Vol. 121 ( 2001): 43-45., plus this author's own suggestion.

<sup>17</sup> Hawkes, S. C., *Collectanea Antiqua* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2007), 145., Rice Holmes, T., *Ancient Britain and the Invasion of Julius Caesar*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), 525.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*





Fig. 3 A portion of the Symonson's Map of Kent, 1596, Wikimedia Commons public domain.



Deal's long stretch of beach and fledgling town (akin to a village in the Tudor period) had long been described as isolated and desolate.<sup>21</sup> A number of local sieges and raids had occurred at this time. Although Dover seemed to provide the primary protection for these East Kent coastal towns, it became increasingly apparent that Dover could not do this alone. Therefore, it is plausible that even if Henry had not broken away from Rome and made numerous enemies with neighbouring states, the need to fortify East Kent would have become a pressing issue. With Sandwich's importance declining to the north and Dover Port's increasing to the south, the long stretch of empty beaches near the deep natural harbour of the Downs was a relatively unguarded area that required series fortification. Fig. 3 shows the Symonsons map of Kent from 1596 and illustrates how Dover to the south also benefited from the high cliff lines and Sandwich to the north had fortifications thus, the beaches of the Downs were essentially wide open for any enemy landing. The temporary earthen bulwarks installed in 1534 are little documented, and we do not know how effective they were.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, their placement may have had some relevance to the placement of the castles or the more robust bulwarks built in 1539-1540.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Sandwich's dominance gradually transferred to Deal, a shift cemented when a Royal Naval Dockyard was constructed in Deal in the early seventeenth century.<sup>23</sup> Its prominence was evident when Deal became the headquarters for the fledgling Royal Marines in 1664.<sup>24</sup> Notable visitors of the period now used Deal as their primary means of accessing and egressing from the country. Lorenzo Campeggio (1537 - 1539), the last cardinal protector of England, landed there in 1518; the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1500 – 1558) departed from there in 1520; and the future queen of England, Anne of Cleves (1515 – 1557), landed in Deal on 27<sup>th</sup> December 1539.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Chapman, H., S., *Deal: Past and Present* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1890), 90.

<sup>22</sup> Bindoff, S. T., *The History of Parliament, The House of Commons, 1509-1558*, Appendices A-C. London: Secker & Warburg, 1982. Crown Copyright, 608.

<sup>23</sup> Coad, J., *Deal Castle* (Swindon: English Heritage, 1998), 7-8, 20-21.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

Cleves became the first dignitary to be hosted in the newly constructed Deal Castle, a topic we shall discuss later.



Fig. 4 A rarely published oil painting from the Kent Archaeological Society collection, showing the proximity of Walmer Castle to the beach in 1824, KAS Collection.

A notable raid on Sandwich in 1457 by the French, pirates raiding the shore and pirating goods vessels in the Downs, and the landing of the Bastard of Fauconberg (1429 – 1471) with 300 men in the same year he died would have all contributed to this concern.<sup>26</sup> Later, in 1495, as we have discussed, Perkin Warbeck himself landed with around 1,500 men to try to take the English throne. All of these saw the locals take up arms in Deal to fight off these threats, the latter so bloody it was dubbed ‘The Battle of Deal’.<sup>27</sup> These assaults were close-run exchanges that could have significantly impacted the Tudor

<sup>26</sup> Pollard, A. J., *Richard Neville, sixteenth earl of Warwick and sixth earl of Salisbury [called the Kingmaker]*, Ross, C., *Rumour, Propaganda and Popular Opinion during the Wars of the Roses in Patronage the Crown and the Provinces in Later Medieval England* ed. by R. A. Griffiths, (Gloucester: Gloucester Publishing, 1981), 15-32., Goodwin, J., *The Military Defence of West Sussex* (Haslemere: Middleton Press, 1985)., Britnell, R., ‘Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and the Death of Thomas Fauconberg’, *The Ricardian*, Vol. 128, (1995): 174-184.

<sup>27</sup> Porter, L., *Crown of Thistles: The Fatal Inheritance of Mary Queen of Scots* (London: Macmillan, 2013), 34.

dynasty. This last heavy battle would have been reported to the then very young Lord Warden, the Duke of York, later Henry VIII. Therefore, this close-run battle against an invading army and the town's people must have been a big concern for the Tudor Court.

Warbeck (and Lambert Simnel (c. 1477 – after 1534) before him, another Pretender) claimed to be Edward IV's (1442 – 1483) sons, the so-called 'Princes in the Tower' and the so-called rightful heirs to the English throne. If their challenges had been successful, they might have ousted the Tudor dynasty - itself installed with somewhat tenuous ancestral connections - and, therefore, wholly rewritten history. Furthermore, Henry VII's discreet landing in Wales to take the English throne in 1485 was not dissimilar.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, this risk of invasion through this well-established pilgrimage and trade route would have been a great cause for concern. Likely, the combined need to protect these towns, the number of large-scale historical invasions, and the amount of coastal pirating in the area ensured these castles would be the first to be built during the Device Programme.<sup>29</sup>

Henry's Chief Minister, Thomas Cromwell (1485 – 1540), first commissioned a report into the defensive capabilities of Deal in 1533.<sup>30</sup> This report deemed this coast treacherous and lawless. By 1522, the Crown had been sufficiently pressured into providing some form of defence for the locals. The report was promised in 1522 but was not published until 1533. Unfortunately, no further action was taken until the tensions with Rome catalysed the first serious fortifications in 1539. These reports and the nature of the local geography ensured that Deal, Sandown and Walmer castles were first constructed by a Device of the King, as first issued in February 1539.<sup>31</sup>

Understandably, records have been found that demonstrate the panic local people within East Kent were starting to exhibit in 1539. Just before the construction works in

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<sup>28</sup> Penn, T., *Winter King: Henry VII and the Dawn of Tudor England* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2013), 65.

<sup>29</sup> Harrington, 8.

<sup>30</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 455-465.

<sup>31</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 461.

March and again in early April (April the works commenced), a number of ships, of originality we know not, were assembling in the Downs. The local people, fearing the recent prior events, assembled in the town in case of an invasion.<sup>32</sup> Sir Thomas Cheyne (c.1485 – 1558), the Lord Warden by this time, wrote to Thomas Cromwell that he could only muster three hundred men, all of which would not be satisfactory in a full-scale invasion.<sup>33</sup> Whether this correspondence from one of Henry's most loyal and trusted courtiers was the reasoning behind the final instruction to proceed with the Downs works, we do not know. Still, it does show that the scale of the fear locally was significantly heightened, which may have been the catalyst for the speedy construction.



Fig. 5 Possibly the only known contemporary portrait of Perkin Warbeck, Bridgeman Art Library.

<sup>32</sup> Gairdner, J., and Brodie, R. H., *State Papers, Letters and Papers: April 1539, 11-15*, in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, Vol. 14 Part 1, January-July 1539. London, England: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1894. Crown Copyright. Entry no. 359-374, 239-264.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

The Royal Navy's association with the towns of Deal, Walmer, and The Downs lasted for centuries, as the area was strategically crucial for anchorage and naval operations along the English Channel, providing a safe haven and supply point for ships; it was as important as the other Royal Dockyards of Chatham, Sheerness, Dover and Hastings.<sup>34</sup> The area was used for centuries until the advent of the torpedo, which rendered The Downs an indefensible place to drop anchor (Fig. 7). This association would continue well into the twentieth century.<sup>35</sup>

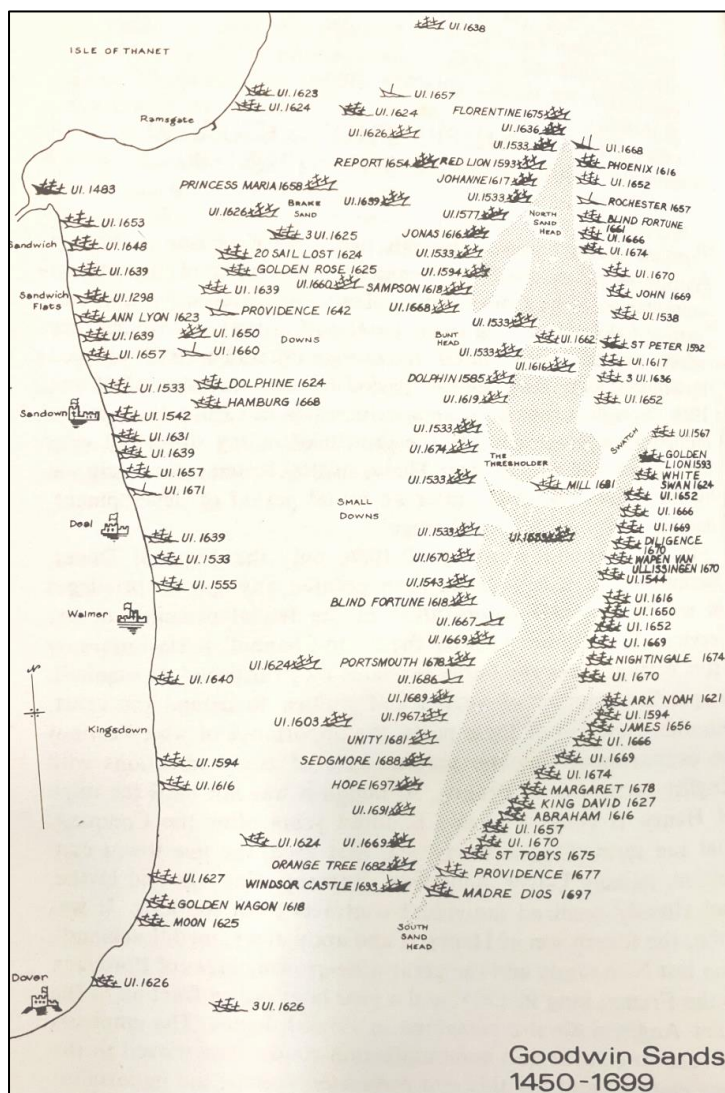


Fig. 6 The approximate number of shipwrecks between 1450-1699, 1938, Preston Publishers.

<sup>34</sup> Lane, A., *Royal Marines Deal: A Pictorial History*, (Tiverton, Devon: Halsgrove in association with the Royal Marines Museum, 2000).

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*



The Downs, which is adjacent to the Goodwin Sands in the English Channel, serves as a sheltered roadstead and vital shipping lane. Its discovery dates back centuries, facilitating maritime traffic, particularly towards the Thames Estuary due to its proximity to Kent. The strategic positioning of the three castles along the Downs' pathway ensured coastline coverage, deterring enemy ships. As shown in Fig. 6, the castles are well positioned between the narrowest point between the Goodwin Sands and the coast and on the lowest ground to ensure a surprise attack.<sup>36</sup>

Since 1947, the area has been regularly surveyed (annually from 1968) by various bodies working on behalf of the Maritime and Coastguard Agency. These surveys show that this roadstead is, on average, 22m deep.<sup>37</sup> Today, the area often shifts migration due to varying environmental factors such as longshore drift. Still, due to its regular surveys, it is fully buoyed and enables what is often colloquially quoted as being 'the busiest shipping lane in the world' to run freely.



Fig. 7 The above etching shows a number of ships in the nineteenth century taking refuge inside the Downs from an incoming storm, Wikimedia Commons public domain.

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<sup>36</sup> Humphries, J., 'Henry's Device Forts.' *Tudor Places*, iss 1 (2023): 20-21.

<sup>37</sup> UK Hydrographic Office, *Goodwin Sands South Sand Head Assessment On The Analysis Of Routine Resurvey Area Gs1 From The 2012 Survey* (London: Crown Copyright, 2013).

Rev. Thomas Stanley Treanor (1873 - 1910) was a British clergyman stationed at the Missions to Seamen, Deal and the Downs, which we today would refer to as the Coastguard.<sup>38</sup> His role was not just that of ecumenical matters; he was primarily appointed as a 'Steerman' (sometimes referred to as Pilots of the Downs) and later documented the history of the crews from this area. In his later years, he wrote about the importance of the Downs:

'Flat calm in the Downs. The Deal boatmen sometimes call it a 'sheet' calm. At any rate it is as calm as a pond, but not as motionless, for there is ever, and ever present the deep breathing of the sea, and always there sweeps through the Downs the mighty current of the tide – but to use another simile, the surface is like glass.'<sup>39</sup>

And to enforce how many ships the Sands can hold, he said:

'Whether British or foreign, this host of 500 vessels contains about 5,000 men. For days, and sometimes weeks, they ride at anchor in the Downs, wearied by baffling calms or tempests.'<sup>40</sup>

Shipwrecks in the Downs and the wider Goodwin Sands have been reported since 1298, demonstrating how treacherous these waters are for the unskilled seaman (Fig. 6).<sup>41</sup> The Sands likely hold many ancient shipwrecks, and between an estimated 1,000 and 2,000 shipwrecks are currently known to exist in the waters. Some academics and surveyors speculate that there are shipwrecks from the Bronze Age, Roman warships, Viking raid longboats and unclassified medieval merchant ships.<sup>42</sup> In addition, as a result of World War Two battles, there is a vast number of sunken military ships, passenger ships and shot-down aircraft, and nearly all are still likely to be carrying the remains of the unfortunate persons

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<sup>38</sup> Treanor, Rev. T. S., *Heroes of The Goodwin Sand*, (London: Naval and Military Press, 2009), 15-26.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> Treanor, *Heroes of the Goodwin Sands*, 42.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> Holt, P., *Goodwin Sands Archaeological Review of Geophysical Data* (London: 3H Consulting, 2017), 18-28.

aboard. Treanor reflects on the vital role the people of Deal (and surrounding villages) have always played in patrolling this treacherous strait:

'With the increase of the shipping of this country, and the naval wars of the early part of the nineteenth century, the numbers and fame of the Deal boatmen increased, until their skill, bravery, and humanity were celebrated all over the world. In those times, and even recently, the Deal boatmen, including in that title the men of Walmer and Kingsdown, were said to number over 1000 men.'<sup>43</sup>



Fig. 8 An etching of the Great Storm of 1703, when a number of English Navy ships were lost in the Goodwin Sands, Wikimedia Commons public domain.

As we can see, from as far back as 1298 - and well into the nineteenth century, the passage through this water area was dangerous for the inexperienced and strategically crucial to prevent unlawful landing into England. The deep anchorage, proximity to the

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<sup>43</sup> Treanor, *Heroes of the Goodwin Sands*, 42.

English coast, the direct route to London, and the ports of Deal and Sandwich all played a strategic role in determining the carefully considered location of the Castles of the Downs.

A final note on the exact siting of the castles may come from Deal, the central castle, where there is the possibility that it was sited over a stream. This is speculation on the author's part due primarily to the fact that Deal's 'Rounds' (the tunnels) partly flood yearly and that a former well is evident within the keep. It is unlikely that a well could have been developed to tap into the non-saltwater in the water table due to the castles being built on the foreshore. Therefore, as the castle would have needed regular fresh drinking water and due to the proximity of the beach, it is possible that Deal Castle's exact location may have been entirely positioned due to the location of a freshwater source, possibly a stream to meet this essential practical requirement.



Fig. 9 The original Tudor well in Deal Castle's Keep, (photo author, 2018).

Tactical, practical and some symbolic reasons likely played a part to varying degrees in ensuring the successful exact placement of the Castles of the Downs. As we have seen, many of these reasons also contributed to their priority in the overall English Device building programme. This priority is also perhaps demonstrated by who the King gave to carry out these crucial construction works.

### **Key Figures in the Construction Works**

The King's Device instructed who would be responsible for completing the works.<sup>44</sup> We have already stated the leading figures in our previous chapters, but exploring how these men were part of the construction process and their roles is worth exploring. The primary 'overseers, commissioners and paymasters' of the works (or project managers as they would likely be known today) were two local men, Sir Edward Ryngeley, and Thomas Wingfield (1475 - 1548).<sup>45</sup>

A third man is also listed as overseer of the works and appears in the original Court Rolls; however, this man is omitted from Colvin's *The History of the King's Works* (vol. IV).<sup>46</sup> Within the State Papers, he is known as Ant. Awger.<sup>47</sup> As with the other two overseers (Knights of the Realm and locals to Kent), Sir Anthony Aucher (c.1500 - 1558) might be the man known as 'Awger'. If this was Aucher, he was a loyal servant of Henry's and held many

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<sup>44</sup> Gairdner, James, and R H Brodie, eds. *Letters and Papers: February 1539, 26-28*, In *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 14 Part 1, January-July 1539*, 143-166. London, England: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1894. Crown Copyright, 143-166.

<sup>45</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 455-465.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, Gairdner, James, and R H Brodie, eds. *Letters and Papers: February 1539, 26-28*, In *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 14 Part 1, January-July 1539*, 143-166. London, England: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1894. Crown Copyright, 143-166.

<sup>47</sup> Gairdner, James, and R H Brodie, eds. *Letters and Papers: February 1539, 26-28*, In *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 14 Part 1, January-July 1539*, 143-166. London, England: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1894. Crown Copyright, 143-166.



important positions within Henry's Court.<sup>48</sup> Why Colvin (and later historians) omitted this fact is unknown.<sup>49</sup> While little information survives on Aucher, much more is available on the other two overseers, which, although interesting, does not explain this discrepancy.

Ryngeley appears to be the chief overseer and had established himself as a local nobleman in Kent through marriage. Though both appointments had been contested, he had applied for the stewardship of Dover Castle and later the 'bailiwick' of Sandwich. He was a courtier of Henry's and had travelled with and jostled for the King at the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520.<sup>50</sup> His connection to the Crown and his combat ability led to him being appointed by the Crown to undertake his first political role to survey the defences of Calais in 1528.<sup>51</sup> He was later elected as a Member of Parliament and was awarded the commissioner position at Calais. The appointment of a deputy saw him quit his role, and he moved back to Kent. On his return in 1539, Ryngeley was entrusted with erecting the new fortifications on the Downs. During that same summer, he obtained the 'comptrollership' of Calais (a financial controller).<sup>52</sup> Ryngeley had been regarded by many as strong-willed, and, by his admission, he described himself as 'blunt and quarrelsome'. This goes some way towards explaining, perhaps, why he had been challenged over his first two appointments. The nature of the man is important as it would have a bearing on how the Downs construction works were completed.<sup>53</sup>

Thomas Wingfield had held several important positions in Kent. He had been the Comptroller of Customs for the port of Sandwich from 1515 to c.1543; he had been a notable figure around the port and became their elected MP in 1533 (in a supposed

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<sup>48</sup> Marshall of Calais, Governor of Guisnes, Master of the Jewel House of the Tower of London: Strype, J., *Ecclesiastical Memorials; Relating Chiefly to Religion, and the Reformation of it. The Emergencies of the Church of England Under King Henry VIII* (London:John Wyat, 1721), 14.

<sup>49</sup> Colvin., Harrington., Toy., et al.

<sup>50</sup> Site: The History of Parliament Online. 'Ryngeley, Sir Edward (1497-1543).' *The History of Parliament Online*. <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/ryngeley-sir-edward-1497-1543>.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 455-465.

landslide victory); and later he was given the freedom of the ports of Sandwich and Dover.<sup>54</sup> Along with his role as chief overseer, he was appointed the comptroller of the King's works in Dover, the paymaster of the King's works in the Downs in 1539 and then the first captain of Deal Castle in 1540. He was also responsible for clearing the entrance to Dover Haven and building the new defence works around the newly formed harbour. This task went forward amid quarrelling between the local officials and under reproof from the Crown at their constant demands for money.

The Device building works around the country often involved a combination of local gentry with expert local knowledge and connections backed by representatives of the Crown. In this case, these representatives were Robert Lorde (who we mentioned earlier) acted as paymaster (similar to a budget holder today); David Marten (unknown dates), who was the wider comptroller of the King's Works; and Richard Benese, the appointed surveyor of the works.<sup>55</sup>

Benese was widely known as the canon of the Augustinian priory of Merton, but he also developed many early land surveying techniques. A dedicated geographer from his time at Oxford University, he wrote a book about the art and science of surveying in 1537. As his book transcribes the science behind calculating features and held many tables of dimensions for similar works, it is a suggestion that perhaps he was chiefly associated with the setting-out of the castles based on the geography of each respective area, such was his expertise in the matter.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 455-468.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

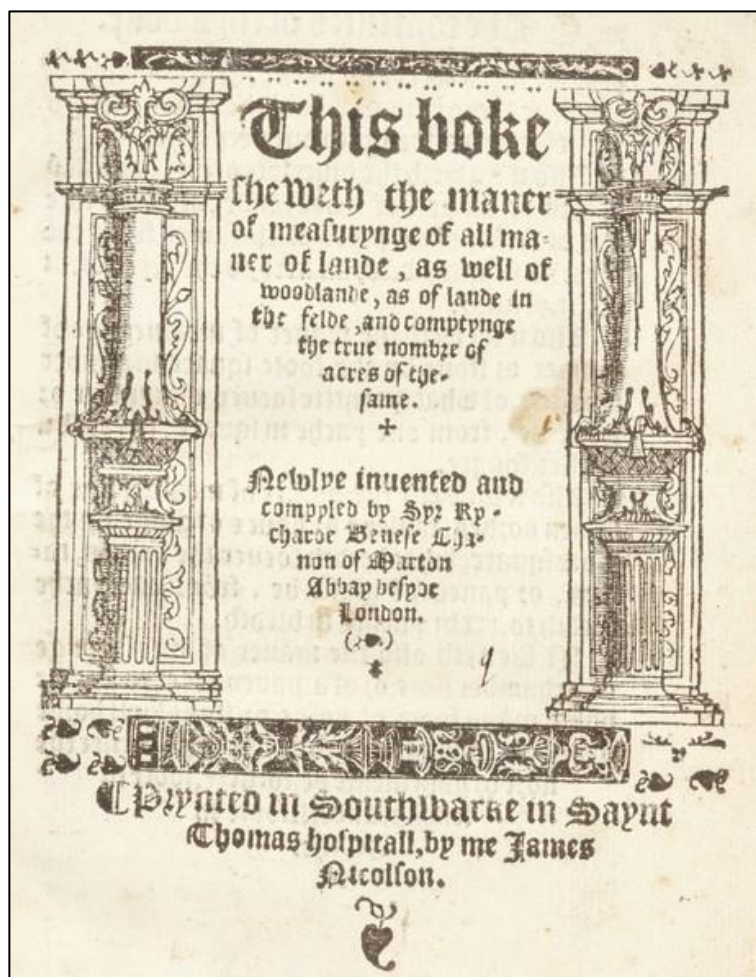


Fig. 10 Front leaf of Benese's book, possibly one of the first books on surveying to be published in England. 'This boke sheweth the maner of measurynge of all maner of lande, Prynted in Southwarke in Saynt Thomas hospitall', c.1537.

As we have seen, Christopher Dickenson was appointed as the Master Mason, and William Clement was appointed as the Master Carpenter.<sup>57</sup> Clement had previously held the title on several projects, most famously on the Palace of Placentia in Greenwich, where he was responsible for many alterations to the 1443-built palace.<sup>58</sup> Henry VIII was born there and regularly used the palace throughout his lifetime. His surviving daughters were also born in Greenwich, and he also married Anne of Cleves there on 6<sup>th</sup> January 1540. Therefore, these assembled artificers genuinely worked on the King's most prestigious sites.

<sup>57</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 455-465.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*



Fig. 11 Palace of Placentia, after it was rebuilt around 1500 by Henry VII, A historical account of the Royal Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich (1789), UK Fair Dealing.

The records show that Clement also worked with Dickenson at Hampton Court Palace, so their professional relationship must have worked well.<sup>59</sup> For example, the roof trusses at Walmer are highly complex in a very confined space, and a true master carpenter would have been required to devise such a complex network of trusses, especially given the load they have been supporting for some 480 years or more.

As we have seen, the notorious sixteenth-century Moravian (modern-day Czech Republic) builder Stephen von Haschenperg was also attached to the project as 'surveyor of the four bulwarks upon the Downs', otherwise called the '*Devysor of the Woorkes ther*', but his contribution was thought to be mainly to the initial bulwarks, as he was the Surveyor at

<sup>59</sup> Biddle, M., 'Nicholas Bellin of Modena: An Italian Artificer at the Courts of Francis I and Henry VIII', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, Vol. 29:1 (1966): 106-121.



Sandgate Castle and Camber Castle at the same time.<sup>60</sup> This may explain why perhaps the latter was full of defective working (Appendix G and N).

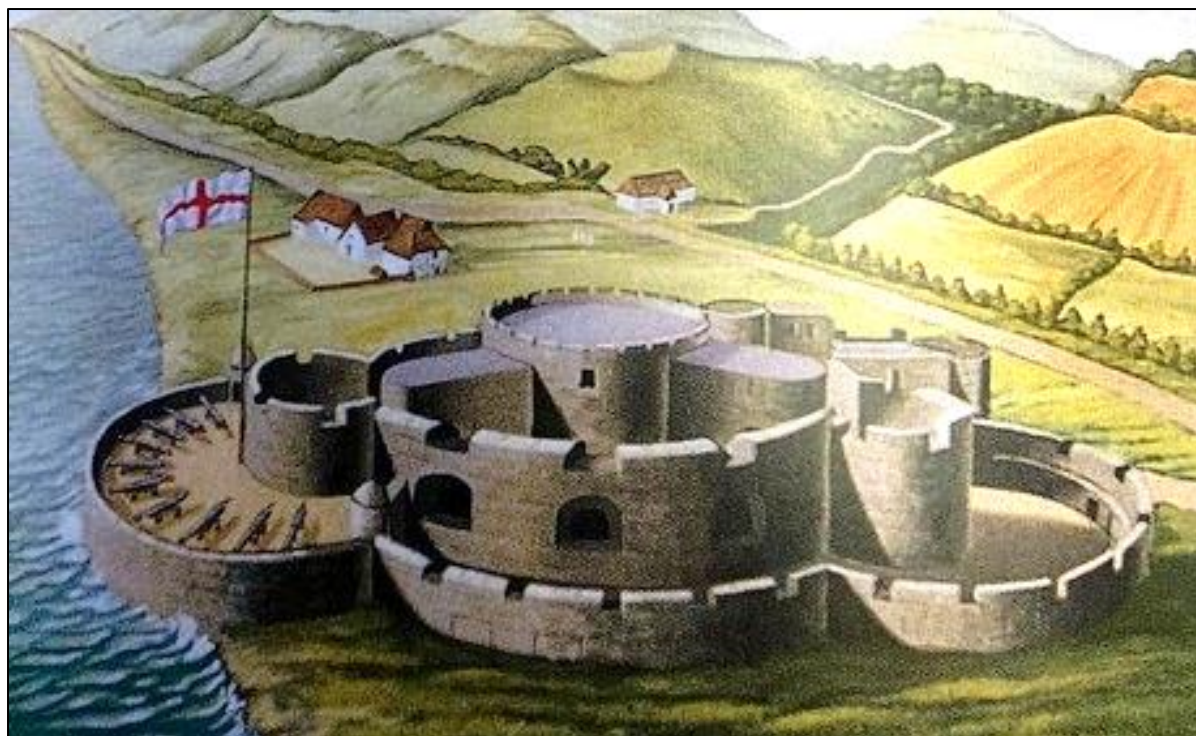


Fig. 12 An illustration by Brian Delf of Sandgate Castle after construction, used under UK Fair Dealing.

### The Construction Programme

Whilst nearly all Device scholarly texts (Colvin, Harrington, etc.) state that the building of the Downs Castles started in early 1539, it has been found that men may have been mustered to the area to help build the three new castles as early as late 1538.<sup>61</sup> Although the official state papers do not record this, it is noted that Henry was informed in early 1539 (before construction commenced) that the Lord Warden, Sir Thomas Cheyney, felt he was wasting the King's resources in Dover as he had 'without the prospect of doing the King useful service'; it is unclear what this means though it is clear that significant sums of money were

<sup>60</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 455-468., Harrington, *The Castles of Henry VIII*, 10-22.

<sup>61</sup> Laker, J., *The History of Deal* (Folkestone: T. F. Pain, 1921), 88.



being expanded.<sup>62</sup> It could be inferred that he was making preparations – possibly repairing bulwarks, clearing the construction sites, or mustering men.

The Victorian antiquary John Laker stated that locally, it was known that various bakers were supposedly appointed to supply bread to the King's workmen who had, by late 1538, already commenced on the works in Deal.<sup>63</sup> This is entirely plausible if one considers the scale of this project, the resources needed, and the timeframe within which we know the castles were finished and garrisoned. It is also consistent with other projects that the King's Works engaged in for the period.<sup>64</sup> Likewise, it was common for the trade known as 'Quarrymen' (the craftsmen who physically went into the quarries to obtain the limestone) to regularly commence their activities well before any of the onsite works commenced; this fact could also account for this.<sup>65</sup> As the works were accelerated due to international events, combined with the accounts of men in the area in 1538, this is interesting as it challenges the long-held belief that the castles commenced construction work in 1539.

The Court Rolls state that construction work officially commenced when the weather improved in February 1539, days after the issuing of the Device.<sup>66</sup> Deal was the first site where work began.<sup>67</sup> After the initial site setup and setting out had been completed, the physical construction phase of the works began in April, and by the end of May, some one thousand four hundred local builders were active on the site.<sup>68</sup> The workforce size is an achievement, as recent research about work environments in nearby Canterbury found it was in a vast economic downturn during the Device works.<sup>69</sup> Consequently, the scale and ambition of Henry's projects possibly meant that good men were in short supply in the area,

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<sup>62</sup> Gairdner, James, and R H Brodie, eds. *Letters and Papers: February 1539*, 26-28, In *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 14 Part 1, January-July 1539*, 143-166. London, England: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1894. Crown Copyright, i-li, 671.

<sup>63</sup> Laker, J., *The History of Deal* (Folkestone: T. F. Pain, 1921), 88.

<sup>64</sup> Dent, J., *The Quest for Nonsuch*, (London: Hutchinson, 1962), 44.

<sup>65</sup> Gimpel, J., *The Cathedral Builders* (London: Century Hutchinson, 1988), 69.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> The National Library of Scotland, MS.2830.

<sup>68</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 455-468.

<sup>69</sup> Goodall, J., *The English Castle: 1066-1650*, (Yale University Press, 2011), 421.

mainly as there were demands from both the Church and private patrons for builders for many other local projects.<sup>70</sup> Whether the Device Works attracted all these workers away from these other projects is unknown, but likely, given the urgency and the regular pay from the Crown's coffers, it is possible.

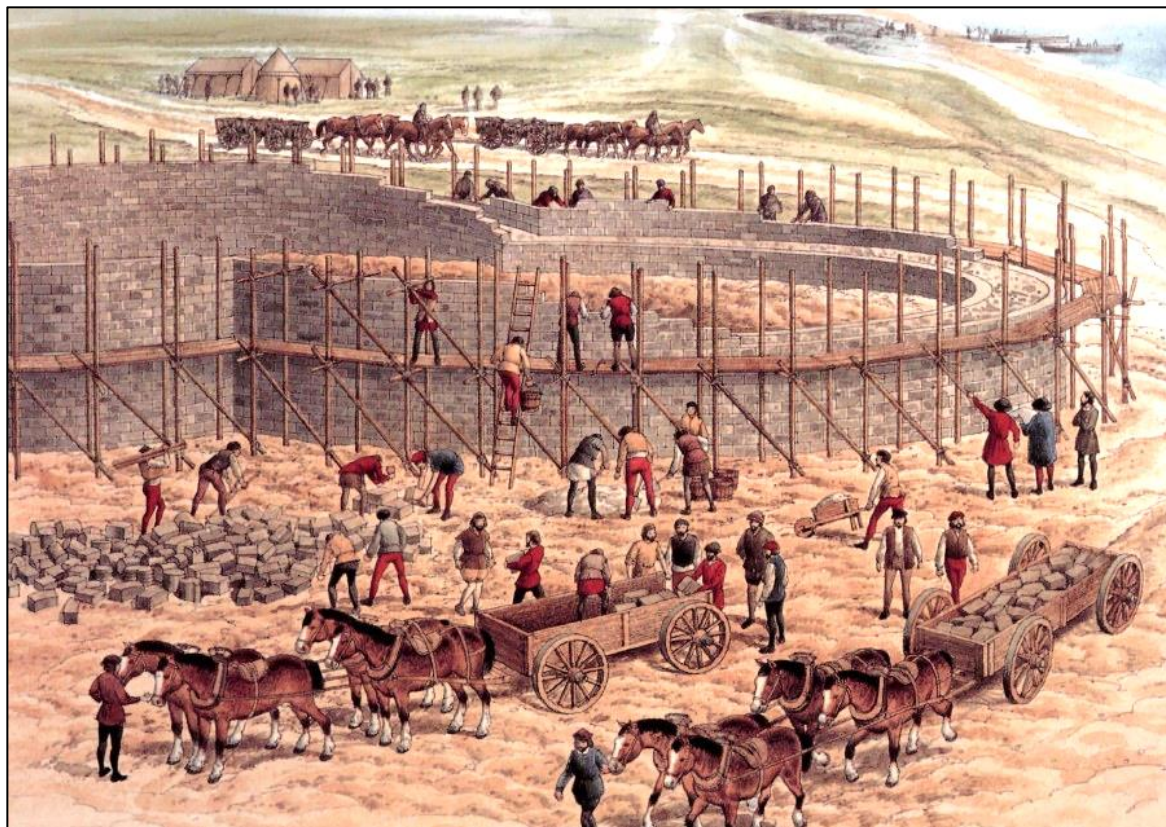


Fig. 13 An illustration of the construction of a Device Castle, Brian Delf, 2007, used under UK Fair Dealing.

Much like today's construction projects, the works were often undertaken by local people but with centrally appointed managers who would travel around the country managing projects wherever they were needed (a method used by many public and private bodies to this day). The King's representatives remarked on the outstanding characteristics of these local labour forces when supervising other projects around the country. The Lord Chancellor, John Audley (unknown - 1588), toured such sites and once remarked on the

<sup>70</sup> Sweetinburgh, S., 'Starting a New Life as Artisans and Traders in the Ricardian and Henrician Canterbury.' *Archaeologia Cantiana* (2022): 35.

works of Harwich in nearby Essex, 'ye should have seen women and children work with shovels in the trenches' in reference to how great the local labour force was.<sup>71</sup>

There were delays to the Downs works, much to the probable annoyance of the King. One such delay was towards the end of June when the labourers wanted sixpence a day instead of the fivepence they had been paid from the outset, causing a temporary halt of the works and a strike by the workforce. Sir Ryngeley, whom we have seen was a hard taskmaster and had little sympathy for their demands, ordered the six ringleaders of the strike to be sent to the gaols of Canterbury and Deal for their subordination.<sup>72</sup> The number of workers at the site subsequently increased to meet the delayed programme's demands and thus tried to meet the deadlines given, noting that the number was already far higher than the other sites, thus demonstrating their priority over the other castles' works.



Fig. 14 A modern interpretation of the preparations at Deal Castle for the future Queen's arrival, 2021, Emily Jo Moore.

<sup>71</sup> Harrington, 16.

<sup>72</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 455-468.

Little is known of the actual deadlines, though this author assumes that the King must have been involved with the date of the handover of Deal Castle as he had requested a banquet there for his new wife, Anne of Cleves, after her planned landing in 1539.<sup>73</sup> The future Queen did land there on 27th December, although some accounts show that the landing had been delayed due to inclement weather in the North Sea.<sup>74</sup> Others have suggested that this might have been an excuse to hold her in Calais until the castle was in a better state to receive the future Queen of England.<sup>75</sup> No matter the reason, the castle was not ready on her arrival as it was described at the time as 'unfinished' and 'unbefitting'.<sup>76</sup> Eustace Chapuys (1492 – 1596), a diplomat with the landing party, wrote:

This year on St John's Day, 27th December, Lady Anne, daughter of the duke of Cleves in Germany, landed at Dover at 5 o'clock at night, and there was honorably received by the duke of Suffolk and other great lords, and so lodged in the Castle. And on the following Monday she rode to Canterbury where she was honorably received by the archbishop of Canterbury and other great men, and lodged at the King's Palace at St Austin's, and there highly feasted.<sup>77</sup>

Other accounts reported that Cleves was taken to Deal to impress her and her landing party. It is suggested that her entourage was brought here to showcase the new English style of fortifications to impress them.<sup>78</sup> Whichever was the accurate account, it would appear that Deal was in a state of readiness by at least the very start of 1540. This theory is

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<sup>73</sup> Gairdner, J., and Brodie, R. H., *State Papers, H. M. Stationery Office, Great Britain. Public Record Office. Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. Preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum and Elsewhere.* Vol. 15, 1540. London, England: H.M. Stationery Office, 1896. Crown Copyright. Entry no. 131. Crown Copyright.

<sup>74</sup> Laker, 88.

<sup>75</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 455-468.

<sup>76</sup> Gairdner, J., and Brodie, R. H., *State Papers, H. M. Stationery Office, Great Britain. Public Record Office. Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. Preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum and Elsewhere.* Vol. 15, 1540. London, England: H.M. Stationery Office, 1896. Crown Copyright. Entry no. 131. Crown Copyright.

<sup>77</sup> Hanson, M., 'The first meeting of Anne of Cleves and Henry VIII 1539-1540', (Swindon: *English Heritage Magazine*, 2015): 7-10.

<sup>78</sup> Kendall, P., *Henry VIII in 100 Objects: The Tyrant King Who Had Six Wives* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword Books, 2021), 260.

strengthened by the fact that the workmen and labourers were taken from the project to work elsewhere, indicating that the works on the other two castles must have been near completion.<sup>79</sup> Deal, being the closest to the sea and the most battle-ready of the three, would likely have been selected first to defend the other two whilst they were in a state of construction. By 30th September 1540, all works had been completed, as this was the last recorded entry by Robert Lorde. Records show that by 1st October 1540, wages were being paid to the serving military at Deal and Walmer, thus indicating the completion of these works as well. The surviving accounts from the handover show that each castle was appointed a captain, a constable, a deputy, soldiers, porters, and gunners. Deal, still referred to as 'The Great Castle in the Downs', was also unusually furnished with a drummer and a trumpeter.<sup>80</sup> All other castles within the Device were allowed only one of the two musicians.<sup>81</sup> The captains of each castle were placed under the control of the Lord Warden; he was said to have control of around 4,000 soldiers at this time (up to 10,000, including the 'able men of Kent'). This assembly of personnel and property continued through to the end of the Stuart period.<sup>82</sup>

### **Pace of Construction**

The castles were built at great speed.<sup>83</sup> As an approximate indication of how swiftly these castles were built, we can consider the following castles from the same period:

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<sup>79</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 455-465.

<sup>80</sup> Gairdner, J., and Brodie, R. H., *State Papers, H. M. Stationery Office, Great Britain. Public Record Office. Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII. Preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum and Elsewhere*. Vol. 15, 1540. London, England: H.M. Stationery Office, 1896. Crown Copyright. Entry no. 131. Crown Copyright, 131.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> Burrows, M., *The Cinque Ports*, (London: Longmans, 1892), 182.

<sup>83</sup> Coad, J. *Deal Castle*, (Swindon: English Heritage, 1998), 19.



Location	Dates	Duration	Gross Area	Duration/Area
Thornbury Castle	1511 to 1521	10 years	1,438.65m <sup>2</sup>	143.87m <sup>2</sup>
Blackness Castle	1537 to 1542	5 years	1,102.25m <sup>2</sup>	220.45m <sup>2</sup>
Linlithgow Palace	1618 to 1622	4 years	2,758.31m <sup>2</sup>	689.57m <sup>2</sup>
Downs Castles	1539 to 1540	2 years	8,172.47m <sup>2</sup>	4086.24m <sup>2</sup>

Fig. 15 Table showing the gross area of castle construction projects from this period using measurements from *The History of the King's Works* with modern conversions undertaken by the author (Appendix D).

This table illustrates the extensive labour invested and the remarkable efficiency demonstrated in constructing the Downs castles, especially compared to comparable sites. It is essential to note the inherent complexity of this comparison, as the other castles listed were privately funded projects, distinct from the Crown-sponsored efforts at the Downs, and primarily intended as country residences rather than military fortifications. Consequently, their architectural designs diverged significantly. By the sixteenth century, advancements in cannons had diminished traditional castles' strategic importance, leading to a decline in not just Crown-sponsored builds but also private undertakings.<sup>84</sup>

Notwithstanding these differences in purpose, the expedited construction of the Downs underscores the remarkable skill and proficiency of the master masons involved, many of whom had previously demonstrated their ability to work under intense pressure during projects commissioned by Henry VIII. It is particularly excellent when we consider the new style of architecture that these castles were being engineered to undertake whilst undertaking such accelerated progress. Besides the great skill of the artificers and a large assortment of men, it is interesting to see what methods they employed to ensure these three fortresses were built so fast. Other sites' historical records for some of the same artificers reveal innovative strategies to mitigate delays, such as erecting canvas tents at Whitehall Palace to enable continuous work regardless of weather conditions.<sup>85</sup> Likewise, when we consider the ambiguity from earlier discussions over when the construction works

<sup>84</sup> Toy, 230.

<sup>85</sup> Biddle, M., Hiller, J., and Scott, I., *Henry VIII's Coastal Artillery Fort at Camber Castle, Rye, East Sussex: An Archaeological, Structural and Historical Investigation* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2001), 346.

started, it might be that the scale of these sites ensured that they started before 1539.

Perhaps the reference found in the State Papers for the Lord Warden, Sir Thomas Cheyney, in 1538 was indeed undertaking more works than previously thought.<sup>86</sup>



Fig. 16 An aerial view of Blackness Castle (1537-1542), Firth of Forth, Scotland, Wikimedia Commons public domain.

Another means that may have accelerated the work at the Downs was the proximity to Sandwich, which had well-established merchants. One of which may have considerably added to this tight programme. Starting in 1467, Sandwich became possibly the fourth town in England to start to manufacture bricks on a wholesale basis.<sup>87</sup> It was also coincidentally

<sup>86</sup> Gairdner, James, and R H Brodie, eds. *Preface, Letters and Papers: February 1539*, 26-28, In *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 14 Part 1, January-July 1539*, 143-166. London, England: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1894. Crown Copyright, i-ii, 671.

<sup>87</sup> Clarke, H., Pearson, S., Mate, M., and Parfitt, K., *Sandwich: The Most Completest Medieval Town in England*, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010), 135.

located somewhere near to Sandown Castle. Whilst no records remain that link the sites, it is interesting to speculate whether such a large, now largely forgotten, local industry was employed to supply the thousands of bricks used in the construction of the Castles of the Downs, which may have contributed to this accelerated programme.

Another practice that may have accelerated work was the vast amounts of quarrying to the coastline that would have supplied the rubble for footings and cores as well for the manufacture of lime mortar.<sup>88</sup> This form of extraction is known as 'foreshore quarrying', and the references within the Sandgate diary to 'wading' and 'tides' suggest this form of extraction; after all, it is only a modern concept that the builder does not extract or manufacture his materials for his projects. Likewise, in Biddle's accounts of the nearby construction work at the Port of Dover in 1535, men were also undertaking this method of sourcing stone.<sup>89</sup> The practice sounds very similar, and it could also suggest that some of the same men might have been actively engaged at both sites due to the relative scarcity of goods and experienced men, as Lambarde has also suggested.<sup>90</sup> Likewise, a study undertaken by the Kent Archaeological Society confirmed this practice in the construction of Sandgate Castle:

'The walls of the Castle are as much of Folkestone stone as of Kentish Rag. Some Kentish Rag blocks in the rubble core of broken-down parts of the walls are certainly beach-boulders, riddled with mollusc borings.'<sup>91</sup>

'The walls of the Castle also include scattered squared blocks of reused Caen stone, from St Radigund's Abbey and elsewhere (Rutton 1893). The contemporary Deal Castle has walls faced with squared blocks of Folkestone stone, Kentish Rag and

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<sup>88</sup> The British Library, Harley MS 1647.

<sup>89</sup> Colvin, H., *History of the King's Works*, 185.

<sup>90</sup> Lambarde, W. *A Perambulation of Kent, Containing the Description, Hystorie, and Customes of That Shire; Written in the Yeere 1570, First Published in the Year 1576, and Now Increased and Altered from the Author's Owne Last Copie* (Chatham: Baldwin et al., 1826).

<sup>91</sup> Worssam, B.C. & Tatton-Brown, T., *Kentish Rag And Other Kent Building Stones* (Maidstone: Kent Archaeological Society, 2017).

reused Caen stone, roughly in proportions of 70, 20 and 10 per cent. Some of the Folkestone stone and Kentish Rag blocks show mollusc borings.<sup>92</sup>

All of these practices at nearby Crown sites provide a context for how the King's Works functioned, and given the heightening need to accelerate the programme, it is likely these techniques were also employed at the Downs.

Similarly, the meticulous Sandgate Diary indicates a concerted effort to accelerate construction through extensive overtime and heightened productivity.<sup>93</sup> At Camber, the rapid pace of construction even necessitated the dismantling and reconstruction of certain sections. Biddle posits that while the accelerated schedule may have contributed to some structural shortcomings at Camber Castle, it is essential to consider the competence of figures like von Haschenperg, tasked with overseeing the project, as a potential factor.<sup>94</sup> However, the programme delays with labour and weather should be emphasised, as well as the inclusion of earthworks, stating that the overall construction of these three castles within these constraints is remarkable progress in such a relatively short time.

### **Initial Post Construction Development**

Eventually, the military took full possession of the castles and the connecting bulwarks on 1<sup>st</sup> October 1540. The command after that was placed into the control of the local captains, under Crown Statute *Tenure as of Castle of Dover c. 48. An Act concerning the Castle of Dover, Castle-Wards, and other Munitions thereabout* detailed the urgent military arrangements that were put in place for the Downs area, describing the supply and resourcing of guns and the appointment of the Cinque Port's Lord Warden to command the

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<sup>92</sup> Worssam, B.C. & Tatton-Brown, T., *Kentish Rag And Other Kent Building Stones* (Maidstone: Kent Archaeological Society, 2017).

<sup>93</sup> The British Library, Harley MS1647 & MS1651.

<sup>94</sup> Biddle, M., Hiller, J., and Scott, I., *Henry VIII's Coastal Artillery Fort at Camber Castle, Rye, East Sussex: An Archaeological, Structural and Historical Investigation* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2001), 189.

area until further notice.<sup>95</sup> The Lord Warden at the time was Arthur Plantagenet, 1st Viscount Lisle (d. 1542), the illegitimate son of King Edward IV and an uncle by blood to King Henry VIII. He was a popular courtier of the King and held many other celebrated positions, including Constable of Calais. However, an ongoing legal issue with his wider family over treason may have impacted his ability to fulfil this role over the handover period.<sup>96</sup>

The earliest surviving audit of the guns and ordnance at the Downs castles dates back to 1547, probably because it was the year Henry died. Deal had just fifty-seven cannons, but the original strategy was to have a fully armed castle with over 140 cannons; this would never come to fruition.<sup>97</sup> In 1558 the Mayor of Sandwich wrote to the Lord Lieutenant of Kent about 'the castles' late dysplacyng and disfurnyture'. He entitled his two-page, strongly worded letter the 'valydytie or invaliditie' of Deal, Walmer and Sandown Castles' and expressed his concerns about their condition and lack of resources.<sup>98</sup> He stated that attacks from the sea were now more likely as the enemy and criminals knew of the castles' relative abandonment. William Cecil, 1st Baron Burghley (1520-1598), who was Queen Elizabeth's Secretary of State at the time, visited in 1559 and noted that the local area would benefit from a full complement of soldiers to staff the castles, saying that, 'furnished with men as they have benne accustomed to be in tyme of warre', the area could be policed better due to the recent loss of lands in and around Calais in the previous year.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 455-468.

<sup>96</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 455-468.

<sup>97</sup> Kenyon, J.R., 'Ordnance and the King's Fortifications in 1547-8.' *Archaeologia* 107 (1982): 165-213.

<sup>98</sup> Kent History and Library Centre, Sa/ZB/3/64.

<sup>99</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 455-465.





Fig. 17 The frontispiece to a manuscript from 1465, © Trustees of the British Museum, Royal MS 16 F II.

The Southeast Device Castles and the surviving bulwarks were surveyed in 1567 and described as in severe decay.<sup>100</sup> It was noted, though, that peace with France had been secured in 1552 and that some scaling back of personnel was being implemented during this period.<sup>101</sup> A number of repairs were undertaken to the stonework and timber of the Castles of the Downs between 1567 and 1568. However, the extent is not recorded as the works also included Dover Castle, a site at Queenborough (probably the Castle still in use at this time), the bulwarks of Arcliffe and Moats, and Camber Castle. Deal and Sandown received the most monies for their repairs, with Walmer, on this occasion, receiving less.<sup>102</sup> The Surveyor, Mr. C. Petitt (unknown dates), refers to the repairs undertaken as 'works and reparations'. The word 'reparations' could refer to the need for thorough repair work, or it could be that the works were required to address defects that existed from the original construction some twenty-seven years prior. It is unclear precisely what the term relates to without being able to refer to the scheduled works. Still, it is an interesting choice of

<sup>100</sup> The Downs, Sandgate, and Camber.

<sup>101</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 455-465.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

terminology that could suggest the poor standard of the castles' fabric.<sup>103</sup> Noting also that Walmer received less monies for repairs than the other castles, yet two decades later in 1588, it was reportedly described to Queen Elizabeth as being in a 'ruinous state'.<sup>104</sup>

During the following decades, the castles prepared for a possible invasion by Spain. A huge muster of local men with their weapons was drawn up to be signalled at short notice to protect the shores. A network of beacons was established in the late sixteenth century to communicate the possible approach and even landing of enemy ships.<sup>105</sup> This is only important to the Castles of the Downs, in so much that they are displayed within maps of this time, showing their relevance to defence in Kent (Fig. 18).

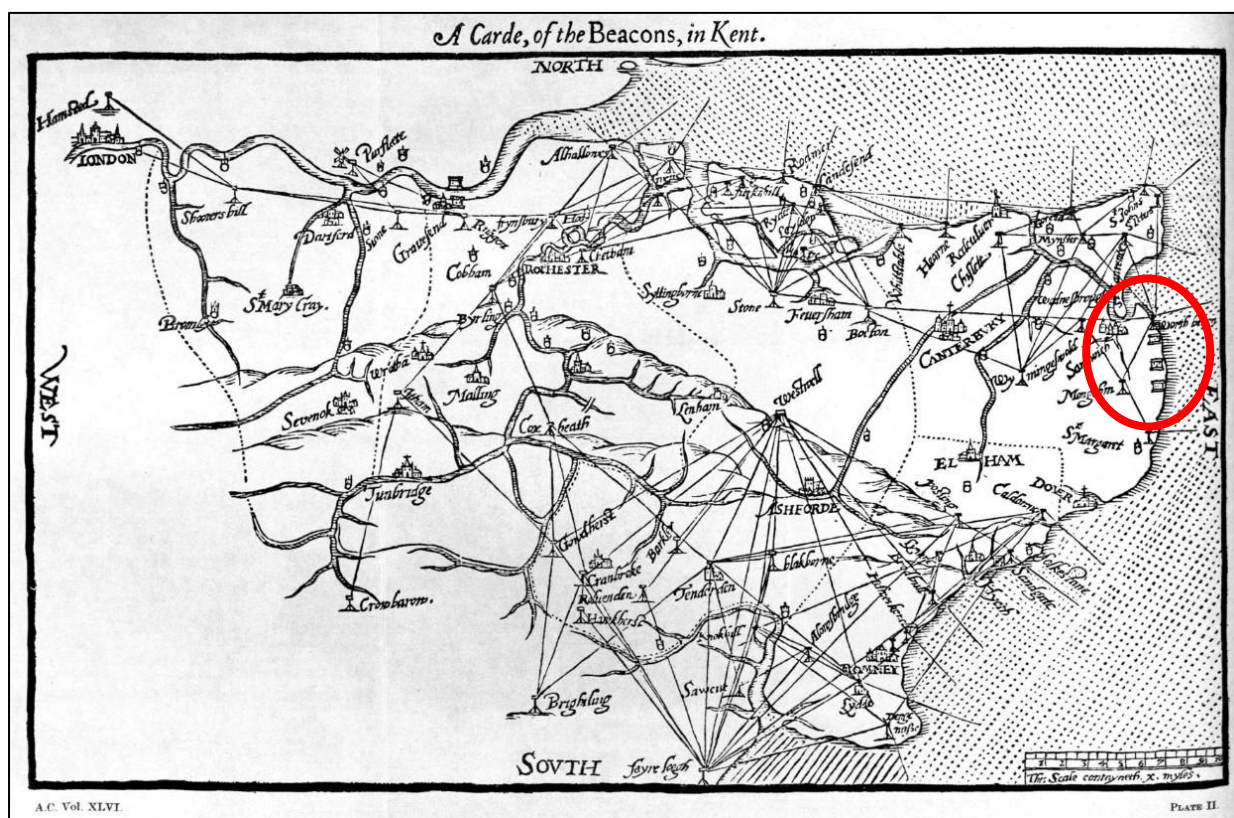


Fig. 18 The County of Kent's beacon system, c. 1585, Wikimedia Commons public domain.

<sup>103</sup> Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 455-465.

<sup>104</sup> Ellis, Sir H. and F. Douce, *A Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum: with indexes of persons, places and matters. Vol. 1, The Burghley Papers, Entry no. 37* (London: The Record Commission, 1819).

<sup>105</sup> Gunn, S., *The English People at War in the Age of Henry VIII*, (Oxford:Oxford University Press, 2018), 160.

The renewed threat of attack during Elizabeth's reign ensured that the beacon system was overhauled and used for all early warnings:

'Foreasmuch as the Queens Majestie by good intelligence is undoubtedly given to understand that the Kinge of Spayne, her capitall enemye, wounded with the late enterprize happely atcheived against him at Caliz, intendeth some speedie revenge uppon this real me.<sup>106</sup>

No works were recorded during this time, and once the tensions with Spain had finally decreased in 1594, budgets were allocated by the Crown to place all the castles of Kent under Crown control in order for them to be repaired and refurbished. Despite the warnings about the dilapidation of the castles, the repairs did not start until 1596.<sup>107</sup> Captains throughout the Tudor period seemed to have become accustomed to the lack of maintenance at their castles, often having to undertake their essential repairs where funds allowed.<sup>108</sup>

The threat of the Spanish had brought about increased defensive expenditure, mainly used to repair the castles that protected the Cinque Ports. However, accounts show that most of the spending (over 50%) was allocated to Dover Castle. The overseer of the works was Paul Ive (Unknown - 1604), who had been a prolific master mason during this period and was widely respected. He was also one of the first English master masons to publish his guide to fortress engineering.<sup>109</sup> In his *magnum opus* from 1589, he also reflects on the need for regular maintenance and how even the most robust of fortresses are not

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<sup>106</sup> White, H. T., 'The Beacon System In Kent', *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol 46 (1934): 77-96.

<sup>107</sup> White, H. T., 'The Beacon System In Kent', *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol 46 (1934): 77-96.

<sup>108</sup> Merriman, M., 'Realm and Castle: Henry VIII as European Builder', *History Today* Vol 41: Iss 6 (1991): 31-37.

<sup>109</sup> Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14496>, accessed: November 2021., Ive, P., *The Practice of Fortification* (London: Unknown Publisher, 1589).



impregnable to the advances of the sea, 'But a fort that landeth in the sea cannot leave the land it leaves neer to the frontier.'<sup>110</sup>

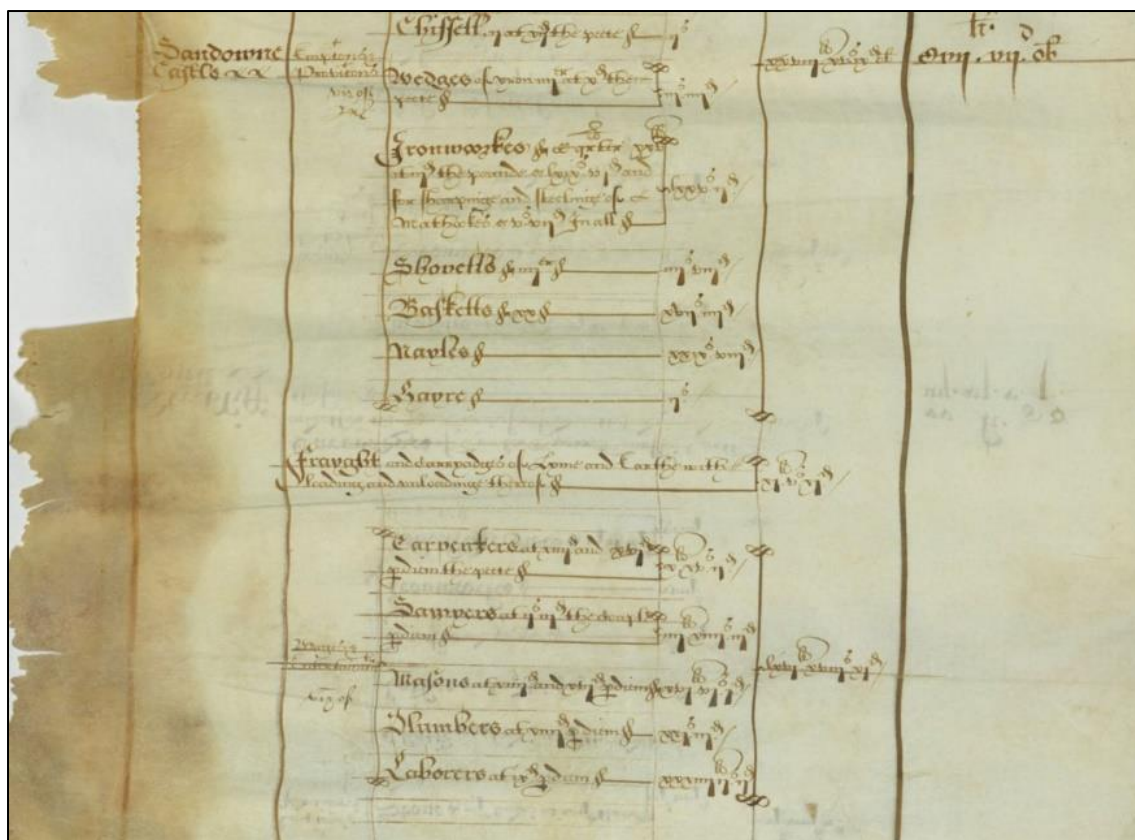


Fig. 19 A page from the complete and surviving accounts from the Castles of the Downs showing the repairs that were undertaken from 1596, The National Archives, E 351/3575.

A range of repairs were undertaken between 1596 and 1599 by Ive and the Crown Surveyor for Kent, Sir T. Fludd (1530 – 1607).<sup>111</sup> These included: stone replacements and repointing; re-dressing to the lead; replacement timber 'from sawyers' (these were likely to be floor joist repairs as these were very large timbers); replacement lathes which suggest replastering inside the castle; and replacements to the door locks. Sandown received similar attention but had a small deployment of plumbers and ironmakers to repair items within the castle and provide some hooks (likely for hammocks, as others have been

<sup>110</sup> Ive, P., *The Practice of Fortification* (London: Unknown Publisher, 1589) 5., Some Tudor primary sources refer to the sea as the 'great frontier'.

<sup>111</sup> Hasler, P. W., *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1558-1603*. Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1981. Crown Copyright, 195-215., The National Archive, E 351/3575.

documented as still in situ at Walmer).<sup>112</sup> Walmer received somewhat similar works to Sandown but without plumbers and also had a significant number of metalworks undertaken.<sup>113</sup>

According to Rev. Elvin, Queen Elizabeth I first visited the castles in 1573.<sup>114</sup> *En route* from Dover to Sandwich whilst inspecting the arrangements made for the accommodation of Flemish and Walloon refugees fleeing persecution in mainland European countries, Elizabeth visited all three castles in one day, supposedly ending at Sandown, where she lodged for the night.<sup>115</sup> However difficult it may be to imagine the Queen lodging in Sandown, merely a limb of the mightier Deal Castle, though this must be factual as she made the same trip in 1588 and yet again lodged at Sandown.<sup>116</sup> This hypothesis gains plausibility owing to Sandown Castle's comparatively remote location, which may have conferred greater defensibility. It is unclear why Elizabeth did not travel further along the coast and stay at the Royal Castles of Dover or Canterbury. However, as the journey was part of an official procession, it might have to do with planned events within the towns and villages receiving her.<sup>117</sup> Moreover, its smaller size and distance from the fledgling and roguish town of Deal could have contributed to its potential strategic advantage regarding protection and security. Noting also William Cobbett's much later damning assessment of the town in 1823, 'Deal is a most villainous place. It is full of filthy-looking people. Great desolation or abomination has been going on here'.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Site visit to Walmer Castle by the author in January 2015; hooks likely used for hammocks were located in the loft on a number of posts within the roof trusses. Their age and provenance are unknown.

<sup>113</sup> The National Archives, E 351/3575.

<sup>114</sup> Elvin 1890, 164., Crankshaw D., J., (ed.). 'Queen Elizabeth's Progress to Kent and Canterbury, July-September 1573.' John Nichols's *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources* Vol. 2. (2014): 53-85.

<sup>115</sup> Lewis, H. T., 'The Castles of Sandown and Sandgate', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 40 (1884): 173-178.

<sup>116</sup> Coad, J., *Deal Castle*, (Swindon: English Heritage, 2000), 14., Lewis, H. T., 'The Castles of Sandown and Sandgate', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 40 (1884): 173-178.

<sup>117</sup> Crankshaw D., J., (ed.). 'Queen Elizabeth's Progress to Kent and Canterbury, July-September 1573.' John Nichols's *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources* Vol. 2. (2014): 53-85.

<sup>118</sup> Cobbett, W., *Rural Rides*, (Edinburgh: T. Nelson & Sons, 1823), 227.



Perhaps the town was similar back in the sixteenth century, and having an isolated location to guard the Queen of England was the only option. Likewise, further events were planned for her the next morning at neighbouring Sandwich.<sup>119</sup>

### **The Seventeenth Century: A Divergence from Parity**

By 1603, all three castles were suffering dilapidation, with Sandown showing the most severe signs of damage where its beach was described as ‘vanished’ and its foundations ‘suffering’.<sup>120</sup> The dilapidation of the fortresses was raised to the Crown in 1615, with Deal being of particular interest because it was the largest and the most heavily fortified.<sup>121</sup> It appeared to be suffering from water ingress inflicted by the encroaching coastline. The State Papers of James I (1566 – 1625):

‘Statement of the dangerous state of decay of Deal Castle; the sea-wall is eaten away, the lantern decayed. If no present remedy be applied, the charge will be much greater.’<sup>122</sup>

During this time, the coastline was rapidly eroding (possible due to longshore drift), and the sea was advancing closer to the castles.<sup>123</sup> Deal supposedly had much of its sea wall ‘eaten

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<sup>119</sup> Crankshaw D., J., (ed.). ‘Queen Elizabeth's Progress to Kent and Canterbury, July-September 1573.’ John Nichols's *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources* Vol. 2. (2014): 53-85.

<sup>120</sup> Lewis, H. T., ‘The Castles of Sandown and Sandgate’, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 40 (1884): 173-178.

<sup>121</sup> Gairdner, J., and Brodie, R. H., *State Papers, James I - Volume 81: September 1615. Calendar of State Papers Domestic: James I, 1611-18.*, Vol. 81, 1615 London, England: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1858. Crown Copyright. 189-190.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>123</sup> Sandwich Port silting-up in the sixteenth century may have been the cause: Clarke, H., *Discover Medieval Sandwich A Guide to Its History and Buildings*, (Oxbow Books, 2011), 7.

away by the sea' and its timber lantern had been completely lost due to damp ingress.<sup>124</sup> W. M. Boughton (unknown dates), the captain of Walmer Castle at the time, wrote to Lord Zouch (1556 – 1625) – the Lord Warden, describing Walmer as 'greatly injured' following a number of recent storms and cautioned that 'Walmer needs speedy attention, as do the roofs which admit the rain'.

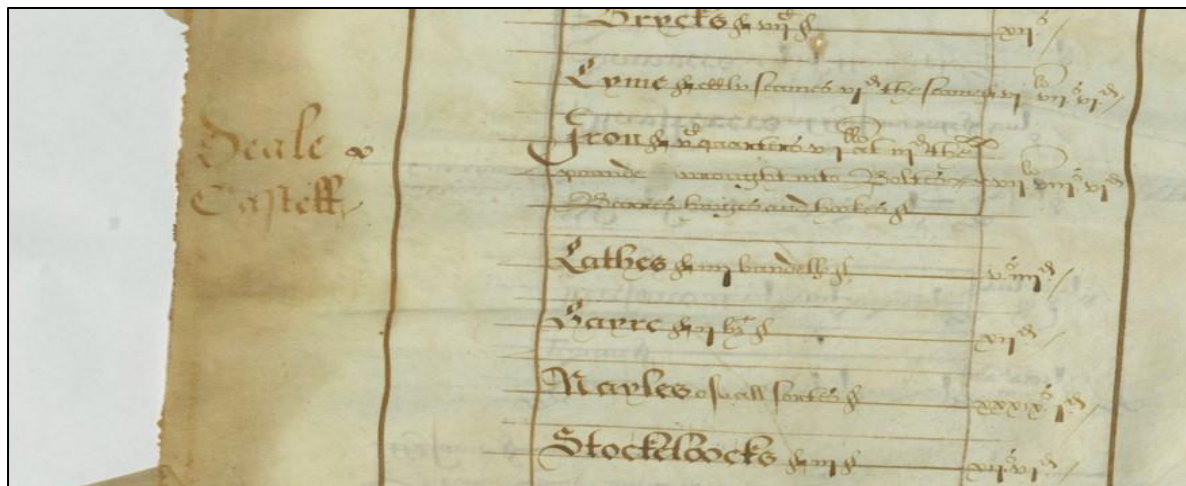


Fig. 20 An excerpt from the 1613 survey, The National Archives, E/134/16Chasl/Mich/29.

The original survey is located at the National Archives, and its summary of these findings found that Sandown's drawbridge was unserviceable but needed to be rebuilt. The Porter's Lodge was being used as a prison and was decayed beyond use fit for a Castle Porter.<sup>125</sup> The lantern on the keep was so severely weathered that it may collapse and take the roof with it. Seven rooms at the top of the keep needed re-plastering and painting, showing the castle's early form of domesticity. The upper bastions and their supporting buttresses needed urgent work, including repointing. The State Papers note that the moat's counterscarp (retaining walling) along the sea was so severely damaged by the force of the waves, which was so bad that Zouch thought it significant enough to threaten the entire

<sup>124</sup> The National Archives, E/134/16Chasl/Mich/29.

<sup>125</sup> The National Archives, E/134/16Chasl/Mich/29.

castle.<sup>126</sup> Finally, an eight-rod-long jetty into the sea was necessary to prevent further damage.<sup>127</sup>



Fig. 21 Map produced part of Kent and Sussex survey, 1795-1796, held by the Royal Society of London, used under UK Fair Dealing.

Walmer was also in a deteriorated state. Timber, including staircases, lintels, and the drawbridge, had decayed due to water damage.<sup>128</sup> The advancing sea extensively damaged the moat's wall, requiring repointing and drainage work. However, the concerns about the sea reaching the castle were unfounded, as coastal erosion would be diminished in subsequent years. As we have seen, the beach expanded, effectively shifting Walmer

<sup>126</sup> Green, Mary Anne Everett. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of James I, 1611-1618, preserved in the State Paper Department of her Majesty's Public Record Office*. Vol. [2], Entry no. 15, London, England: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1858. Crown Copyright.

<sup>127</sup> The National Archives, E/134/16Chas1/Mich/29.

<sup>128</sup> Elvin, 82-83.

inland. A map from 1795 that appears to be reasonably accurate shows Walmer's renewed position relative to the sea (Fig. 21).

It is unclear whether much work was carried out to the three castles in the 1610s, though Diary extracts written by the serving captain at Walmer, mention that the stationed staff appear to be more content with their quarters at Walmer from around 1621.<sup>129</sup> This suggests that some or all of the proposed works would have been carried out under the orders of Lord Zouch between the date of the commissioning of the report in 1616 and around 1621 when more personnel were also present at Deal and Walmer.<sup>130</sup>

However, the march of the sea would soon renew these issues as the scale and effectiveness of these repairs were doubtful. By 1626, the captains of both Walmer and Deal were again petitioning for better sea wall defences. These were attached along with a further summary of dilapidation that showed that the castles were again experiencing damp ingress; both Walmer and Deal suffered from the weather, and Deal suffered from seawater penetration.<sup>131</sup> As we have seen in their respective designs, all three castles were designed to ensure that the moats were not filled with water. However, due to their proximity to the sea, it would surely have been an inevitability and, therefore, a significant design flaw, particularly as the outer walls have many low-level gun embrasures.

The petition appears to have largely been ignored, as the same captains re-sent the same petition some weeks later to the Privy Council, hoping that the King would receive the information. The opening section read:

'... the last survey which was taken both for the fortification and reparations of the Castles might be put in execution, the mines daily increase in so much that if some

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<sup>129</sup> Elvin, 174.

<sup>130</sup> Elvin, 174., Gairdner, J., and Brodie, R. H., *State Papers, James I - Volume 81: September 1615. Calendar of State Papers Domestic: James I, 1611-18.*, Vol. 81, 1615 London, England: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1858. Crown Copyright.

<sup>131</sup> Elvin, 175-176.

course be not taken before winter (by the judgment of all men) the sea will swallowe them up!<sup>132</sup>

It appears that no action was enacted to deal with the damp issues, and a further petition was made in the following year, 1627.<sup>133</sup> George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham and the Lord High Admiral (1592-1628) granted funds for Walmer, Deal, and Camber, but Sandown was again excluded.<sup>134</sup> As we learn from the state papers, the latter castle had far fewer garrisoned staff than the other two castles. Its dilapidation appears to have been more rapid than the others, as they mention ‘...the decayed condition of Sandown Castle. The sea wall perished, the stonework and lead decayed, the bridge and stairs rotten, the glass broken.’<sup>135</sup> It indeed would appear that no maintenance works had been undertaken, and this supports the theory that Sandown was essentially becoming a lost cause beyond the remit of repair in the 1620s. This is interesting as it is only eighty years since it was built.

In 1634, King Charles I (1600 – 1649) dispatched his most senior engineer, Lieutenant Colonel John Paperill (unknown dates), to survey the castles.<sup>136</sup> Paperill identified the repairs needed, but the repairs were again neglected despite further petitions from the captains.

Yet still no repairs were undertaken, and by 1637 a structural timber member in the entrance bastion of Deal collapsed due to water ingress. The Castle Porter, Seales March (unknown dates), was a vocal advocate for the work and appeared somewhat of a ‘local character’.<sup>137</sup> A court case from the time found that March was resting upon his bunk when a timber beam collapsed above him. It came crashing down in his lodging, narrowly

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<sup>132</sup> Elvin, 176.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 175-176.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>135</sup> Gairdner, J., and Brodie, R. H., *State Papers, James I - Volume 81: September 1615. Calendar of State Papers Domestic: James I, 1611-18.*, Vol. 81, 1615 London, England: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1858. Crown Copyright.

<sup>136</sup> The Institution of Royal Engineers, *History of the Corps of Royal Engineers: Volume V - The Home Front, France, Flanders and Italy in the First World War* (Chatham: The Institution of Royal Engineers, 1952), 8.

<sup>137</sup> G. J. Armytage (ed.), *A Visitation of the County of Kent, 1663-8* (Publications of the Harleian Society, 54, 1906), 136.



missing him. Unscathed but furious with rage, he soon brought a court case against Joshua Copping, a visitor to the castle who made light of the situation.<sup>138</sup> In court, the man described Seales as ‘a rogue, a rascall, a coward, and [he] threw nutshells in his face’. It is noted in the State Paper that Seales did not win this defamatory hearing in 1635.<sup>139</sup> However, for structural timber members to collapse due to water penetration, especially given their size, demonstrates how dilapidated Deal must have been. Accounting for the main entrance gate, the lodging would have been to the right of the photo (Fig. 22). The roof beam on the right is cut differently than the matching joist on the left; it is also stained differently with less patina. This, therefore, suggests that the falling beam was the one on the right of this photo.



Fig. 22 Photograph of the former Porter's Lodgings, Deal Castle, 2020.

<sup>138</sup> Bruce, John. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of Charles I, 1635, preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office*. Vol. [8], Entry no. 10, London, England: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1865. Crown Copyright.

<sup>139</sup> Site: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/court-of-chivalry/410-march-coppin> Richard Cust and Andrew Hopper, '410 March v Coppin', in *The Court of Chivalry 1634-1640*, ed. Richard Cust and Andrew Hopper, British History Online, accessed: December 2019., Bruce, John. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of Charles I, 1635, preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office*. Vol. [8], Entry no. 10, London, England: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1865. Crown Copyright.

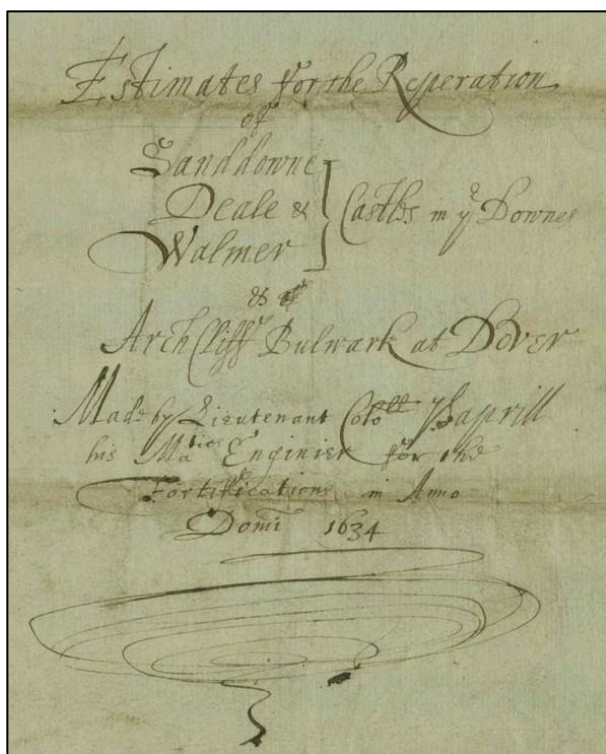


Fig. 23 Cover of 'Separate estimates for repair of Sandown, Deal, and Walmer castles in the Downs and of Archcliff bulwark at Dover, made by Lieutenant-Colonel Paperill, his Majesty's engineer for fortifications, in 1634', SP 16 Secretaries of State: State Papers, 1634.

In 1638, the captains wrote a strongly worded letter to Sir Roger Manwood (d. 1653), the Lieutenant of Dover Castle, criticising the inaction in protecting their occupied buildings.<sup>140</sup> They wrote:

'Since signature of preceding there has fallen down a principal piece of timber which supported the stonework of the outward gate. The soldiers, myself, my wife and family besides the irksomeness of the rain are in continual fear of our lives.'<sup>141</sup>

The likelihood of the Crown's reluctance to undertake any proper repairs possibly lies with the fact that the castles of Deal and Walmer were also underprepared for military readiness, effectively making them unlikely fortifications should there be a war or invasion. It would

<sup>140</sup> Elvin, 177.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 178.

appear that the country was mostly at peace, as the expenditure on arms was reduced across the country. An account from Edmund Lisle (d. 1637) in 1634, who was a newly appointed captain of Walmer mentioned that there was, 'not one piece of ordnance mounted with only four serviceable muskets, and about a barrel of powder since expended with little supply.'<sup>142</sup> During this time, crude timber sea defences (groynes) were the only repairs made, but they did not last as they were washed away during a severe storm. Apart from spending on sea defences, little repair work was undertaken at the castles despite the captains' joint petitions and estimates being produced from the surveys (Fig. 23).<sup>143</sup>

The trio of Downs Castles would witness a grand battle on 21<sup>st</sup> October 1639.<sup>144</sup> Later, it was named 'The Battle of the Downs' and was part of the Eighty Years War.<sup>145</sup> A Spanish fleet was decisively defeated by a Dutch force a mere few miles from the castles within the deepwater of the Downs anchorage.<sup>146</sup> Victory soon occurred, which ended Spanish efforts to re-assert naval control over the English Channel and confirmed Dutch dominance of the sea lanes. Fortunately, the English remained neutral to the cause during such a significant battle, as the Castles of the Downs were wholly unfit for war due to the lack of resources and dilapidation within the castles. The castles suffered no damage from observing this battle and sat idly by as the two superpowers fought it a mere mile or less from their stations. It is interesting to see the castles depicted in the painting as they were primarily externally unaltered since construction (Fig. 24). It is also one of the only paintings in existence that depicts all three castles; it is currently on display inside Walmer (as of 2024).

Between 1634 and 1643, many personnel stationed at Walmer began lodging in Deal, likely due to damp conditions. Although accounts differ, the reduced staff likely

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<sup>142</sup> Elvin, 177 & 181.

<sup>143</sup> Bruce, J., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I, 1634-1635, Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office*. Vol. 7. London, England: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1864. Crown Copyright.

<sup>144</sup> Wallace, D., C., *Twenty-Two Turbulent Years 1639 – 1661*, (Bedford: Upfront Publishing Limited, 2013), 191.

<sup>145</sup> Reger, W., *The Limits of Empire: European Imperial Formations in Early Modern World History: Essays in Honor of Geoffrey Parker*. Edited by Tonio Andrade and William Reger., (London: Taylor & Francis, 2016), 76.

<sup>146</sup> Hainsworth, D., R., & Churches, C., *The Anglo-Dutch Naval Wars 1652-1674*, (Sutton Publishing, 1998), 41.

facilitated the castle's seizure during the English Civil War in 1642.<sup>147</sup> Parliamentary forces seized the castle at the start of the conflict. Still, it appears to have not made much historical contribution to the English Civil War other than this early occupation.<sup>148</sup>

Between 1643 and 1645, a number of repair works were undertaken at Walmer and Sandown castles; any work to Deal is not recorded until 1657.<sup>149</sup> Local noblemen Edward Monyns (c.1660 - 1663), credited as *Monins* in the documents, and Sir Edward Boys, then Lord Warden (1579-1646), undertook the programme of repair at Sandown, and from surveying these accounts, it would appear that some of the men and materials were borrowed to fix some essential items at Walmer. The repair works were managed onsite by Thomas Hanronberge/Hamonberge, for whom little reference or history can be found.<sup>150</sup> The exact remit of the works is unclear. Still, the accounts suggest that some minor stonework was repaired, carpenters for timber repairs were required, and a staircase was possibly overhauled or replaced in Sandown.<sup>151</sup> Sir Edward Boys acquired five hundred loads (tons) of timber via Parliament. The original receipt still exists and refers to the timber having carriage paid for Walmer and Sandown, suggesting that most of the works were for Dover Castle.<sup>152</sup>

The Accounts largely survive but are challenging to read due to fading within the ink; however, some parts are fascinating. The most noteworthy of the entries on the accounts is where the Captain of Walmer (Andrew Bales, unknown dates) had the builders 'forming of six windows' and 'glazing work' (again, six number in quantity).<sup>153</sup> This is fascinating as

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<sup>147</sup> Powell, Rev. J. R., 'The Siege of The Downs Castles in 1648', *The Mariner's Mirror* 51:2 (1965): 155-171.

<sup>148</sup> Gaunt, P., *The English Civil Wars 1642-1651* (Oxford: Osprey, 2003), 118.

<sup>149</sup> The National Archives, E/351/3599., Green, M. A. E., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, [Commonwealth], 1657-1658, Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office*. Vol. 11. London, Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Dublin: Longman & Co., Trübner & Co., Parker & Co., Macmillan & Co., A. & C. Black, Douglas Foulis, and A. Thom, 1884. Crown Copyright.

<sup>150</sup> This is possible due to the spelling of his name. Having checked a number of works, there is no mention of the man. For example, Mark Girouard's *Biographical Dictionary of Architecture* (2021) does not contain a similar sounding name for all men with a surname beginning with 'H'.

<sup>151</sup> The National Archives, E/351/3599.

<sup>152</sup> Thrush, A., Ferris, J.P. *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1604-1629*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 188., The National Archives, SP/28/210/113.

<sup>153</sup> The National Archives, E/351/3599/3.

here, in 1643/1644, a little over a hundred years from when these castles were first built as fortresses to protect the nation, these substantive alterations demonstrate possibly the very first instance of some form of domesticity conversion being formed at Walmer. The other castles showed painting and plastering, but these alterations were far more substantive. The locations of these new windows are not mentioned, and there are no surviving drawings; however, likely, they were probably installed within the keep. In 1966, the Office of Works found several Tudor partitions and doorways hidden by later over-boarding, which could have been from these very alterations (Fig. 25).<sup>154</sup> This original 1643/1644 account also mentions payments for 'The Engineer' and his transportation to Trenley Park, all of which suggest that if an engineer had designed these works, they must have been substantial enough for the need of an engineer. Park visits are probably not recreational and were perhaps meant to monitor tree felling for timber.<sup>155</sup> This discovery of new windows being installed and the 1966 discovery of hidden Tudor partitions demonstrate that together, Walmer was being made somewhat comfortable, which is sixty-five years before Lord Sackville's occupation of the castle in 1708 when all scholars assume that the castle started to become more domesticated.<sup>156</sup> This is incredibly interesting as it demonstrates that Walmer, and perhaps the other Castles within the Downs, were not perhaps successfully designed and were being domesticated due to them being unadaptable for military use far earlier than first thought. After all, what use is a keep in defending opponent attacks if it has large, glazed windows installed within it? Further investigation outside this work should be commissioned to establish which windows these were and to see whether this initial domestication of Walmer the catalyst for Sackville's move to Walmer was, as the records do not show why he moved the Lord Warden's office here. Conspicuously, the Lord Warden,

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<sup>154</sup> Historic England Archives, AL0960/064/01, AL0960/064/04.

<sup>155</sup> The National Archives, E/351/3599., Trenley Park was a hunting enclosure formed after 1066 and still presumably used in the Tudor period. It is believed to have been located near Canterbury. It is thought to be one of the oldest man-made hunting parks in England, owned/managed by Canterbury Cathedral: Pittman, S., *Elizabethan and Jacobean Deer Parks in Kent*, (University of Kent, 2011). As Sir Boys was obtaining Parliament approval for the timber loads it is likely the timber was felled from here.

<sup>156</sup> Curzon, 1., Saunders, *Deal and Walmer Castles*, 19-20., Pevsner, 589., Hogg, G., *Castles of England*, (Arco, 1969), 46-47.,



Sir Edward Boys, was undertaking these works and not the Captain of Walmer Castle. This is compounded by the fact that no Captain was in position during this time, and perhaps Sir Edward Boys and not Lord Sackville was the first Lord Warden to move to Walmer.<sup>157</sup>



Fig. 24 The Three Castles of the Downs, Oil on Canvas, Seventeenth Century, The Walmer Collection, English Heritage.<sup>158</sup>



Fig. 25 Photograph from 1966 showing the original oak Tudor partitions hidden behind much-later additions, Historic England Archive, AL0960/064/04.

<sup>157</sup> Elvin, 227., Site: <https://cinqueports.org/lord-warden-officials/list-of-lord-wardens/>, accessed December 2023

<sup>158</sup> This painting is part of the Walmer Collection and is displayed at Walmer. No one knows who painted it. The artist may have been Robert Dodd (1748–1815), as within original 1931 OoWs notes regarding the Walmer Collection, refer to a painting of this nature at a size of 29'' x 19.25''. It is described as the Dutch being defeated and not the Spanish – further investigation outside the remit of this work should be required to establish this. The National Archives, WORK65/272/017. Update: In August 2023, EH updated their website to show that they believe the painting is by Sir Martin Beckman (c.1634–1702), site: <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/walmer-castle-and-gardens/history-and-stories/collection/>, accessed: June 2023.

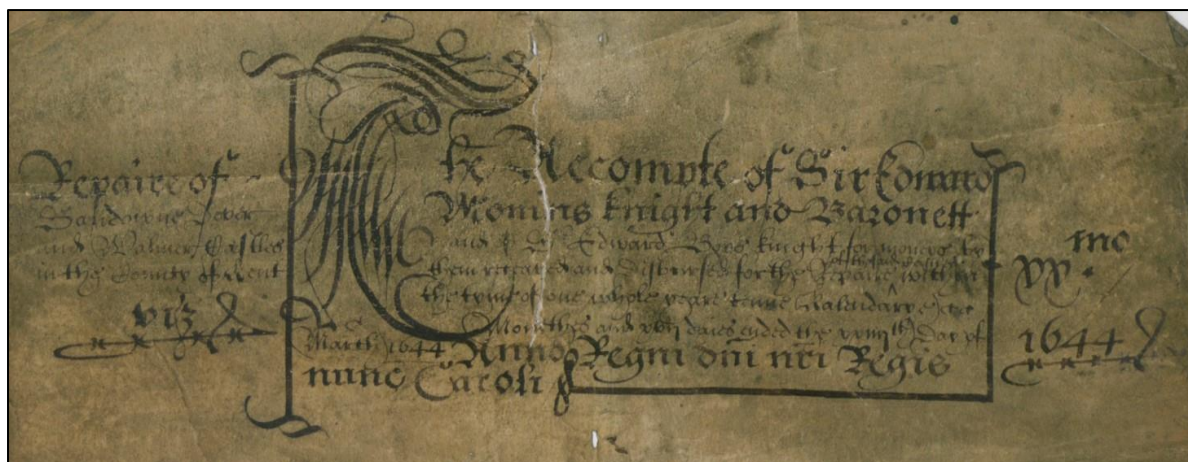


Fig. 26 The header of the document stating the accounts paid for repairs to Sandown, 1644, The National Archives, E/351/3599.

In 1640s, Walmer Manor is believed to have been sold. In 2017, an original estate map on velum was auctioned that was a near replica of another copy of the same document as displayed in Walmer Castle (Fig. 27).<sup>159</sup> The map is believed to have been produced by William Boycot (1615-1648) a prolific cartographer from this period. Both documents are interesting as they depict Walmer and Deal Castles with the two bulwarks and a number of nearby parcels of land and their landholders.<sup>160</sup> In the very least, the large muster of ships anchored off Deal shows the increasing importance of The Downs to the Crown.

In 1648, following a brief period of tenuous tranquillity after 1645, the Second Civil War ensued.<sup>161</sup> This time, the Scottish allies and the Royalist supporters of Charles played an active role in the hostilities. Walmer Castle and the other Henrician castles served as a bulwark safeguarding the Parliamentary navy stationed in the Downs. However, by May, an uprising by the Royalists had erupted throughout Kent.

<sup>159</sup> Site: <https://www.the-saleroom.com/en-gb/auction-catalogues/dominic-winter-book-auctions/catalogue-id-srdom10087/lot-206bc446-021e-4fe8-b89f-a78900b6597a>, accessed: December 2023.

<sup>160</sup> One of which appears to be Sir Edward Boys, then Lord Warden.

<sup>161</sup> Elvin, 227.

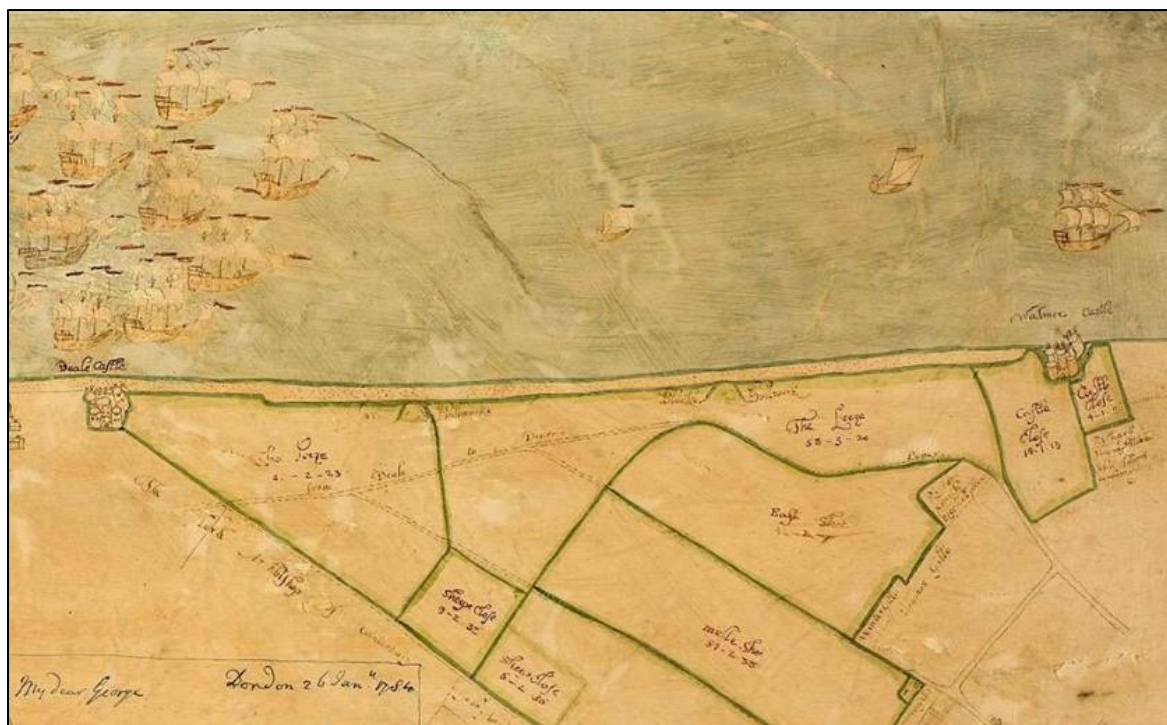


Fig. 27 Map from 1640 showing Deal and Walmer Castles, along with two bulwarks. The Walmer Collection, Map displayed at Walmer Castle, 'Pre-English Civil War map', 1640.

Walmer surrendered pretty swiftly, whereas Deal with the Royalist navy on their side managed to increase the number of able men within the castle.<sup>162</sup> Besieging Deal was more challenging for the forces as a Royalist fleet bombarded the Parliamentary men from the sea.<sup>163</sup> Despite several bombardments from the ships in the Downs (three attempts), the efforts failed, and the parliamentary forces suffered heavy losses.<sup>164</sup> It was estimated that around £500 was needed after the conflict to repair the outer walls following the siege at Walmer. A report written after the damaging siege stated:

'The Castle is much torn, and spoiled with the grenades, as Walmer was, or rather more; the repair of which as well as that of Walmer, I submit it to you, whether necessary before the winter come on.'<sup>165</sup>

<sup>162</sup> O'Neill, B. H. St John. *Deal Castle, Kent*, (Swindon: Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, 1985), 7.

<sup>163</sup> Elvin, 227.

<sup>164</sup> Harrington, 51.

<sup>165</sup> Elvin, 207.

It was reported that the conflict had severely damaged Deal. 'Granadoes', an early form of artillery (masonry filled with explosives), were fired into the castle, causing this damage, sixteen of which were fired in one day.<sup>166</sup> The siege took three weeks with hundreds of men, lots of crude artillery, and even starting fires to better access the castle. Such was the testament to the Tudor engineers for Deal's complex and defensive layout that it suffered little structural damage.<sup>167</sup> The castle was subsequently repaired, but it was not in a fit state as reports from this time appear to remark on the scale of the damp ingress and the awful living standards.<sup>168</sup>

A year later in 1649, Parliament ordered new ordinance and an increase in soldiers for castles in East Kent.<sup>169</sup> The surviving accounts give a fascinating insight into the works to repair Sandown, but they also show that some of the labour and materials were to be used at Walmer, so it is difficult to be precise about what works were for which site (plus there is also a small mention of Dover Castle which again adds more confusion). It appears that the men were again deployed and headed by a Thomas Hanronberge. The accounts show a deployment of mainly carpenters and stonemasons, with one man employed to work with lead and to fix Sandown's portcullis. The scope of works included redressing lead abutments, window repairs, new floorboards, fixing lathes, plastering/pointing, and brick and stone replacements. There were two main items of work; one was the timber repairs, as the documents comptroller remarks on how expensive the carriage was at six shillings. This suggests a large quantity of timber was ordered for the work (mainly as 500 loads of timber had been ordered for Walmer and Sandown).<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Elvin, 207.

<sup>167</sup> Harrington, 51.

<sup>168</sup> Harrington, 58

<sup>169</sup> Site: <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/acts-ordinances-interregnum/pp24-57>, 'April 1649: An Act For Raising Ninety thousand pounds per Mensem, For the Maintenance of the Forces raised by Authority of Parliament, for the Service of England and Ireland, For Six Moneths, from the 25th of March, 1649 to the 29th of September, 1649.', in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, ed. C H Firth and R S Rait (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911), 24-57., accessed: November 2019.

<sup>170</sup> The National Archives, SP 28/210/113.

The other significant item was the stonework to the roof, about which the comptroller coarsely remarked, 'Masons works done by ear in the top of the castle on 10<sup>th</sup> the mason is bound to show for a year of his life.'<sup>171</sup> This suggests that the stonemasons remarked on the volume of work required and how they were only bound to repair the bare essentials based on money and time allowed. There is also an interesting section where the comptroller mentions a mason working on the roof who had lost an essential tool that was washed away by the sea. The controller notes the incident and decides to give the 'poor man', by sympathy, some funds to replace the tool. This incident is interesting as it shows that even by the seventeenth century, the encroachment of the sea towards the castle must have been a factor. It suggests that the castle was not just being bombarded by the tides (as we saw in the early seventeenth century), but that it was likely sitting in seawater during low tide.<sup>172</sup> The earlier groynes had also fundamentally failed. An indication of the probable water level can be seen in Fig. 28.

Charles II was restored to the throne in 1660 and decided to reduce the number of personnel at Walmer, but he also commissioned a number of alterations to the castle. These included the building of a fixed stone causeway and general repairs to the roofs.<sup>173</sup> Located on this causeway, close to the ground on the dwarf walling, an inscription reads: 'This Castle was built in the yeare 1540. This wall was built in the yeare 1661.'

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<sup>171</sup> The author has modernised/anglicised the language based on likely phonetics, as some of it appears to be Frisian; The National Archives, E351/3599

<sup>172</sup> The National Archives, E351/3599

<sup>173</sup> Colvin, 465.





Fig. 28 A nineteenth century etching of Sandown Castle showing the advancement of the coastline, private collection.

It is also important to note that former prominent Parliamentarian and 'Roundhead', Colonel John Hutchinson (1615–1664), was detained and imprisoned inside Sandown Castle in 1664 for the crimes of regicide, owing to his signing of the death warrant of King Charles I.<sup>174</sup> His wife Lucy published an account of his gruelling detainment in the castle where his cell would partially fill with seawater, his belongings would quickly mould, and the castle was squalid and in physical disarray (in at least the basement areas).<sup>175</sup> In 1853, it was reported that his prison chair remained at the castle, and a painting of him was hanging in the Captain's apartment.<sup>176</sup>

The Crown must have undertaken some works at Deal Castle as by 1670, Queen Catherine (1638 – 1705), Queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland during her marriage to

<sup>174</sup> Mackenzie, J., D., *The Castles of England: Their Story and Structure, Vol. II – originally 1896*, (Leipzig: Republished Hansebooks, 2017), 40.

<sup>175</sup> Hutchinson, L., and Hutchinson, J., *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson: With Original Anecdotes of Many of the Most Distinguished of His Contemporaries, and a Summary Review of Public Affairs*, (London: H. G. Bohn, 1846), 465-468

<sup>176</sup> Illustrated London News. 1853. 'Sandown Castle.' *Illustrated London News*: January 22, 1853, P. 18.

King Charles II, lodged at the castle after an official engagement in Sandwich.<sup>177</sup> This suggests that Deal's condition must have been a standard, befitting the Royal Family and their entourage. Queen Catherine could have lodged at the nearby Royal Castles of Dover or Canterbury, but for reasons unknown, Deal was chosen. Therefore, this could suggest some form of refurbishment during this century.

In the Glorious Revolution of 1688 against Charles' heir and brother, King James II (1633 – 1701), the local population of Deal and Walmer seized the Castles of the Downs on behalf of William III, the Prince of Orange (1650 – 1702), though no damage was recorded. By the end of the seventeenth century, the once state-of-the-art castles were regarded as outdated and inadequate for military use, despite them now being in 'good condition'.<sup>178</sup>

Away from the manmade attacks that plagued the fortifications during this period of civil unrest, a natural disaster would occur that would severely affect Deal Castle. In 1692, a reportedly large and violent earthquake shook parts of Kent and France, possibly emitted from the sea, and thus, the structures closest to the beaches in East Kent felt the most force.<sup>179</sup> Some houses were so severely shaken that they believed the whole town was ready to collapse.<sup>180</sup> Deal Castle was said to have been physically shaken for two minutes but was thought to have received no damage.<sup>181</sup> A survey by this author in 2023 (Appendix B) found cracks within 'The Rounds' at Deal (the tunnels circumnavigating the castle), these were spotted by finding 1927 Office of Work Surveyors' precision gauges (colloquially known as 'Surveyor's Tell-Tales', Fig. 29). Despite the deep cracks on the seaward side attached to these ninety-six-year-old surveyor's instruments, no subsequent movement has occurred.

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<sup>177</sup> Walter, Sir S., *The Antiquary, Vol. 7.*, (London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1816).

<sup>178</sup> Elvin, 222-225. Elvin, 224.; O'Neill, B. H. St John. *Deal Castle, Kent.* (Swindon: Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, 1985), 12., Hardy, W. J., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of William and Mary, 13th February 1689-April 1690*, Preserved in the Public Record Office. Vol. 1. London, England: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1895. Crown Copyright.

<sup>179</sup> Hasted, E., '*The town and parish of Deal*', in *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 10* (Canterbury: W. Bristow, 1800), 1-23

<sup>180</sup> Behrens, L. B., *Under Thirty-Seven Kings: Legends of Kent & Records of the Family of Boys* (London: The Saint Catherine Press, 1926), 72.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*; Morse, T., 'How near were we to Ruine: the effects in England of the earthquake of 8th September 1692.' *Disasters*, Volume 7, Issue 4 (December 1983): 276-282.

Therefore, if these gauges had been installed on the inclination in the 1920s that Deal was possibly subsiding or suffering from structural issues, we can deduce that in the years since it most certainly has not as the instruments are still fully intact. It is a testament to Tudor engineering that these castles suffered such violent cracks from this natural episode but are still relatively untouched.



Fig. 29 A photograph by the author of the in-situ precision gauges used in 1927 to detect structural issues at the Castle. The 'six' likely denotes June and others have 'eight', likely denoting August 1927, 2023.

Along with these surveyor gauges in the Rounds, it is interesting how many individual carved stone examples also exist there (Fig. 30). From our survey (Appendix B), there are many examples of highly detailed stonework being purposefully carved and then installed in obvious and discreet locations.<sup>182</sup> This is also more compounded by the fact that Walmer's Rounds (Appendix W), does not appear to contain any whatsoever. It is interesting to posit the motives for these inclusions and why Deal has so many surviving examples. It suggests that during construction and its early life, Deal was regarded with more significance than

<sup>182</sup> Some appear to be spolia whereas others are obviously carved to be hidden in Deal's Rounds (Appendix B).



Walmer, which is an interesting point to consider at the close of this chapter on the construction and early development of these three castles.



Fig. 30 An example of either purposely carved stonework or spolia removed from another site, (photo author, 2023).

After enduring a period of turmoil marked by great dilapidation and some repair, the three castles demonstrated differing survival levels as we shift into the eighteenth century. The ensuing repairs, alterations, and even the preservation of these castles displayed notable divergence, a consequence of various influential factors. These factors will be meticulously explored and expounded upon in the forthcoming chapters that will investigate the respective castles' later developments in more detail owing to the greater availability of sources and other individual studies. As Walmer was about to become the Lord Warden's new official seat, we shall explore its development first and then see the consequences this decision had for Henry's 'Great Castle in the Downs': Deal.

## Chapter Six: The Development of Walmer Castle (Eighteenth Century to Today)

Walmer Castle is a captivating illustration of a structure successfully adapted over centuries to ensure its long-term preservation. Although the methods employed to enable the castle's survival are not unique, Walmer offers a compelling contrast to its sister castles, Deal and Sandown. As we have explored, the continued existence of Walmer Castle can be attributed, in part, to its inland location, its positioning during domestic conflicts, and its fortunate avoidance of enemy attacks. However, its survival cannot solely be attributed to external events and geographical factors. The castle's evolution and diversification of function over time have played a significant role in maintaining its relevance and resilience. We will now explore the critical historical events that have shaped Walmer Castle from its eighteenth century to the present, in a period that is perhaps most vital to this transformation. This chapter will explore and analyse the critical transformative events that have facilitated the castle's survival, focusing primarily on how these affect Walmer's architectural significance.

As we have seen, the existing literature on Walmer Castle consists primarily of isolated studies and concise guidebooks, except for the monographic studies that Reverend Elvin and Lord Curzon authored.<sup>1</sup> Our exploration will extend beyond where both texts end into the start of the twentieth century to discover over a hundred years of relatively unpublished history using a combination of archival sources, secondary sources, unpublished resources, and site visits to reveal how Walmer became safeguarded for the nation today.

Walmer Castle's current layout and the approximate alteration dates can be seen overleaf (Fig. 1 – 3.). These are primarily laid out for presentational purposes and, as we

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<sup>1</sup> Curzon, G., N., *The Personal History of Walmer Castle and its Lords Warden* (London: Macmillan, 1927)., Elvin, C., R., S., *The History of Walmer and Walmer Castle*, (Deal: Cross & Jackman, 1894).



shall explore, have altered through these centuries, though for the purposes of this chapter, references to any room names will be taken from this modern layout.

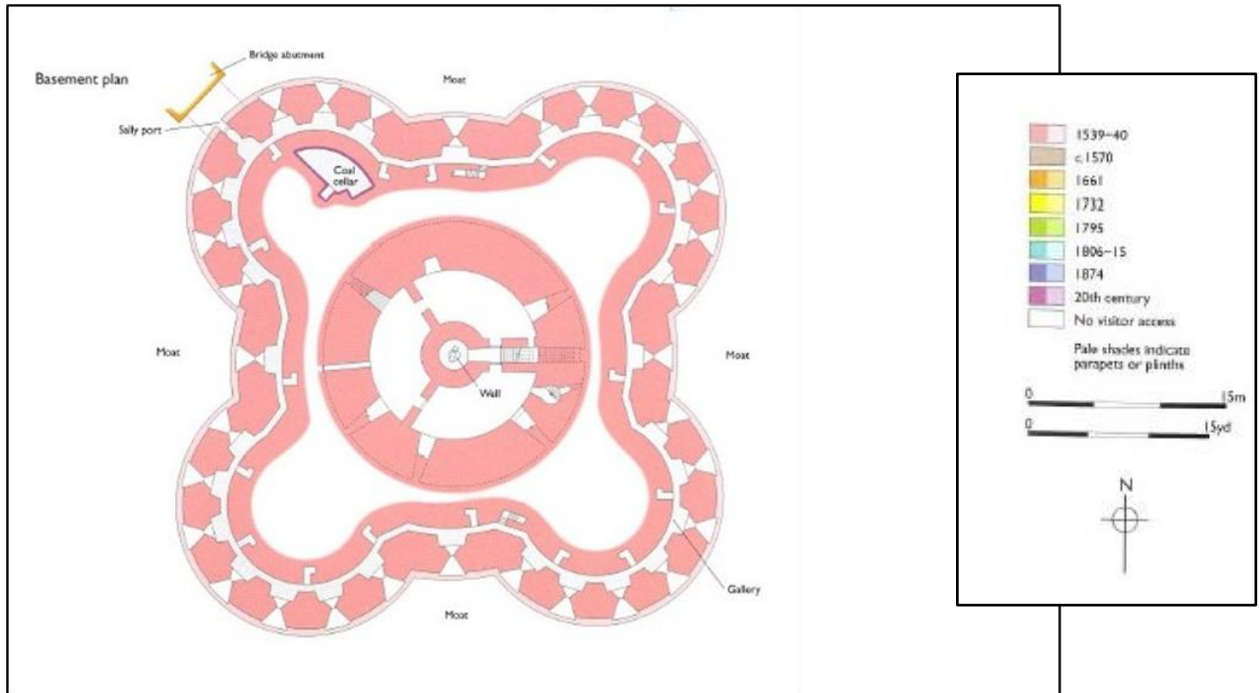


Fig. 1 Modern basement plan of Walmer Castle, 2015, © English Heritage.

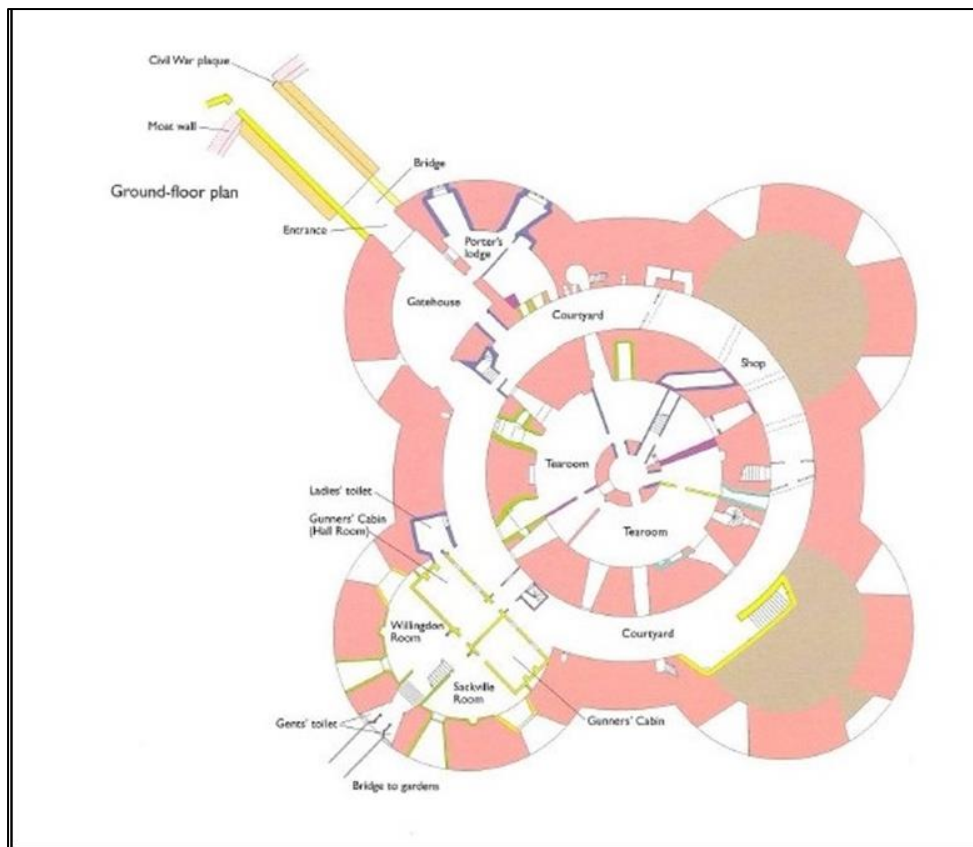


Fig. 2 Modern ground floor plan of Walmer Castle, 2015, © English Heritage.

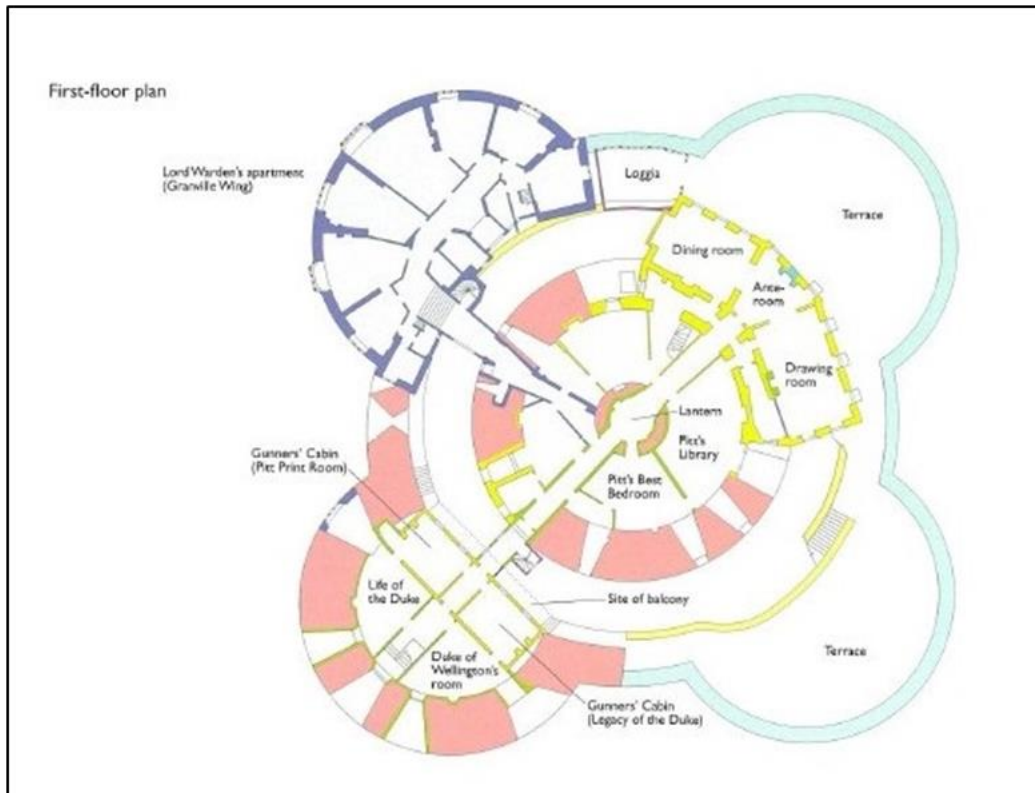


Fig. 3 Modern first-floor plan of Walmer Castle, 2015, © English Heritage.

## **Eighteenth Century: Military Decline Toward Architectural Revivalism**

In the eighteenth century, Walmer Castle gained importance as the official residence of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.<sup>2</sup> While the post's significance had somewhat declined, its military and judicial ties ensured its prominence for at least two more centuries. Lord Sackville, Duke of Dorset (1688 – 1765, Fig. 7), is said to have played a crucial role in transitioning the castle from a Tudor fortress to a country house and its appointment as Lord Warden's official residence; the latter was his official decision.<sup>3</sup> Upon his appointment in 1708, he deemed the Lord Warden's official residence at Constable's Gate at Dover Castle unsatisfactory and chose Walmer as his new official seat. The exact reasons for this move are unclear, whether it was due to Dover Castle's exposed and weathered location, the dilapidation of the medieval gatehouse, or political factors related to changes in the Cinque Ports; Sackville's reasoning appears to remain unrecorded in history. However, as we have seen, there was a level of previously unrecorded domesticity at the castle, which may have helped facilitate his decision. This is important to note as most histories before this thesis had assumed that Sackville was the first to domesticate Walmer.

From 1708 to 1765, the Wardenship saw a discernible pattern of successive appointments, dismissals, reappointments, and resignations. During this period, Sackville resigned or was removed to ensure he was appointed and re-appointed as Lord Warden three times; more than any other postholder.<sup>4</sup> His present-day descendant, Lord Robert Sackville-West, recently wrote that his ancestor filled the office with family members and used the role to promote his family's power and wealth greatly.<sup>5</sup> This may explain why the

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<sup>2</sup> Murray, K. M. E. 'Faversham and the Cinque Ports.' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 18 (1935): 53–84.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Sackville-West, R., *Inheritance*, (New York: Walker & Co, 2010), 101-105.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* Lord Robert once told this author that the Wardenship was just a tool to increase his ancestor's power and wealth at Court.

decision was made to develop Walmer away from a fortress and why he had such a tumultuous association with the wardenship.

In 1726, the Board of Ordnance funded these alterations, which included adding rooms to the keep, modernising the castle for a more comfortable feel, and constructing an overlook to enjoy the sea views.<sup>6</sup> From surviving documents, we can see that Lord Sackville undertook many alterations to the keep, naming his project 'The Duke of Dorset's Lodgings' (his then formal title).<sup>7</sup> The works included the formation of a new roof with 212 no. new Douglas Fir timber sections, five principal roof posts, five tons of new lead, rafters, purlins and nails. Installation of floorboards, doors made of oak, tongue and groove weatherboarding, locks and 353 no. pieces of wainscot panelling. Painting and decorating with 'all things painted three times', plastering of walls, ceilings and rendering and masonry repairs. Supply and working of 175 square feet of Portland stone, including copings and parapet alterations. Remove a section of rubble walling to run a new chimney flue and build a chimney in brick to 44 feet high. The installation of two new timber sash windows, which is interesting to note because they are only two in total, shows he must have reused the earlier windows and reinforces the proof that the castle was already domesticated.<sup>8</sup> And collecting thirty tons of 'good stone' from the shell of Sandown Castle.<sup>9</sup> Fifty yards of pointing to new stonework and the placement of new Kentish ragstone at £7.<sup>10</sup> These works also formed staterooms overlooking the seaward bastion, and he also undertook works to create the Gunner's Cabins.<sup>11</sup> The formation of these cabins shows the military use of the castle was now cursory as they were being wholly pushed out of the castle's main rooms and into this timber-framed addition in the bailey.

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<sup>6</sup> It is worth noting that some papers mistakenly attribute these initial alterations to the Earl of Holderness, a common misconception made by some scholars, including Hasted and Elvin: 1890, 252.

<sup>7</sup> Historic England Archives, MP/WAC0027.

<sup>8</sup> These windows largely have the same glazing within them as tested by English Heritage in 2011: Dungworth, D., and Girbal, B., *Walmer Castle, Kent: Analysis of The Glass Technology Report* (Swindon: Research Department Report Series, English Heritage, 2011).

<sup>9</sup> It is interesting to note that Sandown Castle was already being plundered for stone as early as 1726

<sup>10</sup> Kent History and Library Centre, CP/W/1-7.

<sup>11</sup> The National Archives, WORKS/31/1176/25.

Additionally, whilst there are no documents to prove this theory, Lord Curzon later wrote that he believed it to be during these alterations that the historically inaccurate crenellations were added to all but one of the bastions.<sup>12</sup> The crenellations are depicted on both Fig. 4 and are in situ today; a sketch by J. M. W. Turner also confirms their existence in 1825, as seen in Fig. 32. Interestingly, however, an 1824 print of the castle by William Collins (held at the Tate Gallery) does not show the crenellations. Admittedly, the castle is depicted in the far ground and is not shown in detail, but the print does suggest that the crenellations to the main bastions were added between 1824 and 1825 and not in 1726.



Fig. 4 A painting by William Collins of Walmer Castle, 1824, Tate Galley London, T05238.

The cabins also linked to the main keep and had two staircases built within them: one main, grander staircase and one more discrete servant's staircase built onto the keep behind the cabins' entrance.<sup>13</sup> Later, Sackville undertook interior alterations in 1746 to create the

<sup>12</sup> Curzon, G. N., *The Personal History of Walmer Castle and Its Lords Warden* (London: Macmillan, 1927), 17.

<sup>13</sup> Often referred to as 'The New Gunners' Cabins'



East and West Lounges, which are far modified and highly appointed today (Fig. 9).

Sackville occupied the new Lord Warden's residence until he died in 1765.<sup>14</sup>

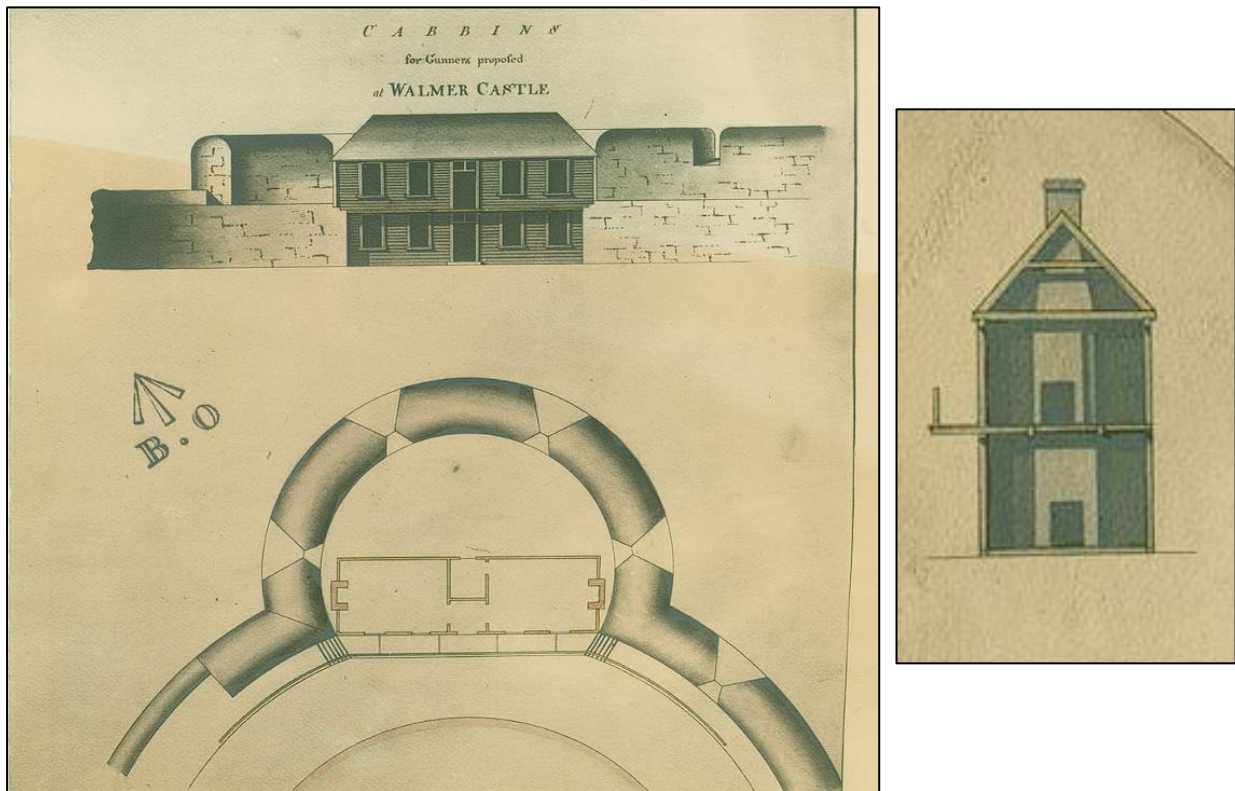


Fig. 5 A drawing of the original Gunners' Cabins at Walmer Castle, The National Archives, WORKS/31/1176/25.



Fig. 6 Gunners' Cabins, Photograph taken following the 2015 refurbishment, 2016, Historic England Archives, DP261562.

<sup>14</sup> Elvin, 238.



Fig. 7 Lionel Sackville, 1st Duke of Dorset, by Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646 - 1723), Oil on canvas, 1719 Wikimedia Commons public domain.



Fig. 8 Lord Sackville's Return in Procession to Dover Castle (prior to the move to Walmer), 1727, John Wootton (c.1682–1764), National Trust Images, Used under UK Fair Dealing.





Fig. 9 The East Lounge and the West Lounge, showing their presentation by English Heritage in the present day. Insert: How the dining room looked in 1894, both vastly altered from Sackville's initial installation, insert: 1894, Pall Mall Magazine.

A drawing (Fig. 10) from 1725 shows the castle's layout, including the walkway between the north bastion and the keep, before the main alterations were undertaken in 1730. Note also that it refers to the rooms in the keep as 'government rooms' and clearly shows that a drawbridge is still in use. The entrance bastion also shows a porter's lodging, similar to Deal Castle's entrance. However, this drawing depicts this partition as narrow and likely formed from timber. The aforementioned alterations can be seen in Fig. 10 from 1871.

Additionally, a wooden bridge has now been installed to the south bastion and the previously noted drawbridge to the entrance bastion is only marked as 'entrance.'

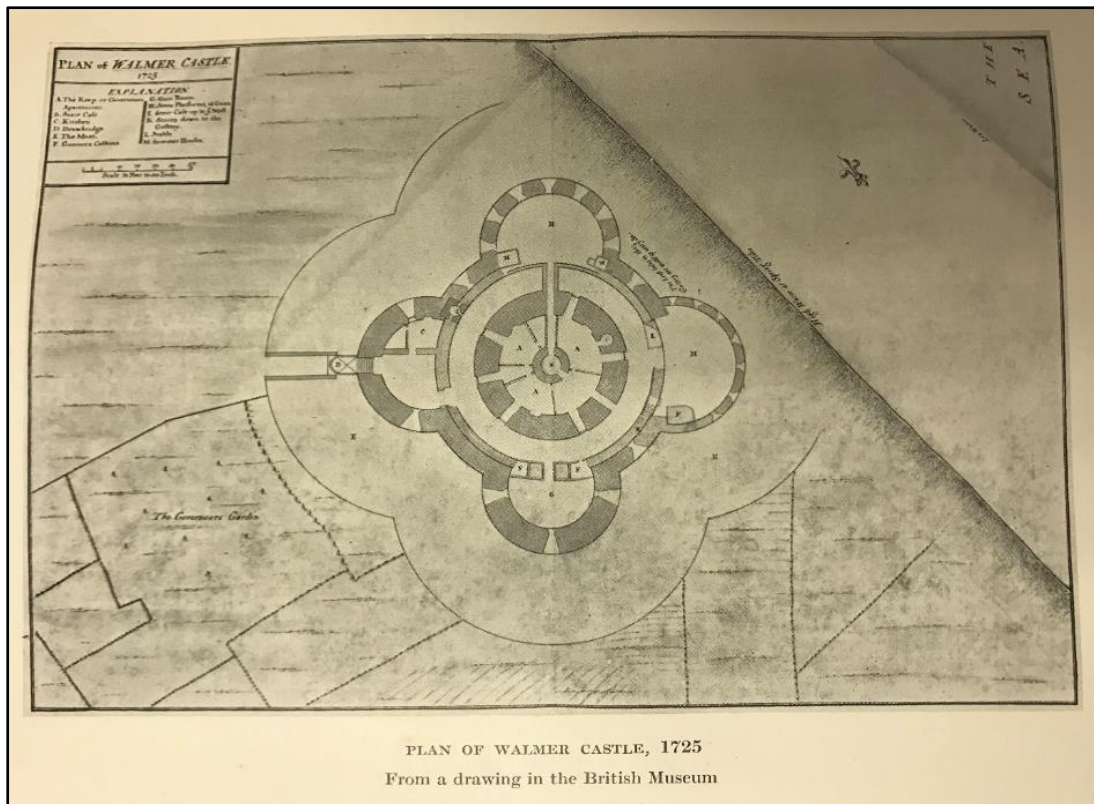


Fig. 10 A drawing from 1725 showing the castle's layout, 1927, Curzon.



Fig. 11 The alterations of 1730, with the new lodgings for the Duke and the Gunners' Cabins, Historic England Archive, MP/WAC0017.



The next Lord Warden to make significant alterations to Walmer was William Pitt the Younger (1759 – 1806). He was appointed Lord Warden in 1792, making him one of the few men to hold the title of Prime Minister and Lord Warden simultaneously. Pitt was indebted financially to many people and, at the time, probably welcomed a grace-and-favour house that Walmer provided.<sup>15</sup> It was said that he took up full-time residence at the castle to reduce his living costs. Although he made few alterations initially, during his thirteen-year tenure, he extensively used the castle and subsequently tailored it to his needs. According to Hasted, Pitt made several decorative enhancements circa 1800, and Hasted refers to the rooms as being ‘Modernised’ and ‘handsomely fitted up’.<sup>16</sup> This is important to note, as Pitt took credit for the earlier Sackville alterations, leading to confusion in later historical texts. In his monograph of the castle, Lord Curzon settles the confusion by showing that Pitt did not make these alterations.<sup>17</sup> As we have seen, Curzon is indeed correct.

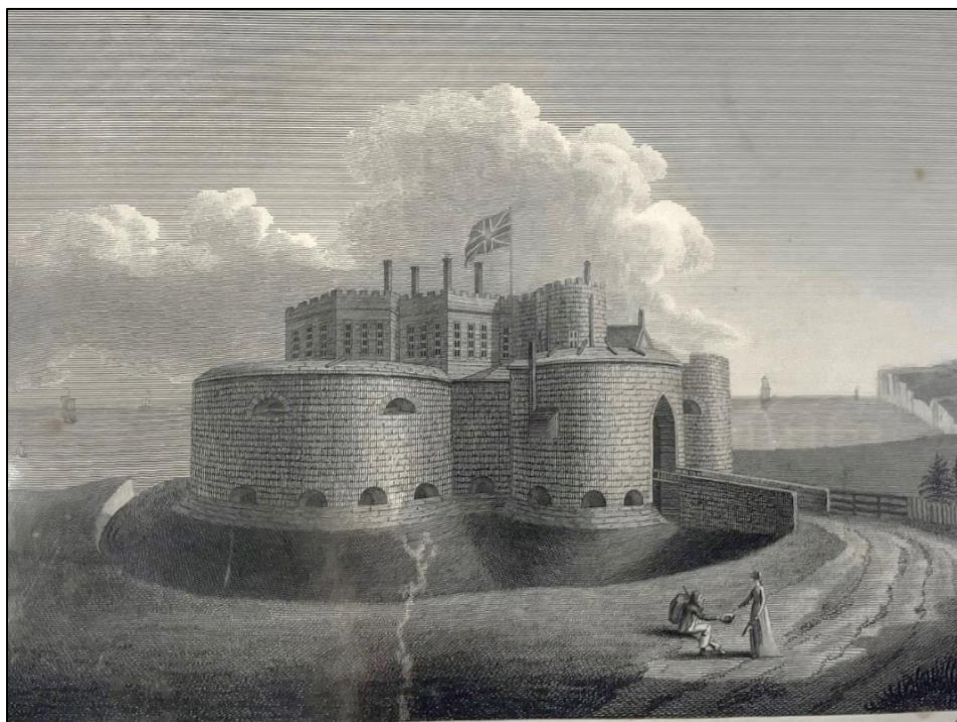


Fig. 12 A rare etching of Walmer (dated 1801) is probably from slightly earlier than 1801 - though it is dated as such. The artist has also taken some licence with the positioning and window designs, c. late eighteenth century, possibly by or inspired by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck.

<sup>15</sup> Reilly, R., *Pitt the Younger 1759-1806* (London: Cassell, 1978), 185.

<sup>16</sup> Hasted, E. ‘The Liberty of the Cinque Ports (continued): Walmer’, In *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 10*, edited by W. Bristow, 1800 (Canterbury: W. Bristow, 1800), 23-29.

<sup>17</sup> Curzon, 138.



## Nineteenth Century: Transformation into a Country House

Between 1803 and 1806, Walmer Castle experienced some interesting developments. Firstly, short of money, Pitt sold his main house in Bromley, Holwood House (Fig. 13), and permanently moved to Walmer in 1803.<sup>18</sup> At Holwood, he had experience renovating his house and landscaping the lands around it; this experience possibly informed his use and alteration of Walmer.<sup>19</sup> Whilst Holwood was said to be a modest house (it has since been rebuilt), it was within the grounds of a former 'Caesar's Camp'; whilst we now know these Iron Age forts had nothing to do with the Roman statesman in the modern period, it is an interesting link to Walmer that is overlooked.<sup>20</sup> Whether Pitt was aware of this is unknown, although he seemed to care less at Holwood, where he had some of the archaeological remains levelled in his landscaping plans for the house. Although both Walmer's connection to Casear's supposed landing place and Pitt's former house's connection to Roman antiquity are illegitimate, they display noteworthy connections that demonstrate how important the former Empire was to English society at this time.



Fig. 13 An etching of the original Holwood House as Pitt would have known it, 1796, Rev. R.Nixon, published in *The Copper Plate Magazine*, used under UK Fair Dealing.

<sup>18</sup> Shepherd, R., *Walmer Castle and Gardens* (English Heritage, 2003), 8., Hague, W., *William Pitt the Younger*, (Harper Collins, 2004), 492.

<sup>19</sup> Cherry, B., Pevsner, N., *London 2: South. The Buildings of England*, (Penguin Books, 1990. Reprint, 1983), 187.

<sup>20</sup> Site: <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000812?section=official-list-entry>, accessed: May 2022.

During his tenure, he rented the abutting woodland and paddocks around the castle.<sup>21</sup> It is said that he enjoyed creating walks and planting within these grounds (occasionally these are referred to as 'The Glen', Fig. 14).<sup>22</sup> Shortly after moving to Walmer, Pitt's niece, Lady Stanhope (1776 – 1839), joined him to live at the castle, and she became the main instigator and manager of many alterations.<sup>23</sup> The main change she initiated was transforming the gardens from basic kitchen gardens that supplied food to the castle's residents to a stately, more ornamental, landscaped, and fairly picturesque garden.<sup>24</sup> Stanhope initially thought the castle was desolate, as though it was sited amongst 'a great ugly chalk pit'.<sup>25</sup> She did not like that Lord Guilford (a former Lord Warden, 1732 – 1792), who owned the nearby chalk pit, appeared to be making money from it, and she was concerned about ensuring the grounds were presentable for Pitt's first return on her moving there as he had been away on official matters of state.<sup>26</sup>

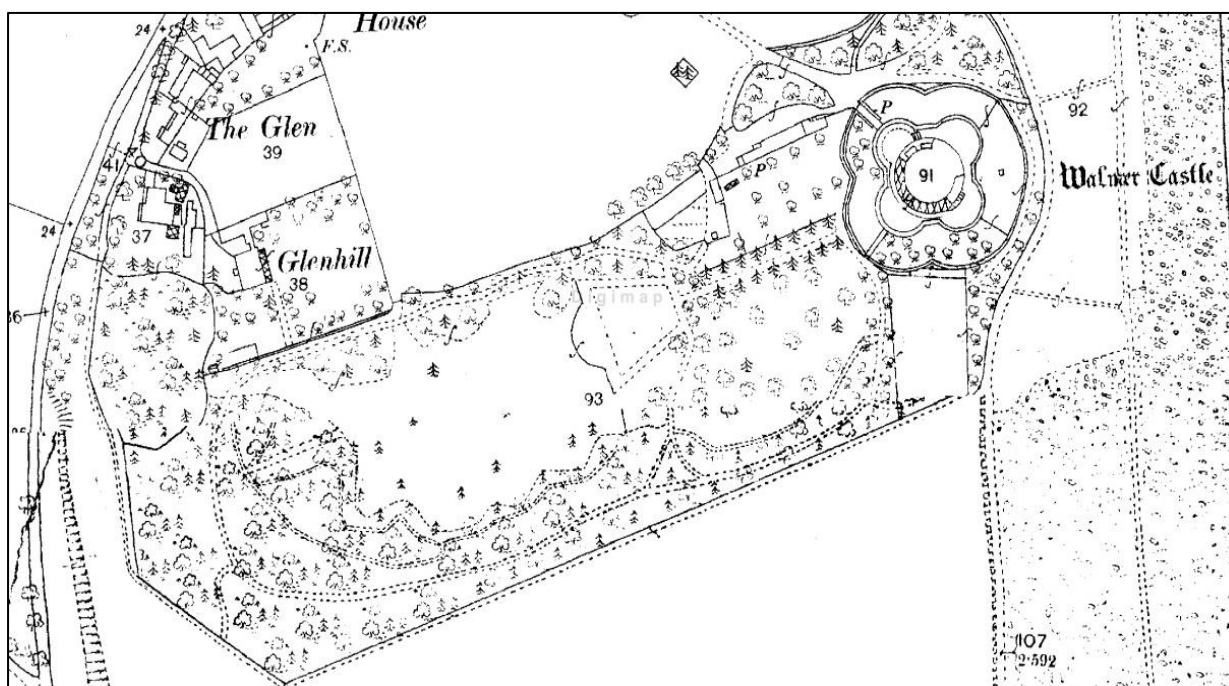


Fig. 14 Some of the walking trails in the abutting woodland can be seen within this 1870 map of the castle estate, © Landmark Information Group Ltd and Crown copyright, 2023, used under UK Fair Dealing.

<sup>21</sup> Hague, W., *William Pitt the Younger*, (New York: Harper Collins, 2004), 492.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, 492-493.

<sup>23</sup> Turner, M., J., *Pitt the Younger: A life*, (London: Hambledon and London, 2003), 250-251.

<sup>24</sup> Elvin, 255.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>26</sup> Hamel, F., *Lady Hester Lucy Stanhope: A New Light on Her Life and Love Affairs* (London: Cassell, 1908), 152.

It was undoubtedly the fashion at the time to have well-appointed gardens at any country house. Country houses and gardens were the ultimate embodiment of wealth and class and were widespread across Europe. Stanhope believed a landscaped garden was essential to complement Walmer's transformation from a fortress to a country house.<sup>27</sup> Lady Stanhope was a well-read and well-travelled aristocrat, a scholar of history and apparently advanced field archaeologists' techniques.<sup>28</sup> She also deputised for Pitt as the *de facto* Lord Warden, and whether this was official or not, she is said to have taken up the responsibilities with sincerity and vigour.<sup>29</sup>

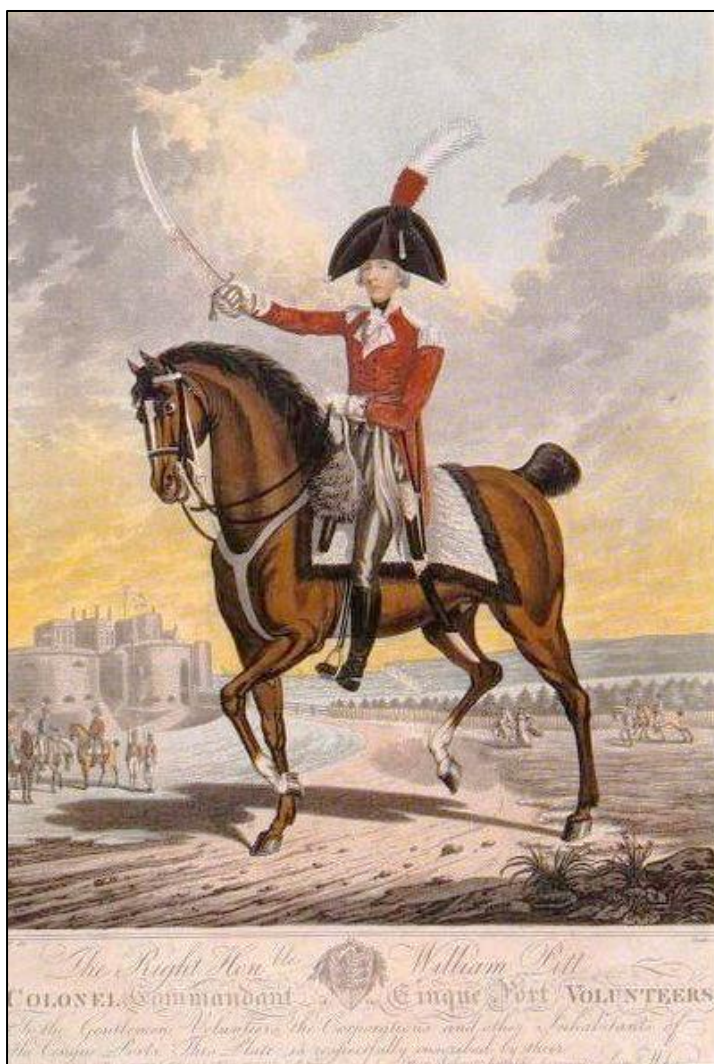


Fig. 15 'The Right Honourable William Pitt Colonel Commandant of the Cinque Port Volunteers' (With Walmer Castle in the background), National Army Museum, NAM. 1976-07-52-1.

<sup>27</sup> Hamel, F., *Lady Hester Lucy Stanhope: A New Light on Her Life and Love Affairs* (London: Cassell, 1908), 256.

<sup>28</sup> *Kentish Gazette*. 1877. Robert Smithson. 'Walmer.' *Kentish Gazette*: February 13, 1877, P. 3.

<sup>29</sup> Jones, J.B., 'Annals of Dover.' *Dover Express Works* (1916): 50-95, 67.

To bring Stanhope's great plan for the gardens to fruition, Stanhope and Pitt, still short of money, ordered the local soldiers to work as gardeners and carry out the landscaping alterations.<sup>30</sup> Stanhope was unafraid to order the local soldiers to do her bidding. She wrote at the time:

'A frightful barren bit of ground... Mr. Pitt soon after went to town. Mindful of what he had let drop, I immediately resolved to set about executing the improvements, which he seemed to imply as wanting. I got (I know not how) all the regiments that were in quarters at Dover, and employed them in levelling, fetching turf, transplanting shrubs, flowers, etc. As I possess, in some degree, the art of ingratiating myself where I want to do it.'<sup>31</sup>

Stanhope took charge of the landscaping project, and Pitt seemed pleasantly surprised with the results upon his first arrival back following the works, she recalled at the time:

'When Mr. Pitt came down, he dismounted from his horse, and, ascending the staircase, saw through a window which commanded a view of the grounds the improvements that had been made. 'Dear me, Hester, why this is a miracle! I know 'tis you, so do not deny it. Well, I declare, it is quite admirable; I could not have done it half so well myself.' And, although it was just dinner-time, he would go out and examine it all over, and then was so profuse in his praises — which were the more delightful, because they applauded the correctness of my taste. Above all, he was charmed that I had not fallen into an error (which most persons would have done) of making what is called an English garden, but rather had kept to the old manner of avenues, alleys, and the like as being more adapted to an ancient castle. Such was the amiable politeness of Mr. Pitt.'

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<sup>30</sup> Elvin, 256.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 185.

Whilst Pitt and Stanhope beautified Walmer, there seems to have been some rivalry down the street at Deal. There is a rumour of conflict between the occupants of Deal and Walmer at this time, as recounted by Bishop Samuel Wilberforce (1805 – 1873), though also known as 'soapy Sam', as relayed by Elvin. However, given the bishop's controversial reputation for storytelling, there is some accuracy to these claims.<sup>32</sup> Lord Carrington (1752 – 1838), captain of Deal Castle, supposedly engaged in extensive alterations at Deal and requested payment from Pitt upon completion.<sup>33</sup> Pitt, however, insisted that the funds should come from their own pockets.<sup>34</sup> A dispute arose when Lord Carrington demanded equal or superior alterations at Deal compared to Walmer. The details and existence of the argument remain unclear, but it is well-documented that Lord Carrington and others made alterations to Deal Castle during that period.<sup>35</sup> Lord Curzon also mentioned this anecdote in his research, tracing its provenance to a small text written by Sir George Dasent (1817–1896) in Lady Granville's autograph book at Walmer, which accounted the tale in more detail.<sup>36</sup>

As we have noted, Pitt was known to exaggerate his contributions.<sup>37</sup> However, Pitt did construct the corridor connecting the keep's rooms to the Gunners' Cabins and installed a now-removed spiral staircase. He also removed a partition in Sackville's additions in the Seaward Lounges and added a fireplace.<sup>38</sup> The new corridor was painted to resemble oak panelling but was made of cheaper softwood.<sup>39</sup> This newly formed access allowed for further bedrooms and for the castle to hold a greater number of persons.<sup>40</sup> These additions by Pitt would have vastly increased the quality of the living accommodations in the Castle; they were even described at the time as 'comfortable' and 'handsome'.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Former Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli once famously described the bishop's manner as 'unctuous, oleaginous, saponaceous', ref: Wilberforce, S. *Heroes of Hebrew History* (London: Gebert Press, 2008). (reprint from original)

<sup>33</sup> Burke, E., *Annual Register*, Vol. 80 (London: F & J Rivington, 1839), 195.

<sup>34</sup> Elvin, 284.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> Curzon, 138.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> Shepherd, R., *Walmer Castle and Gardens*, (Swindon: English Heritage, 2003), 14.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>40</sup> Hague, W., *William Pitt the Younger*, (New York: Harper Collins, 2004), 492.

<sup>41</sup> West Sussex Record Office, Mss 13,363/19.



It is also worth noting that many historians, Montagu Burrows (1819 – 1905) being one, often remarked on how Admiral Lord Nelson (1758- 1805) visited and stayed at Walmer Castle with Pitt.<sup>42</sup> However, as Lord Curzon found when he investigated, there was only archaeological evidence of this in the form of a brass plate above a room on the first floor.<sup>43</sup> On closer study, Lord Curzon found that these rooms were assembled after Nelson's death and that there was no mention of Nelson at Walmer in the 'almost daily' correspondence that Pitt made to Lady Hamilton.<sup>44</sup> Therefore, it is unlikely that Nelson ever visited or stayed at the castle.

Pitt died in 1806, and the role of Lord Warden passed to Robert Jenkinson, 2nd Earl of Liverpool (1770 – 1828) in the same year. Whilst not much is known of Liverpool's use of the castle and grounds, he was said to have enjoyed his stays at Walmer despite being Prime Minister for much of his tenure.<sup>45</sup> He and his wife, Lady Liverpool (1767 – 1821), also wanted to add to the gardens, following the Pitts' landscaping endeavours. To further this cause, he used his vast wealth to acquire the grounds and pit around the castle, the same grounds that Pitt rented.<sup>46</sup> In 1810, he increased the size of the grounds by around another third, buying up paddocks to the west of the property from a nearby builder and farmer named Mr George Leith (unknown dates).<sup>47</sup> The National Archives holds a primitively drawn map to support the conveyancing (Fig. 16).<sup>48</sup> As a builder, Leith undertook several works at the stables under Lady Stanhope's direction; he would later be given the honorific title of 'Captain of Walmer Castle'.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Burrows, M., *Cinque Ports* (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1892), 248.

<sup>43</sup> It has been found that the brass plaques were installed in 1892 by the Office of Works: *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 'Walmer Castle', May 7<sup>th</sup> 1892, 16.

<sup>44</sup> Curzon, 66.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

<sup>46</sup> Hague, W., *William Pitt the Younger*, (Harper Collins, 2004), 492.

<sup>47</sup> It appears that the Leith family purchased many of these lands in 1640, by 1783 this also included the original twelfth-century Walmer Castle (Walmer Court/Lodge – Appendix S). The grounds were originally manorial lands where the town of Walmer likely derives its name: Kent History and Library Centre, U951/C95/13.

<sup>48</sup> The National Archives, WORK 31/16.

<sup>49</sup> Hasted, 23-29.

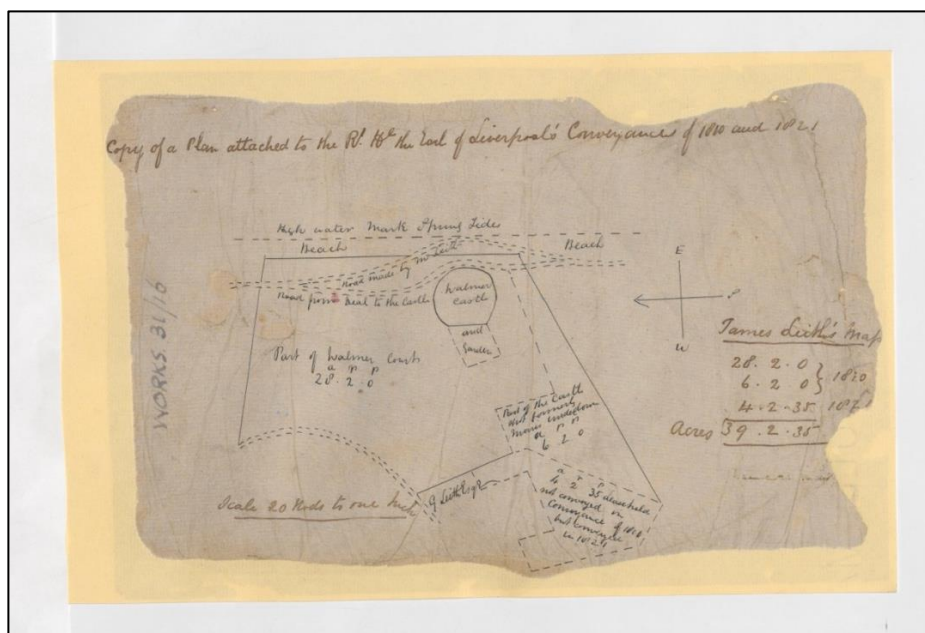


Fig. 16 A map for the conveyancing showing the extra land purchased by Liverpool in 1810, The National Archives, WORK 31/16.

The land purchased by the Liverpools in December 1810 was attached to the wardenship and was not purchased in his Lordship's name.<sup>50</sup> However, following his death, Lady Liverpool retained a small parcel of land abutting the main carriageway from this new land. It is unclear whether it was re-purchased, gifted, or perhaps included in the original offering from Leith. However, the small parcel was used to make a garden for a residence on the abutting plot.<sup>51</sup> The road this land and house sit on was later renamed Liverpool Road, and by the 1830s, the house was in the possession of the Leith family.<sup>52</sup>

From 1829, the next Lord Warden to have a great bearing on the castle was Arthur Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington and later Prime Minister (1769 – 1852). Wellington petitioned King George IV to award him the post purely because he enjoyed visiting the castle under the tenure of his predecessor, Lord Liverpool.<sup>53</sup> The Duke wrote in his diary

<sup>50</sup> The National Archives, WO 32/18241.

<sup>51</sup> The National Archives, WORK 31/17.

<sup>52</sup> Walmer Manor Estate Map of 1640 with Letter, from George Leith to his eldest son, George J P Leith. Displayed in Walmer Castle, English Heritage, Lord Warden Collection., Greenwood, C., *An Epitome of County History*, Vol. 1., (London:Self Published, 1838), 430-431.

<sup>53</sup> Castleden, R., *Castles of Britain and Ireland* (London: Quercus, 2012), 85.

that the castle was 'the most charming marine residence.'<sup>54</sup> Of all his residences, Apsley House included, the Duke was said to have the most joy when staying at Walmer.<sup>55</sup> He also kept a second house in Walmer from 1808, which he later renamed Wellesley House.<sup>56</sup>

As with many recent Lord Wardens, Wellesley placed his mark on the castle by filling it with a wealth of furniture and fittings. Initially, he kept Pitt's bedroom exactly as it was on the day that Pitt died, which serendipitously would also be how the Duke's bedroom would be when he died in 1852.<sup>57</sup> However, by 1894, the Granville's had given the room to the housekeeper as a comfortable bedroom.<sup>58</sup> The Duke stayed annually at the castle every September to the first or second week in November.<sup>59</sup>

He also undertook a significant redecoration of the main corridors and staircase, using the modern-day named 'Walmer Blue' (a bespoke turquoise colour) applied to the walls in these areas. This colour is still mixed to this exact shade to this day.<sup>60</sup> It is also worth noting that remnants of a blue-green coloured paint in 'The Rounds' at Deal Castle have been found, which may or may not predate the use of the Walmer paint (Fig. 17 and Appendix B). Therefore, the paint known as 'Walmer Blue' for centuries may have originated or had been used at both Walmer and Deal. This author also found similar paint fragments in the Walmer Rounds in 2024 before their being opened to the Public for the first time (Appendix F).

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<sup>54</sup> Castleden, R., *Castles of Britain and Ireland* (London: Quercus, 2012), 85.

<sup>55</sup> Gleig, G.R., *Personal reminiscences of the first Duke of Wellington* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1904), 135.

<sup>56</sup> Holyoake, G., *Wellington at Walmer* (London: Regency, 1996), 196.

<sup>57</sup> Pritchard, S., *The History of Deal, and its Neighbourhood* (Deal: E. Hayward, 1864), 344.

<sup>58</sup> Lucy, H., W., 'Lord Wardens of the Cinque Ports', *Pall Mall Magazine*, 3 (1894): 210.

<sup>59</sup> Pritchard, S., *The History of Deal, and its Neighbourhood*, 346.

A recent auction catalogue from Dominic Winter Auctions in Gloucestershire (17/05/2023), advertised lot 192 which contained a number of the Duke's banqueting invitations. Some of these invites were for Walmer Castle and showed that the Duke would stay as late as 10th November (the year is not printed).

<sup>60</sup> This author's own experience in developing a reproduction of this colour for conservation works that occurred in 2015 and talking with an EH Curator. 'Walmer Blue' is now a bespoke Pantone ref PP14-1-15-LKB and is available via Patrick Baty of Papers & Paints Ltd of London.

Note that at some point, possibly in the late nineteenth century, it was painted over with an off-white colour throughout and then returned to 'Walmer Blue' later. It is possible that the colour returned under the wardenship of Granville, as noted here: Shepherd, R., *Walmer Castle and Gardens*, (Swindon: English Heritage, 2003), 8.



Fig. 17 Visible traces of 'Walmer Blue' coloured paint as found in 'The Rounds' of Deal Castle by the author in 2022.

During the mid-nineteenth century, Walmer Castle was surveyed, and whilst the physical room layout remained largely the same, the number of rooms converted to bedrooms including WCs had all vastly increased (Fig.18). Despite the 'Iron Duke' being in office, it is apparent that military use at the castle had significantly diminished.

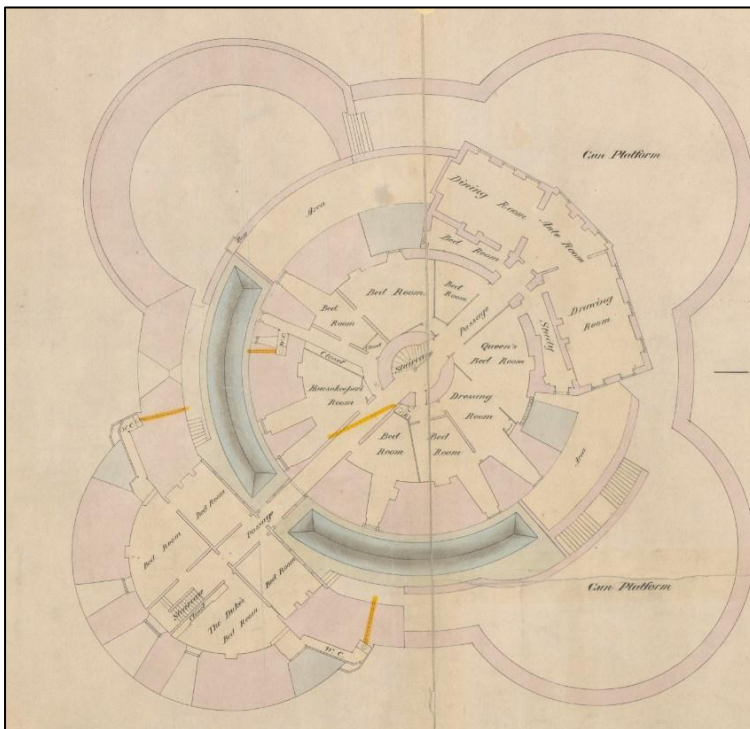


Fig. 18 A drawing showing the increased number of bedrooms during the nineteenth century, The National Archives, WORK 31/15.

The Duke welcomed a large number of guests during his tenure.<sup>61</sup> Despite his apparent gruff demeanour, he particularly enjoyed filling the house with guests, especially children, and he ensured that his staff at Walmer took care of them all.<sup>62</sup> One such guest was Queen Victoria (1819 – 1901), who was received by the Duke in 1842. For her month-long stay that year, several of her belongings were transferred to Walmer from Osbourne House, including writing desks, chairs and other personal items that filled twenty rooms at the castle.<sup>63</sup> One of the bedrooms was converted and a window installed, and until recently, was called the ‘Queen’s Bedroom’.<sup>64</sup> One of her beds remains at Walmer. The visit was recorded locally, and apparently, the Queen so enjoyed her stay that she extended it by a week, much to the possible annoyance of the Duke, who had to move out to accommodate the Queen and her entourage.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Wellington, Duke, *The Speeches of the Duke of Wellington in Parliament*, (London:Forgotten Books, 2018), 132.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

Pritchard’s *History of Deal*, recounts: ‘The Duke of Wellington was very fond of children, and though so great a soldier and statesman, he could descend to play and amuse them. He was accustomed to have always by him a number of half-sovereigns and sovereigns that had a small hole drilled through them, in each of which a red or blue ribbon was threaded, so that when he saw a little group of children, that were visiting at or near the Castle of Walmer, he would ask one or more of them, ‘Are you for the navy or army?’ As the answers were given he would place over the neck of the youth accordingly a blue one for the navy and a red one for the army.’

<sup>63</sup> Bucks Herald. 1842. ‘Visit Of Her Majesty The Queen To Walmer Castle.’ *Bucks Herald*: November 19, 1842, P. 3: The window is quite obvious as its design is more like a modern dormer window, rather than a sash window retro-fitted into an embrasure (as many of the windows are). A 2011 survey found that some of the glass in the window was recycled from earlier uses and that the rest of the panes had been replaced in mid-twentieth century repairs. This author witnessed repairs in this room that were dated ‘1974’, which is when this repair to the window may have been undertaken.

<sup>64</sup> Change occurred in 2015 after the restoration works.

<sup>65</sup> Kentish Gazette. 1842. JB Smith. ‘Walmer.’ *Kentish Gazette*: November 15, 1842., Timbs, J. and Gunn, A., *Abbeys, Castles and Ancient Halls of England and Wales*, (London: Frederick Warne, 1872), 329., Shepherd, R., *Walmer Castle and Gardens*, 11.





Fig. 19 A postcard depicting Queen Victoria's bedroom, recreated for the public after opening in the early twentieth century, private collection.

During the Duke's tenure he was keen to keep the castle well-maintained, despite only using it for a few months each year.<sup>66</sup> Reading through the Duke's correspondence at the time, it would appear that the castle was well used during his tenure in that, even when he was not entertaining dignitaries, he always seemed to have a supply of resident visitors of all ages.<sup>67</sup> Whilst the buildings became well-appointed, the Duke was said to often sleep on his old army camp bed and did not have much (if any) interest in the gardens, though he did like to encourage the local wildlife.<sup>68</sup> During his tenure, the lavishly appointed gardens of Lady Stanhope were dug over to make way for food production.<sup>69</sup> Fig. 20 shows an example of the rugged landscape propagating around the castle during Wellington's time at Walmer.

<sup>66</sup> Elvin, 259-265.

<sup>67</sup> Westmorland, P. A., and Weigall, Lady R., *Correspondence of Lady Burghersh [Countess of Westmorland] with the Duke of Wellington* (London: J. Murray, 1903), 79.

<sup>68</sup> Timbs, J., *Wellingtoniana; Anecdotes, Maxims, and Characteristics, of the Duke of Wellington*, (London: Ingram, Cooke, and Company, 1852), 111.

<sup>69</sup> Elvin, 257.



Fig. 20 A print believed to be from 1848 showing the wild frontage at the castle, c. 1848, unknown artist.

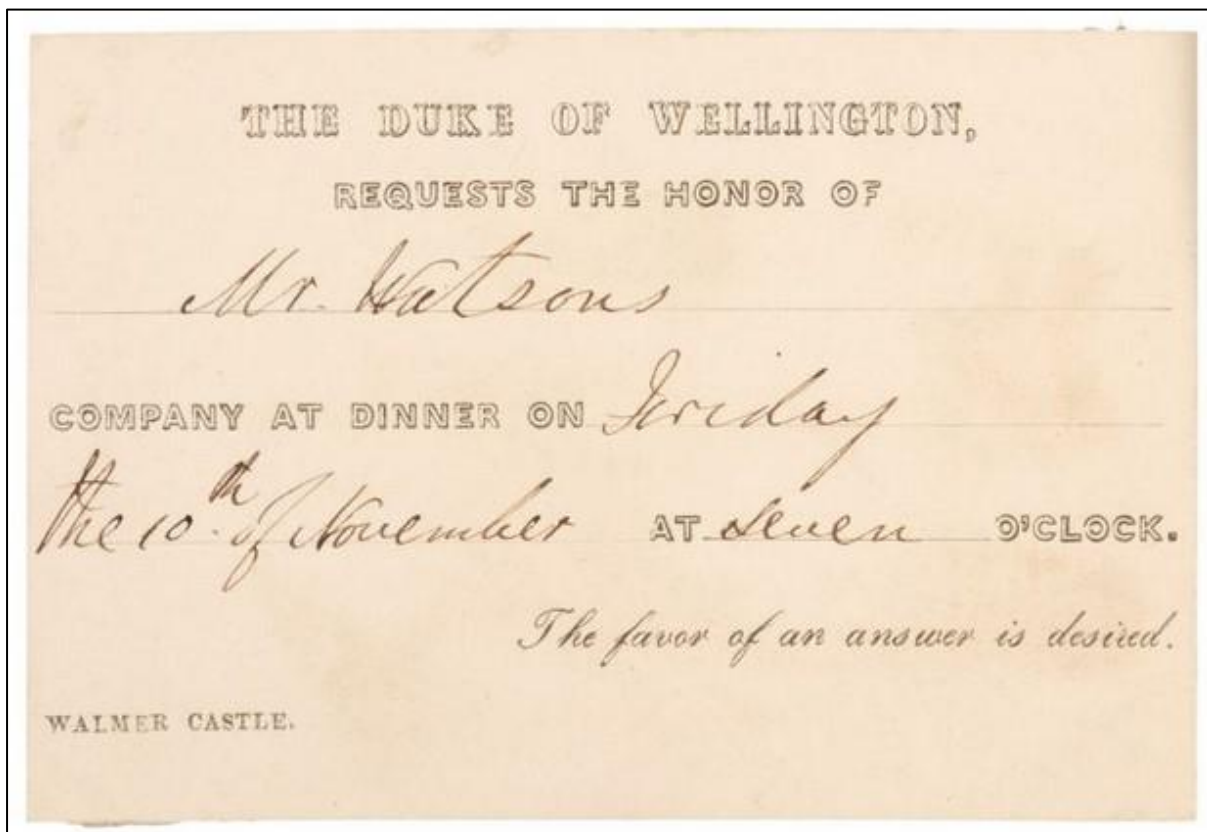


Fig. 21 An unpublished example of a formal dinner invitation from the Duke at Walmer Castle, 1834, held in a private collection.

Several other building works were undertaken, but documents of these are not complete. It is likely, though, that the keep was extensively re-roofed with new slate. The only evidence for this is a combination of a single works document showing that works were being undertaken in the 1840s and an article found in the local Dover newspaper.<sup>70</sup> This mentioned that a large consignment of rag slate was auctioned off near the castle and may have been used for the roof (the auction was from a sunken ship in the Downs that was on its way to the Port of Hull before unexpectedly sinking – Lord Wardens have ancient authority over sunken ships' cargoes, including any flotsam and jetsam).<sup>71</sup> This is interesting as rag-slate is found in southwest England and is not commonly used in Kent, and the roofs at Walmer seem to have irregular-sized and coloured slates (Fig. 22). These slates are probably not original, and if not, they may have been replaced to match the originals. If correct, this would be an example of the Duke meticulously acting as the castle's custodian by sourcing good quality and cost-effective materials. The roof is now leaking badly (as 2024), so much so that internal rooms are now closed off therefore, if this slating was undertaken in the 1840s, for it to last as long as 180 years is a good age for slates to last and demonstrates Wellington's frugality and astuteness.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/1840/125., Dover Telegraph and Cinque Ports General Advertiser: December 5, 1846, P. 1, .Palmer, W., *The Law of Wreck, Considered with a View to Its Amendment* (London: Butterworth Publishers), 42.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> 200 years is the maximum for most roof slates: Simmons, H., L., *Olin's Construction: Principles, Materials, and Methods*, (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley, 2011), 481-485.





Fig. 22 The keep's irregularly slated roof (photo author, 2014).

The Duke was said to have been very fair with people from all parts of society. For example, many of the gardeners and the handymen he employed were 'Waterloo men' who had served under him, including Mr Strathfield Saye (apparently a long-serving servant) and Mr Christopher, his valet.<sup>73</sup> For a long time, the head gardener was Sergeant Townsend, who wrote to the Duke complaining that he had been discharged without a pension due to a clerical error. Eventually, the Duke invited Sgt. Townsend to work as the castle's gardener

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<sup>73</sup> Muir, R., *Wellington: The Path to Victory 1769-1814* (New Haven: Yale, 2015), 88-89.

to compensate him for this error despite reportedly knowing little of gardening.<sup>74</sup> According to several surviving diaries, Townsend became a 'most excellent' gardener and was a lifelong friend of the Duke.<sup>75</sup> The Duke also gifted him the use of the apartment above the stables that Lady Stanhope had built.<sup>76</sup>

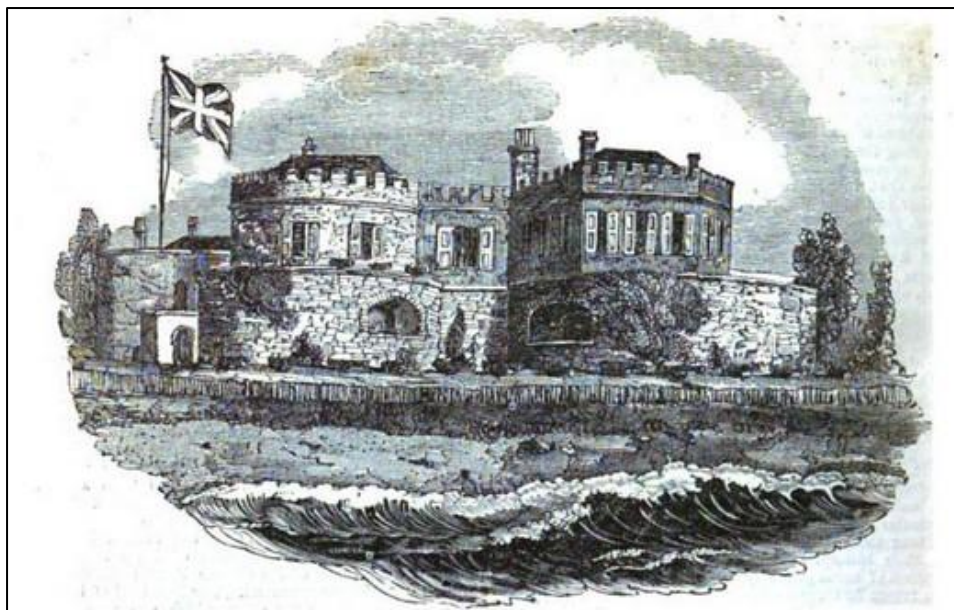


Fig. 23 A rare sketch of Walmer from 1834, *The Saturday Magazine*.



Fig. 24 A lithograph of the Duke in his bedroom study, c.1852, unknown artist, Private Collection.

<sup>74</sup> Elvin, 257.

<sup>75</sup> Muir, R., *Wellington: The Path to Victory 1769-1814* (New Haven: Yale, 2015), 88-89.

<sup>76</sup> *Illustrated London News*. 1852. 'Walmer Castle.' *Illustrated London News*: September 25, 1852, P. 261.





Fig. 25 English School early Nineteenth Century, Walmer Castle with inclusion of an oval portrait of the Duke of Wellington in the foreground, Private Collection.

Some newspaper reports from the time also say that Christopher and Townsend were both present at the Duke's death in his bedroom at the castle on 14<sup>th</sup> September 1852.<sup>77</sup> The etching (Fig. 26) is labelled as 'servants and friends attend to the Duke on his deathbed at Walmer' and may reflect these two men. The singular woman is officially depicted as the Duke's daughter-in-law, however in reality it might have actually been his long serving housekeeper Mrs Allen (b. c.1806), though most accounts (even English Heritage's room presentations at the castle) state that it was his daughter-in-law.<sup>78</sup> To prove this theory, Mrs Allen wrote shortly after the Duke's passing,

'I am indeed quite overwhelmed with grief but oh! how thankful I am that he was here and that I saw him and kissed his dear hands just before the last sigh.'<sup>79</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Northampton Mercury. 1852. 'Death Of The Duke Of Wellington.' *Northampton Mercury*: September 18, 1852, P. 13.

<sup>78</sup> Holyoake, G. *Wellington at Walmer*, 117-118.

<sup>79</sup> Muir, R., *Wellington: Waterloo and the Fortunes of Peace*, 222.



Fig. 26 An etching of the Duke of Wellington's death, 1852, believed to be J.L. (after) Williams, Private Collection, used under UK Fair Dealing.



Fig. 27 A previously unpublished miniature painting (unsigned), showing how wild the grounds were – likely during or just after Wellington's tenure, 'Walmer Castle', unknown artist and date, held in a private collection.

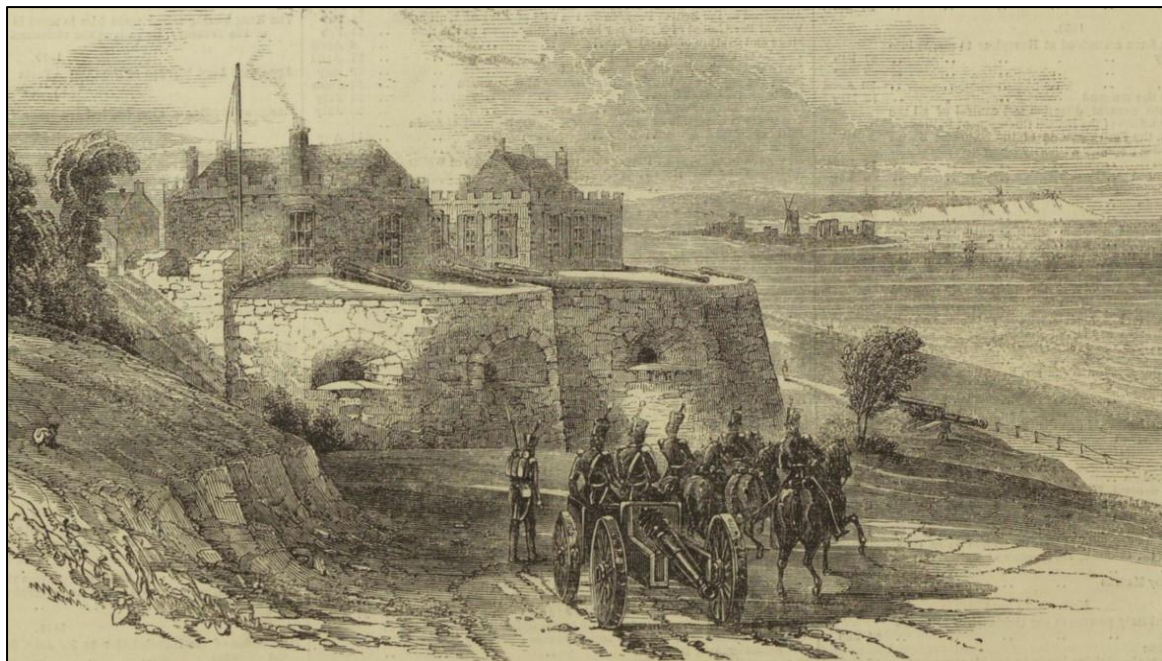


Fig. 28 A view of Walmer Castle (note: the ruinous Sandown in the background), *The Illustrated London News*, Volume: 21, Issue: 579, 580, 1852, used under UK Fair Dealing.

His body was kept on display in Walmer Castle on the camp bed next to the chair where he had died, in the exact same room that Pitt had died 46 years before.<sup>80</sup> He lay in state until 10<sup>th</sup> November 1852 by which time over 9,000 people had visited. His body was relocated to be buried on 18th November, where he was one of only a few persons (other than the monarchy) to be given a full state funeral.<sup>81</sup>

In the Duke's twenty-three-year tenure in the post, further evidence of his upkeep of the castle comes from a record that shows he kept a carpenter to act as a 'maintenance operative' at the castle. It would be the same carpenter who had been a long and reliable employee of the Duke who would have the 'honour' of making his initial coffin (a lead-lined official coffin was later made).<sup>82</sup> Another important servant, as previously mentioned, was Mrs Allen, who was the housekeeper for at least five different Lord Wardens. Allen continued to serve after the Duke and retired during Lord Granville's tenure.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Both items are currently on display in Walmer (2023)., *Daily Telegraph & Courier* (London). 1899. 'Notes.' *Daily Telegraph & Courier* (London): April 7, 1899, P. 5.

<sup>81</sup> Napier, W. F. P., *The Life of Arthur Duke of Wellington* (London: John Murray, 1854), 475-487.

<sup>82</sup> Cavendish, R., 'The Great Duke's Funeral', *History Today* 2, Issue, 11 (November 1952).

<sup>83</sup> Elvin, 169.

Mrs Allen is an interesting person in the castle's history and perhaps a previously unsung character in its development.<sup>84</sup> Various sources have been discovered that infer that she may have been one of the first instigators of private tours at the castle. As the Duke was away for long periods of time on official business, it is believed that for payment or barter of goods, Mrs Allen would give discreet tours of the interior of the castle. Wellington probably accepted this arrangement, as, in one discovered piece of correspondence, he actively encouraged a friend to have a tour in his absence at Apsley House.<sup>85</sup> Allen's tours continued after Wellington's death as the room had become a form of shrine to her former employer; this process was possibly encouraged due in part to the celebrated hero that the Duke was but also as the next Lord Warden (The Marquis of Dalhousie, 1812 – 1860) never took up residence in his seven-year tenure.<sup>86</sup> The tours were not official and mainly survived as verbal testimonies that made their way into various Victorian travel guides and published diaries.<sup>87</sup> It was stated that Mrs Allen would offer great 'spurious anecdotes' about Wellington and his companions on these many guided visits.<sup>88</sup> The tours predated the later official tours in the twentieth century when the castle was first opened to the public.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> It has been found that 'Mrs Allen' (as nearly all historical accounts refer to her in this formal manner) was actually Mrs Mary Ann Allen. Only one Census has been found that shows her living at the Castle in 1851, where she is listed as 'the Housekeeper' – this, at the very least, enables us to know her Christian names. However, there is much ambiguity surrounding her life as records do not accurately show when she died. One source referred to her death being in 1875, as there is a grave in the nearby Walmer Church of a woman by the same name who was born in the same year. However, we know from other sources that she was alive in 1881, which was the year she retired and again in 1892 the year she was asked to visit the Castle for the day. Another Mrs Allen was noted in 1881 (listed as a widow), working now as a laundress and living at 15 Belmont Place, Walmer (a row of small cottages on a footpath behind the castle), and her granddaughter (Elizabeth) lived with her. Curzon states that she retired and amassed 'a small fortune from the gifts she received'. We can only speculate as to whether this was her and whether she purchased this house with this fortune. Source: Census Returns of England and Wales, 1851- 1881. Kew, Surrey, England: The National Archives of the UK (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO), 1851 - 1881. Record: Class: RG11; Piece: 998; Folio: 104; Page: 28; GSU roll: 1341237

<sup>85</sup> Wellington Papers, University of Southampton, MS61/WP2/132/30.

<sup>86</sup> Elvin, 137.

<sup>87</sup> Told to this author by English Heritage curator Rowena Willard-Right in 2014. Willard-Right was also interviewed for the 2011 BBC TV programme 'Great British Railway Journeys' series 2, episode 19, time: 13:12 where this account is retold.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, Timbs, J., *Wellingtoniana; Anecdotes, Maxims, and Characteristics, of the Duke of Wellington*, (London: Ingram, Cooke, and Company, 1852), 111.

<sup>89</sup> Norfolk News. 1905. 'The Prince of Wales Appointed. Walmer Castle Open To The Public.' *Norfolk News*: February 18, 1905, P. 9.



Curzon recounts that she supposedly amassed a great fortune in gifts due to her connection to the great Duke.<sup>90</sup> This we can corroborate as an auction catalogue has been sourced from 1870 that shows 'The Duke's housekeeper' offering for sale some sixty-nine personal documents the Duke wrote to her, a clipping of the Duke's hair, and a book she had collected of autographs, including the Duke's, and many of his distinguished guests.<sup>91</sup> Whilst this does not state that it is Mrs Allen, we know such a book was kept during her tenure with the Granville's.<sup>92</sup>

The etching (Fig. 29) 1852, illustrates the grounds and the Union flag flying at half-mast due to the Duke of Wellington's death. It shows the alterations to the roofs and chimney pots and how unruly and unattended the grounds had become during his tenure.<sup>93</sup>



Fig. 29 An etching by an unknown artist, dated 1852, London Illustrated News, used under UK Fair Dealing.

<sup>90</sup> Curzon, 172.

<sup>91</sup> Burn, J., H., *Catalogue of the Very Interesting Collection of Autograph Letters of the Late Mr Jacob Henry Burn*, (London: Puttick and Simpson, 1870), 55.

<sup>92</sup> Curzon, 138.

<sup>93</sup> Illustrated London News. 1927. 'A Lord Warden On Lord Wardens.' *Illustrated London News*: December 10, 1927, P. 7.





Fig. 30 An original Watercolour that may have inspired the above etching, unknown artist, Private Collection.



Fig. 31 A copy of correspondence from the Duke that shows a rare example of the Walmer Castle seal, held in a private collection.



Fig. 32 Figure: Sketch of Walmer Castle by J.M.W. Turner, 1825, Turner, J.M.W., Walmer Castle: Holland Sketchbook, Tate Gallery London, D19394 Turner Bequest CCXIV 279a.

After Wellington, the subsequent Lord Wardens made only minor alterations to Walmer Castle before the role was offered to Prime Minister Viscount Palmerston (1784 – 1865) in 1861.<sup>94</sup> It was revealed during this time that it would be customary for each successive Lord Warden to purchase the contents of the castle before the role could be passed to the next Lord Warden. Palmerston declined because the contents within, mainly the Duke of Wellington's, were estimated at more than their actual worth. Being a decorated war hero and grand statesman, the Duke likely left many relics, which must have grown in value. With the risk of the contents being refused and the collections being subsequently broken up and auctioned off, the descendants of the Duke intervened. They purchased their father's belongings, leaving only the essentials at the castle.<sup>95</sup> This quarrel over the castle's collection of artefacts would reignite a few decades later.

<sup>94</sup> Hutchinson, M., *Britain's Greatest Prime Minister* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2021), 96.

<sup>95</sup> Elvin, 278.

The next appointee to make significant alterations to the Walmer Castle was Lord Granville (1815 - 1891). Curzon stated that when he took the post in 1865, no other Lord Warden before (and probably since) occupied the castle so completely.<sup>96</sup> Granville was said to have reinstated the pleasure gardens to Lady Stanhope's original designs (thus reducing the size of the Duke of Wellington's produce gardens), and even installed space to practice his golf.<sup>97</sup> Lady Granville made several decorative changes throughout the castle; she notably brightened up the room where the Duke of Wellington had died (the Duke's Bedroom) by using decorative wallpaper (Fig. 34).<sup>98</sup> In 1874, the Earl commissioned the celebrated architect George Devey (1820 – 1886) to build additional rooms over the gatehouse bastion.<sup>99</sup> These are now a part of the Lord Warden's apartment and can be seen in Fig. 35. and effectively raised the height of the bastion.



Fig. 33 'The tide is out at Walmer Beach', unknown artist, watercolour, held in a private collection.

<sup>96</sup> Curzon, 277.

<sup>97</sup> Lucy, H. W., *The Pall Mall Magazine Annual 1893-1914*, Vol 3. May-Aug (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1894), 213-216.

<sup>98</sup> From this author's own experience working at Walmer in 2015, layers of Victorian wallpaper and paint were removed to restore the room to how it would have looked under Wellington's tenure.

<sup>99</sup> British Library, Add MS 89317/7/117, Add MS 89317/7/116.

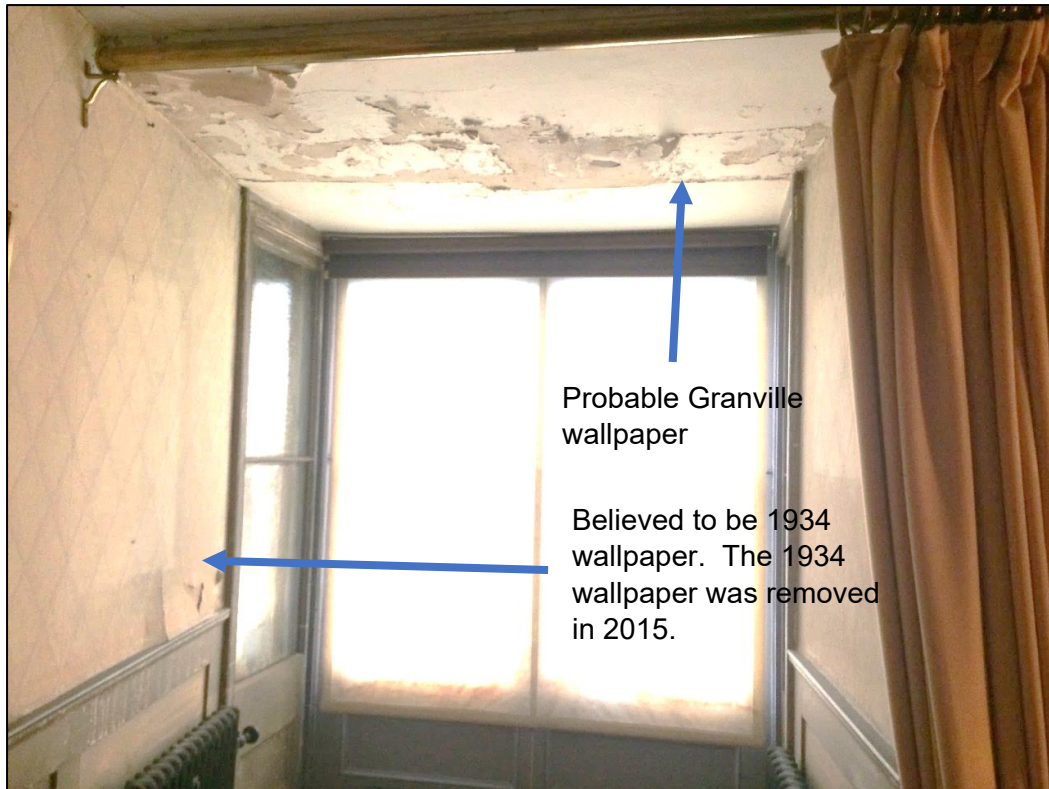


Fig. 34 Photograph showing the differing wallpaper samples in the Duke of Wellington's Bedroom, 2015.

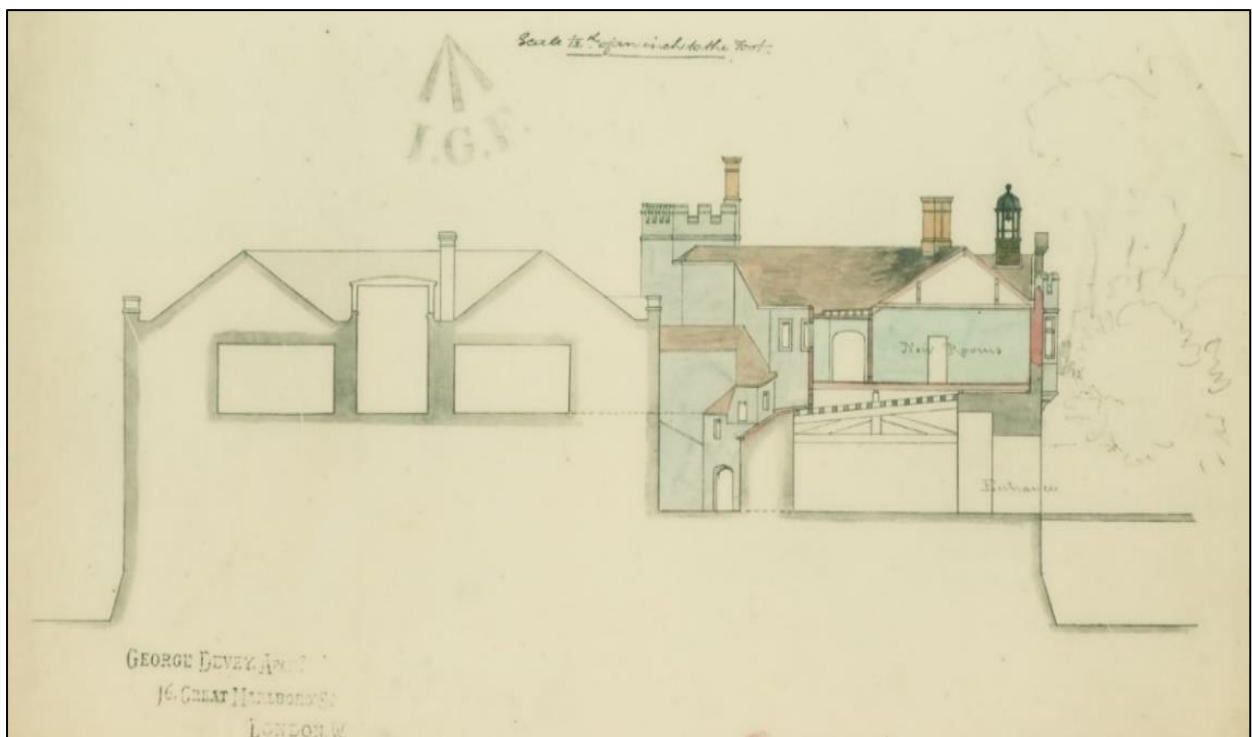


Fig. 35 Devey's original drawing showing his alterations and floor raising, in comparison to the earlier alterations on the left-hand side of his drawing, RIBA Collection, PB831/7(1-25).



Granville also commissioned Devey to fit out the Sackville and Willingdon Rooms (a part of the Gunners' Cabins) as bedrooms. This included breaking out the sections of the bastion stonework and installing large, mullioned windows. Devey also installed an early electrical servants' bell system throughout the castle.<sup>100</sup> The Sackville and Willingdon Rooms are referenced in an article where an unruly fox being chased by a hunting party's hounds was pursued into the castle and then killed in these rooms. The description of the event in the newspaper article demonstrates that these chambers were being used as drawing rooms in 1890.<sup>101</sup> Interestingly, this author found what looks like a fox's jawbone in Walmer's Rounds, which has never been open to the public (Appendix W).

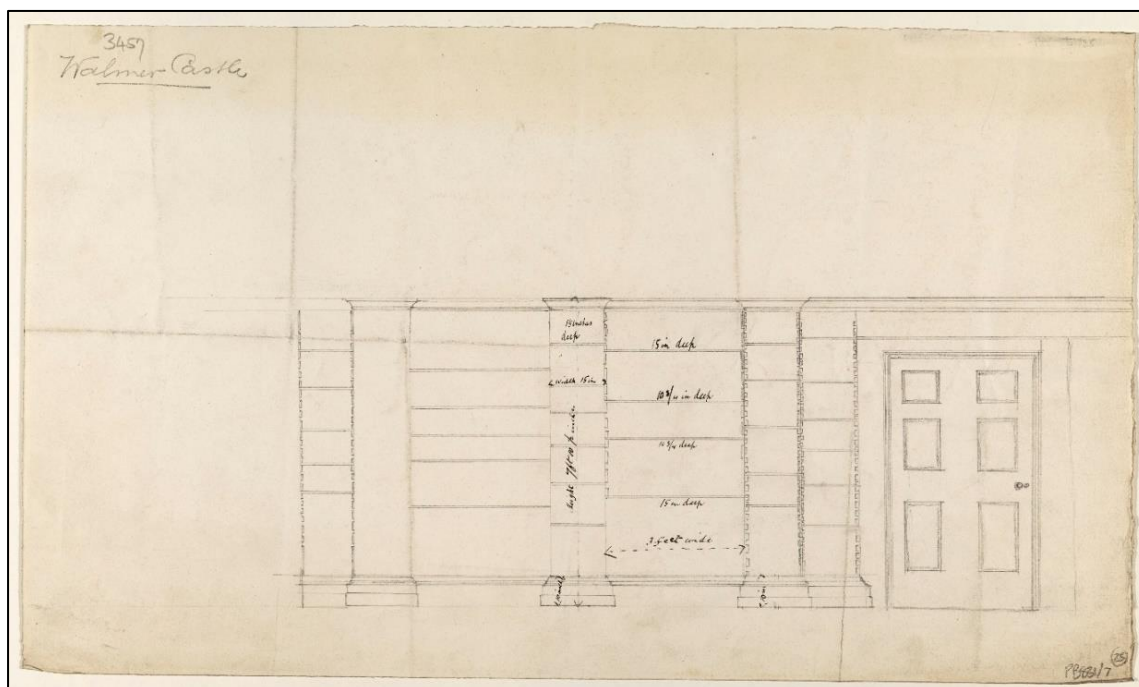


Fig. 36 An elevational plan by Devey of the newly appointed rooms (drawing, ante and dining rooms) in the neo-classical style, Devey Collection, RIBA Archive held at the V&A, PB831/7(1-25).

<sup>100</sup> Illustrated London News. 1852. 'Visitors On The Beach At Deal.' *Illustrated London News*: November 20, 1852, P. 18.

<sup>101</sup> Devizes And Wiltshire Gazette. 1890. 'A Fox At Walmer Castle.' *Devizes And Wiltshire Gazette*: February 13, 1890, P. 6.



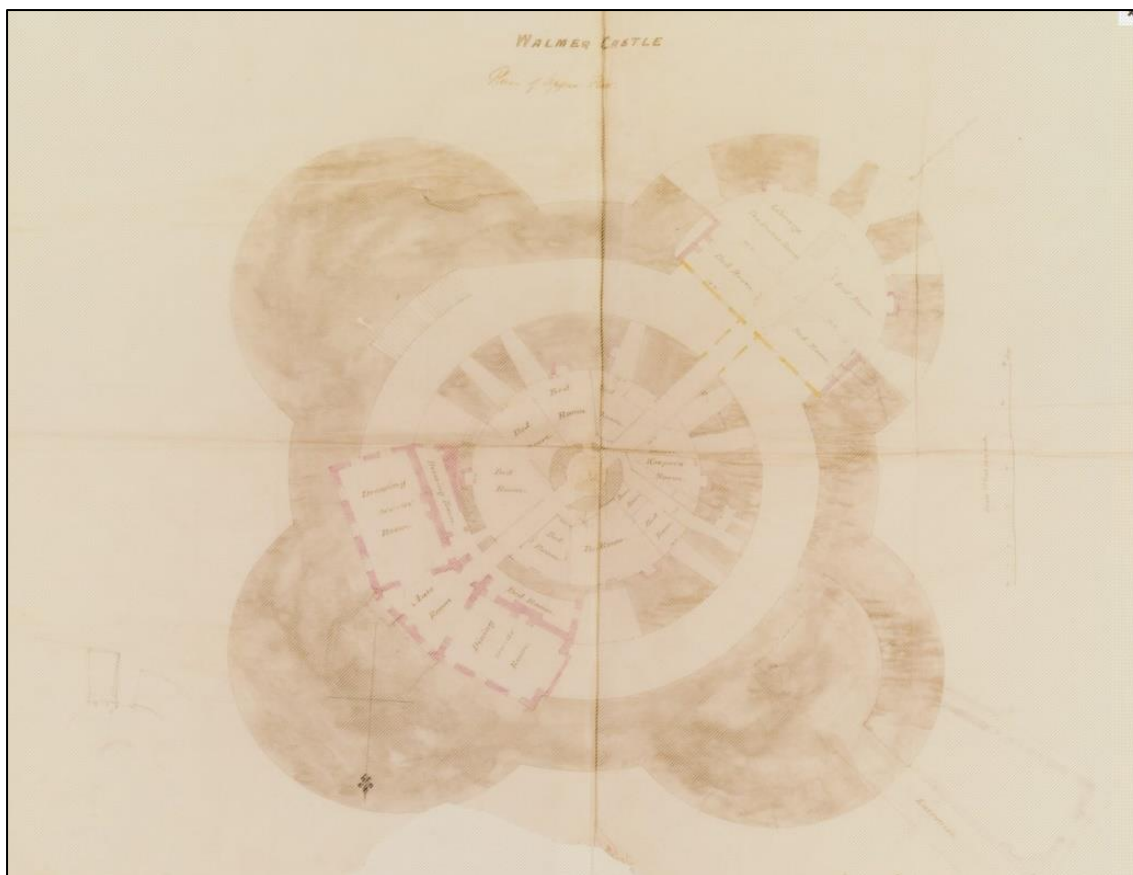


Fig. 37 Highlighted in pink on this plan are the newly refurbished rooms that Devey designed, 1874, Historic England Archive, MP/WAC0014.

Whereas previous additions had re-worked the existing space and added fairly humble timber-framed additions, Devey re-configured the rooms to maximise space. He added another floor in the entrance bastion, two new towers, oriel windows (plus other windows to maximise natural light), installed new WCs (an issue that Granville had complained about since taking up the role), and installed some very fine neo-classical styled interiors to the main drawing rooms.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>102</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/82.



Fig. 38 The newly refurbished Lord Warden's apartment can be seen on this construction drawing by Devey, 1874, Historic England Archive, MP/WAC0007.

The Dutch-styled gable, square-shaped extension and lookout platform at the apex that were drawn into the finished design were not adopted, though the Elizabethan-styled oriel windows were incorporated into the entrance bastion. A much more discreet gable was actually added by Devey, as sketched below in a later drawing (see Fig. 39). The castle's entrance largely looks the same to this day, although the large, Tudor-styled chimney and castle lantern have been removed (Fig. 40).<sup>103</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Historic England Archives, MP/WAC0707.



Fig. 39 A sketch by Devey, undated, which refers to the completed works, Devey Collection, RIBA Archive held at the V&A, PB831/7(1-25).

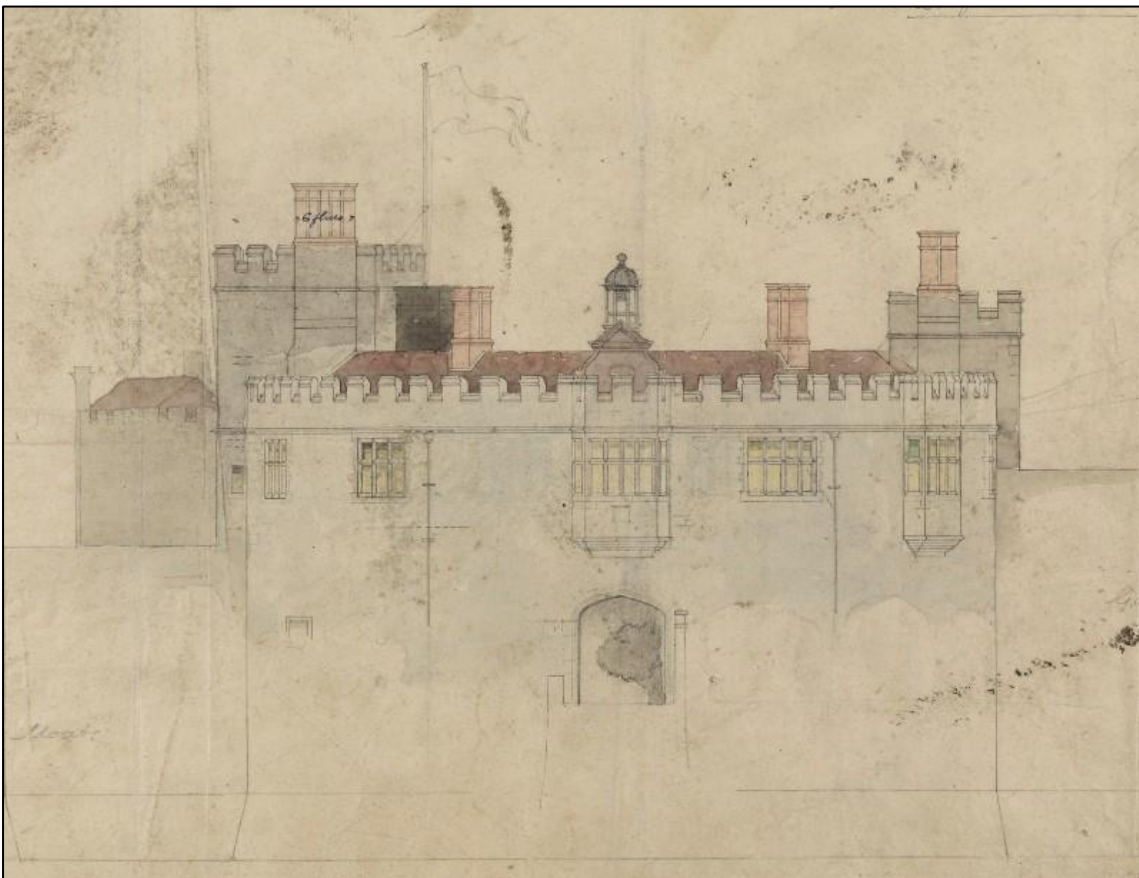


Fig. 40 An original construction drawing used in the works carried out by Devey. A sketch by Devey, undated, which refers to the completed works, Devey Collection, RIBA Archive held at the V&A, PB831/7(1-25).

A good summary of the main alteration phases of development at Walmer can be seen in Fig. 41. Item one is the corridor, two is the area Queen Victoria is believed to have slept in on her royal visit, three is the dining room, four is the anteroom, five is the drawing room (originally two rooms known as East and West Lounges), six is the Duke of Wellington's bedroom, and seven is the Lord Warden's Apartment.<sup>104</sup> This development plan is essential as it is essentially the plan English Heritage has used to present the castle to tourists, using artefacts and informational boards to guide visitors through the timeline of the castle as laid out below.<sup>105</sup>

Whilst this thesis limits exploration of the grounds of the castles, it is worth noting that included with Devey, Granville also worked with other high-society professionals for a number of other projects, no less in totally relandscaping the gardens and driveway. Much of this was undertaken by William Masters (1796-1874), a prominent Canterbury nurseryman operating 'Master's Exotic Nursery', known for its diverse plant offerings. He was well known locally in the period and was responsible for many new country house gardens in the home counties.<sup>106</sup>

Granville also spent his own money repatriating many items that had been displayed at the castle from the days of Pitt and Wellington. Granville, like Wellington, undertook a great deal of entertaining at the castle and almost every week important visitors were in attendance.<sup>107</sup> One such important and frequent visitor was believed to be Prime Minister William Gladstone (1809-1898, Fig. 46).<sup>108</sup> This regular turnover of important dignitaries ensured the castle was well maintained, as it now housed 'the Walmer Collection' of artefacts that Granville had largely amassed. A celebratory plaque was installed to mark the alterations (Fig. 42).

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<sup>104</sup> The Lord Warden's Partitions are not shown for security reasons, as this is from a public document.

<sup>105</sup> Excluding the Lord Warden's Apartment, which is always kept for his/her private use.

<sup>106</sup> Unknown Author, 'William Masters Obituary.' *The Gardeners' Chronicle* (1874): 437.

<sup>107</sup> Curzon, 319-322.

<sup>108</sup> *Staffordshire Sentinel And Commercial & General Advertiser*. 1870. 'News And Notes.' *Staffordshire Sentinel and Commercial & General Advertiser*: August 20, 1870, P. 12.

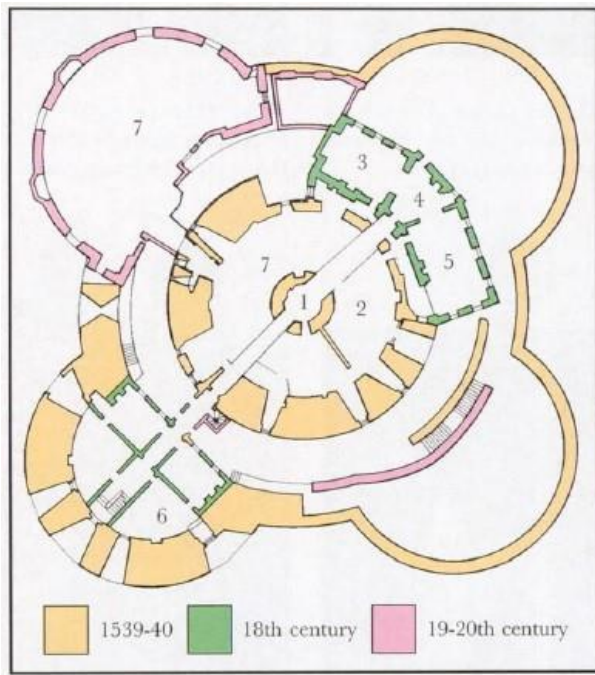


Fig. 41 First-floor plan of Walmer Castle and how these rooms have developed. Hall, H., 'Walmer Castle', *Country Life*, Country Life Archive Apr 13, 1995; 189, 15; 52.



Fig. 42 Fig: A plaque installed at the end of the extensive Granville alterations, located above the entrance in the main entrance bastion, c. late twentieth century photograph, Historic England Archives, DP165356.

In 1884, a drainage survey was undertaken by the Royal Engineers, who were making a number of improvements to the drains in and around the castle. The ground floor drawing appears to be the only remnant from this survey, and it reveals a fascinating insight into how the many servants' quarters were arranged during this time and how many newly



installed lavatories there were.<sup>109</sup> It is also another good example of how far the castle had transitioned away from an early modern period military fortress.

The Porter's Lodgings had a WC ensuite (which is still there but portioned off separately), the Willingdon and Sackville Rooms (as they are now called) were divided into three bedrooms with a sitting room, two having ensuite, and a public WC abutting the garden entrance. The butler also appears to have a small privy outside his lodgings and a sink within his room. The survey also reviewed that the issue of foul drainage at the castle has been very problematic, possibly since such early adoption of this relatively new means of drainage was likely not installed without problems. For example, the Scullery was the only room with 'adequate drinking water' despite the number of basins within the castle.<sup>110</sup> We shall return to these latent defects with rather grave consequences later.

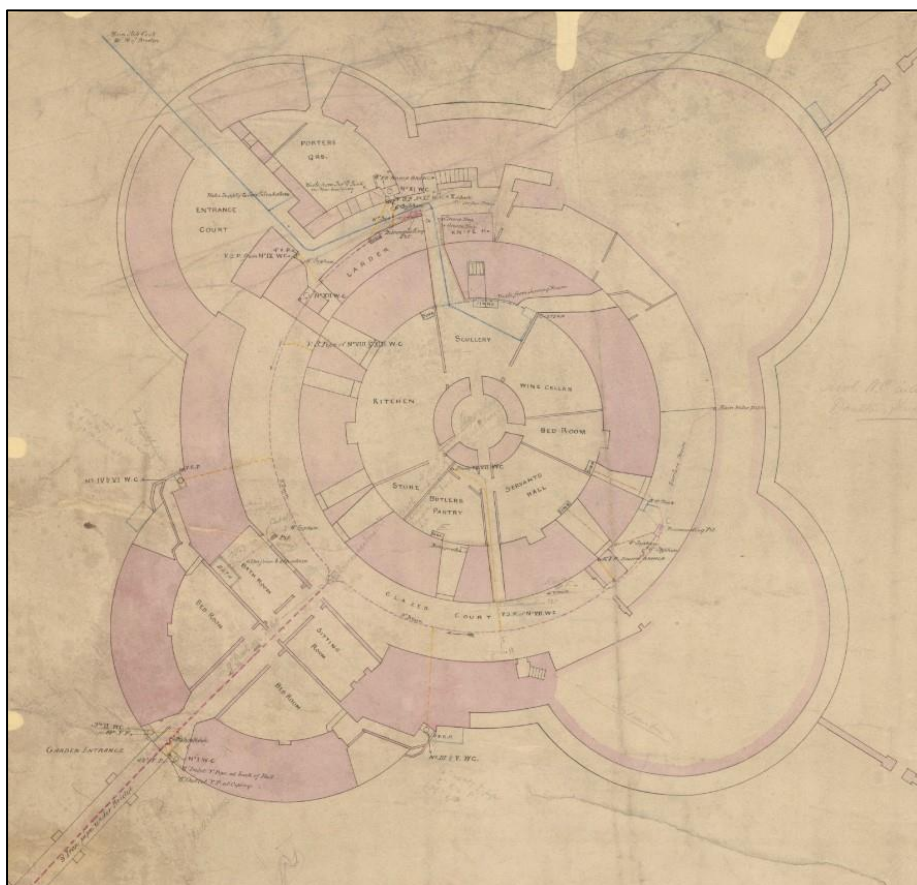


Fig. 43 The 1884 survey shows that despite the name changes, the layout of this portion of the castle has remained largely the same to this present day, The National Archives, WORK14/4/2.

<sup>109</sup> The National Archives, WORK/31/299

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*

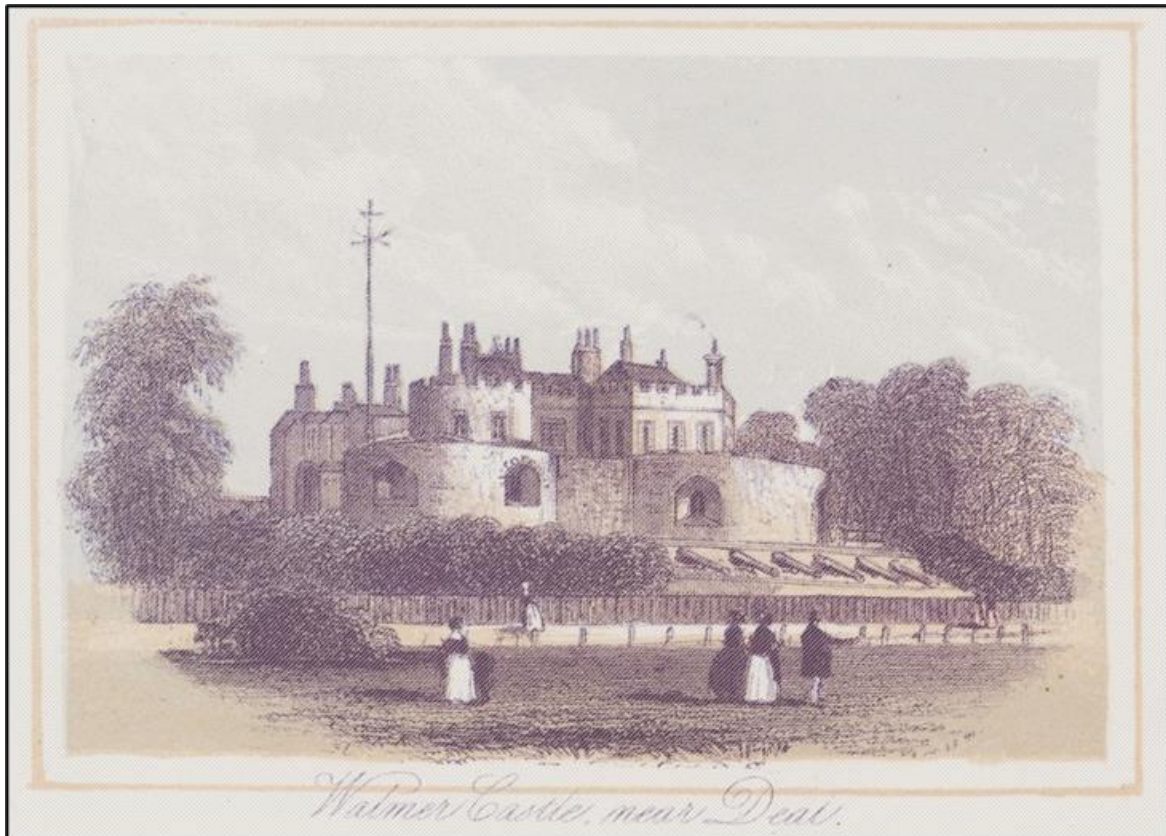


Fig. 44 This undated etching, likely from the nineteenth century, shows the extent to which the Devey alterations had adapted the Castle from 16th Century fortress to a country house, Historic England Archives, RBA01/08/076/02.

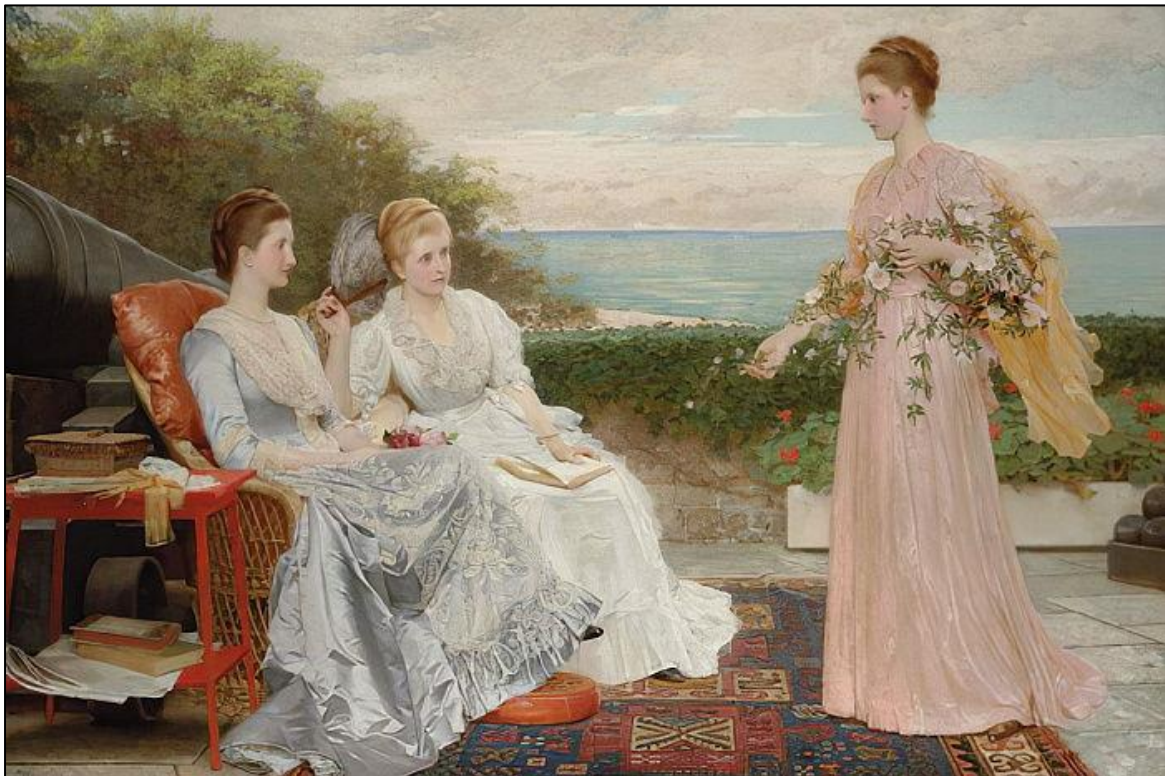


Fig. 45 Fig: An oil painting of Countess Granville in 1891 on the seaward bastion, Charles Edward Perugini (1839 – 1918), used under UK Fair Dealing.





Fig. 46 An interesting photograph of Prime Minister Gladstone who visited Deal Castle, 1881. It is interesting as it is possibly one of the earliest known photographs of Deal castle, which also shows how the cannons were being used for display purposes, The National Portrait Gallery, London , © National Portrait Gallery, London, John Berryman, 1881.

Lord Granville died in 1891 of natural causes, and his tenure as Lord Warden saw some of the most significant alterations to the castle since its construction and effectively completed Walmer's transition from a fitted-out domesticated fortress to a building akin to any country house from the period.<sup>111</sup>

William Henry Smith (1825 – 1891), known more commonly as W. H. Smith, was appointed Lord Warden in 1891 but died during his first visit to the castle in October of that year.<sup>112</sup> His visit coincided with his inspection of several redecorations, re-upholstering, and repairs not documented in the National Archives but were mentioned in several articles

<sup>111</sup> Chamberlain, M. E., 'Gower, Granville George Leveson-, second Earl Granville (1815–1891), politician.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23rd September 2004): 148-149.

<sup>112</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post* 6<sup>th</sup> October 1891, 6., According to Elvin, 1894, he passed away in the room overlooking the castle's entrance, p. 171.

about his death.<sup>113</sup> Whilst we do not know the scope of these works, it is assumed that they were decorative in scope and preparation for the start of the next Lord Warden.<sup>114</sup>

Between Granville's death and W. H. Smith's appointment, the outside of the castle was captured in a sketch, which shows how quickly the castle could become overgrown with vegetation if there were a lack of maintenance (Fig. 47). A local artist captured another view of the overgrown castle around the same time (Fig. 48).



Fig. 47 A sketch from 1890 showing overgrown the moat had become during this period of change, unknown artist, Wikimedia Commons public domain.



Fig. 48 A watercolour showing a heavily overgrown Walmer Castle, John Shapland (1865-1929), c. late nineteenth century, private collection.

<sup>113</sup> Yorkshire Evening Post. 1891. 'Death of The Right Hon. W. H. Smith.' *Yorkshire Evening Post*: October 6, 1891, P. 6.

<sup>114</sup> Dundee Courier. 1891. 'Death Of Mr. W. H. Smith, M.P.' *Dundee Courier*: October 7, 1891, P. 12.



Fig. 49 A rare photo showing how Granville had presented Pitt's Bedroom. Note his unique chair on display, which is still part of the collection in the present day, Lucy, H., W., 'The Lord Wardens of the Cinque Ports', *Pall Mall Magazine* (1894): 3.

Despite Smith's very brief tenure, he significantly contributed to safeguarding the Walmer Collection. Prior to his death, he examined an inventory of the amassed items and proposed to the government that, instead of each Lord Warden having to purchase the collection upon appointment, it should be legally transferred to the next appointee to protect its contents for both the subsequent Lord Wardens and the state. Following Smith's passing, an Indentured Heirlooms Bill was enacted to fulfil this request.<sup>115</sup> At that time, the collection comprised seventy historically significant furniture pieces and fifty artworks, largely amassed by the Duke of Wellington and Pitt. Notable items included forty portraits collected by Lord Granville depicting former Lord Wardens, W.H. Smith's personal telescope, and the Duke of Wellington's camp bed and bedroom armchairs.<sup>116</sup> Relatives of former Lord Wardens were invited to Walmer to assist in validating the items for the new collection.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>115</sup> *Daily Telegraph & Courier* (London). 1900. 'Notes.' *Daily Telegraph & Courier* (London): June 9, 1900, P. 7.

<sup>116</sup> *Diss Express*. 1892. 'Heirlooms At Walmer Castle.' *Diss Express*: April 29, 1892, P. 9.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*





Fig. 50 A sketch of the Drawing Room as captured in 1891 during W. H. Smith's short tenure as Lord Warden, *Life of William Henry Smith*, 1894, Sir Herbert Maxwell.

As previously stated, Mrs Allen, the now-retired housekeeper, was brought back to help identify many of the relics.<sup>118</sup> Crucial to determining their provenance as she was the longest-serving castle housekeeper, serving the Duke of Wellington, Dalhousie, Palmerston, and Granville. One item she was said to have been particularly helpful with was a boot-cleaning machine which was drawn to the attention of the visitors when they entered the castle. The machine was a crude Victorian boot-cleaning contraption, and Lord Wardens and state officials made reference to the fact that the 'Iron Duke' would use it to clean his own original 'Wellington boots'. This theory, however, was quashed by Mrs Allen, who explained that Lord Granville purchased the device as a talking point and gimmick for his visitors. The Duke had never seen it, let alone ever used it.

Walmer's Act of Parliament ensured that the pieces of the collection would remain at the castle and could not be moved without consent from the Secretary of State.<sup>119</sup> Most of

<sup>118</sup> Dover Express. 1892. 'Heirlooms At Walmer Castle.' *Dover Express*: April 29, 1892, P. 2.

<sup>119</sup> Shepherd, R., *Walmer Castle and Gardens*, 13.

these pieces later went on display when the castle was opened to the public (Fig. 51).<sup>120</sup>

Despite Smith's short tenure, his petition for the safeguarding of the collection would have profound positive implications for Walmer as it would later transition to being more of a museum.<sup>121</sup>

Between Lord Granville's death in 1891 and the ministry's takeover in 1904, the castle was practically unused (except for a few weeks a year when Lord Dufferin (1891-1895) and Lord Salisbury's children used the property).<sup>122</sup> Lord Salisbury (1895-1903), who was the Lord Warden during this period, was said to have had little to no interest in the role or the castle, but this is not strictly true.<sup>123</sup> Salisbury had commissioned his own Architects after he found the Office of Works engineers to be frustrating in their delays in fixing the sanitary conditions at the castle.<sup>124</sup> Architectural firm Balfour and Turner were employed to fix the drainage problems. One of their few alterations was to remove the glazed roof from the link corridor. This was undertaken to afford better access for the workmen to reach the blocked soil stacks but also because Lord Salisbury preferred it too.<sup>125</sup> Eventually, the architects and the Salisbury's became totally frustrated with the Office of Works. As a result, the Office took possession of the castle, where the grounds had become overgrown and essentially lost, as the maintenance costs for their reinstatement were exceptionally high. It has been found that they were so high that the various state departments quarrelled over which department was liable for the costs.<sup>126</sup> A sketch has been found within the records demonstrating how the glazed corridor initially looked before removal (Fig. 52). Salisbury also installed all new inspection chambers and replaced many downpipes, gutters, vented stacks, and WCs.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Dover Express. 1892. 'Heirlooms At Walmer Castle.' *Dover Express*: April 29, 1892, P. 2.

<sup>121</sup> Herts Advertiser. 1899. 'Walmer Castle.' *Herts Advertiser*: August 5, 1899, P. 12., Herbert, B. M., *Life of the Right Honourable William Henry Smith M.P.* (New ed.) (London: William Blackwood, 1894), 112.

<sup>122</sup> The National Archives, WO/32/18241.

<sup>123</sup> Dover Express. 1900. John Bavington Jones. 'Walmer Castle.' *Dover Express*: August 17, 1900, P. 3.

<sup>124</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/82.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> The National Archives, WO/32/18241

<sup>127</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/82

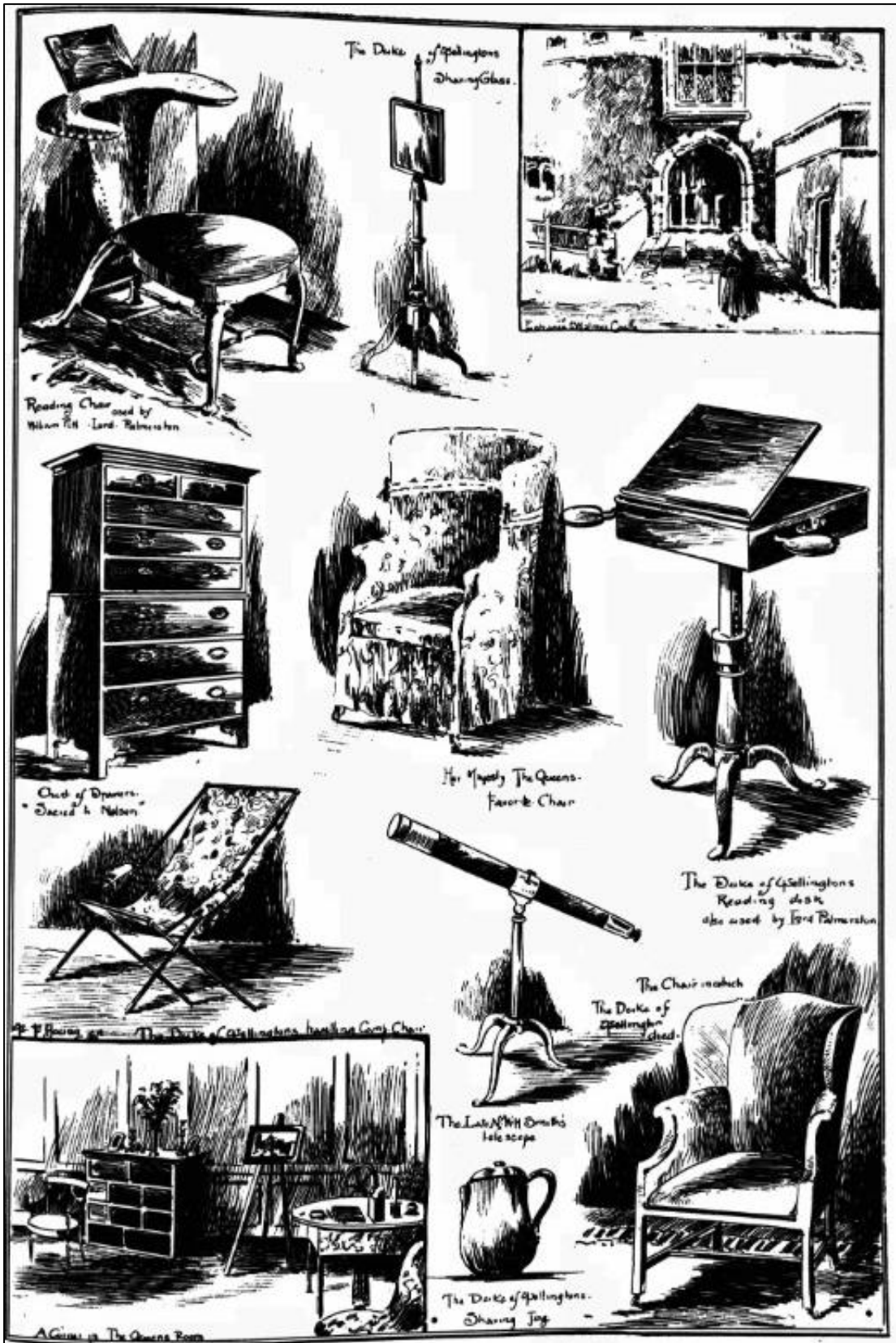


Fig. 51 An illustration depicting the pieces in the Walmer Collection, 1892, The Gentlewoman periodical.

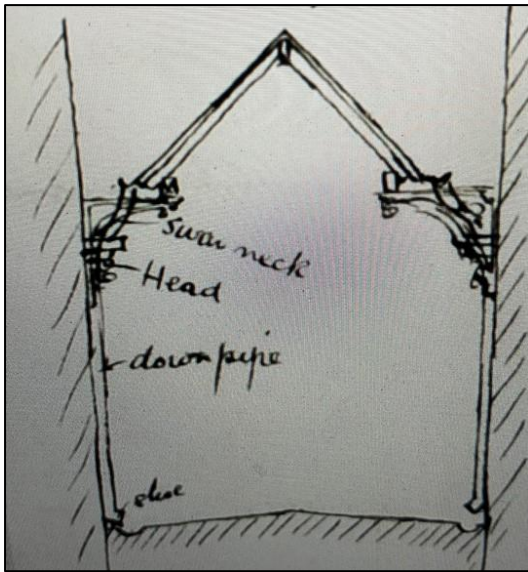


Fig. 52 Left: A sketch within correspondence from Balfour and Turner Architects to Lord Salisbury, The National Archives, WORK/14/82. Right: A photograph of how this link corridor looks in the present, 2022.

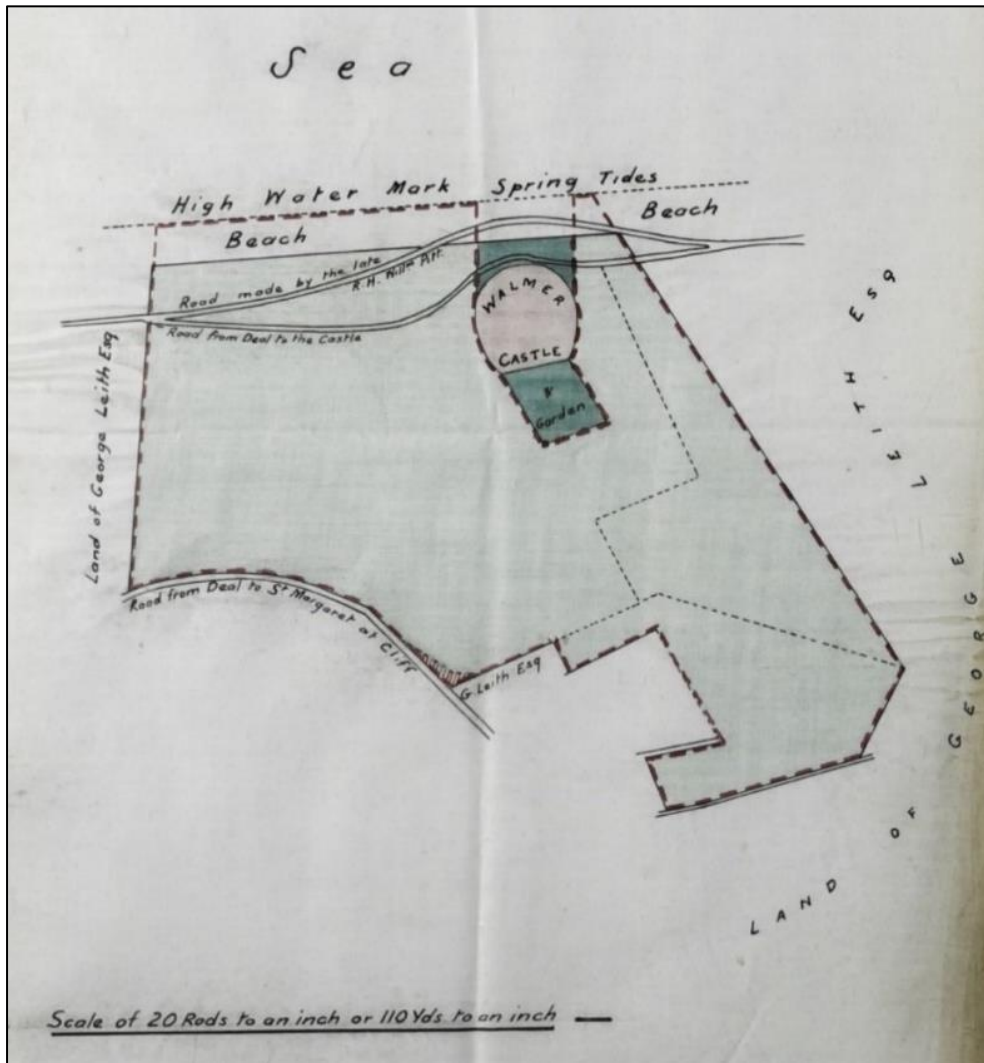


Fig. 53 A surveyor's drawing of the castle's grounds in 1904 during the transfer, The National Archives, WORK/14/82.

## Twentieth Century: Conservation and Protection

George Curzon, the First Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (1859 –1925) our eponymous monographic author of Walmer's development was a prominent British statesman who served as Viceroy of India from 1899 to 1905 and became Lord Warden on his return to England in 1905. As Viceroy of India, he was noted for the creation of Eastern Bengal and Assam province.<sup>128</sup> During his time in British-controlled India, he was instrumental in protecting ancient Indian monuments and temples during British rule and ensured that a programme of conservation for various sites was meticulously followed through, including the UNESCO World Heritage Site, the Taj Mahal, which is said to be his proudest achievement.<sup>129</sup> He took a keen interest in history and archaeology and travelled widely, visiting archaeological digs and witnessing worldwide attempts to conserve ancient buildings. He subsequently lost out in his bid to become prime minister to Stanley Baldwin (1867-1947) and became a polarising figure in the day's politics. The famously short-tempered but enormously talented statesman was said to have had friends and enemies in equal measures.<sup>130</sup>

Whilst in India, following a series of earthquakes and increasingly destructive visitor numbers, Curzon oversaw marble repairs, garden restorations, consolidation works to the structure, improved access, and the replacement of trees. He later wrote:

'If I had never done anything else in India, I have written my name here, and the letters are a living joy.'<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> Judd, D., *The Lion and The Tiger: The Rise and Fall of the British Raj, 1600-1947* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 91-95.

<sup>129</sup> Edwardes, M., 'The Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon' *History Today* Vol. 12 (1962): 833–844., Gilmour, D., *Curzon: Imperial Statesman* (London: Penguin, 2019), 48.

<sup>130</sup> Gilmour, D., 'Curzon.' *The New York Times* (2003): 15-16.

<sup>131</sup> Jokilehto, J., *A History of Architectural Conservation* (London: Routledge, 2012), 274-278.



These experiences in India likely inspired Curzon to bring back this level of state conservational intervention to the United Kingdom. Indeed, in his dealings with the Office of Works in 1904 and 1905, he demonstrated awareness of building conservation principles and actively tried to improve the castle whilst retaining as much of the original fabric as possible but balancing this with his comfort as the new Lord Warden.<sup>132</sup>

When he returned to England to take his seat in the House of Lords, and it was at this time that he became involved with some of the first state practices of building conservation. It was the Ancient Monuments Act passed in 1900 that for the first time had given the Office of Works the freedom to undertake more preventative repairs to the monuments under their care. It also, for the first time, allowed them the ability to forward plan and open these monuments to the public.<sup>133</sup> The newly built road and rail networks across the country led to increased numbers of day tourists to these sites, and now, more than at any time before, the state needed to make these monuments more accessible to the public. Many people including the press remarked at the time:

‘What is the point of securing these monuments if they could not be showcased for the very people they were taken into protection for?’<sup>134</sup>

The Office of Works had long charged entrance fees for Hampton Court and the Tower of London, two of the most popular tourist destinations in the country at the time.<sup>135</sup> This new act would afford them powers to charge entrance fees at any of their properties and ensure that the revenue collected would help preserve and present the sites for visitors. The first project the Office undertook using these powers would be the newly secured Walmer Castle.<sup>136</sup>

In 1904, the Office of Works accepted the transfer of Walmer since it was no longer required for operational use by the Military, and it was agreed that the Ministry would pay the

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<sup>132</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/82.

<sup>133</sup> Mynors, Charles, *Listed Buildings, Conservation Areas and Monuments* (London: London, Sweet and Maxwell, 2006), 142-159.

<sup>134</sup> The Times. 1901. 'Intelligence.' *The Times*: July 5, 1901, P. 7.

<sup>135</sup> Thurley, S., *Men From the Ministry*, (Connecticut: Yale, 2015), 150.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.* 151.

costs of restoring the castle to a standard befitting such an important national asset (Fig. 55).<sup>137</sup> Just under £2,400 was paid for alterations (£263,471.77 in present-day terms). This capital budget included a great many items: installing the first electricity at the castle, no less, removing all the 'dangerous' gas lamps, a complete refurbishment of the kitchen, installing a porter's window for security, heightening doorways, rebuilding stonework and other general repairs.<sup>138</sup>

In 1904, on the date of the transfer, the Office was already at the castle making alterations for both Lord and Lady Curzon, the latter being deeply troubled by the state of the foul drainage systems in the castle.<sup>139</sup> The castle, which had been under the directorship of the Ministry of Defence, was supposedly in an abysmal state of repair. Over two years, the Office had only spent £270 on maintenance.<sup>140</sup> The layout was also quite strange, with twenty-two bedrooms but only one sitting room. Seemingly, the layout was formulated by Wellington, and his large numbers of simultaneous guests, and was probably extended by Lord Granville who had a large family and also enjoyed hosting many dignitaries.<sup>141</sup>

Curzon and his wife moved into Walmer Castle before its completion in 1904, despite already renting a nearby property.<sup>142</sup> Unfortunately, living in the damp and cold castle proved detrimental to Lady Curzon's health, leading to her death in 1906. It was later discovered that Lady Curzon had suffered a miscarriage and contracted an infection from an old drain above her bedroom window.<sup>143</sup> This reveals the failure of the Office's engineers to adequately address the longstanding drainage issues at the castle during that period.<sup>144</sup> Even the Salisburys had warned the Curzons about the unsanitary conditions of the castle's ancient drainage system.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> The National Archives], WO 32/18241.

<sup>138</sup> The National Archives, WO 32/18241.

<sup>139</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/82.

<sup>140</sup> The National Archives, WO/32/18241.

<sup>141</sup> Nicholson, N., *Mary Curzon* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977) 173., The National Archives, WORK/14/82

<sup>142</sup> Nicholson, N., *Mary Curzon* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977) 174.

<sup>143</sup> Gilmour, *Curzon: Imperial Statesman*, 38.

<sup>144</sup> Nicholson, N., *Mary Curzon* (New York, Harper and Row, 1977) 175.

<sup>145</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/82., Nicholson, N., *Mary Curzon* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977) 175.

The Curzons' comprehensive and meticulous repairs were entrusted to local construction company W. H. Denne and Son.<sup>146</sup> The project spanned eighteen months, although the extent to which the Curzon's occupancy hindered progress remains uncertain. The scope of the restoration efforts encompassed various tasks, such as the removal of the purple-tinted glass (though some are still partly in situ today), and many discussions were had with Lord Curzon concerning his need for Denne's to match 'old adjacent work'; again, this is a sign of Curzon's knowledge of conservation and the emerging theory of it at this time.<sup>147</sup> Furthermore, instructions were given for the removal of the chimney from the tower, the removal of the brick gable above the entrance was undertaken and the cupola situated atop the main tower was also deemed necessary for removal.<sup>148</sup>



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<sup>146</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/82.

<sup>147</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/82.

<sup>148</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/82.

Fig. 54 An unpublished photograph possibly by the Office of Works, unknown date but likely during or before 1904, private collection.

Under Curzon's original direction, some crude additions (the two flying jetty rooms, for example, as seen in Fig. 54, one of which was Wellington's WC and bath) were removed, and the walls were infilled with stonework. The same photograph also shows how unruly the grounds had become due to their lack of maintenance.<sup>149</sup>

The surveyor from the Office of Works noted at the time that the castle had lower floors that were bathed in darkness, and that most of the castle's servants slept in the loft as it was the driest and warmest place to stay (the sleeping bag hooks and their fixings are still located across many of the rafters, see Fig. 56).<sup>150</sup> He also pointed out that the main floor was badly arranged and poorly lit, the dining room was small, and the kitchen facilities were inadequate.

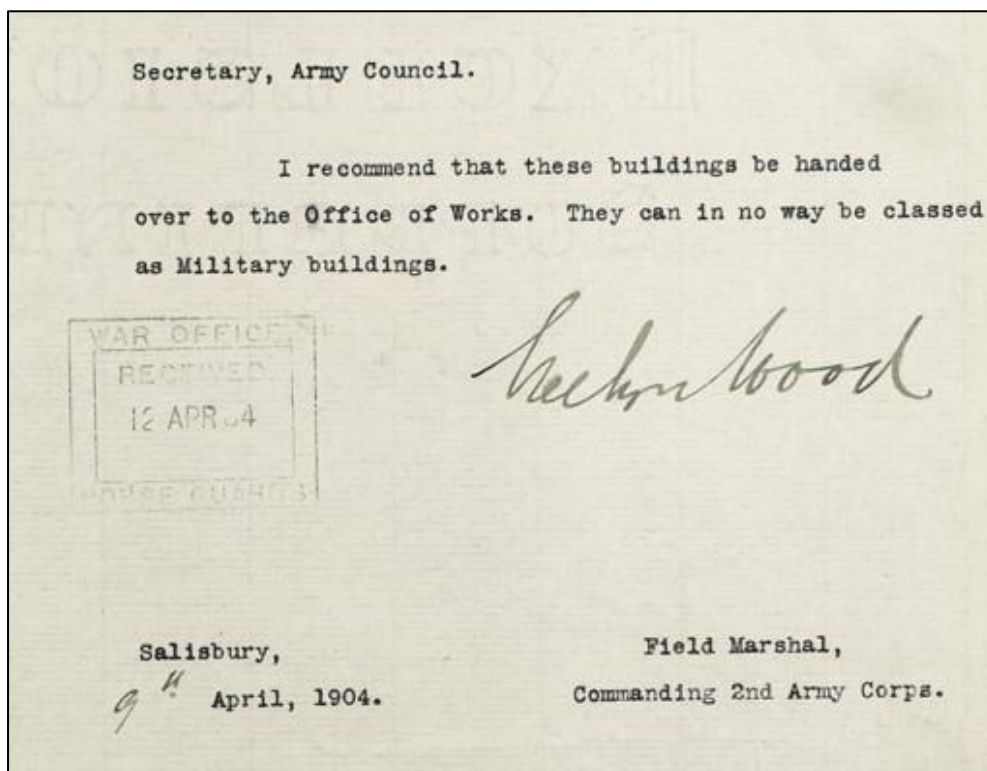


Fig. 55 The original letter from the Army stating that the castle was no longer of military use, 1904, The National Archives, WO 32/18241.

<sup>149</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/82.

<sup>150</sup> Found during the author's investigations in 2016., The National Archives, WORK/14/82.





Fig. 56 Photograph by the author of the loft hooks by the author.

King Edward VII (1841 – 1910) on hearing the news of Lady Curzon's death, travelled to the castle to see the state of it for himself.<sup>151</sup> It was not realised at the time that the King had been a frequent visitor to the castle as a boy with his mother, Queen Victoria. The secret visit was subsequently reported in the press:

'It is stated that the object of the King's visit was to inspect the condition of the Castle in view of the reports concerning it which were circulated at the time of Lady Curzon's

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<sup>151</sup> Daily Telegraph & Courier (London). 1905. 'Interesting News Items.' *Daily Telegraph & Courier (London)*: January 11, 1905, P. 6.



illness, with a view either to the abandonment of the Castle as a residence or to making extensive alterations and additions.<sup>152</sup>

Curzon, despite being racked with grief at the time, did not concur with the surveyor's remarks about demolition, and upon resigning the post of Lord Warden (one of his wife's dying wishes) he suggested that Walmer should be opened up for all to experience as a 'living museum'.<sup>153</sup> The King later concurred, based on his own visit to the castle, and donated a marble bust of Wellington to the collection that is still presently displayed at the castle (as 2024, Fig. 57).<sup>154</sup> The Office subsequently adopted Curzon's ideas and from 1905, it was the Office's ambition to make Walmer their 'show-place'.<sup>155</sup> Additionally, Curzon advised the Office of Works on how the refurbishment works should be undertaken and what exactly was 'in keeping' and what was not.<sup>156</sup>

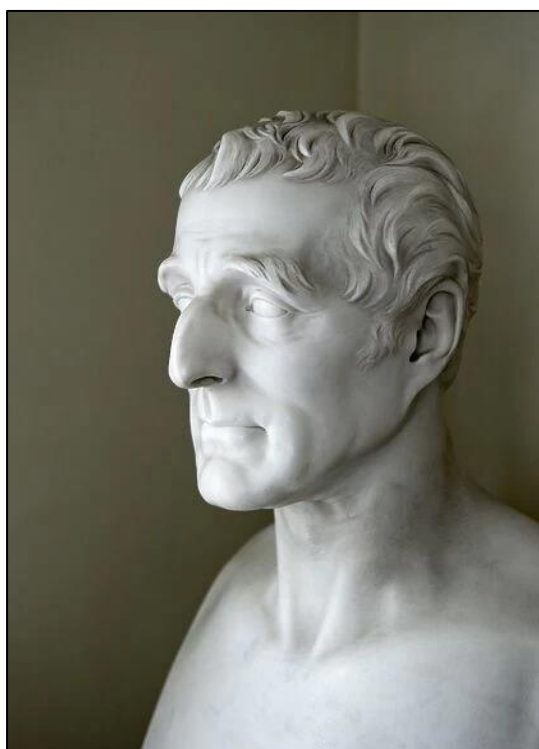


Fig. 57 A bust of the Duke of Wellington from the Royal Collection, Historic England Archive, N110118.

<sup>152</sup> The Times. 1905. 'Mail & Shipping Intelligence.' *The Times*: August 23, 1905, P. 12.

<sup>153</sup> Nicholson, *Mary Curzon*, 181.

<sup>154</sup> Shepherd, *Walmer Castle and Gardens*, 3.

<sup>155</sup> Thurley, S., *Men From the Ministry*, (Connecticut: Yale, 2015), 151.

<sup>156</sup> The National Archives, WO 32/18241., The Sphere. 1927. 'Books.' *The Sphere*: December 24, 1927, P. 573.

Curzon also donated a number of personal items to the castle's collection as well as items that had previously belonged to the Duke of Wellington that he owned. Lady Curzon had previously described the collection as 'trash', and that the remaining pieces of furniture in the squalid castle were merely 'cast-offs' from the Salisbury's lesser homes – which was not strictly true.<sup>157</sup> Curzon would also help catalogue these items within the collection.<sup>158</sup>

The layout of the first-floor rooms was also altered to ensure that the Lord Warden's apartment was made more private. The other rooms' flow and naming were also changed, and have remained largely the same ever since, with only minor adjustments. A first-hand account of a visit from this time appears in a regional newspaper from 1899:

'In the large entrance porch are the jawbones of a whale captured outside the Castle many years ago. Passing through the outer courtyard, or keep, through the entrance hall, is the main corridor of the Castle, with peculiarly shaped rooms on either side of them, in fact, were dug out of the solid material of the walls, which are fifteen feet thick and twenty feet at the base. The first room on the right is the Duke of Wellington's room, the only apartment occupied room, the only apartment occupied by the whole of the period by his Lord Wardenship, as bedroom, sitting room and everything else combined.'<sup>159</sup>

While no record of the whalebones can currently be found, all of the alterations described above are primarily those of Lord Granville.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Nicholson, *Mary Curzon*, 174.

<sup>158</sup> Curzon, v.

<sup>159</sup> Herts Advertiser. 1899. 'Walmer Castle.' *Herts Advertiser*: August 5, 1899, P. 12.

<sup>160</sup> Apparently, a number of whalebones have been discovered locally at Walmer and may have been brought over from the Roman conquest: G. Dowker, 'Roman remains at Walmer and Ramsgate', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 17, (1887): 5-6. As reported in 1762, a very large dead sperm whale did wash up on Deal's beach and as the Lord Warden is the ancient possessor of flotsam and jetsam in the area, it might have been that a small offering of the carcass was made to him as because of his position. The sperm whale details can be found in: Pritchard, S., *The History of Deal, and its Neighbourhood*, (Deal: E. Hayward, 1864), 65.

'This room is used the present Lord Warden as his study [Wellington's bedroom]. Passing along the corridor, with its fine old paintings and prints hung on either side, beyond the centre of the Castle, and leaving Lord Granville's, Nelson's, and Pitt's rooms the left, come The Queen's Room. Her Majesty has paid two visits to this Castle, the first time, accompanied her mother, the Duchess of Kent, and the King and Queen of the Belgians, and again 1842, with them and two eldest children, which visit she remained twenty-three days. It was here and during this visit that the Prince of Wales first learned to walk. The Queen's Room contains a fine old Chinese screen and chest of drawers, presented by the Chinese to the Duke of Wellington, and much prized by him; also some rare china. At the extreme end of the corridor the ante-room, with the drawing room on the right and dining-room on the left. In the far end of the drawing-room to the right is small recess, and brass plate on the wall reads thus: In this recess, formerly a separate room, Mr. Pitt received Lord Nelson in 1801.'<sup>161</sup>

Under measures provided in the Monuments Act of 1900, the Office used their new powers to ensure that by 1905 the castle employed onsite personnel to manage the visitors, fitted turnstiles, and public lavatories and thus made Walmer the first proper state-established and managed property to cater directly for day-tripping visitors.<sup>162</sup> Interestingly, they should choose Walmer as their first experiment in creating their own heritage tourism site, though this was probably at the shepherding of Curzon who for the rest of this life continued his passion for Walmer and heritage protection.<sup>163</sup> No less for the fact that Walmer transferring from a Tudor fortress to a country house was again transitioning into another phase of its existence to be preserved and have a purpose to the nation. The experiment's success is evident, primarily demonstrated by the proliferation of comparable sites across the British

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<sup>161</sup> Herts Advertiser. 1899. 'Walmer Castle.' *Herts Advertiser*: August 5, 1899, P. 12.

<sup>162</sup> Thurley, S., *Men From the Ministry*, (Connecticut: Yale, 2015), 151.

<sup>163</sup> Curzon would later be involved in the saving of Tattershall Castle in 1911, Bodiam Castle in 1916 (which he transferred to The National Trust in 1925), and helped create the Ancient Monuments Board – which was the ancestral organisation of the current English Heritage Trust.

Isles. Moreover, by 1913, the Office had implemented an active state acquisition program dedicated to undertaking similar initiatives at various locations, solidifying the practice of imposing admission fees at these sites and establishing a formal state-sponsored heritage industry ensuring that Walmer Castle on the Kent coast was the successful project that ensured this catalyst.<sup>164</sup> It is intriguing to contemplate the extent to which numerous heritage sites currently present in the UK owe their existence to the success of this Walmer conversion.

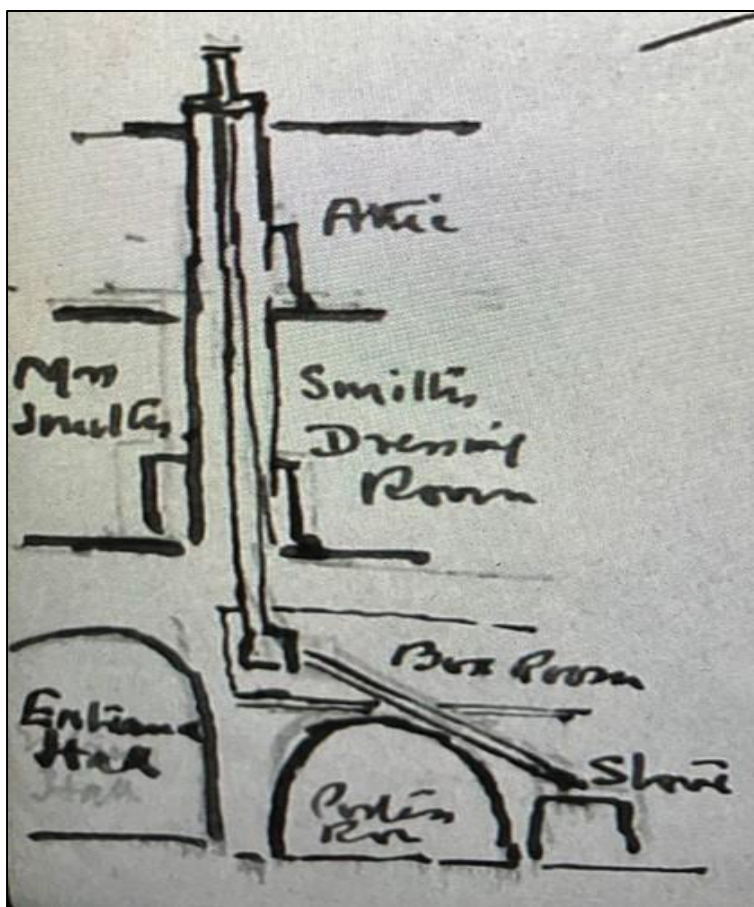


Fig. 58 A sketch by W. H. Denne Builders from within their original tender for the removal of the faux Tudor chimney in 1904, The National Archives, WORK/14/82.

<sup>164</sup> Thurley, S., *Men From the Ministry*, (Connecticut: Yale, 2015), 151.

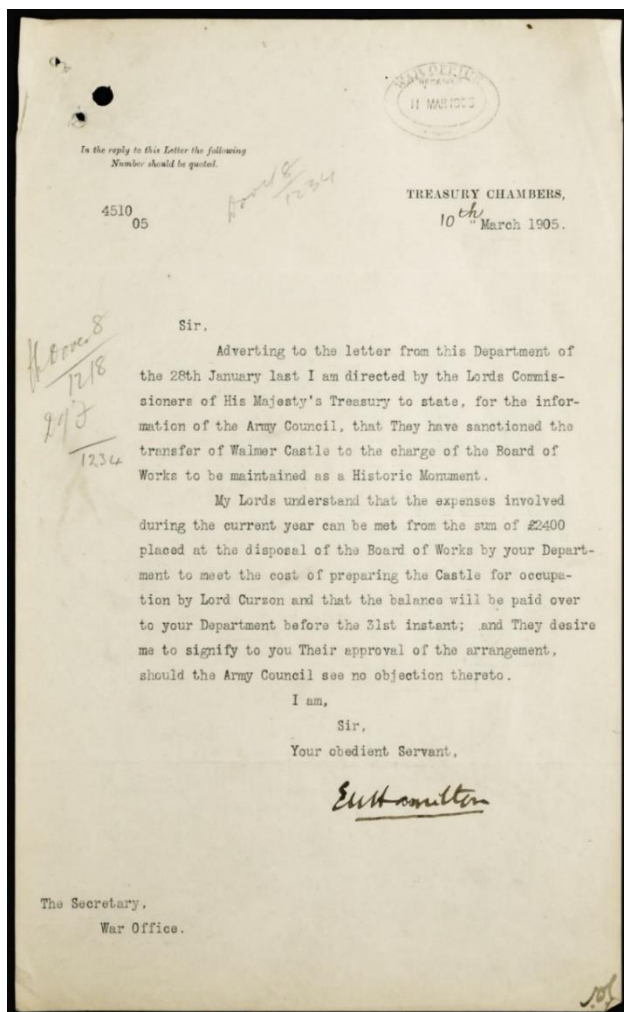


Fig. 59 The official transfer letter that enabled Walmer Castle to open to the public, The National Archives, WO/32/18243.

The Office employed three custodians for the castle.<sup>165</sup> They installed showcases to display the artefacts and installed barriers to protect various rooms (particularly the room in which Lord Wellington had died, as his military camp bed had recently been returned to the castle).<sup>166</sup> Lavatories, benches for picnicking, and entrance gates were all provided via the Office with a start-up loan from the Treasury of £700, thus drawing a line under the funding issues.<sup>167</sup> The various artefacts left at the castle after the visits of Queen Victoria were also displayed.<sup>168</sup>

<sup>165</sup> Thurley, S., *Men From the Ministry*, 151.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*





Fig. 60 Photograph taken by the Office of Works prior to opening to the public, c.1904, Historic England Archives.

The fencing to the left which appears to be timber must have been changed to cast-iron not long after this photo, as documents show that the Office of Works had ordered this alteration (Fig. 60).<sup>169</sup> The castle finally opened to the public on Monday 12<sup>th</sup> June 1905. In the same year it is believed that some domestic fittings, no longer required by the castle were sold at the castle to any guests who could afford them.<sup>170</sup>

<sup>169</sup> The Sphere. 1905. 'The Home Of The Lord Warden: Walmer Castle Opened To The Public.' *The Sphere*: July 1, 1905, P. 12.

<sup>170</sup> Woolley & Wallis LLP, 'Lot 676: A small early 19<sup>th</sup>-century gilt overmantel mirror, the later rectangular plate within a reeded and ribbon frame, with corner rosettes, with an applied brass plaque, inscribed 'purchased At Walmer Castle July 1905', *In Furniture, Works of Art and Clocks Auction Catalogue*, 2<sup>nd</sup> October 2019. Likewise, a chair reportedly belonging to the Duke Wellington while at Walmer Castle was sold in April 2024 by Bonhams Auctioneers. It also had a brass plate affixed to it, similar to the brass plates noted by Lord Curzon and fitted into the castle by the Office of Works in 1892 (see note 43 of this chapter and Appendix Z).



Fig. 61 An Edwardian postcard showing how the Duke of Wellington's bedroom was displayed shortly after opening to the public, c.1905, possibly by J.Davis of Victoria Street, Private collection.

The first visiting members of the public were charged a threepence admission fee (Fig. 62) to see the newly laid out rooms at Walmer.<sup>171</sup> The opening hours were Monday to Thursday from 11 am, Sunday from 1 pm and the grounds were open every day from 11 am.<sup>172</sup> The project recouped the Office a sum of over £200 within its first year.<sup>173</sup> The castle in these early years received around 14,000 – 15,000 visitors per year, a trend that with greater marketing and improved road networks increased steadily over the following years.<sup>174</sup> Essentially, the castle was the first truly chargeable, purposefully fitted-out, state-run tourist attraction in the UK. As previously stated, Hampton Court, the Tower of London

<sup>171</sup> Thurley, S. *Men from the Ministry*, 150-152.

<sup>172</sup> The Sphere. 1905. 'The Home Of The Lord Warden: Walmer Castle Opened To The Public.' *The Sphere*: July 1, 1905, P. 12.

<sup>173</sup> Thurley, S. *Men from the Ministry*, 150-152.

<sup>174</sup> Fry, S., *A History of the National Collection from 1900 – 1913* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2014), 9.

and Osborne House were already open to the paying public, but none of these had furnished rooms that catered specifically for tourists.<sup>175</sup>



Fig. 62 A pair of original entry tickets to Walmer Castle, unknown date, held in a private collection.

In 1912 an external first-floor 'loggia' or gallery space (Fig. 65) was added by the Office of Works. This acted as a place to showcase artefacts in connection with the cannons and also acted as a sea-shelter (which were very popular in the Edwardian era). It also coincided with the removal of a faux-Tudor-styled chimney (originally instructed by Lord Curzon) and additional lavatories, or refurbished lavatories being installed.<sup>176</sup> The construction drawings of these works can be seen below (Fig. 64).

From 1913 to 1934, William Lygon, 7th Earl Beauchamp, was in post as Lord Warden, and he and his young family appeared to have stayed regularly.<sup>177</sup> Before Beauchamp became the Lord Warden it was he who pushed for the above works to be undertaken as in 1911 he was quoted as saying that the castle was unfit for

habitation, which considering what had previously occurred to the Curzon's is a very understandable position.<sup>178</sup> Beauchamp would regularly correspond with the Office of Works regarding leaks, castle enhancements, and general maintenance.<sup>179</sup> It was better established during his tenure that the OoW would maintain the castle, and the Lord Warden would maintain the grounds, especially the perimeter fencing. The Lord Warden would pay for any enhancements, such as new heating or an updated servants' bell system.<sup>180</sup> Beauchamp would also be very strict about ensuring he and his family were not there when any improvement works were undertaken. However, when he was not there for extended

<sup>175</sup> Thurley, *Men from the Ministry*, 151.

<sup>176</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/82.

<sup>177</sup> *Daily Mirror*. 1921. 'Benevolent Fashions.' *Daily Mirror*: October 14, 1921, P. 8.

<sup>178</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/82.

<sup>179</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/540.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*

periods, he would allow the castle to be used by his friends. Should he have been in residence and the OoW were making repairs, no workmen were strictly instructed to enter until after 10am.<sup>181</sup>

In August 1926, severe storms unleashed torrential rainwater, leading to the flooding of upper rooms within the Granville flat. As a result, Beauchamp lodged accusations of negligence against OoW and enlisted the services of a local contractor to rectify the damages. It was found that patch-repairing the lead by the OoW was insufficient and that wholesale replacement was required.<sup>182</sup> Initially, the OoW was annoyed at Beauchamp for using a local contractor rather than their own employed Foreman, but it demonstrates a level of frustration that Beauchamp, and as we shall see others, have with the overly bureaucratic nature of the OoW during this period.<sup>183</sup>

Later, a scandal would form that ultimately caused Beauchamp to fall from grace. Press clippings from the time show Beauchamp to be a typical upper-class family man. By the 1920s, however, he was rumoured to have hosted a number of risqué gatherings at Walmer, to which he invited his affluent friends as well as some young men and fishermen from the area.<sup>184</sup> Beauchamp was later outed by the press as homosexual, which at the time was a criminal offense, the scandal made national headlines and resulted in his eventual downfall from public life and in his resignation from the wardenship in the same year.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>181</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/540.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>184</sup> Site: <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/learn/histories/lgbtq-history/walmer-castle-and-homosexuality/>, accessed: March 2023

<sup>185</sup> Dover Express. 1932. John Bavington Jones. 'Lord Warden Resigning.' *Dover Express*: April 15, 1932, P. 9.





Fig. 63 An Edwardian postcard depicts the area before the loggia was built, held in a private collection.

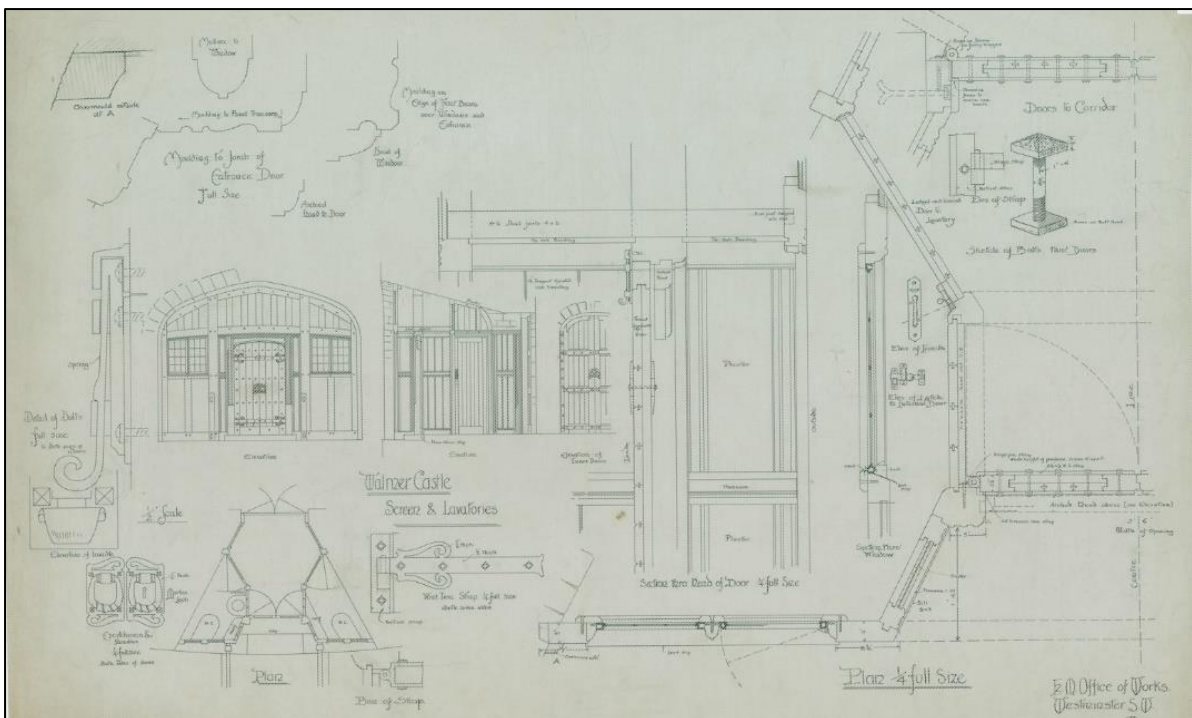


Fig. 64 Construction drawings of new loggia and public lavatories, Historic England Archives, MP/WAC0089.



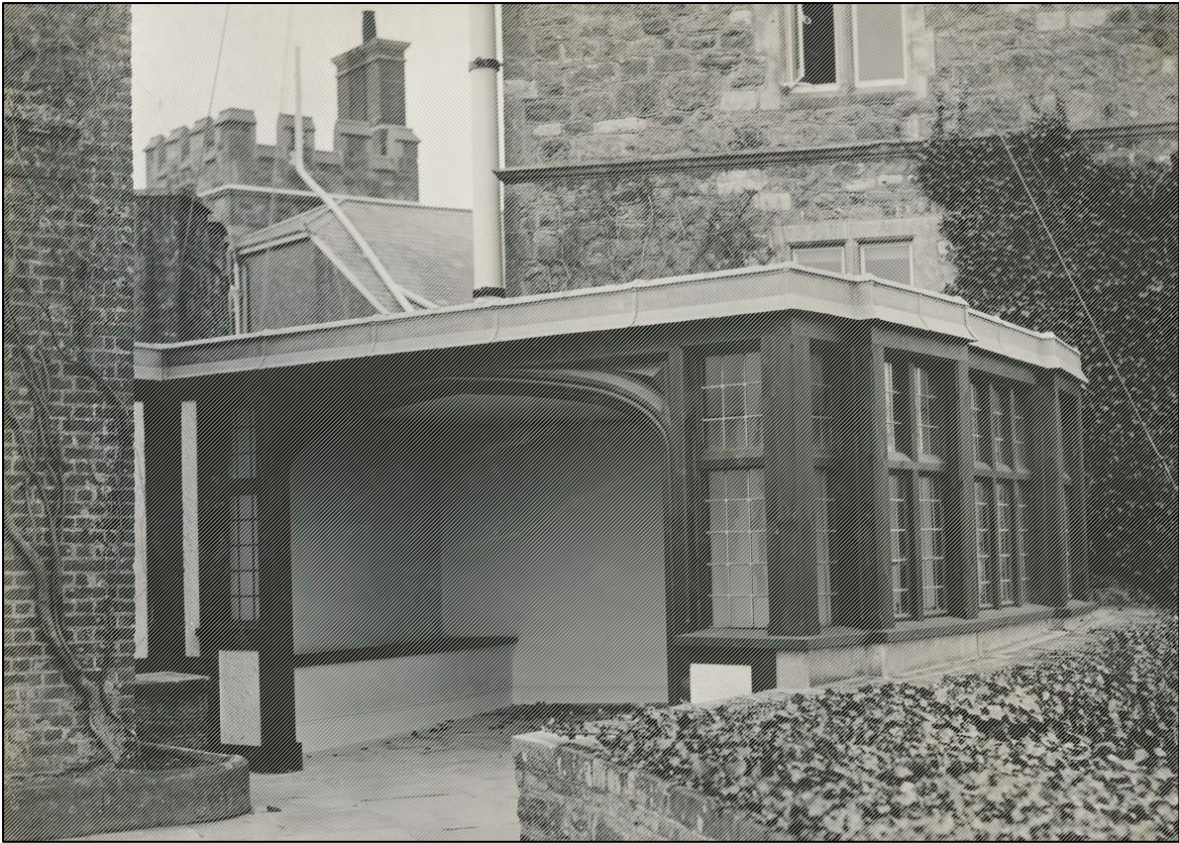


Fig. 65 New loggia, 1913, Historic England Archive, MJ8988

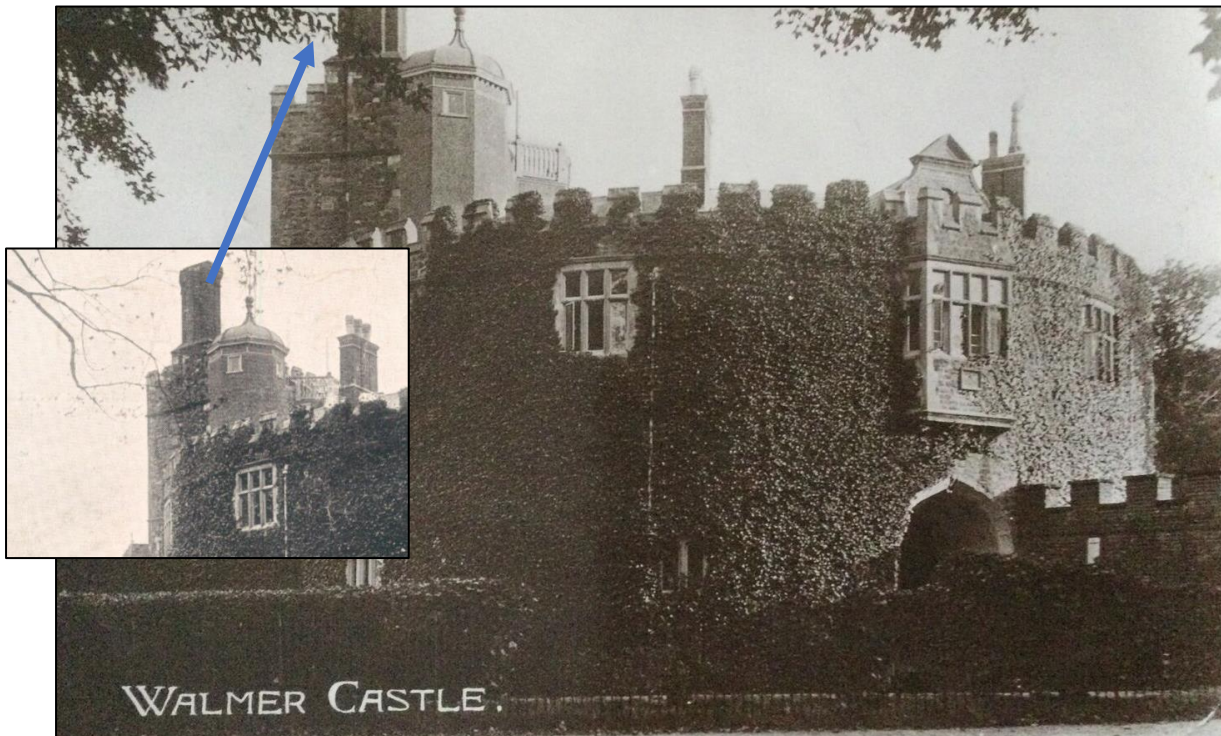


Fig. 66 Photograph showing the now-removed, mock-Tudor-styled chimney and heavy ivy growth, c.1911, Historic England Archives, KL15115. Insert: 'Walmer Front' postcard, Davidson Bros Photo Postcard, 1911, private collection.

Whilst political events played out in the media, the Office of Works continued their work to improve the visitor experience at the castle. A new rear entrance was designed and built in 1919 to allow visitors to tour the main lower rooms of the castle before exiting into the gardens beyond.<sup>186</sup> The bridge was also rebuilt, where the new public lavatories were installed (now closed since 2019). The new oak bridge with the new timber screen and door cost £400.<sup>187</sup> The as-built construction drawing below shows the new design (Fig. 67).<sup>188</sup> The bridge was constructed by the Office of Works staff at their Carnarvon site as the Inspector felt that locally there was not the skills base to undertake such a project, and that at Carnarvon they had already been making similar structures for other OoW sites.<sup>189</sup>

Rufus Isaacs, 1st Marquess of Reading (1860 – 1935), was the Lord Warden from 1934 until he died in the following year. As Beauchamp had left the role unexpectedly there was some time between Reading's appointment and his and Lady Reading's (1887-1930) moving into the castle. During this window of opportunity, the OoW set about undertaking a great programme of repair as it appears Beauchamp had created a rather extensive backlog for them in his reluctance to have them work during his occupation there. Due to the delay, the Readings moved into Deal Castle, and Lady Reading became intrinsically involved with the refurbishment works. Lady Reading, like Mrs Allen and Lady Stanhope before her, are a few of the women who are little reported but have made considerable contributions to the development of the Castle.

So involved was Lady Reading that the OoW feared she might alter the castle so much that future Lord Wardens may not want to take up the post. Their fears eventually were abated as Lady Reading essentially wished to restore the castle to a standard befitting the great office and, equally essential for them, move out of the colder and damp Deal Castle.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/540/425.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>188</sup> Historic England Archives, MP/WAC0095.

<sup>189</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/540.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*

During the Readings' short tenure, it is believed there were two significant alterations undertaken, the first was to remove a consecrated chapel from within the castle.<sup>191</sup> The only reference to this was found in the correspondence between the parish priest of Walmer to Winston Churchill in 1941. Its location was possibly the narrow room by the Drawing Room that had been added by Lady Beauchamp.<sup>192</sup> Perhaps due to the scandalous tenure of the previous incumbent, Reading may have wanted to remove the chapel as a result.<sup>193</sup> Deal was also known to have installed a chapel in 1923 to replace an older version, but again, details of the original remain lost.<sup>194</sup> Deal's chapel remains and is dedicated to the Royal Marines.<sup>195</sup>

Whereas Lord Curzon had been the first Lord Warden who took a scholarly approach to the conservation works at the castle. Lady Reading, who oversaw all the works at the castle, took a more restorative approach. Her second significant project was refurbishing the Duke's bedroom, aiming to restore it to its original state at the time of his passing.<sup>196</sup> She worked with the OoW to diligently search for furniture manifests to accurately recreate the room's furnishings, even finding a carpet manufacturer to replicate the carpet from the time.<sup>197</sup> Notably, Lady Reading invested considerable effort in the restoration process, meticulously employing old prints to source authentic replicas of the original wallpapers by using original sources that are unavailable today.<sup>198</sup> Lady Reading took an unwavering commitment to historical accuracy in the project; recognising that the glass on the bookcase doors did not appear in the prints depicting the room during the time of the Duke's passing, she decided to remove them. She would also reinstate the 'Walmer Blue' colour to the corridor as supposedly preferred by the late Duke and had been painted over in white by the

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<sup>191</sup> The Sir Winston Churchill Archive Trust, CHAR 2/430.

<sup>192</sup> Laker, 264.

<sup>193</sup> Interview with EH curator, 2015.

<sup>194</sup> Coad, J., *Deal Castle*, (Swindon: English Heritage, 1998), 12.

<sup>195</sup> Chapels were prevalent in medieval castles, a fact that is sometimes lost in modern interpretations of European castles

<sup>196</sup> The National Archives, WO/32/4066/007-008.

<sup>197</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/540.

<sup>198</sup> The National Archives, WO/32/4066/.



Beauchamp's.<sup>199</sup> Lord Gerald Wellesley (1885 – 1972), the son of the Duke and a great patron of architecture, had generously loaned prints to Lady Reading, allowing her to undertake the room's refurbishment with a degree of accuracy. The records also show that Lady Reading expressed a sense of annoyance at the somewhat rough handling of the original furniture by both OoW and the Beauchamp's, for their manhandling of the delicate and historically significance pieces of furniture that were displayed in the room.<sup>200</sup> She also wanted, for a short period, to reinstate the floating jetty ensuite built for the Duke which contained a WC and a bath that Curzon had removed (Fig. 54).<sup>201</sup> The Duke would bathe regularly and then eject the water into the dry moat below. Despite this portion of the works not being undertaken, attempting to restore this addition was a level of authenticity and detail Lady Reading wanted to replicate.<sup>202</sup>

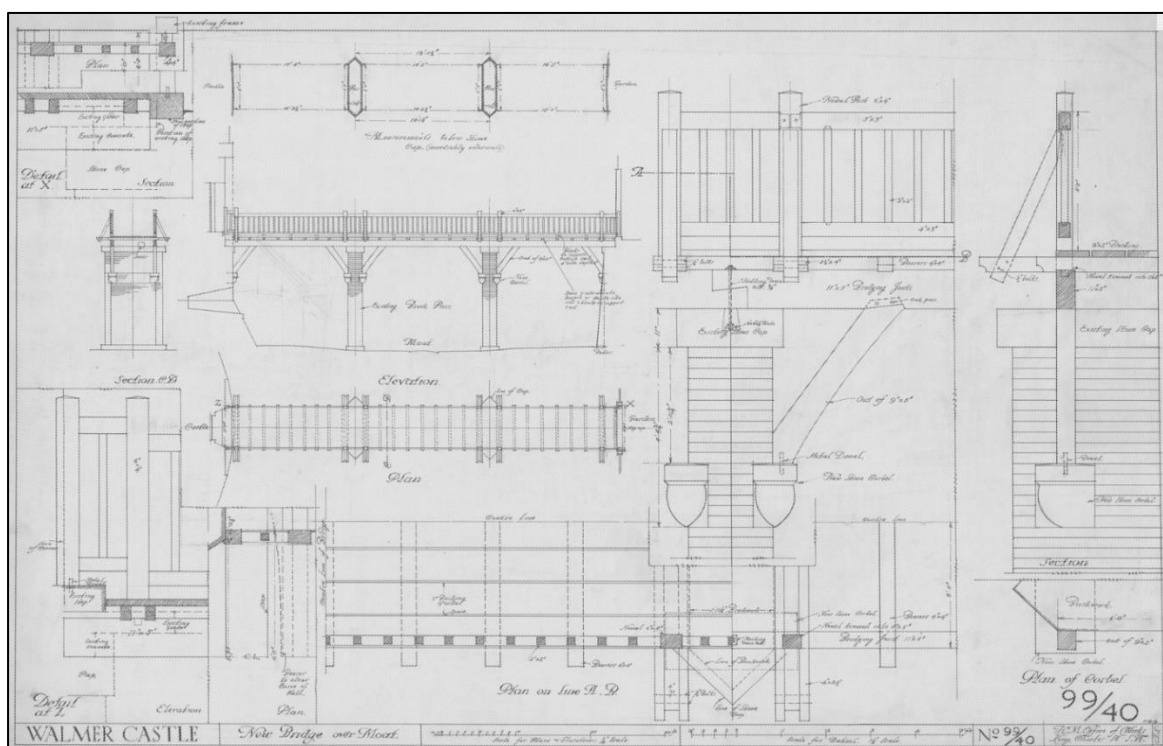


Fig. 67 Construction drawings for the new oak bridge, 1919, Historic England Archives, HK4884.

<sup>199</sup> The National Archives, WO/32/4066.

<sup>200</sup> The National Archives, WO/32/4066.

<sup>201</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/540.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*

A photo of the bridge installation works can be seen in Fig. 68.<sup>203</sup> Stone steps down from the gardens into the moat were added in 1937 enabling visitors to easily access the moat and its planted displays, all of which were at the request of Lady Reading.<sup>204</sup>

It is unfortunate that Lady Reading would pass away in 1930 as she was a passionate advocate for Walmer and she brought into being a great many worthwhile alterations. Unlike Beauchamp who became frustrated with the OoW, she appears to be very collected but also exacting in what works were undertaken and how they were employed.<sup>205</sup> She also took criticism that had arrived from members of the public to the OoW where they described her refurbishment of the Duke's bedroom as a 'canard' (an offensive term for an inauthentic replica).<sup>206</sup> When she did not get her way she would raise the issues of repair to Sir Patrick Duff (1889 – 1972) then Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the Ministry of Works and Public Buildings from 1933 to 1941. It has been found that in her correspondence with the most senior official for the OoW would be so frequent that her latter letters merely refer to him as 'Dear Duff'.<sup>207</sup> She presented a genuine interest in the building, its longevity, and the visitor experience, ensuring that the castle would always be open two days a week, even if her butler had to give the tours.<sup>208</sup> In her short tenure, she undertook or was instrumental in a number of alterations (some would manifest later after her time, too). In many ways, she left more of a mark on Walmer than many of the actual Lord Wardens have done.

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<sup>203</sup> Historic England Archives, FL01617/02/001.

<sup>204</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/540.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>208</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/540.



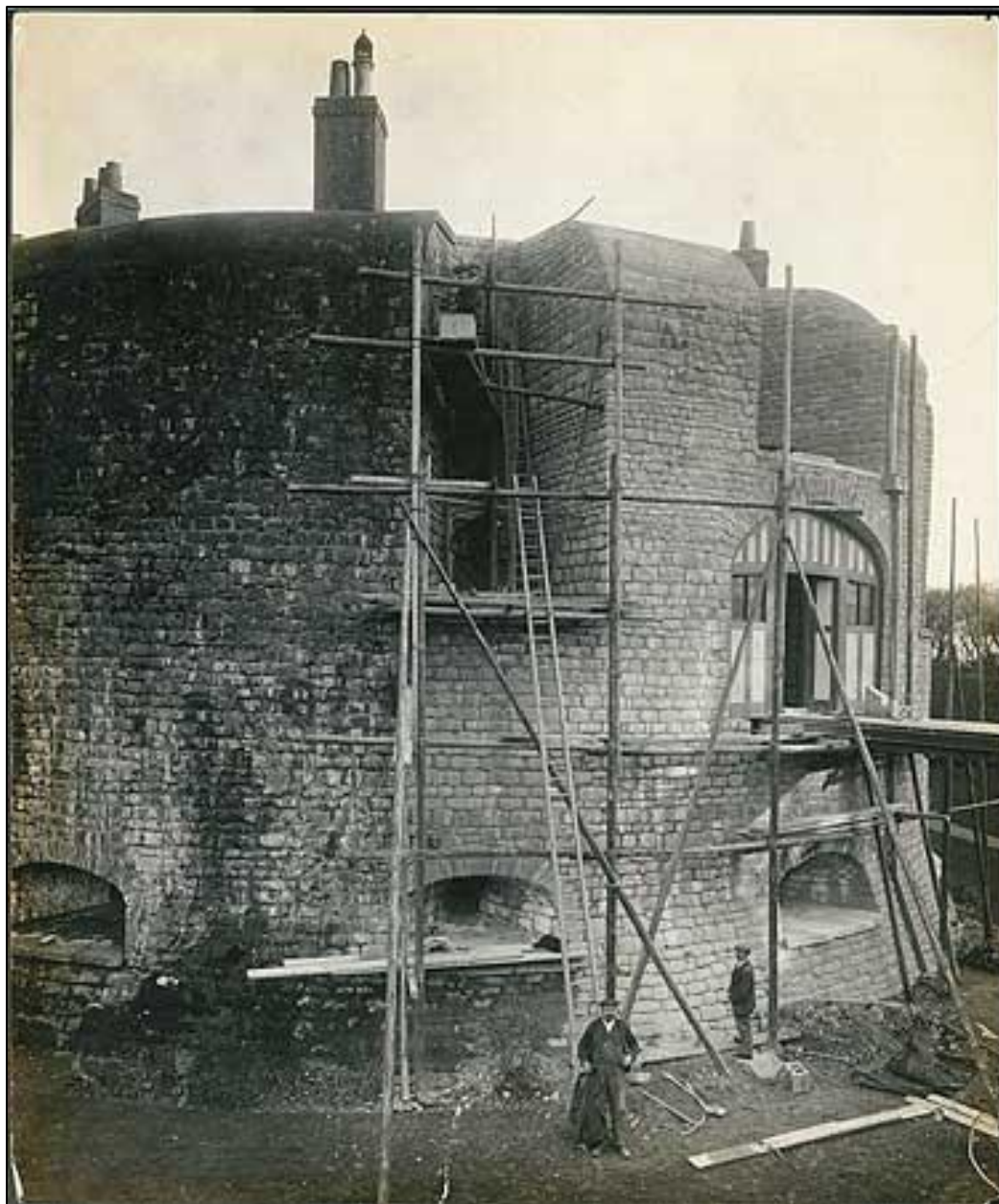


Fig. 68 Photograph of the Office of Works installing the new bridge, 1919, Historic England Archives, FL01617/02/001.

Lord Warden Willingdon (1866 – 1941), who was in the post from 1936 to 1941, utilised Walmer frequently and left the domestic arrangements, upkeep and repairs to his wife, Lady Willingdon (1875 – 1960). Lady Willingdon seemed to make good use of the Office of Works (much to their chagrin) resulting in repair works being carried out inside the castle on a seemingly constant basis.<sup>209</sup> However, by 1937 the officials' patience with Lady

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<sup>209</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/540/406.

Willingdon and her requests to convert rooms for their waiting staff seem to have waned.<sup>210</sup> As with many similar requests attributed to these castles from their occupiers, the state would usually find the means if the requestors could contribute the funds. In this particular instance, no records show that this particular request was acted upon. From reading the surviving correspondence, Lady Willingdon's near constant demands regarding the castle's upkeep were such because she seemingly enjoy living there.



Fig. 69 Sir Winston Churchill (1874–1965), Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Oil on Canvas, John Leigh-Pemberton (1911–1997), National Maritime Museum, BHC2612.

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<sup>210</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/540/406.

After Lord Willingdon's death, Winston Churchill (1874 – 1965) was appointed Lord Warden in 1941, but Churchill allowed her Lady Willingdon to continue living there, albeit for a short while, while he considered his appointment.<sup>211</sup> The hesitancy enabled the press to speculate as to whether he would give up Chartwell in West Kent or spend equal time between there and Walmer.<sup>212</sup> Initially, Churchill did not want the post due to the inconvenience of the residence and the role, stating that he did not want to make alterations to the castle to his requirements as they might not suit subsequent Lord Wardens. This may have been a polite excuse due to the wartime situation, as other primary sources that contradict this stance have been found.<sup>213</sup> As we do not know the timeframe for this hesitancy, he eventually accepted the position during this international crisis in 1941.<sup>214</sup>

It is said, famously, that Churchill, as Prime Minister, never actually stayed at Walmer during his tenure, nor did he take up residence.<sup>215</sup> Indeed, the Churchills did not take up residence, but they did stay at Walmer both before and after the conflict.<sup>216</sup> Though surprisingly little is documented, it has been found that the great statesman was a reasonably regular visitor, with his first visit likely being in 1910 and other well-documented visits in 1915 and late 1916.<sup>217</sup> Martin Gilbert's (1936 – 2015) work to collate Churchill's correspondence from the time states that Churchill was a 'frequent guest' between 1911 and 1915 at Walmer (before he was Lord Warden).<sup>218</sup> The 1915 visit was with Clementine and included an overnight stay on the 10<sup>th</sup> January; this is possibly the first time Winston stayed at Walmer.<sup>219</sup> The frequent visits during this time were due to Herbert Henry Asquith, 1st Earl of Oxford and Asquith (1852 – 1928), who was Prime Minister from 1908 to 1916 and

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<sup>211</sup> The Churchill Archive, CHAR 20/22B/168, The Churchill Archive, CHAR 20/22B/137.

<sup>212</sup> Kentish Express. 1945. 'Local News.' Kentish Express: August 3, 1945, P. 6.

<sup>213</sup> The Sir Winston Churchill Archive Trust, CHAR/2/353.

<sup>214</sup> The Sir Winston Churchill Archive Trust, CHAR/2/353, 90 of 409.

<sup>215</sup> Kentish Express. 1945. 'Local News.' Kentish Express: July 22, 1966, P. 10..

<sup>216</sup> Saunders, A., *Deal and Walmer Castles* (Swindon: English Heritage, 1985), 20.

<sup>217</sup> Pearson, J., *The Private Lives of Winston Churchill*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), 157., Hutchison, H., *The War That Used Up Words American Writers and the First World War*, (Connecticut: Yale, 2015), 50., The Churchill Archive, CHAR 20/22B/169 & CHAR 1/118B/68-69., The Churchill Archives Centre, GBR/0014/CHAR 1/118A/68-69.

<sup>218</sup> Gilbert, M., *Winston S. Churchill (1914-1916)*, (London: Random House, 1973), 478.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, 245.

who used Walmer as his retreat at the invitation of Lord Beauchamp (then Lord Warden). Churchill served in Asquith's cabinet during World War One as the First Lord of the Admiralty, and therefore, frequent visits were likely required to discuss pressing matters of state.

From 1939 to 1948, the castle and its grounds were closed to the public. Only Lady Willingdon, her staff, and people from the ministry were allowed on site.<sup>220</sup> Although it has been found that the exception was when Winston and his wife, Clementine, visited and spent a day there in October 1941.<sup>221</sup> Also in 1941, Churchill allowed the entirety of the castle to be used by a film company to shoot 'Young Mr Pitt' (1942), starring acclaimed English actor John Mills (1908-2005, Fig. 70).<sup>222</sup>

Despite not regularly visiting during the war years and not receiving his full appointment ceremony until after the war in 1946, it has been found that the supposedly reluctant Lord warden, Churchill eventually became, at least publicly, an enthusiastic one.<sup>223</sup> King George VI (1895-1952) was apparently happy to appoint Churchill to the role. It was the oldest role for defending the realm and one of the highest honours the sovereign can bestow, so Churchill was thought to be a natural fit for this position.<sup>224</sup> Pitt had undertaken the role at a similar time of peril, Wellington, the great warrior after him, and Churchill was also appointed when a great menace was being inflicted on the people of Europe.

Interestingly, in recently published documents relating to Operation Sealion (the Nazi's survey of English coasts in 1940), it has been found that Walmer and Deal Castles were both noted as being close to important naval barracks and thus were clearly annotated on their surveys. Whether this was because of their potential to be used in WW2 or perhaps

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<sup>220</sup> The Churchill Archive, GBR/0014/CHAR 20/22B/137.

<sup>221</sup> The Sir Winston Churchill Archive Trust, CHAR/2/430.

<sup>222</sup> Fox, J., *Film Propaganda in Britain and Nazi Germany World War II Cinema*, (Bonn: Nerg Publishers, 2007), 231.

<sup>223</sup> Saunders, *Deal and Walmer Castles*, 43., 'Churchill's Dover Speech' (1946), 78, Issue 1, *The Political Quarterly* (September 2007): 159-166., The Churchill Archive, GBR/0014/CHUR 2/355.

<sup>224</sup> Stone, R. C., 'Lord Warden.' *Royal United Services Institution*, Journal 100 (1955): 415-420.



for their preservation, we can only speculate, though it shows Churchill was correct to not stay at Walmer.<sup>225</sup>



Fig. 70 A screen capture from 'Young Mr Pitt' shot at Walmer Castle, 1942. Insert: Same location in 2023.



Fig. 71 Photograph of 'The Beach at Walmer' by Winston Churchill, 1938, © BBC News.

<sup>225</sup> '(View) 104. Walmer. 105. Deal. 106. 107.', Generalstab des Heeres, (Military High Command), Berlin, *David Rumsey Collection*.



Fig. 71 depicts a rare oil painting by Churchill from 1938, which serves as a testament to one of his summer visits to the castle. The painting was undertaken when Germany's military threat to Europe was apparent. Churchill held no official position in Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's (1869-1940) government. However, he strongly opposed the Munich Agreement, the policy of appeasement that led the Chamberlain and other world leaders to agree to allow Germany to undertake the annexation of parts of Czechoslovakia.<sup>226</sup> Churchill's repeated and solemn warnings about the Nazi threat were largely ignored, and World War Two commenced in 1939. The painting is interesting for two reasons; firstly, it shows a possible self-portrait, as the singular figure in the middle may be Churchill (Churchill never painted any self-portraits).<sup>227</sup> Secondly, the old Napoleonic cannon (artistically moved from the bastion to the beach) pointing out to Europe's mainland may be an indication of Churchill's impotence and frustration with the situation at this time.<sup>228</sup>

As the castle was closed during WW2, the Office of Works made few alterations other than installing several wrought-iron fencing sections and main entrance gates to increase security, as nobody was present at the castle for many months.<sup>229</sup>

In 1948, the castle was reopened to the public, albeit just on the grounds.<sup>230</sup> A fete was held to celebrate the opening, for which Churchill did not attend.<sup>231</sup> This reluctance to open up the interior of the castle after WW2 changed when discussions were held to enable the public to visit the Wellington Rooms in the upper parts of the castle. These had been refurbished to exhibit a number of Wellington's relics for an official visit by French mayoral dignitaries in the previous year (a meeting that Churchill also did not attend).<sup>232</sup> This is

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<sup>226</sup> Faber, D., *Munich: The 1938 Appeasement Crisis*, (London: Simon & Schuster UK, 2009), 22-35.

<sup>227</sup> Churchill's catalogue raisonné: Coombs, D., and Churchill, M., *Sir Winston Churchill: His Life in Paintings*, (Chelmsford: Ware House Publishing, 2015).

<sup>228</sup> America's National Churchill Museum, Exhibition: A Passion for Painting, 2023 (as of 2021, the painting is now owned by America's National Churchill Museum).

<sup>229</sup> Historic England Archives, MP/WAC0287.

<sup>230</sup> Thanet Advertiser. 1948. 'Local News.' *Thanet Advertiser*: September 10, 1948, P. 2.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>232</sup> The Sir Winston Churchill Archive Trust, CHUR 2/355, 395 – 469.

significant because it shows that when the current and future Lord Wardens were not in residence, more of the castle was given over to allow greater public access.

In 1947, the Office of Works was concerned that as the Walmer Collection grew and more people visited, the need for better security became greater.<sup>233</sup> A decision was made to employ a full-time live-in custodian of the castle, and David Whyte of Deal was hired. Little is known of Whyte other than that the chauffeur's flat over the stables was refurbished for him to live in and that he was a retired policeman.<sup>234</sup> The Sir Winston Churchill Archive Trust contains a rare photo of Whyte admiring part of the collection under his care (Fig. 74). To this day, a property supervisor still lives in the castle grounds.<sup>235</sup>

Churchill was known to wear the Lord Warden uniform regularly (see Fig. 73), even wearing it to HM Queen Elizabeth's coronation in 1953.<sup>236</sup> He was said to have flown the Cinque Ports flag at Chartwell, was the first person to have a personal standard flown on a BEA airplane, and even had a small Cinque Ports flag affixed as a hood ornament on his official car.<sup>237</sup> Today, the Cinque Ports insignia is still present at Chartwell, Churchill's main residence; a recent conservation project by this author included repairing a cast-iron weathervane that is hardly spotted from the ground, but atop the vane is a small bronze finial in the shape of the iconic Cinque Ports' ship (Fig. 72).<sup>238</sup>

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<sup>233</sup> The Sir Winston Churchill Archive Trust, CHUR 2/355, 395 – 469.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>235</sup> Author interview with EH property supervisor at Walmer, 2021.

<sup>236</sup> The Times. 1953. 'Mail & Shipping Intelligence.' *The Times*: June 4, 1953, P. 4..

<sup>237</sup> Hall, D.J., 'Man of Kent, Kentish Man' site: <https://winstonchurchill.org/resources/reference/residences/churchill-chartwell-and-the-garden-of-england/>, accessed: August 2019., Stone, R. C., 'Lord Warden.' *Royal United Services Institution*, Journal 100 (1955): 415-420., *Illustrated London News*. 1955. 'Jottings.' *Illustrated London News*: April 23, 1955, P. 750.

<sup>238</sup> Work by the author in November 2022, working for The National Trust at Chartwell.



Fig. 72 Chartwell's Cinque Ports weathervane, (photo author, 2022).



Fig. 73 Churchill's installation ceremony as Lord Warden at Dover Castle, 1946, The Sphere magazine, used under UK fair dealing.

Once WW2 was over Churchill seemed to have great enthusiasm for the position, primary sources have been discovered that show that Churchill was not actually very content in the role and wanted to shape the wardenship and Walmer to his requirements.

Fascinating discoveries from primary sources show that there are fleeting references in surviving archival documents to indicate that in 1947 Churchill may have wanted to convert the rooms closest to the rose gardens and tennis lawn area into a private apartment for his own use as Lord Warden.<sup>239</sup> These rooms would likely have included Wellington's bedroom. The idea of a new apartment in 1947 seems largely forgotten, as the proposal is not mentioned outside these archival sources. Interestingly, whilst we do not know the subject matter, Churchill did send a follow-up letter to the Office of Works in December 1945 about 'his alterations' to Walmer.<sup>240</sup> Therefore, this proposal to produce a flat for the Churchills may have been gestating since 1945 or even earlier.

If circumstances had been different, this apartment would likely have been commissioned, as Churchill's family home of Chartwell is within the same county, so Walmer would indeed have been a welcome seaside retreat for the Churchill family. As to why Churchill wanted to convert rooms that were open to the public into private quarters (particularly as the Lord Warden flat was already provided), we do not know, but perhaps, in some manner, the 'British Bulldog' wanted to be inspired by the 'Iron Duke', maybe warrior to warrior?<sup>241</sup> Or perhaps he wanted this apartment to survive after his tenure? It could even be that the enthusiastic painter preferred the sea view from these rooms, as the Duke previously did, or indeed, as with Pitt before him, it may have been more financially motivated; as the war had effectively ruined the Prime Minister's personal investments.<sup>242</sup>

This proposal has scarce historical evidence, so we may never know why or how this apartment would have been devised. Opposition may have come from the local council, who were said to be outraged when Lord Salisbury (Lord Warden between 1895 to 1903)

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<sup>239</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/1840/028.

<sup>240</sup> The Sir Winston Churchill Archive Trust, CHAR/2/353, 87 of 409.

<sup>241</sup> It is unlikely that the apartment was for work purposes as it is referred to as a 'flat'.

<sup>242</sup> Hardwick, J., *Clementine Churchill: The Private Life of a Public Figure*, (Edinburgh: J. Murray, 1997), 226.

changed Wellington's bedroom into a study for Lady Salisbury.<sup>243</sup> However, it is also entirely possible that Lady Churchill may have been the reason. She had spent time visiting Walmer and corresponding with the Office of Works in 1947-1948 about the formation of better living accommodations at the castle, even suggesting the external loggia be refurbished into a working kitchen.<sup>244</sup> She then wrote to her husband privately in 1949, asking him to give up the wardenship as she did not want to run three houses.<sup>245</sup> She also mentions that her husband was not doing enough in the role, that she felt he owed the people of Kent due to their part in the Battle of Britain and the wider WW2, and that his lacklustre wardenship should end.<sup>246</sup> She suggested that if he was to continue, they should dedicate two weeks in the summer to the role every year and establish themselves in the apartment (thus showing that although they visited Walmer, they were occasionally using the apartment, rather than staying there).<sup>247</sup> No direct response from Churchill can be located, and he continued in the role until his death in 1965.

In the 1970s, both Baroness Mary Soames (author and Churchills' daughter, 1922 – 2014) and her literary researcher attempted to find more details of the arrangements Lady Clementine was making, as correspondence evidence shows that drawings of the layout were made. However, as with this author, the pair could not source these drawings or any visitation entries.<sup>248</sup> The Cinque Ports Office is noted by Soames' researcher as being 'very unhelpful', as they cited only two occasions when Winston Churchill, as Lord Warden, was ever at Walmer: once to see the castle before the appointment, and once after the war on appointment (the same two occasions this author found in archival sources).<sup>249</sup>

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<sup>243</sup> Nicholson, *Mary Curzon*, 173., Shepherd, 6.

<sup>244</sup> The Sir Winston Churchill Archive Trust, MCHL 5/1/102., It is also worth noting that from c.1910 to 1965, Clementine Churchill probably visited and stayed at Walmer Castle many more times than Winston, as she is found to have been there in various fleeting references in a number of surviving documents. Whilst I have not been able to view her private diary, her daughter, Baroness Mary Soames' biography of her late mother contains a number of entries where her mother was at Walmer without Winston.

<sup>245</sup> The Sir Winston Churchill Archive Trust, CHAR/2/354, 70-71 of 478.

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>247</sup> *Ibid.*, The Sir Winston Churchill Archive Trust, CHUR 2/355.

<sup>248</sup> The Sir Winston Churchill Archive Trust, MCHL 5/1/102.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*





Fig. 74 The Custodian of the Castle, Sir Winston Churchill Archive Trust, CHUR 2/355 (409 of 469).

Sir Robert Menzies (1894 – 1978) was appointed as the Lord Warden in 1965 and visited on an annual basis; Sir Robert Menzies was previously the Australian Prime Minister and visited the UK regularly. It is believed that Sir Robert Menzies used the apartment at Walmer during Churchill's tenure as Lord Warden; whether this connection led to him receiving the title, we do not know.<sup>250</sup> Prior to the handover, the press reported that the whole castle would be closed until March 1965 to enable a redecoration and rewire of the castle.<sup>251</sup>

In the following year, the Walmer Collection was vastly expanded when the late Wing Commander Lucas donated his vast collection of Wellington artefacts to the castle.<sup>252</sup> This also coincided with several conservation repairs undertaken as scheduled maintenance,

<sup>250</sup> Saunders, *Deal and Walmer Castles*, 20.

<sup>251</sup> The Times. 1964. 'Walmer Castle Closing For Redeclaration.' *The Times*: November 25, 1964, P. 5.

<sup>252</sup> Shepherd, *Walmer Castle and Gardens*, 3.

such as repointing stonework, internal redecorations and replacing decayed timbers (Fig. 75 - 77).<sup>253</sup> The Lord Warden's apartment was also refurbished in 1966-1967 at the cost of £12,000 to make better use of the Granville rooms. The layout and use of these rooms from 1966-1967 is largely how they are used today.<sup>254</sup> Sir Robert Menzies took up his right to reside there for a few weeks on a summer-only basis, which may have been how the Churchills operated at the castle from the 1950s to 1960s, staying only two weeks at a time at the suggestion of Clementine. However, although she suggested this, no records can be found to demonstrate regular stays by the Churchills in this period.<sup>255</sup>



Fig. 75 Scaffolding being erected for repointing works, 1966, Historic England Archives, P/A07039/006.

<sup>253</sup> Herne Bay Press. 1964. 'Walmer Castle.' *Herne Bay Press*: December 4, 1964, P. 3.

<sup>254</sup> Kent Messenger & Gravesend Telegraph. 1968. 'Appointed To Post At Walmer Castle.' *Kent Messenger & Gravesend Telegraph*: December 13, 1968, P. 9.

<sup>255</sup> The Sir Winston Churchill Archive Trust, CHAR/2/354, 70-71 of 478.



Fig. 76 Photo showing a number of stonework repairs to the coping areas of the garden-side bastion, 1966, Historic England Archives, P/A07127/004.



Fig. 77 Materials stored ready for use in the repair works, 1969, Historic England Archive, P/A08087/005.

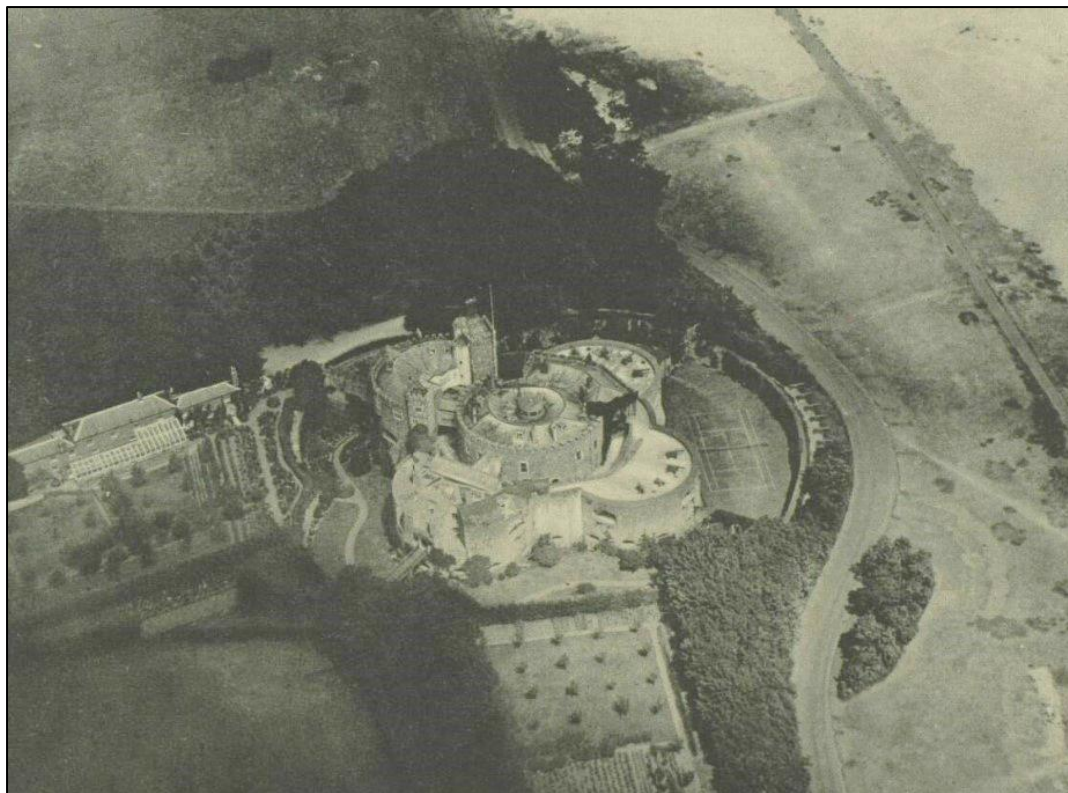


Fig. 78 An aerial photograph of the castle and grounds, 1923, Illustrated London News, used under UK fair dealing.

Queen Elizabeth, The Queen Mother (1900 – 2002) was appointed to the role in 1978, and she made alterations to the living accommodations within the private apartments, making them more comfortable for her and her staff in 1980s.<sup>256</sup> She visited Walmer as the first female Lord Warden in August 1979, and rather fittingly, she arrived at the castle via the Downs on Britannia, the Royal Yacht.<sup>257</sup> This is also how her royal predecessor Queen Victoria, arrived at Walmer in 1842 for her first official visit.<sup>258</sup>

Better security provisions were made, and an active atmospheric regulator was installed to keep the castle temperate all year round in order to protect the collection from extreme weather changes. The Queen Mother's tenure also saw great revisions to the

<sup>256</sup> The National Archives, WORK 65/270., It is unknown why Queen Elizabeth, The Queen Mother, was appointed to the role, though she may have visited in her youth as her older sister was married to Lord Granville's son.

<sup>257</sup> Kentish Express. 1979. 'Welcome Her Majesty To Walmer Castle.' *Kentish Express*: August 3, 1979, P. 64., In the last few years of her tenure, she was often spotted arriving at the castle by helicopter: Shepherd, 36.

<sup>258</sup> Pritchard, *The History of Deal, and its Neighbourhood*, 346.

gardens and a huge spike in tourist numbers.<sup>259</sup> When she visited, she literally took over the whole castle, filled it with her own furniture and used all the staterooms (which probably have not been used very much for some time).<sup>260</sup> She personally upheld the role's importance, ensuring she visited the castle for three days every July from 1986 to her death.<sup>261</sup> A number of rare photos from this refurbishment can be seen below.<sup>262</sup>



Fig. 79 Four unpublished photographs of the refurbished Lord Warden's apartment, unspecified date – probably 1980s, The National Archives, WORK 65/270.

In the late 1970s, a number of cabinets were installed in the public areas, along with a light refurbishment overseen by the Crown's Property Services Agency (the PSA), which also included larger lavatories for the increased tourist numbers.<sup>263</sup>

<sup>259</sup> Shepherd, *Walmer Castle and Gardens*, 3-5.

<sup>260</sup> Vickers, H., *Elizabeth, the Queen Mother*, (London: Arrow, 2006), 416.

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>262</sup> The National Archives, WORK 65/270.

<sup>263</sup> Historic England Archives, MP/WAC0359.





Fig. 80 An aerial view of the castle showing the grounds are all laid to lawn with no visible signs of food production and no motorcars, 1947, Historic England Archives, P/A00410/007.

### **Late Twentieth Century to the Present Day: Conservation and Heritage Tourism**

As stated earlier, Walmer was the first state-designed and run tourist attraction when it opened in 1905, and by 1963, along with Deal Castle, it was afforded one of the first government-published, illustrated guidebooks.<sup>264</sup> It was written by Andrew Saunders (1931–2009), the Inspector of Ancient Monuments at that time. Since then, English Heritage (and others) have issued many different guidebooks across their heritage estates, and they remain popular with visitors due to the context they provide and their relatively low cost.

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<sup>264</sup> Gill, D. W. J., 'The Ministry of Works and the Development of Souvenir Guides from 1955', *Public Archaeology* (2018): 15.

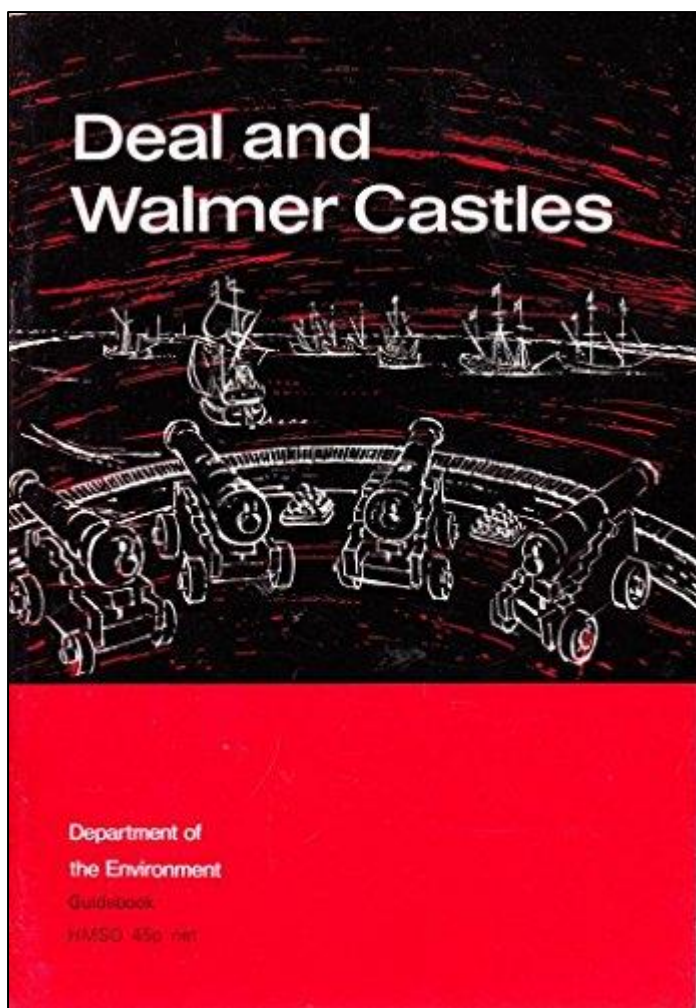


Fig. 81 Front cover of a copy of a HMSO 'Deal and Walmer Castles' Guidebook by A. Saunders, 1963, author's private collection.

When English Heritage was formed in 1983, this newly appointed government agency took over the day-to-day management of the castle and made various alterations to facilitate a better visitor flow. The late Queen Mother had the apartment redecorated (in far more vivid and decorative colours) and installed the first television (still in her former bedroom).<sup>265</sup> English Heritage also improved the presentation of the artefacts, and again reinstated the 'Walmer Blue' colour to the main first floor corridor, which had been a pale green before this time.

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<sup>265</sup> Author's own visit to the private apartment in 2015, and again in 2023.

Upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, The Queen Mother, in 2002, Lord Boyce (1943-2022) held the wardenship from 2004 until his death. Lord Boyce was said to spend occasional weekends and weeks at the castle but made few requests for alterations there.<sup>266</sup> An enthusiastic Lord Warden, when he occupied the castle, he filled it with his adult children and grandchildren whenever possible.<sup>267</sup> The next Lord Warden was announced in May 2024, and it will be Admiral Sir George Zambellas, former First Sea Lord and Chief of the Naval staff.<sup>268</sup>

On 1st May 1986, Walmer was registered under the Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Act 1953 and became a scheduled ancient monument. As such, this affords the building and grounds one of the country's highest levels of heritage protection.<sup>269</sup>

The last significant refurbishment works that were undertaken at Walmer were managed by English Heritage right in the middle of their transformation from a quango to a self-supporting charity in 2015.<sup>270</sup> Though the organisation's constitutional transformation had little bearing on these works, the works would have a bearing on the new charitable organisation. The new areas and refreshed settings gave the organisation much airtime with local media outlets. English Heritage used this marketing to highlight its stance of being a new and self-sufficient organisation. The marketing apparently worked, with English Heritage recording an increase in attendance of circa 5% for 2015.<sup>271</sup> These works also coincided with celebrations to mark three-hundred years since the Battle of Waterloo (18<sup>th</sup> June 1815).<sup>272</sup>

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<sup>266</sup> Interview with EH curator, 2017.

<sup>267</sup> The English Heritage Podcast. 'Episode 262 - Behind the Lord Warden's Secret Door at Walmer Castle', 2024, site: <https://podcasts.apple.com/gb/podcast/episode-262-behind-the-lord-wardens-secret-door-at/id1156861002?i=1000652105449>

<sup>268</sup> Site: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/appointment-of-lord-warden-and-admiral-of-the-cinque-ports>, accessed: June 2024.

<sup>269</sup> Official Historic England entry.

<sup>270</sup> Site: <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/about-us/our-history/>, accessed: May 2023.

<sup>271</sup> Recorded in the redacted minutes of the end of the retention period meeting, March 2016, Caroe & Partners.

<sup>272</sup> Unknown Author, '200th Anniversary of Battle of Waterloo.' *L'ItaloEuropeo* (2015): 8.

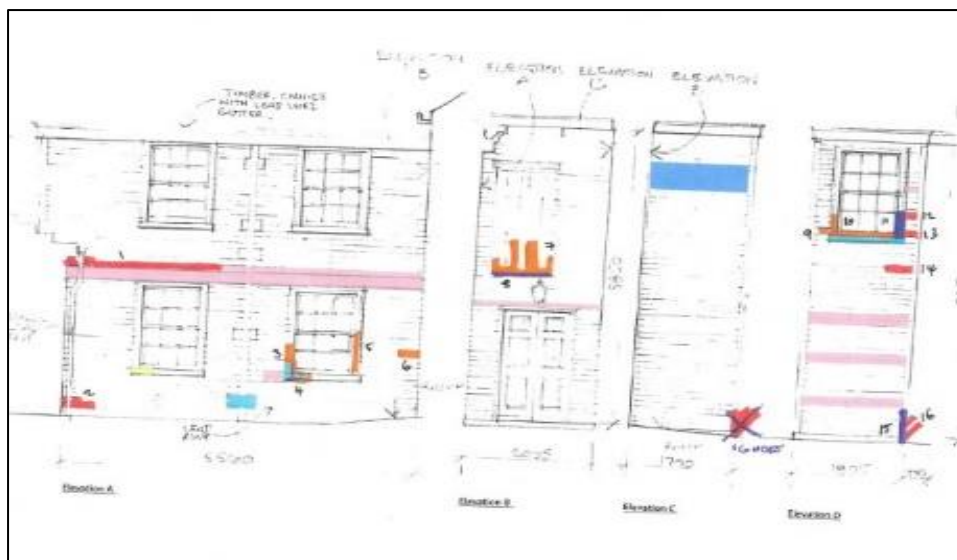


Fig. 82 Original marked-up elevational drawings of the works to repair the exterior of the Gunners' Cabins, 2014, author's own collection.

The 2014-2015 conservation and refurbishment project works included:<sup>273</sup> external repointing to stonework at high level around the keep, including matching the medieval galletting ( a decorative pattern of knapped (cut) flints bedded into the mortar beds); careful repair to a failed stone lintel on the keep; external and internal redecoration to the Gunners'

<sup>273</sup> Caroe & Partners, Tender Documents (available publicly through a FOI request), (Swindon; English Heritage, April 2014).



Cabins (including replacement timber where dilapidated on the external cladding); replacement of modern rope handrail to the basement stairs inside the keep with an aluminium handrail; service and minor alterations to the fire alarm system, including lighting and power alterations (the power in the keep is wired to MICC – ‘Pyro’ a mineral insulated fireproof wiring popular in the 1950s); repair and redecoration to the rooms on the first floor, including timber repairs, conservation decoration, cabinet installations, making good, reglazing, plaster repairs to the ceilings and window repairs; repairs to the internal drainage system in the loft; repairs and redecoration to a timber lantern on the roof; and installation of new bespoke carpets and wallpapers (Appendix J).<sup>274</sup>

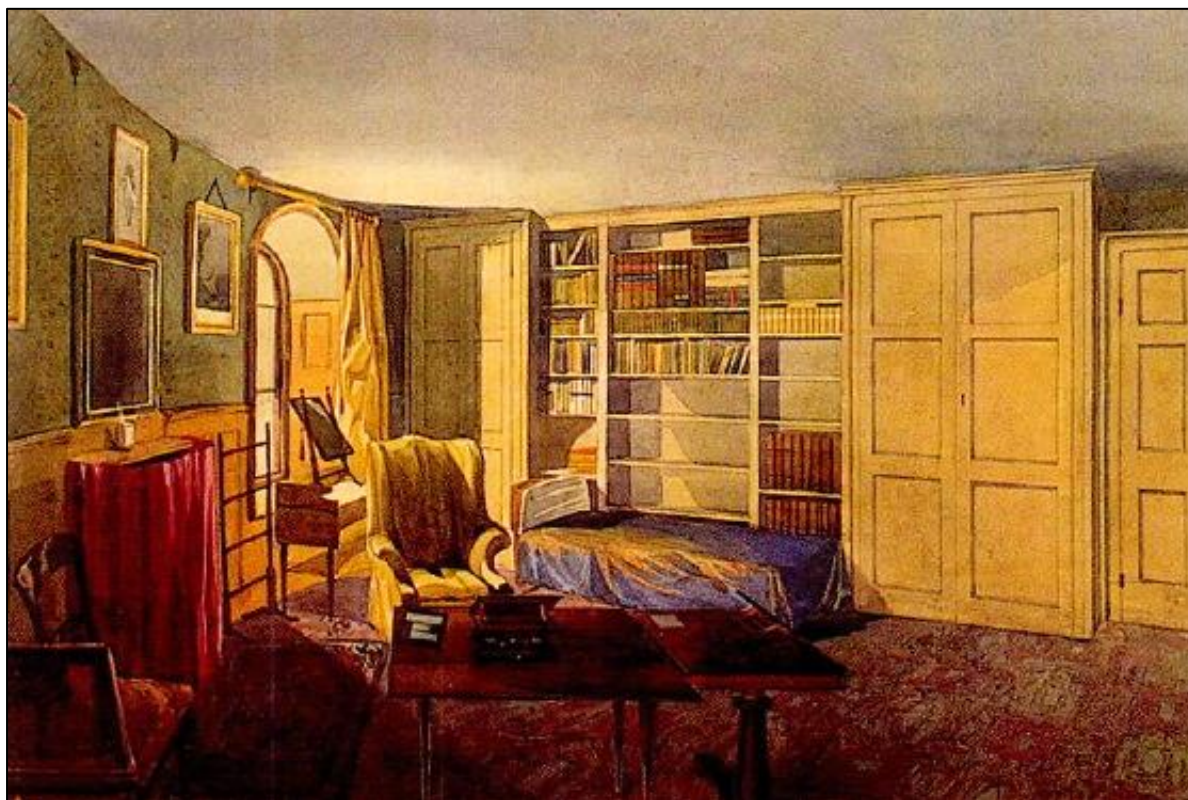


Fig. 83 Thomas Shotton Boys watercolour of the Duke's Bedroom, 1852, reproduced in 'Walmer Castle Kent', 1995, © Country Life Magazine, Country Life Archive.

<sup>274</sup> Since 2021, it appears EH now mentions the installation of 'American wallpaper' within the Duke's bedroom, as the EH Guides often narrate this to the public. As the Project Manager for this work, I can confirm that the wallpaper was manufactured, by hand, by Adelphi Paper Hangings LLC, which is based near Albany, New York – this was because this company is one of the few remaining who still undertake this form of wallpaper manufacturing. My employed tradespeople, including Roger Baas and John Hadlum, did the fitting. Also, as EH guides occasionally state, they did not fit the wallpaper horizontally 'due to the curvature of the walls'.



One of the project's main tasks in 2014/2015 was to change Wellington's bedroom back to how it supposedly looked during his use of the room. English Heritage curators used a watercolour of his bedroom by Thomas Shotton Boys (1803–1874) that had apparently been painted shortly after the Duke's death. This 1852 watercolour was used to inform the recreation of the bedroom. The works were mainly restorative in scope and involved the removal of previous redecorations in 1919 in providing a more authentic replica of the Duke's use.



Fig. 84 A photograph of how the room looked in 1995 before the restoration works, reproduced in 'Walmer Castle Kent', 1995 © Country Life Magazine, Country Life Archive.



Fig. 85 Photograph of how the Duke's bedroom looked after the completion of the 2014-2015 works, © English Heritage.

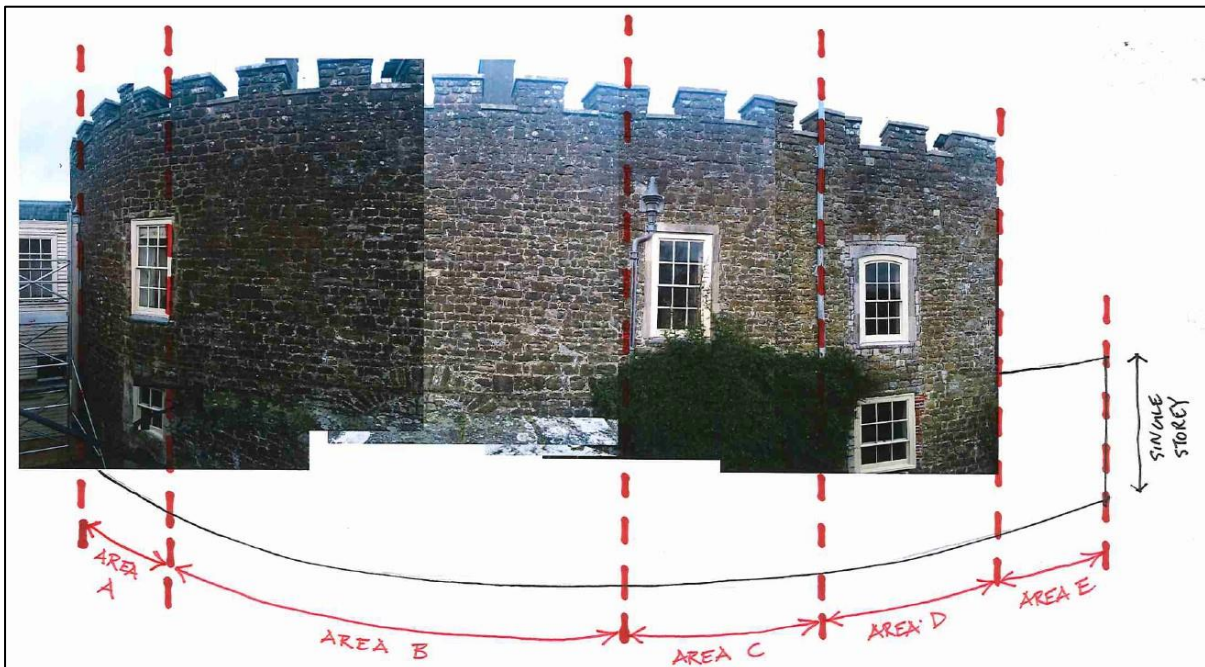


Fig. 86 Marked-up image of the repointing works to the keep, 2015, author's collection.

Other works were completed most recently in 2019, mostly to the gardens. They included restoring parts of the castle's historic gardens and altering the areas of the gardens known as the Glen and the Paddock. The project commenced in May 2018 with the construction of a new children's play trail and woodland walk; refurbished visitor facilities including the construction of a new glasshouse café in the grounds; new disabled toilets and access routes; the demolition and removal of the existing timber stables; and the construction of new toilets onto the existing greenhouse to create a Café/WC. A new learning centre was also constructed with a newly designed and built staircase to gain entry to the Glen (Chalk Pit), and a number of soft and hard landscaping works, including new fencing, were also commissioned in 2020.<sup>275</sup> All of these have improved the visitor experience and afforded better access to the grounds for all ability levels. These twenty-first-century additions must have proved popular as it appears, from the official EH website, that Walmer's grounds are now open for the majority of the calendar months and nearly every weekend of the year. It also holds several separately-ticketed or included events for the English Heritage patrons, particularly in the summer months and Christmas and Halloween (Fig. 88).

As of 2024, several rooms within the castle are closed due to water ingress from the roofs. It is hoped that in the next few years, a further comprehensive refurbishment is undertaken to address these leaks and re-open these rooms to the castle visitors.<sup>276</sup> Since the early twentieth century, Walmer is essentially a museum inside an ancient monument, and it is this challenge to keep the rooms and collections temperate and dry will continue to be Walmer's greatest challenge into the twenty-first century.

This culminates the comprehensive account of the evolutionary developmental course of Walmer Castle, starting from its origins as a Tudor fortress and subsequently undergoing transformations into a notable country house, now ultimately emerging as a

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<sup>275</sup> Site: 'Building for Keeps: Adam Richards' Walmer Castle Visitor Centre,' *Architects' Journal*, site: <https://www.architectsjournal.co.uk/buildings/building-for-keeps-adam-richards-walmer-castle-visitor-centre>, accessed 21<sup>st</sup> June 2021.

<sup>276</sup> Site meeting with EH Curator, September 2023.



prominent destination for heritage tourism. We will now turn our attention to the various custodians of Deal Castle, as we explore their endeavours to achieve comparable accomplishments, albeit with varying degrees of success and failure.



Fig. 87 Photo of a new separately ticketed night-time event held at Walmer, 2022.

## Chapter Seven: The Development of Deal Castle (Eighteenth Century to Today)

Deal Castle, the largest of the Castles of the Downs and the largest of the entire Device programme, was strategically located beside the fledgling town of Deal on the foreshore.<sup>1</sup> As we have seen, it boasted an impressive and unique design, featuring two tiers of bastions and a formidable array of potential firepower. Initially, it was thought the strategic placement, cutting-edge design, and firepower would ensure its survival and dominance as the principal castle of the Downs; after all, Henry had named it 'The Great Castle in the Downs'.<sup>2</sup> However, this was not to be, and through environmental factors, the beach slowly built up in front of Deal and regressed landward.

Rather than reiterating the events from 1540 to the present day (many already covered in the Walmer chapter), this chapter will focus on Deal Castle's respective development. Whereas the study of Walmer benefits from the availability of a significant number of secondary sources, Deal, even as the 'Great Castle', has not had much antiquarian or scholarly attention. Much of this chapter, as a result, has been formed from archival sources. This gives a fresh perspective of Deal and ultimately provides a unique analysis of how Deal survived to the present day and the significance attached to this.

It is also worth noting that Walmer benefited from becoming the Lord Warden's official residence and, at times, also held or bestowed an honorific title to a Captain of the Castle. Deal only had a Captain, and as the importance of these Castles of the Downs diminished from military use, so did the increment of the significance of the people who were attracted to these increasing honorific posts. Therefore, whilst the Lord Warden would shepherd works for Walmer, he or she often had little say over Deal, which in this chapter, as we shall see, was left to the Captain to be the ultimate custodian of the fabric of Deal.

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<sup>1</sup> The National Archives, WORK14/1942., Saunders, 1997, 120.

<sup>2</sup> The National Archives, E101/60/4.





Fig. 1 An artist's impression of how Deal Castle might have looked in 1540, Historic England Archive, IC031/001.

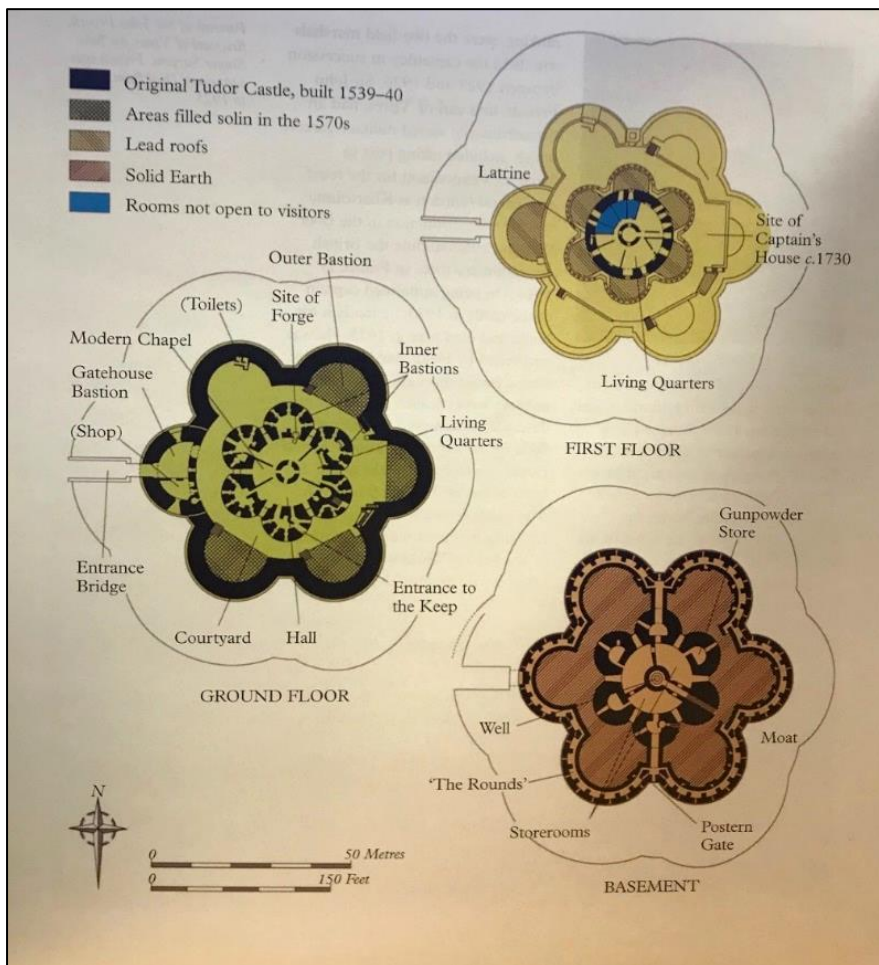


Fig. 2 A diagram of development at Deal Castle, 1998, © English Heritage.

## **Eighteenth Century: ‘The King’s Great Castle in the Downs’ No More**

After a domestically turbulent period for the fabric of Deal, it began the eighteenth century in a semi-renewed state that made it as prepared for battle as it had been shortly after construction.<sup>3</sup> Rather than the Castles of the Downs’ unreadiness for the Spanish and Dutch conflicts, the castles this time had to be prepared for a renewed threat from an old enemy: the French.<sup>4</sup> The strategic function that Deal once possessed over its two-limb castles was substantially reduced from the early eighteenth century. Captain Sir John Norris (1660 – 1749), Admiral of the Fleet, in 1708, was the first Captain to leave his physical mark on Deal. Norris had been admiral of the fleet for several years and served as MP for Rye and then Portsmouth.<sup>5</sup> The records of his alterations are limited, yet we know he enabled some land to the west of the castle to provide food and lodgings; today, this area is known as the ‘Captain’s Garden’.<sup>6</sup> It was perhaps Norris who instigated the rivalry between Deal and Walmer, a rivalry that would last for at least the next two hundred years.

In the 1720s, Norris made some significant alterations to Deal, and these included adding medieval-looking crenellations to the keep’s parapets, wainscot panelling (similar had been installed initially at Sandgate Castle during its construction by the Tudor builders), and an upgrade to the Porter’s Lodge.<sup>7</sup> The castle was rearmed with 36-pounder guns and a gunpowder magazine in one of the bastions, and new accommodation was formed to overlook the sea to the easterly end of the castle, known as the King’s Lodgings.<sup>8</sup> It is also

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<sup>3</sup> Coad, *Deal Castle*, 4-5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Heathcote, T. A., *British Admirals of the Fleet: 1734-1995: A Biographical Dictionary* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword Military, 2002).

<sup>6</sup> It appears the garden may have been privately owned by each captain of Deal Castle, as the grounds were offered as part of the late Lord Herschell’s will to each subsequent captain of the castle; See the *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 20<sup>th</sup> May 1899, 5. It appears the grounds are now in the ownership of English Heritage, though the date when they were transferred cannot be found.

<sup>7</sup> The National Archives, E/134/16Chas1/Mich29.

<sup>8</sup> Coad, *Deal Castle*, 4-5, 34.

unclear whether Norris added the bell tower, as a late seventeenth-century drawing shows it in existence from around 1640.<sup>9</sup>

It is important to note that in the first decades of the eighteenth century, many fortifications around the kingdom - including the Device castles - were nearly all in perilous states. Pendennis, Berwick, and Portsmouth Castles were examples of fortifications with severe decay, and whilst Deal and Walmer appeared to quarrel over which fortress had the best interiors, fortifications close to the Downs, such as Chatham, Camber, and especially Sandown (as we shall see) were rapidly declining. And whilst other castles were in various states of improvement or decline, the Castles of the Downs still had sixty-two live guns between them; the majority of which were located at Deal.<sup>10</sup>

An etching of the castle from around 1640 (Fig. 4 - 5) by Wenceslaus Hollar (1607 – 1677) shows a large plaque above the entrance and two statues at the start of the entrance bridge. The plaque is interesting as it offers a relic of the prominence that Deal Castle once held over its limb castles, in that it had been honoured with a Royal Warrant. To this day, it remains in a vastly weathered, unreadable state. St Mawes Castle in Cornwall has similar surviving plaques and depicts that of Henry's Royal Coat of Arms.<sup>11</sup> One reads:

'Henricus Octavus Rex Angl. Franc. et Hiberniae Invictus me Posuit Presidium  
Republicae Terrorem Hostibus,' or 'Henry the Eighth King of England, the Conqueror  
of Ireland, placed the Guard of the Republic, a terror to the Enemies.'<sup>12</sup>

The heavily weathered version in Deal is challenging to identify, but the Hollar etching does suggest it might be similar to St. Mawes. If so, more scholarly work could be undertaken to restore this plaque and reinstate the statues at the entrance to the causeway. This

<sup>9</sup> The National Archives, E/134/16Chasl/Mich29.

<sup>10</sup> Maurice-Jones, K. W., *The History of Coast Artillery in the British Army* (Uckfield: Naval & Military Press, 2012), 16-19.

<sup>11</sup> Coad, *Deal Castle*, 5.

<sup>12</sup> Crowson, P. S., *Tudor Foreign Policy*, (London: A&C Black, 1973), 116.



restoration could go some way in restoring Deal Castle's prominence from the broader Device.



Fig. 3 Photograph of the weathered plaque at Deal Castle, 2022.

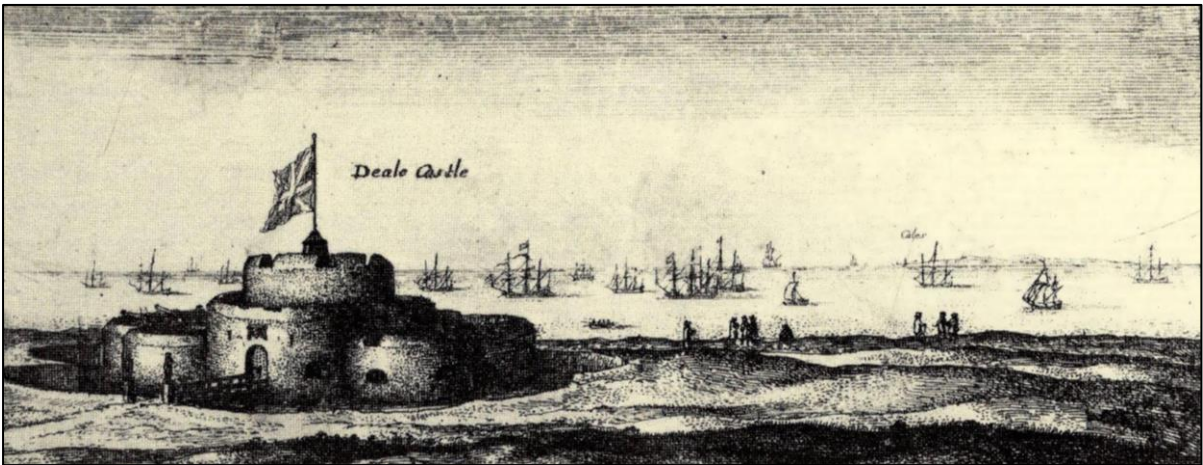


Fig. 4 An etching by Wenceslaus Hollar (1607 – 1677), c. 1640. Hollstein, F.W.H., *The New Hollstein: German Engravings Etchings and Woodcuts 1400-1700*, Amsterdam, 1996 – Hollstein, 2511.

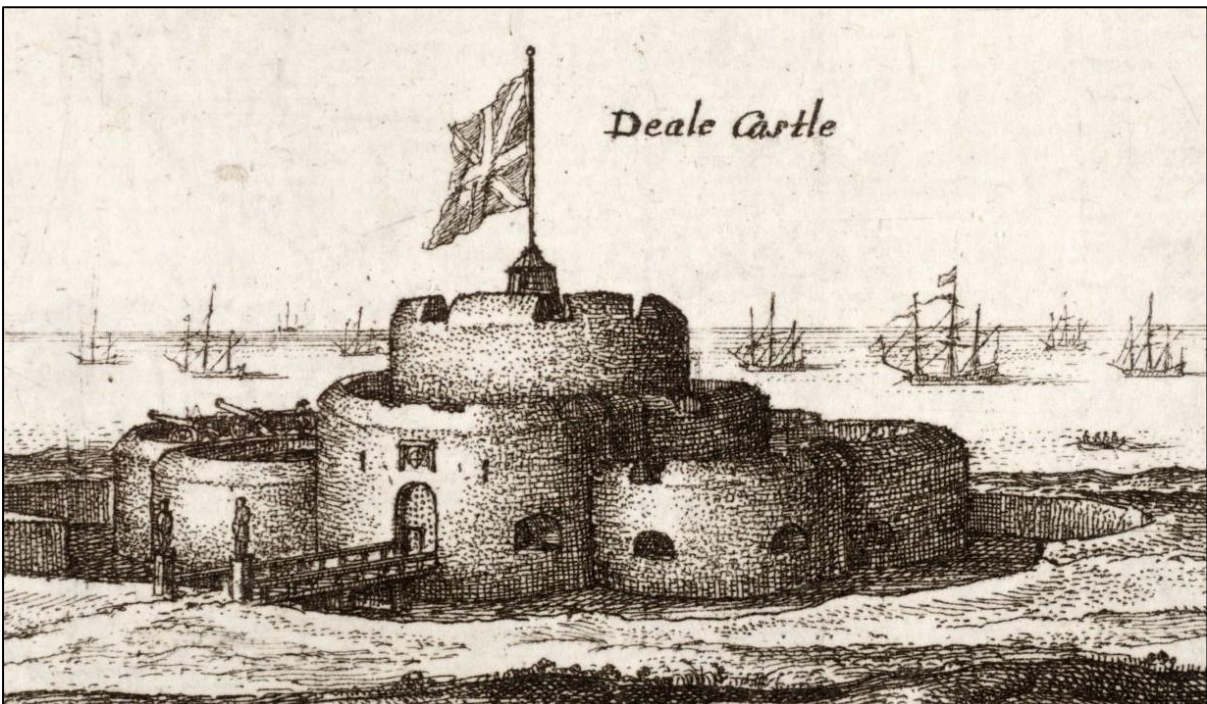


Fig. 5 A closer view of an etching by Wenceslaus Hollar (1607 – 1677), c. 1640. Hollstein, F.W.H., *The New Hollstein: German Engravings Etchings and Woodcuts 1400-1700*, Amsterdam, 1996 – Hollstein, 2511.





Fig. 6 An example of the St Mawes Castle crest (Photo author, 2021).

By 1728, enhancements were made to the fortress as it was furnished with a reduced quantity of more potent artillery known as culverins. These culverins possessed the capability to launch eighteen-pound projectiles across considerable distances.<sup>13</sup> While Deal Castle had gained prominence during this period, it had considerably diminished its military presence. Norris and subsequent captains were determined to uphold the fortress's robust military character, initially distancing it from the evolving opulence of a country house.<sup>14</sup> Concurrently, the town of Deal underwent development too, growing into a larger urban area with a small naval yard established in the seventeenth century.<sup>15</sup> Over time, this yard

<sup>13</sup> Coad, *Deal Castle*, 32-33.

<sup>14</sup> Aldridge, D. D., *Admiral Sir John Norris and the British naval expeditions to the Baltic Sea, 1715–1727*, PhD Diss., (London: University of London, 1971), 81-86.

<sup>15</sup> Coad, *Deal Castle*, 32-33.



expanded its capacity to supply warships for the Navy and grew in significance until its closure in 1864 (Fig. 7).<sup>16</sup>

In 1714, the Master General of the Ordnance developed land and sea ranges in Deal for cannon practice exercises.<sup>17</sup> This naval facility, The Royal Marines Depot, established Deal as one of the Navy's foremost centres, a status it retained until its closure in 1996 when the Royal Marines command centre (known locally as 'The Barracks') was moved to Portsmouth.<sup>18</sup> Deal Castle is still retained as their ceremonial home.<sup>19</sup>

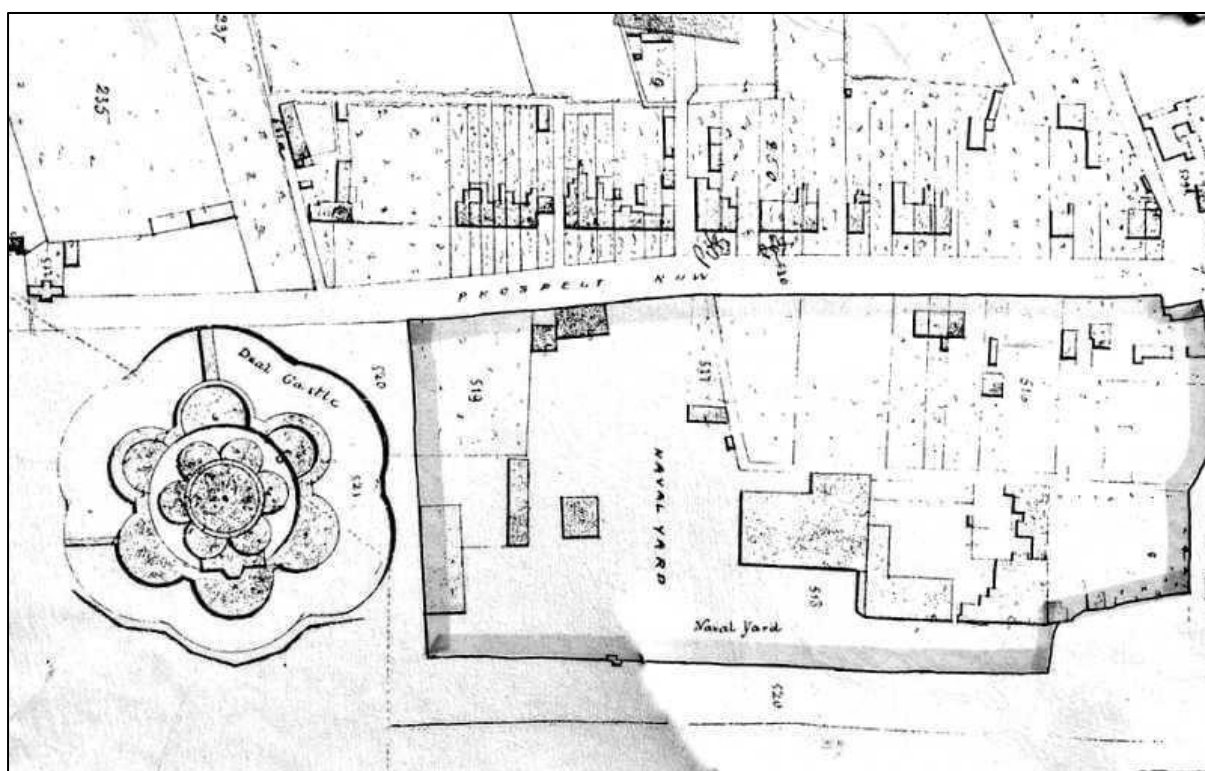


Fig. 7 A section from the Admiralty Map from c. 1800 showing the former Naval Yard next to Deal Castle.

<sup>16</sup> Coad, J., *Support for the Fleet: Architecture and Engineering of the Royal Navy's Bases 1700–1914* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2013), 487-489.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Harris, P., *Deal and Walmer in 50 Buildings* (Stroud: Amberley, 2020), 86.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, Pritchard, 204-207.

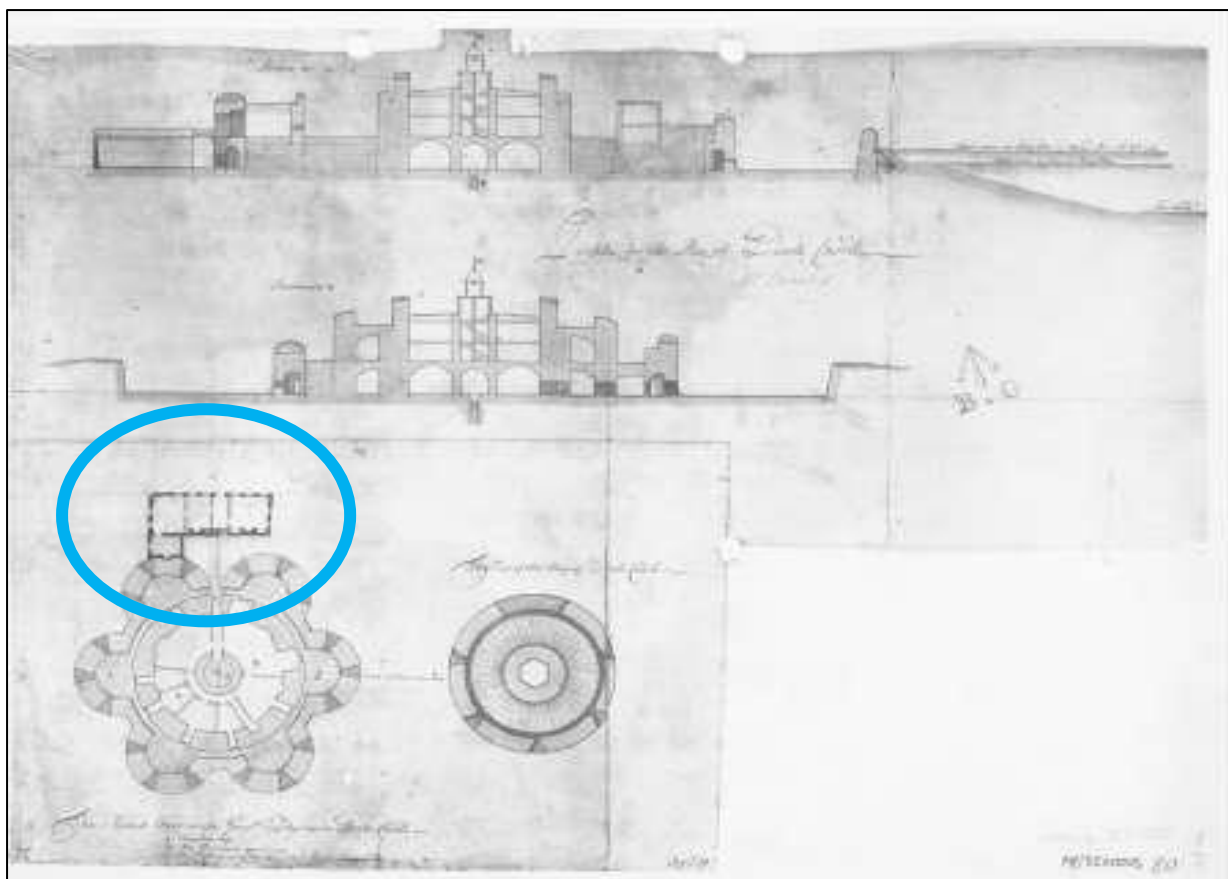


Fig. 8 Proposed construction drawings, dating from the 1700s and reproduced from a print in the 1950s, Office of Works, Hand-tinted copy of two sections through Deal Castle, and plans of the second-floor and roof of the keep, Historic England Archives ref: MP/DEA0005 & MP/DEA0003.

From 1729 to 1732, many alterations to the castle were undertaken, including these so-called 'King's Lodgings'. This included a substantial extension that deviated from the architectural style of the original structure despite the earlier additions of sash windows to the keep. The extension, constructed mainly with imported stone, began at a doorway in the keep and extended over the battlements into the bastion on the castle's seaward side.<sup>20</sup> It soon became known as the Captain's House and initially was just one storey.<sup>21</sup> This addition was likely to enhance the castle's appeal and provide a modern and comfortable residence for the increasingly honorific role of the Captain. It is plausible that this building

<sup>20</sup> Daily Telegraph & Courier (London). 1899. 'Notes.' *Daily Telegraph & Courier (London)*: April 7, 1899, P. 5., Coad, *Deal Castle*, 3.

<sup>21</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/1941.

replaced the small timber-framed Captain's Cabin, although its precise location remains uncertain.<sup>22</sup>

As part of the building works, the battlements were all rebuilt to create 'better crenellations' along their parapets and much rubble was removed from the bastion and 'thrown in the sea' (some 1399 loads). Inside, the keep's accommodation was much modernised.<sup>23</sup> To replace the wainscotting, the keep was fitted with new panelling. The Porter's Lodgings was also modernised with contemporary fireplaces, chimneys and furnishings. New earthen ramparts were installed around the castle, and a sixty feet tall flagstaff was erected.<sup>24</sup> In 2016, Historic England/English Heritage found building materials (mainly bricks) inscribed, corroborating these construction dates (Fig. 10).

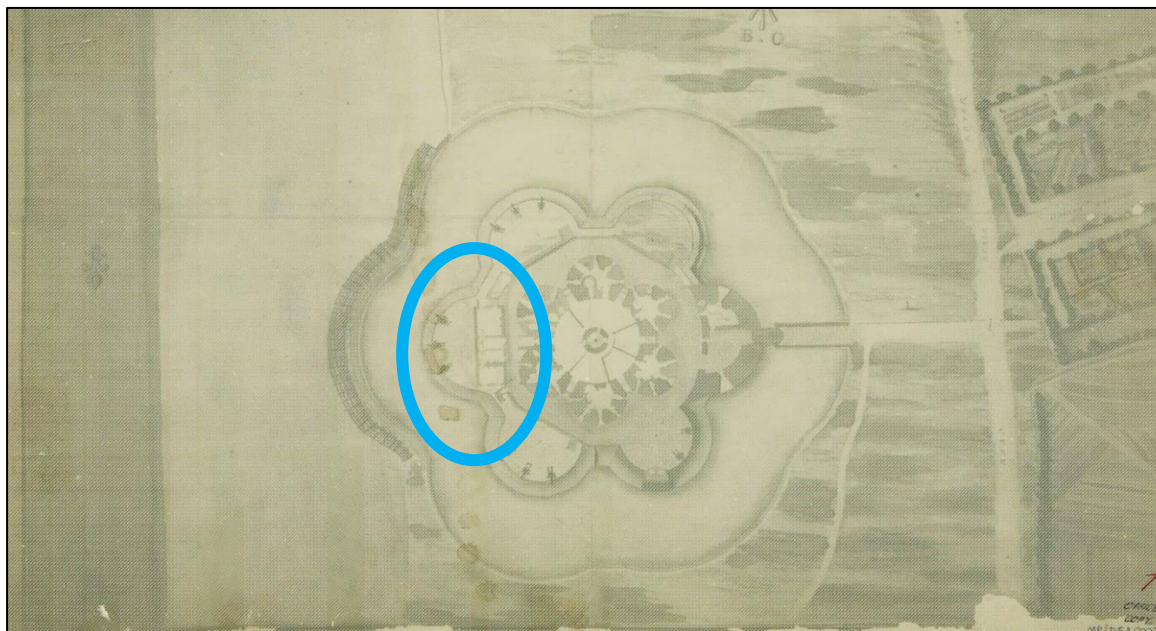


Fig. 9 A drawing of the castle from 1753 prior to the works. It shows the forebearer of the Captain's House and the ornate gardens. Historic England Archives, PF/DEA/001 (EHC01/022).

<sup>22</sup> Speculation from a conversation with an EH curator as smaller structures are seen in some early oil paintings, such as the 'Battle of the Downs' oil painting, Walmer collection.

<sup>23</sup> Coad, *Deal Castle*, 3.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*



The three castles were put on a 'readiness of combat' notice in the 1740s due to renewed tensions with France.<sup>25</sup> A squadron of ships was stationed in the Downs to monitor Dunkirk and Calais, with a further squadron ordered to patrol along the Channel and another in Scotland. There is doubt whether France would try to invade in this period as the investments in the fortifications over the last few decades and the size of England's fleet would have meant that the French would have been outgunned.<sup>26</sup> By 1756, the threat had grown more substantial. A military report from that period shows that senior officers firmly believed the land between Sandwich and Deal would be the number-one landing point for any attempted French invasion. However, this heightened stance would, for now, come to nothing.<sup>27</sup> Despite this alert, it did not halt the slow progress of domestication at both Deal and Walmer.



Fig. 10 Detail of the inner face of the castle's north-east inner bastion parapet, showing a stone inscribed '1732', Historic England, 2016, DP187685.

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<sup>25</sup> Coad, *Deal Castle*, 32-33.

<sup>26</sup> Maurice-Jones, K. W., *The History of Coast Artillery in the British Army* (Uckfield: Naval & Military Press, 2012), 30.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

In 1776 Norris died and the Captain's House was described as being 'seaward' and 'of late years modernised.'<sup>28</sup> His castle 'valuable belongings' were sold at auction by Christie's in the same year.<sup>29</sup> This can be corroborated by the antiquarian Hasted, who visited in the 1790s and remarked that the castle contained a 'handsome apartment'.<sup>30</sup> Rare images from the late 1700s (Fig. 11- 13) show the development of crenellations and chimneys on the castle. These show external evidence of how the castle was becoming increasingly domesticated away from its original functions as a fortress.



Fig. 11 An image of Deal by an unknown artist, Hasted, 1778, Wikimedia Commons public domain.

<sup>28</sup> Seymour, C., *A New Topographical, Historical, and Commercial Survey of the Cities, Towns, and Villages of the County of Kent Arranged in Alphabetical Order*, (Canterbury: Author, 1776), 282.

<sup>29</sup> Morning Post. 1776. 'Letter And Notes.' *Morning Post*: May 18, 1776, P. 11.

<sup>30</sup> Hasted, E. *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 9*, edited by W. Bristow, 1801 (Canterbury: W. Bristow, 1801), 165.





Fig. 12 A watercolour of Deal Castle, c.1790s, by Princess Sophia of the United Kingdom (1777-1848) inspired from an earlier watercolour by Amelia Noel (1759 - 1818), The Royal Collection.



Fig. 13 A View of Deal Castle, Unknown Artist, held in a private collection.

One last developmental item of note in the eighteenth century that began with some momentum in this century was the proposal to build a harbour in Deal that would have incorporated the Castles of the Downs – particularly Deal. While this ambitious infrastructure project went through various stages of development, including acts of parliament and incorporation into a development and management company, the project was never realised.<sup>31</sup> Little is known about the initial concept (1749); however, an unpublished early concept for this port can be seen (Fig. 14), and for a time, the project was known as the ‘Forming of Deal’s Haven of Safety’.<sup>32</sup> Later, the ambitious idea grew to include lighthouses, jetties, houses, warehouses, offices, a railway connection, trams, cranes, and individual small moorings.<sup>33</sup> Whilst this concept was largely disbanded in the early twentieth century, the project’s ambition is akin to the aspiration of the original concept of a fortified port in the Down as devised by King Henry.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, whilst this plan was seen as an infrastructure concept of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it does have its conceptual foundations far earlier, in the early modern period.<sup>35</sup> The Castles of the Downs and this harbour were both ambitious projects, but the harbour, despite Government support, would never materialise in Deal.

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<sup>31</sup> Parliament. House of Commons. *Parliamentary Papers* 66 (1862): 130. H.M. Stationery Office, 13 December 2007., Unknown Author, ‘Deal, Kent.’ *The Engineer* 73 (1892): 225.

<sup>32</sup> Kent History and Library Centre, IMG/PR/A/DEA/29.

<sup>33</sup> Unknown Author, ‘Deal, Kent.’ *The Engineer* 73 (1892): 225.

<sup>34</sup> The National Archives, E/190/638/1., Kentish Express. 1918. ‘Correspondence.’ *Kentish Express*: November 30, 1918, P. 6.

<sup>35</sup> The Tudor arch for the layout of the proposed harbour may even be a stylistic nod to the Tudor’s earlier design ambition.

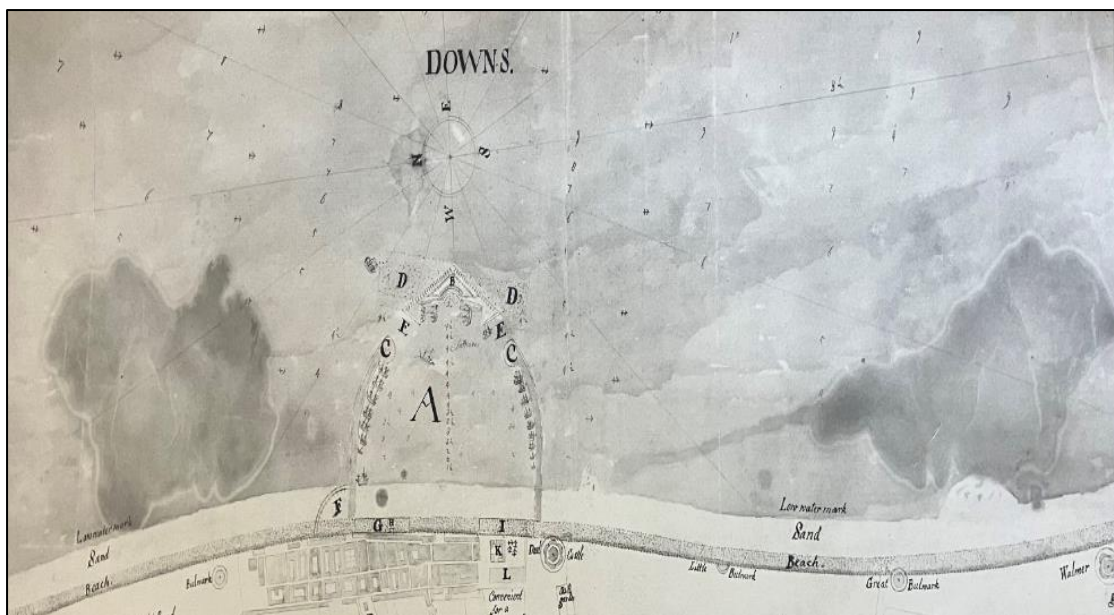


Fig. 14 An unpublished drawing for a new proposed 'Downs Harbour' by engineer 'Mr Payne', 1749, Deal Museum, PL134.

Another development in the nineteenth century that had little bearing on the architecture but some on the positions of Captain at both Deal and Sandown was that both roles had their formal responsibilities defined by Wellington.<sup>36</sup> Deal Captain's role included the defence of the castle, managing any associated affairs, and supervising the Deal pilots along the coast, all under the authority of the Lord Warden.<sup>37</sup> During wartime, he commanded a volunteer battalion raised for the defence of the Kentish Coast. His only income was a salary of approximately £46 per year, with no additional benefits, despite having invested vast sums in the castle's maintenance since his appointment.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, the Captain of Sandown Castle, serving under the Lord Warden, is responsible for the castle's operations and the pilots, with a salary of £43.9.3 per annum, funded through the Cinque Port Grants. The Lieutenant of Sandown Castle shares the captain's duties and receives an annual pay of £23.4.6.<sup>39</sup> Both positions required residency as a condition of

<sup>36</sup> Kent History and Library Centre, De/Ap202.

<sup>37</sup> The Downs, Cinque Ports, or Deal Pilots refer to licensed seamen who were vital to the trade within the Downs, especially navigating the seas in this area before advances in seafaring technology due to the turbulent weather and hazards formed by the Goodwin Sands.

<sup>38</sup> Kent History and Library Centre, De/Ap202.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*



tenure, which, as we can explore, was very difficult at Sandown in the nineteenth century. The fact that the roles did receive respective incomes is contrary to several later reports, though how long these salaries lasted is unknown.

### Nineteenth Century: Resurgence

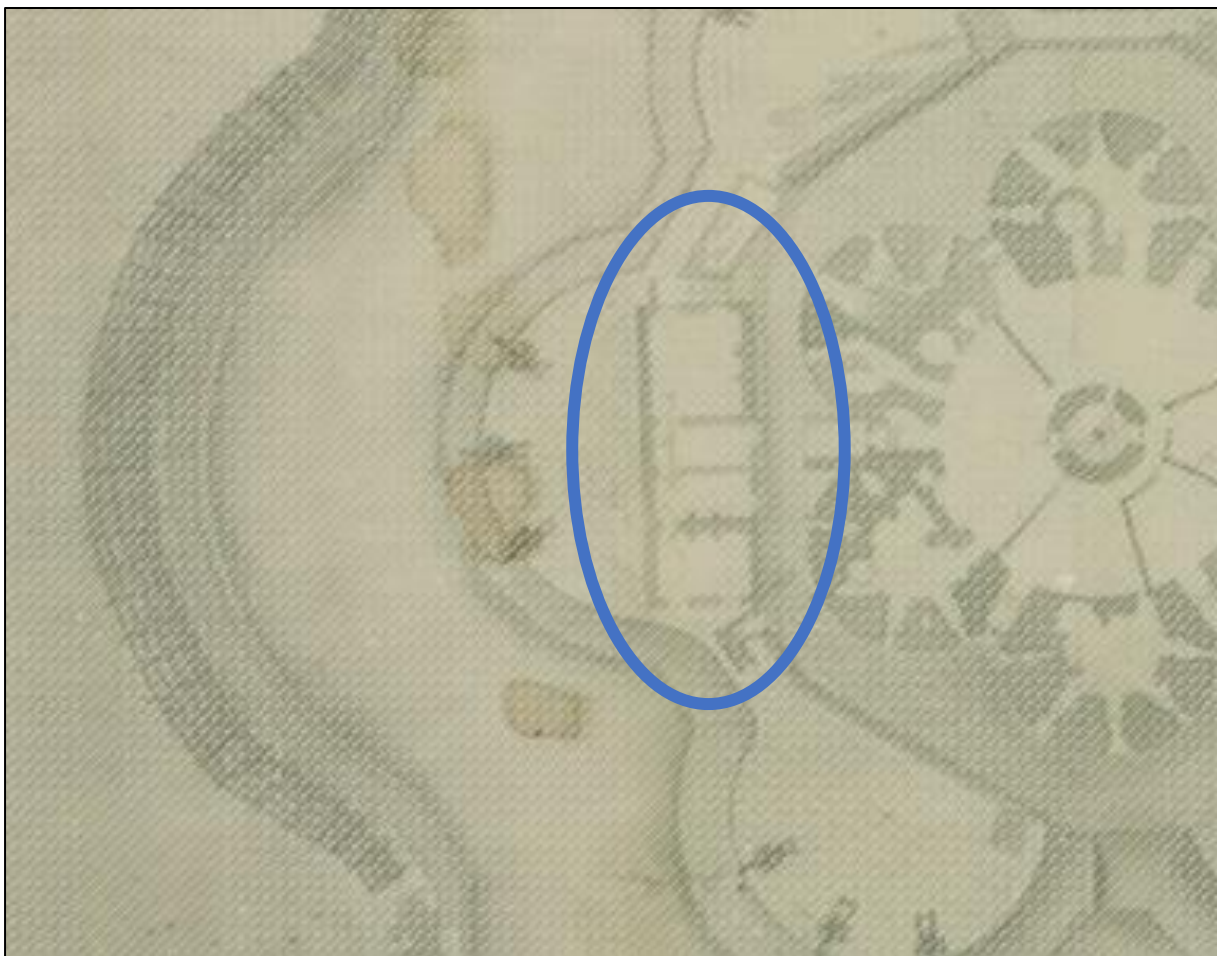


Fig. 15 A plan showing a smaller building where the grander Captain's House would later be built, c.1802, Historic England Archives, PF/DEA/001 (EHC01 English Heritage Archive).

In the early nineteenth century, more artillery was installed along the coast, along with various Martello towers (1804 and 1812), as the country once again re-fortified due to possible invasion from the French armies during the Napoleonic Wars, including increased

soldier numbers.<sup>40</sup> In 1794 Pitt instructed further fortification along the coast, and in 1802 he ordered bombardiers to undertake military training exercises in Deal.<sup>41</sup> By 1800, there was a further request to construct additional fortifications to support heavy-mounted artillery, though these appear not to have been built.<sup>42</sup> Perhaps the later Martello Towers (1808 to 1812) were in place of this request.<sup>43</sup>

Robert Smith, 1st Baron Carrington (1752 – 1838, Fig. 24), became the Captain of Deal in 1802 and had a significant bearing on the development of Deal Castle.<sup>44</sup> As Norris before him, he did not want Deal's role to diminish against Walmer. His friendly rivalry with Pitt and the question of who should pay for the alterations to Deal have already been discussed. Carrington was much wealthier than Pitt, to whom he was later rumoured to have provided financial assistance.<sup>45</sup> Carrington's considerable wealth empowered him to undertake an extensive overhaul of the castle, availing himself of the chance to customise it according to his taste. As he was paying for these works, he did just that.<sup>46</sup>



Fig. 16 An etching by George Shepherd, 1830, Wikimedia Commons public domain.

<sup>40</sup> Harrington, *The Castles of Henry VIII*, 54.

<sup>41</sup> Elvin, 1890, 246-248.

<sup>42</sup> The National Archives, WORK 31/12.

<sup>43</sup> Sutcliffe, S., *Martello Towers*, (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1973), 1-35.

<sup>44</sup> Coad, *Deal Castle*, 35.

<sup>45</sup> Cave, E., and Nichols, J., *The Gentleman's Magazine, and Historical Chronicle, for the Year, Volume 160* (London: John Bowyer Nichols and Son, 1837): 115.

<sup>46</sup> Daily Telegraph & Courier (London). 1899. 'Notes.' *Daily Telegraph & Courier (London)*: April 7, 1899, 5.





Fig. 17 An etching believed to be from 1828 by William Daniell (1769–1837), Presented to the Tate Gallery Publications Department 1979, T02949, used under UK fair dealing.

During this time, the process of converting further gun embrasures into sash windows commenced, installation of a bridge, and several new chimneys and a renewed bell tower lantern were installed.<sup>47</sup> Additionally, in the same year, the Captain's House was rebuilt as a larger dwelling with rooms for Carrington's servants.<sup>48</sup> The shift away from defence responsibilities is probably attributed to the emergence of Martello towers (74 in total), which, along with the formidable British Navy, were thought to provide sufficient defence capabilities to address conflicts with France.<sup>49</sup> Carrington was a wealthy man and would become one of the longest-serving Captains (1803–38). Therefore, Deal would need to adapt to his

<sup>47</sup> Historic England Archives, MP/DEA0017, DP187638., University of Southampton Special Collections, MS 61 WP2/220/54., Kent History and Library Centre, EK/U725/P8.

<sup>48</sup> Saunders, A. D., *Deal and Walmer Castles Guidebook* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1963), 17., Sutcliffe, S., *Martello Towers* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1973), 1-35.

<sup>49</sup> Cotton, C., *The History of Deal and Its Neighbourhood*, (Deal: Henry Ward, 1864), 300., Elvin, 1890, 252-255.

domestic needs. This combination of Carrington's needs and Deal's decline as a military-ready fort probably accelerated this change.

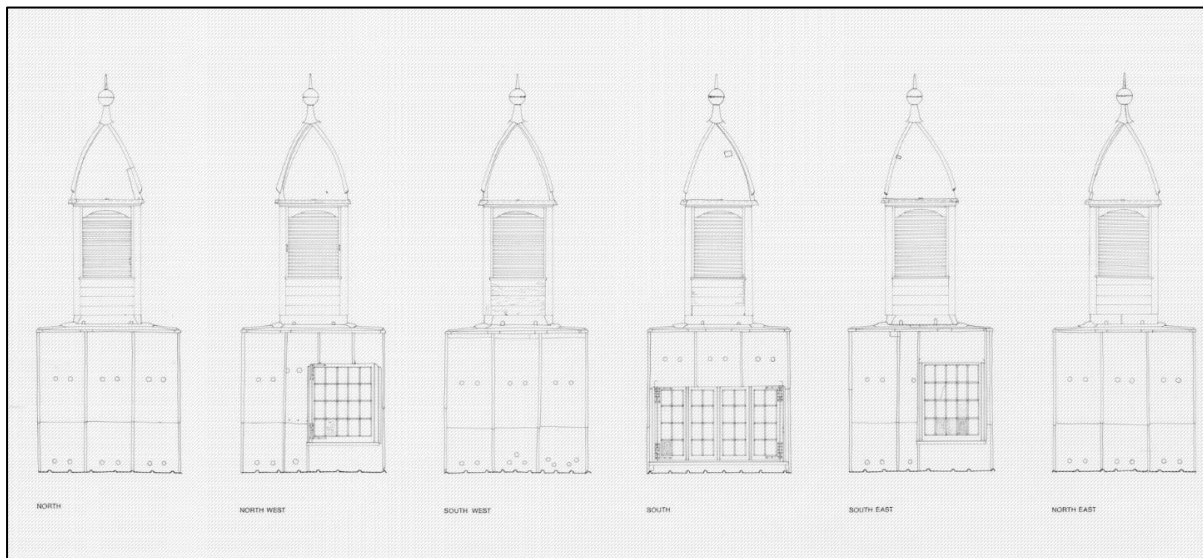


Fig. 18 An elevational drawing of the bell tower, 1993, Historic England Archive, This is part of the Volume: PF/DEA Deal Castle, Deal, Kent; within the Series: EHC01/022 English Heritage Plans and Measured Drawings; within the Collection: EHC01.



Fig. 19 Graffiti found in the belltower reads: 'Wm Verrier, Plumber, Painter, Glazier, 1811', 1993, Historic England Archive, MP/DEA0017, DP187638.

This ordinary but equally outlandish new townhouse is evident from the original construction drawings below (Fig. 20). The symbiotic approach taken by the architects of the Office of Works to graft the townhouse onto the castle whilst matching the original castle's in situ curved structural detail is commendable, as the finished floor level of the castle is maintained from the castle to the house. This continuous, level access resulted in head heights of over nine feet in the ground-floor rooms and fourteen feet in the first-floor rooms.<sup>50</sup> They may have incidentally given the rooms an air of grandeur, but the height of the ceilings was necessary to achieve these seamless, presumably step-free, transitions. It has also been found that Carrington sourced 'at great cost' 'matching stone from abroad' to graft this house onto the castle at the abutments reasonably seamlessly.<sup>51</sup>

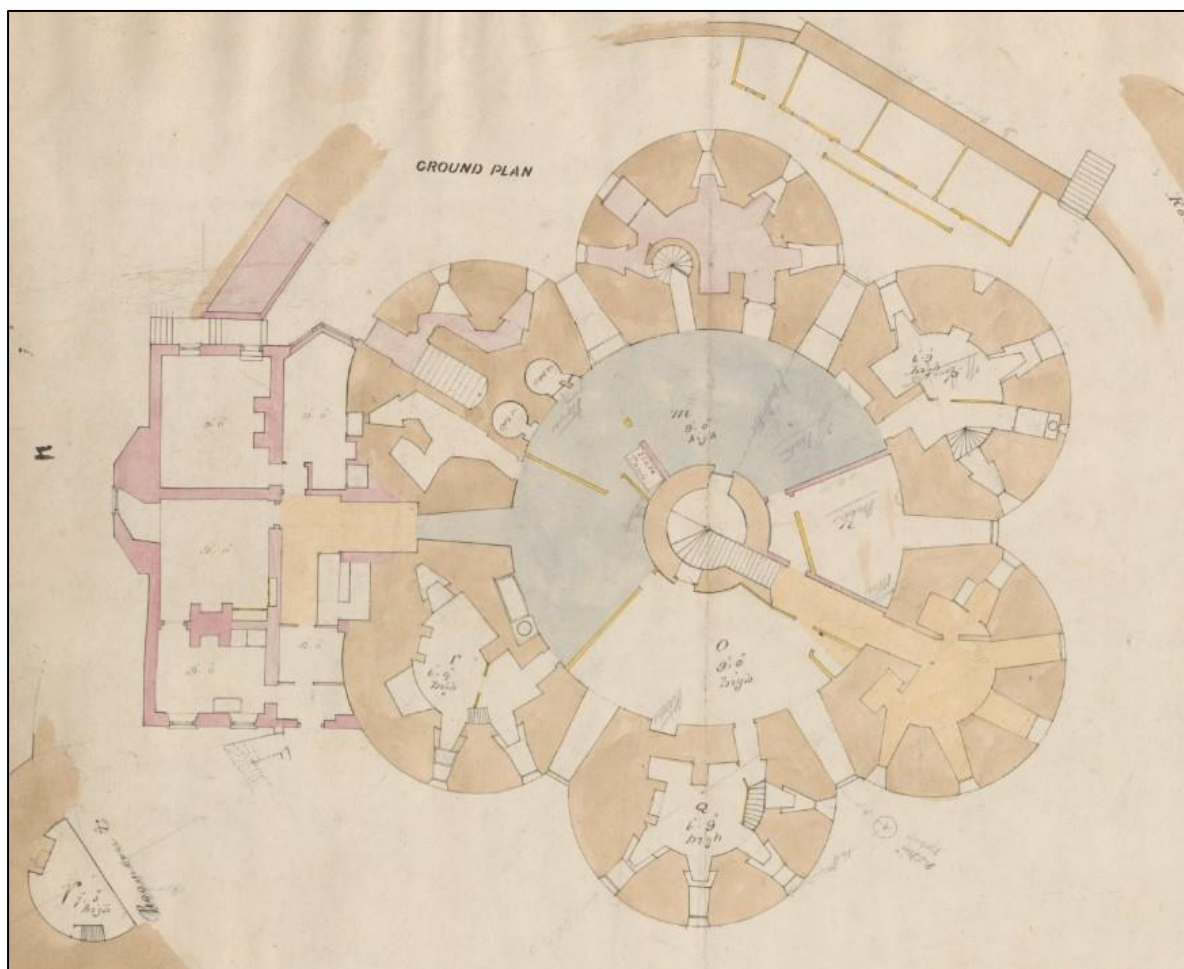


Fig. 20 A ground floor plan showing the layout of the castle, c.1800, The National Archives, WORK 31/9.

<sup>50</sup> The National Archives, WORK 31/9.

<sup>51</sup> Daily Telegraph & Courier (London). 1899. 'Notes.' *Daily Telegraph & Courier (London)*: April 7, 1899, P. 5.



The scheme for the first floor proposed a form of oriel window that attempted to work with the curvature of the bastion, albeit out of sequence with the lunette shaping of the bastions. The main rooms on this elevation were drawing rooms, and the former cannon stations were all converted into bedrooms.<sup>52</sup> It is unclear whether any plumbing or heating additions were made during these works in c.1800 as it would be very early in the development of the WC for such additions at this time. We also know that the house was incongruously painted white, as depicted in several works of art, most famously perhaps by John Lewis Roget (1838-1908, Fig. 27).

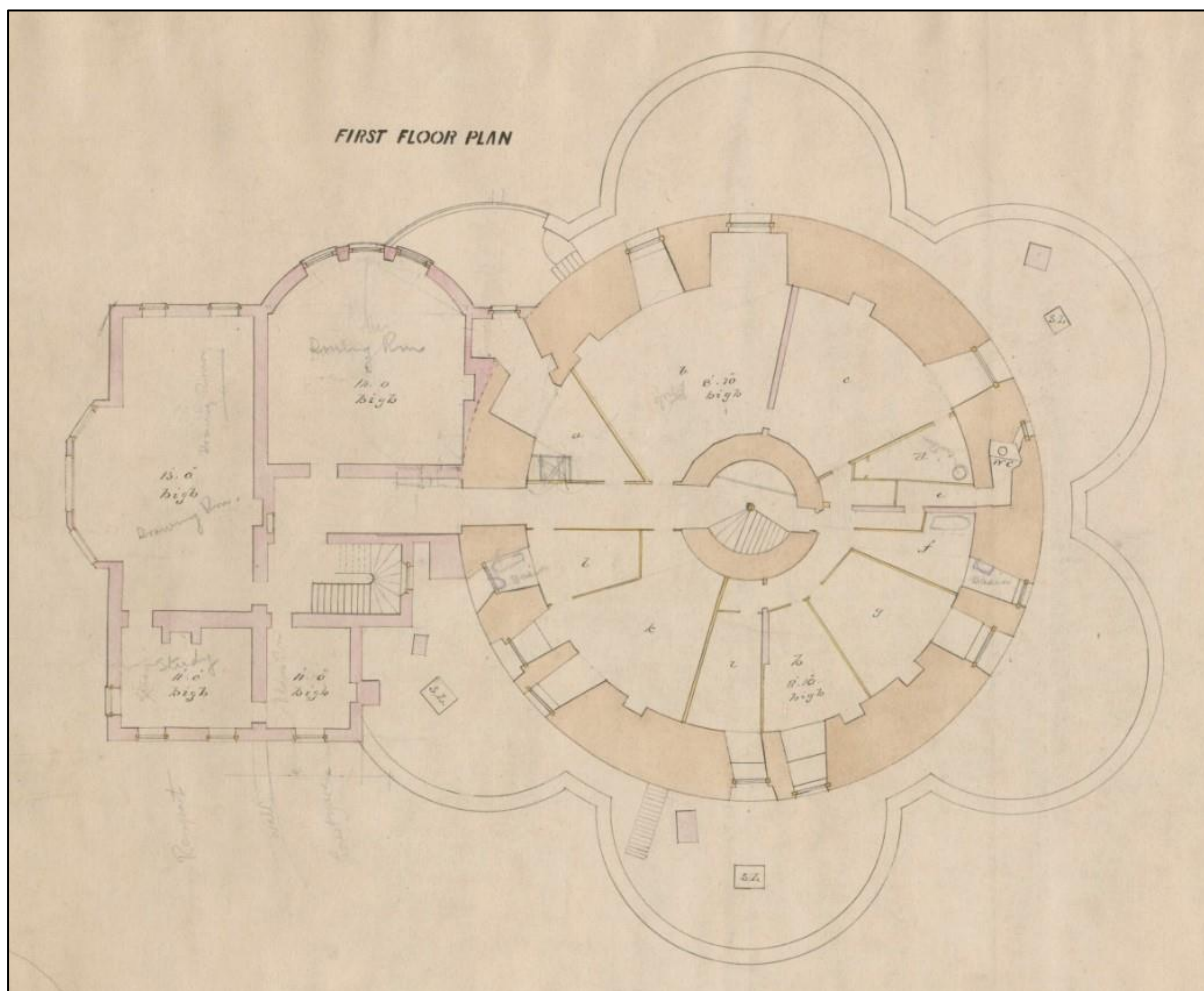


Fig. 21 First-floor plan of the castle showing the drawing rooms, c.1800, The National Archives, WORK 31/9.

<sup>52</sup> The National Archives, WORK 31/9.

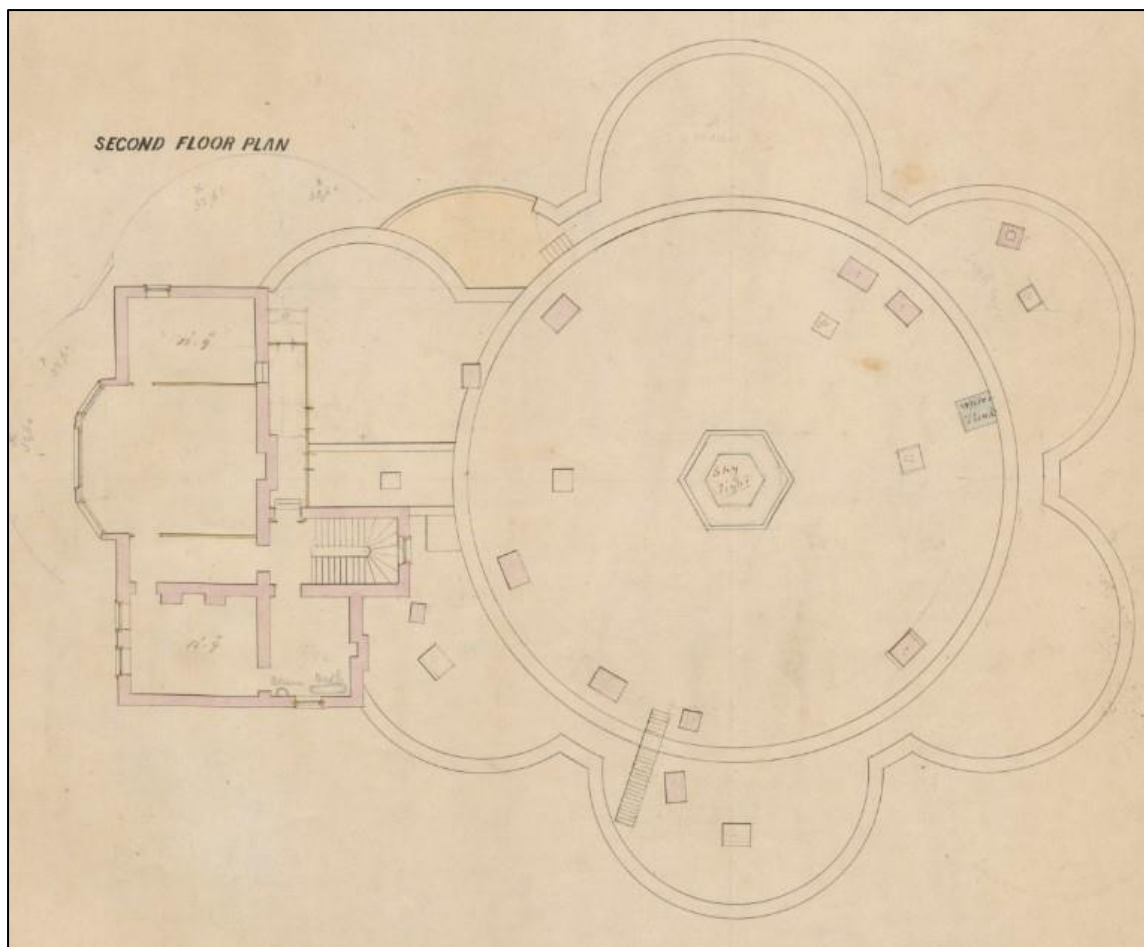


Fig. 22 The second-floor plan is represented above (showing the number of rooms in the Captain's House from this c.1800 survey), The National Archives, WORK 31/9.

Just how domesticated Deal had become by the early nineteenth century is reflected in the quantity of servants' quarters, including the butler's accommodation and pantry were both installed inside the former castle battlements (Fig. 21).<sup>53</sup> The drawings (Fig. 22 is very similar to what was constructed, as the previous three drawings were scaled back slightly to reduce the widths of the rooms – this is perhaps the 'as-built' drawing. By 1852, these alterations were indeed complete, as etchings show Wellington's funeral procession, illustrating the finished Captain's Quarters, complete with crenellated parapets to match the bluntly altered eighteenth-century crenellations of the seaward bastion (Fig. 25).

<sup>53</sup> The National Archives, WORK 31/9.



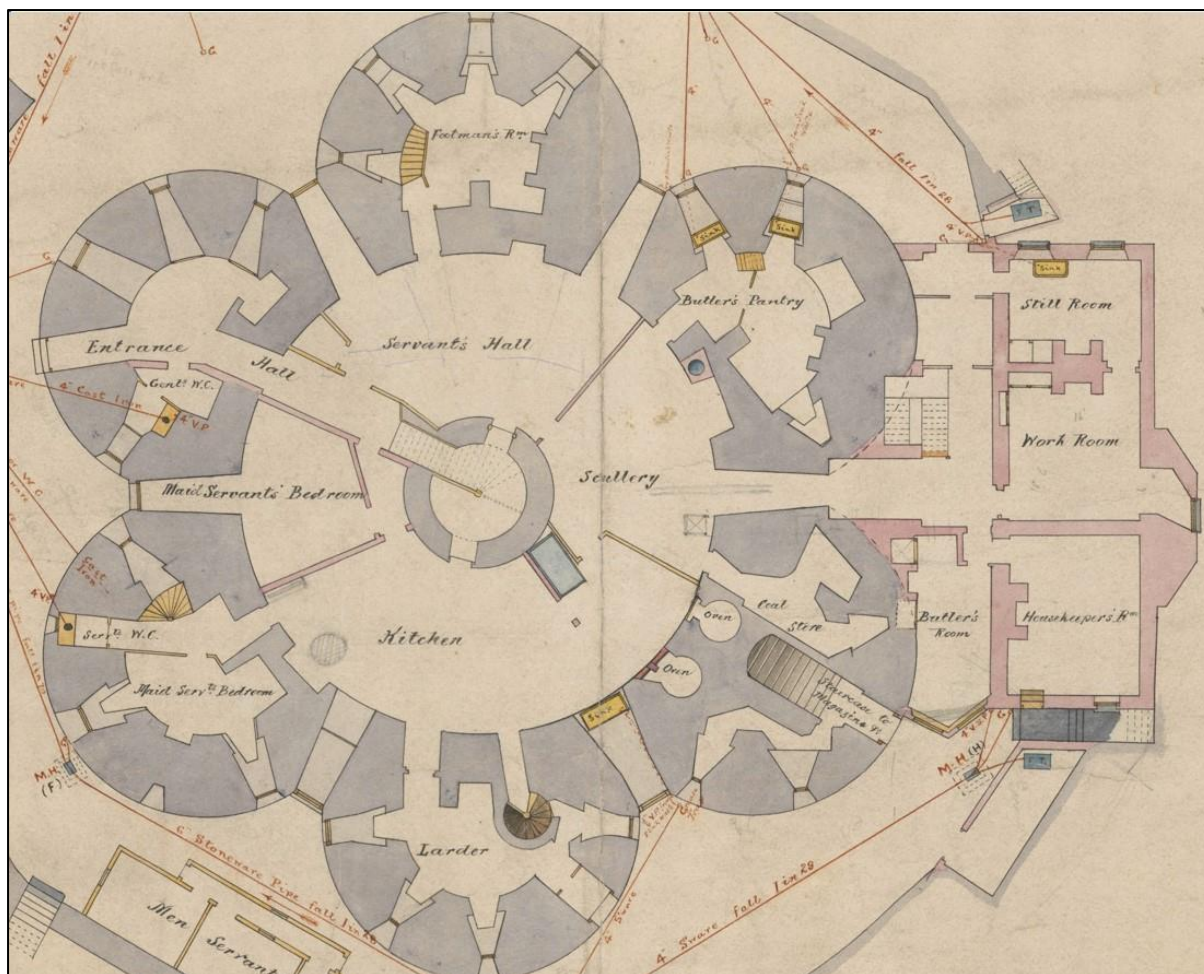


Fig. 23 Basement plan from c.1800, The National Archives, WORK 31/11.

No photographs or illustrations are believed to exist to show the interiors of Carrington's alterations.<sup>54</sup> However, this author has found a primary source that gives us a tantalising glimpse into how splendid the rooms of the Captain's House must have been, which has been found in a record from 1838. It gives details of a vast property sale that was undertaken to auction off Carrington's extensive belongings within the castle following his death (Appendix E). The auction book gives a fascinating insight into how the castle was appointed during his tenure and reveals a residence comparable, possibly even superior, in comfort to Walmer. The auction was undertaken in the castle on 29<sup>th</sup> October 1838. It sold off a vast array of belongings, including carpets from Venice, Moroccan leather chairs, a

<sup>54</sup> No images have been found in primary or secondary sources. Experts, museums, archives, and local experts have been contacted, and all confirm that no images exist or have ever been found or published.

telescope, Italian white marble, oak bookcases, goose-feathered beds, an extensive selection of fine glass and china, books, kitchen and gardening equipment and a selection of over one hundred wines and spirits.<sup>55</sup> We have discussed how Walmer benefited from an Act of Parliament that ensured that the belongings of the Lord Warden stayed with the castle. Unfortunately, Deal did not benefit from such an arrangement. Therefore, when Carrington and any other Captain died in office, their belongings left with them.



Fig. 24 Unpublished watercolour of Lord Carrington during his tenure as Captain of Deal Castle believed to have been painted by his granddaughter, unknown date c. mid-nineteenth century, Kent History and Library Centre, EK/U1590/C132.

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<sup>55</sup> *Dover Telegraph and Cinque Ports General Advertiser*. 1838. 'Important Sale at Deal Castle.' *Dover Telegraph and Cinque Ports General Advertiser*: October 20, 1838, P. 1.



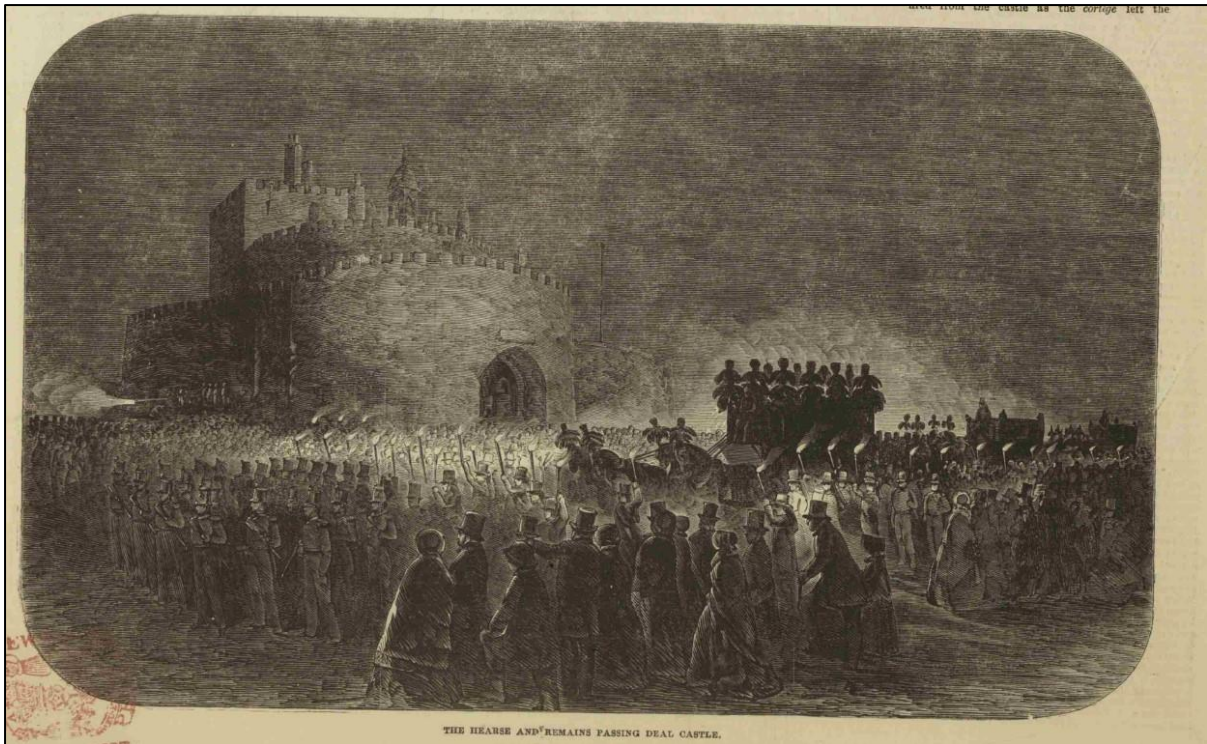


Fig. 25 The crowds gathering at Deal following the death of Duke of Wellington, 1852, Illustrated London News, used under UK Fair Dealing.

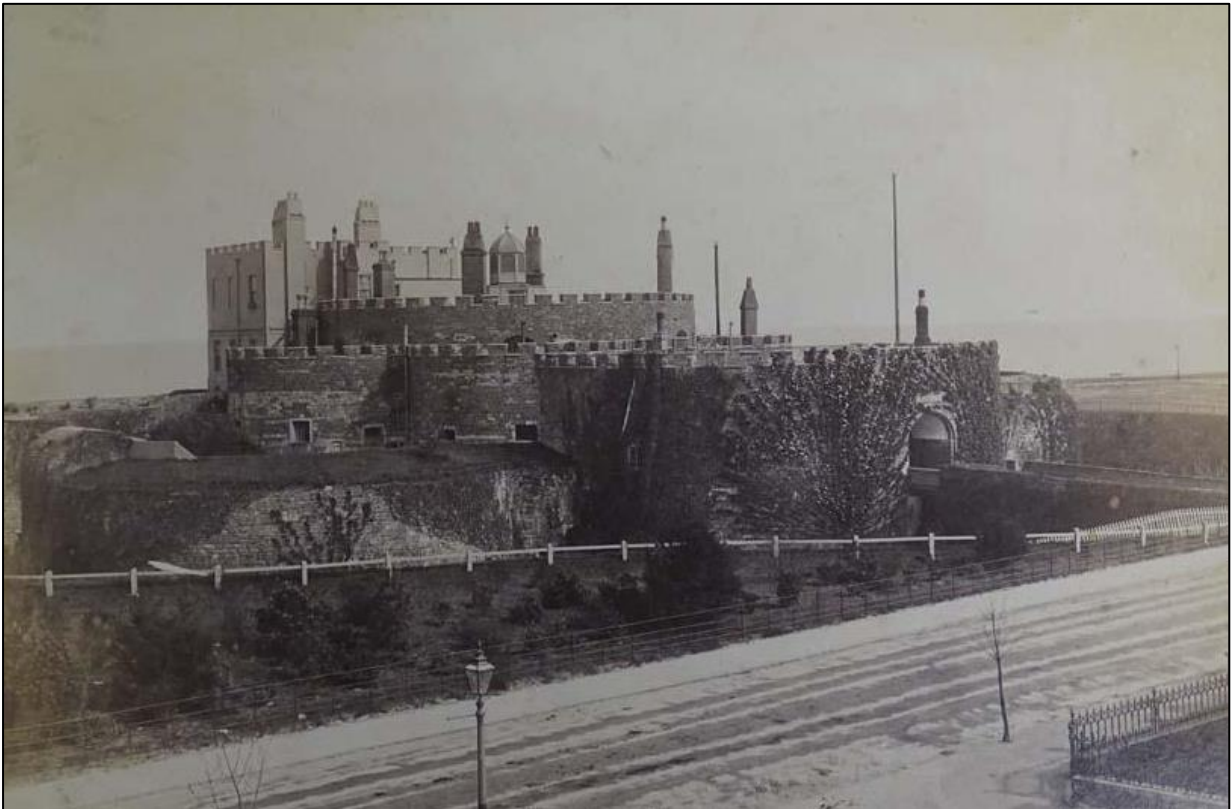


Fig. 26 A rare early photograph believed to have been taken in 1892, Private collection.





Fig. 27 A watercolour by Roget, who visited Deal in the late 1880s, Author's Private Collection.



Fig. 28 A print from a postcard (possibly sold by the Office of Works) dating from 1905, produced by the Detroit Publishing Co., Catalogue J foreign section, Detroit, Mich. Detroit Publishing Company, 1905, 11222.

The end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 effectively marked the end of Deal's use as a defensive fortification, though it remained, as with Walmer, as an official 'grace and favour' property. Therefore, the appointment of the Captain of Deal became a highly prized appointment. However, this now evaporated military use was now not without consequences. Its conversion into a private house led to local arguments in 1829 (as did Walmer) about whether it was subject to local taxation rather than being exempt as a military fortification due to its decommissioning.<sup>56</sup> These arguments would reflect the broader view of the military that both Deal and Walmer served no military use whatsoever. Therefore, they wanted to decommission them and remove their considerable maintenance liabilities without now taking on additional outgoings such as local taxes.

In 1898, the War Office consulted over the external alterations of the castle as works were required, and this department did not want to bear the cost.<sup>57</sup> There were several arguments between Government departments before it was agreed that the castle served no military purpose and that the cost of repairs should not come from monies intended for the defence of the Empire.<sup>58</sup>

At the same time, the castle was attracting interest from day-trippers and tourists, which is evident from the scores of pamphlets being produced for tourists and the number of articles written about the castles with more national readership bases. The Captain's Garden and stables opposite the site had been laid to lawn with ornamental planting, and several bastions inside the castle had also been laid to lawn. This was evidenced by Captain Scott of the Royal Engineers at the Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton, 1860, when the surveys were commissioned (Fig. 29).<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Kentish Gazette. 1887. Robert Smithson. 'Deal.' *Kentish Gazette*: March 29, 1887, P. 6., Parker, S. E., *Grace & Favour: A Handbook of Who Lived Where in Hampton Court Palace, 1750 to 1950* (London: Historic Royal Palaces, 2005), 185.

<sup>57</sup> National Archives, MPHH 1/626/3-4.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*



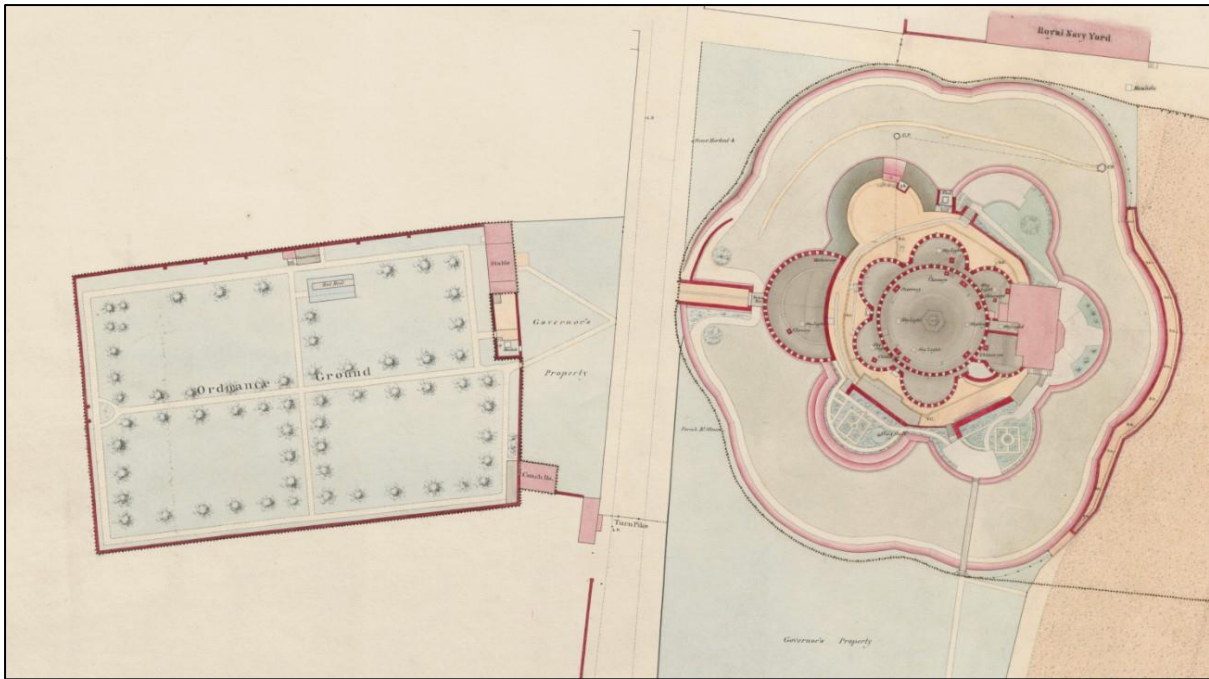


Fig. 29 Deal Castle Plan surveyed under the direction of Captain A de C Scott, Royal Engineers at the Southampton Ordnance Survey Office, 1860, The National Archives, MPH 1/626/3-4.

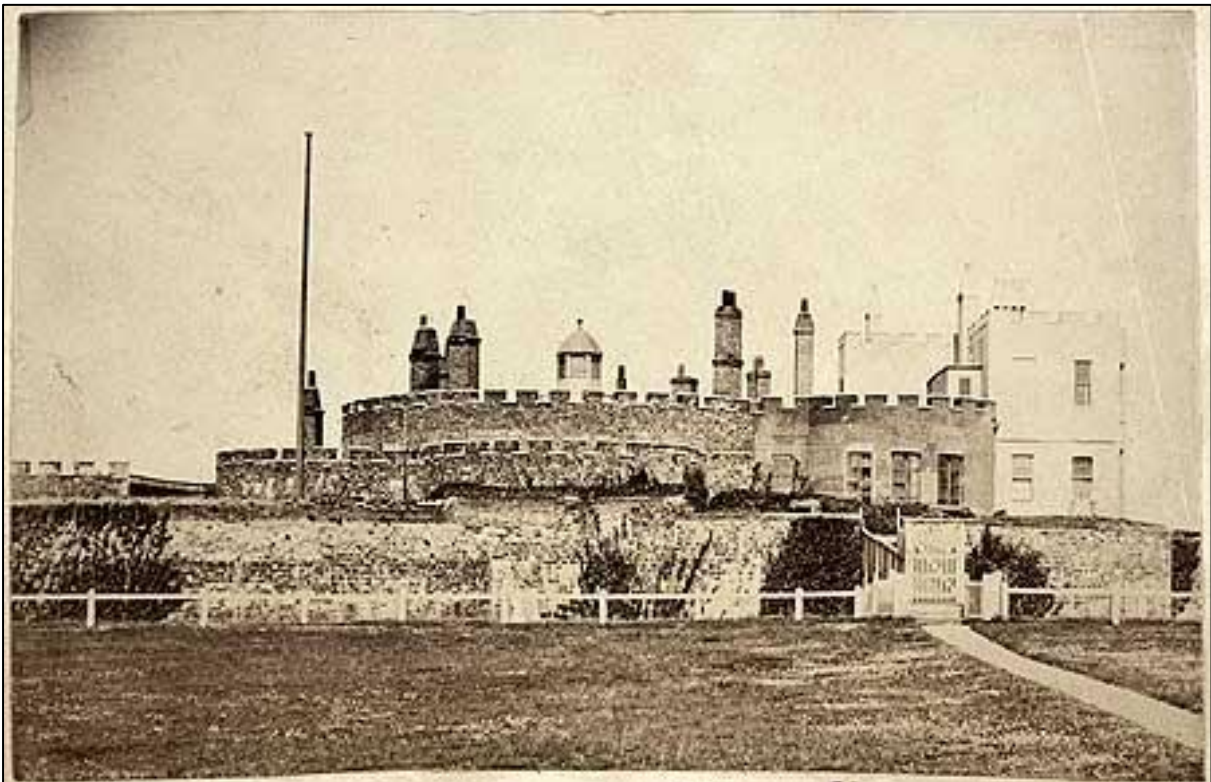


Fig. 30 Photograph of Deal Castle, c.1865 – 1895, Historic England Archives, AL2400/106/05.

Deal Castle's status during this time remained in limbo, and the various appointees to the role of the Captaincy ensured it was kept in a reasonable state of repair. Vast crops of pears and figs were reportedly cultivated year-round within the extended grounds of the castle.<sup>60</sup> However, the photograph (Fig. 30) shows evidence of plants trailing up and over the stonework, which is a very poor conservational practice as it accelerates the stones' dilapidation and is possibly a sign of a lack of maintenance.

There are few records of life at Deal Castle in the late nineteenth century; however, despite the Military not utilising the castle to full effect, it has been found that they did undertake a programme of repair works between 1862 and 1873, probably using their surveys from 1860.<sup>61</sup> In 1862, painting and papering activities were conducted, along with repairs to the moat fencing and the bridge. Similar actions were repeated in 1862, albeit on a more extensive scale. Subsequently, in 1873, additional painting works were undertaken on the buildings and fencing, and repairs were made to the bridge once more. Furthermore 1878, structural repairs were undertaken on the stables in the Captain's Garden, which now included a small dwelling for 'the Coachman'.<sup>62</sup>

During the 1880s, the then-current Captain (John Townshend, 1st Earl Sydney, 1805 – 1890) allowed the press into the Captain's House to see how well-appointed it was. Including walls 'brimming with old prints of past captains', a painting of Nelson (whose body was held within The Downs on return from Trafalgar), externally were orchards filled with fruit and a well-maintained tennis lawn in the moat.<sup>63</sup> Sydney would later request additional WCs and a connection to the public sewer (far later than Walmer's first connection).<sup>64</sup> This matter generated substantial correspondence, indicating the significance and deliberation associated with the proposed changes between the officers of the Office of Works. Ultimately, in 1884, the Royal Engineers provided a report of the challenging layout in

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<sup>60</sup> Daily Telegraph & Courier (London). 1899. 'Notes.' *Daily Telegraph & Courier (London)*: April 7, 1899, P. 5.

<sup>61</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/4/2.

<sup>62</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/4/2., Daily Telegraph & Courier (London). 1899. 'Notes.' *Daily Telegraph & Courier (London)*: April 7, 1899, P. 5.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/4/2.

implementing soil stacks within the old Tudor fort. They highlighted that the castle was arranged over 'four separate spaces', suggesting a suboptimal arrangement that would make connecting the four near impossible.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, it was noted that the existing system was insanitary. Budget estimates related to this issue were prepared in 1898, presumably compiling relevant statements and opinions from various stakeholders.<sup>66</sup> It is unclear whether these works were instructed as the records are incomplete.

### **Twentieth Century to the Present Day: from Country House to Scheduled Ancient Monument**

In 1899, Lord George Hamilton (1845 – 1927) was appointed Captain. Upon assuming his appointment in 1899, George Hamilton formally requested to install a bath.<sup>67</sup> In response, as a gesture of goodwill, the War Office issued instructions to install a full suite. However, it was explicitly communicated that all subsequent requests for domestic alterations would be borne at Hamilton's own expense and not by the War Office. Hamilton emerges as an active Captain in soliciting maintenance and improvement requests for the castle. He was personally actively engaged in inspecting the fencing and providing comments on the condition of the roofs, among other matters.<sup>68</sup> In 1913, Hamilton discovered potential original seventeenth-century panelling concealed behind the canvas walls in the drawing room.<sup>69</sup> It remains unclear from available records whether his request to expose this panelling was implemented, as no specific details are documented.

Returning to the War Office's attempt to relinquish the Castle, they argued that their vast financial liabilities were increasing, and it appears the Government sided with them, as

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<sup>65</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/4/2.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/29.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

by 1904, the management of the castle transferred to the remit of the Office of Works.<sup>70</sup> Just like Walmer, which was transferred at the same time, Deal was also opened to paying visitors to justify the retainment by the state.<sup>71</sup>

Shortly after the Office of Works took possession of the castle in the 1910s, they started to conceive of removing the Captain's House owing to its incongruous design and exposed location.<sup>72</sup> For a time, both Hamilton and the current Lord Warden Thomas Brassey of Hythe, 1st Earl Brassey (1836 – 1918), were against this move. When Lord Beauchamp became Lord Warden in 1913, the Office made representations with his office for its removal. Beauchamp, as with his predecessor, also refused the idea. Deal Corporation was also involved as it appeared they had initially wanted to take custodianship of the castle but were thwarted in doing so due to the 'patent of appointment' wording (the contract of the Captaincy with the Crown), and that they would support the Office of Works in their endeavour.<sup>73</sup> The Office of Works then intended to try to eliminate the captaincy position to enable the demolition of the house to proceed.<sup>74</sup> However, Beauchamp vehemently refused to surrender his authority in naming the next captain as it was in his 'patent of appointment' (his express right), which ensured the house would not be demolished by the hand of the British state under his wardenship.

The Great War slowed Deal's repair work, as several drawings in the Historic England Archive (Fig. 31) show that an extensive work programme was concentrated in the early 1920s. These works included repairing decaying structural timber, repointing almost all of the keep and installing better drainage (which, as we have seen, had been thoroughly surveyed in the 1860s).<sup>75</sup> Additionally, in 1927, the Office also considered fitting a bathroom in parts of the Easterly bastion for the then Captain of Deal, Rufus Isaacs, 1st Marquess of

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<sup>70</sup> Fry, S., *A History of the National Heritage Collection: Volume Two: 1900-1913* (Swindon: Research Report Series. English Heritage, 2014), 11, 15.

<sup>71</sup> The National Archives, WO 32/18241.

<sup>72</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/1942. 'incongruous' is a direct quotation from the Inspector of Works at the time in 1914, ref: WORK/14/1942/003.

<sup>73</sup> WORK/14/1942/005, WORK/14/1942/009, WORK/14/1942/015.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> Office of Works, Labelled plan, detail plan at Deal Castle, Historic England Archive, MP/DEA0022.

Reading and his wife, who was appointed Captain and often stayed there in the summer months only (this was before Reading's later appointment as Lord Warden).<sup>76</sup> However, it is unclear whether this addition took place, as no physical evidence remains.<sup>77</sup> It has also been found that the castle was decorated with the Marquess' substantial collection of pictures and artworks that he collected from his travels around India as the country's Viceroy. This previously undisclosed fact represents that potentially Deal had one of the first known examples of an exhibition for the paying public.<sup>78</sup>

We know that the repair works from this period definitely extended into the 1930s as many news outlets reported on them at the time.<sup>79</sup> One such report said the works were 'ongoing' in 1935, though it is likely that the First World War may have delayed progress, as reports suggest the castle was being used as an air-raid shelter in 1917.<sup>80</sup>

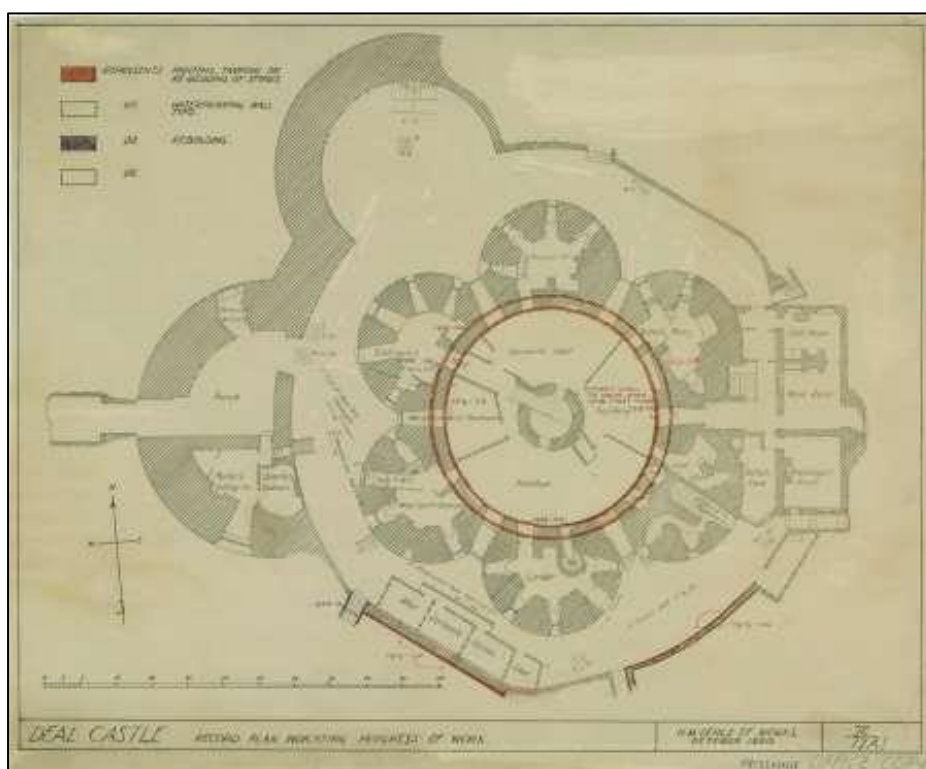


Fig. 31 Repointing and galletting works from the 1920s, Office of Works, Labelled plan, detail plan at Deal Castle, 1923, Historic England Archives, MP/DEA0022.

<sup>76</sup> Daily Mail. 1926. 'Shipping Intelligence.' *Daily Mail*: December 31, 1926, P. 7.

<sup>77</sup> Office of Works, Labelled plan, drainage plan, elevations and a detail section of proposals for converting a part of Deal Castle to a bathroom for Lady Reading, Historic England Archive ref: MP/DEA0024, 1927

<sup>78</sup> Belfast Telegraph. 1930. 'Deal Castle.' *Belfast Telegraph*: August 14, 1930, P. 7.

<sup>79</sup> Gloucester Citizen. 1935. 'Captain of Deal Castle.' *Gloucester Citizen*: January 24, 1935, P. 7.

<sup>80</sup> Surrey Mirror. 1917. 'Deal Castle Used As Shelter.' *Surrey Mirror*: October 23, 1917, P. 8.



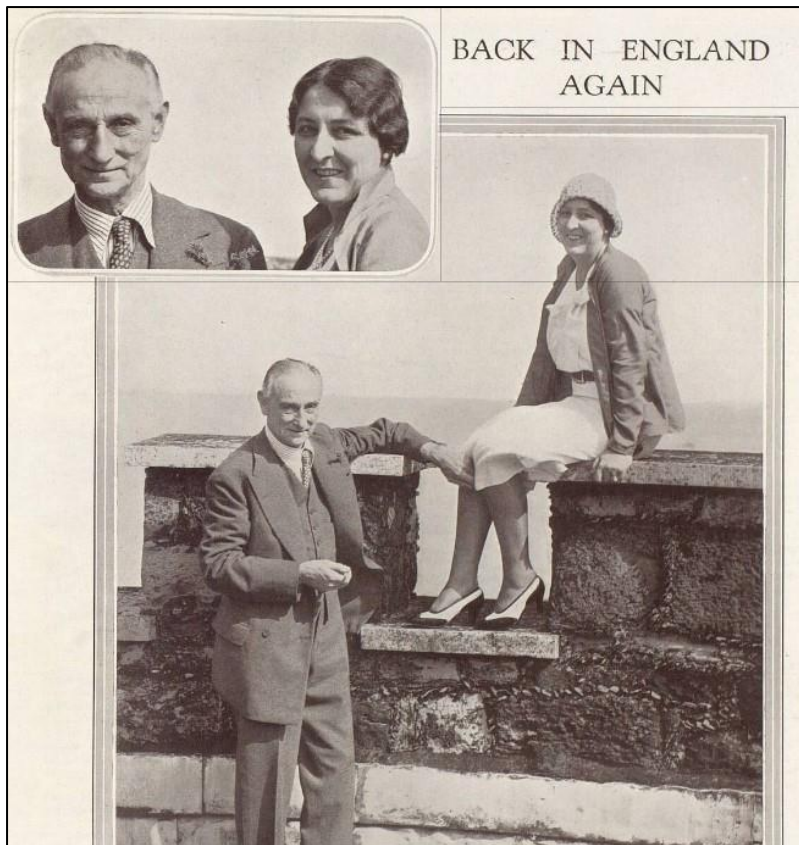


Fig. 32 Photographs from Tatler showing the Readings returning to Deal Castle, The Tatler, 1931, Used under UK Fair Dealing.

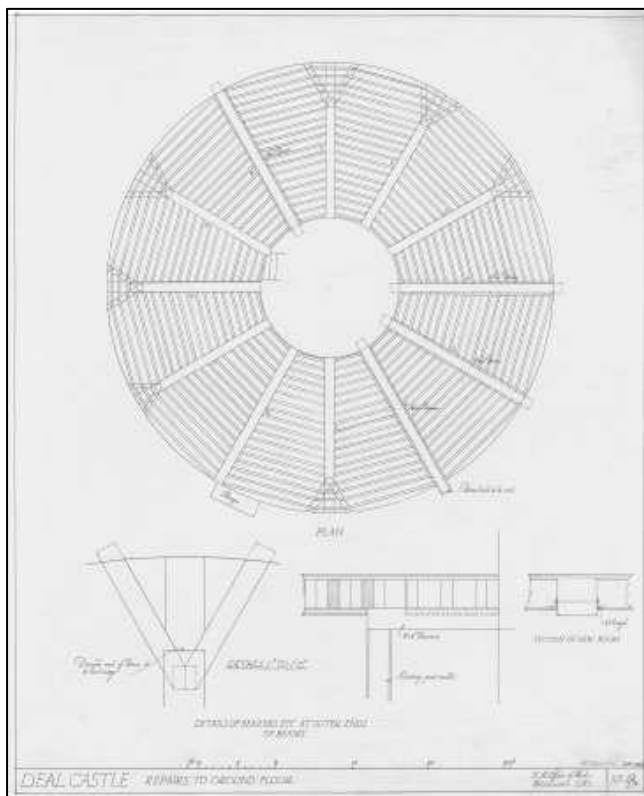


Fig. 33 Structural floor members that were replaced in the 1920s, Office of Works, Labelled plan, detail plan and detail sections of repairs to ground-floor timbers at Deal Castle, 1923, Historic England Archives, MP/DEA0022.

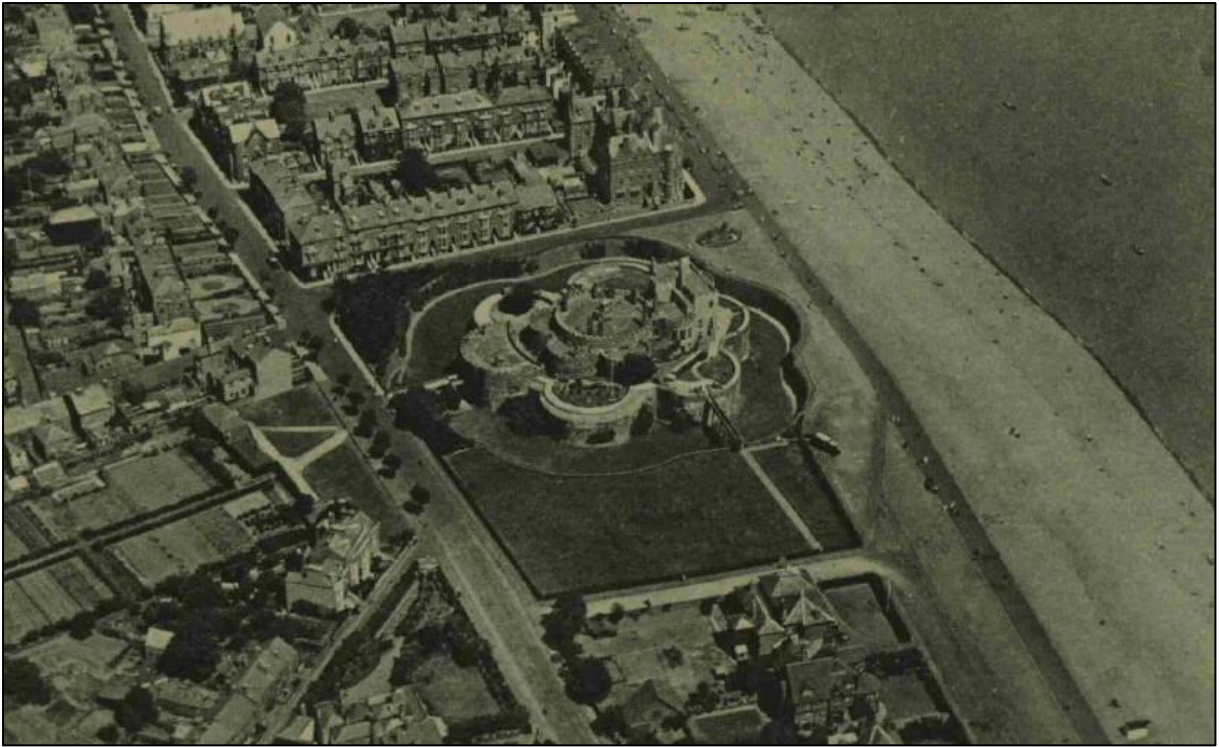


Fig. 34 An aerial photograph of the castle showing ongoing alterations,1923, London Illustrated News.



Fig. 35 Deal Castle, Deal, 1927, Photographer/Archive: Aerofilms, Historic England Archives, AFL19270803.





Fig. 36 Image of the seaward elevation of the castle, c.1920s, unknown photographer, private collection.



Fig. 37 A colourised postcard from the early twentieth century showing the Captain's House is possibly painted in white. Also, note how many chimneys there are, which suggests how densely occupied the castle must have been at this time, unknown artist, private collection.

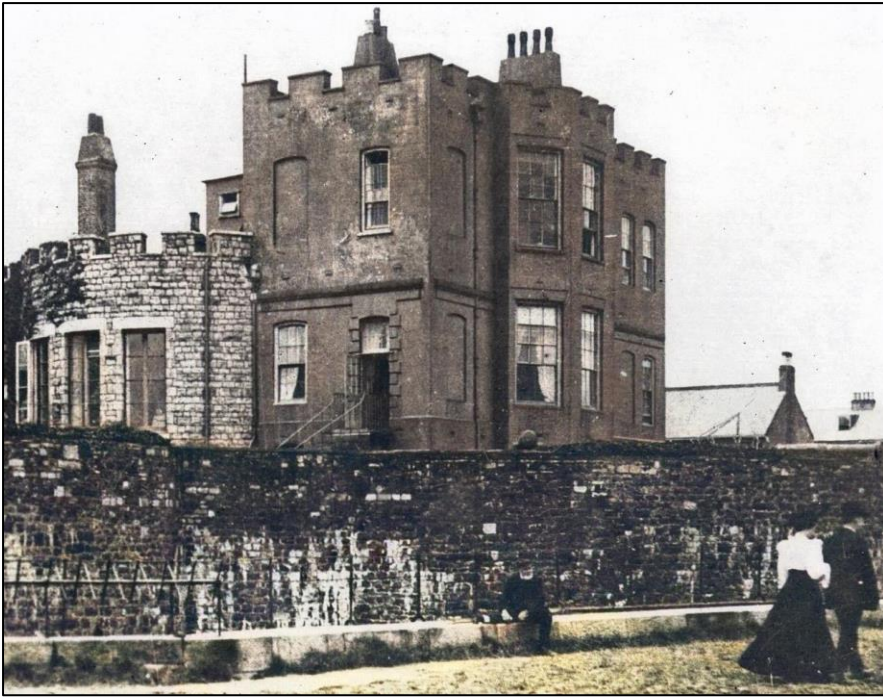


Fig. 38 A close-up photograph from the early twentieth century showing the Captain's House, Private collection.

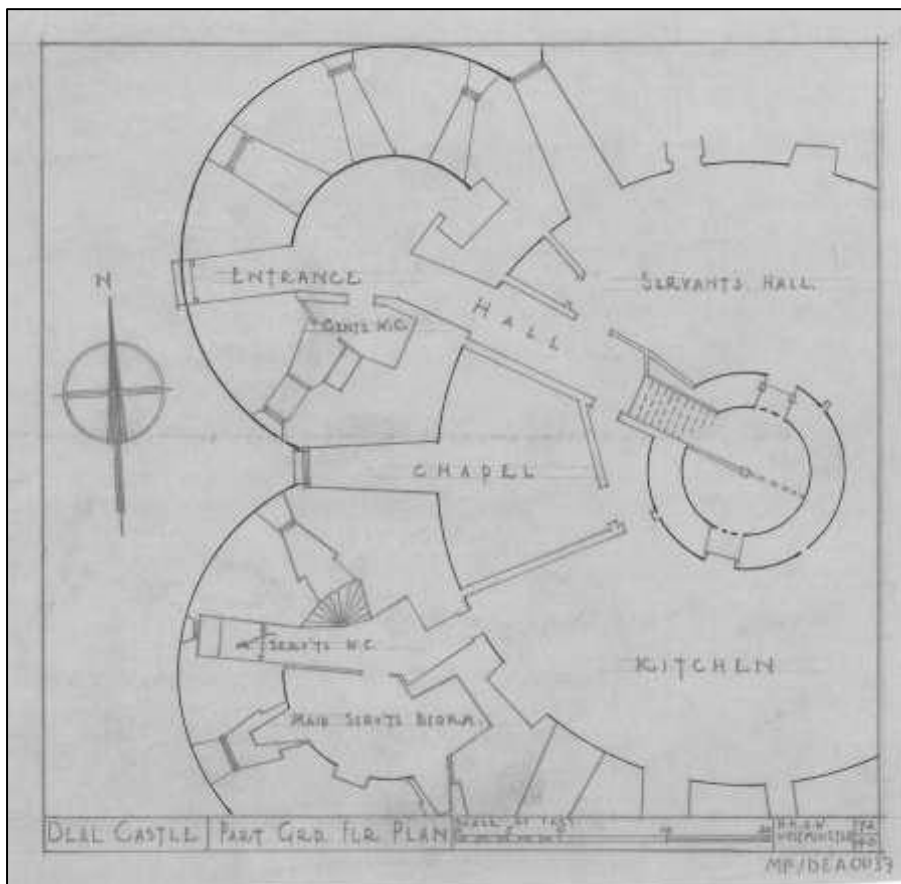


Fig. 39 Castle part-plan from the 1930s showing the ground floor of the north and west bastions and the keep, Historic England Archives, MP/DEA0037.

During the early twentieth century and up to the 1940s, a significant shift occurred at the castle as it transitioned from being solely a country house with administrative offices to providing further rooms for fee-paying tourists. This change allowed visitors to explore more of the castle, giving them access to areas that were previously restricted.<sup>81</sup> The original room layout provides insight into the distribution of spaces, revealing the locations of the kitchens and the servants' quarters. Notably, the kitchen was relocated from the basement to the ground floor in the late 1800s.<sup>82</sup> At the same time, incorporating modern conveniences, such as using WCs, demonstrated the castle's adaptation to contemporary needs within its historic fortress structure.<sup>83</sup> In 1935, the Captain's House windows were all either repaired or replaced.<sup>84</sup>

During World War II, Deal did have a minor military role, where two large naval guns were mounted to the front of the castle, and the castle was manned by a Coastal Regiment.<sup>85</sup> The incumbent Lord Birdwood (1865 – 1951) was periodically in residence for obvious reasons. However, by November 1940, Birdwood was luckily not in residence as in one cold wintery night the Nazi's managed to achieve what the Office of Works had attempted for decades, in that a bomb was dropped on Deal Castle, completely destroying the entirety of the Captain's House (Fig. 40). Previously unpublished images have been found and show the immediate bomb damage, which can be seen in Fig. 42-43.

The drawing overleaf (Fig. 40) shows the extent of the war damage, and the subsequent image (Fig. 41) shows the temporary repairs undertaken. These remained until the nineteenth-century addition was entirely removed. A well-camouflaged battery outpost was established in the remaining first-floor rooms and removed in 1951 (Fig. 41).<sup>86</sup> In 1953, the castle section was overhauled, with any remaining eighteenth-century modifications on the seaward side of the castle removed, restoring it to a more original plan (Fig. 44).

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<sup>81</sup> Parker, *Grace & Favour*, 104.; Coad, *Deal Castle*, 15.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> Historic England Archives, MP/DEA0029, 1935.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> Parker, *Grace & Favour*, 104.; Coad, *Deal Castle*, 15.

<sup>86</sup> Coad, *Deal Castle* 15.



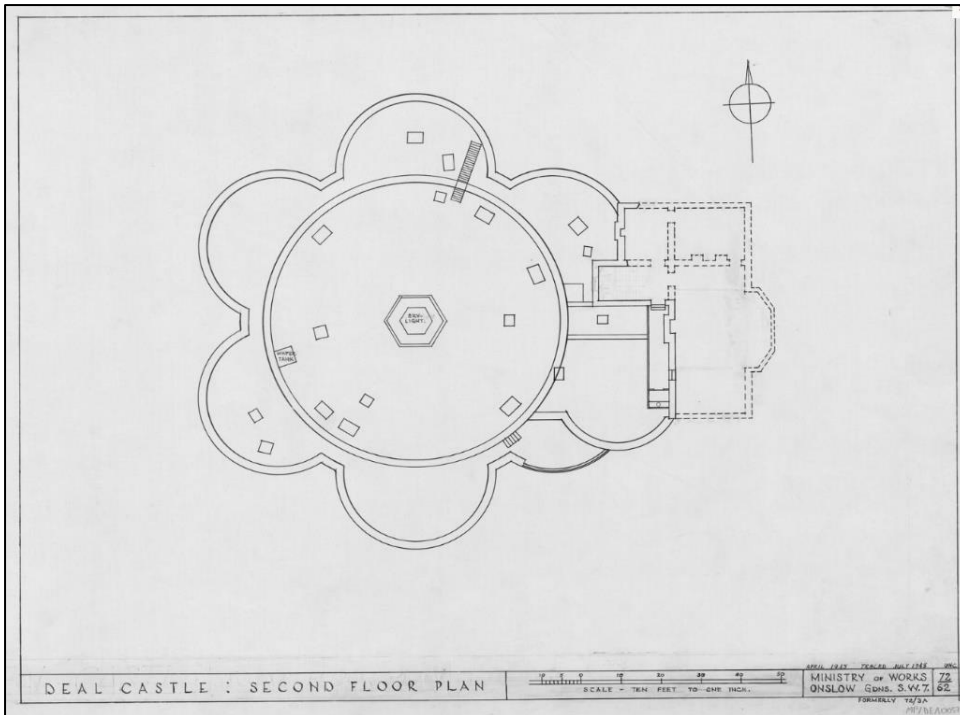


Fig. 40 Second-floor plan of the castle showing the damage caused by the Nazi bomb, April 1945, Historic England Archives, PF/DEA/003.



Fig. 41 Deal Castle from above, April 1948, Historic England Archives, AFL19480413.



Deal Castle.

N<sup>o</sup> 11.

View from moat shewing bomb damage to stonework  
of outer moat wall at south east section.

D.3700.

17/4/45.



Deal Castle.

N<sup>o</sup> 12.

Bomb damage to stonework on east side of outer  
moat wall.

D.3701.

17/4/45.

Fig. 42 Unpublished images of the bomb damage to the moat, April 1945, The National Archives WORK/14/1943/120.





Fig. 43 Unpublished images of WW2 damage, April 1945, The National Archives, WORK/14/1943/118.

It has also been found that Prime Minister Winston Churchill's private secretary, Anthony Bevir (1895 - 1977), wrote to the Office of Works in 1946 strongly suggesting that the destroyed modern sections of the castle should not be restored (probably for cost reasons, which were reported in the press as £18,000).<sup>87</sup> Bevir specially drew their attention to the fact that the castle was a 'grace and favour' abode and that current holder of the title of Captain was Lord Birdwood, who already had a state sponsored 'grace and favour' apartment at Hampton Court.<sup>88</sup> He suggest on behalf of the Prime Minister that the castle should be 'made good' and that it should re-open as soon as possible to the paying public.<sup>89</sup> Between 1946 and 1951 Lord Birdwood (who had been a highly decorated military leader) gave swift permission for the public to return to the castle. Still, he insisted on the

<sup>87</sup> The National Archives, WORK14/1941, Maidstone Telegraph. 1944. 'Notes.' *Maidstone Telegraph*: April 7, 1944, P. 3.

<sup>88</sup> Parker, *Grace and Favour*, 104.

<sup>89</sup> The National Archives, WORK14/1941.

reconstruction of his destroyed quarters. Correspondence went back and forth between him, the Office of Works and the Prime Minister's Office to settle the matter. The Office of Works, who had wanted to demolish the house since they took possession of the castle, was adamant that it should be returned to a national monument (in a more original state, akin to how the Tudors built it) without this townhouse addition. To draw the matter to a conclusion, Churchill aimed to compromise with the opposing sides and asked the Office of Works for them to form an apartment (similar to Walmer's).<sup>90</sup> Eventually, the matter was closed due to the passing of the Lord, who died in his flat at Hampton Court.<sup>91</sup> Months later, Churchill decided that Deal's Captain would not have a residence at the castle and that the castle should remain open for public visits.<sup>92</sup>



Fig. 44 Exterior view showing south-east bastion from the north-east, undergoing rebuilding, Historic England, May 1953, P/A02575/00.

<sup>90</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/1942/016.

<sup>91</sup> The National Archives, WORK14/1941.

<sup>92</sup> The National Archives WORK14/1941, WORK/14/1942/024.

Deal Corporation opened a small museum in the gatehouse in 1951. At that time, it mainly held prehistoric and Roman artefacts, with very few displays on the history and importance of the Downs Castles. It contained some original Tudor armoury and a plaque that the Corporation agreed read, 'Deal Castle, the finest example of a Tudor castle still in existence.'<sup>93</sup>

Likewise, one of the earliest HMSO guidebooks specific to this castle from the 1950s dedicates almost half of the text to this local archaeological-finds museum and very little information about the castle itself.<sup>94</sup> The museum's remit was later altered to be specifically about Tudor England in 1956.<sup>95</sup> It appears the Ministry of Works thought there was not much to exhibit at Deal compared to the lavishly decorated sister castle at Walmer. In terms of this lack of presence, it was found that the Deal Corporation promoted the idea of rebuilding an extension in place of the lost Captain's House to house a broader museum on Tudor fortification. Prime Ministers Atlee and Churchill did not favour this idea due to limited resources.<sup>96</sup> In the 1960s, the Tudor displays at the museum were complemented by several items borrowed from the Tower of London Armoury, including several authentic Tudor helmets and swords.<sup>97</sup> The presentation in this period seemed to focus on presenting Deal Castle in its original condition, free of later architectural alterations that might have distracted from this 'authentically' Tudor experience.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/1942/026.

<sup>94</sup> Saunders, *Deal Castle*, 18-30.

<sup>95</sup> Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail. 1956. 'Castle To Be Museum.' *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*: January 4, 1956, P. 6.

<sup>96</sup> The National Archives WORK14/1941.

<sup>97</sup> The National Archives WORK/14/1942/044., Halifax Evening Courier. 1956. 'Deal Castle To Be A Museum.' *Halifax Evening Courier*: January 4, 1956, P. 4.

<sup>98</sup> Historic England Archives, MP/DEA0006.





Fig. 45 Photograph of the Royal Marines Chapel, 2013.

Between the 1950s and the 1960s the fate of the role of captaincy was further delayed, various captains were considered but the State's view was that the post should just be abolished as no 'grace and favour' accommodation could be provided. By the late 1960s the Royal Marines were involved with the appointment due to their ancestral link to the castle, and in 1972 their retiring Commandant General Sir Norman Hastings Tailyour (1914-1979) was appointed to the honorific post.<sup>99</sup> His appointment marks the end of the longest vacancy period for the posting. Henceforth the post has been de facto given to retiring Royal Marine Commandants, this was the suggestion of Lord Carrington (1919 – 2018), who was coincidentally heir to the captain of the same name, but was also Defence Secretary at the time.<sup>100</sup> To date, this tradition has endured.<sup>101</sup> In 1980, Maj. Gen. Ian Harrison (1919 – 2008) was appointed into the role. He appears to have been known well locally and features in many press articles from the time.<sup>102</sup> Upon accepting the captaincy, he announced that he

<sup>99</sup> The National Archives WO373/471/91.

<sup>100</sup> The National Archives, DEFE/13/785/005.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>102</sup> Deal, Walmer & Sandwich Mercury. 1988. 'Glad To See Castle Put To Good Use.' *Deal, Walmer & Sandwich Mercury*: February 18, 1988, P. 14.

wanted to 'put the castle to good use', and throughout the 1980s he seems to have championed a number of fairs, celebrations, exhibitions, and events at the castle.<sup>103</sup> He even helped plan a large exhibition that ran from 1980-1984 where original artworks of the previous captains were displayed.<sup>104</sup> In 1986 he also invited the Lord Warden, HM the Late Queen Mother, to the castle on her first official visit.<sup>105</sup>

Interestingly, it has been found that Harrison stated in an interview in 1988 that he, his wife and their pet labrador were periodically staying 'in a flat formed from rooms in the top of the keep.' Whilst this is entirely possible, no records can be found to show this use, or any alterations made to the castle to facilitate these stays. A small Royal Marines Chapel was also formed inside the castle in the 1980s to honour the fallen members of the Marines (Fig. 45).<sup>106</sup> The Chapel was first installed in 1923 and replaced an earlier version in the castle. However, as with Walmer, there is no surviving evidence that a chapel existed in the sixteenth century, though it is thought likely.<sup>107</sup> Harrison continued in the role until his death in 2008.<sup>108</sup> From 2009 the role is now 'ex officio' (automatically given) to all current holders of the Commandant General Royal Marines post.<sup>109</sup> Presumably, the current Captain is General Gwyn Jenkins, though the captaincy is not noted on his official government biography.<sup>110</sup>

English Heritage's tenure of custodianship commenced in 1983 and included the formation of a shop at the entrance, new displays, and more maintenance. Lord Montague (1926-2015), the long serving Chairman stated in an interview in 1986 that they even

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<sup>103</sup> Deal, Walmer & Sandwich Mercury. 1987. 'Henry's King of The Castle Again.' *Deal, Walmer & Sandwich Mercury*: October 22, 1987, P. 4., Deal, Walmer & Sandwich Mercury. 1987. 'Captain's Castle Party.' *Deal, Walmer & Sandwich Mercury*: June 25, 1987, P. 6., Deal, Walmer & Sandwich Mercury. 1989. 'All For Charity.' *Deal, Walmer & Sandwich Mercury*: August 10, 1989, P. 3.

<sup>104</sup> Historic England Archive, PF/DEA/015.

<sup>105</sup> Deal, Walmer & Sandwich Mercury. 1986. 'Cheers To Greet The Queen Mum.' *Deal, Walmer & Sandwich Mercury*: July 24, 1986, P. 10.

<sup>106</sup> Coad, *Deal Castle*, 12.

<sup>107</sup> Coad, *Deal Castle*, 12.

<sup>108</sup> Site: <https://royalmarinesheritagetrails.org/history-of-the-royal-marines-in-deal-walmer/>, accessed: Jan 2024.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> Site: <https://www.gov.uk/government/people/gwyn-jenkins>, accessed: Jan 2024.

obtained special permission from the Cinque Ports to fly EH's flag at Deal to celebrate this new custodianship.<sup>111</sup> After Harrison's captaincy, and the Royal Marines wholesale relocation out of Deal, the captaincy has appeared to be awarded to officers with less connection the area. As such, the local papers seem to be more interested into who the latest 'custodian of the castle' was and what were their plans for the castle, numerous local articles have been found on this subject over the last four decades.<sup>112</sup> As of 2024, the current custodian, or in EH terms 'Manager', is local historian Benjamin Palmer.<sup>113</sup>



Fig. 46 Detail of the Castle's studded door in the main entrance passage, Historic England, 2016, DP187736.

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<sup>111</sup> Deal, Walmer & Sandwich Mercury. 1986. 'Better Times Lie Ahead For Historic Castles.' *Deal, Walmer & Sandwich Mercury*: May 1, 1986, P. 5.

<sup>112</sup> Tracey Wahdam: Deal, Walmer & Sandwich Mercury, 15<sup>th</sup> June 1995, 12., Coral Bailey: Deal, Walmer & Sandwich Mercury, 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1997, 7., Lucy Cramphorn: Deal, Walmer & Sandwich Mercury, 5<sup>th</sup> November 1998, 7., Sue Pearson: Deal, Walmer & Sandwich Mercury, 25<sup>th</sup> February 1999, 28.

<sup>113</sup> Site: <https://www.kentononline.co.uk/whats-on/news/fortress-ends-its-lockdown-231216/>, accessed: Jan 2024.

Presently, the castle features numerous authentic elements, most notably the imposing moat, which spans a width of twenty metres, reaches a depth of approximately five metres and is removed from all fruit planting. Among the other notable items is a recently restored surviving door, considered one of England's finest original iron-studded doors (Fig. 46).<sup>114</sup> Notably, this door bears a significant dent attributed to the Cromwellian sieges during the seventeenth century.<sup>115</sup>

The bastions constructed in the 1570s remain filled with earth, as do the eighteenth-century ramparts. The seaward bastion, damaged during World War II, was subsequently reconstructed. Remarkably, the original Tudor fireplaces have been preserved, along with several staircases. While most nineteenth-century modifications have been eliminated, a few sash windows and structural alterations to accommodate the extension of the Captain's House survive. Therefore, although Deal Castle is presented as being authentically preserved from its Tudor origins, it should be said that it bears many features that show the occupation, revised uses, and roles that Deal has encountered to survive into the twenty-first century. Both Deal and Walmer castles are currently under the custodianship of the English Heritage Trust, and their future preservation and care are supported by continuing to open them to the paying public. A large body of conservation work was commissioned by EH in 2017, which included fabric repairs and the formation of a visitor's car park on the ground owned by EH to the south of the castle.<sup>116</sup> To celebrate the completion of this work, Deal would appear on the front cover of the 2017/2018 Members' Handbook (Fig. 47). Showing it as, perhaps, the 'key al Englande' as the county was also described so famously by John Leland in 1533.

While Deal has confronted and endured mainly human-induced dangers stemming from wartime events that would attempt to damage and destroy it (including an earthquake), nearby Sandown Castle had endured similar threats but from vastly differing causes.

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<sup>114</sup> Kentish Express. 1982. 'Local News.' *Kentish Express*: May 8, 1982, P. 6.

<sup>115</sup> Daily Telegraph & Courier (London). 1899. 'Notes.' *Daily Telegraph & Courier (London)*: April 7, 1899, P. 5.

<sup>116</sup> Carden & Godfrey Architects, *Schedule of Works for the Conservation Repairs, January 2017. Deal Castle, Deal* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2017).

Instead, Sandown would contend with a more extraordinary array of natural dangers, resulting in its near-complete eradication from the landscape. We shall now explore Sandown's development and loss along with its relatively untold revival narrative.



Fig. 47 English Heritage Members' Handbook for 2017/2018, designed by Carter Wong.



## Chapter Eight: Sandown Castle's Subsequent Development and Lost Modern History

Sandown and Walmer were built as secondary limb castles, sited respectively to the north and south of the larger Deal Castle. Facing each other symmetrically at either end of the Downs Castles' plan, Sandown and Walmer shared many architectural features, making them virtually identical in design. However, this is where many of the parallels cease to be. Sandown offers a contrasting history to Walmer Castle due primarily to its no longer standing. But why did a castle the size of Sandown disappear, and what happened to its remains? As many contemporary accounts state, did it gradually fall into the sea?<sup>1</sup>

This chapter will examine Sandown's development from the eighteenth century to the modern period. The post-destruction existence of Sandown unveils its captivating and virtually unrecorded narrative that extends beyond its literal destruction in the Victorian era. This once impressive Tudor fortress would be repurposed for many forgotten uses by systematically dismantling its architectural fabric and building anew. As demonstrated, the Dissolution era in England displayed a remarkable programme of resource reappropriation, with its resulting spolia becoming a remarkable preoccupation in the late sixteenth century. Consequently, this Dissolution-spolia-built fortress would revert to spolia again in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and be repurposed for a variety of uses. It is inconceivable to envision the complete disappearance of such a monumental structure; its remnants should undoubtedly exist in some form. Thus, through this chapter, we shall attempt to unearth the precise locations wherein this substantial collection of building materials, mostly stone, underwent meticulous reintegration into other structures to show how a structure built of spolia can be re-used, once again, into spolia.

Sandown Castle is essentially hidden and largely forgotten in the modern period, even by the custodians of the remaining castles of the Downs, namely English Heritage, the

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<sup>1</sup> Mackenzie, J. D., *The Castles of England: Their Story and Structure, Vol. II – originally 1896* (Republished: Leipzig, Germany: Hansebooks, 2017), 96.

Local Authority (Dover District Council), and the nation's advisor on heritage, Historic England. Therefore, it has been partly the pursuit of this thesis to trace the spolia history of this castle and the history that led to its demise. This is important to note as, from our literature review, no scholar has ever attempted to analyse either of these narratives. In doing so, we will trace the events and activities that formed this significant outcome for the first time.

The events that led to its destruction and, subsequently, its seemingly forgotten reincarnation will be discussed in this chapter. It will redefine the significance of Sandown Castle and many previously unconnected buildings in East Kent. This investigation aims to present that Sandown, the Castle of the Downs that has attracted far less scholarly attention, is one of these three castles with potentially the most fascinating significance to the broader architectural heritage of East Kent.

## **Eighteenth Century: Ruination**

By 1702, Sandown appeared to be in some form of operational use but still with diminished capacity, perhaps with the barest of deployments and only a few guns.<sup>2</sup> Despite the progressing coastline and constant damp issues, the castle maintained this minor capacity, as the British Empire, by this time, was at war on many fronts (America, Russia, Spain, India and others).<sup>3</sup> This same year, Queen Anne's (1665 – 1714) husband, Prince George of Denmark and Norway, Duke of Cumberland (1653 – 1708), was appointed to several roles. Most of these appointments appeared to be mainly honorary but effectively gave him a position within the country, including those of Lord Warden and Lord High Admiral. In these roles, he quickly learned of Sandown's history and lack of use. Upon inspecting the castle, he requested that Queen Anne have the castle partly refurbished to work as a military hospital to take care of the 'sick and wounded men of war'.<sup>4</sup> He suggested this to the Privy Council as Lord Warden, having seen a similar scheme undertaken at Plymouth Castle.<sup>5</sup> He estimated that the works could be conducted for £300 and would not reduce or impact the gunners that were, in some form, still operating from the decaying castle. As no document survives, it is assumed this idea was not acted upon. The decay can be seen overleaf in a previously unpublished painting of around the same time, showing a partly collapsed curtain wall to the seaward bastion (Fig. 1). However, this missing portion could be Sackville's plundering of the 'good stone' for Walmer Castle in 1726.<sup>6</sup> Deal and Walmer are depicted in the background of the painting and show that even after a century and a half, the trio of castles still dominated the landscape.

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<sup>2</sup> Childs, J., *The British Army of William III, 1689-1702*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 173-174.

<sup>3</sup> Porter, A., N., *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Nineteenth Century*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 31-45.

<sup>4</sup> The National Archives, PC 1/1/193.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Kent History and Library Centre, CP/W/1-7.



Fig. 1 Oil painting by Peter Tillemans (1684–1734), c.1700-1715, private collection.

From 1741 to 1884, the Royal Military Engineers (in various capacities) began measuring the shoreline against the proximity of the three castles and the latter nineteenth-century batteries erected. The bulwarks were thought to be lost by this time as they did not appear within the Royal Military Engineers surveys. However, this author has recently discovered that Deal Museum does have a little-known map from 1749 that shows three of the four bulwarks.<sup>7</sup> It also depicts Sandown Castle as partly within the shoreline (Fig. 3).

During these surveys, they found, unsurprisingly, that Walmer had retreated in land by 385 feet, Deal had fluctuated but had essentially retreated inland by 80 feet. In contrast, Sandown had consistently advanced on each measurement into the shoreline to 200 feet by 1884.<sup>8</sup> This is important to note concerning Sandown's eventual destruction, as its bastions

<sup>7</sup> Deal Museum, PL134.

<sup>8</sup> Murray, J., 'Report of the Annual Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science' Vol. 55, *British Association for the Advancement of Science* (1886): 440

were c.70 feet in radius, and the total width of the structure was c.200 x 150 feet.<sup>9</sup> Allowing for the space between the castle and the composition of the sixteenth-century beach, we can see how this castle would be wrecked by the incoming tides by the nineteenth century. It was not until the survey of 1888 that the Royal Engineers first documented any form of stabilisation to this changing coastline.<sup>10</sup>

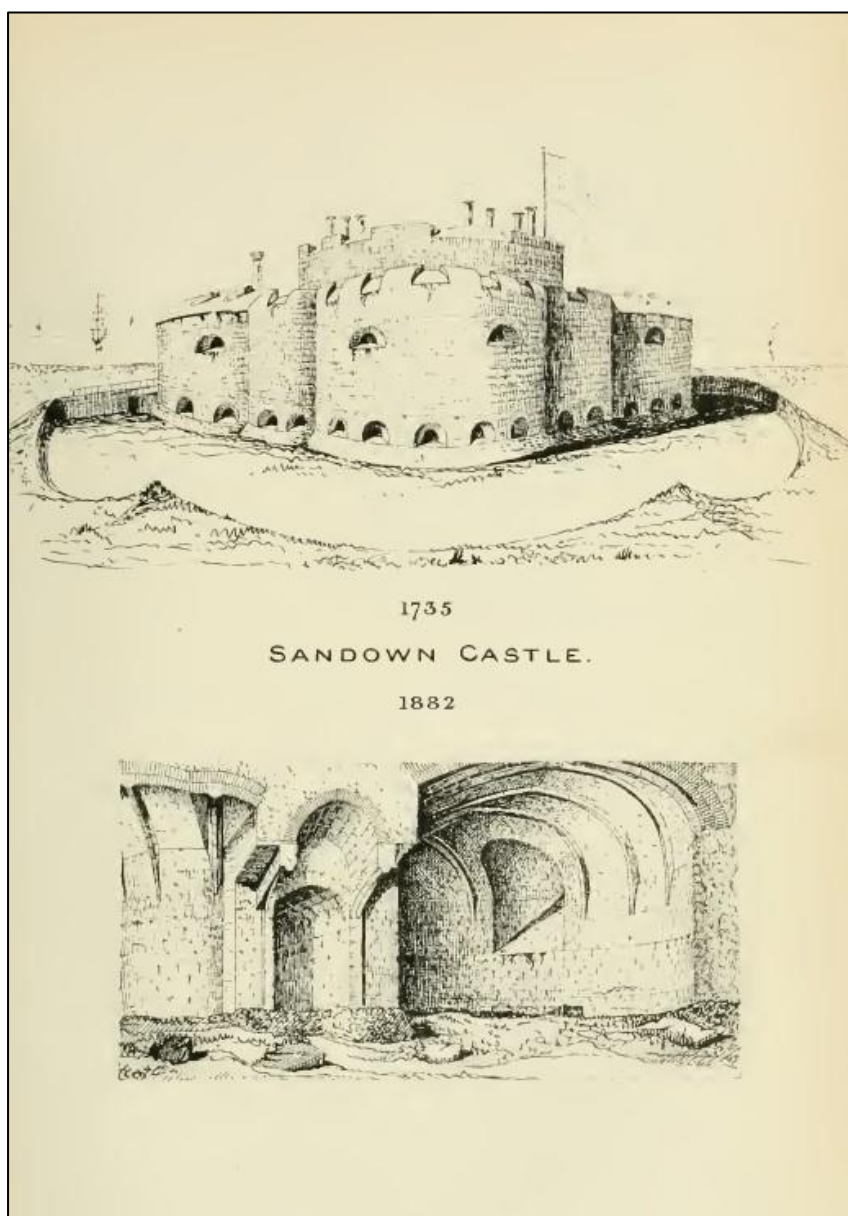


Fig. 2 A sketch of Sandown Castle from 1735, collected by Professor T. H. Lewis, 1884, 'Sandown Castle', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 40.

<sup>9</sup> Rutton, W. L., 'Henry VIII's Castles at Sandown, Deal, Walmer, Sandgate, and Camber.' *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. 23 (1898): 5-6.

<sup>10</sup> Murray, J., 'Report of the Annual Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science' Vol. 55, *British Association for the Advancement of Science* (1886): 910.





Fig. 3 An excerpt from Deal Museum's 1749 map of Deal town by a Mr. Payne, © Deal Museum.

In a Kentish Topography text released in 1776, the captain's apartments were described as 'very good' and occupied by the Marquis of Lothian.<sup>11</sup> The Kerr family that held the title were Scottish and had commanded in many battles; whether the captaincy was given to the Marquis or which titleholder from the family, we do not know. It could be said that if this wealthy Scottish family occupied the castle in some capacity, it must have been in some state befitting their social status. Therefore, this might have been the last time the castle was within any parity of its sister castles. Unfortunately, this equilibrium would not last as, according to Elvin, by 1785, the sea broke through the outer bastion walls. It entered the internal area of the castle, depositing tonnes of sand and shingle, thus rendering the castle largely redundant and only suitable, perhaps, as a mere lookout.<sup>12</sup> The vast quantity of sand and shingle is corroborated in an archaeological exploration of the castle remains in 1980.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Seymour, C., *A New Topographical, Historical, and Commercial Survey of the Cities, Towns, and Villages of the County of Kent Arranged in Alphabetical Order*, (Canterbury: Self Published, 1776), 698.

<sup>12</sup> Elvin, 1890, 226

<sup>13</sup> Philp, B., *Discoveries and Excavations Across Kent, 1970-2014, 12<sup>th</sup> Report* (Dover: Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit, 2014), 153-159.

By 1793, the coastline path had encroached further, with tides entering the castle seasonally. A long-serving Castle Porter (four decades at this juncture) named Mr Bowles (unknown dates) was also quoted in the same year when he stated that in his time at the castle, it only flooded with exceptionally high tides and heavy rain. In contrast, by 1793, it was far more frequent.<sup>14</sup> The filling of the seaward bastions with beach material, akin to how Deal and Walmer had filled their similar bastions with earth to mount heavier guns, may have helped delay the dilapidation within the castle, as despite it being largely unfit for use, it was subsequently repaired, albeit in a minor capacity, due to the threat of war against the French.<sup>15</sup> It is likely that during these works, the seaward parapets were altered with crenellations, as these do not exist in any surviving works of art before this time (Fig. 4). Whether it was garrisoned full-time or not, it appears men were deployed there occasionally.

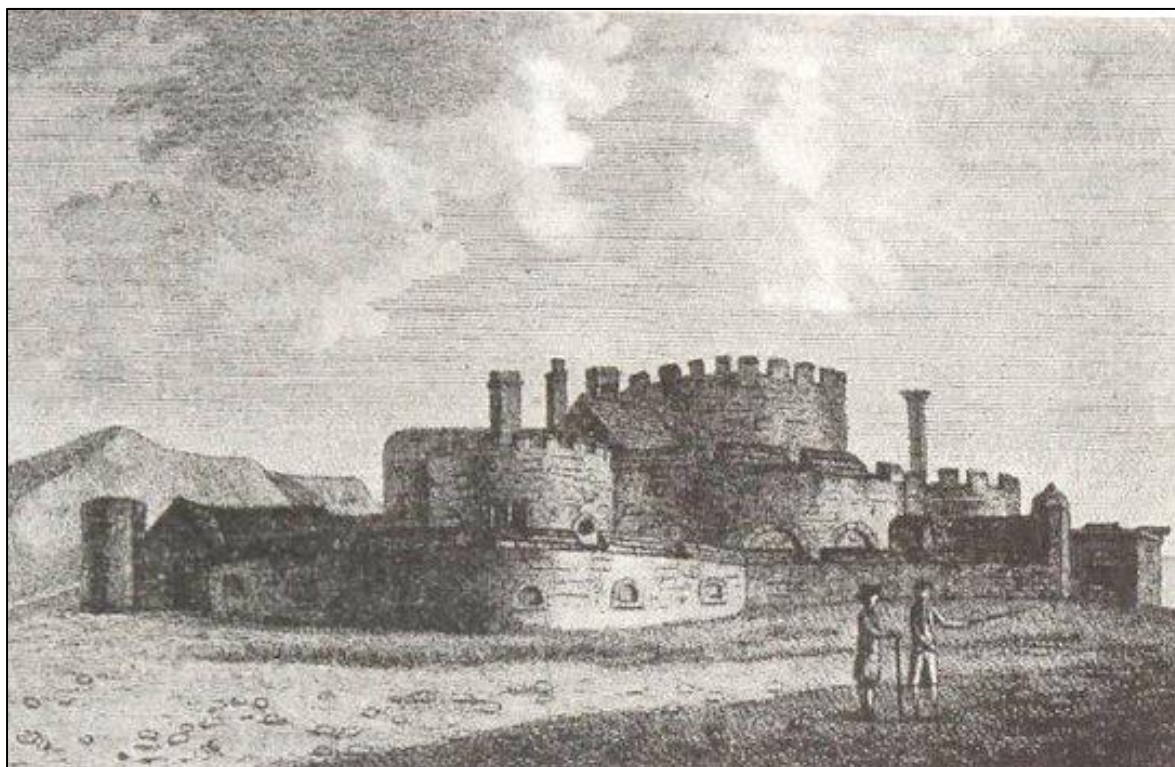


Fig. 4 A possible eighteenth-century etching of the castle, R D Ingleton, *Fortress Kent: The Guardian of England*, (Pen & Sword, 2012).

<sup>14</sup> Chapman, H., S., *Deal: Past and Present*, (London: Reeves & Turner, 1890), 21.

<sup>15</sup> Rayden, T., F., *Deal: Past and Present*, (Deal: J. Drewett, 1851), 21.

## Early Nineteenth Century: Destitution

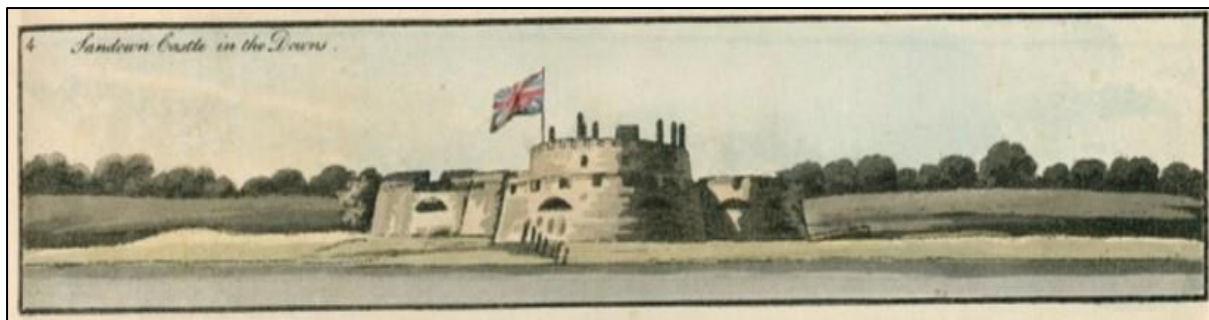


Fig. 5 A rare, coloured sketch of Sandown, J. Stadler, 1801, David Rumsey Collection, 11197.012 of 11197.000.

By the early nineteenth century, it was documented as a lookout point during the Napoleonic wars and later used as an informal coastguard station.<sup>16</sup> It also attracted renewed interest with the emergence of eighteenth-century antiquarians and romantic writers. This is best described in Brayley and Britton's *Beauties of England and Wales* (1814), where it appears to show that the castle was still essentially serviceable, with one surprising primary account from 1825 describing it as 'well furnished'.<sup>17</sup>

The captain during this period was James Smethurst Poynter (unknown dates), who was believed to be the Commissioner of Salvage at the Admiralty Court for the Cinque Ports.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, he may have used his wealth, and even the items he salvaged, to attempt to furnish Sandown in a manner comparable to its sister castles. Whilst this is just speculation, we can say that this appointment is a functional one away from a ceremonial role or a role where the obvious endeavour is the 'grace and favour' accommodation attached to the position. The status of the role was probably worthwhile, as Poynter is believed to have stayed in the role for around 36 years.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Elvin, 1890, 226.

<sup>17</sup> Teonge, H., *The Diary of Henry Teonge: Chaplain on Board H.M.'s Ships Assistance, Bristol, and Royal Oak, 1675-1679*, (London: William Andrews & Co., 1872), 9.

<sup>18</sup> Deal Museum, CS/1/2.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*





in the 1850s, minds were focused on salvaging what remained rather than trying to enable some form of practical function at the castle.



Fig. 7 A sketch by Henry Moses in 1840 depicting Sandown Castle, held in a private collection.



Fig. 8 A survey of the removal of shingle that had built-up over previous decades, 1856, The National Archives, CRES 37/12.



In 1858, the South-Eastern Railway published an illustrated guide of places to visit that are easily accessible within their new railway network; coincidentally, it was published by the soon-to-be Lord Warden's company, W. H. Smith, which stated:

'...it seems likely, one day, to be washed away, unless protected by groins. We see the Tudor rose in coloured brick, beside the only entrance, the bridge and stout gates of which, have been recently re-edified after the most approved barrack fashion. The interior contains a gallery wrought out of the thickness of the wall, into one continuous series of dungeons; some with a glimmer of light, but more in total darkness. Each cell has been separated from the others by a double iron grate. Having made this dreary circuit, the visitor ascends to the courtyard, and enters, by a flight of steps, the central tower, great part of which is occupied by the Hall, a large, comfortless looking apartment, where Colonel John Hutchinson, one of the regicides, was imprisoned, and where he ended his days. From hence, we mount the roof, where there is a wide and varied prospect.'<sup>22</sup>

This account is fascinating because we do not have many surviving accounts from this period, but it also mentions how Sandown had been altered from a fortress to a prison. Also, it explains the state of the castle and a few unique features. For example, the Tudor Rose brickwork at the entrance must be unique as the other two castles have not been recorded as having this.

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<sup>22</sup> Measom, G., S., *The Official Illustrated Guide to the South-Eastern Railway in all its Branches*, (London: W. H. Smith & Sons, 1858), 277.

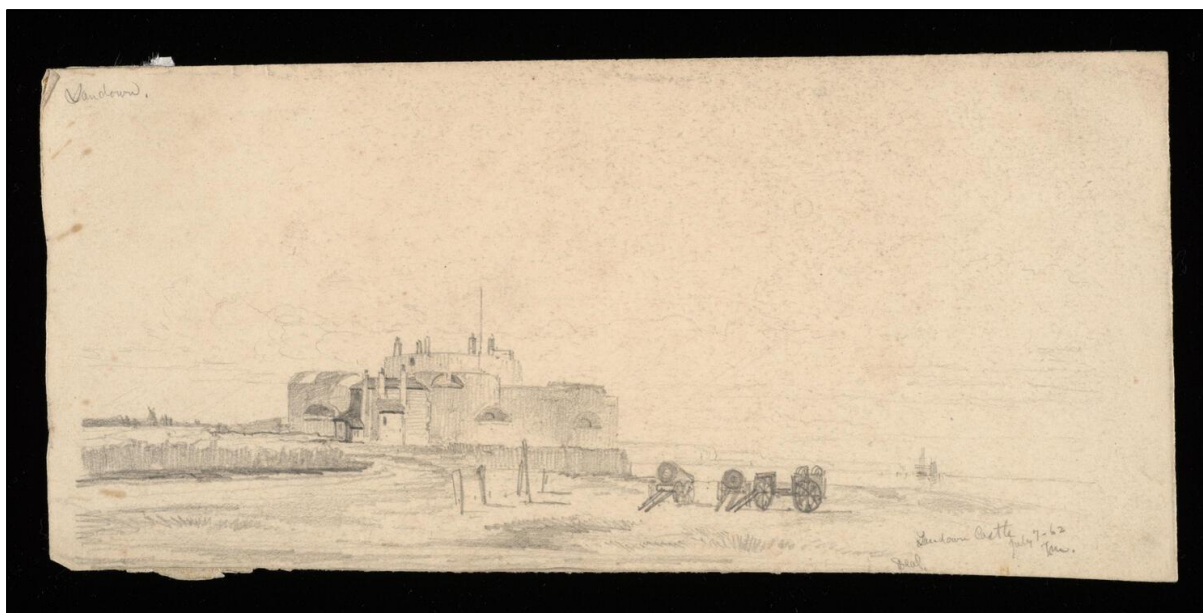


Fig. 9 A sketch of Sandown believed to be from early 1862, T. Moran, Sandown Castle, Gilcrease Museum, used under UK fair dealing.

In July 1857, a report was undertaken by Mr Redman (unknown dates) on behalf of the War Office.<sup>23</sup> He found the sea breaching the castle and nearby buildings and fields, including The Good Intent public house, as depicted in the photograph (Fig. 11). The report stated that the castle's moat was filled with seawater, that the sea was ponding in areas behind the castle and that at high tide, the sea would break 'over the castle'. He stated that he could see signs of the longshore drift encroaching further inland:

'As the sea has gained on the land, the beach has not only diminished in quantity, but has travelled landward, gaining on the sand hills, which now in places crop out through the shingle, and washed away the sea. The result of this action is that the upper 'full' of shingle travelling to the rear of the Castle and battery, and leaving the groyne, the western ends of which are buried its progress by this landward recession of the shingle.'

<sup>23</sup> Kentish Gazette. 1857. JB Smith. 'Deal.' *Kentish Gazette*: July 7, 1857, P. 8.

Later that same year, stone spolia was removed and sold for repairs at Walmer Castle for Lord Granville for £564; as previously explored, the stonework was used in the alteration of the gatehouse bastion and for the detailed, ornamental gardens and rockery on the western side of the castle.<sup>24</sup> Most importantly, perhaps for our exploration, Sandown Castle was offered at public tender in June 1863 by the Royal Engineer's Office in Dover (Fig. 10).<sup>25</sup>

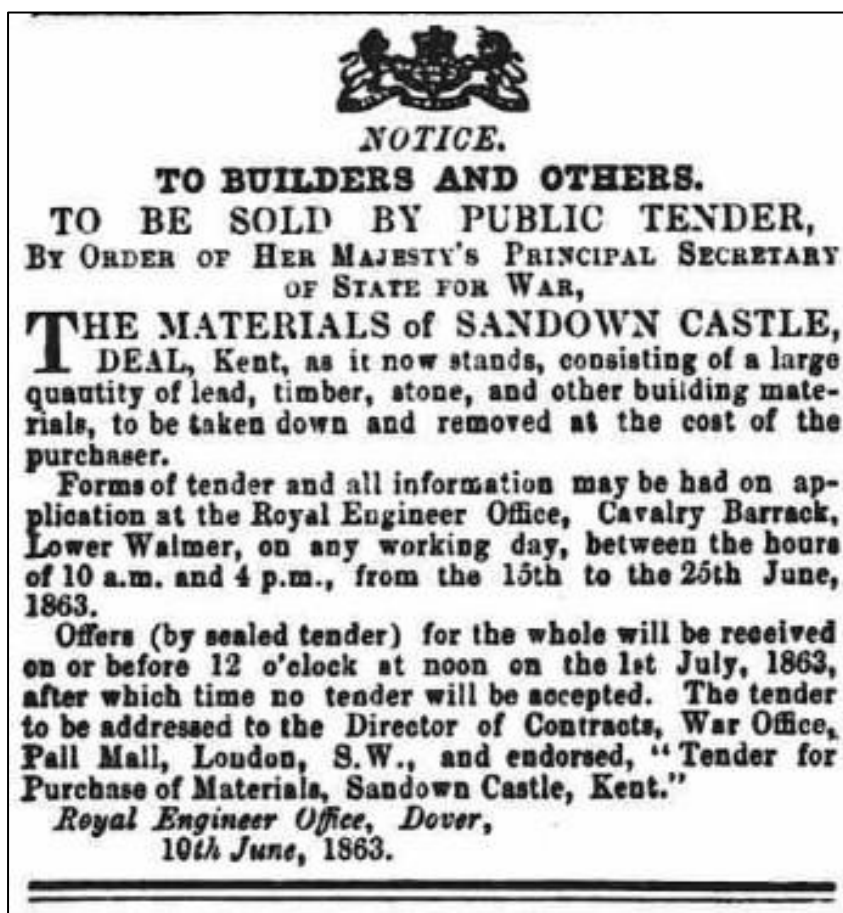


Fig. 10 Newspaper advertisement for the tender of Sandown Castle as spolia, 1863, South Eastern Gazette.

The tender described an opportunity for a seasoned builder or engineer to remove vast quantities of reusable lead, timber, stone and 'other building materials.'<sup>26</sup> The winning bidder was likely local builder William Denne, the same building contractor commissioned several times for works at Walmer (see Walmer Chapter).<sup>27</sup> Also, as we shall discover, his

<sup>24</sup> Historic England, Official Listing, Historic England website, accessed: January 2021.

<sup>25</sup> South Eastern Gazette. 1863. 'Notices.' *South Eastern Gazette*: June 23, 1863, P. 4.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> The National Archives, WORK/14/82.

name is attached to many sites that re-used the stones. After this tender, the castle's destruction was very rapid. A rare image from 1860 shows the construction drawings for the groynes (Fig. 12).



Fig. 11 Photo of Sandown Castle, c. the early 1860s, Historic England Archives, AL2400/106/02.

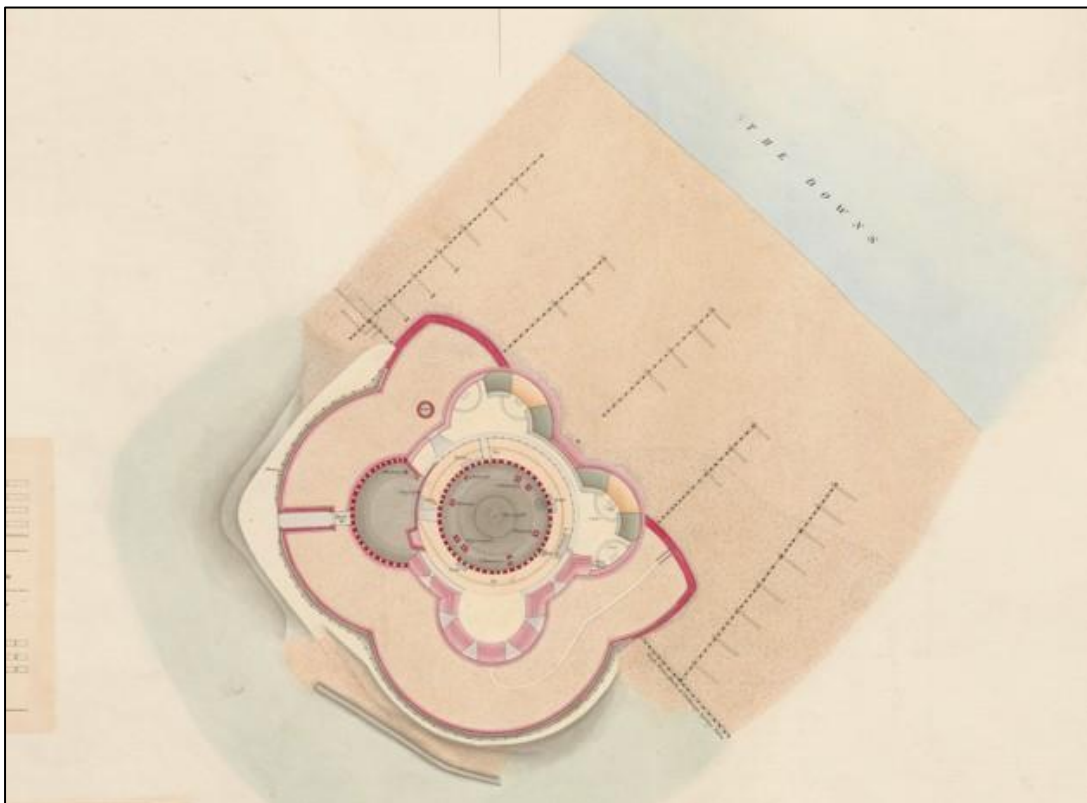


Fig. 12 Construction drawing of the groynes at Sandown Castle, 1860, The National Archives, MPH/1/626/3/4/002.



Fig. 13 Sandown Castle in the c.1860s showing the new groynes, Maidstone Museum.



Fig. 14 Photo showing the newly constructed sea wall butting up to the old fortress (the view is from the West, therefore the beachside is to the right of this photo), 1863, The National Archives, WORK36/124.



The striking difference a mere couple of decades can make to a building's existence is illustrated above (Fig. 14) and below (Fig. 15), where the sea wall is fully integrated into the castle less than two decades later.



Fig. 15 Photo taken in the late 1800s of the remains of the castle, c.1882, Deal Museum CD1/11.

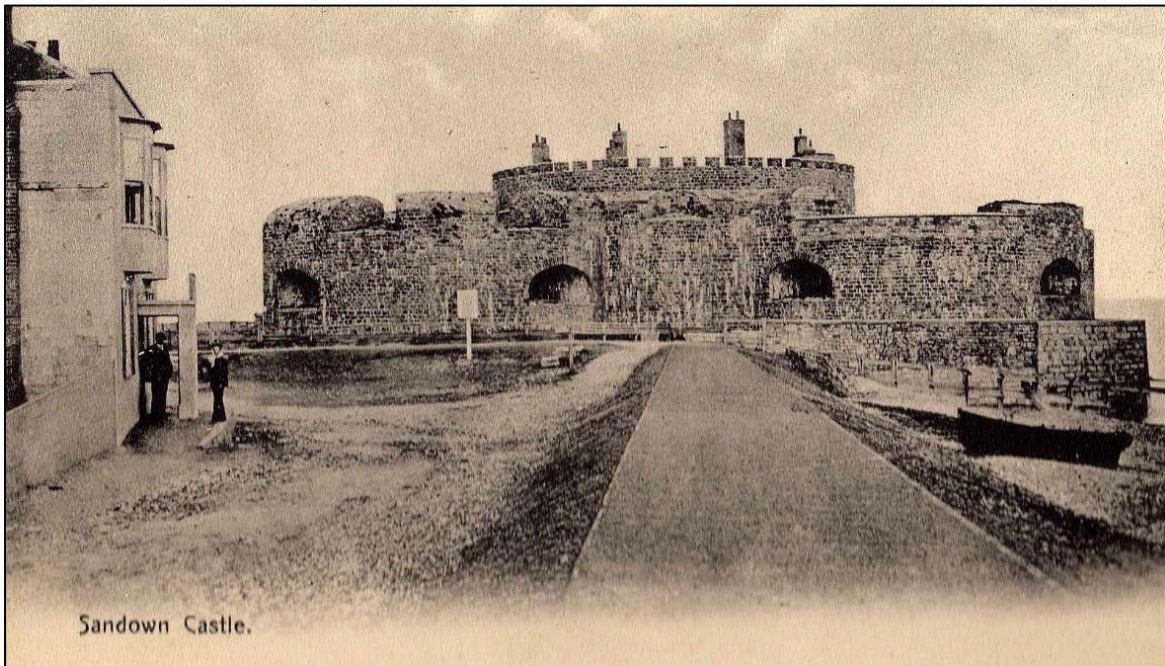


Fig. 16 Photo of the castle, 1860, © Alamy Archive, used under UK fair dealing.



Fig. 17 A colourised photograph of Sandown Castle, c. late nineteenth century, private collection.

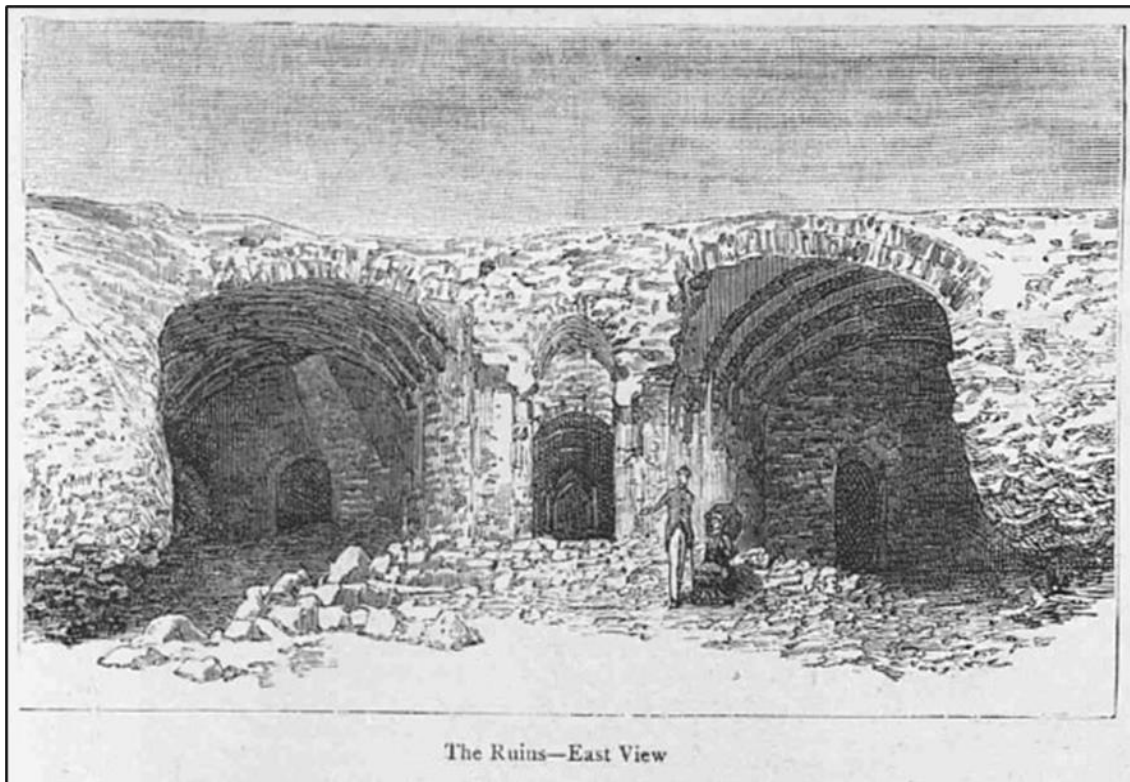


Fig. 18 A sketch of the internal ruins, 1883, The Graphic newspaper.



Notice was given in 1882 in the London papers that what remained of Sandown was to be 'buried' to make way for better sea defences for the local area, suggesting that the best stone, lead, and timber had been extracted already and what remained was of no commercial value, stating that it had:

'... lately been issued by the military authorities to the Engineers' Department to raze to the level of the sea line the jagged mound of masonry familiarly known to sojourners on the south-east coast at Sandown Castle. Holiday visitors of an exploring turn of mind skirting the coastline anywhere between Margate and Dover will recall this condemned and abandoned relic of Tudor fortification.'<sup>28</sup>

The long-standing surveys of the Royal Engineers, the stabilisation in the coast, the removal of Sandown, and the growth of Deal as a town but more importantly as a crucial naval asset in the late nineteenth century accelerated plans for some form of sea defences to be installed (Fig. 16). As the groynes had yet again been lost to the sea, a more permanent civil-engineered option was likely the solution. The fear at the time was that as the Castle was effectively lost to the sea, the ever-encroaching town beyond it may also be lost. These elements combined, and the Government soon instructed the sea defences by 1898.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> The People. 1882. 'Sandown Castle.' *The People*: September 24, 1882, P. 11.

<sup>29</sup> Horse and Hound. 1898. 'Notes and News.' *Horse And Hound*: August 20, 1898, P. 19.



Fig. 19 A Victorian Postcard with a view of the Sandown Area of Deal, c. 1850, Private Collection.

### Late Nineteenth Century: Destruction

Professor Thomas Hayter Lewis (1818-1898) states that in the year 1735 the castle was at the very last point upon which it was in a recognisable condition akin to how it was first built.<sup>30</sup> Although he draws this conclusion from a number of historic paintings completed of the castle, he refers to their authenticity, but we cannot be entirely sure of this statement. He stated that in 1882, the year before his paper appeared, the 'fine ashlar' faced stones were removed. He confirms that the upper parts and embrasures had been removed in 1863, corroborating other accounts.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Lewis, H. T., 'The Castles of Sandown and Sandgate', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 40 (1884): 173-178.

<sup>31</sup> Historic England Archives, PC38490.

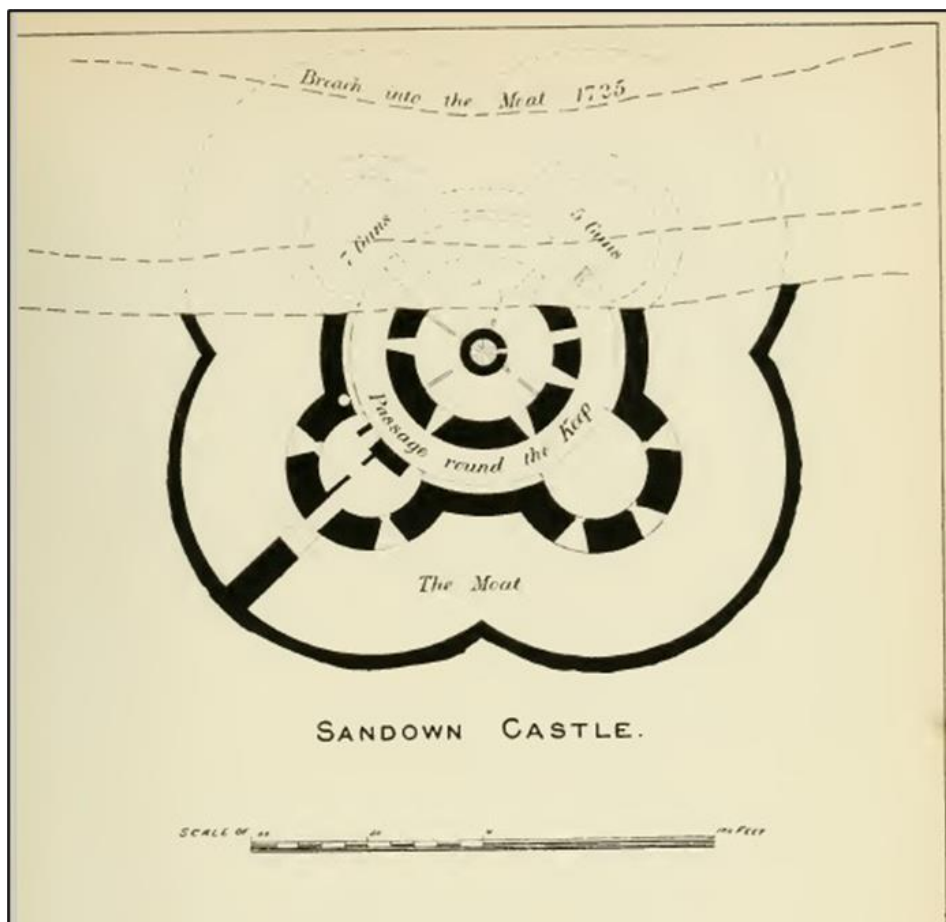


Fig. 20 Drawing by Professor Lewis showing the coastline in comparison to the remainder of the castle, 1884, Thomas Hayter Lewis 'The Castles of Sandown and Sandgate', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*.

Lewis' visit confirms that the moat was filled with beach material up to a level at least over the lower gun embrasures; a condition that has been regularly noted in various primary sources. He also highlights the castle's walkway that was probably original that was built in the keep at the upper level. This was different in style from Walmer's, though as we have seen, Walmer is much altered. He reflects that such a walkway was skilfully built and this castle should have been afforded a better fate. Lewis makes an excellent point within the paper, stating that when you calculate the expense of demolishing the structure, the same cost, or even less, could have been spent to protect it.<sup>32</sup> Whilst Lewis' passion for the Henrician structure is apparent, the likely cost to engineer groynes, restore the castle and

<sup>32</sup> Lewis, H. T., 'The Castles of Sandown and Sandgate', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 40 (1884): 173-178.



return it to some militaristic use - at least for the time - would have been immense. The fact that the castle was demolished and spolia was taken from it was another commercial aspect of the fight to protect the structure that would have played a pivotal role in the decision-making. Modern parallels can be made to the 2021 collapse at a similar Henrician Castle, Hurst, where part of the bastion fell into the sea; the repair cost, including the revised sea defences, is estimated to be more than two million pounds (Fig. 22).<sup>33</sup>

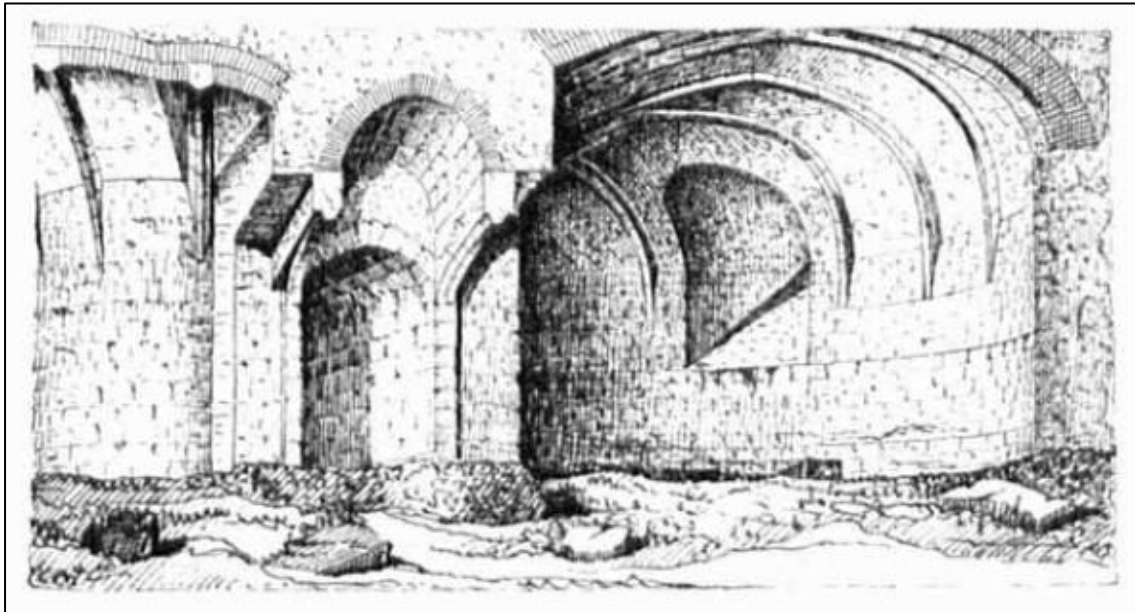


Fig. 21 Prof. Lewis' sketch of the interior corridor at Sandown, 1883, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*.

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<sup>33</sup> Site: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/an-english-castle-stood-for-centuries-climate-change-is-knocking-it-down/2021/08/01/>, accessed: May 2022



Fig. 22 A drone photograph of the initial damage at Hurst Castle, 2021, © ITV Meridian News, used under UK fair dealing.

Lewis' view is essentially anecdotal as, despite the best endeavours of the time, they would probably have struggled to prevent the march of the sea or to repair the castle to its former state for the equivalent cost. The seawater's proximity and voraciousness could hardly be held back today, even with modern technology, let alone when this report was written in the nineteenth century. As seen below (Fig. 23), attempting to repair such a structure would indeed have made the project what conservators call the 'Ship of Theseus' - a theoretical concept that defines whether or not a subject with its constituent parts replaced remains the same.<sup>34</sup> At the time, conservation experts were approached in a burgeoning practice, but the consensus among historians, archaeologists, engineers and builders alike was that the castle was beyond saving.<sup>35</sup>

Longshore drift is prevalent around Britain.<sup>36</sup> The issue here is that if sea defence technology had been more advanced or some method of reducing the longshore drift had

<sup>34</sup> In building conservation terms, this idea is often used to explore the difference between 'conservation' and 'restoration', where the latter is possibly a replacement of the original and thus not authentic.

<sup>35</sup> Dover Express. 1937. John Bavington Jones. 'Our Vanishing Landmarks.' *Dover Express*: November 19, 1937, P. 14.

<sup>36</sup> Rodwell, J., S., *British Plant Communities: Volume 5, Maritime Communities and Vegetation of Open Habitats*. Edited by J. S. Rodwell, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 138.

been available (which is now possible using mechanical means), a better argument for retaining the castle might have existed. Unfortunately for Sandown, unlike its cousin Hurst to the west, they did not have the technology or the resources to protect such a structure in the nineteenth century. Two contemporary photographs of the castle can be seen (Fig. 23 - 24), both have never been published and are from private collections. The first is a very interesting photograph as it shows how much interior damage there is. It shows the extreme erosion of the base of the interior walls, indicating that in this period, the high tide persisted at this level, slowly eroding the soft Kentish ragstone. Note that the people in the photograph are sitting on beach material, undoubtedly deposited there during powerful storms.



Fig. 23 People gathering inside the ruinous keep at Sandown, unknown date, used with permission of Linda Ford - Chair of Sandown Castle Community Garden, Private Collection.

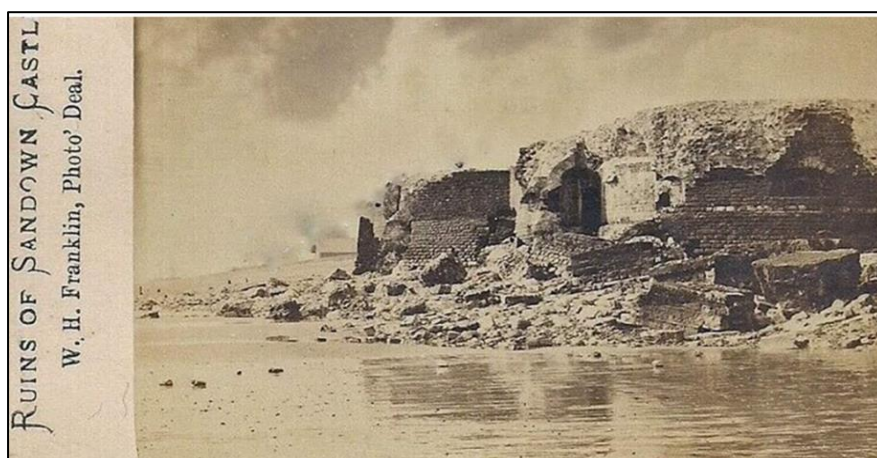


Fig. 24 Photograph of Sandown Castle ruins, c.1872, Reproduction Postcard, used with permission of the private archive of Mrs Jennifer Wall.



From the 1870s, the curiosity about this ruinous, now partly submerged, castle became an attraction for the town. Postcards, such as the example above (Fig. 24) were produced, and the press took an interest in this building. As seen overleaf in Fig. 25, the *Illustrated London News* dispatched artists to record this unique site. The newspaper had a substantial circulation in the South and employed one hundred and sixty writers, artists, engravers, and editors at one point in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>37</sup> Sandown being featured in such a publication showed great interest in the declining structure.

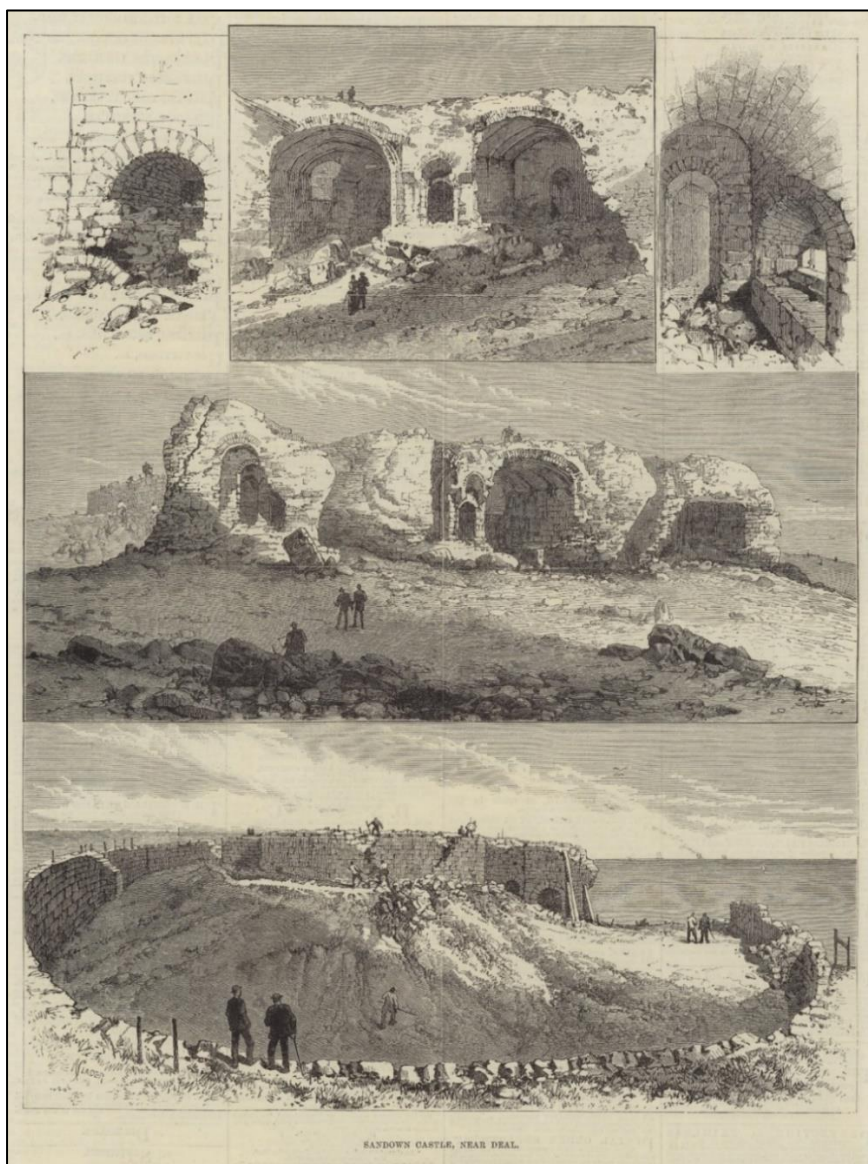


Fig. 25 Sandown Castle ruins, The Illustrated London News, 1882, used under UK Fair Dealing.

<sup>37</sup> Site: Leary, P., 'A Brief History of the Illustrated London News Archive 1842-2003', <https://www.gale.com/intl/essays/patrick-leary-brief-history-illustrated-london-news>, accessed: June 2020.

Lewis cryptically ends his assessment by remarking that ‘... the far more interesting Castle of Sandown [in his comparison to nearby Sandgate] has been utterly uncared for, until it was considered to be a suitable stone quarry for building an officer’s house at Dover.’<sup>38</sup>

This clue is paramount as it provides the first indication of a place other than Walmer Castle where the stone spolia may have been deployed. Sandown was a large structure that had used tonnes of stone in its construction, and the concept of destroying or not re-using such large quantities of stone would be unthinkable at that time.



Fig. 26 Photograph showing the ruined castle, with the Good Intent Public House in the background and the Sandown windmill. All three were soon to vanish, c. 1884, Deal Town Council Archive, CS415.

<sup>38</sup> Lewis, H. T., ‘The Castles of Sandown and Sandgate’, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 40 (1884): 173-178.





Fig. 27 A sketch by Thomas Bush Hardy (1842 – 1897), c. late nineteenth century, author's private collection.

J. Mackenzie in his work *The Castles of England Their Story and Structure* refers to Sandown as 'non-existent as a castle' and states that the castle was to be sold for sea defences to the Corporation of Deal.<sup>39</sup> This is also interesting, as at the same time we start to see map makers omit the structure from their printed maps or refer to the castle with a dotted outline and the word 'remains' affixed. An unpublished sketch (Fig. 27) by Thomas Bush Hardy (1842-1897) reflects how mercilessly close to the incoming tide the castle had become by c.1888. As previously stated, the artist Roget was also in Deal in 1889 and produced a rarely republished watercolour of the builders demolishing the structure. By the respective hand of man and nature in 1890, it was reported locally that 'only the massive foundations remain'.<sup>40</sup> These artworks and the many newspaper articles all reflect how

<sup>39</sup> Mackenzie, *The Castles of England*, 125.

<sup>40</sup> Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser. 1890. 'Sandown Castle.' *Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser*: October 14, 1890, P. 7.

interested society must have been to see this Tudor relic be demolished; nowhere is this better represented than the Roget artwork (Fig. 28) as it is one of few artworks of Sandown that shows the vast scale of the architectural loss unfolding at that time.



Fig. 28 Builders demolishing parts of Sandown Castle's structure, Watercolour by J. L. Roget, 1889.



Fig. 29 The remaining ruins of Sandown Castle in the c. late nineteenth century, used with permission by Linda Ford, Chair of Sandown Castle Community Garden, Private Collection.



## Twentieth Century to the Present: Archaeological Remains

The Deal Corporation was, in the early twentieth century, incorporated into Dover District which subsequently became the formal Local Authority of Dover District Council in 1974.<sup>41</sup> Under this civic reorganisation it became the responsibility of the local councils to provide defences (today it is currently shared with various governmental agencies).<sup>42</sup> It was also at this time that the new council decided to act on this longstanding issue and provide these urgent defences, particularly as several large storms and floods had hit the local area.<sup>43</sup> The sea wall construction started in 1889 and was complete by the early twentieth century.<sup>44</sup>

The photograph (Fig. 30) shows the new sea wall with a walkway cutting through the seaward bastion. From an account in a local newspaper, some of the castle's remains were likely used to build this new seawall (probably in its foundations).<sup>45</sup> In 1902, some minor repairs were undertaken to Sandown, possibly some small-scale consolidation work.<sup>46</sup> The recently appointed Office of Works had taken over management of Walmer and Deal Castles, so they may have undertaken some cursory works to the ailing ruins left above ground behind the new sea defences, which, by this point, were reduced to just a small portion of the levels of two bastions (Fig. 30).<sup>47</sup>

Concurrently to the seawall works, the longstanding Deal Corporation, through its Act of Parliament, had compulsorily purchased many buildings in the Sandown locality to enable their plans for a formal port at Deal. Whilst this never came to fruition, it is unclear whether the flooding from storms or these purchases was why the castle's neighbouring windmill and

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<sup>41</sup> The National Archives, SI 1972/2039., *Edinburgh Evening News*. 1898. 'Threatened By The Sea.' *Edinburgh Evening News*: August 13, 1898, P. 4.

<sup>42</sup> The National Archives, SI 1973/551.

<sup>43</sup> *Edinburgh Evening News*. 1898. 'Threatened By The Sea.' *Edinburgh Evening News*: August 13, 1898, P. 4.

<sup>44</sup> Dover District Council, *Policy Statement on Flood and Coastal Defence* (Dover District Council, Planning Department, 2014), 35.

<sup>45</sup> *Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser*. 1890. 'Sandown Castle.' *Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser*: October 14, 1890, P. 7.

<sup>46</sup> *Dover Express*. 1902. 'Notes and Letters.' *Dover Express*: May 9, 1902, P. 7.

<sup>47</sup> Photo from Deal Town Council's archive, showing the 'new walkway' at Sandown Castle, taken by unknown persons but hand dated '1908', CP120., *Kentish Gazette*. 1856. 'Deal.' *Kentish Gazette*: September 16, 1856, P. 4.

public house, 'The Good Intent' (later named 'The Castle Inn'), were also removed by the middle of the twentieth century.<sup>48</sup>

Property purchasing accelerated between 1920 and 1939 to seaward-sided properties as they wanted to link the parades from the main centre of Deal to this northern area near the ruinous castle. Groynes were also added again between 1958 and 1978, and a better concrete sea wall was built in the 1980s, possibly encasing more of the seaward parts of the ruined foundations within concrete.<sup>49</sup> Sandown Castle's existence essentially ended in c.1988/1989, when the last concrete was poured, thus forever destroying the remaining parts of the visible superstructure.<sup>50</sup> Likewise, a commercial archaeological survey near the site in 1996 found no trace of the castle, though this was undertaken at the proposed housing development opposite the castle.<sup>51</sup>



Fig. 30 Photograph showing the 'New walkway' at Sandown Castle with sea shelter, c. '1924', Deal Town Council Archive, CS765.

<sup>48</sup> East Kent Gazette. 1950. 'News and Notes.' *East Kent Gazette*: March 10, 1950, P. 11.

<sup>49</sup> Dover District Council, *Policy Statement on Flood and Coastal Defence* (Dover District Council, Planning Department, 2014), 32.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, 35.

<sup>51</sup> Rady, J., *Sandown Road, Deal Report* (Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Trust, 1996).



Fig. 31 An Edwardian postcard depicting a stormy day in the Downs by G. E. Newton, private collection.

In 1937, a report was commissioned by the local authority and Rural Kent. The summary appeared in the *Dover Express*, confirming the earlier assessment that the castle was effectively beyond saving.<sup>52</sup> The aerial image below (Fig. 32) shows how the castle in the 1930s had become a mere mound of chalk with almost all of its features lost.



Fig. 32 Historic England collection aerial photograph, 1931, Historic England Archives, PC384555.

<sup>52</sup> *Dover Express*. 1937. John Bavington Jones. 'Our Vanishing Landmarks.' *Dover Express*: November 19, 1937, P. 14.





Fig. 33 Sea defences being installed into the ruins of Sandown Castle, c. 1980s, used with permission of Mrs Linda Ford Chair of Sandown Castle Community Garden, Private Collection (Unpublished).



Fig. 34 Photo taken by the author in 2015 of the tribute gardens at the former Sandown Castle site prior to the Community Garden being installed.



Fig. 35 Sandown Community Garden, 2023, Photo courtesy of Mrs Jenny Wall.

A humble rockery placed by the local authority is all that remains to mark the approximate location of the former Sandown fortress.<sup>53</sup> A common misconception by locals and tourists visiting the area is that the rockery stones are from the castle, but this is not the case.<sup>54</sup> The stones appear in the circular bastion motive design, though not in the correct location or pattern, and the stones themselves are some form of modern quarried granite rather than the Kentish ragstone and ancient freestones from which the original was built.<sup>55</sup> Likewise, in the 1980s, concrete was poured to form faux-Tudor arches using specially made steel shutters, probably as a tribute to the site's former use. This can be seen in an unpublished photograph showing the works in progress (Fig. 38). Attempts were made to record the remaining parts of the fortress whilst the sea wall continued from 1979 to 1981.

<sup>53</sup> As of 2020, the area is being converted into a community garden and is being visually altered.

<sup>54</sup> The stones are granite or some form of granite composite. They could possibly be some form of recycled kerbstone from a roadworks project (this is the suggestion of Mrs Linda Ford) – leftover kerb stones being surplus or even modern spolia themselves.

<sup>55</sup> It is likely the granite was left over from the most recent seawall upgrade works, which uses granite along the Kent coastline, c. 2010.



Further unpublished photographs in Fig. 36 - 37 show the remains buried within these new works.



Fig. 36 Previously unpublished photograph of the archaeological recording by Dr Brian Philip, c. 1980, used with permission of Mrs Linda Ford Chair of Sandown Castle Community Garden, Private Collection.



Fig. 37 Previously unpublished photograph of the remains of Sandown, c.1980, Deal Museum, CS1/4.



Fig. 38 Previously unpublished photograph of the archaeological recording by Dr Brian Philip, c. 1980, used with permission of Mrs Linda Ford Chair of Sandown Castle Community Garden, Private Collection.

The sea walls were altered again in the late 1990s due to UK/EU funding for sea defences in the area, this was due to potential sea rises resulting from climate change.<sup>56</sup> In recent years, a group of dedicated volunteers has taken charge of managing the rockery garden at the site of Sandown. Their efforts have garnered significant local support and publicity, drawing attention to their community initiatives such as book sharing, providing a space for discussing mental health issues and organising historical talks about the castle. The commendable work carried out by this small charity has been instrumental in raising awareness and promoting the historical significance of Sandown Castle, addressing a general lack of knowledge about its history. Likewise, a repercussion of this renewed interest in Sandown is that English Heritage now actively advertises the garden on their

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<sup>56</sup> Dover District Council, *Policy Statement on Flood and Coastal Defence* (Dover: Dover District Council, Planning Department, 2014), 35.

respective castle maps as an additional activity their patrons can undertake after visiting Walmer and Deal Castles; this seems to have been added as recently as 2022.<sup>57</sup>

One final developmental consideration to explore with Sandown Castle relates to the survey from the early 1980s, which has only recently been publicly published (2014).<sup>58</sup> This report states that large archaeological parts of the castle may remain if significant alterations to the ground were not made in the 1990s when the sea wall revisions were undertaken. The 1980s survey showed that parts of the keep, north-west bastion, causeway, counterscarp walling, and the rounds may still exist buried deep within the made-up ground (Fig. 39).<sup>59</sup> Previously, this was all thought to have been lost. The report suggests that despite the significant damage caused by the earthworks to deploy the seawall, these important ruins remain below the rockery in some form.

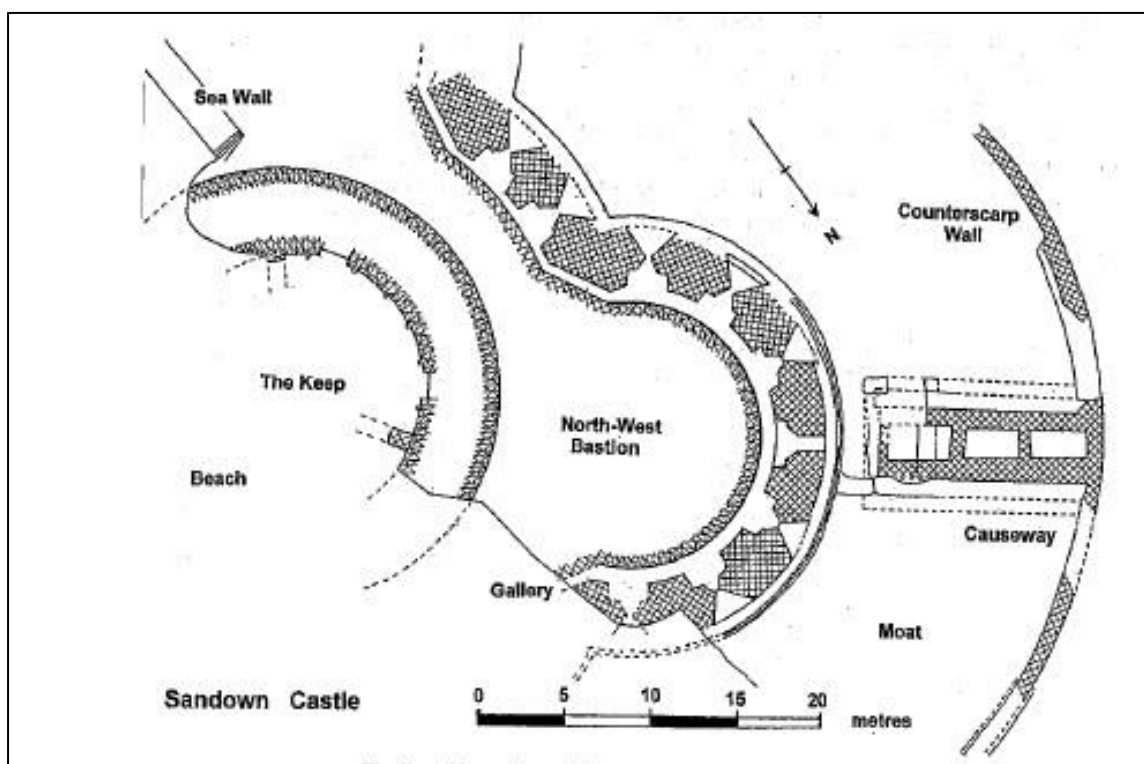


Fig. 39 The remains of the castle as documented in 1980 but only recently published, 2014, Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit.

<sup>57</sup> English Heritage pamphlets handed to guests at Walmer Castle in 2022, printed in 2022.

<sup>58</sup> Philp, B., *Discoveries and Excavations Across Kent, 1970-2014, 12<sup>th</sup> Report* (Dover: Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit, 2014), 153-159.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*



Therefore, archaeological investigation work may be required to ascertain whether these ruins remain. It is also worth mentioning why these remain, in that, many reports as seen within this chapter suggest that very little stonework was left by the twentieth century. One possible interpretation suggests that the destruction of Sandown Castle may have been motivated by the need for its valuable stonework, rather than solely due to the impact of the sea. Although the initial damage was caused by the sea and changing coastline, the decision to utilise the castle's valuable stonework instead of continuing to save it could have been driven by practical and financial considerations. Supporting this theory is that a significant portion of Sandown Castle was situated behind these Victorian sea walls, indicating a level of protection that could have preserved the castle's remains if preservation had been the primary concern. Therefore, as this 1980s survey shows, and as parts of the castle possibly remain, the main driver from the end of the Nineteenth Century was to reuse this stone rather than protect it. As it was not until 1913 before these ruins could have obtained any state protection, it must have been the decision of the Ministry to disregard any importance placed on the stones and, therefore, to reuse them at their discretion.<sup>60</sup> Likewise, Sackville's removal of stonework in the 1720s may have been the catalyst for this approach.

Having established that Sandown underwent substantial destruction to obtain spolia, our focus in the concluding section of this chapter shifts our investigation into the potential destinations of these repurposed stone materials.

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<sup>60</sup> With the commencement of The Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act 1913.

## Sandown as Spolia

Whilst the physical castle of Sandown is now thought to be destroyed or reduced to below ground remains, it leaves behind a fascinating physical legacy of reuse that has been little documented. During our initial review of the castle's literature, it would appear that no one has tackled the subject with the exception of perhaps Rev. Elvin, who states that some of the stone was removed by Lord Granville for his alterations at Walmer, and a mention of a new officer's building at Dover Castle by Professor Lewis.<sup>61</sup> It seems that other than these very anecdotal mentions of re-use, there was little to suggest any further reuse of Sandown's stone. Indeed, the purchasing of the stone by auction by William Denne shows that the stone was ready for reuse. However, this fact seems to have been overlooked for many years and is under-explored.

As we have seen in the spolia chapter, good stones can be used for many purposes. Sandown is one of the most excellent examples of this, and some remnants are hidden, as it were, in plain sight, so much so that even English Heritage, Historic England, and Dover District Council appear unaware of Sandown Castle's spolia history.<sup>62</sup>

Charles J. Ferguson, who we have seen studied the spolia at Sandgate Castle, might have been the architect and antiquarian who first noted the reuse of stone at Sandown when he visited the castle with his colleague Albert Hartshorne (1839–1910) in 1896.<sup>63</sup> However, the pair erroneously identified Sandown as a Norman fortress due to the quantum of medieval stonework in the castle's remaining walls, not considering that the stone had come from dissolved monastic buildings.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Elvin, 1894, 146., Lewis, H. T., 'The Castles of Sandown and Sandgate', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 40 (1884): 173-178.

<sup>62</sup> No scholarly references can be found that have traced the spolia of Sandown, likewise, none of DDC's policy documents mentions this. Only the spolia used, famously at Walmer, for the entrance bastion works is noted within the known references and guidebooks.

<sup>63</sup> Pevsner, N., *East Kent* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1967), 126., The Times. 1896.

'Sandown Castle, Deal.' *The Times*: September 17, 1896, P. 6. Author: Albert Hartshorne.

<sup>64</sup> Dover Express. 1896. 'Who Built Sandown Castle?' *Dover Express*: September 18, 1896, P. 8.



Fig. 40 An example of early medieval stone tooling at Deal Castle (photo author, 2022).

Hartshorne took a different view and correctly attributed the diagonal tooling to examples of Norman spolia (example in Fig. 40). He stated that the medieval method of stone working was to cut the stones with an axe and then tool them, often in a diagonal pattern, to manipulate the stone in an ashlar finish. This technique was once described by Gervase, Monk of Canterbury who noted the method being used extensively at Canterbury Cathedral in 1174.<sup>65</sup> This technique continued into the early fifteenth century, as by this period stone was being cut without using lots of chisels. This process must have sped up production onsite, and we can assume that this method had been adopted owing to the speed at which the castles were built over a brief period of just two years.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Tatton-Brown, T., W., T., *Great Cathedrals of Britain* (London: BBC Books, 1989), 82.

<sup>66</sup> The Times. 1896. 'Sandown Castle, Deal.' *The Times*: September 26, 1896, P. 12. Author: Charles J. Ferguson.

Regardless of this error, it is worth noting that tracing the spolia for Sandown is not just a quest to locate the reuse of Tudor masonry but to find the stones that may have been attributed to ancient, dissolved monasteries, which may have incorporated stones quarried nearly a millennium ago. Therefore, throughout these remaining sections of this chapter, we shall use these anecdotal references and mere mentions to try and discover where the ancient stones of Sandown were reused in the county.

### **Dover Castle Estate**

About fifteen years ago, this author worked on a conservational repair contract at the Officers' New Barracks building in nearby Dover Castle, which the War Office had built between 1856 - 1858.<sup>67</sup> Studying Dover Castle, it was evident that much development occurred in the mid-nineteenth century. However, even though Sandown was largely ruinous by the 1850s, the size of this building would dictate that the quantity needed would need to be removed from the castle when it was demolished in the 1890s; therefore, the dates do not match.

The Royal Engineers took some 600 tonnes of stonework from Sandown Castle from 1894, when their engineers used gun cotton explosives (a flammable, manmade compound) fired by electricity.<sup>68</sup> Further research revealed that although the barracks may have received some stonework, most of the spolia they removed was being reused for another, slightly later building within Dover Castle's extensive estate. This information was found in the *Graphic* newspaper of 27<sup>th</sup> January 1883:<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Coad., J., *Dover Castle*, (Swindon: English Heritage, 1997), 20.

<sup>68</sup> Deal, Walmer & Sandwich Mercury. 1883. 'Sandown Castle.' *Deal, Walmer & Sandwich Mercury*: February 10, 1883, P. 4., Lancaster Gazette. 1882. 'The Demolition of Sandown Castle.' *Lancaster Gazette*: December 6, 1882, P. 4.

<sup>69</sup> This article was possibly a syndicated version of a slightly earlier article that appeared in *the Times* in 1882, which essentially states the same information.

'Sandown Castle near Deal now being demolished, affords a remarkable proof of the solid building of our forefathers as compared to the swiftly run-up constructions of the present day. It was thought that the old fortress would be pulled down with the greatest ease but, much to every one's surprise, the stones are so firmly embedded in cement, even stronger than the stones themselves that the mason's pick is no use whatever, and blasting has been adopted. A considerable portion of the work is done, and as the Castle is of historical interest the materials are being taken to Dover Castle to construct a residence for the General commanding, the use being built at Constable's Tower, near the old entrance of Dover Castle.'<sup>70</sup>



Fig. 41 Photograph of the Deputy Constable's Quarters at Dover Castle (photo author, 2022).

The original Constable's Tower was constructed in the thirteenth century (1221 to 1227), with the Victorian accommodation being constructed abutting the medieval tower between

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<sup>70</sup> Graphic. 1883. 'Sandown Castle.' *Graphic*: January 27, 1883, P. 28.



1883 - 1884 (Fig. 41).<sup>71</sup> A good comparison between the old and new can be seen below in Fig. 43.



Fig. 42 A rare image of Dawson-Scott, 1899, the Navy & Army Illustrated.

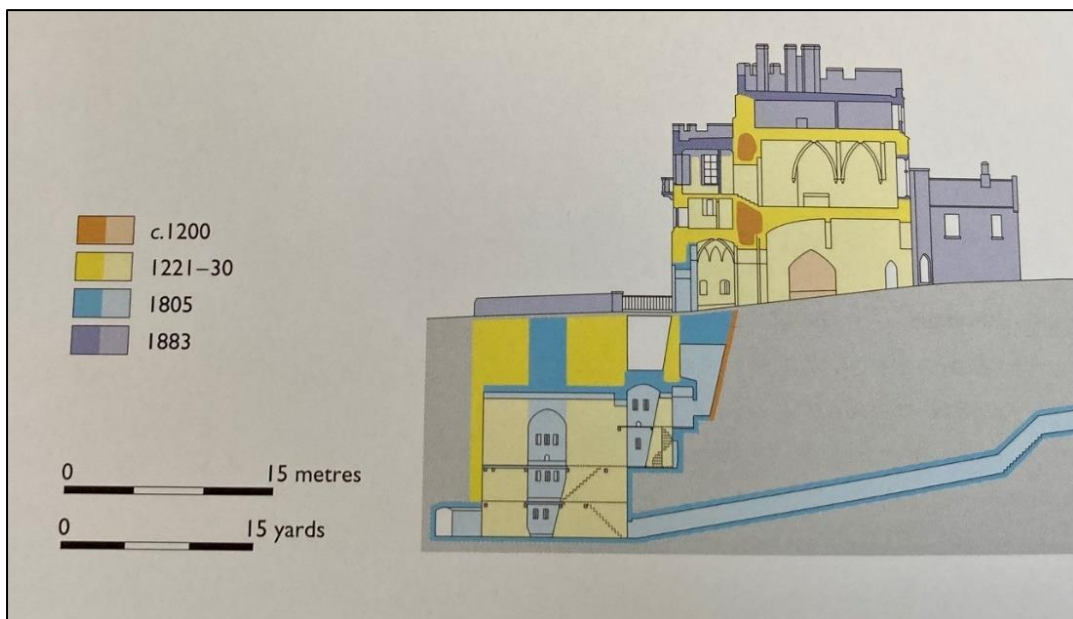


Fig. 43 Sectional diagram of Constable's Tower, 2015, © English Heritage.

<sup>71</sup> Gravett, C., *English Castles 1200–1300*, (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013), 26.



Fig. 44 Photograph of the Deputy Constable's quarters at Dover Castle (photo author 2022).

It has been found that the works to graft this Victorian addition onto the medieval tower was commissioned and designed by Colonel Robert Nicholl Dawson-Scott (1836 – 1921, Fig. 42).<sup>72</sup> Scott at this time was the Deputy Commandant at the Royal Engineering Regimental Headquarters in Chatham, though apparently the post alternated between being stationed at Dover Castle and the Chatham HQ, both in Kent.<sup>73</sup> In 1888 he was promoted to the Commandant's role at the attached school.<sup>74</sup> He experienced the tragedy of seeing both his sons die in World War I, but as a dedicated soldier he served in the Royal Engineers for most of his career before retiring in 1905 to become a local magistrate.<sup>75</sup> His name was also interesting because he added the 'Scott' part to his surname when a distant relative unexpectedly left him and his wife a vast estate in 1872. His dedication to the military meant that he did not simply take early retirement and enjoy his good fortune. Instead, he changed

<sup>72</sup> The provenance of this theory is that the original construction drawings were signed by him and he was the 'Inspector General of Fortifications' at Dover Castle during this time., *Lieutenant General H G Hart. Hart's Annual Army List 1908* (London: John Murray, 1908)

<sup>73</sup> The National Archives, WORK 31/825.

<sup>74</sup> Hampshire Independent. 1888. 'News in General.' *Hampshire Independent*: February 29, 1888, P. 4.

<sup>75</sup> West Cumberland Times. 1905. 'News.' *West Cumberland Times*: June 28, 1905, P. 9.

his family name to Dawson-Scott to honour his kinsman and continued in his role, retiring with full military honours several years later.<sup>76</sup>

In his role, he would have been involved in non-international works, particularly in Kent and especially at Dover Castle, which was one of the county's main officer barracks during this period.<sup>77</sup> The castle was being heavily developed in the mid- to late-Victorian period for its renewed military use, and many of these newer buildings still stand today. Dawson-Scott likely handled the extension of Constable's Tower due to its sensitivity as one of the finest medieval gates in England and because the new accommodation was due to be occupied by Dawson-Scott's superior.



Fig. 45 Photographs from inside Constable's Tower (photos author, 2017).

Constable's Tower was traditionally occupied by the Constable of Dover, the *de facto* deputy to the Cinque Ports' Lord Warden. The roles were separate until 1267, when both roles, for reasons unknown, were merged.<sup>78</sup> And as we know, by 1708, Lord Sackville, who disliked these lodgings, moved the role's 'grace and favour' accommodation to Walmer Castle.<sup>79</sup> Shortly before this, in c.1689, the Lieutenant of Dover Castle was upgraded to Deputy Dover Castle Constable, and he was allowed to make use of the tower's lodgings.

<sup>76</sup> Penrith Observer. 1923. 'Special Notice.' *Penrith Observer*: March 13, 1923, P. 5.

<sup>77</sup> Coad, J., *Dover Castle*, (Swindon: English Heritage, 1997), 19-25.

<sup>78</sup> Batcheller, W., *A New History of Dover, and of Dover Castle, during the Roman, Saxon, and Norman governments, with a short account of the Cinque Ports etc.* (Dover: William Batcheller, 1828), 115.

<sup>79</sup> Coad, J., *Walmer Castle*, 24–36.



The role was created to deputise for the Lord Warden and was often appointed to an officer commanding the local infantry brigade of the British Army. Whilst the role was not initially ceremonial, it was later de-facto awarded to the most senior officer of the Royal Engineers by the nineteenth century. This traditional use of the tower as official lodgings continued until 2015, since then the tower has been used only for occasional ceremonial purposes.<sup>80</sup> Therefore, when Dawson-Scott was building this extension, he did so on behalf of his immediate commanding officer, the then-current Constable.



Fig. 46 Photographs from inside Constable's Tower (photos author, 2017).

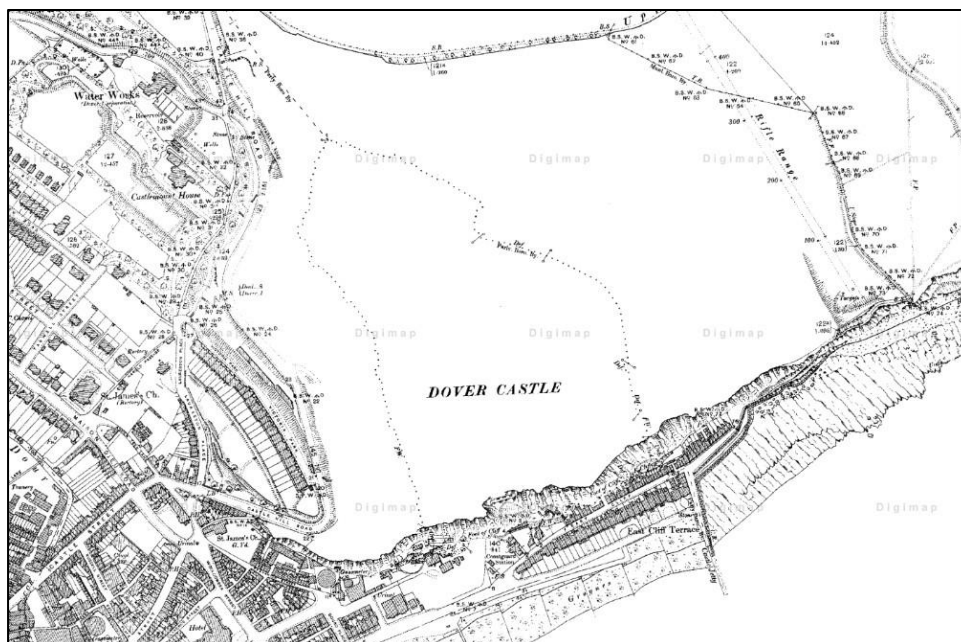


Fig. 47 An OS Map from the 1890s of Dover, Landmark Information Group Ltd, Crown Copyright 2024.

<sup>80</sup> Site: <https://cinqueports.org/lord-warden-officials/deputy-constable/>, accessed: Dec 2021., Interview with English Heritage Curator Roy Porter, 2021. Speaking to an EH Guide in 2023, it was also used that year for a formal dinner for the current Captain of Deal Castle.

As we can see, the new accommodations were extremely comfortable for the senior officer who occupied the role. The Officers' New Barracks, along with the other buildings built during this century, show a vast investment in Dover Castle. The castle had become a centre for military activity during this period which can also be evidenced on the old maps from the period where the castle became unmarked - a typical exclusion for sensitive military sites across the UK (Fig. 47).

One of the most intriguing aspects of these nineteenth-century works stems from the progressively refined construction of each building. There exists a nuanced sophistication in their design, potentially exemplified by Dawson-Scott's more ceremonial utilisation of spolia. Military reuse of its own assets was not new, Elizabeth I instructed the Henrician blockhouses of Milton and Higham, built under the same King's Device as Sandown, to be demolished to make repairs at the Tower of London from 1557 to 1558.<sup>81</sup> However, it is plausible that the mandate to employ stone from Sandown was motivated less by budgetary prudence and, perhaps, more by ceremonial significance. The ancient Sandown stones, all newly dressed to an ashlar finish, make a statement of difference against the in situ medieval stonework, thus ensuring a good comparison in the architecture between the ancient and the modern builds.<sup>82</sup> Likewise, as we can see in the original construction drawing by Dawson-Scott (Fig. 48), he was meticulous in preserving the ancient parts of Constable's Tower. He 'grafted' this building onto the medieval tower in a precise and symbiotic manner that ensured all abutments did not detract from the original structure and were undertaken seamlessly.

It suggests that in the late nineteenth century, Dawson-Scott would have been well adept in the emerging science and movement of building conservation and that he actively protected the old whilst introducing the 'new'. This lends weight to the idea that Dawson-

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<sup>81</sup> The National Archives, E101/474/23, E101/504/11.

<sup>82</sup> 'Modern' via Victorian standards as being an extension to a medieval tower that was undertaken c.700 years later.



Scott may have used the Sandown stones for a greater purpose than just cost or ease of availability. Additionally, how the stone has been worked to this fine ashlar finish, which is a labour-intensive process, suggests a great dedication and desire to use these exact stones rather than just acquiring new stones. This perhaps implies that Dawson-Scott knew the ancient prominence of this spolia.

Hence, this deliberate, meticulous, yet expensive approach exemplifies Dawson-Scott's endeavour to depart from the conventional ancient practices of plundering and repurposing spoils from adversaries. Instead, it represents an honorary tribute, reminiscent of King Henry's fixation on Roman imagery, the reverential Norman utilisation of Roman spolia in their churches, the intricate Cosmati pavements, and the ancient wisdom underlying the selection of Roman sites for construction, which transcended mere substructure reuse. The conscientious and ultimately respectful work on Constable's Gate is evident, yet regrettably, as it appears, all of this reverence is lost in the modern era.

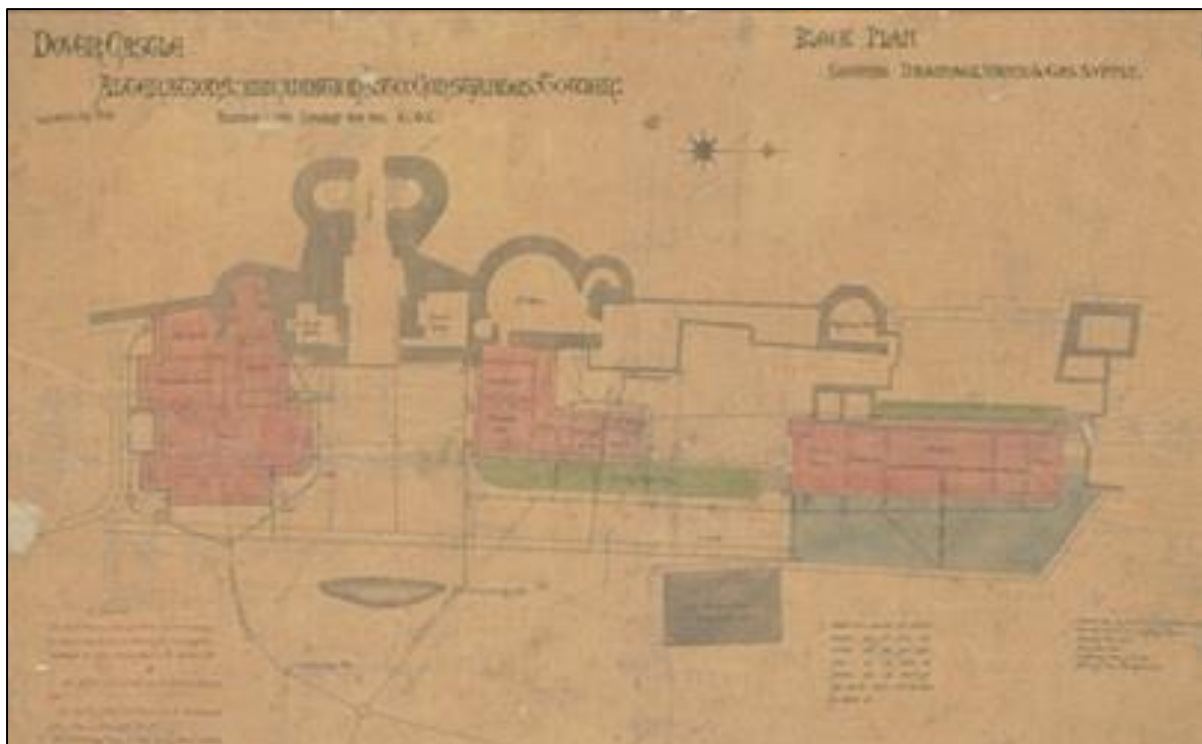


Fig. 48 Dawson-Scott's construction drawings for the Constable's Tower extension, 1882, The National Archives, WORK 31/825

There is also the consideration that since the stones were from one of Lord Warden's former castles, there must have been some form of acknowledgement that it was right and proper for them to be used for the Lord Warden's *de facto* Deputy's new quarters. Whilst good stone was never wasted, the time and effort it took to prepare these stones for use rather than buying fresh, newly quarried stone from another part of the country would have been a less expensive option, but one that was perhaps justifiable in the opinion of Dawson-Scott. Perhaps, by 'returning' these ancient stones to the 'rightful' and ancient seat of the office of Lord Warden, Dawson-Scott was, in a way, addressing the Sackville decision to move it to Walmer. It is hard to speculate on Dawson-Scott's reasoning for going to these rather extraordinary lengths to save and reuse these stones.

It was the Royal Engineers that, under orders, destroyed Sandown Castle, and it is fitting that, under Dawson-Scott, it would be the same regiment that put them to good use. Dawson-Scott's endeavour has probably remained lost, until now, due to Constable's Gate not having a stand-alone published study. An issue on large heritage estates is that the scholarly focus (and that of the tourist focus, too) is usually on the main attraction - in this case, the Great Tower. Therefore, the associated buildings within the curtilage sometimes get overlooked, and often on purpose, mainly if they are not open to the public. As far as can be established, Constable's Gate has never been open to the general public, which we hope will change in the future. A senior curator at EH told this author:

'I hope we can improve on both the level of available information, including the gateway's role in the administration of the Lord Wardenship, with public access in the future.'

It is therefore hoped that this study may assist in this future project to advertise better this building's role within the Cinque Ports and its previously unknown physical connection to the lost Sandown Castle.

As much development has been undertaken within the Dover Castle estate during the latter nineteenth century, many features built during this period could have been constructed with Sandown spolia. An example (Fig. 49) shows a nineteenth-century extension of the medieval castle walling. The stone quality (probably Kentish ragstone – which was plentiful at Sandown), the mason tool marks, and the colouration are all similar to examples at Walmer and Deal. Whilst this is mere speculation, a future, more comprehensive study could assess what other assets within this estate could be connected to Sandown.



Fig. 49 Battlement within the castle's outer walling at Dover Castle (photo author 2015).

### Deal's Second Pier

As we have seen, Deal town is the custodian of a rare title, that of the occupier of a port town with no harbour. Despite not having a man-made port (even though, as we have seen, the people of Deal did try to develop one), it has one of Kent's few remaining leisure piers.<sup>83</sup> The current pier opened in 1957 and is the third iteration.<sup>84</sup> The first pier opened in 1838

<sup>83</sup> Perhaps the pier was a mere consolatory offering when the port project failed to materialise – more work would need to be established away from this thesis to establish this.

<sup>84</sup> N. Sadler, *British Piers - the Postcard Collection* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing Limited, 2017)

and was a timber structure destroyed by a storm in 1857.<sup>85</sup> The second iteration, constructed between 1863 and 1864, was 340m long and designed by architect and civil engineer Eugenius Birch (1818 – 1884).<sup>86</sup> The abutment between the new iron pier and the mainland was constructed using stones purchased from the Ministry at Sandown Castle.<sup>87</sup> The so-called ‘pier abutment’ was constructed with stonework that was said to be 75 x 40 ft in size (c. 23 x 12m), built yet again by the local Denne Builders; it presumably was constructed from the Kentish ragstone taken from the structural elevations.<sup>88</sup> The first column of the new pier was ceremonially fixed into place on 8<sup>th</sup> April 1863, by Deal MP Edward Knatchbull-Hugessen (1829 – 1893) in the presence of many local people. In August of that year, it was announced that the abutment had been constructed using ancient stones procured from the nearby ruinous Sandown Castle.<sup>89</sup>

Sadly, during World War II in 1940, a large cargo ship (some seventy metres long), the SS Nora, anchored in the Downs, blew off its anchorage during a storm and destroyed this second version of the pier.<sup>90</sup> Whilst the pier was subsequently rebuilt, it is unknown whether the reused stones taken from Sandown are still within the abutment housing at the pier. Anecdotally, the old second pier may still have a hidden function today as local fishermen believe the old pier is still largely beneath the surface, and they also suggest it makes an excellent habitat for various rare and native fish.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> N. Sadler, *British Piers - the Postcard Collection* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing Limited, 2017)

<sup>86</sup> ‘Deal Pier’, Engineering Timelines, 2021, site: <http://www.engineering-timelines.com/scripts/engineeringItem.asp?id=588>, accessed: Jan 2020.

<sup>87</sup> Holyoake, G., ‘Three Deal Piers’, 1981, from site: <https://www.dealpier.uk/history.html>, accessed: December 2019.

<sup>88</sup> Easdown, M., and Webster, M., *Deal's Piers, Jetties and Unrealised Marine Structures* (East Sussex: Phillimore & Co. Ltd.), 17.

<sup>89</sup> Laker, *History of Deal* (Folkestone: T. F. Pain & Sons, 1921), 400.

<sup>90</sup> Site: <https://wrecksite.eu/wreck.aspx?115807>, accessed: February 2020., First-hand account: Site: <https://davidskardon.wixsite.com/skardons-world/wrecks>, accessed: February 2020., Maidstone Telegraph. 1943. ‘Notes.’ *Maidstone Telegraph*: April 2, 1943, P. 3.

<sup>91</sup> Anecdotally speaking to local fishermen and various visits by the author at low tide, 2023 & 2024.

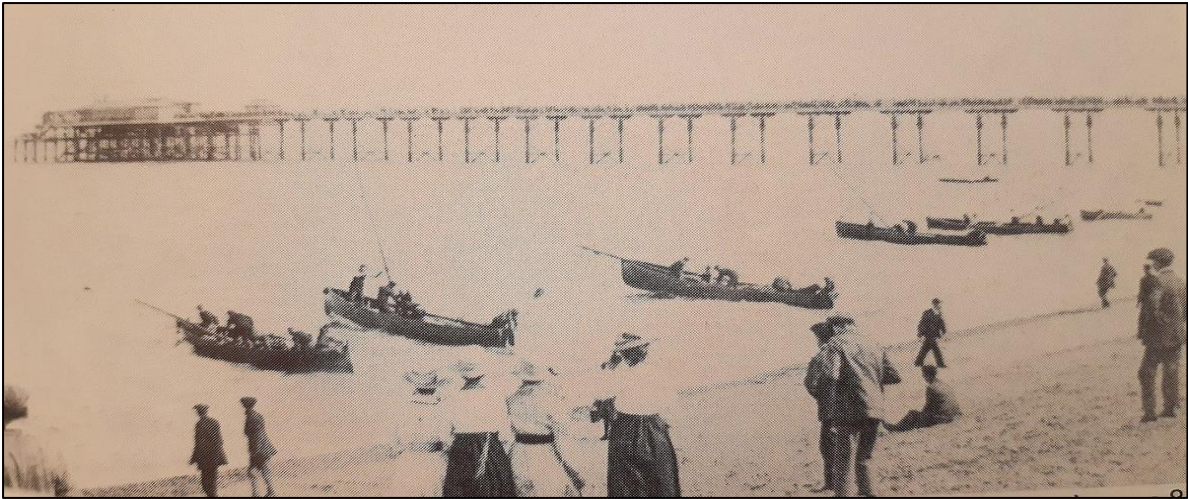


Fig. 50 Deal's second pier, dated 1864 on the reverse, private collection.



Fig. 51 The entrance to Deal's Second Pier on 'Yachting Day', 1902, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, Adams Collection.





Fig. 52 Deal's Second Pier and rough seas in the Downs, c. 1930s, private collection.



Fig. 53 The destruction of Deal's second pier in 1940, © Huntley Film Archives

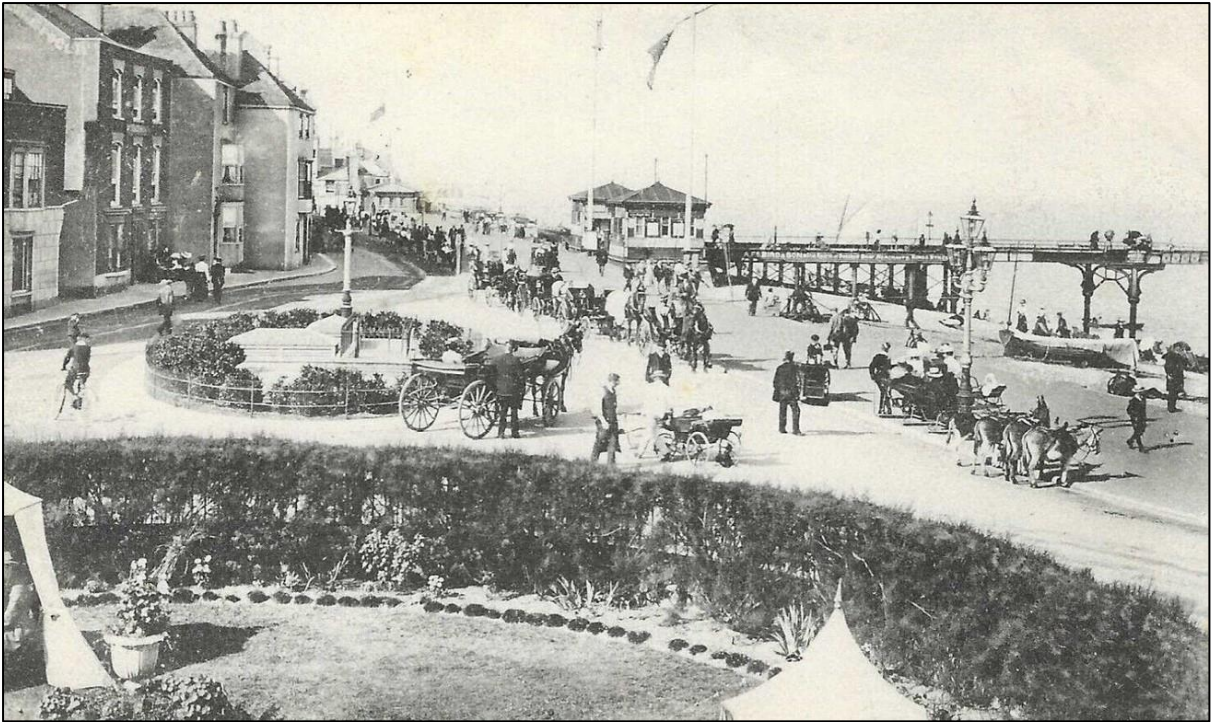


Fig. 54 A postcard dated 1906 showing the pier in the background with the conspicuous rounds of earth in the foreground.



Fig. 55 The modern pier at Deal (built 1954, photo author, 2023).



Whereas the spolia works at Dover Castle had likely been a ceremonial example of spolia reuse, the works to this pier were perhaps a more frugal and prudent example of reuse, owing to the fact that the ruins are within fairly close proximity to the pier location.

### Lord Granville's Other Works

As we have seen, on a number of occasions Sandown had been raided for good stone to alter its limb sister castle of Walmer. The precedence was started in 1726 by Sackville who withdrew 30 tons of 'good stone from the shell' of Sandown to make alterations to Walmer's keep.<sup>92</sup> The next most significant harvesting of stone from Sandown was from the locally celebrated Lord Granville and his architect George Devey.<sup>93</sup> A photo believed to be the Sandown stones from the nineteenth century alterations at Walmer can be seen (Fig. 56).



Fig. 56 Photograph of the stonework in the entrance bastion at Walmer Castle (photo author, 2019).

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<sup>92</sup> Historic England Archives, MP/WAC0027., *Illustrated London News*. 1852. 'Visitors on The Beach at Deal.' *Illustrated London News*: November 20, 1852, P. 18.

<sup>93</sup> *Daily Telegraph & Courier* (London). 1899. 'Notes.' *Daily Telegraph & Courier* (London): April 7, 1899, P. 5.



Fig. 57 Photograph showing a drinking fountain donated by Lord Granville to the town of Deal (photo author, 2023).

Lord Granville's philanthropy and celebrated position as Lord Warden is well documented. Taking a trip to Deal today, you can easily spot places named after him or even relics from his tenure that were donated to the town (Fig. 57). Whilst the example (Fig. 57) is very unlikely to be constructed using spolia taken from Sandown, Lord Granville did plunder the stones at Sandown for others purposes that were not just for his own benefit. We shall discuss the greatest example in the next section, namely his charitable donation at Eastry. However, during his tenure he was believed to have made many other donations and overseen many improvements to the town's fortunes. One such example is the 1871 construction of the new Walmer lifeboat station.



Fig. 58 Walmer Lifeboat Station, front elevation, 2014, Wikimedia Commons public domain.

Granville attended the opening ceremony and remarked on how he had worked to ensure its establishment as a new permanent station for the lifeboat men of Deal.<sup>94</sup> Whilst this author can find no evidence that the station was constructed using stones taken from Sandown, it would fit the time period, the same people behind its establishment and the use of Kentish ragstone (albeit obviously in abundance in the South East of England).

Therefore, although it is possible that such a gothic, yet humble, structure could have used stones taken from Sandown in its façade, there is not, unfortunately, any evidence to confirm this theory. However, there is a site for the boatmen that we do have documented evidence of spolia reuse, therefore it is not impossible that this site may have been built from Sandown's spolia owing to them being built in the correct timeframe and their connection to the same men.

<sup>94</sup> Morning Advertiser. 1871. 'Court Circular.' *Morning Advertiser*: November 16, 1871, P. 9.



This building on Beach Street, known as the Boatmen's Rooms, which was part of a church-established scheme to provide small libraries and promote literacy for working-class people, in this case, for the lifeboat men, was founded from funds partially raised through a bazaar in Deal Castle and were arranged by Lady Granville.<sup>95</sup>

It has been found that Rear-Admiral Sir John Hill (c.1774 – 1855), the last captain of Sandown Castle, granted permission for stones from the then-ruinous Sandown Castle to be used in the foundation.<sup>96</sup> The mission was founded by Lord Shaftesbury (1831 – 1886), a Christian philanthropist, with donations from Hill's daughter Lucy (1807-1891) and Countess Sydney (1810-1893), and it was inaugurated in 1885. However, erroneous reports state this building as opening in 1859.<sup>97</sup> According to newspaper reports, castle bazaars were held regularly at Deal Castle and often funded the ongoing preservation of this service for the local seamen.<sup>98</sup> A rare postcard from a private collection that was either produced for or to celebrate these nightly bazaars can be seen in Fig. 61.

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<sup>95</sup> Deal, Walmer & Sandwich Mercury. 1884. 'Boatmen's Rooms: Laying the Foundation Stone By Countess Sydney.' *Deal, Walmer & Sandwich Mercury*: October 11, 1884, P. 5. Dover Chronicle. 1885. 'New Boatmen's Rooms at Deal.' *Dover Chronicle*: February 14, 1885, P. 6.

<sup>96</sup> Hedges, G., 'For Those in Peril on the Sea: The Deal Boatmen's Rooms.' *Library History* Vol 19 (2013): 35-36., The National Archives, NRA 44729., Elvin, 1890, 128., The National Archives, NRA 44729-2., Elvin, 1890, 128.

<sup>97</sup> Holyoake, G., 'Thomas Stanley Treanor.' *The Life Boat*, (1973): 458., Dover Chronicle. 1885. 'New Boatmen's Rooms at Deal.' *Dover Chronicle*: February 14, 1885, P. 6., A laying of the foundation stone ceremony was held in October 1884, which was the commencement of the construction works: Deal, Walmer & Sandwich Mercury. 1884. 'Boatmen's Rooms: Laying the Foundation Stone By Countess Sydney.' *Deal, Walmer & Sandwich Mercury*: October 11, 1884, P. 5.

<sup>98</sup> Sevenoaks Chronicle and Kentish Advertiser. 1881. 'Deal.' *Sevenoaks Chronicle and Kentish Advertiser*: August 26, 1881, P. 7.



Fig. 59 Boatmen's Rooms, 182 Beach Street, Deal Kent (photo author, 2024).



Fig. 60 Side elevation of the reading rooms building in Deal showing how the Sandown stones have been incorporated to build a plinth on the building, 2019, © Google Street View, used under UK fair dealing.

The former Seamen Society Rooms displayed a plaque that informed any passer-by that parts of the foundation were constructed using stones taken from Sandown Castle.<sup>99</sup> The building is now a private dwelling (Fig. 59 - 60). Similarly, across from the Lifeboat Station stands a Victorian church, constructed in a manner that pays homage to and mirrors the architectural style of the church. St Saviour's Church built in 1848 is also of Kentish ragstone, but little information can be garnered from its construction other than it was built by William Denne who we know purchased a great quantity of Sandown spolia.<sup>100</sup> There is also a mention of a Methodist Church that may have used some of the stones, however, this building is no longer standing and records appear to be hard to trace on its existence.<sup>101</sup>



Fig. 61 A rare postcard entitled, 'Deal Castle's Bazaar', private collection.

<sup>99</sup> Harris, P., *Deal and Walmer in 50 Buildings*, (Stroud: Amberley, 2020), 25. It is now believed that this plaque is stored at Deal Museum Archives.

<sup>100</sup> Kentish Gazette. 1849. 'Prospects Of The Country.' *Kentish Gazette*: July 10, 1849, P. 3., Site: <https://familiesofdealandwalmer.co.uk/st-saviours/>, accessed: April 2023

<sup>101</sup> Site: <https://www.thehistoryproject.co.uk/articles/the-history-of-sandown-castle.html>, accessed: April 2023

### Eastry Union Workhouse Infirmary Chapel

The next example is perhaps, from an archaeological perspective, the greatest example of reuse from Sandown. It is the most excellent because, unlike many of the others that quarried the good Kentish ragstone, Eastry Chapel's vernacular and humble design makes use of a great variety of ancient freestones.

There is an interesting note in the *Archaeologia Cantiana* from a 1900 article by George Dowker (unknown dates) stating that he knew that some of the stonework from Sandown was sold to build a chapel in Eastry near Dover.<sup>102</sup> It is a brief passage, but it is vitally important. A workhouse was constructed in possibly the late eighteenth century to 1830s, and later became a hospital for persons suffering from acute mental health disorders. A chapel was built on the grounds and is still standing today. All of the other buildings shown below are now demolished and houses are being erected on the site (Appendix Y).



Fig. 62 Eastry village, 1932, Historic England collection, AFL193207.

<sup>102</sup> Dowker, G., 'Deal and its Environs', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 24, (1900): 5-6.



According to a number of online sources, the site was listed in 1963. It then appeared to be no longer on Historic England's schedules due to a number of buildings being demolished due to dilapidation in 2008 and then two respective fires in 2012.<sup>103</sup>



Fig. 63 Eastry Chapel (photo author, 2020).

As the main hospital was listed, the chapel was listed as it forms part of the curtilage. However, with the main hospital being demolished, it would appear the schedule status of the chapel is now unlisted.<sup>104</sup> It is the local council that deals with development sites under

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<sup>103</sup> Formerly listed under Eastry Hospital, The Old Buildings, Mill Lane List; Entry Number: 1363274.

<sup>104</sup> Correspondence with Historic England, 2023., Appendix O.



the terms of the National Planning Policy Framework and considers such sites for their wider historical significance. Dover District Council granted permission in 2019 to demolish most of the former hospital, erect new housing on the grounds, and convert the chapel into commercial office space.<sup>105</sup> All buildings were demolished, with the exception of the chapel, by May 2021.<sup>106</sup>



Fig. 64 Eastry Chapel (photo author, 2020).

The chapel is located on Mill Lane within the site of the former hospital, and it is evident from site inspection to be Victorian. Tracing the ordnance surveys back, the chapel

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<sup>105</sup> Planning Reference: DOV/14-00241, Dover District Council, Planning and Development Department

<sup>106</sup> Eastry Parish Council, Minutes of Eastry Annual Parish Meeting, 5<sup>th</sup> May 2021, site: <https://eastry-pc.gov.uk>, accessed June 2021.

must have been erected between 1871 and 1891. The heritage statement from the most recent approved planning application discusses the chapel's historic significance:

'We feel that the Chapel is of low significance in architectural terms, there being little in the way of adornment or innovation. We feel that the Victorian fakery it represents does it a disservice and supports this conclusion.'<sup>107</sup>

Dover Council's planning portal does not refer to the chapel's possible construction from Sandown Castle stones and it offers the building little significance throughout the various applications that were submitted. It is interesting to wonder whether these stones are the same ones as documented in the *Archaeologia Cantiana* and, if they were, whether a greater significance would have been placed on the chapel during the planning process.

It would appear that the Guardians Committee of the Eastry Union Workhouse Infirmary took out a loan from the Public Works Loan Office, received donations and sold some properties (left to them by the people who were within their care) to refurbish the infirmary and build this chapel.<sup>108</sup> The previous chapel had been deemed 'unfit for use'. Whether this is due to dilapidation or size, the minutes of their meetings do not specify. Various 'approved' invoices for building works were recorded as paid in the minutes. There were several missing entries, but one of the few references to the works to build the new chapel mentions that works were still ongoing in May 1873. The builder is listed as William Denne of Walmer, who also volunteered his men to paint the infirmary at the same time and also donated a new font at the end of the project.<sup>109</sup>

Denne Builders have been mentioned a few times within our appraisal of the Castles of the Downs, and their connection to the county is worth noting. The Denne family were

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<sup>107</sup> Planning Reference: DOV/14-00241, Dover District Council, Planning and Development Department + Heritage Statement by Dr James Weir, Jan 2016.

<sup>108</sup> Kent History and Library Centre, CKS-G/Ea AM19.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, Kentish Times and Farmers' Gazette. 1873. 'East Kent News.' *Kentish Times and Farmers' Gazette*: December 6, 1873, P. 4.

renowned builders in Kent, working as builders for over 400 years, mainly in the east of the county. The original Denne builder's yard was located in Dover Road, Walmer (not far from the castle), later moving closer to Deal Castle and then in the twentieth century to Bramling near Canterbury.<sup>110</sup> The same William Denne who constructed Eastry Chapel also owned nearby Wellington House, where he raised 18 children.<sup>111</sup> According to Rev. Elvin, Denne's ancestors were courtiers of James I and Charles I, though as the family were staunch Royalists at the time of the Civil War they were imprisoned and lost their status.<sup>112</sup> After the war in 1660 Vincent Denne, attempting to raise the family's standing once more, petitioned the King for the role of Surveyorship of Deal. Later in the nineteenth century, the family purchased great portions of the same Trenley Park that had been used as a hunting estate since the conquest and later as a source of timber by the seventeenth century.<sup>113</sup> By 1919, the family sold the estate listed as 658 acres in size.<sup>114</sup> Presumably, as the state had done, the family used the parkland for timber to feed their construction projects. In the twenty-first century, a French company called Bouygues purchased the Denne firm's parent company. Enquiries with a colleague who worked there revealed that the only Denne name to survive is a small joinery shop in Bramling that was not part of the original purchase.<sup>115</sup>

The Denne family business was responsible for a number of high profile projects in the area during the nineteenth century, including the sea wall in Ramsgate, municipal buildings, homes all over East Kent and bricks supplied to the Admiralty for local use.<sup>116</sup> The family constructed the prestigious Royal Marine Depot Calvary barracks in Deal between

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<sup>110</sup> Author's experience of working with the latter Denne company in 2002.

<sup>111</sup> The National Archives, PRO RG, 1861 England, Scotland and Wales Census., It is believed Wellington House is currently a specialist care facility for adults with severe disabilities. The builder's yard was developed into housing estate in the mid-twentieth century.

<sup>112</sup> Elvin, 1890, 66.

<sup>113</sup> The National Archives, E/351/3599., Pittman, S., Elizabethan and Jacobean Deer Parks in Kent, (Canterbury: University of Kent, 2011)., Kentish Times and Farmers' Gazette. 1873. 'East Kent News.' *Kentish Times and Farmers' Gazette*: December 6, 1873, P. 4.

<sup>114</sup> Lincolnshire Archives, 1-DIXON 20/1/41.

<sup>115</sup> Site: <https://www.bouygues-construction.com/en/press/release/bouygues-construction-and-leadbitter-group-management-team-acquire-leadbitter-heijmans-nv>, accessed February 2022.

<sup>116</sup> Walmer Design Statement Group, *Walmer Design Statement* (Dover: Dover District Council, 2006), 23.

1866 and 1868.<sup>117</sup> The proximity and connections of these high-profile projects would demonstrate Denne's prolificacy in the area during this time. It might also be true that the Denne family could connect all the identified sites of Sandown stone reuse. Unfortunately, the records are too incomplete to confirm this hypothesis, but they suggest a connection as Denne won the auction at Sandown Castle in 1863.

In relation to the donations to build the chapel, the sole benefactor for the works to build the new chapel was Lord Granville.<sup>118</sup> The article states:

'On Tuesday last new chapel in connection with Eastry Union was opened special service by his Grace the Archbishop Canterbury. The chapel, which is in the Gothic style, was designed by R Deney Esq., of Great Marlborough Street, and built by Messrs. W. and O. Denne, of W aimer and Deal, and constructed to seat 267 persona but could easily accommodate a larger number. It is built of Kentish rag, lined with brick, and cemented inside. Around it gather some antiquarian associations, for the stone used in its construction once formed part of Sandown Castle. The bell turret, itself graceful structure, but in our opinion too ornate for a building which is otherwise perfectly plain, was designed Sir Walter James, and was the gift of him and Lord Granville.'

Typed or misheard incorrectly, the *R Deney* above would surely have been George Devey, who was, as we have seen, Granville's architect at Walmer. Therefore, it is likely that Granville, as Lord Warden, donated not just the stone but also the design fees and the Denne construction costs, through his connection with the committee. Therefore, from this article we have evidence that this chapel was constructed from the stones taken from the ruinous Sandown Castle.

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<sup>117</sup> Kentish Chronicle. 1866. 'The Court.' *Kentish Chronicle*: December 1, 1866, P. 5.

<sup>118</sup> Kentish Times and Farmers' Gazette. 1873. 'East Kent News.' *Kentish Times and Farmers' Gazette*: December 6, 1873, P. 4.

From visits to these sites, which we have identified through archival research, we can see that they all hold similar characteristics that make them unmistakably from the same source. They all show minimal working, and in discrete locations, they also show some of the original medieval mason toolmarks and flourishes. They all have large mortar beds to accommodate the stones, with some Victorian masons being more adept at selecting and placing than others. The Victorian masons' skills range from a neat ashlar finish at Constable's Tower to a (by default) rusticated appearance on the raw and rudimentary Eastry Chapel. The mixture of stone sizes is apparent. In Eastry Chapel's case, the use of freestones is evidenced, rather than the careful selection of the Kentish ragstone at Constable's Tower and Walmer's Castle's bastion. The stones' quality, colouration, weathering and consistency at all three sites (and the others identified in this chapter) are unmistakable. Therefore, this work clearly demonstrates that Sandown Castle, though long lost to time and memory, still lives on in some form, hidden in plain sight.



Fig. 65 Photographs taken by the author. Top left: Constable's Tower, top right: Eastry Chapel, below: Walmer Castle's entrance bastion. All examples show reused spolia from Sandown Castle.



And as we have seen in regard to the Kentish ragstone so effectively deployed here from Sandown, we do know from our study in the Construction chapter that much of this ragstone was freshly quarried for Sandown. Stonework that is not the locally abundant ragstone or from the Folkestone beds, such as Caen stone (France) and Purbeck (Dorset) at Sandown, were probably reused from the many local earlier monastic buildings. Whereas, Walmer's entrance (1870s) and Constable's Gate (1884) the masons plundered plentiful ragstone (Fig. 65), either by the time of Eastry Chapel's construction (c.1870/1880s) Devey decided to deploy within the facades a cross-section variety of stonework from Sandown, or after all the preferred ragstone was taken by others, this was all that was left or unwanted – we do not know.<sup>119</sup> Therefore, of these final examples of reused spolia, the humble and vernacular Eastry Chapel displays the most variety of spolia taken from Sandown Castle and by default also from the ancient medieval abbeys. This work also provides an excellent case for the significance of this chapel, and why it should be protected.<sup>120</sup>

It is this excellent selection of spolia examples that makes this site perfect for petrographic analysis (Appendix M). Speaking to the current owners of the chapel, access was granted to view the site and take any samples via non-intrusive means. The chapel is heavily dilapidated, and the facades are 'shelling'.<sup>121</sup> Therefore, samples were found on the ground that had directly fallen from the building, and these could easily be identified with the embedded stones that these faces were initially attached to. These samples were sent for analysis at Sandberg LLP, experts in correctly identifying stone.

The results showed that the two samples sent were Purbeck and were from the same source, probably from the same bed of the 'roach bed', and therefore probably from the same stone. Purbeck is synonymous with monastic/ecclesiastical architecture and has been used in England as a building material since the Romans. Although not marble, in the Italian

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<sup>119</sup> The Duke of Dorset also took stonework from Sandown for use in Walmer in the mid-C18 for the lodging areas in the south bastion.

<sup>120</sup> Confirmed with Alison Cummings, Conservation Officer, Dover District Council, September 2022.

<sup>121</sup> Naturally shedding its stonework occurs due to dilapidation caused by age and climate etc.

sense, it polishes to a glossy substrate with colours that range from blues and blacks to earthy beiges and browns. Therefore, due to its large supply and relative ease of extraction (from a peninsula in Dorset), this stone was highly prized by the medieval masons and was therefore deployed in churches and cathedrals across the land.<sup>122</sup> This faux English marble was merely a convenient vernacular alternative that could give the local churches of England some lustre that they lacked in comparison to their mainland, especially Italian, counterparts.

Unfortunately for this research, as Purbeck was heavily deployed throughout ecclesiastical architecture in the medieval period, it will be difficult to determine its original monastic source precisely.<sup>123</sup> The records for the quarrying are virtually non-existent, and the bed reference of 'roach' is not very helpful as this bed was extracted periodically through time by different pits. Purbeck beds are very thin and are often reached while quarrying for Portland stone, as that is the usual main target.<sup>124</sup> Therefore, multiple quarries could find and then sell the same stone from the same beds but from different sites.

The only clues that can be found to this stones' provenance would be from other studies, for which there are very few for this part of England. Deighton, in her study of the Sandwich Friary, noted that Purbeck Marble was present at the Friary and that flagstones of Purbeck were possibly repurposed at Sandwich's St Clement's Church (Fig. 67).<sup>125</sup> Likewise, Roach bed Purbeck was often used for flooring.<sup>126</sup> It is possible that Sandwich and its proximity to Sandown Castle (circa three miles away, as the crow flies) could have been the source for this stonework. It is stated that Henry VIII stayed at the Friary; therefore, it must have been reasonably well-appointed for the monarch to rest there. With the calibre of the stone, we know it was used in many important religious sites.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Historic England, *Purbeck Marble: Conservation and Repair*, (Swindon: Historic England, 2021).

<sup>123</sup> Williams, D.F., *Purbeck marble in Roman and Medieval Britain* (Southampton: University of Southampton, Department of Archaeology, 2004), 126-131.

<sup>124</sup> Site: <http://www.stone.uk.com/new/history.html>, accessed: May 2021

<sup>125</sup> Deighton, E., 'The Carmelite Friary at Sandwich.' *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. 114 (1994): 317-328.

<sup>126</sup> Marcus M. Key, Jr., Robert J. Teagle, Treleven Haysom, 'Provenance of the stone pavers in Christ Church, Lancaster Co., Virginia', *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia* iss. 65 (2010): 6.

<sup>127</sup> Deighton, E., 'The Carmelite Friary at Sandwich.' *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. 114 (1994): 317-328.

Away from Sandwich, it is likely that St Radigund's Abbey may have contained Purbeck Marble, though little evidence of the main building still remains. And both Canterbury Cathedral and St Augustine's Abbey also contained a large amount of Purbeck.<sup>128</sup> Both the cloisters and the choir at the cathedral contain a large amount of Purbeck today, and as parts of the abutting buildings to the cloisters were demolished in the Dissolution for spolia it could be possible that they were redeployed in the Downs (Fig. 66).



Fig. 66 The remaining cloisters at Canterbury Cathedral, showing the vaulted ribwork that is said to be Purbeck Marble (photo author 2023).

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<sup>128</sup> Downer, G., *The Stones of St Augustine's Abbey* (Maidstone: Kent RIGS Group, 2009), 95.





Fig. 67 Annotated photograph of the flooring in the nave of St Clement's Church Sandwich, showing the spolia Purbeck Marble floor slabs and their signs of age-related deterioration and wear, photograph by the author, 2022.

Considering all these points, it would suggest that these samples are likely to have originated from the Sandwich Friary. The masons at Eastry Chapel have very carefully selected a wide selection of stones, probably knowing full well of the history and previous uses of these stones. Likewise, the fact that these two samples from two stones that are identified as being from the same original bed, shows that at some point they were halved and the markings on these suggest they were worked in the Tudor period and not after. Therefore, these stones were extracted and cut, possibly from age related dilapidation. This suggests friability in these ancient stones and thus may have been why the Tudor masons divided the stones into smaller pieces to make them worthy of use. This is purely speculation on this author's part based on the information available. Whilst we cannot accurately locate the original building to which these samples were attached, we can confidently state that it was probably the now-lost Carmelite Friary of Sandwich.

As demonstrated, the examination of Sandown Castle's reuse as spolia is inherently constrained by the scarcity of accessible information sources. To achieve a more precise outlining of spolia use, an avenue worth pursuing involves additional scientific scrutiny and analysis. However, embarking on such an endeavour necessitates navigating the various permissions from many stakeholders. It is worth noting that how samples are acquired could potentially jeopardise the integrity of the buildings under scrutiny, thereby rendering the procurement of permissions unlikely. Consequently, given the current circumstances, the most comprehensive investigation feasible is the amalgamation of archival research and on-site surveying that this study has attempted.

Therefore, whilst more studies could be undertaken in the future, this concludes our developmental study of Sandown Castle, where we have tirelessly researched to demonstrate how a castle built of spolia became spolia. This also concludes our broader narrative on the development of the Castles of the Downs and reappraisal of their incredibly unique significance in the context of not just their fabric but also on now-connected buildings, which will ultimately contribute to revised understandings of these buildings in East Kent.



## Conclusion

This thesis has been an extensive, multifaceted study. To assess architectural significance, particularly of buildings that hold such important local and national status, numerous factors have converged to form this comprehensive evaluation. We initially formulated research questions primarily addressing gaps in our understanding, situated within unexplored or unaddressed areas where answers have not been provided, or attempts to do so have not been made against already established research. The core unaddressed lines of enquiry have regarded the Castle of the Downs' design, undocumented surveyor, purpose, and development (particularly their early development after construction and their equivalent modern development). These castles departed from conventional medieval structures, as they were the first to be exclusively designed for cannon deployment, representing a dynamic shift in English castle architecture. This design innovation improved the medieval concentric castle model and introduced a revolutionary concept that was unique but not without flaws. As we have seen, the window for these unique architectural contributions to castle development was narrow and came at a time of great social and political uncertainty. This is perhaps why they have many unaddressed questions, as they have been previously explored via the prism of these past turbulent times or as part of other studies and not holistically given the context of their later development.

The central research endeavour was to uncover the origins of this pioneering architectural design and the individuals responsible for it. This investigation challenges our understanding of how a nation at war adopted an untested defence technology in haste. The study shed light on the people and motives behind this novel design while comparing it with vernacular and mainland European examples to understand its adoption in England and its uniqueness across the whole King's Device works.

The Literature Review underscored the absence of information regarding the designers of these castles; despite most contemporaneous projects having identifiable surveyors (devysors)/architects or engineers, the Downs did not. The research proposed a

greater exploration into the perspectives of past scholars and surviving evidence to either confirm existing conclusions or offer new insights into this enduring mystery. This method found many new pieces of evidence that strongly favoured the King as the primary originator of the designs. Through careful analysis of Henry, as the young Prince fascinated with military engineering to the King in the advancing years of his latter reign as the learned construction client. The research found correlations between his involvement and other projects, showing an established royal influence on the unique trio of castles.

The research questions also examined the rationale for the castles' locations, as many historical assumptions regarding their origins have been largely debunked. The work aimed to uncover factual and even romantic reasons for their placement by combining diverse sources and new insights, contextualising the local and national political situation they were built within and contributing this as a better modern perspective.

Examining the sourcing of construction materials emerged as a significant line of inquiry, especially given the scarcity of available information. The hypothesis that materials originated from dismantled monasteries during the Dissolution period was explored. This analysis offered insights into the construction and examined the underlying symbolic nature of utilising adversarial resources for defensive structures. Likewise, the analysis has discovered and presented many potential implications for the significance of other East Kent area's associated buildings resulting from this new appraisal.

Beyond the construction stage, the study traced the subsequent development of these castles, highlighting their divergent survival outcomes. While Walmer Castle has received some scholarly attention, the others, notably Sandown Castle, were greatly overlooked. This presented an opportunity to unearth their hidden histories and contrasting paths by providing a complete account of their architectural developments from construction to the present day.

Finally, the research reassessed how these castles are presented as individual entities, advocating for a unified interpretation in line with the Tudor builders' intentions. This holistic perspective could influence their conservation and broader architectural significance.

### **Summary of the Key Findings**

This work has made crucial contributions to our knowledge of The Castles of the Downs and, in part, to the architectural landscape of coastal East Kent. The quantity of contributions is significant enough for the Castles of the Downs custodians to perhaps reconsider their presentation and conservation of these structures, along with owners of other buildings referenced in this study, particularly those now connected via this research and laboratory testing to Sandown Castle. Likewise, whilst the research questioning summary above has been largely achieved, there are findings outside of these knowledge gaps that have also been discovered in researching the critical areas of the thesis. And whilst some gaps have not been filled, thorough appraisal and appropriate learned suggestions have been offered and argued. While extensively explored, certain facets of this research have unearthed uncertainties that question prior interpretations, potentially attributable to overlooked or inaccessible sources during earlier twentieth-century investigations.

Although numerous and comparatively minor in scale, the abundance of smaller discoveries across all three castles, notably Walmer, is too extensive to discuss individually; nonetheless, collectively, they are significant. We shall discuss the most significant of these in due course. However, it is worth noting that so many have been omitted from these works due to our strict predefined scope. Therefore, many lines of enquiry could be commissioned on various topics, from social history to architectural technology to empirical studies. Likewise, many of these will interest other researchers, particularly English Heritage, and could be made available to them and others if requested. Indeed, this author has already

contributed some social history discoveries to EH and others found during this work that fall outside the remit of the thesis.

The information discovered about the obscure yet important figure of Stefan von Haschenberg should lead to further study. This work's analysis of the surviving drawings, the language, and the handwriting examples opens many questions about their provenance. Likewise, circumstantial connections have been found between what von Haschenberg told Henry's Court of his experience and the discovery of very similar works within the correct window of time in the now-German settlement of Hachenburg. These points warrant urgent further study as so little is known of this man, and no study outside of B. H. St. J. O'Neil's 1945 paper has been attempted. The 'drolleries' images, as inferred by this author, could also be combined into such a study. Likewise, the success of re-establishing the location of the Sandgate Diary and its subsequent digitisation should also be celebrated as a success of this work (Appendix A).

The discovery of a paper from 1886 from the Institution of Civil Engineers attempting to compare the tensile strength of the foundation's mortar at Sandown and the connection this has with the fortifications in Calais is an interesting discovery; should such foundations remain, it could be compared to those at Deal or Walmer. If a study essentially restarts where the engineers ended, we could perhaps find advancement in architectural technology previously undocumented in the UK and France.

The discovery of a third Commissioner of the Downs is noteworthy in that many scholars have missed this over the decades since Colvin first published *The History of the King's Works* in the mid-twentieth century. The Court Rolls clearly show a third man (Ant. Awger, probably Sir Anthony Aucher). As to why this man's contribution seems to have been omitted, perhaps a study should be conducted to investigate this. While this literature review gives an overview of the historiography of the Downs, it is curious that something so fundamental, even if no contribution was made, as to why this man's history was seemingly overshadowed in the twentieth century. No resulting secondary sources or other studies

mention this man; it is quite possible that as Colvin's *The History of the King's Works* does not account for this man's contribution, yet he is listed on the official Court Rolls, it would suggest that Colvin and his research team perhaps made this omission in error. It is probable that if Colvin had found that Aucher had no connection to the project and was merely listed in error by the Crown, then surely Colvin would have stated this and shown his work as to why they purposefully omitted the man from the book. Therefore, subsequent scholars have used the King's Works as their basis for their respective research projects; this author knows from interviewing many living scholars that this is precisely what many have done, and there is nothing wrong with that basis as this is a highly acclaimed series of books. As expected by the terms of a PhD, this author has questioned all sources and used twenty-first-century tools unavailable to Colvin and co. to ensure the information provided is still accurate. It is thought that a study into Aucher's contribution to the Downs and his subsequent history could also highlight new connections that fall outside the remit of this work.

The recent research findings concerning Walmer show that re-evaluating its early post-construction development reveals how it developed. Equally, this revelation also provides a better explanation as to why Lord Sackville chose Walmer as his new residence. Additionally, a notable connection arises between the foundation composition of Sandown and Calais, shedding light on a hitherto unrecognised link. This is important as future research works could be commissioned to provide modern laboratory tests to see if this established link stands to current scrutiny. The study explored the bulwarks' origins, existence preceding the castles, evolution, locations, demise, and dimensions, providing fresh insights not previously published. Notably, archival investigations have substantiated Winston Churchill's visits to Walmer, unveiling previously undocumented evidence of his use and times as Lord Warden, all of which appear to be overshadowed by his other achievements and appointments. These discoveries utilising previously unpublished sources across three different archives on how the Churchills wanted to alter Walmer



materially are fascinating and could easily be built upon in a separate article, mainly as Churchill's tenure as Lord Warden for over two decades is little documented.

Furthermore, the research brings to the fore extensive records of repairs and alterations that were previously unpublished, holding potential significance for informing future restoration and conservation efforts at Walmer and Deal. As of January 2024, Walmer is now closed to the public following many serious water leaks from the roof above. It is hoped that EH will use this work and the architectural development the author has assembled to assist them in finding appropriate repair solutions for the castle in the long term. This author has already provided EH with additional research and primary sources in readiness for this and other projects.

The study also found the scope to which Deal was restored in the twentieth century, detailing its post-World War II presentation and restoration efforts. While the precise documentation of its front warrant is absent, its resemblance to similar warrants under the King's Device emblem offers intriguing parallels. These findings collectively enrich our understanding of the Device Castles' history, architecture, and the broader context of coastal defence strategies – including their conservation and protection from coastal and climate change.

An archaeological report originating in 1980, although not published until the 2010s, has emerged as a pivotal document unveiling significant evidence suggesting the survival of substantial portions of Sandown Castle. However, the report's limited distribution, existing solely in hardcopy by the original author and inaccessibility online, has constrained its dissemination (it could not be traced in any library). This study, identified and assessed in this thesis, underscores the possibility that substantial remnants of Sandown Castle persevered beneath the volunteer-maintained garden. Notably, while the author does not advocate for disruptive excavations within the gardens, the report's findings challenge the prevailing notion that Victorian interventions obliterated the castle, and it remains irrevocably encased in concrete, a result purportedly sealing its historical remnants. This newfound

evidence is noteworthy, for it suggests the persistence of original elements of Sandown Castle's fabric, potentially engendering a reconsideration of its architectural legacy and historical significance. This is important as it challenges the longstanding notion that Sandown was wholly removed from the landscape and what was left was destroyed.

Finding mentions of a reported Tudor Rose terracotta motif at the entrance to Sandown Castle is an exciting discovery. Only one source noted this inclusion, which is not replicated at the other Downs Castles or any other Device Castles. The location of such an object and who made it could be a fascinating endeavour. A connection could be found, perhaps, with further study of Deal's highly carved spolia elements within the Rounds, of which the significance of these at Deal and the omission of these at Walmer could be investigated. Likewise, the relics of Colonel John Hutchinson left at Sandown have never been recovered, presumably somewhere they could still exist.

Much analysis and searching have been undertaken to trace information and images on the interior of Deal Castle's former Captain's House (other than architectural plans). It is doubtful that any photographic or illustrative documentation depicting the interiors exists. Nevertheless, we have uncovered a primary source (report of an auction catalogue) that offered a tantalising glimpse into the likely magnificence of the rooms within the Captain's House. This source provides intriguing details regarding the interior of the castle during Carrington's occupancy, unveiling a residence that may have rivalled, if not surpassed, Walmer Castle in terms of comfort and opulence. This represents a crucial missing aspect in Deal's development. Despite extensive efforts to locate photographs taken within the castle, particularly considering documented visits by photographers to Deal, it is disappointing that none have been uncovered. There is optimism that private collections may emerge on the market in the future, potentially providing the first opportunity to glimpse inside the castle. However, the auction report is a considerable find that partially achieves this endeavour. Likewise, the primary source that shows that Walmer had all of its lesser furniture sold off from 1905 to any visiting tourists could be explored to see what furniture still exists that could

be reappropriated back to Walmer; some of these have been found and are noted in Appendix Z.

### **The Tudor Rose Design**

The most radical of our findings is our reappraisal and subsequent renewal of the proposal of the Tudor Rose and quatrefoil as the genesis architectural lead elements for the designs for these castles. This is made all the more poignant considering the wealth of scholars who considered Henry a great iconoclast. The theory of Henry's 'flagship' Deal Castle (King Henry's 'Great Castle in the Downs' – the name too could be reinstated for historical accuracy or touristic effect) being in the shape of a Tudor Rose has been largely ignored or derided by scholars, though thoroughly embraced by visitors and tourist boards alike; perhaps the latter is where this reluctance originated.<sup>1</sup> We have found that the argument for this has largely been viewed as settled, and most interpretations of this argument lead to the same result: that this is a romantic notion and not a practical consideration. While we have no primary evidence that clearly shows the design intent of this idea, we have discovered many supporting sources that prove Henry's connection to the project and his desire to attempt insurmountable architectural spectacles. One wonders what other grand projects he may have championed if his reign had been longer.

When combined with our proposal that Walmer and Sandown were built as quatrefoils, one of the most significant religious symbols of this period, combined with their locations and that they were constructed with spolia taken from the houses of Rome it leads to our argument that these castles were not just symbols of wealth, but also symbols of new power. This potential symbolic significance draws attention to the possibility that it was

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<sup>1</sup> It is also interesting that by the nineteenth century, The Downs is occasionally referred to as 'The Great Ship Swallower'. Whether this term was used in the sixteenth century, we do not know, and no source has been found to show this description during the period. Therefore, the title of 'The King's Great Castle' taming 'The Great Ship Swallower' is an excellent and captivating title which could be used.

intentionally designed to embody a Godly perspective reminiscent of medieval symbolic ecclesiastical designs. The connection between Henry VIII's break from Rome and the castle's formation has been explored, suggesting that it might have served as a physical manifestation of his defiance against the international authority of the Church in Rome.

This research also explored the significance of the quatrefoil symbol, commonly associated with religious connotations, appearing intrinsically in the castles' architecture and other associated Tudor structures. The quatrefoil's presence is highlighted within religious contexts such as Canterbury Cathedral (the home of Henry's new church) and Westminster Abbey (The Cosmati pavements), and its renewed use during the Tudor period is argued to symbolise the church's renewed identity under Henry's rule. All of these were compounded by our discussion of the sexfoil motif, its use within the architecture of Deal, and its possible significance to the Premonstratensians.

However, differing opinions exist on whether these design elements were intentionally symbolic or coincidental. Some scholars argue that the resemblance to the Tudor Rose might be due to practical constraints of artillery design, as evidenced by the broad uniform size of the bastions. While Margaret Brentnall asserts that the castles were intentionally designed as the Tudor Rose, others suggest that the symbolism might have been retroactively imposed or capitalised upon for Victorian and modern-day marketing. Overall, the Castles of the Downs's architectural design and potential symbolism remain subjects of intrigue and further scholarly discussion; if anything, this work has highlighted the dearth of attention this symbolism has warranted through the years. The tension between intentional symbolism and practical design constraints, as well as the broader context of Tudor political and religious dynamics, has led to varying interpretations and perspectives on the significance of these castles that it is hoped this work has captured.

## **A Complex and Unified Design**

The culmination of this analysis offers a comprehensive understanding of the interconnected fortress system found at the Downs. Collectively, these structures embody a strategic design that integrates multiple components to operate as a cohesive whole. This intricate arrangement encompasses a central fortress housing the more significant number of cannons, flanked by two smaller limb forts, fortified with pairs of bulwarks in between. Connecting these elements, a network of ditches facilitates the movement of personnel and artillery during operations. Figuratively truncating this complex configuration allows us to appreciate how these components functioned harmoniously as one unified fortress, exemplifying a remarkable feat of military engineering for the time (Fig. 1)

Whilst we have found reference that Colvin and others appreciated this design ethos, we have found little further mention. Likewise, this design ethos was likely the primary design requirement for this project, and this principle has very much become lost in the modern period. This is important as it should affect how the remaining two castles are managed and presented today. Rather than two separate day-ticketed tourist attractions, their unique connection should be highlighted and exploited appropriately, as was the original design intent. The author has raised this case with the English Heritage curatorial team locally, and it appears that this connection will be addressed in future representations that are planned in the long term. The author has welcomed this and will assist EH in this endeavour using these nearly eight years' worth (technically more) of research.

In exploring the development and significance of these castles, this research underscores the unity of Deal, Walmer, and Sandown as one fortress. Their interconnected nature is reaffirmed by primary historical documents, revealing shared resources and maintenance into the seventeenth century. However, as Walmer Castle gained prominence, diverging priorities and geographical factors led to the transition from a united singular fortress concept to three distinct castles. From this point in time, through their decline as military fortresses and into the modern era of tourism, this ethos is particularly lost in the



shameful lack of information on Sandown Castle. It is hoped that in this research, the Sandown Community Gardens Group, Deal Museum and other volunteer groups will try to readdress this balance of publicity to tackle this seemingly longstanding omission.

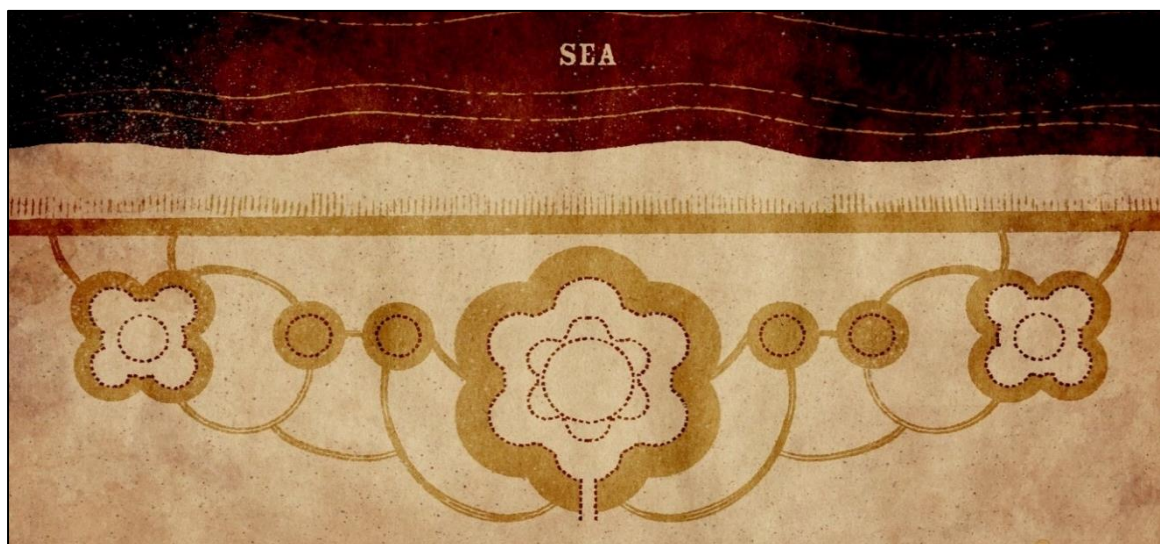


Fig. 1 A truncated version of the Castles of the Downs' layout, showing the Castles, bulwarks, ditches, and fosse as one singular fortification, © Christopher Moore.

This thesis argued that the Cinque Ports nomenclature of 'limbs' aptly characterises the flanking castles, echoing the organisation of the ancient Cinque Ports Confederation from which they were operated. This historical allusion, in conjunction with Deal's transformation from a non-corporate to a full limb, underscores the synergy between the fortresses and the evolving geopolitical landscape of the time. By envisioning these castles as a united entity, we discern a reflection of the overarching administrative structure that governed these collective strongholds.

A distinct departure from prior architectural endeavours is evident in the Castles of the Downs. Unlike earlier castle projects constrained by geographical, logistical, or financial limitations, these castles epitomise Henry's audacity in designing an ambitious and grandiose fortification on an unprecedented scale. Their location, situated in proximity to the burgeoning town of Deal, suggests a dual purpose: safeguarding the town (as a landing

point) and the strategic control of the Downs channel. Henry's prescient recognition of the channel's increasing importance underscores his visionary approach, with far-reaching implications extending across later centuries. This futureproofing (to use the modern term) would see their roles evolve, and this ability has ensured these structures remain to this day.

Intriguingly, this research uncovered a facet of Henry's character that transcends the political discourse of his time. Profoundly interested and informed in fortification techniques and military engineering, Henry emerges as an astute and involved learned client. The meticulous examination of historical records illuminates his proactive engagement in rectifying design flaws and seeking continuous improvement. This approach symbolises his authority, manifested not only in the physical form of these castles but also in the overarching design motifs. Furthermore, this ambitious project in the Downs demonstrates Henry's profound understanding of symbolism and his capacity to challenge established norms through innovative architectural expression, all of which underscores our work to emphasise the symbolism of the castles' Tudor Rose and quatrefoil design. All of which we have identified in other examples of Henry's commissioning to showcase the depth of his knowledge and the might of his ambition. This is clearly evident in the comparisons we have found between his two great simultaneous construction projects of the Downs and his palace at Nonsuch. These comparisons gain greater significance due to the documented evidence of Henry's design involvement in Nonsuch, contrasting with the lack of such evidence at the Downs. However, with these new comparisons, we have effectively presented and argued for the direct link between Henry's design influence at the Downs, where we can see many of the same stylistic and engineering choices being implemented. Therefore, by being the first to analyse this connection, this thesis has found a new means by which further exploration could be undertaken to greater analyse Henry as the learned client.

Likewise, as Henry was not without his flaws, neither were the Castles of the Downs. This thesis has added to the scholarly discussion of their design's successes and failures. We have showcased the castles' flaws, shown how other engineers within their later

development have attempted to correct them and how other castles within the latter parts of the Device changed their designs to reflect the current fortress design elements from Italy and France that were wholly unlike those of the Downs. All of this has been presented in a narrative highlighting the likely design requirements and restrictions of the time to offer a renewed appraisal of their success.

The Device Forts, situated in a period of great social and political turmoil, are also characterised by rivalries among European rulers and assume additional significance when viewed within this context. Henry's contemporary counterparts were likewise ambitious builders, and this study underscores the unmatched potential rivalry between Henry and Francis I. The expansive scale of this endeavour, spanning miles along a shipping lane, is a bold testament to Henry's determination to leave the House of Tudor's indelible mark on Europe's political and physical landscapes.

### **Dissolution and Victorian Spolia**

Another success of this work has been tracing the Dissolution spolia use in East Kent concerning the Castles of the Downs and the re-use of stonework from Sandown Castle in the Victorian era. Primary sources from the Tudor period were incredibly scarce. However, some original Court of Augmentations documents were found, translated and analysed for use in this research, with the balance of sources used, albeit few, from other scholars. Many of these other scholarly works spolia were found to be mere asides. Still, these snippets of information have been used. In the case of Sandown, laboratory scrutiny has even been given to draw a formal connection between the chapel at Eastry and its contributing medieval origins. This is important as it shows for the first time how spolia was used and its likely provenance. The latter is crucial as so much information was lost, along with the physical structures of the monasteries, during the Reformation. This study could inform or

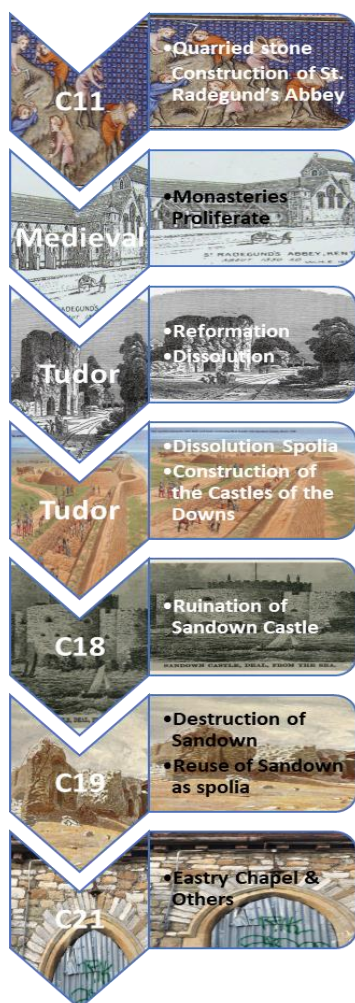
even be the catalyst for further study into this area where seemingly little academic scrutiny is being directed.

Even in the case of the demolition of Sandown Castle and the tracing of the stonework spolia, there have been many gaps in our knowledge and lost documents. For Sandown, much of the investigation relied on newspaper articles to guide the enquiry in finding where the primary sources are held. Again, using snippets of information from other scholarly works combined with our primary source investigations to create a factual narrative supporting our lines of enquiry. It has also been evident that the spolia re-use of Sandown is primarily unknown by English Heritage; it is not featured in their literature, and staff appear generally unaware. Only Walmer Castle's well-documented re-use of Sandown stonework has been mentioned previously in their produced literature. Despite this, this work has found a building within the grounds of Dover Castle, Constable's Gate, and its architect, which connection should be emphasised further. Dover is probably one of the most visited UK heritage sites, and with this building, which is mainly empty and unused for most days of the year, they could re-interpret it and open it to the public. Likewise, this would be an excellent location for further displays and artefacts from the broader Device Works – primarily as it has been found that Dover was the store for much of the spolia for these original works in the Downs.



Fig. 2 A tourist information board at Canterbury Cathedral advertising the architectural significance and historical links between three key sites in the city, January 2024.

An exciting discussion has been conducted, and a linkage between the Castles of the Downs and Canterbury Cathedral via physical spolia and symbolism, evident in historical records and architectural elements, is indeed very interesting. The Dissolution directive for Christ Church Priory, issued in 1538 by Commissioner Sir Richard Rich, indicates the removal of leadwork from the priory. This leadwork likely found its way to Dover Castle, where substantial quantities were being stockpiled around the same time, serving as a hub for administrative purposes in the Downs area. It is plausible that the lead sourced from Canterbury was repurposed in the construction of the Downs castles, thus establishing a probable connection between materials sourced from Canterbury and utilised in the Downs. Furthermore, there is evidence of timber reuse in Walmer Castle, with tree-ring dating suggesting timbers were felled within the same timeframe, indicating potential repurposing of materials from other sites. Likewise, the linkage found to the largely forgotten brickworks near Sandown Castle are all interesting new-found connections worth of latter exploration.



Likewise, the primarily abandoned chapel at Eastry, which displays the finest example of Sandown's vast network of spolia, in the forms of the variety and condition of the freestones used, could now be better protected and enhanced. The consequence of undertaking this research has found that many buildings in East Kent may have reused stonework taken from Sandown. Sandown was an impressive structure, and perhaps this investigation is only the precursor in terms of the other buildings that may exist for which we do not have records. Further laboratory testing could be undertaken at Eastry and Dover Castle's estate to establish a complete map of the spolia re-use and lead to further conversations about spolia use in revivalism. This could have profound consequences as this research would be the precursor

Fig. 3 A chart showing the use and re-use of spolia at Sandown Castle.



towards developing a new understanding of the significance of Dissolution spolia use in historic buildings in this part of Kent. This author's spolia samples and laboratory reports have been donated for posterity to Deal Museum in the hope that this smaller institution will tell the narrative of the Castles of the Downs in a more intimate setting to inspire the public and future scholars to discover this singular, unprecedented network of fortresses for themselves. An example of how the City of Canterbury does this can be seen in Fig. 2.

### **Henry the Builder**

Whilst Henry VIII was not initially intended to be the focal point of this work, his contribution to the Downs and the lasting hold he has held over the country (arguably still to this day) has ensured that this work needed to discover more about the man and less about the myth. In doing so, when a researcher steps away from the near incessant slew of works regarding his marital affairs, there is, in fact, much less regarding the man. This is even more evident in the works depicting the young Henry as Duke of York. Therefore, part of this thesis has been trying to rediscover Henry, and from this, we have been largely successful. In doing so, we have accounted for the history of a figure who appears to be a true Renaissance man with many passions, particularly military engineering and architecture. While this study did not find any information to challenge our current knowledge of Henry, it did contribute to a reappraisal of what drove the man and the monarch. Not a discovery as such, but the reintroducing of Henry as the young Lord Warden has for many years been overlooked (perhaps as with many primary sources, he is listed, rightly so, as the Duke of York, which may have caused some scholars to miss this fact). This afforded the author to see what information remained of his time in this post, which led to the discovery of Henry VII's edict, demanding that the Cinque Port Barons obey his son as Lord Warden. This is interesting, as perhaps it shows Henry challenging the status quo of the ancient federation or perhaps making them work in favour of not just the Crown but also of the House of Tudor. It may also reflect Henry's attachment to Kent, something his surveyor John Leland famously

documented. The actual reasoning behind it may never be known. Still, it shows a level of fascination and dedication to this small part of his realm that perhaps was a higher priority than others (no less for the proximity to his enemies) that Leland said the King referred to as 'the key al Englande'.

Many of these smaller items discovered or ever reconfirmed about Henry have amassed together to give a clearer picture of how Henry the Monarch made decisions, where his focus was, and how skilful he was in not just politics. Henry was no lay client; as we have seen, he was masterful in engineering and with Nonsuch, the Nonsuch Banqueting House, the Downs, and the wider Device, he was clearly not just a grandiose visionary (as other monarchs have been), he could make these plans but also, more importantly, follow through and deliver them. This small client biography contextualises this work and demonstrates, through argument, how the significance of the Castles of the Downs is far greater than currently perceived. We have seen how much potential input Henry had and found links to other projects with which Henry was greatly involved. Essentially, we have offered an answer to the oldest question regarding the Castles of the Downs: who was their surveyor/architect? And in the context of the time, we can confidently offer that answer with the evidence found and the arguments made.

This inference has been argued within the context of how the early modern period builders in England worked, which is vastly different from current standards or long-served traditions. The omission of a Devysor in the Court Rolls, Henry's visits to the Downs, and the analysis of his other projects show how Henry likely conceived, commissioned, and placed great symbolism into these castles, projecting his new authority and empirical ambitions onto their design. The castles' legacy, strategic importance, and iconographic symbolism exemplify the influence of the Tudor dynasty and their need to establish themselves against a more comprehensive European power play. Ultimately, whilst we can never fully be sure who the architect was of these unique castles, they remain a testament to Henry's pioneering spirit, organisational prowess, and visionary thought. Their enduring

significance extends beyond mere defence, embodying a potent statement of Tudor supremacy, resilience, and adaptability.

### **Three different developments**

This work aimed to provide three respective accounts of the architectural developments for the three constituent members of Castles of the Downs. This has never been attempted; therefore, this work has taken years to fulfil, with thousands of primary and secondary sources appraised for their usefulness. Whilst Walmer benefited from some outline architectural development within established texts up until the twentieth century, and all three benefitted from Colvin's (and others) work in the construction phase of their life, other than these well-known episodes, all other areas of their existence have primarily been merely superficial examinations. Therefore, this work carefully appraises these developments to present the narratives of how these castles existed in the modern period. Likewise, finding the story of how these three castles developed, including information and images that have never been published, is important as this work can inform other projects and essentially catalyse further study into the Castles of the Downs. The locating of unpublished images, the author's attempts to obtain them at auction and near-endless searches for images through scores of different archives have been a constant dedication to the point of addiction.

These three chapters could also inform future conservation measures and how these castles are presented. Walmer, for example, is presented as though the Duke of Wellington has just died and features a small amount of Pitt and Queen Victoria, plus its more modern royal connection to HM The late Queen Mother. These three individuals left their mark on Walmer, but what of the other Lord Wardens? Churchill was in the post for two decades, and people are said to travel great distances to visit his home at the National Trust-run Chartwell. Likewise, when racked with grief, Lord Curzon essentially saved the building from

ruination, against the advice he received from state officials. Or even Lord Beauchamp and his Edwardian 'scandal', which to this day has essentially remained untold due to the perception of illegality and counterculture, which could now sensitively readdress the balance with emerging modern research themes regarding the experiences of dead or living homosexual people. Or even Lord Granville, who held the post for over a quarter of a century and whose charitable endeavours for the local area are largely forgotten.

The historical narrative surrounding Walmer Castle often highlights prominent figures and well-documented events, overshadowing the contributions of lesser-known custodians who played significant roles in shaping the castle's legacy. It is also surely not a coincidence that many of these contributions are by women. Among them is Mrs Allen, the unassuming housekeeper who dedicated an impressive sixty-three years of her life at Walmer.

We have found that Wellington's well-documented life could be rewritten as far as his death. The accepted view that the only depiction of his death includes his doctors and family members could be adjusted to show that his daughter-in-law was not at his feet at his death, as a primary text from Mrs Allen shows it was her that was there at the end. Whilst we can never fully be sure of this, we can state that this potential omission, the official presentation of Walmer, and countless other scholarly works show how under-documented she was in these six decades and how overlooked her contribution was to the castle. For example, when the 'Walmer Collection' was in its early establishment, the officials of the day would call her in, as she was the expert. This recognition is lost, and this work has aimed to establish her importance, and future presentational works should be commissioned to readdress this.

Similarly, despite their substantial contributions, the historical spotlight has not illuminated the roles of Lady Reading, Lady Stanhope, and Lady Willingdon. These women instigated numerous alterations within Walmer, some of which could be considered pioneering steps in architectural conservation when viewed by modern standards. For example, Lady Reading's determination to try and protect Lord Wellington's rooms and

furniture, even when they were not open to the public. It could be argued that this preservation is why we still have these rooms in this condition today.

Their endeavours, along with Mrs Allen's enduring commitment, underscore the importance of recognising and revisiting the narratives of those who operated behind the scenes, enriching the multifaceted history of Walmer Castle. For example, this work found little to no evidence of the Porters of the three castles. For Deal and Walmer, there is evidence of this role existing (primarily through alterations to their lodgings) into the twentieth century. Yet, their contributions to life at the castles appear to be undocumented. Therefore, there appears to be a feministic and class divide in the presentations at Walmer, which should be addressed in the future. This thesis is also inspiring English Heritage and other researchers alike to rediscover women's vital roles at Walmer with future research projects believed to be respectively presenting in 2024.

### **Earlier Domestication**

For this author, the greatest finding of this thesis has been the discovery of primary sources from the National Archives that show that Walmer Castle was domesticated far earlier than it has been believed to be. Essentially, this discovery will result in two factors: it essentially rewrites Walmer's early development (something that virtually no author has so far assessed), and it gives us a valid reason for one of the longest-standing mysteries of Walmer: Why was it chosen over all other places to become the Lord Warden's official residence.

The original accounts found within the National Archives and digitised at the request of this author show that the then Captain of Walmer instructed builders for the 'forming of six windows' and 'glazing work'. In 1643/1644, just over a century after constructing these castles as defensive fortifications, an intriguing development unfolds at Walmer. It marks, quite possibly, the earliest indication of a shift towards domestic living within the castle walls.



Although the precise location of these new windows remains undisclosed, and no visual depictions survive, it is plausible that they were situated within the keep as Walmer was still being used as a fortress during this century.

In 1966, the Office of Works uncovered hidden Tudor partitions and doorways concealed beneath later over-boarding. This dual revelation—of earlier installed windows and the 1966 disclosure of concealed Tudor features—suggests a concerted effort to enhance the comfort of the keep. Remarkably, this occurred sixty-five years before Lord Sackville's assumed domestication of the castle in 1708. Therefore, as we know, Sackville altered the castle greatly, and these drawings still largely survive; we did not know until now how the castle was altered from construction to 1708. We did not know there was already a level of domesticity and comfort within the castle. Nor did we see that no Captain was in position at this time, and it could be Lord Warden Sir Boys who may have been the first Lord Warden to live at Walmer Castle. This discovery is a significant finding that must be widely broadcast.

This revelation challenges conventional assumptions about the domestication timeline, shedding light on an earlier phase where the castles in the Downs, including Walmer, faced challenges in adaptation for military purposes. It prompts a crucial question: what efficacy does a keep hold in defending against adversaries when equipped with domestic, glazed windows? Therefore, was Walmer already seen as largely redundant for military purposes? Did these factors combine to give Sackville the impetus to move his official seat to Walmer? The inquiry extends beyond the scope of this study, urging further investigation to identify the specific windows in question and discern whether this initial domestication of Walmer served as this catalyst. If so, there is essentially enough primary evidence here that warrants further scrutiny and onsite investigation to provide a detailed evolution of the building between 1540 and 1708. For this thesis, this discovery essentially challenges the perceived architectural history of Walmer Castle and now poses more questions than perhaps originally thought.

## Limitations

Spolia remains a significantly understudied facet within historical research nationally in the UK and, more specifically, in the region of Kent. This void extends to the inclusion of Roman spolia in early medieval buildings, which has yet to receive a comprehensive examination within Kent. The prospect of mapping the extensive practice of Tudor and subsequent Victorian reuse emerges as a potential avenue for further scholarly investigation, albeit one fraught with challenges. Such endeavours entail the risk of causing damage, a concern amplified by the reluctance of key stakeholders, particularly custodians of state-owned properties, to engage in such explorations. Likewise, tracing spolia requires an intimate knowledge of the building in question and the local area. Tracing spolia is often akin to tracing the building's whole development, which is complex for every case study and costly in time and engagement. Likewise, immersing work from the Vernacular Architecture Group's dendrochronology database, Historic England, other recent works, and this thesis could be combined to focus on single sites, such as Canterbury Cathedral or St Augustine's Abbey, where some primary sources remain in varying conditions within a variety of archives.

This dearth of scholarly engagement is conspicuous even within the subset of Device Castles, prominently represented by the lack of knowledge of the Castles of the Downs. These fortifications, emblematic of a broader phenomenon across England, mark a transformative juncture in castle construction due to gunpowder developments on the battlefield. The urgency for more rigorous assessments of these castles is evident, where the pioneering and extensive 2001 study of Camber Castle by Biddle and colleagues emerges as a benchmark for methodological rigour, incorporating diverse research methodologies from archaeological investigations to archival inquiries. However, despite the work of Biddle, now over two decades long ago, a noteworthy lacuna exists as other sites within the Device have yet to undergo similar comprehensive reappraisals, underscoring the

imperative for intensified scholarly endeavours to unveil the multifaceted narratives underlying these significant structures into the broader Device.

During this research, many associated buildings with minor contributions to the Castles of the Downs have appeared noteworthy. Whether these be the receivers of spolia from Sandown, buildings within the gardens at Walmer and Deal, or associated buildings held by the various Lord Wardens and Captains of Deal, their stories have only been cursorily mentioned due to our focused scope. Many of these buildings still exist, and often, many are now privately occupied, which, for their histories, their narratives have not been discovered. A collection of these stories could be adapted from current research and collated to aid the local authorities and Historic England in future heritage and conservation appraisals. At least twenty buildings only fleetingly mentioned by this research could be investigated. All of these are in the East Kent area and could significantly alter our currently held heritage appraisals for the area and contribute further to this study of the Castles of the Downs.

### **Summary of Recommendations and Where Next**

Future research directions in the context of this study encompass several potential pathways for extending and refining knowledge, as well as addressing remaining gaps. The archaeological investigation of Sandown Castle and its bulwarks is an area ripe for exploration. Expressly, a deeper inquiry into the founding of the bulwarks is warranted, as from investigations seen in Appendix C, it would appear that three of the four constructed bulwarks may have some archaeological evidence remaining. This is an essential and fairly urgent enquiry, as man and nature have led to the destruction of the other three. Many people, including scholars, know little of the bulwarks, so it is hoped that this work, the first of its kind, has attempted to trace their histories and provide some insight into their operation and use. Notably, illustrations depicting bulwarks nearly equal in size to the castles

themselves suggest the prospect of significant archaeological revelations. Comparable, as previously stated, endeavours at Camber and Sandgate, notably carried out by Biddle and colleagues, offer exemplary models of archaeological investigation that could inform this exploration. Grant funding and local expertise, such as that of Kent's Archaeological Society, could be approached to appraise this position.

The history of the Downs' bulwarks and their establishment timeframe have been discussed using sources not previously mentioned in other works about these subordinate structures. Within the chapter on these and the attached apprentices, it has been hoped that all information currently available for these structures has been located, due mostly to the fact that little scholarly attention has been granted to them. However, if this is the case, more physical means of research could now be undertaken, whereby the locations as proposed by this work could now be used to physically detect the remains of these structures and answer the remaining questions about them, which are largely – when were they first established (as it seems clear some of them were there before the castles) and how long were they actually utilised for?

Beyond the excavations, establishing a dedicated Trust emerges as a proactive recommendation. Creating a local coalition comprising representatives from Sandown Castle Community Garden, Deal and Walmer castles, Deal Museum, Goodwin Sands Conservation Group, the newly formed Deal History Alliance, local councils, and historical initiatives could synergistically foster awareness and appreciation of the Castles of the Downs to raise local and national awareness. This proposition underscores the need to overcome the compartmentalisation that impedes holistic understanding and recognition of these sites. A standing that the current custodians of Walmer and Deal Castles, unfortunately, perpetuate to their visitors.

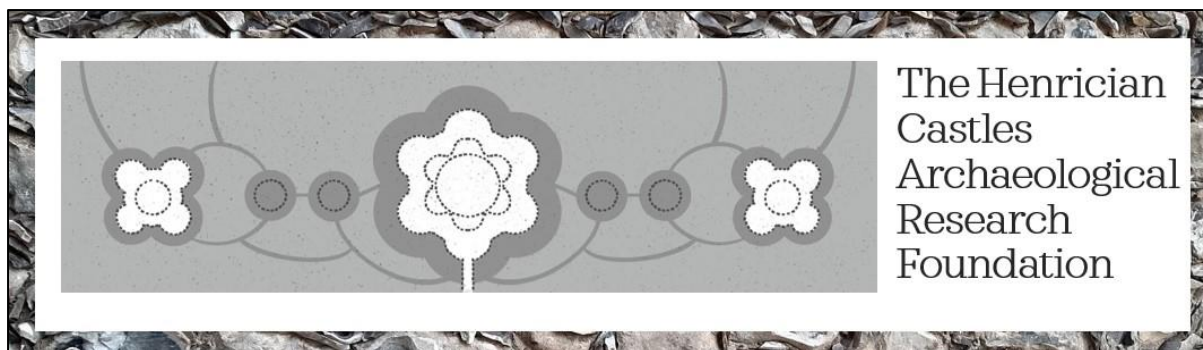


Fig. 4 Example of a logo for a board to be incorporated to research and market the wider Device Forts, © Christopher Moore.

Further avenues include safeguarding other Device Castles, similar to the approaches observed in the Sandown and Hurst Castle cases, along with the scientific examination of Sandown's spolia and foundational elements. The potential ramifications of the study extend to the opening of the Constables Gate and the enhancement of on-site informational resources at Walmer and Deal. An enhanced on-site presentation could encompass a more inclusive representation of key historical figures, shifting the focus from a select few (such as Wellington, Pitt, and Queen Victoria) to better acknowledge other significant contributors, like Liverpool, Granville, Curzon and the castle custodians.

Additionally, the restoration of Deal's frontage by reinstating the heavily weathered King's warrant and its original name, a renewed emphasis on the lesser-known contributions of individuals like Churchill and the Lady Wardens and pursuing listed status for Eastry Chapel necessitate further scholarly attention. This author applied for listing for the Eastry Chapel to return its state-levied protection (Grade II). However, Historic England refused the status because they do not currently list chapels of this nature, despite confirming the new research discoveries made by this thesis showing its new spolia provenience (Appendix O). As and when the DCMS and HE change their priority of the listing system, it is hoped by this author, SPAB, and the local authority (all bodies this author alerted to this situation) that the building could gain listed status with Historic England or the even a local listing with Dover District Council.





Fig. 5 The current construction site for new build housing surrounding Eastry Chapel, October 2023.

These research directions collectively broaden our comprehension of the Castles of the Downs, their historical significance, and their complex interactions with the local landscape and community. The primary outcome of this analysis establishes a fresh comprehension regarding Henry's association with the Downs' Castles. As they and many other Device Castles have received little scholarly attention, there are many avenues for future research projects to provide discoveries on these little-represented castles. In numerous respects, this research endeavour and its nearly eight years of work represent merely the initial foray into a complex scholarly domain. The work this thesis has demonstrated shows profound connections to Nonsuch Palace, the Dissolution and Victorian spolia, the Victorian interest in Sandown, the repercussions to the broader East Kent architecture and the discovery of earlier domestication at Walmer all combine to show that

the significance of these three castles is far greater than we assumed before this thesis. Through disseminating this work, we aspire to catalyse heightened academic scrutiny not exclusively concerning the Castles of the Downs but also encompassing the broader spectrum of Tudor Device Forts. By doing so, we should aim to foster the construction of a more comprehensive framework that can facilitate subsequent scholarly inquiries and investigations, as from this work, it is clear that there is still much to discover.



Fig. 6 The Author's son explored the woodland at Walmer Castle on one of the dozens of trips to the Castles of the Downs and other sites.

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**Appendix A:**

**Rediscovery of the Sandgate Construction Diary**



One primary source crucial for this project is the construction accounts for the works to Sandgate Castle, referred to in both *The History of the King's Works* and *Archaeologia Cantiana*. During the literature review portion of this work (c.2017-2018), it was found that this crucial original manuscript, known as 'The Sandgate Castle Construction Diary', was not listed with either the British Library (BL) or the British Museum (BM). Therefore, this section is an account of how the diary was found and re-catalogued.

The BM asserted it was a manuscript and suggested it should be housed within the BL. This is because when the BL was founded in the early 1970s, nearly all the books and manuscripts from the BM were transferred to this new facility, but not all.

The BL insisted it was a relic likely to be held at the BM. This proved to be a frustrating situation as both institutions believed they did not have it. Likewise, neither organisation appeared to be able to communicate with each other. The diary was essential for this research and an important piece of British history that had to be found and made available to current and future scholars. Notably, it is the only remaining construction diary from any of the Device Castles and offers many valuable insights into the workings of sites at this time in history.

Enquiries continued at both respective institutions, but with more of a focus on the BL, as it seems from the time this author has spent in the BL's Manuscript Office, it seemed more likely to be there and not at the BM. Additionally, the matter was somewhat compounded by the fact that the BL had acquired a new site in 1998, and many uncatalogued manuscripts had been moved there due to its growing size. After much work respectively corresponding between both organisations, this author proposed to the BL to search older and outdated cataloguing references to see whether it was within the BL as, for inexplicable reasons, it might not have been catalogued since the 1970s. This author provided Colvin's original reference notes that cited the original BM references (BM, MS 34,147). These were forwarded to the BL, and they eventually found the diary. It was stored at the BL amongst many texts that had not been classified since 1972 when the library split

from the museum. With help from the Manuscript Office, we were able to locate it and have it re-catalogued. The manuscript, which forms part of the Harleian Collection, was uncatalogued since the transfer and was allocated erroneously to another collection not fully catalogued. The Harleian Collection was initially founded in 1704 and now contains more than 7,000 manuscripts, 14,000 charters and 500 rolls sold to the BM under an Act of Parliament in 1753.<sup>1</sup>

Since this re-discovery in 2019, the contents have been appraised (with some help from scholars at the University of Kent) and, as this reader will see, have greatly aided this work. In 2022, the BL digitised this diary, meaning that after thirty years of being hidden away and uncatalogued, it is now accessible online for everyone to view.

It is interesting to ponder that although the manuscript was never lost if it had been uncatalogued since the early 1970s, it makes this author speculate whether the last scholars to appraise the diary were perhaps Colvin and his co-authors of *The History of the King's Works*.

Reference: Harley MS 1647

Link: [https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley\\_MS\\_1647](https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_1647)

Description: Thomas Busshe, A ledger book for expenses made for the construction of Sandgate Castle by Henry VIII (Volume 1). Contents:f. 1\*recto: 'The fyrst. the iide. iiiide. iiiith. vth. vith. viith. viiith. and the .ixth. boke of the leger of the Workes of the Kynges Castell at Sandgate in the tyme of Thomas Corkes and Rychard Keys Esquyres Commyssioners there [...]'.f. 2\*recto: A Latin inscription: 'Castrum domini et Regis de Sandegate'. ff. 1r-176r: Thomas Busshe, Clerk of the Ledger, A ledger book for expenses made for the construction of Sandgate Castle by Henry VIII, 30 March-7 December 1540 [covering parts of the 31st and 32nd years of Henry VIII's reign]; each part has been signed by an officer. Decoration:Large and medium initials with cadels in black ink, some with penwork decoration and human faces in throughout the manuscript. The large initials at the beginning of different books also feature architectural elements, knotwork and hybrid figures. The decorated initial on f. 111r features an architectural element containing the name of 'Thomas Busshe'; the initial on f. 141r the initials 'RS' and 'RK'.

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<sup>1</sup> Wright, C., E., *Fontes Harleiani: A Study of the Sources of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts Preserved in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1972)

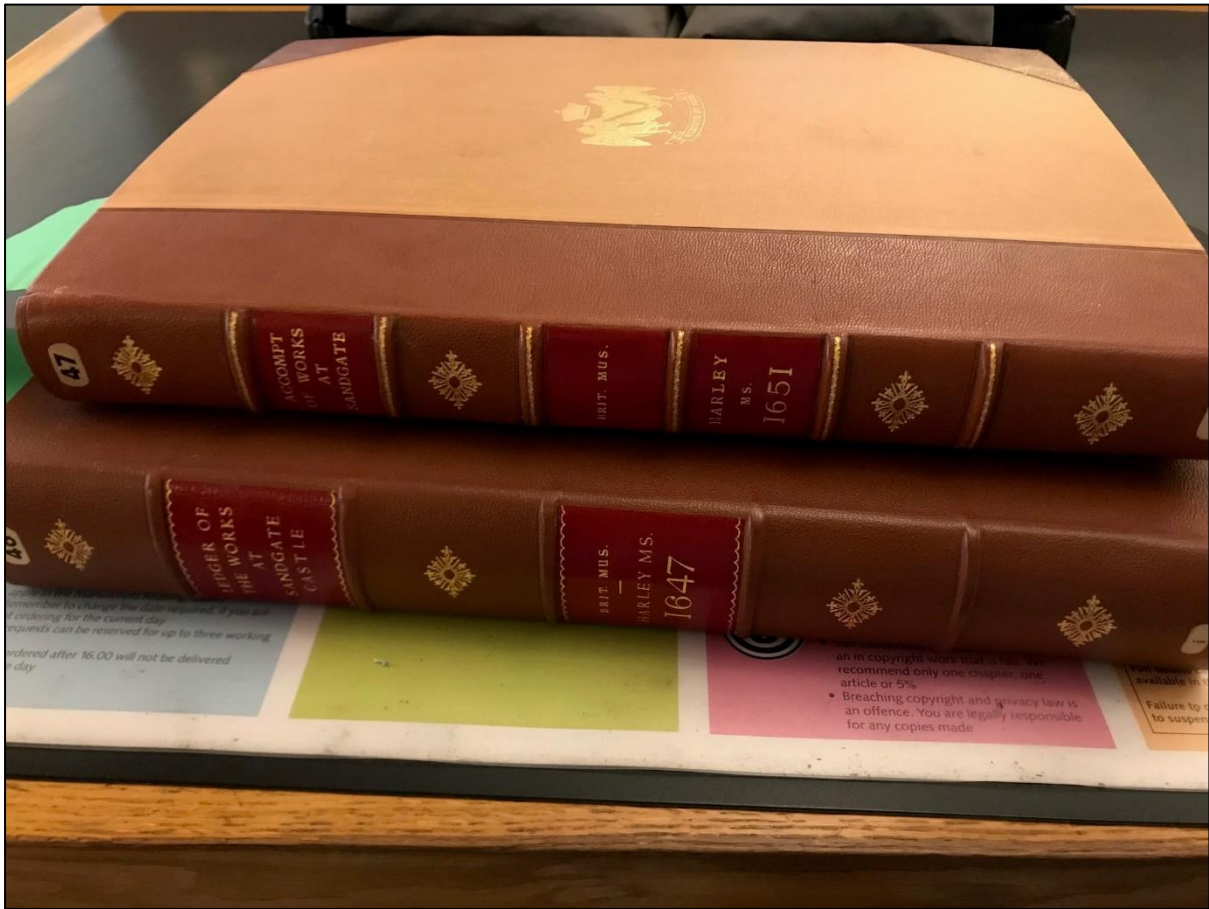


Fig. 1 The now catalogued and digitised Sandgate Diary, photographed here when first presented to the author in 2019 in the Manuscript's Office, The British Library, London.

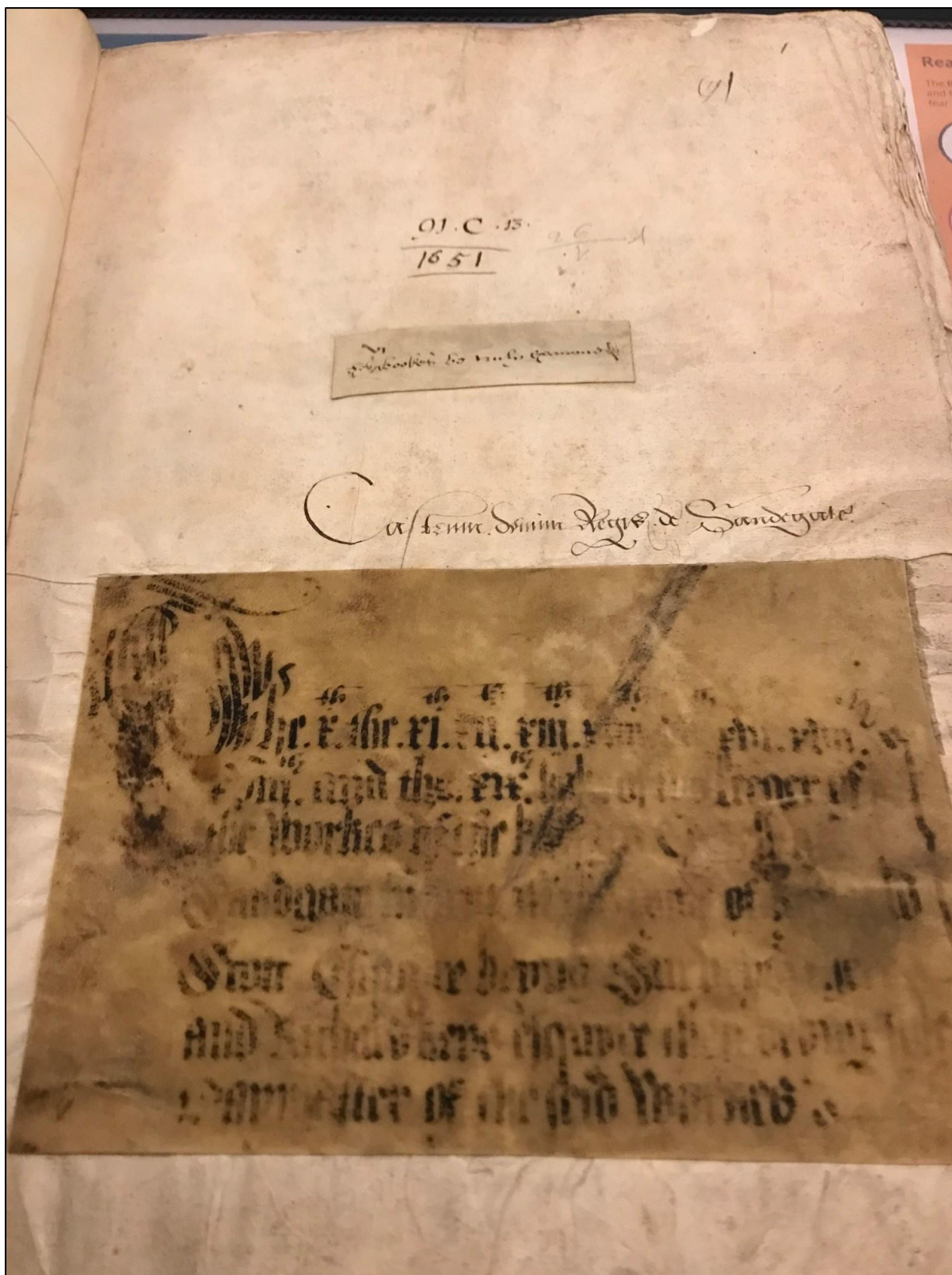


Fig. 2 Inside the front cover of the manuscript

**Appendix B:**  
**Deal Castle Photographic Survey January 2020**





View north from the carpark



The interior of the keep



The officers' quarters within the keep





Areas of spolia





Areas of spolia





Tudor fireplace



The walkway down to The Rounds





Obvious spolia, likely a sandstone from the Folkestone beds





Areas of alteration facing north heading towards the gatehouse





Windows in the bailey





Grassed moat and vegetation growing onto the monument





An MoWs plaque





Inner bastions from the bailey showing the extent of freestone spolia as deployed by the Tudor builders





Spolia, flint, and CBM used in the keep's basement walling





Freestone spolia vault ribbing





Freestone spolia vault ribbing



The current chapel



A portion of unaltered Tudor embrasure

**Appendix C:****Essay on the Likely Locations of the Tudor Bulwarks in the Downs**

After the construction of the Castles of the Downs, the bulwarks were only manned for a short while as they were found to be 'defaced' by 1547, and the guns were subsequently removed and taken to Dover Pier. By the 1550s, they were said to be abandoned entirely.<sup>1</sup> Records have been found that show the abandonment after 1553 as the most northern bulwark, the Great Turf Bulwark, appointed a new captain, Thomas Patche though in 1553 he died in the same year.<sup>2</sup> Further primary sources show that in 1553 the Clay Bulwark appointed a new Captain, William Oxenden, who remained in the role until he died in 1558.<sup>3</sup> It is possible that as the bulwark captains died or moved commission, they were not replaced in their roles, and the bulwarks were left to dilapidate. Lost records appraised in the nineteenth century found that a survey was undertaken shortly after Elizabeth I became Queen at the end of 1558, and it showed that the Little Turf Bulwark had one gunner stationed; the Great White/Clay Bulwark had four gunners and two soldiers, and the Walmer/Black Bulwark had one porter and one gunner. The Great Turf (nearest Sandown) appears to have already been abandoned.<sup>4</sup> After this period, the priority appears to be staffing the castles rather than the bulwarks.

There is also some uncertainty regarding how new the bulwarks were. We certainly know from surviving records that Stephen von Haschenperg was being sent from Sandgate Castle's construction works to the Castles of the Downs works, and this is widely accepted that he was the overseer of the bulwarks and earthworks.<sup>5</sup> Where the uncertainty lies, and as we have stated, is that some of these bulwarks may have already existed in this area before 1539. The antiquarian John Leland, in his perambulation, stated:

'Deale half a myle fro the shore of the sea, a Finssheher village three myles or more above Sandwic, is upon a flat shore, and very open to the se, wher is a fosse or a

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<sup>1</sup> Harrington, P., *The Castles of Henry VIII* (London: Osprey Publishing, 2007), 54.

<sup>2</sup> Bindoff, S., T., *The History of Parliament, The House of Commons, 1509-1558*, Appendices A-C (Secker & Warburg, 1982), 69.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 39-40

<sup>4</sup> Colburn, H., 'Article by H Colburn', *United Service Journal, Naval and Military Magazine*, Part II, (1837): 297

<sup>5</sup> O'Neil, B.H. St John, 'Stefan von Haschenperg, an Engineer to King Henry VIII, and his Work.' *Archaeologia* 2nd ser., 91 (1945): 137-155.



great bank artificial betwixt the town and se, and beginnith about Deale and renneth a great way up toward S. Margarets Clyfe, yn as much that sum suppose that this is the place where Cæsar landed in aperto Litore. Surely the fosse was made to kepe owt ennemyes ther or to defend the rage of the se, or I think rather the casting up beche or pible.<sup>6</sup>

We cannot be sure about the exact date of Leland's visit, but as it was before the construction of the Downs castles, it gives a fascinating account that some ramparts and fosses (ditches) were already present. We also know that the works to construct the castles and the bulwarks were, for the time, were exceptionally fast, so it is likely that existing earthworks could have been re-used. This is possible, as we have seen with Von Haschenperg and his later works they do show a degree of engineering naivety which may reinforce the idea of re-use, as it would have been easier for him to do.

Likewise, we know from surviving accounts at Dover that bulwarks and fosses existed down the shoreline, with Henry VIII constructing further examples there in 1540.<sup>7</sup> Clinch, in his 1915 work on the defences of the Cinque Ports, notes that it would be inconceivable to have such a large stretch of coast with close deep water be unprotected in some form during the medieval period, especially as this area was neighbouring one of the main pilgrim routes to and from mainland Europe.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, this suggests that some form of defence must have been present before the works at the Castles of the Downs commenced, mainly as large and small-scale landings had already been undertaken at The Downs before the castles' constructions.

Hasted visited in 1800 and also confirmed that some earthworks were in existence before the Castles were built:

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<sup>6</sup> Hasted, E., *'The town and parish of Deal', in The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 10* (Canterbury: W. Bristow, 1800), 58

<sup>7</sup> Dover District Council, *Dover District Heritage Strategy*, (Dover: Dover District Council, 2018), 83.

<sup>8</sup> Clinch, G., *English Coast Defences from Roman Times to The Early Years of The Nineteenth Century* (London: G. Bell, 1915), 161

'Before these three castles were built, there were between Deal and Walmer castle, two eminences of earth, called the Great and Little Bulwark; and another, between the north end of Deal and Sandown castle, (all which are now remaining;) and there was probably one about the middle of the town, and others on the spots where the castles were erected. They had embrasure for guns, and together formed a defensive line of batteries along that part of the coast, when there was deep water, and where ships of war could approach the shore to cover the disembarking of an enemy's army.'<sup>9</sup>

Hasted explains that some of the existing bulwarks were built over, and if correct, this will significantly contribute to the speed at which these castles were constructed. Likewise, although a secondary source, it does show that some antiquarians believe that some of these earthworks pre-date the earthworks that were carried out in 1539-1540. The contemporary antiquarian of Leland, William Camden (1551 – 1623), was recounted by Topographer Edward Brayley (1773 – 1854) when he surmised that some of these works may have been left over from Caesar's encampment from the Roman landings, which due to the passing of time and the disambiguation on where Caesar landed it is hard to agree with Camden on this point, but it does corroborate Leland's account that some earthworks did exist before 1539.<sup>10</sup> It is also worth mentioning that Colvin refers to these fortifications at The Downs as being all newly constructed.<sup>11</sup> However, it is worth noting that Colvin cites original surviving documents, mainly from the State Papers, so it might have been that in their haste to instruct these fortifications, the Crown did not know that some surviving bulwarks, no matter how modest, were in situ at The Downs.

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<sup>9</sup> Hasted, E. *'The Liberty of the Cinque Ports (continued): Walmer'*, In *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 10*, edited by W. Bristow (Canterbury: W. Bristow, 1800), 18.

<sup>10</sup> Brayley, E. W., *The Beauties of England and Wales: Kent* (London: Thomas Maiden, 1806), 411.

<sup>11</sup> Colvin 1982

## Design

As these were often nothing more than slightly elaborate shelters for guns, we do not have much information to analyse on their design. However, we can see from elsewhere what they looked like after completion. The frailty of design to weather and time can be seen in the following Fig. 1, that of a drawing from a manuscript by the same King's Works from c.1540/1541. It shows a banked earthen fort with crude timber buttresses around a raised portion for two cannons, constructed in Dover as the Mote Bulwark, to guard the Port. What remained of the same bulwark can be seen in Fig. 2 from the seventeenth century. Whilst these later much-altered depictions do show the conventional parts of a bulwark, it is said that this bulwark did also contain a building (probably used for storage), which may have given the bulwark its name of Mote, that of 'mote and bailey'.<sup>12</sup> Whether this was unique to this bulwark or whether this feature was shared on the bulwarks at the Downs, we do not know, as little to no description survives.



*Fig. 1 A colored view of the North Cliffs, Dover, shewing 'The Bulwerck under the Castell Dyke.' Mote Bulwark constructed in c.1540/1541 British Library Manuscripts Dept, 'A colored view of the North Cliffs, Dover, shewing 'The Bulwerck under the Castell Dyke*

<sup>12</sup> Ingleton, R., D., *Fortress Kent*, 112.

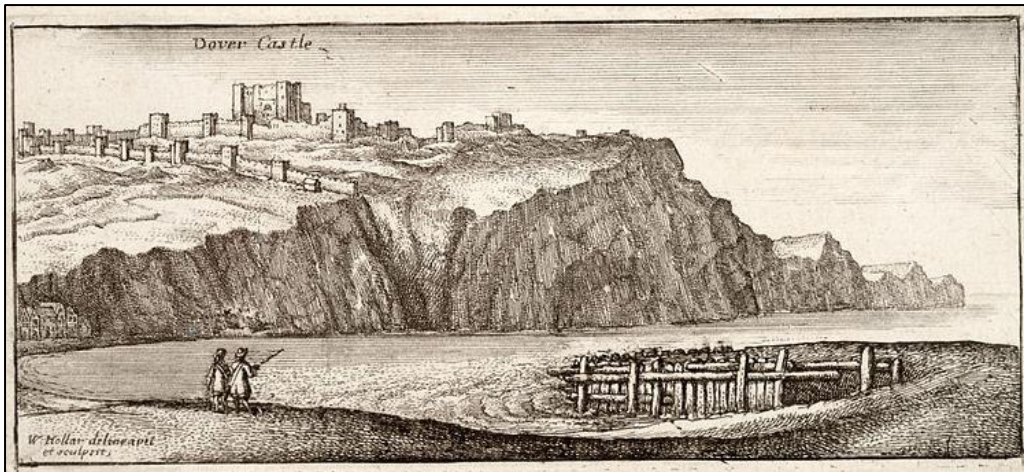


Fig. 2 The remains of the Mote Bulwark in Dover c.mid-seventeenth century. 'Dover Castle by Wenceslaus Hollar', Unknown date (author lived 1607-1677), University of Toronto Wenceslaus Hollar Digital Collection

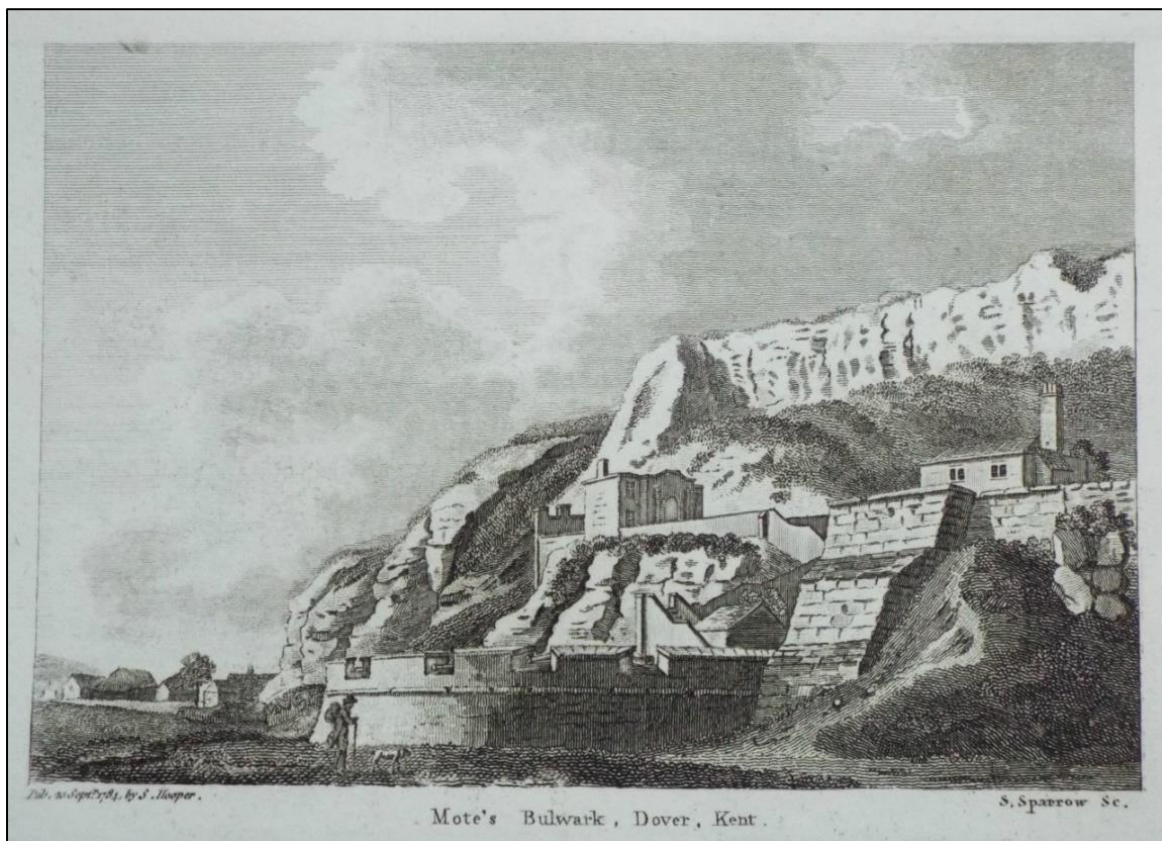


Fig. 3 An engraving of the much-redeveloped Mote's Bulwark in Dover in 1784. Hooper, S., Mote's Bulwark in Dover, Kent, 1784

The grandest locally constructed bulwark was the Great Bulwark, built in the nearby town of Sandwich in 1451. Whilst it is believed that nothing remains of this bulwark, it was said to be two stories tall and be partly constructed from timber and stone.<sup>13</sup>

If the Downs bulwarks and ditches existed before, it does give some bearing on the construction design of the Castles of the Downs, as it may have defined their siting, they may have contributed to the pace of construction, and they may have contributed to the accommodation of the workers to aid in the pace of the delivery of the works. It would have been very unlikely that such an army of men would have been accommodated solely in the small fishing village of Deal during this time, and bulwarks, combined with tents, would have been likely places to rest these workers.

It is also worth noting that at least one Downs bulwark was repaired in the seventeenth century (that of the Great Turf, though it may have been the Black/Walmer Bulwark; the one closest to Walmer Castle – the records are not conclusive on this). The outbreak of the English Civil War in 1642 saw all three castles held by the Royalists. By 1648, Parliamentary forces responded, eventually capturing all three. During this campaign, with the various confrontations that occurred locally, one bulwark was repaired and re-used, if only briefly. 'The Bulwark was thrown up' suggested that one bulwark was repaired hastily.<sup>14</sup> We know this as the same bulwark was documented when Pitt later used it for drilling his volunteers during exercises he undertook as Lord Warden in 1803.<sup>15</sup> This same bulwark was also noted in 1803 (also with the wrong name) when Pitt and Lady Stanhope stood on the ramparts of it to watch the Downs Pilots give a ceremonial salute at sea.<sup>16</sup> The source of both of these events comes from private correspondence from Pitt, which is why the name may have been stated incorrectly.

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<sup>13</sup> Ingleton, R., D., 118.

<sup>14</sup> Pritchard, S., *The History of Deal*, 225-226.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid

<sup>16</sup> Laker, J., *The History of Deal*, 325.



## The Locations of the Bulwarks

As they are essential to constructing the Castle of the Downs, we should, using available resources, attempt to discover where they existed. Dover Council recently researched their local heritage assets and included the bulwarks in their assessment. Using the same method north to south formula but with a contemporary map, they found the bulwarks to be positioned thus (Fig. 4):

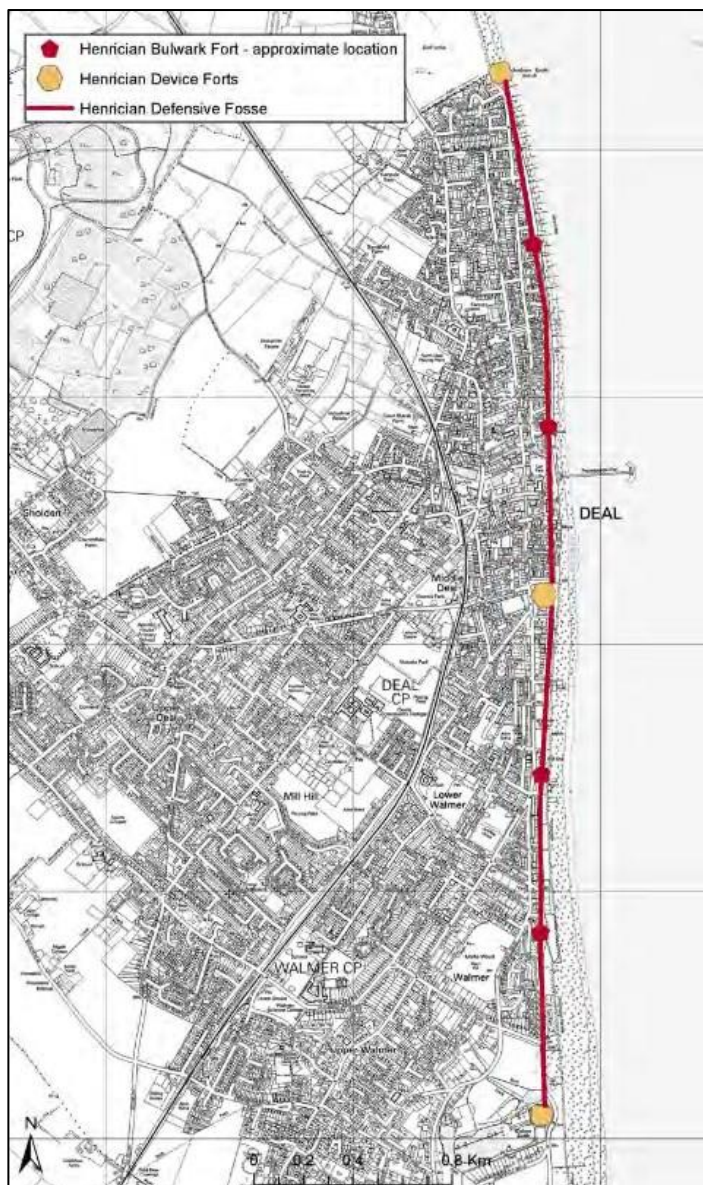


Fig. 4 The Device castles of the Downs, their bulwarks and ditches. Dover District Council, Dover District Heritage Strategy, 2018, 72.

Using Dover's report, we can then trace these approximate locations: The first bulwark under scrutiny is the Great Turf Bulwark, which manifests as a peculiar bend at the intersection of Marina Road and Hengist Road. This area presents an intriguing anomaly regarding its road configuration, thus necessitating a comprehensive examination. Moving on, the second bulwark, known as the Little Turf Bulwark, encompasses the location of a modern-day car-park of the Royal Hotel. Specific attributes differentiate it from its surroundings within this designated area, making it an intriguing subject for scholarly analysis. The Royal Hotel car park's distinctive features and geographical placement contribute to its classification as a distinct bulwark within the broader region. Shifting our focus, the third bulwark, the Great White Bulwark of Clay, encompasses the vicinity of the Lifeboat Station. This area stands out due to its unique geographical composition, characterised by a prominent presence of raised landscaping. The Great White Bulwark of Clay warrants thorough exploration to comprehend its geological significance and potential implications for the surrounding environment. Lastly, the Walmer Bulwark, alternatively known as the Black Bulwark, is situated close to Walmer Castle, specifically in the vicinity where the Kingsdown Road undergoes an intriguing kink. This distinct curvature along the road's trajectory highlights the Walmer Bulwark's significance as a noteworthy geographical feature, meriting a comprehensive investigation to unravel its underlying causes and implications.

Two of these bulwarks can be seen below in one of the earliest surviving maps of the castles. It shows two bulwarks with the Black Bulwark marked and the one, 'The Great White', with a faded name on the inkwork.

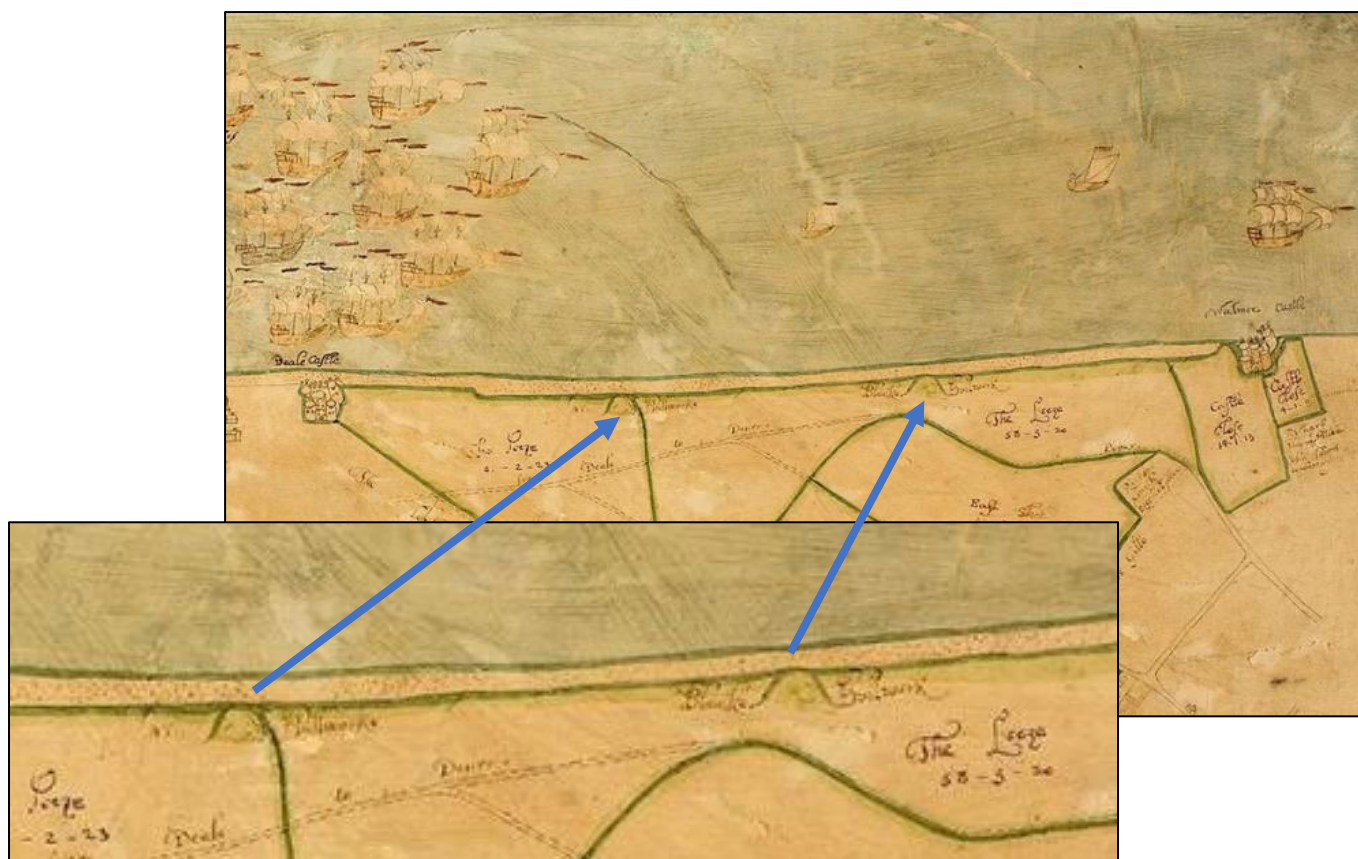


Fig. 5 Fig: Map from 1640 showing Deal and Walmer Castles, along with two bulwarks. The Walmer Collection, Map displayed at Walmer Castle, 'Pre-English Civil War map', 1640.

19.

The Kent County Council heritage system, 'Exploring Kent's Past,' is digitised online and has a dedicated page for the bulwarks.<sup>17</sup> It states that The Great Turf and Little Turf locations are uncertain, but the Great White and Walmer bulwarks are in more accurate locations. It also states that the Great White was located close to the lifeboat station due to mounds of earth that still existed in 1795, and the Walmer bulwark is further down the coast in a position that also had some protruding earthworks in 1795. It is stated that an Admiralty Chart from 1795 was overlaid onto a contemporary map to make these distinctions. This latter assessment comes from a rare pamphlet by local historian Ray Harlow (unknown dates).

<sup>17</sup> Site:

<https://webapps.kent.gov.uk/KCC.ExploringKentsPast.Web.Sites.Public/SingleResult.aspx?uid=MKE16651>, accessed: December 2021

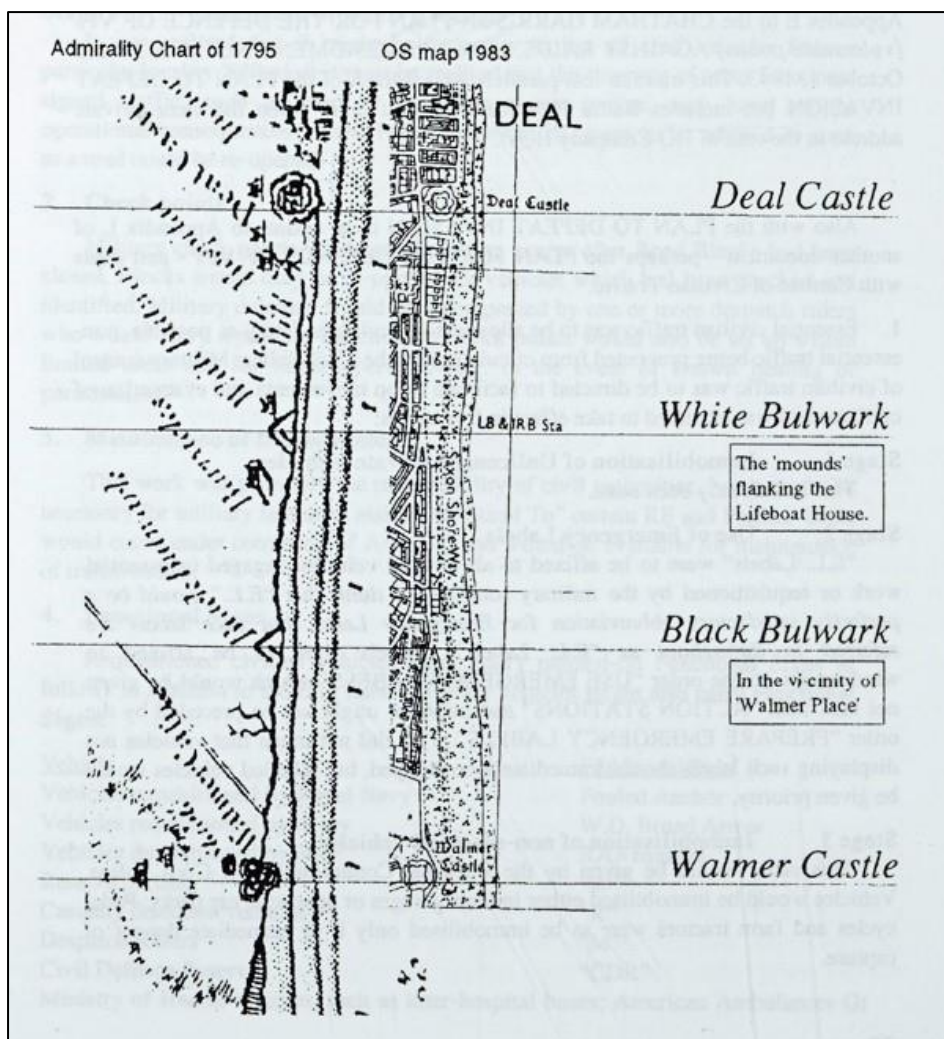


Fig. 6 Harlow's assessment of the locations of the White and Black (Walmer) bulwarks, Ray Harlow, 'Bulwarks at Walmer,' *Ravelin* (June 1997) pp. 18-19 (Miscellaneous Material). SKE6440.

Harlow's assessment of a bulwark near Walmer Place may be reasonably accurate. The house is now demolished, but early twentieth-century maps show an unexplained and unlabelled 'D' shaped feature within the gardens (Fig. 7). As noted earlier, the bulwarks were nearly all lost by 1900, and this could be a nineteenth-century battery foundation either located on or near where this bulwark once stood.<sup>18</sup> Intriguingly, the Tudor-built Gravesend Blockhouse on the other side of Kent also left behind 'D' shaped footings (Fig. 7).<sup>19</sup> Although

<sup>18</sup> Martin, E., E., *An Inn to a Mansion* (Deal: E. E. Martin, 2015)

<sup>19</sup> Colvin, 1982, 602



this was believed to be a more substantial structure with an upper storey, the fact that these foundations match the ones below on the OS map from 1900 and are in the general area is an interesting prospect that should warrant further archaeological investigation.<sup>20</sup> It would have been likely that to support heavy guns, the bulwarks must have been constructed with materials to support these, and if they remain, they could be discovered at a later date. The circular feature to the west was a pond, which, although altered in the 1960s, is still present.<sup>21</sup> The other issue with this theory is that the shape appears only on early twentieth century maps, and after WW2, it is not shown again. Intriguingly, a modern carpark is just south of this site and is named 'Barrow Pit' by the Council. No information can be gathered as to why it is named this, but it is a curious name to choose next to a site which may have been the location of a mounded Bulwark.

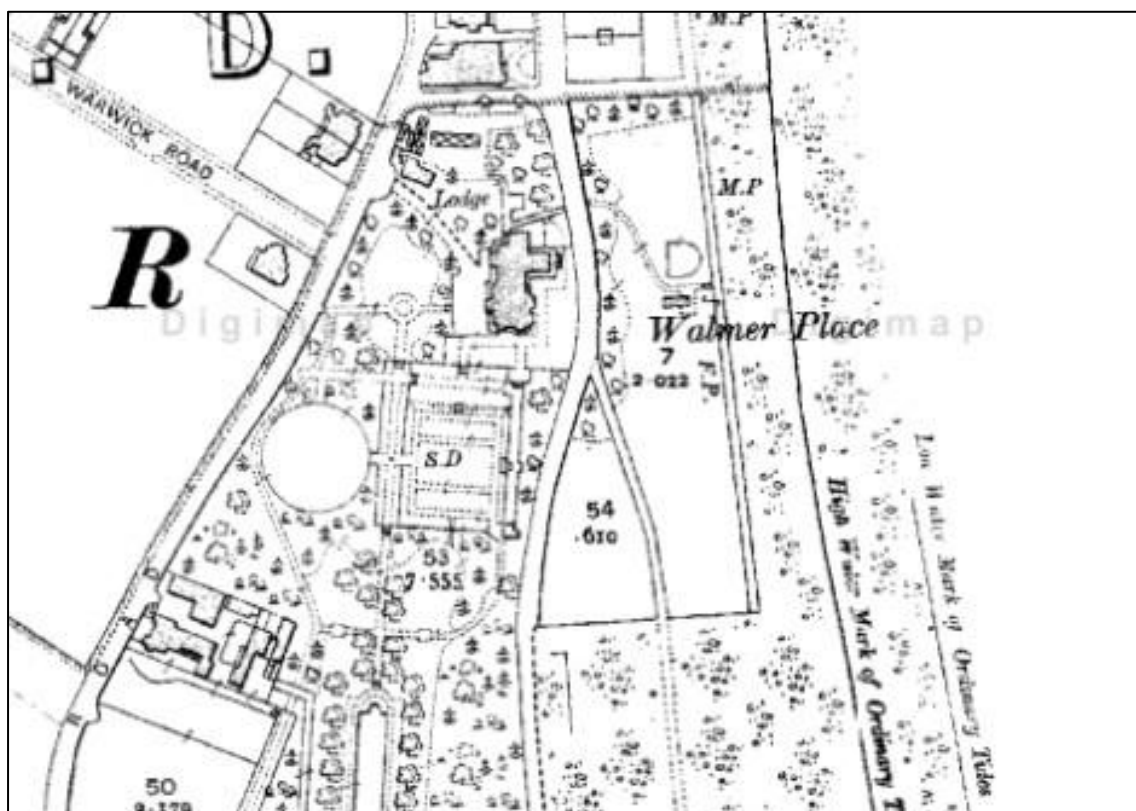


Fig. 7 1900 OS map of Walmer, Digimap Service.

<sup>20</sup> The land does also mount to peak in this location, site visit July 2019

<sup>21</sup> Martin, E., E., *An Inn to a Mansion* (Deal: E. E. Martin, 2015)





Fig. 8 Fig: Gravesend Blockhouse foundations, 2012. 'Remains of Gravesend Blockhouse', Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 Generic license, 2012.

Likewise, both Harlow and the DDC assessment could be accurate further, as on the same map at the Lifeboat station area, we see a similar circular feature: a capstan.

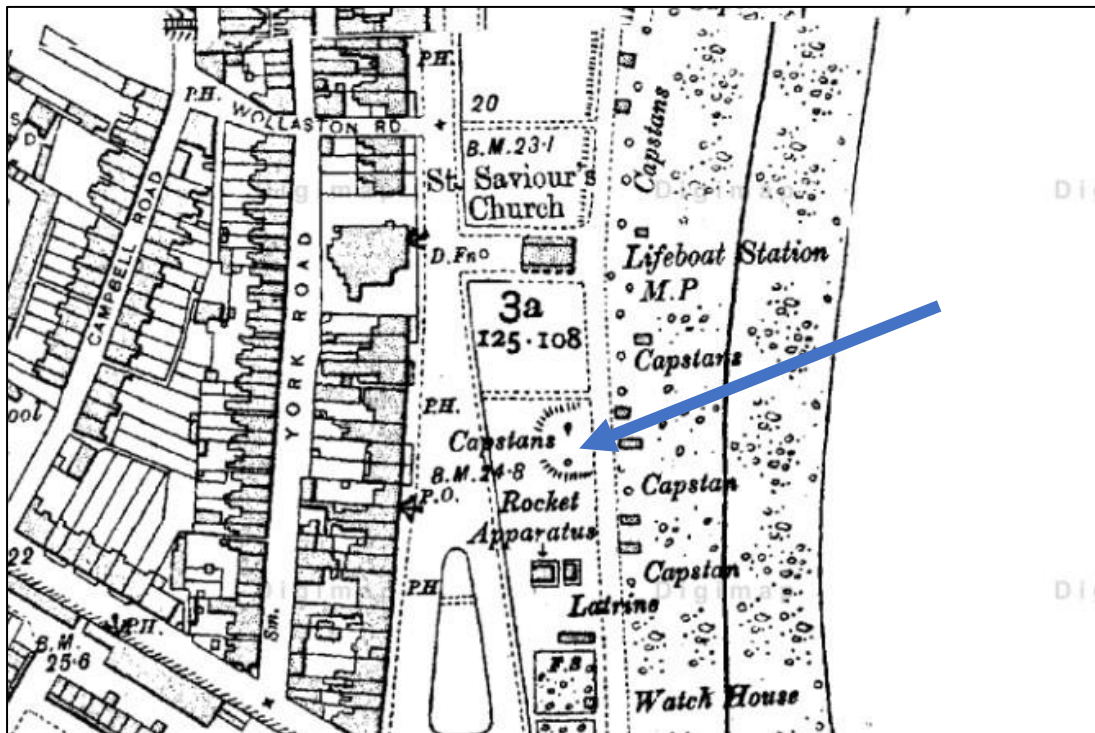


Fig. 9 1900 map of Deal, Digimap Service.

Capstans are used by sailors to tow and secure ships, in this case, they would be used to tow boats ashore. A bulwark, even diminished, being circular and on protruding ground, would make good reuse into a mainland capstan (see Fig. 10 shows this earthwork today). Elvin notes in his work that the Lifeboat Station was constructed upon land that formerly held the White Bulwark (he states 'white or little').<sup>22</sup> Therefore, the earth that was used as a capstan was either formed from the bulwark or was some form of restorative nod to the site's former use. An 1842 newspaper article also confirms that two capstans were in existence in Deal during this time and that they had existed before 1539:

'Before Walmer Castle was built there existed between it and Deal Castle, which lies but a short distance, two eminences of earth, called the Great and Little Bulwark. These still remain, as proof of the necessity understood our ancestors of fortifying this portion of the coast. These once had embrasures for guns, and formed with others a defensive line of batteries along that part of the shore, where there was deep water, and where ships of war could approach the shore to cover the disembarking of an enemy's army.'<sup>23</sup>

If true, and if these were not confused with the two southerly bulwarks, it would mean that the two most northern bulwarks were the oldest and in the mid-nineteenth century still existed. The oldest surviving map for this area, which provides some accuracy, is from the 1870s and does not show any circular earthworks other than a windmill just south of Sandown Castle. Building a windmill on raised earth or high ground is essentially good design practice, The only issue with this theory is that the windmill was reasonably close to the castle, was likely built for the castle and was probably still in existence at the same time as the bulwark. However, the location is within the tolerance of the DDC assessment and could have been on the site of a capstan. The long-lost windmill is depicted below in a rare painting of the area from 1825 (Fig. 11).

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<sup>22</sup> Elvin, 1890.

<sup>23</sup> Hereford Journal. 1842. 'Local News.' *Hereford Journal*: November 30, 1842, P. 14.



*Fig. 10 A photograph by the author in 2021 of the earthen mound on Walmer seafront near the Lifeboat Station.*



*Fig. 11 The Sandown smock windmill near Sandown Castle in 1825. Sandown Castle Mill, Deal, gouache and watercolour on paper, signed initials JP (possibly by James Price), titled Sandown Castle, dated 1825, held in a private collection.*

An early etching from circa the early seventeenth century also omits the bulwarks from depiction. It shows mounds of earth between Sandown and Deal Castles and people standing upon them, yet does not show any of the associated works or infrastructure (Fig. 12).



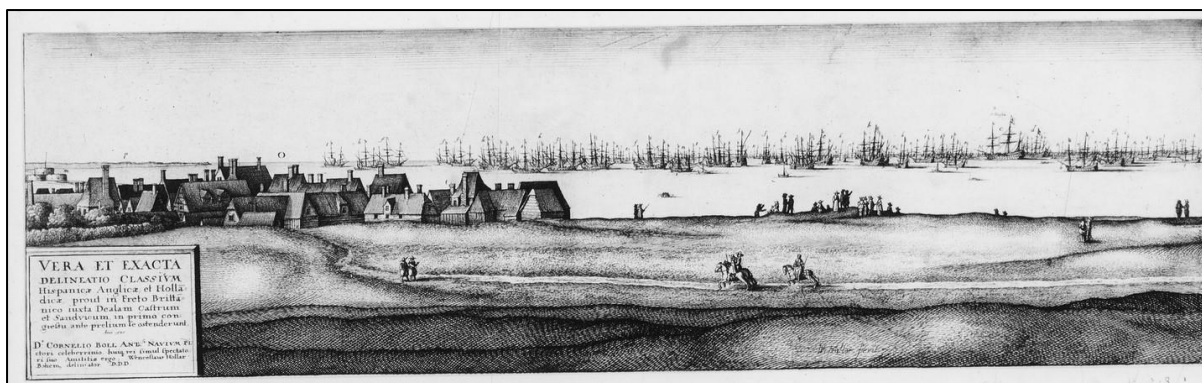


Fig. 12 Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-77), *The fleets off Deal*. Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-77), *The fleets off Deal*, The Royal Collection

One of the bulwarks' best latter and primary accounts was from famed antiquarian William Stukeley (1687-1765). Stukeley famously undertook many detailed sketches of the places he visited during his life, and one such location was that of the Castles of the Downs, where he undertook three sketches. These sketches are vital as they detail what the bulwarks looked like in the eighteenth century, whether they still existed, and their approximate location; they also give some context to the land's topography.

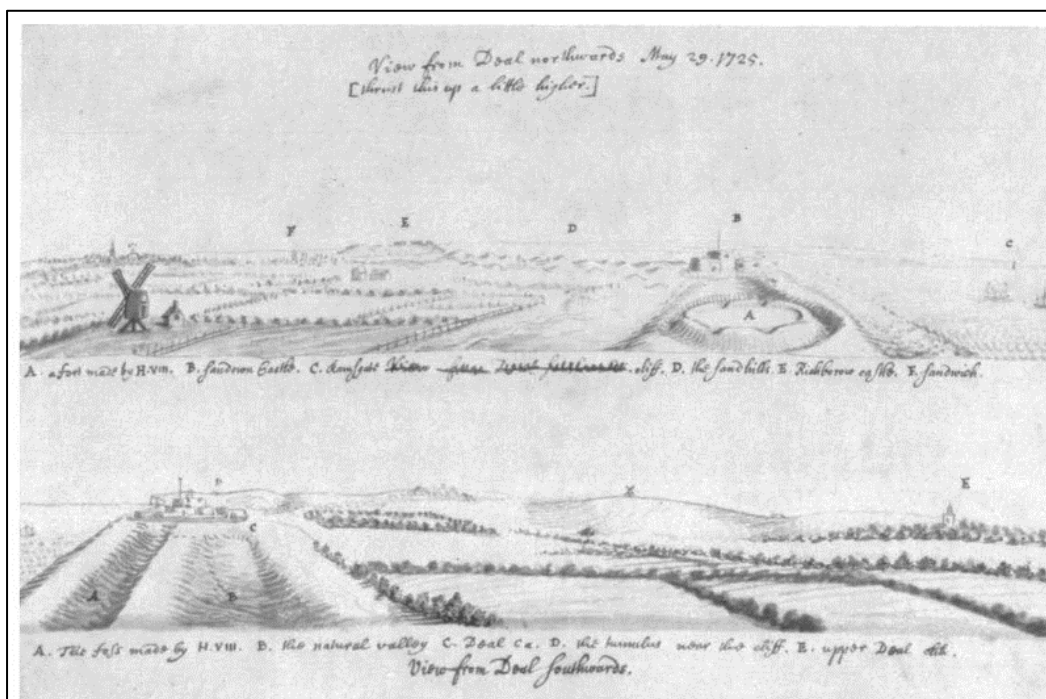


Fig. 13 Fig: Stukeley's drawings of the Downs, 1725. Saunders, A., *Fortress Britain*, (Beaufort, 1989), 38.

Deal and Walmer castles are shown with two rounded bulwarks between them. The bulwarks, which show erosion by the tide, have rear entrances on their inland elevations, and a large running ditch or covered way connects the four fortifications. The bulwarks include embrasures for mounding cannons and appear reinforced with timber shoring. As these fortifications were all essentially lost (by at least the early nineteenth century), and no drawings or depictions remain elsewhere, it proves that Stukeley's illustrations are the best primary source of how they looked and operated. It is also interesting to note with the illustrations how close Walmer and Deal Castles are to the shoreline, as both are now comfortably behind the beachline. Though only two are depicted, Stukeley later confirmed that three bulwarks were still standing when he visited in 1725.<sup>24</sup>

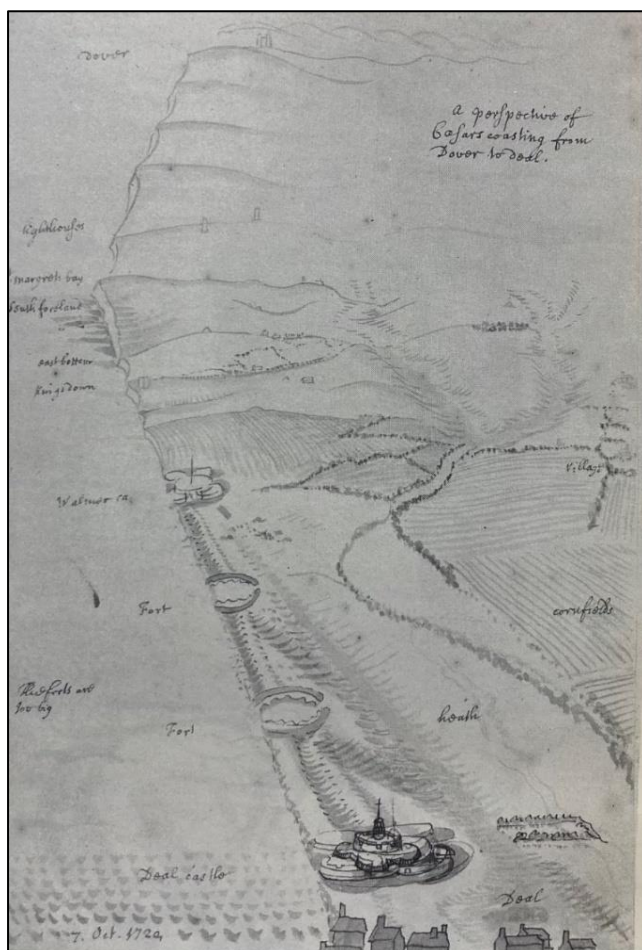


Fig. 14 Fig: Stukeley's drawing of Deal to Walmer, 1725. Saunders, A., *Fortress Britain*, (Beaufort, 1989), 39.

<sup>24</sup> Kenyon, J. R., 'A note on two original drawings by William Stukeley depicting 'The three castles which keep the Downs'. *The Antiquaries Journal* 58, Issue 1 (March 1978): 162 – 164.



Into the nineteenth century and the primary evidence of the bulwarks remaining becomes scarce. It is likely by this time and their probable abandonment by the Crown that they start to silt over. Any good timber and stone (if indeed stone were used) were likely taken and reused elsewhere.

One of the northern bulwarks existed on a map from 1769. Later in the 1790s, Hasted added none of the bulwarks to his map of Deal, and by c.1800, another map from the Ordnance Surveyor's Office shows a windmill located south of the Lifeboat station location, which may or may not be possible reuse of a bulwark foundation.

Harlow's research in 1997 found that by 1795 only two bulwarks remained, the two between Deal and Walmer Castles (White and Black bulwarks).<sup>25</sup> Dividing the space equally from the castles on the admiralty maps, he found they were nearly one mile apart and thus in three equal portions, he speculated on the locations of the bulwarks today. Using this method, he found that the possible site next to the Lifeboat station is probably accurate. He found where the Castle Windmill once stood, which is where Clanwilliam House is today (this was in situ until at least 1800, as seen on Fig. 16). Clanwilliam House was formerly the housing for the Clanwilliam Baths, which was opened in 1878 by Captain of Deal Castle, Earl of Clanwilliam. It closed in 1911 and was converted into flats. This description shows that this land was part of the Deal Captaincy and held a windmill for several decades.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, when traced back towards Deal Castle from this site, about halfway (using his method) are the mounds near the Lifeboat Station could be where the White Bulwark was once located. There is a precedence for this, as Harlow points out, that as the Coast Guard started as an emergency service it did so using the military infrastructure.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Harlow, R., 'Bulwarks at Walmer'. *Ravelin*, (1997): 18-19.

<sup>26</sup> Gaffen, J., Local resident testimony, 2022

<sup>27</sup> Harlow, R., 'Bulwarks at Walmer'. *Ravelin*, (1997): 18-19.



*Fig. 15 Photograph by the author in 2021 of how Clanwilliam House looks today.*

Harlow then used the 1795 OS map and found that the southern bulwark, The Black Bulwark, would have been located on or near where Walmer Place once stood (now it is a block of modern 1960s houses and apartments). He speculates here that a slightly raised mounding of rectangular earth by a large gazebo could be the site of the Black Bulwark. Likewise, an article in the local paper from 1895 and Elvin both also state this as the location of the Black Bulwark.<sup>28</sup>

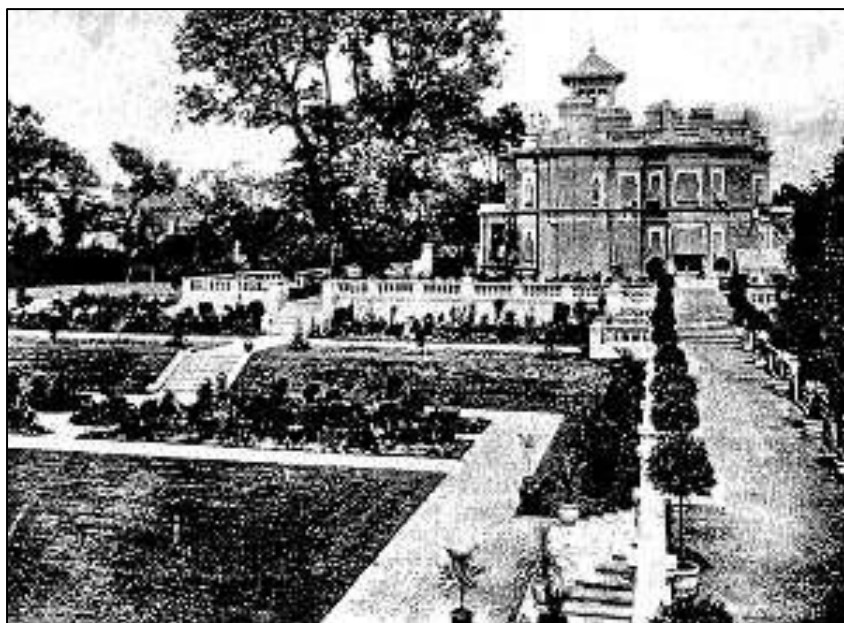
Harlow also ponders on the naming of these bulwarks. For this author, 'Great and Little' with 'Black and White' would suggest these were names given in haste rather than names that were given much consideration. Other than Harlow it would appear that nobody has ever speculated or attempted research into the history of the naming of these bulwarks. The only evidence that can be found on the naming of the Walmer/Black bulwark is possible geological evidence found in the nineteenth century as to the composition of the beach at Walmer. As we have seen, the beach is much changed due to environmental reasons,

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<sup>28</sup> Deal, Walmer & Sandwich Mercury, 9<sup>th</sup> November 1895, 13., Elvin, 1890, 198.

however, in the nineteenth century, a historian named Pritchard documented great black boulders that were deposited on the beach near the castle. He stated that they were uncommon and undisturbed, as though they had been in situ for ‘ages long past’.<sup>29</sup> This is quite intriguing, and Pritchard continues his work to speculate that perhaps these had some connection to the possible Caesar landing here (potential ballast). If some form of non-native rock, say a form of marble, pumice, or volcanic rock, if small samples could be collected today and then tested, it could reinforce this idea.

Likewise, this author has heard that some form of watercourse or stream may have run close to Walmer Castle back in the C16, though whether this ‘brackish’ waterway was the origin or whether it even existed is merely speculation.<sup>30</sup> What we can be certain of, is this small detail, in this one rare antiquarian interest book does confirm that these rocks existed and therefore, we should be able to deduce with some authority that these rocks were the likely source of the name for this bulwark.



*Fig. 16 Walmer Place and its ornamented gardens. Site: <http://www.walmerweb.co.uk/walmer-place.html>, accessed May 2021.*

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<sup>29</sup> Pritchard, S., 327.

<sup>30</sup> Conversation with local historian, Jenny Wall, Deal, 2020.

A 1769 map by Andrews, Dury and Herbert's of Deal shows a very prominent earthen feature just north of the fledgling town. This is impossible to scale but is depicted just south of Sandown Castle, where the windmill once stood. As this is prominently shown on the map, and is nearly as large as Sandown Castle, it must have been something of considerable size and attention. If this is the Great Turf Bulwark, it would show its existence into the eighteenth century. This windmill can be seen below in a nineteenth-century photograph (fig).

Later in 1842, it was noted in a newspaper article about the Castles of the Downs that the Great and Little Bulwarks were both still in existence (this may put pay to the theory that the Great Bulwark was re-used as a windmill).<sup>31</sup> They are also both noted in 1863 and 1880, but by 1884 it seems that just one remained.<sup>32</sup> As a side note, between the two potential sites for these bulwarks and slightly in-land, is Bulwark Road, which may have been named due to the road's proximity and/or as a tribute.



Fig. 17 A nineteenth century photograph of the ruinous Sandown Castle with nearby pub and Windmill, Dover Museum.

<sup>31</sup> Roscommon & Leitrim Gazette, 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1842, 14.

<sup>32</sup> Dodd, G., *Chambers' Handy Guide to the Kent & Sussex Coast*, (London: W&R Chambers, 1863), 92., Report of the Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Vol. 1885, British Association for the Advancement of Science, British Association for the Advancement of Science. Meeting · 1886440., Library of Universal Knowledge, A Reprint of the Last (1880) Edinburgh and London Edition of Chambers' Encyclopaedia, with Copious Additions by American Editors · Volume 4654.



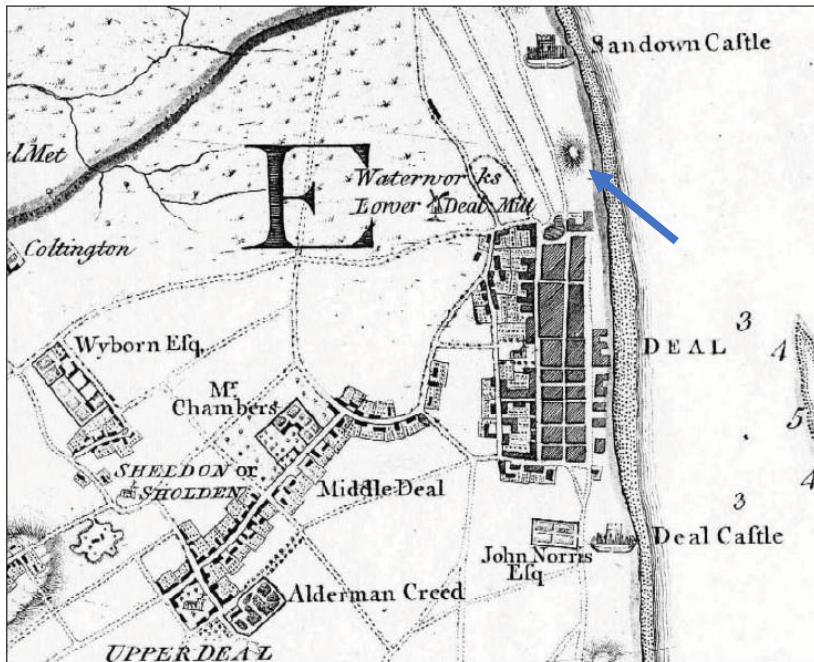


Fig. 18 A raised mound as depicted on the Andrews, Dury and Herbert's map of Deal, 1769. Kent Historic Towns Survey: Deal - Archaeological Assessment Document, (Kent County Council & English Heritage, 2004)

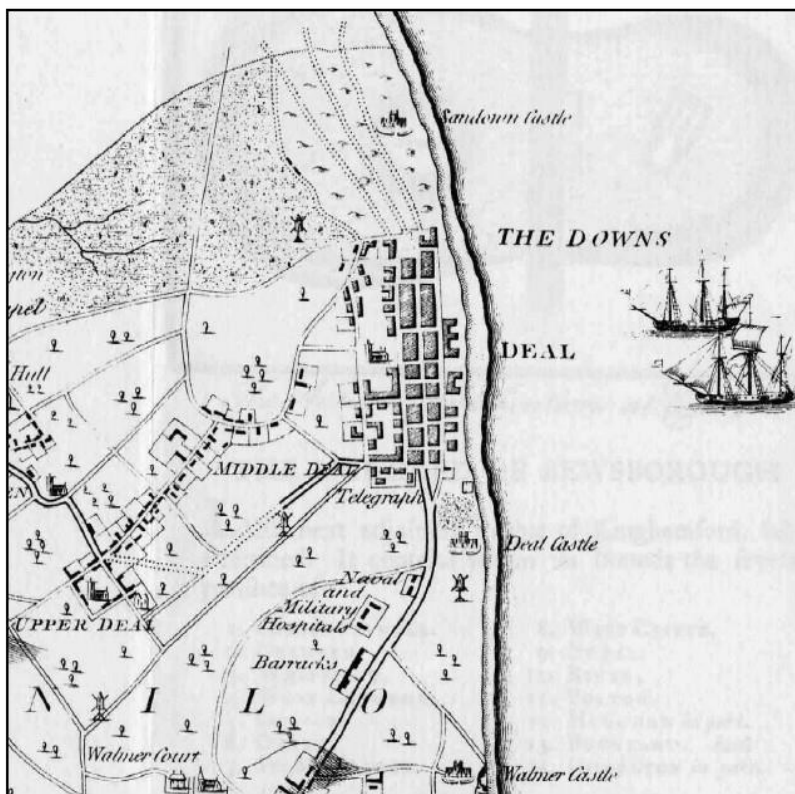


Fig. 19 Hasted's map of Deal, c.1790's. Kent Historic Towns Survey: Deal - Archaeological Assessment Document, (Kent County Council & English Heritage, 2004).





Fig. 20 Ordnance Surveyor's field drawing of Deal for the 1st edition OS maps, c.1800. Kent Historic Towns Survey: Deal - Archaeological Assessment Document, (Kent County Council & English Heritage, 2004)

Dover District Council's report stated that today there is no above-ground evidence of the bulwarks that would accurately determine their location. They remain positive that some archaeological evidence must remain, especially remnants of the lengthy ditch network. DDC has studied the map above in Fig. 20 with great consideration and they believe that the spacing between the bulwarks and the castles was in regular centres of approximately 700m. The Great Turf Bulwark was sited on slightly higher ground around Sandown Terrace and Albion Road. The Little Turf Bulwark is around the area north of the Royal Hotel at Beach Street. The Great White Bulwark on Walmer Green is close to the Royal Marine South Barracks. The Walmer Bulwark below Guilford Court where Kingsdown Road turns outward.

### **Likely Present-Day Locations of the Henrician Bulwarks**

Using this research and approximate measurements we can conclude their probable locations as per Fig. 20.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Dover District Council, *Dover District Heritage Strategy* (Dover: Dover District Council, 2018), 74

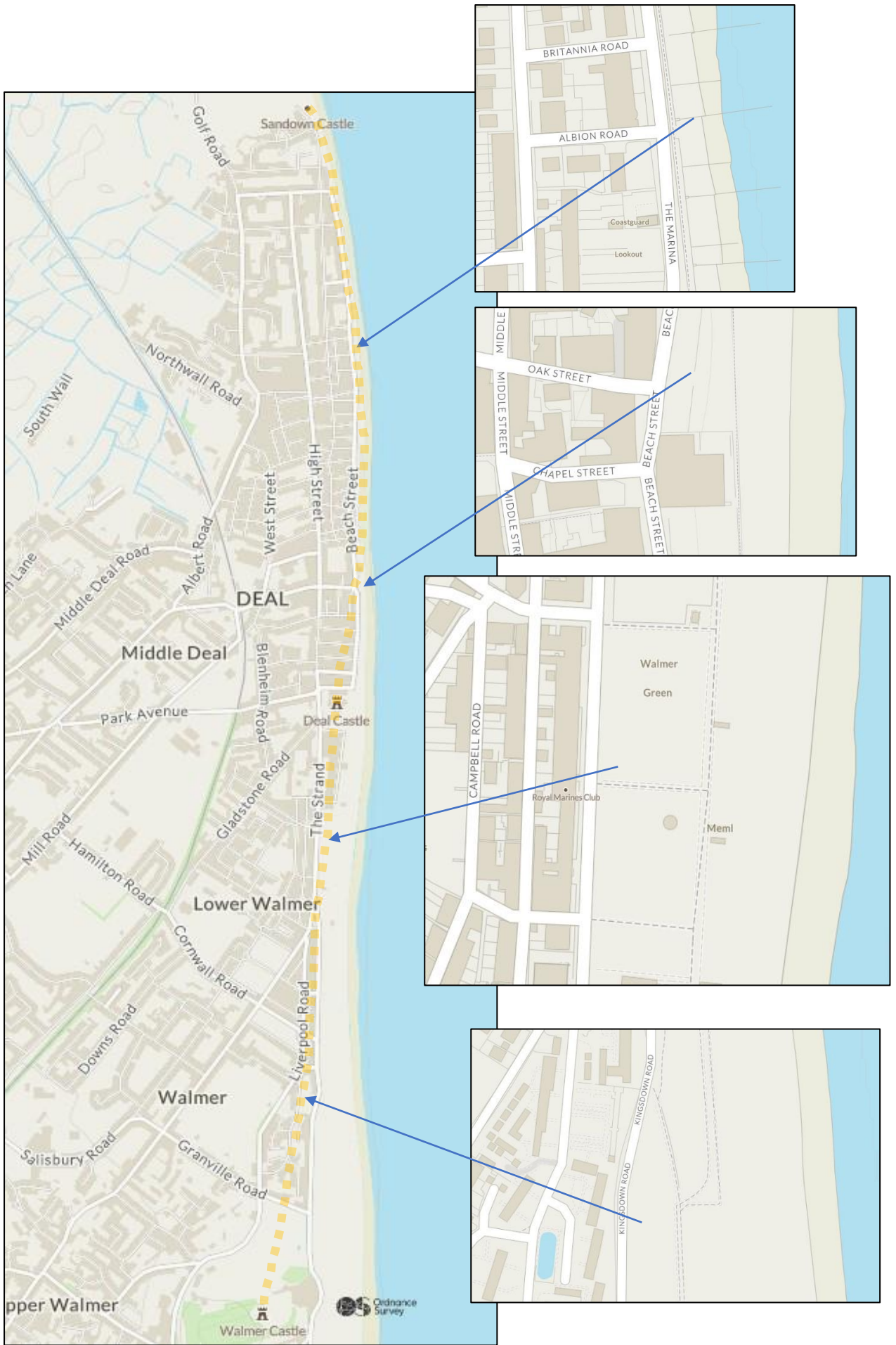


Fig. 20: Study of the possible locations as identified by DDC using a modern Ordnance Survey map. The orange line is indicative of the possible fosse/ditching line.



Using the above study shows how far inland Walmer has become due to the changing coastline. Likewise, this OS map shows Sandown Castle more inland than it should be. The OS map of today might be confusing itself with the present Sandown memorial garden which is not specifically accurate in location to where the castle once stood. Therefore, as we know from the evidence found that Sandown essentially was half in the sea at high tide, we could move the fosse line and potentially the nearest bulwark (The Great Turf Bulwark) further into the line of the sea, which may preclude any archaeological evidence of this bulwark from being discovered. Whilst our study and the DDC study (Fig. 4) show a curved line of the fosse between the castles, it could be that this is inaccurate and the network between the castles, including their sightlines, was possibly originally slightly straighter. Unfortunately, as we have seen, there are hardly any surviving construction drawings or any media from the time that show the three castles of the Downs collectively. One of the first and possibly own depictions of all three is on an oil painting held by Historic England from the eighteenth century as seen below. Additionally, this artist may have used 'artist license', but no bulwarks are depicted in the painting.



*Fig. 21 Three Castles of the Downs, oil on canvas, C18th. Historic England, Art of the Heirloom Collection, acquired by previous Lord Wardens at Walmer Castle and retained within the Collection, unknown artist, C18th, ref: 78600866.*

If the fosse line was slightly straighter it would show both Sandown Castle and The Great Turf as being very seaward. The amount of change along the shoreline, due mostly to longshore drift, has settled in recent times largely due to human interaction (groynes), but for a long time, it was a great area of concern, especially as Deal grew to outsize its head Cinque Port of Sandwich.<sup>34</sup> Much of the beach material would move along the beach and be deposited in Dungeness as the Marsh expanded.<sup>35</sup> These historical environmental changes are hard to trace due to the lack of available resources. Still, they are essential to note when using contemporary maps to trace ancient features in this area.

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<sup>34</sup> Satchell, J., Martin, C., Olmos, P., 'Archaeology, Art & Coastal Heritage: Tools to Support Coastal Management'. *Arch-Manche* (2014): 223

<sup>35</sup> Hillier, C., *The Bulwark Shore: Thanet and the Cinque ports*, (London: Granada, 1980,) 136



**Appendix D:**  
**Sandgate Castle Construction Quantity Calculations**

Sandgate Castle

Outer walls only:

$$\frac{4}{51.98}$$

207.92

$$\frac{4}{51.98m} (L)$$

Total length: 207.92m

Width: 1.74m

Height: 3.50m

207.92

1.74

3.50

$$\underline{\underline{1,266.23 m^3}}$$

Total:

1,266.23m<sup>3</sup> = Total  
stonework used to  
construct outer  
walls superstructure.

Limestone density  
(Assume medium)

$$2,410 \text{ kg/m}^3 /$$

$$1,266.23 \text{ m}^3$$

$$= 3,154 \text{ tonnes}$$

less c. 20% for  
mortar

$$= 2,523 \text{ tonnes}$$

2,523 ton = Total imperial  
tonnage less mortar

Diary: "918 tonnes"  
of spolia.

$$918 - 2523 =$$

1,605 tonnes of stone required  
in addition to spolia

**Appendix E:**

**Baron Carrington's Deal Castle Belongings Auction Manifest**

When Robert Smith, 1st Baron Carrington (1752 – 1838), and Captain of Deal Castle died many of his belongings at the castle were auctioned off in situ. The following is an excerpt from the Dover Telegraph and Cinque Ports General Advertiser, from 20<sup>th</sup> October 1838, advertising the sale:

'Important Sale at Deal Castle. Dir. Vernon Begg to announce to the Nobility, Gentry, and the Public generally, that he has been honoured with directions to offer for sale, on Monday, 29th October 1838, and several succeeding Days, at Eleven o' Clock, the entire and valuable Household Property appertaining to that fine Ancient Marine Residence, Deal Castle, the property of the late the Right hon. Lord Carrington. Amongst this vast assemblage of lots will be found:

- Drawing and Cluing Room Suites
- Grecian Chairs French stuffed, and covered with Red Morrocco Leather
- Elegant Easy Chairs, Sofas, and Couches
- Chintz and Moreen Window Curtains
- Large Brussels, Kidderminster, Venetian, and Stair Carpets
- Mahogany Lou, Library, Telescope, Dining, and other Tables
- Splendid' Slab of White grained Marble, 5 ft. 2 in. by 3 ft. in Mahogany Stand
- Three large and capital Oak Bookcases, with Wings, open front, and shifting

Shelves, 11 ft. 11 in. by 8 ft. 7 in.

- Ormolu Lamps and Clocks
- A toned 6 Octave Semi-grand Pianoforte, with Metallic Sounding Plate, in

Carved Mahogany Case, by Tomkinson

- Painted Baize and other Table Covers.

- The Bedrooms contain very numerous Mahogany Carved Four-post, Tent, and other Bedsteads, with Furniture

- Superior Hair and Wool Mattresses
- Bordered Goose-feather Beds and Bedding
- Mahogany and Bamboo Chests of Drawers and Wardrobes
- Large Cheval, Box, and Swing Dressing Glasses, in Mahogany Frames
- Wash-hand Stands
- Dressing Tables
- An Inlay Cabinet, with secret Drawers and a fall-down Front.

- The Glass and China comprise elegant Dinner, Dessert, Breakfast, and Tea Services, Cut Decanters, Jugs, Butter Preserve and Trifle Dishes, Champagne, Wine, and Ale Glasses.

- The Linen consists of large Damask and other Table Cloths; Doilies, Napkins, Chamber Towels, fine Sheets, Arc.

- The Books include Encyclopedia, Britannica, Rees' Cyclopedia, Works of Swift, Voltaire, Shakespeare, Clarendon, and numerous others.

- The Wine consists of about 100 dozen of Port, Bucellas, Sherry, Champagne, Lisbon, Madeira, and Claret, all of the very best quality, and extremely choice and rare.

- The Miscellaneous Articles comprise all the Kitchen Utensils, Garden Seats, Tools, Glass Hand-lights, a Four-wheel Phaeton, a very useful Cow, two shall Stacks of Hay, and numerous other Effects.'



**Appendix F:**  
**Walmer Castle Spolia Survey**



## Spolia Survey at Walmer Castle



**Site:**

Walmer Castle & Gardens

**Designation status and construction date:**

Scheduled Ancient Monument, 1539 to 1540AD

**Survey type:**

Preliminary condition survey on the use of spolia

**Time & Date:**

12.30 to 3pm on 22/10/2021

**Surveyors' names:**

Anske David Bax BA. (Dunelm) M.Sc.

Christopher Moore MSc MRICS MCIOB

**Representing:**

Kent School of Architecture and Planning, University of Kent

**Full address and postcode of the site:**

Kingsdown Rd, Walmer, Deal CT14 7LJ

**Weather conditions when the inspection took place:**

Dry and sunny

**The status of the property when the inspection took place:**

Open to the public on a weekday afternoon

**Purpose of the survey:**

A preliminary investigation into the likely reuse of stone from Tudor dissolved medieval abbeys such as St. Radegunds Abbey in Dover.



**Photo 1:**

The entrance bastion shows a crude repurpose of a Caen stone lintel to form a doorway with a gothic arch. The local stonework is faced in an ashlar fashion, and the joints are gauged.

Although the stone face has perished and would need defrassing, it would appear a crude attempt to reuse a freestone door lintel has been lifted from another site.

Note that the footing stone to the left jamb is either showing signs of significant deterioration or some form of classical ordered capital is being reused.

Note also that the entrance bastion was formed under Lord Granville in the 1800s and is not the original entrance; therefore, crude appropriation of reused stone is likely as this was not public-facing in the Tudor era.





**Photo 2:**

This photo is taken above photo 1 and shows Lord Granville's extension work to raise the entrance bastion in the 1800s.

The stone used above is Kentish ragstone, it is left unworked and is likely reused from ragstone used as footing stones (substructures) due to its difficult use.

The mismatched alignment and large beds indicate a different craftsman to the work below.

Lord Granville purchased several tons of stonework from the MOD in the 1800s that they had extracted with gunpowder from the ruins of Sandown Castle. Therefore, it is likely that this stonework was received from Sandown and could initially have been taken from Abbey sites that were dissolved nearby. The discolouration of the stonework and its pitted facings could indicate that the stones may have been from Sandown's exposed location or from being underwater for some time.





**Photo 3:**

Rib vaulted ceiling to the basement of the keep.

The ribs are highly worked with considerable work and no noticeable chisel marks.

They are likely a form of Bathstone or Marquise.



**Photo 4:**

This shows the termination and tapering point of one of the central ribs into a smooth corbel.

Note that the smooth finer texture and the lack of tool marks would indicate a well-prepared section of stone that is unlikely the heavy coursed and chiselled neighbouring stones.

The ribs are likely lifted directly from St Radegunds Abbey refectory or cloisters. It may also indicate that as these ribs are complete and not altered, did their complete sizing inform the size of the keep at Walmer? Was the design informed from what they were salvaging from the Abbey, as the builders of the castle, being the King's representatives, were also the Abbey's demolition crew, so they would have gotten the first pick and select of good reusable stone (and probably timber and lead too).





**Photo 5:**

This lancet arched door in the keep's basement is likely to have been a window from St Radegunds.





**Photo 6:**

Shows a corner of a possible corbel detail within the basement walling to the keep. The detail was possibly from a hard Purbeck marble, which would suggest why it has not been worked well, or it could be a stonemason's flourish and acknowledgement of where these stones originate from. The location is discreet and may have been underwater due to the moat.





**Photo 7:**

It shows another possible reuse of an Abbey lancet window to form a doorway.

Kentish ragstone is used for the left-hand jamb, the heavy chisel marks to show how hard it can be to work with this variety of stone. The right-hand jamb shows signs of stress and probably frost damage; it is unclear which variety of stone this is.





**Photo 8:**

The quoin detailing to the lower entrance bastion wall and gantry shows evidence of various stones. The edge detailing could be Thanet sandstone due to its grainy appearance. This stone was widely used locally and was evidenced at St Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury; it also appeared to match stonework found at St Radegunds and meets descriptions from the walls of the Sandwich Friary.



**The Rounds:**

The following images are of Walmer's Rounds – a series of tunnels that circumnavigate the external areas of the lower bastions. These have never been opened to the public.

















**Conclusion/Findings:**

Our preliminary investigation would indicate the following:

- Stone reused from various local abbeys has been used to construct Walmer Castle.
- Much of the stonework has likely been lifted from St Radegunds (the Sandgate Diary would heavily suggest this too)
- The keep size might have been dictated by the number of ribs sourced from spolia.
- An ancient stone, such as Caen, was almost exclusively reserved for ecclesiastical use and is displayed extensively on site.
- The haphazard coursing, beach material and knapping would suggest stonemasons working to an accelerated programme, confirmed in Colvin's *The History of the King's Works*.
- The Rounds exhibit as a remarkable testament to Tudor engineering and, in their current state, are one of the few areas of Walmer that have been nearly totally unaltered since construction.

**Appendix G:**  
**Camber Castle Photographic Survey, August 2018**



East elevation





Alveolar erosion and general weathering to the outer counterscarp stonework





Alveolar erosion and general weathering to the outer counterscarp stonework



Alveolar erosion and general weathering to the outer counterscarp stonework





ENGLISH HERITAGE

# Camber Castle

Defensive fort built for Henry VIII



**Opening times**  
 1 Aug - 31 Oct  
 Guided tour first Saturday of month 2pm

Facilities	Admission
 Severe restrictions	Members      Free Adult          £3.00 Concessions    £1.50 Child <small>(5-17 years)</small> Free <small>(When accompanied by an adult)</small>

Managed by Rye Harbour Nature Reserve

**For your information**



EH entrance sign



The keep





Steps to the keep





Oakwork steps





Inner walling



Interior of the keep showcasing a variety of latent defects





Interior of the keep showcasing a variety of latent defects



Small gun embrasure under the keep





Small gun embrasure under the keep





Remains of a wall or perhaps a drain





Tunnel entrances



Remains inside the bailey





The remains of the keep





View of the inner bailey

**Appendix H:****Spolia Detection at the Castles of the Downs**

## Introduction

Detection of stone spolia is a challenging process for the untrained observer. Though many may be able to pick out areas of possible and even obvious spolia re-use, some areas can be entirely hidden. One particular scholar, Whitworth, relates this challenge to wider archaeological investigations and notes that the detection process is 'based on personal experience in the field rather than a checklist of objective indicators.'<sup>1</sup> While this is mainly true, indicators in the surviving Castles of the Downs include anomalous architectural features, carvings and tool markings, block form, uneven patterns, mechanical features, and uneven patination or weathering. All of these examples we will now discuss.<sup>2</sup>

### Anomalous architectural features

The most apparent reuse, and the one many lay visitors frequently spot, is the use of purposeful anomalous architectural features by the Tudor masons. This photograph (Fig. 3) depicts an example of spolia, a reused block, in the entrance bastion of Deal Castle, where an older Norman tooled stone (highlighted in the blue ring) has been refashioned and dressed for use in the main curtain walling. These are apparent and blatant signs of stone reuse; others may not be easy to find. In the same photograph, consider the coursing of the stonework, where the stone's sizes reflect how they are laid. They are not uniform and have been cut into specific sizes from larger stones, making them easily identifiable as reused stones. Therefore, all of the stones shown in Fig. 3 are likely reused, not just the most obvious example in the blue circle.

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<sup>1</sup> Whitworth, A., M., *Some aspects of its post-roman influence on the landscape* (Durham: Durham University, 1994), 19.

<sup>2</sup> Most of these examples are taken from the author's experience as a Fellow Chartered Surveyor and RICS Building Conservation Accredited practitioner.



Fig. 1 The main entrance bastion at Deal, 2017.

An example of harder-to-locate spolia can be seen (Fig. 4); hidden in a walkway within the Captain's Quarters in the keep at Deal Castle. This example is from a stone not native to Kent, probably Caen stone.<sup>3</sup> It displays two stones with two different types of stone carving. The Tudor masons would cut stones and fashion them swiftly; Kentish ragstone was the main constituent of these castles as it was abundant, could be mined locally, and was easier to fashion in block form. These repurposed stones were either crudely carved by hands that did not know their trade in the Tudor era or, more likely, they were carved by earlier medieval masons and reused here in Deal as simple rubble cores to fill the walls out. Or quite simply, this masonic flourish may be, as Ruskin put it in 1849, with his 'Lamp of Sacrifice, *'...if to the stone facing of that bastion be added an unnecessary feature, as a cable moulding, that is architecture.'*<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Kent Historic Towns Survey: *Deal - Archaeological Assessment Document* (Swindon: Kent County Council & English Heritage, 2004) 7.

<sup>4</sup> Ruskin, J., *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, (London: Vevay, 1849), 8.



## Carvings and tool markings

Within the upper section of Deal's Keep, concealed within a doorway reveal, visible stone faces emerge, indicating subsequent opening-up work carried out centuries later (see Fig. 4). Two distinct chisel work styles are evident among these stones, suggesting their origin as reused spolia stones crafted by different individuals. Although created by separate masons, both stones exhibit intriguing tool marks. The upper stone displays a carving technique reminiscent of Roman masonry, featuring a feather-broached pattern. This skilful execution suggests the work of a traditionally trained and proficient mason from this period.<sup>5</sup> Conversely, the lower stone appears haphazard, potentially indicative of the initial hurried construction of these castles. While it is conceivable that two masons, or a master and apprentice, concurrently contributed to this work, such an arrangement seems unlikely considering the concealed location and limited section of walling. Thus, it is more plausible that the top stone predates the bottom stone, indicating an earlier time of carving and is, therefore, a probable example of spolia.



*Fig. 2 Photograph by the author of examples of stone spolia at Walmer Castle, taken in 2023.*

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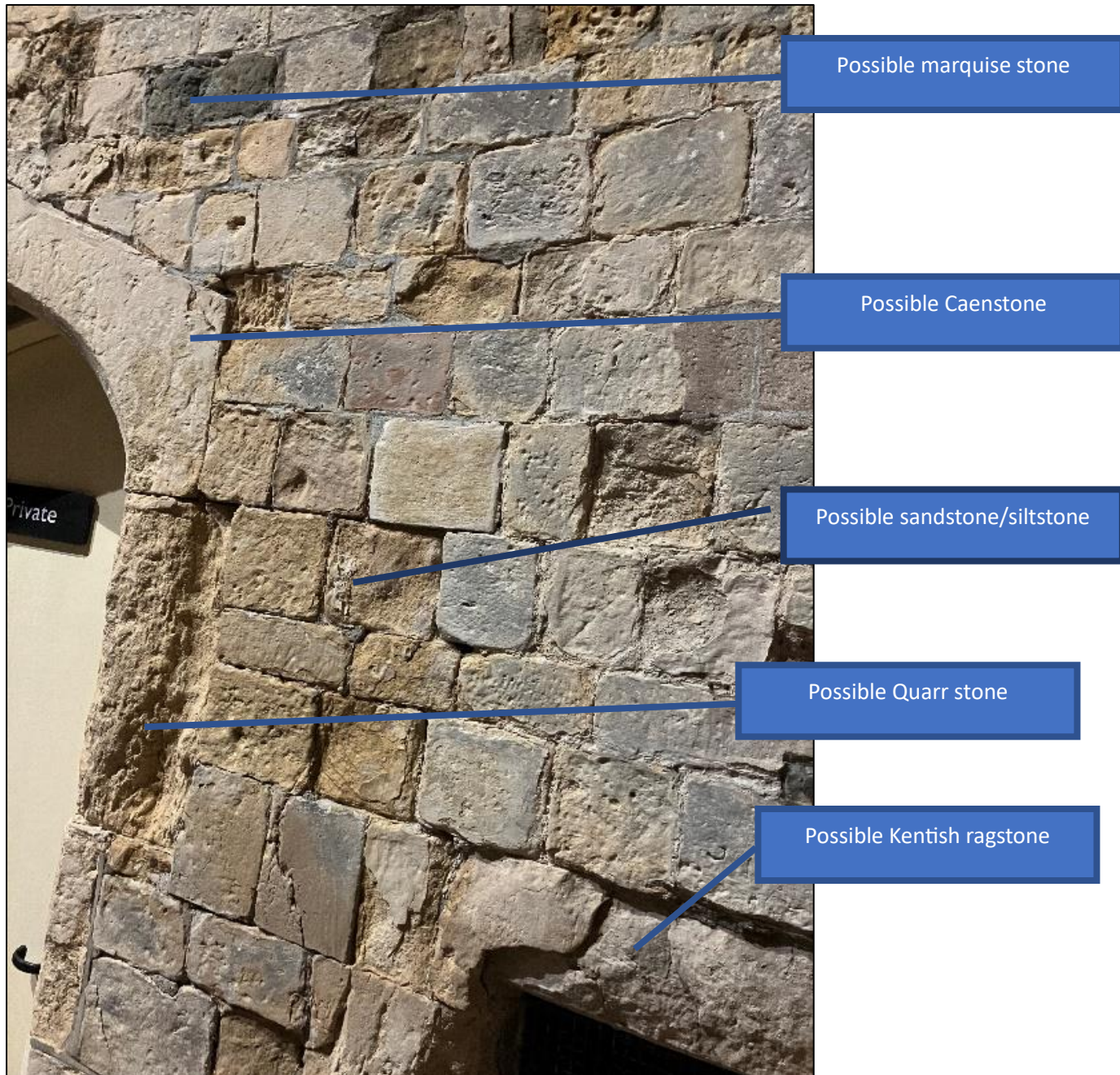
<sup>5</sup> Eaton, T., *Plundering the Past*, (London: Tempus, 2000), 147.





*Fig. 3 Photograph by the author of two examples of stone spolia at Deal Castle, taken in 2020.*

## Block Form and Uneven Patterns



*Fig. 4 Ashlar dressed stone within the external rear walling of the north bastion at Walmer Castle, photograph by the author, 2022.*



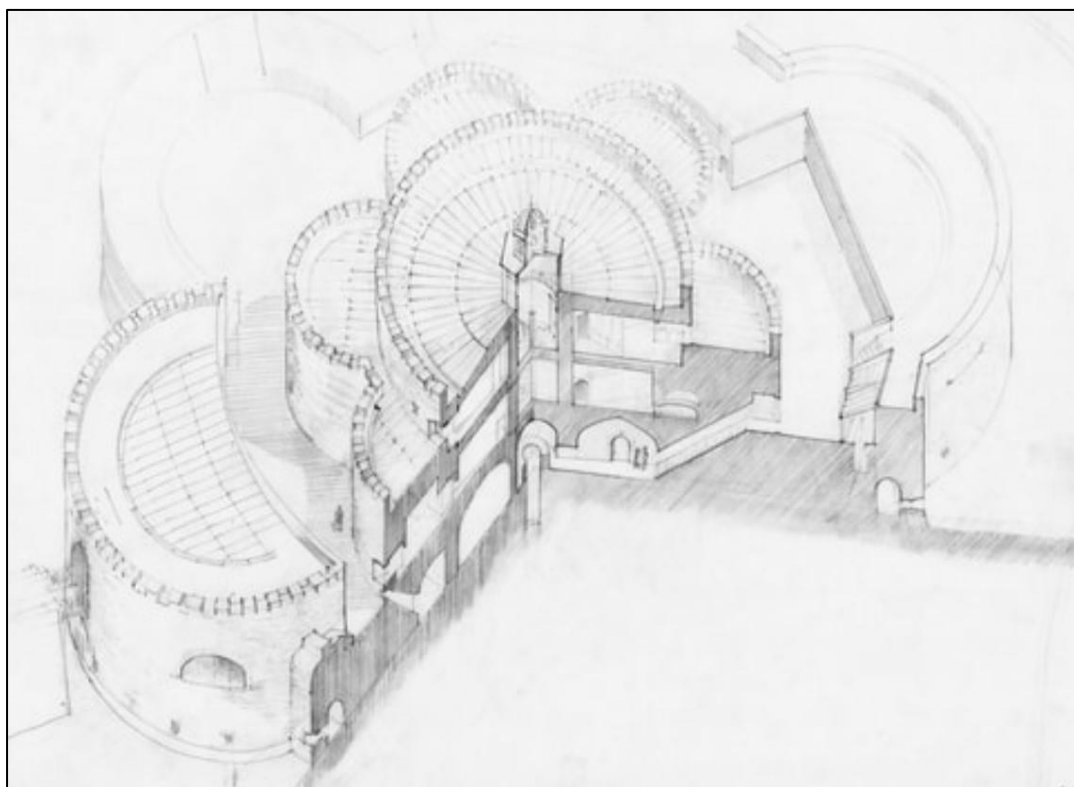
The photograph (Fig. 6) is another example of spolia, where finely dressed stones have been worked together to give a fine face to the internal walling. Note the assortment of different quality stones differing ancient weathering patterns and patina, along with the odd shapes formed from varying shapes of reclaimed stone. The gaged joints and the quantity of reclaimed stone must have been for a specific reason, perhaps structurally due to the number of apertures in this wall. It is likely that the Tudor engineers believed this to be a significant weak spot, particularly as the opposite wall on the keep is made from Kentish ragstone and has fewer openings.

### Mechanical Features



*Fig. 5 Left: Photograph by the author of examples of spolia (possibly Caen) at Deal Castle, taken in 2020. Right: A photograph of Caenstone in situ at Canterbury Cathedral, as taken by the author in 2022.*

As seen above at Deal in Fig. 7, freestone (possibly Caen stone) has been used for jambs around the embrasures and a string course. This string course is not decorative, as some may believe, but rather a likely means of mechanical reinforcement to the structure of the keep. This form of structural reinforcement would act as a brace to tie the outer leaf of the lunettes to the main keep; an isometric drawing shows how this would structurally work (Fig. 8). This hardy freestone spolia has been deployed to brace the curtain wall to tie it to its core to withstand potential heavy return fire from its enemies. Likewise, also in Fig. 7 (right) is a photograph of a section of walling in Canterbury Cathedral displaying a nearly identical section of Caenstone (same block sizes, colour, grain etc).<sup>6</sup> This type of freestone was not native to this area, so it had to be removed from nearby monasteries or mined elsewhere in England or France. As the latter option was unavailable, this is a fine and essential example of spolia use.



*Fig. 6 An isometric drawing of Deal Castle by English Heritage, 1971, Historic England Archives, MP/DEA0113.*

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<sup>6</sup> The photographed section of walling at Canterbury Cathedral is from the Infirmary ruin that was largely destroyed during this same period.



### Uneven patination or weathering

Photograph (Fig. 9) of Camber Castle in East Sussex, demonstrates the effect of weathering on long-fitted spolia. The patterns of alveolisation erosion (known colloquially as 'honeycomb weathering') affect lime and sandstone, mainly if used in marine environments. This weathering can be seen on the Castles of the Downs, but it is nowhere near as prevalent as at the Down's sister castle at Camber. As displayed below, we can see examples of weathering to the lowest parts of the keep and the parapet areas, leaving the middle sections relatively unscathed. Differential weathering may be attributed to the differential exposure to moisture and water ingress, though the proliferation at Camber likely suggests dissimilar ageing stones weathering differently. This shows the level of spolia use in Camber and underlines its use in other parts of the Device building programme. More of Camber's spolia and general dilapidation can be seen in Appendix G.



*Fig. 7 Photo taken by the author of the keep at Camber Castle showing a highly worked string course and significant weathering. Site visit by the author, specially arranged with the Sussex Wildlife Trust, July 2018.*





*Fig. 8 An example of spolia in the basement of the keep in Walmer Castle, 2015, Historic England Archive, DP172748.*

Local mining was frequently conducted to acquire Kentish ragstone, primarily for the superstructure in the curtain walls and the counterscarps, though some may also have been reused from other sites. Spolia was mainly freestone and predominantly reserved for rubble cores, forming structural elements like lintels, shoulders, corbels, decorative string courses, and openings. Possibly, some spolia were also ground down on-site to produce lime mortar,

complementing the coastal lime used for bedding and pointing mortar. Moreover, historical records indicate lime mining within the premises of Walmer Castle, particularly during Pitt's tenure as Lord Warden. Some of the lime necessary for Downs may have originated from this site.

**Appendix J:**

**Schedule of Works and Finishes Schedule for the conservation works at Walmer Castle 2014-2015, including unpublished photographs by the author.**



Master plasterer Gary Brisley carefully raking out cementitious mortar to the keep



Master decorator and heritage finishes specialist Roger Baas and foreman John Hadlum assess the handprinted wallpaper from the USA



**WALMER CASTLE - Waterloo 200 Project****3.0 SCHEDULE OF WORKS****3.1 Protections and Site Set-Up**

- 3.1.1 Make a photographic survey of the site as required by part 2 of the Specification
- 3.1.2 Provide contractor's site compound, welfare facilities, site protections, etc as set out in part 2 of the Specification.
- 3.1.3 Set up and maintain building/fabric/contents protections as set out in the Schedule of Protections [APPENDIX D].
- 3.1.4 In addition to the above, to the inside face of 5no windows into the tea room spaces, provide protection consisting of 18mm thick plywood sheets fixed to 50 x 75 softwood framing, to be wedged into place.

**Works to Basement****3.2 Room -1002 / Staircase**

- 3.2.1 To Staircase room -1002, allow for removing the existing rope handrail including 7no metal brackets. Leave insitu the 7no wooden blocks.
- 3.2.2 Provide and fix new black steel handrail and 7no brackets, blackened, approximate handrail length 12m. New brackets to be fixed to existing timber blocks. See Architect's drawing no 150.
- 3.2.3 Allow for 2no straight runs following profile of stairs, 2no sections for landings and 1no offset bend.
- 3.2.4 Allow for handrail to terminate with a return to the face of the wall at top and bottom.
- 3.2.5 Decorate wood blocks upon completion to match stone wall colour. Fill first any exposed holes from previous bracket fixings.

**3.3 Room -1004 / Exhibition Room**

- 3.3.1 To 1no basement window, temporarily remove metal grille which is pointed into stone window surround; remove existing vegetation from internal sloping window cill as well as defective flashing to same cill; re-flaunch area of 400 x 600mm; clean and reinsert metal grille, point up.
- 3.3.2 Point up 4no joints to window surround, total length of 1 linear metre.

**3.4 Gunners' Cabins Exteriors – Repairs to Timber  
(see Architect's Drawing no's 500 and 501)**

**Elevation A**

- 3.4.1 Remove fascia board above ground floor windows and replace complete in seasoned softwood approx. 270 x 22 x 6m long, to match existing. Allow for drip to bottom edge. Leave ready to be decorated.
- 3.4.2 Remove decayed section of weatherboard immediately above fascia, allow for replacement board with shaped profile approx 150 x 25mm (max) x 3m long.
- 3.4.3 Remove 2no decayed sections of weatherboard immediately to left of ground floor R/H window, near cill, allow for replacement boards with shaped profile approx 150 x 25mm (max) x 250mm long (average) each. Stagger vertical joint by 100mm (min).
- 3.4.4 Cut back and repair L/H end of ground floor L/H window cill using Repair Care system at junction between timber window architrave and cill by removing decayed timber back to sound and providing resin repair of approx 150 x 100 x 75mm to match existing profile.
- 3.4.5 Cut out and replace with new timber the decayed L/H section of cill to ground floor R/H window. Size approx 200 x 150 x 25mm (deep) to match existing profile.
- 3.4.6 Cut out and replace with new timber the decayed L/H section of architrave and outer lining to the box sash to ground floor window. Length, say, the bottom 100mm long of each piece. Cross sections and profiles to match existing.
- 3.4.7 Carefully remove and replace with new hardwood the decayed timber block behind the bottom bracket of lead RWP. Size approx size 270 x 200 x 80mm with profiled back face to suit weatherboards. Then refix RWP to new block.
- 3.4.8 Allow a **Provisional Sum** for additional timber repairs to this elevation to be directed by the Architect on site.

**Elevation B**

- 3.4.9 Remove complete 1no weatherboard immediately above door, allow for replacement board with shaped profile. Size approx 150 x 25mm (max) x 2.6m long.
- 3.4.10 In conjunction with the above, allow for temporarily taking down and refixing the external coach lantern including rewiring and testing.
- 3.4.11 Allow for easing and adjusting back entrance door and leave in good working order.
- 3.4.12 Allow a **Provisional Sum** for additional timber repairs to this elevation to be directed by the Architect on site.

**Elevation C**

- 3.4.13 Several existing weatherboards at high level are twisted. Allow for refixing boards in an overall area of, say, 1.0sqm.
- 3.4.14 Allow a **Provisional Sum** for additional timber repairs to this elevation to be directed by the Architect on site.

**Elevation D**

- 3.4.15 Allow for replacing 12 linear metres of weatherboarding in small sections as shown on the drawings and directed by the Architect on site, allow for shaped profile of 150 x 25mm (max).
- 3.4.16 Allow for replacing 0.75 linear metres of weatherboarding in two small sections at low level to the R/H return end of elevation D, allow for shaped profile of 150 x 25mm (max).
- 3.4.17 Cut out and replace with timber the complete front face of hardwood cill to first floor window. Size approx. 55 x 25mm x 1.5m long. All to match existing profile.
- 3.4.18 Allow a for additional timber repairs to this elevation to be directed by the Architect on site.

**Elevation E**

- 3.4.19 Allow for replacing 15 linear metres of weatherboarding in small sections as shown on the drawings and directed by the Architect on site, allow for shaped profile of 150 x 25mm (max).
- 3.4.20 Cut out and replace with new timber the decayed L/H section of cill to ground floor window. Size approx 250 x 150 x 45mm (deep) to match existing profile.
- 3.4.21 Cut out and replace with new timber the decayed L/H section of architrave and outer lining to the box sash to ground floor window. Length, say, the bottom 100mm of each piece. Cross sections and profiles to match existing.
- 3.4.22 Cut back and repair R/H end of cill to ground floor window using Repair Care system (at junction between timber window architrave and cill) by removing decayed timber back to sound and providing resin repair of approx 150 x 100 x 35mm all to match existing profile.
- 3.4.23 Repair both ends of bottom rail to window sash using Repair Care system by removing decayed timber back to sound and providing resin repair of 40 x 20 x 25mm (deep) each to existing profile. This is where ends of the bottom rail meet the sash stiles.
- 3.4.24 In conjunction with the above, allow for temporarily taking down and refixing the external coach lantern including rewiring and testing.
- 3.4.25 Allow for easing and adjusting back entrance door and leave in good working order.

- 3.4.26 Allow a **Provisional Sum** for additional timber repairs to this elevation to be directed by the Architect on site.

#### **Elevation F**

- 3.4.27 Cut back and repair central area of cill to ground floor L/H window using Repair Care system by removing decayed timber back to sound and providing resin repair of approx 150 x 100 x 75mm to match existing profile.
- 3.4.28 Allow a **Provisional Sum** for additional timber repairs to this elevation to be directed by the Architect on site.

#### **3.5 Gunners' Cabin Exteriors - Redecorations**

- 3.5.1 To 12no 6 over 6 sash windows allow for replacing 35% of glazing putty before redecorating.
- 3.5.2 Redecorate complete weatherboarded elevations A-F including doors, windows, timber gutters, metal gutters, lead flashings, return end and infill gap to R/H of elevation D, toilet screen (both faces) at elevation F, etc. In summary, all previously painted surfaces.
- 3.5.3 To plywood ramp at entrance doors at elevations B and E, allow for rubbing down and redecorating in hard wearing floor paint.

#### **3.6 External Repairs to Roof Lantern over Room 1037 / Lucas Room**

- 3.6.1 Make timber replacement repairs to the timber lantern where directed on site. Allow for cutting out and replacing 3no areas, each repair to be 75 x 55 x 300mm with profiled faces to match the existing.
- 3.6.2 Make resin repairs to the cills of the timber lantern where directed on site. Allow for cutting out and repairing three areas, each repair to be 20 x 20 x 150mm with profiled faces to match existing.
- 3.6.3 Allow the **provisional Sum** for possible further timber and/or resin repairs to the lantern.
- 3.6.4 Replace 1 no cracked glass pane.
- 3.6.5 Allow for replacing 10% of glazing putty.
- 3.6.6 Redecorate completely all faces of the timber lantern.

#### **Gunners' Cabins Rooms – Ground Floor**

##### **3.7 Room 0021 / Entrance Lobby**

- 3.7.1 Redecorate the room completely. See Finishes Schedule . Ceiling height 2.4m. Includes 1no radiator.
- 3.7.2 Allow for removing the existing fitted carpet and installing new. (Carpets to be procured by EH). See Finishes Schedule

**3.8 Room 0030 / Gunners' Lodging Room**

- 3.8.1 To entrance door which is on rising butts, ease and adjust hinges and lock; leave in good working order.
- 3.8.2 Allow a **Provisional Sum** to provide and fit a new overhead door closer and door stop to this door.
- 3.8.3 Allow for repairing 3no defective areas of 50 x 50 x 25mm to wall plaster finishes.
- 3.8.4 Redecorate the two parts of this room completely. See Finishes Schedule [APPENDIX E]. Ceiling height 2.6m. Includes 2no radiators and 2no movement detectors.
- 3.8.5 To the floor in the main part of the room, allow a **Provisional Sum** for repairs and refinishing to floorboards; assume floorboards to be oak; allow for a timber floor specialist to rub down colour-in and oil the floorboards completely. See Finishes Schedule
- 3.8.6 To the floor in the entrance area part of the room, allow for removing the existing fitted carpet and installing new. See Finishes Schedule

**3.9 Room 0025 / Stair Hall**

- 3.9.1 Allow for an 800 x 100mm area of plaster repairs to curved soffit of stair under landing.
- 3.9.2 Allow also for a 400 x 100 area of plaster repairs to the soffit of the straight section of the upper flight against the wall.
- 3.9.3 Fill small cracks between plaster soffit and timberwork to stairs in several areas for a total length of approximately 1 linear metre.
- 3.9.4 Allow for a specialist Painting Conservator to match and touch-in stair soffit decorations in areas where repaired. See Finishes Schedule [APPENDIX E].
- 3.9.5 Redecorate completely only the weatherboarded wall including the door and frame to room 0030. See Finishes Schedule [APPENDIX E].
- 3.9.6 Allow for a specialist Painting Conservator to match and touch-in wall and joinery decorations where directed by the Architect. This will be, say, 2 days of a Conservator's time. See Finishes Schedule [APPENDIX E]
- 3.9.7 In conjunction with the above, allow an additional **Provisional Sum** for small surface repairs to plaster walls and arrises before redecorating.
- 3.9.8 Redecorate completely the radiator under the stair. See Finishes Schedule



3.9.9 Carefully take up and reverse stair runner on lower flight of staircase. See Finishes Schedule This will require a specialist carpet fitter to remove stair rods, unstitch runner at landing from adjacent existing runners, reverse and fix carpet, re-stitch to existing adjacent runners on landing and re-fix stair rods.

3.9.10 Allow an additional **Provisional Sum** for supply and fixing a self-closing device to the glazed double doors to room 0026.

### **3.10 Room 0026 / Garden Lobby**

3.10.1 Allow a **Provisional Sum** to treat/feed the outside face of the outer doors and surrounding oak half-timbering.

3.10.2 Allow for removing existing fitted carpet and installing new. (Carpet to be procured by EH). See Finishes Schedule

### **3.11 Room 0029 / Willingdon Room**

3.11.1 Redecorate the room completely. See Finishes Schedule Ceiling height 2.6m. Includes 1 no radiator.

3.11.2 Allow for carefully removing and rolling existing fitted carpet and installing new. (Carpet to be procured by EH). See Finishes Schedule [APPENDIX E]. Hand over rolled existing carpet to client or dispose of if not wanted.

### **3.12 Room 0024 / Sackville Room**

3.12.1 Redecorate the room completely. See Finishes Schedule Ceiling height 2.6m. Includes 1 no radiator.

3.12.2 Allow for carefully removing and rolling existing fitted carpet and installing new. (Carpet to be procured by EH). See Finishes Schedule [APPENDIX E]. Hand over rolled existing carpet to client or dispose of if not wanted.

### **3.13 Room 0023 / New Store Room**

3.13.1 Allow a **Provisional Sum** for purchase and fitting of a new morticed security lock to the door. Existing mortice lock to remain in situ. New lock details TBC.

## **Gunners' Cabin Rooms - First Floor**

### **3.14 Room 1036 / Upper Part of Staircase and Landing**

3.14.1 Allow for a specialist Painting Conservator to match and touch-in wall and joinery decorations where directed by the Architect. This will be, say 1 day of a Conservator's time. See Finishes Schedule

3.14.2 To ceiling of staircase area where edges of lining paper have come loose in many small areas, allow for a conservator to make good. This is approximately 6 linear m in several areas.

3.14.3 Allow for a specialist Painting Conservator to then redecorate the ceiling completely. See Finishes Schedule

3.14.4 Redecorate completely 1no radiator. See Finishes Schedule

**3.15 Room 1037 / Lucas Room**

**Note:** Displays in this room to be changed and the central display cabinet is to be removed (by others).

3.15.1 Works to roof lantern above: See 3.6.

3.15.2 Redecorate walls and woodwork completely including painting over the existing wallpaper. See Finishes Schedule Ceiling height 2.5m. Includes window pelmets, 1no radiator and 1no movement detector.

3.15.3 To ceiling, allow for Conservator to make good the small area where the lining paper to the ceiling has come loose. This is an area of 0.75sqm.

Allow for a specialist Painting Conservator to then redecorate the ceiling locally to blend in with existing adjacent areas.

**3.16 Room 1035 / Duke of Wellington's Room**

3.16.1 To ceiling of window niche, allow for removing and replacing with lime plaster defective ceiling plaster in an area of 2.5sqm.

3.16.2 Allow a **Provisional Sum** for repairs to joinery in areas to be directed.

3.16.3 Make good 100 x 100mm area of defective wall plaster; make good 2no cracks each 1,500mm long; make good 20no screw holes in plasterwork.

3.16.4 Allow for a specialist to hang replica wallpaper to be supplied by the Client, approximately 20sqm. See Finishes Schedule

3.16.5 Allow for supplying and hanging lining paper to the walls of the window niche and for painting over (i.e. not wallpaper as elsewhere). This is an area of, say, 6sqm. See Finishes Schedule

3.16.6 Redecorate ceiling and all Internal Joinery including 3no windows and paneled reveals, shutters to small window, dado panelling, 2no doors and architraves, 3no cast iron radiators, book shelves and 2no built-in cupboards, etc. See Finishes Schedule Ceiling height 2.6m. Note: Interiors of cupboards with solid doors do not require painting. Includes 1no radiator and 1no movement detector.

3.16.7 Allow for carefully removing and rolling existing fitted carpet and installing new. (Carpet to be procured by EH). See Finishes Schedule Hand over rolled existing carpet to client or dispose of if not wanted.

### 3.17 Room 1034 / Wellington Museum

- 3.17.1 Make good a 300 x 300mm area of ceiling plaster.
- 3.17.2 Carefully dismantle and remove the larger display case including any electrical attendance and allow for making good the area of wall behind. Hand to the Client and remove to area where requested elsewhere in the castle. Case may be used elsewhere so remove carefully.
- 3.17.3 Redecorate the room completely. See Finishes Schedule  
Ceiling height 2.6m. Note: this includes the interiors of the glazed built-in bookcases, window pelmets, 2no radiators and 1no movement detector.
- 3.17.4 Allow for carefully removing and rolling existing fitted carpet and installing new. (Carpet to be procured by EH). See Finishes Schedule [APPENDIX E]. Hand over rolled existing carpet to client or dispose of if not wanted.

### 3.18 1038 / Pitt Museum

- 3.18.1 To ceiling, allow for a Conservator to make good a total of 1.5 linear m of lining paper, in several areas, where it has come loose along edges.
- 3.18.2 To wall panelling, carefully piece in a sliver of timber to reform the missing arris to the stile between the windows. This is a piece approximately 100 x 10 x 10mm, with the back carved to suit without cutting away any existing timber.
- 3.18.3 Allow a **Provisional Sum** for other repairs to Internal joinery, to be directed on site.
- 3.18.4 Redecorate the room completely. See Finishes Schedule ---  
---. Includes 2no radiators and 1no movement detector.
- 3.18.5 Remove the existing fitted carpet. Include a **Provisional Sum** for repairs and refinishing floorboards; assume floorboards to be oak; allow for a timber floor specialist to rub down colour-in and oil the floorboards completely. See Finishes Schedule  
  
Existing carpet to be rolled and handed to client or disposed of if not wanted.

### 3.19 1032 / Link

- 3.19.1 Make good hairline cracks to vaulted plaster ceiling and redecorate vaulted ceiling completely. See Finishes Schedule  
Ceiling height 3100 at apex of vault.
- 3.19.2 Redecorate completely 1no radiator. See Finishes Schedule
- 3.19.3 Allow for a specialist Painting Conservator to match the existing colour and to touch-in small chips in paintwork to bottom rail of doors, door architraves, skirtings, etc. See Finishes Schedule

**Main Keep – First Floor**

**3.20 Room 1027 / Long Corridor and Lantern**

3.20.1 Allow for a specialist Painting Conservator to match the existing colour and to touch-in small chips in paintwork to bottom rail of doors, door architraves and skirtings. See Finishes Schedule [APPENDIX E].

3.20.2 Redecorate completely the 3no radiators. See Finishes Schedule [APPENDIX E].

**3.21 Room 1029 / Lobby to Prince Consort's Room**

3.21.1 Redecorate this very small room completely. See Finishes Schedule Ceiling height 2.0m.

**3.22 Room 1030 / Prince Consort's Room**

3.22.1 To ceiling, allow for Conservator to make good the area where the lining paper to the ceiling has come loose. This is in the area of approx. 1.0sqm around the ceiling hatch.

3.22.2 Redecorate the room completely. See Finishes Schedule [APPENDIX E]. Ceiling height 3.1m. Includes 1no radiator and 1no movement detector.

3.22.3 Remove the existing fitted carpet. Include a **Provisional Sum of £500** for repairs and refinishing to floorboards; assume floorboards to be oak; allow for a timber floor specialist to rub down colour-in and oil the floorboards completely. See Finishes Schedule

Existing carpet to be rolled and handed to client or disposed of if not wanted.

3.22.4 Allow for removing the existing curtains and installing new. (Curtains to be procured by EH). See Finishes Schedule [APPENDIX E].

**3.23 Room 1031 / Housekeeper's Room**

3.23.1 Carefully refix the area of loose lining paper to the ceiling. This is an area of 0.75sqm.

**3.24 Room 1028 / Queen Victoria's Room**

3.24.1 Remove existing full-height panelled partition where shown on the drawings. Make good to adjacent wall, ceiling and floor surfaces in preparation for redecorations. No shadow of hint of position of the removed partition is to remain; in this regard feathering in and/or building up flush the surfaces is essential.

3.24.2 Client to remove 2no hanging light fitting. Alter and conceal electrics and make good ceiling in preparation of redecorations.

- 3.24.3 To the ceiling of the now joined up rooms, affix lining paper to the whole room. Again, no shadow or hint of the position of the former partition or light fitting points is to be evident.
- 3.24.4 Redecorate room completely. See Finishes Schedule [APPENDIX E]. Ceiling height 3.1m. Includes 3no radiators and 2no movement detectors.
- 3.24.5 Remove the existing fitted carpet. Include a **Provisional Sum** for repairs and refinishing to floorboards; assume floorboards to be oak; allow for a timber floor specialist to rub down colour-in and oil the floorboards completely. See Finishes Schedule [APPENDIX E].
- Existing carpet to be rolled and handed to client or disposed of if not wanted.
- 3.25 Room 1025 / Drawing Room**
- 3.25.1 Allow for removing existing window blinds and installing new. (Blinds to be procured by EH). See Finishes Schedule [APPENDIX E].
- 3.26 Room 1024 / Ante Room**
- 3.26.1 Allow for filling small cracks and redecorating completely 2no sash windows including window niches, panelling below, soffits above, shutters and shutter boxes. Also note and include for the jib panels beneath the L/H window. See Finishes Schedule [APPENDIX E].
- 3.26.2 Redecorate completely the 2no radiators. See Finishes Schedule [APPENDIX E].
- 3.26.3 Allow a **Provisional Sum** for undertaking alterations to the L/H jib window to create a wind break.
- 3.27 Room 1023 / Dining Room**
- 3.27.1 Allow for a specialist Painting Conservator to match the existing colour and to touch-in small chips in paintwork to windows. This will be, say, 2 days of a conservator's time. See Finishes Schedule [APPENDIX E].
- 3.28 Security Upgrade**
- 3.28.1 To be undertaken by other. Allow a **Provisional sum** for BWIC in conjunction to the security works.
- 3.29 M&E Works**
- 3.29.1 Include a **Provisional Allowance** for M&E works to be instructed and which is to include for BWIC.
- 3.30 Ironmongery Repairs**



- 3.30.1 Allow the **Provisional Sum** for ironmongery repairs and replacement components where directed on site.
  
- 3.30.2 Allow the **provisional Sum** of £ for providing and installing door closers to 3no existing doors in the following rooms:
  - Ground Floor Room 0025 / Stair hall – glazed doors to Garden Lobby
  - Ground Floor Room 0030 / Gunners' Lodging Room – Panelled entrance door to Lobby
  - First Floor Room 1024 / Ante Room – L/H jib window
  
- 3.31 Completion**
  
- 3.31.1 Allow for a professional clean (not a builder's clean) to all the rooms and areas affected by the works. This includes rooms where works were undertaken as well as all access routes or adjacent affected spaces used by the Contractor and/or subcontractors.
  
- 3.31.2 Brush clean the gutters of the Gunner's Lodge elevations A-F with a bucket and hand brush (i.e. do not hose them) and flush out downpipes and ensure they are running clear.
  
- 3.31.3 Wash down hard paving to forecourt, entrance bridge, Gate Lodge, and inner ring court (zones 0050 and 0055 on ground floor plan).
  
- 3.31.4 Make good ground where site compound was located as well as access route to compound area. Include for reseeded using seed mix suggested by Head Gardener (mix to TBC).
  
- 3.31.5 Allow for refreshing the gravel entrance road and area in front of Main Entrance with additional gravel. Assume 10 tonnes to be spread as required and where directed.
  
- 3.31.6 Complete and hand-over O+M manuals including all test certificates, cleaning regimes, product information, as-built drawings etc. Note the Main Contractor is responsible for marking up the drawings to show actual repairs undertaken in all areas. This includes timber repairs to Gunner's Lodge elevations A-F.

## APPENDIX E – Finishes and Decorations

### WALMER CASTLE: Waterloo 200 - Repairs and Representation

#### Schedule of Finishes and Decorations

##### General Notes:

1. Paint Product Codes:  
DT = Dulux Trade, ICI Paints, Wexham Road, Slough, SL2 5DS, Tel: 03332 227 171  
DH = Dulux Heritage Range Paints, ICI Paints, Wexham Road, Slough, SL2 5DS, Tel: 03332 227 171  
P&P = Papers and Paints Patrick Baty Range, Papers and Paints, 4 Park Walk, London, SW10 0AD, Tel: 0207 352 8626

2. Surfaces to be Painted:  
Areas/surfaces to be painted are described in the Schedule of Works and below. In rooms stated to be fully redecorated the full extent is deemed to include all surfaces previously painted including cupboard interiors, window pelmets, radiators, woodwork, windows, shutters (including inner faces and inner linings) doors (including edges of doors into adjacent spaces), etc.

In some rooms/areas only touching-in is required. These areas are to be agreed with the Architect in advance of the work being undertaken by a specialist Painting Conservator. The Painting Conservator is then to provide matching samples for approval and advise on the type of paint so that touched-in areas will blend seamlessly.

3. Carpets/Blinds/Curtains:  
Where indicated, carpets, blinds and curtains are to be replaced. The products will be supplied by the Client but are to be installed by the Main Contractor who is to employ suitably experienced and skilled subcontractors with expertise in working on historic properties. The Main Contractor is to submit the name of their preferred specialist, with credentials and examples of previous work/clients, for approval by the Architect and Client. This may be refused and therefore only suitably skilled and experienced tradesmen should be put forward. All refixing to reuse existing screws – replacements to be slot head screws only.

4. Wallpapering:  
As for the above item, where indicated new wallpaper is to be supplied by the Client and hung by the Main Contractor. The wallpaper will be bespoke and is only to be hung by an experienced hanger. The Main Contractor is to submit the name of their preferred specialist, with credentials and examples of previous work/clients, for approval by the Architect and Client. This may be refused and therefore only suitably skilled and experienced tradesmen should be put forward.

- 4. Floor Boards: Areas where carpets are lifted, either to be replaced or left exposed, are to have the condition of the boards checked by the Architect. All loose and/or creaking boards are to be secured. Treatment of exposed boards to be confirmed.
- 5. Ironmongery: All ironmongery on surfaces to be redecorated is to be removed and refitted and not painted around.
- 6. M+E Alterations: Decorations work may be affected by alterations to the M+E Installations. Main Contractor to make good affected areas where required.

Room No.	Room Name	Surface	Treatment	Manufacturer	Colour	Finish	
Ground Floor							
0021	Entrance Lobby	Plaster walls	Repaint completely	DT	To match existing	Diamond eggshell	
		Radiator (1 no)	Repaint completely	DT	To match existing	Diamond Sainwood	
		Woodwork (doors, windows, architraves, skirtings, etc.)	Repaint completely	DT	To match existing	Oil based eggshell	
		Ceiling and cornice	Repaint completely	DH	'Panel White'	Vinyl matt emulsion	
		Floor	Remove existing, replace with hard wearing full width coir matting	Supplied by Client, fitted by Main Contractor	-	-	-
0030 (part)	Gunner's Lodging Room (main part of room)	Plaster walls	Repaint completely	P&P	SC296 'Lead'	Water based eggshell	
		Woodwork	Skirtings	Repaint completely	P&P	SC298 'Walnut Tree'	Oil based eggshell
			All other woodwork: windows, window shutters, architrave to large opening facing entrance area, door and frame to right of fireplace, etc	Repaint completely	P&P	SC296 'Lead'	Oil based eggshell
		Radiators (2no)	Repaint completely	P&P	SC296 'Lead'	Oil based eggshell	
		Movement detectors (2no)	Repaint completely	P&P	SC296 'Lead'	Oil based eggshell	
		Ceiling and main downstand beam	Repaint completely	DH	'Panel White'	Vinyl matt emulsion	
		Downstand beam by window wall	Repaint completely	DH	'Panel White'	Oil based eggshell	
		Floor	Exposed floorboards	-	Touch in with colour the existing boards as necessary	Oiled	

Room No.	Room Name	Surface	Treatment	Manufacturer	Colour	Finish	
0030 (part)	Gunners Lodging Room (Entrance area)	Plaster walls	Repaint completely	P&P	SC296 'Lead'	Oil based eggshell	
		Woodwork	Entrance door: door leaf, fanlight and door architrave	Repaint completely	P&P	SC298 'Walnut Tree'	Oil based eggshell
			All other woodwork: skirtings, door to stairhall, etc	Repaint completely	P&P	SC296 'Lead'	Oil based eggshell
		Downstand beam	Repaint completely	P&P	SC296 'Lead'	Oil based eggshell	
		Cornice	Repaint completely	P&P	SC296 'Lead'	Oil based eggshell	
		Ceiling	Repaint completely	DH	'Panel White'	Vinyl matt emulsion	
		Floor	Remove existing fitted carpet, replace with fitted rush matting	Supplied by Client, fitted by Main Contractor			



Room No.	Room Name	Surface	Treatment	Manufacturer	Colour	Finish	
0024	Sackville Room	Plaster walls	Repaint completely	DT	TBC (turquoise green)	Water based eggshell	
		Side panels in fireplace (2no)	Repaint completely	DT	TBC	Oil based eggshell	
		Woodwork	Skirtings, architrave to large opening	Repaint completely	DT	TBC (turquoise green)	Oil based eggshell
			Window (frame and sashes, shutters, window recess woodwork, architrave, cill, etc)	Repaint completely	DT	To match existing	Oil based eggshell
		Door to room 0023 (door leaf and architrave)	Repaint completely	DT	TBC (Buff-light wood)	Oil based eggshell	
		Internal weatherboarding	Repaint completely	DT	TBC (Buff-light wood)	Oil based eggshell	
		Radiator	Repaint completely	DT	TBC (turquoise green)	Oil based eggshell	
		Ceiling and downstand beam	Repaint completely	Dulux	'Panel white'	Vinyl matt emulsion	
		Floor	Remove existing fitted carpet, replace with new fitted carpet	Supplied by Client, fitted by Main Contractor	-	-	

Room No.	Room Name	Surface	Treatment	Manufacturer	Colour	Finish	
0029	Willingdon Room	Plaster walls	Repaint completely	DT	TBC (Turquoise green)	Diamond eggshell	
		Side panels in fireplace (2no)	Repaint completely	DT	TBC	Oil based eggshell	
		Woodwork	Skirtings, architrave to large opening	Repaint completely	DT	TBC (Turquoise green)	Oil based eggshell
			Window, window shutters, window recess woodwork, window architrave, window cill	Repaint completely	DT	To match existing	Oil based eggshell
			Internal weatherboarding	Repaint completely	DT	TBC (Buff-light wood)	Oil based eggshell
			Radiator (1no)		DT	TBC (Turquoise green)	Oil based eggshell
			Ceiling, cornice and downstand beam	Repaint completely	DH	'Panel white'	Vinyl matt emulsion
			Floor	Remove existing fitted carpet, replace with new fitted carpet	Supplied by Client, fitted by Main Contractor	-	-

Room No.	Room Name	Surface	Treatment	Manufacturer	Colour	Finish	
0025	Staircase and Landing (at ground floor level)	Plaster walls	Touch in paintwork only where directed	DT	To match existing	To match existing	
		Plaster soffit to stairs	Touch in areas where plaster repairs are made	DT	To match existing	Vinyl matt emulsion	
		Woodwork	Touch in paintwork only where directed	DT	To match existing	Oil based eggshell	
		Internal weatherboarding and door and architrave to room 0030	Repaint completely	DT	TBC (Buff-light wood)	Oil based eggshell	
		Radiator (1 no)	Repaint completely	DT	To match existing	Oil based eggshell	
		Ceiling	n/a	-	-	-	
		Floor / stairs	Fitted carpet	Remove existing fitted carpet, replace with new fitted carpet	Supplied by Client, fitted by Main Contractor	-	-
			Stair runner	Existing stair runner to be retained but is to be lifted and reversed to ameliorate wear	Runner adjusted by Main Contractor	-	-
		Walls	n/a	-	-	-	
		Woodwork	Refinish / feed external doors only	???	???	???	
0026	Garden Lobby	Ceiling	n/a	-	-	-	
		Floor	Remove existing fitted matt, replace with hard wearing full width coir matting	Supplied by Client, fitted by Main Contractor	-	-	

Room No.	Room Name	Surface	Treatment	Manufacturer	Colour	Finish
First Floor						
1037	Lucas Room	Plaster walls	Repaint completely (over existing wallpaper)	DT	To match Munsell 7.5YR 7/4	Diamond eggshell
		All woodwork including window pelmets (2no)	Repaint completely	DT	To match Munsell 7.5YR 7/4	Oil based eggshell
		Radiator (1no)	Repaint completely	DT	TBC (to match plaster wall)	Oil based eggshell
		Movement detector	Repaint completely	DT	TBC (to match plaster wall)	Oil based eggshell
		Ceiling	Make good lining paper and touch in decorations only where directed	DT	To match existing	Vinyl matt emulsion
		Floor	Existing fitted carpet to remain	-	-	-



Room No.	Room Name	Surface	Treatment	Manufacturer	Colour	Finish
1035	Duke of Wellington's Room	Plaster walls (papered areas of walls, including within areas of the built-in bookcase)	Hang new hand-blocked wallpaper	Supplied by Client, fitted by Main Contractor	-	-
		Window recess walls	New lining paper, painted	DT	TBC	???
		Dado panelling, built-in bookcases, all other woodwork including doors, windows, architraves, skirtings, fire surround, etc.	Repaint completely	DT	To match 'Munsell 7.5YR 7/4'	Oil based eggshell
		Radiators (1no under small window, other two to remain unpainted)	Repaint completely	DT	TBC	Oil based eggshell
		Movement detector	Repaint completely	DT	TBC	Oil based eggshell
		Ceiling	Repaint completely	DH	'Panel White'	Vinyl matt emulsion
		Floor	Remove existing fitted carpet, replace with new fitted carpet	Supplied by Client, fitted by Main Contractor	-	-
		Panelled walls, all other woodwork including doors, windows, built-in bookcases, skirtings, cornice, fire surround and window pelmets (2no)	Repaint completely	DT	To match 'Munsell 7.5YR 7/4'	Oil based eggshell
		Radiator (2no)	Repaint completely	DT	To match 'Munsell 7.5YR 7/4'	Oil based eggshell
		Movement detector	Repaint completely	DT	To match 'Munsell 7.5YR 7/4'	Oil based eggshell
1034	Wellington Museum	Ceiling	Repaint completely	DH	'Panel White'	Vinyl matt emulsion
		Floor	Remove existing fitted carpet, replace with new fitted carpet	Supplied by Client, fitted by Main Contractor	-	-



Room No.	Room Name	Surface	Treatment	Manufacturer	Colour	Finish
1038	Pitt Museum	Panelled walls, all other woodwork, including windows, doors, architraves, skirtings, cornice, fire surround	Repaint completely	P&P	SC292 (TBC)	Oil based eggshell
		Movement detector	Repaint completely	P&P	SC292 (TBC)	Oil based eggshell
		Ceiling	Make good existing lining paper and fully redecorate	DH	'Panel White'	Vinyl matt emulsion
		Floor	Remove existing fitted carpet to expose existing floorboards, refinish if required	-	Touch in with colour the existing boards as necessary	Oiled
		Walls	Touch in paintwork only where directed	DT	To match existing	Diamond eggshell
		Woodwork	Touch in paintwork only where directed	DT	To match existing	Oil based eggshell
1036	Upper Stair Landing and Small Corridor	Radiator (1no)	Redecorate completely	DT	To match existing	Oil based eggshell
		Ceiling	Make good existing lining paper and fully redecorate	DH	'Panel White'	Vinyl matt emulsion
		Floor	n/a existing runner to remain	n/a	-	-

Room No.	Room Name	Surface	Treatment	Manufacturer	Colour	Finish
1032	Link	Plaster walls	n/a	-	-	-
		Woodwork	n/a	-	-	-
		Radiator (1no)	Completely redecorate radiator	DT	To match existing	Oil based eggshell
		Ceiling	Hairline cracks to be repaired and vaulted ceiling fully redecorated	DH	'Panel White'	Vinyl matt emulsion
		Floor	n/a - existing runner to remain	-	-	-
1027	Long Corridor and Rotunda	High level plaster walls	Touch in paintwork only where directed	DT	To match existing	Diamond eggshell
		Dado panelling, woodwork and cornice	Touch in paintwork only where directed	DT	To match existing	Oil based eggshell
		Radiators (3no)	Completely redecorate radiators	DT	To match existing	Oil based eggshell
		Ceiling	n/a	-	-	-
		Floor	n/a - existing runner to remain	-	-	-
1029	Lobby to Prince Consort's Room	Panelled walls and woodwork	Redecorate completely	P&P	SC292 (TBC)	Oil based eggshell
		Ceiling	Redecorate completely	DH	'Panel White'	Vinyl matt emulsion
		Floor	n/a	-	-	-

Room No.	Room Name	Surface	Treatment	Manufacturer	Colour	Finish	
1030	Prince Consort's Room	Panelled walls and all other woodwork including windows, doors, architraves, skirting, cornice, fire surround, etc	Redecorate completely	P&P	SC292 (TBC)	Oil based eggshell	
		Radiator (1no)	Redecorate completely	P&P	SC292 (TBC)	Oil based eggshell	
		Movement detectors	Redecorate completely	P&P	SC292 (TBC)	Oil based eggshell	
		Ceiling	Redecorate completely	DH	'Panel White'	Vinyl matt emulsion	
		Floor	Remove existing fitted carpet to expose existing floorboards, refinish if required	-	Touch in with colour the existing boards as necessary	Oiled	
		Window treatment	Remove existing curtains and rehang new curtains	Supplied by Client, hung by Main Contractor	-	-	
		Ceiling	Refix loose flap of existing ceiling lining paper	-	-	-	
1028	Queen Victoria's Room	Panelled walls and all other woodwork including windows, doors, architraves, skirting, cornice, fire surround, etc	Redecorate completely	P&P	SC292 (TBC)	Oil based eggshell	
		Radiators (3no)	Redecorate completely	P&P	SC292 (TBC)	Oil based eggshell	
		Movement detectors (2no)	Redecorate completely	P&P	SC292 (TBC)	Oil based eggshell	
		Ceiling	New lining paper and repaint completely	DH	'Panel White'	Vinyl matt emulsion	
		Floor	Remove existing fitted carpet to expose existing floorboards, refinish if required	-	Touch in with colour the existing boards as necessary	Oiled	
		Housekeeper's Room	Ceiling	Refix loose flap of existing ceiling lining paper	-	-	-
		Housekeeper's Room	Window treatment	Remove existing curtains and rehang new curtains	Supplied by Client, hung by Main Contractor	-	-

Room No.	Room Name	Surface	Treatment	Manufacturer	Colour	Finish
1025	Drawing Room	Panelled walls	n/a	-	-	-
		Woodwork	n/a	-	-	-
		Ceiling	n/a	-	-	-
		Floor	n/a - existing rug to remain.	-	-	-
		Window treatment	Remove existing window blinds from 5no windows and replace	Supplied by Client, fitted by Main Contractor	-	-
		Panelled walls	n/a	-	-	-
1024	Ante Room	Windows including shutters, linings, panels below, etc	Redecorate completely	DT	To match existing	Oil based eggshell
		Radiators (2no)	Redecorate completely	DT	To match existing	Oil based eggshell
		Ceiling	n/a	-	-	-
		Floor	n/a - existing runner and area of fitted carpet to remain	-	-	-
		Panelled walls	n/a	-	-	-
		Woodwork	Touch in paintwork only at windows	DT	To match existing	Oil based eggshell
1023	Dining Room	Radiators (2no)	Redecorate completely	DT	To match existing	Oil based eggshell
		Ceiling	n/a	-	-	-
		Floor	n/a - existing rug to remain	-	-	-

**Appendix K:**

**Upnor Castle Photographic Survey, July 2023**





View of the outer face of the castle wall





View from the bailey



Northern view





Rounded crenellations that defend against return fire are reminiscent of The Downs' embrasures (likely also as Kentish ragstone too)





Wider view of the previous image





The towers are similar to the former Thames bulwarks, built also under the original Device.





Entrance barbican





Decorative timber spiral staircase





View of the castle from the riverside





View of the castle from the riverside





Tunnel



**Appendix L:**

**Drollery Faces within the Sandgate Castle Construction Diary**

Contained within the Sandgate Castle Construction Diary Thomas Busshe (1540), there are many grotesque faces sketched within the text. This section documents the most clearly surviving images of these faces:





**Appendix M:**  
**Petrological Analysis of the Eastry Chapel Stones**



**SANDBERG**

**REPORT 73092/G/1/A**  
**IDENTIFICATION OF**  
**POTENTIAL STONE SOURCE**  
**FROM A DEBRIS SAMPLE**  
**EASTRY CHAPEL**

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**REPORT 73092/G/1/A**  
**IDENTIFICATION OF**  
**POTENTIAL STONE SOURCE**  
**FROM A DEBRIS SAMPLE**  
**EASTRY CHAPEL**

For the attention of Mr Chris Moore

This report comprises  
4 pages of text  
Table 1 of 4 sheets  
Table 2 of 4 sheets

2 March 2023

# SANDBERG CONSULTING ENGINEERS

INVESTIGATION INSPECTION  
MATERIALS TESTING

Sandberg LLP  
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**REPORT 73092/G/1/A**

**IDENTIFICATION OF**

**POTENTIAL STONE SOURCE**

**FROM A DEBRIS SAMPLE**

**EASTRY CHAPEL**

**Reference:** Instructions from Mr Chris Moore of Redec Ltd.

**1 INTRODUCTION**

We were instructed to undertake a petrographic examination of stone from a sample of mortar and stone debris in order to identify the type/sand potential source/s matches.

**2 SAMPLE RECEIVED**

A sample of a mortar and stone debris of was received at Sandberg laboratories on 1 February 2023. Two stone specimens were identified in the debris, as follows;

Sandberg Ref.	Type of material selected	Specimen weight, g
G53139 A	Stone lump A	503
G53139 B	Stone lump B	856

### 3. TEST METHOD AND RESULTS

Each stone specimen was subjected to petrographic examination in accordance with methods described in BS 5930:2015+AI:2020<sup>1</sup>, ISRM<sup>2</sup> and BS EN 12407:2019<sup>3</sup>.

Record colour photographs of each specimen selected are presented in Tables 1 and 2 of this report.

Each stone specimen was first subjected to macroscopical and low power stereoscopic microscope examination supported by simple physical and chemical tests.

A representative portion from each specimen was used to prepare a large area thin section, which was examined under a Leica DM4500P high power petrological microscopes employing plane polarised and cross polarised light at magnifications up to x1000.

The detailed petrographic examination results are given in Tables 1 and 2 of this report.

The macroscopical examination findings for each stone specimen may be summarised as follows:

#### **Specimen G53139 A**

Grey brown on exposed surfaces, pale brownish beige on freshly broken surfaces and pale bluish grey on freshly sawn surfaces, fine to medium to coarse grained (coarse grains were mainly relict bioclastic debris) up to 2mm across and 5mm long, calcirudite to calcarenite to calcilutite. The relict bioclasts generally exhibited a parallel disposition to the rough principal exposed surfaces of the lump sample, imparting a convoluted bedding structure. The stone was well to very well compacted, superficially discoloured bioclastic LIMESTONE, generally hard and robust (subjective assessment). Sporadic fine cracks were present possibly due to exposure and other stresses. The bluish colouration was probably due to the presence of blue or bluish manganese oxide.

#### **Specimen G53139 B**

Grey brown on exposed surfaces, pale brownish beige on freshly broken surfaces and pale bluish grey on freshly sawn surfaces, fine to medium to coarse grained (coarse grains were mainly relict bioclastic debris) up to 2mm across and 5mm long, calcirudite to calcarenite to calcilutite. The relict bioclasts generally exhibited a parallel disposition to the rough principal exposed surfaces of the lump sample, imparting a convoluted bedding structure. The stone was well to very well compacted, superficially discoloured bioclastic LIMESTONE, generally hard and robust (subjective assessment). Sporadic fine cracks were present possibly due to exposure and other stresses. The bluish colouration was probably due to the presence of blue or bluish manganese oxide.

---

<sup>1</sup> BS 5930:2015+AI:2020. Code of Practice for Site Investigation, Clause 36, Description and Classification of Rocks for Engineering Purposes.

<sup>2</sup> Rock Characterisation Testing and Monitoring. International Society for Rock Mechanics (ISRM) Suggested methods. Petrographic Description of Rocks p 73, 1981 Edition.

<sup>3</sup> BS EN 12407:2019. Natural Stone Test Methods- Petrographic Examination.

**4. DISCUSSION**

On the basis of the microscopic examination the two selected specimens were found to be natural limestone and were very similar in composition and texture probably originating from the same source/quarry or different parts of a quarry or a formation.

The two specimens appeared to be similar in colour and general composition to potential sources which are given in the Table below together with the degree of confidence in the match.

Sandberg Ref.	Potential Source Material	Degree of Confidence in Match
G53139 A & G53139 B	Purbeck Limestone : California Quarry (Roach bed), Herston, nr. Swanage	Probable
	Purbeck Limestone : Downs Quarry (Thornback bed), Kingston Road, Langton Matravers, nr. Swanage	Possible
	Purbeck Limestone : Keats Quarry (Weston bed), Eastington Road, Worth Matravers. Nr. Swanage	Possible

Each specimen selected was compared against archived petrographic data and thin sections. It is therefore recommended that colour matching of the stone from the suggested potential sources with the material/son site is carried out.

The above suggested stone source/s are generally similar in colour and appearance but not identical to the submitted stone.

It is therefore recommended that colour matching of the stone from the suggested sources with the material/son site is carried out. This is important in respect of variation due to fresh and weathered stone both in the quarry and on the structure.

It should be borne in mind that, apart from the parameters discussed above, ultimately the matching of a potential source stone with that in a historic structure is also dependent upon a range of other additional factors. These include:

**Weathering**

The rate of weathering in the installation climate will affect how the new stone will appear during long-term exposure (i.e. the colour of fresh stone will alter over time and this needs to be considered in respect of the original stone appearance in the structure).

Furthermore, different stones will weather and react in different ways according to their composition and physical properties (i.e. will the new stone weather or degrade at the same rate as the original or not).

**Permeability**

A key parameter of any replacement stone is its permeability. A new (substitute) stone needs to have compatible porosity and inter-connectivity characteristics to those of the original stone, otherwise moisture migration can be inhibited and lead to accelerated deterioration.

**Strength**

If a stone is load-bearing in a structure, it is critical to establish that any new stone has adequate strength to meet the required factors of safety.

**Workability**

Any stone considered for replacement works must have characteristics that allow it to be worked into the necessary shape and form of the elements that comprise the structure.

We would strongly recommend that the suggested source quarries are visited by an experienced geologist and samples are examined in detail with respect to compatibility of physical characteristics, durability and comparative performance. We would welcome the opportunity to assist in this process.

**5. REMARKS**

The stone matching was based upon the specimens selected. Stone sources may be expected to exhibit considerable lateral and vertical variations in composition and character over short distances and single samples are unlikely to be reliably representative of whole source areas or specific locations within these areas during continuing exploitation.

In addition, the above suggested quarries may have stopped operating or the new stone extracted may differ considerably in colour, texture and overall composition with that originally produced.



These results and comments conclude the testing requested to date. Please do not hesitate to contact us if we can be of further assistance.

Redec Ltd.  
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Orbital Business Park  
Sevington  
Ashford  
Kent  
TN24 0SY

for Sandberg LLP



Panos Sotiropoulos  
Principal Geologist

For the attention of Mr Chris Moore

2 March 2023

PS/Geology/Laboratory

File:73092gl.Report.wpd

## SAMPLE PHOTOGRAPHS



G53139 A: Stone lump A side 1. General View.



G53139 A: Stone lump A side 2. General View.

## PETROGRAPHICAL EXAMINATION OF ROCK

BS EN ISO 14699:2018, BS 5930:2015+A1 :2020, ISRM Method, BS EN 12407:2019, ASTM C1721-16

SAMPLE DETAILS	
Sample Reference	G53139 A Client Reference/Site Mark: -
Sample Type, Source and Sampling Location Details:	Stong lump A from a stonQ and mortar oobris sample
Condition on Receipt:	Dry Sample weight, a : & n
Methods of Preparation of Specimens and Examination Procedures:	ThQ sampQ ,...as first subjactQd to macrosoopical and bw powQr strgrMmicroocopical gxamination supportQd by simpla physical and chQmical tQSts. A rgprgsntati-xi spgcmgn from the sample was diamond-sawn and USQd to prQparQ a largQ aCa thin section which ,...as examingd under a LQca DM4500P hkh IQWQ IQtroloical microsoog Qmobyina maanQications up to x1000.
Any Other Details:	A rQprQSQntati-xi sk'Q spgcmQn ,...as diamond sawn across thQ stong lump sample and usad to prgparQ a largQ area thin section with the 2No. 20mm x 61 mm slicQ spgcmens. Thin oction ,ws complatgd on 16.02.212 J.

MATERIAL DESCRIPTION:
Grgy brown on gxpood surfacQs, pala brownish bggQ on frQshly brokgn surfa'QS and pa Q bluish grQy on frQshly sawn surfacQs, frQ to mgdium to ooaroo graingd (oearsQ grains waQ mainly rglict bioclastic oobris) up to 2mm across and 5mm bng, calcirudltQ to calcarentltQ to calcilititg. The rgli'ct bioclasts ggngrally gxhibltgd a para lal disposition to the rough principal expood surfacs of thg lump sam pQ, imparting a cconvoluted bedding stru'cture. Thg stong ,ws wall to wry wgl compactgd, surficially dis'oburQd bioclastic LIMESTONE., ggngrally hard and robust (subjact,Q assgssment). Sporadic fing cracks warg preoont possibly dug toexposurg and other stresoos. ThQ bluish coburation was probably dug to thQ urgooncg of blug G bluish manangoo OXdQ.

MATERIAL COMPOSITION:		PETROGRAPHICAL DETAILS"
COMPONENT	Volume % (estimated)	<p>Thg stong ,ws a bioclastic limestong mainly matbc supportgd with rQk1 bioclasts wholly to partially repla'Qd by sparry calcitg anhQdral grains up to 200µm and commonly 100µm across. Micritg fCfmed a matrix within which reikt bioclastic dgbris, sporadic quartz grains and sparoo iron and/or mangangsg oxidg were SQ. Spciadic bioclasts exhibited the original fibrous aragonitic tQxturg. ThQ bioclasts waQ occasionally in parallel disposition to the principal rough surfacQS of thg sampQ. Sporadic fine -xiins ware oogn to be infillad with microspar (10µm to 10µm across).</p> <p>The relict bioclasts ranged in size from approximatgly 100µm to 2mm across and 500µm to 5mm bng and ware bivat'Qd oobris possibly brachiopods and/ci lamgllibranchs and thQy had bQgn mainly replaced by sparrycalcitg.</p> <p>The bedding WS oolingatgd by the parallel disposition of the bioclastic oobris with thgr bng dimngsions bng parallel to an angla to thg principal rough gxposed surfaces of thg sam pQ.</p> <p>Quartz grains, up to 210µm and commonly lass than 100µm across, w,irg ung-xinly distributQd.</p> <p>Blackopaqug to brown Cfanggfinqrained matQrial, unQVQnlydistributQd, possibly iron and/ci manganese oxide (ggnQrally lass than 50µm across) ,...as mainly prQoont within the matbc and abng rQict bioclastic oobris.</p> <p>ThQ blue and bluish coburation oogn in hand spQcimM may bQ dug to the presgncQ of possiblQ mangangsg cidQ within thQ matbc.</p> <p>ThQ stonQ was wgl to -xiry wgl compactQd and sporadic irrQgular top Qbngate voids up to 100µm across wgre cbsQrved. Thg micritg howQMQr may be slightly microporous with praQS bQyond thQ rQsclution of thg microsoopg.</p>
Micritic matbc	59	
Relikt bioclasticdgbris	40	
Quartz	1	
Quaoues	<1	
TOTAL:	100	



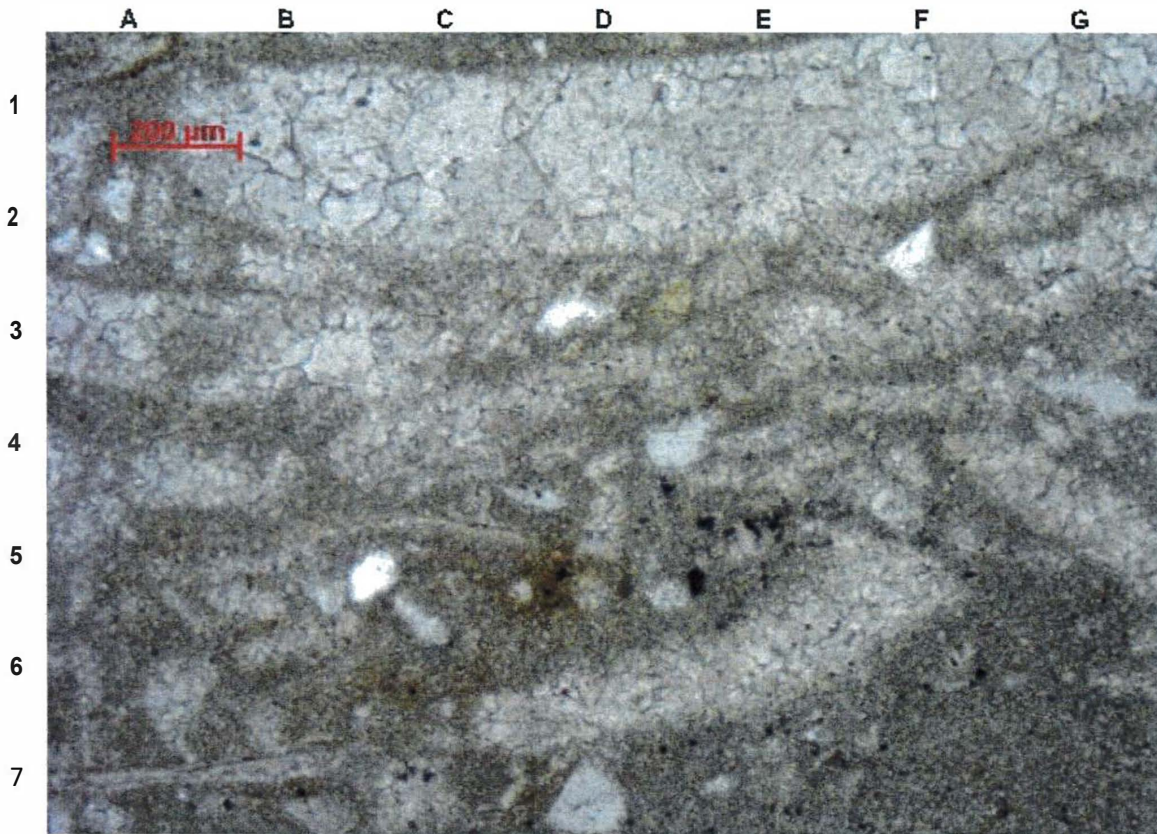
Details mainly relate to components or features of possible engineering significance.

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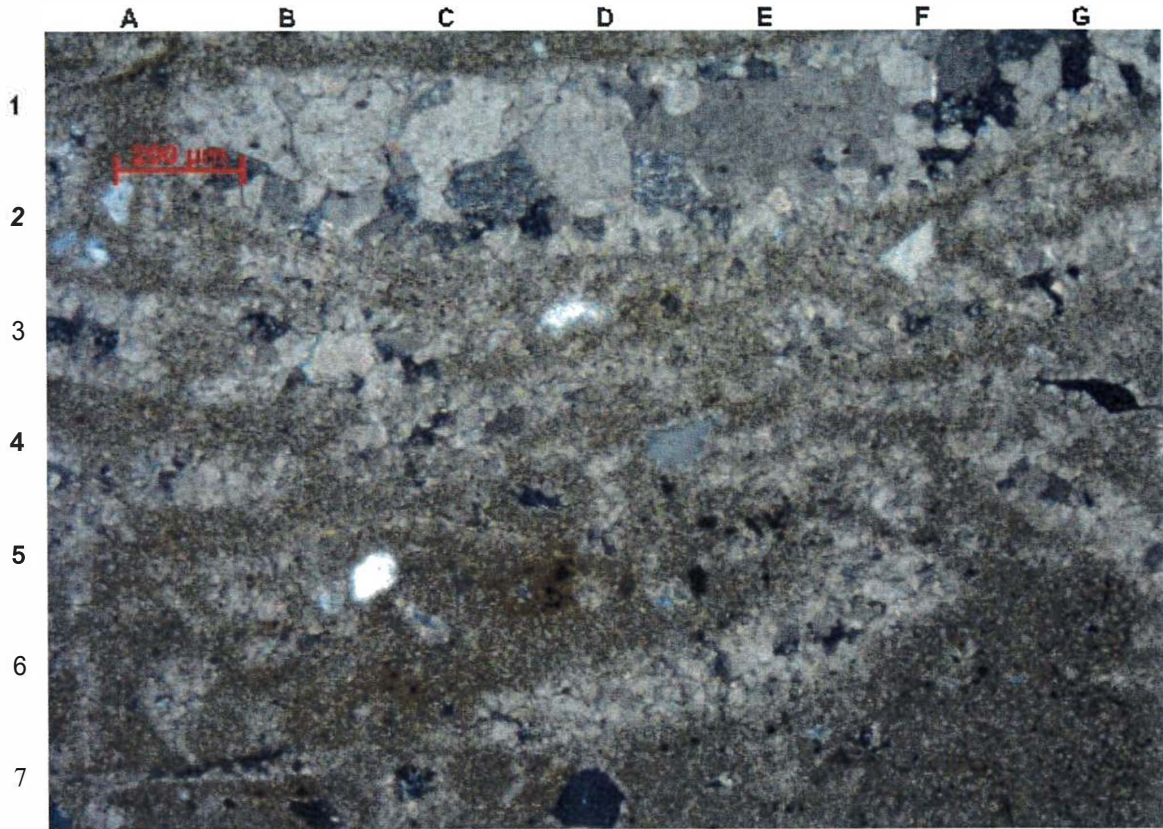
## PETROGRAPHICAL EXAMINATION OF STONE - PHOTOMICROGRAPH



Photomicrograph Details			
Sandberg Sample RQf:	G53139 A	Client RQf/Site Mark:	Stone lump from a stoe and mortar debris samule
Microscoupe Liakt:	Plane polarised	Objective Magnification:	x5
Photomicrograph Description			
<p>General view of the stone structure. Dark is micrite whilst the bright is sparry calcite mainly replacing bioclastic debris. The relict bioclasts exhibit parallel alignment. The white grains (e.g. quartz, E-Ft2-3, D-E14-7, C-D/3, B-C/5-6 etc.) are quartz grains. Black opaque iron and/or manganese oxide grains can be seen at C-E/5.</p>			

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## PETROGRAPHICAL EXAMINATION OF STONE -PHOTOMICROGRAPH



Photomicrograph Details			
Sandberg Sample #:	GS:J1:J9 A	Client #/Site Mark:	Stone lump from a stone and monar debris samole
Mikroskopie Licht:	Cross uolarised	Objektiv Magnifikation:	xS
Photomicrograph Description			
<p>General view of the stone structure. Dark is micrite whilst the bright is sparry calcite mainly replacing blocky clastic debris. The remaining blocky clasts exhibit parallel alignment. The white, pale grey and grey grains (e.g. C-Dn, E-F/2-J, D-E/4-7, B-C/5-6 C.D/J etc.) are quartz grains. Black opaque iron and manganese oxide grains can be seen at C.E/5.</p>			



## SAMPLE PHOTOGRAPHS



G53139 B: Stone lump B side 1. General View.



G53139 B: Stone lump B side 2. General View.



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TGrGd by/ Datg  
PS/28.02.2023

## PETROGRAPHICAL EXAMINATION OF ROCK

BS EN ISO 14689:2018, BS 5930:2015+A1:2020, ISRM Method. BS EN 12407:2019. ASTM C1721-15

SAMPLE DETAILS			
Sample Reference	G53139 B	Client Reference/Site Mark:	-
Sample Type, Source and Sampling Location Details:	Stone lump A from a stone and mortar debris sample		
Condition on Receipt:	Dry	Sample weight, g :	856
Methods of Preparation of Specimens and Examination Procedures:	The sample was first subjected to macroscopic and bw power stereomicroscopic examination supported by simple physical and chemical tests. A representative specimen from the sample was diamond-sawn and used to prepare a large area thin section which was examined under a Leica DM4500P with lower micrological magnifications up to x1000.		
Any Other Details:	A representative slice specimen was diamond sawn across the stone lump sample and used to prepare a large area thin section with the 2No. 20mm x 61 mm slice specimens. Thin section was completed on 16.02.2023.		

MATERIAL DESCRIPTION:	Grey brown on exposed surfaces. pale brownish beige on freshly broken surfaces and pale bluish grey on freshly sawn surfaces. fine to medium to coarse grained (coarse grains were mainly relict bioclastic debris) up to 2mm across and 5mm long, calcilutite to calcarenite to calcilutite. The relict bioclasts generally exhibited a parallel disposition to the rough principal exposed surfaces of the lump sample imparting a convoluted bedding structure. The stone was well compacted, superficially discoloured bioclastic LIMESTONE, generally hard and robust (subjective assessment). Structure: fine cracks are present possibly due to exposure and other stresses. The bluish colouration was probably due to the presence of blue or bluish manganese oxide.
-----------------------	--

MATERIAL COMPOSITION:		PETROGRAPHICAL DETAILS
COMPONENT	Volume % (estimated)	<p>The stone was a bioclastic limestone mainly matrix supported with relict bioclasts wholly to partially replaced by sparry calcite anhedral grains up to 200µm and commonly 100µm across. Matrix: a matrix within which relict bioclastic debris. Structure: quartz grains and sparse iron and/or manganese oxide. SpCf: dark; bioclasts exhibit the original fibrous aragonitic texture. The bioclasts were occasionally in parallel disposition to the principal rough surfaces of the sample. Sporadic fine, irregular to be infilled with matrix (10µm to 10µm across).</p> <p>The relict bioclasts ranged in size from approximately 100µm to 2mm across and 500µm to 5mm long and were bivittate debris possibly brachiopods and/or lamellibranchs and they had been mainly replaced by sparry calcite.</p> <p>The bedding was delineated by the parallel disposition of the bioclastic debris with their long dimensions being parallel to an angle to the principal rough exposed surfaces of the sample.</p> <p>Quartz grains, up to 200µm and commonly less than 100µm across. are unevenly distributed.</p> <p>Black to brown fine grained material, unevenly distributed, possibly iron and/or manganese oxide (generally less than 50µm across) was mainly present within the matrix and among relict bioclastic debris.</p> <p>The blue and bluish colouration seen in hand specimen may be due to the presence of possible manganese oxide within the matrix.</p> <p>The stone was well to very well compacted and sporadic: irregular top elongate voids up to 100µm across were observed. The matrix however may be slightly microporous with pores beyond the resolution of the microscope.</p>
Matrix	53	
Relict bioclastic debris	46	
Quartz	1	
Others	<1	
TOTAL:	100	



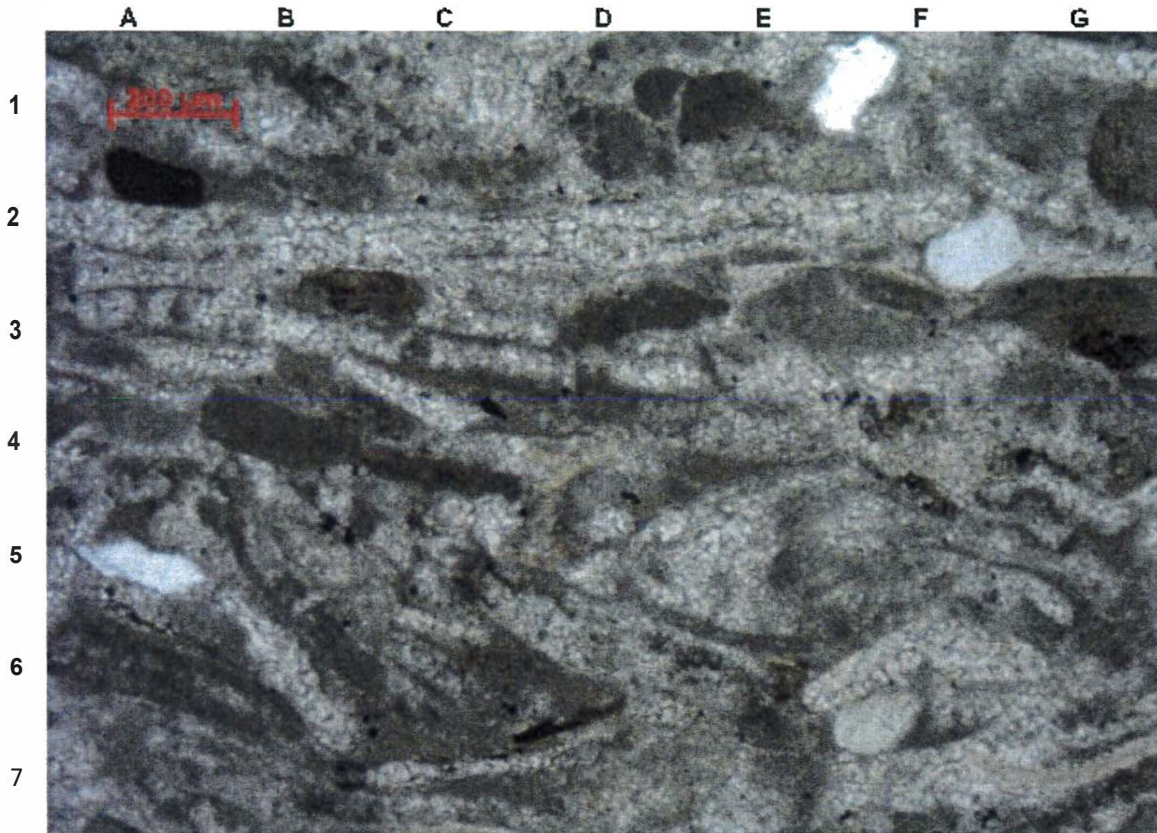
Details mainly relate to components or features of possible engineering significance.

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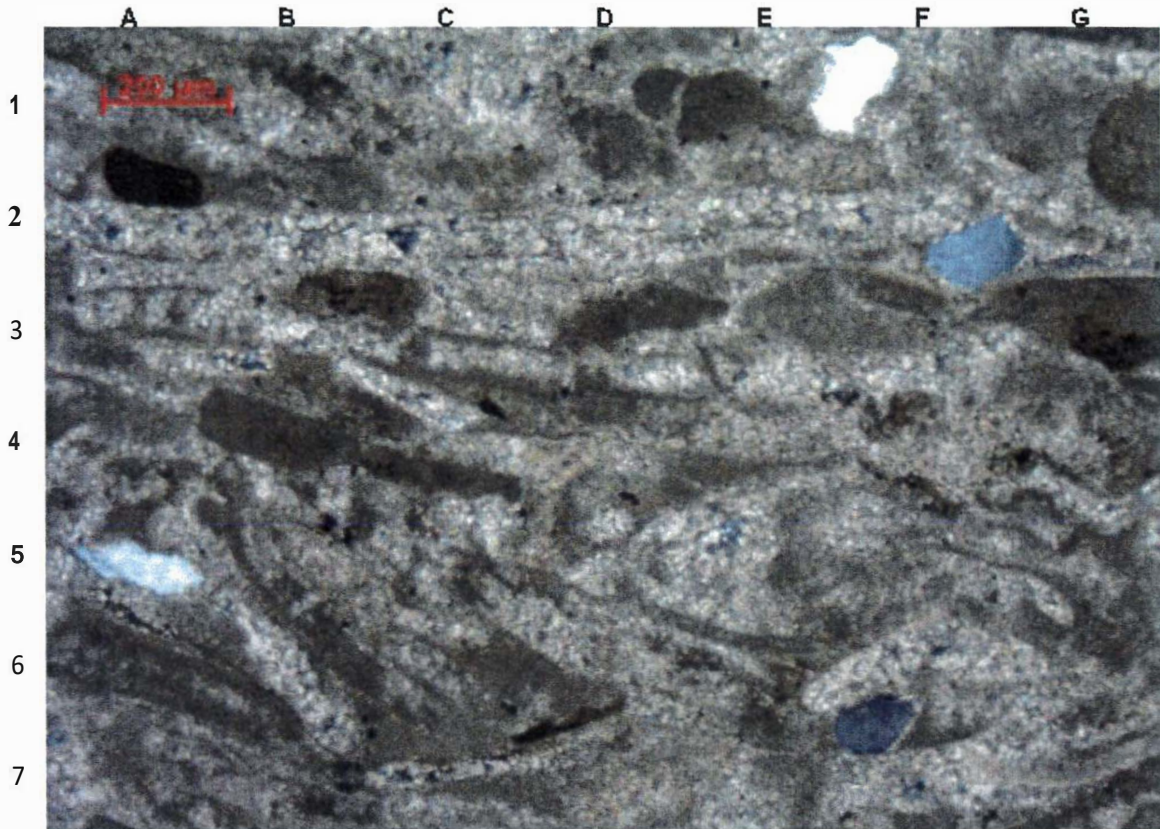
## PETROGRAPHICAL EXAMINATION OF STONE -PHOTOMICROGRAPH



Photomicrograph Details			
Sandberg Sample Ref:	G5JU9 B	Client Ref/Site Mark:	Stone lump from a stone and mortar debris sample
Microscope Light:	Plane pol, Hised	Objective Magnification:	x5
Photomicrograph Description			
<p>The matrix is a fine-grained, light-colored material. Dark, angular clasts are visible throughout. Bright, irregular grains (e.g., F-G/2-i, E-F/1, E-F/6-7, A/5) are quartz grains. Black opaque iron and/or manganese oxide grains can be seen at C-E/5, B-C/5 etc..</p>			

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## PETROGRAPHICAL EXAMINATION OF STONE -PHOTOMICROGRAPH



Photomicrograph Details			
Sandberg Sample Ref:	G5/1/19 B	Client Ref/SiNI Mark:	Stone lump from a stone and masonry debris sample
Mikroscope Light:	Cross polarised	Objective Magnification:	x5
Photomicrograph Description			
<p>General view of the stone structure. Dark is mica whilst the bright is sparry calcite mainly replacing bioclastic debris. The relict bioclasts exhibit parallel alignment. The white to blue grey grains (e.g. F-M/1, E-F/1, E-F/6-7, A/5) are quartz grains. Black opaque iron and/or manganese oxide grains can be seen at C-E/5, B-C/5 etc.</p>			

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This report shall not be reproduced, except in full, without the written approval of Sandberg LLP.

Where test results are given, the results and our conclusions relate only to the samples tested and apply to the sample(s) as received, except where sampling has been conducted by Sandberg LLP.

Materials, samples and test specimens are retained for a period of 2 months from the issue of the final report.

Tests reported on sheets not bearing the UKAS mark in this report/certificate are not included in the UKAS accredited schedule for this laboratory.

Opinions and interpretations expressed herein are outside the scope for UKAS accreditation.

End of report.





**Appendix N:**  
**Sandgate Castle Photographic Survey, July 2021**



Southern view of the castle from the private land adjoining the castle (taken with permission)





Close-up of the exterior stonework showing a well-mined, cut and prepared Kentish ragstone with galletted pointing





Flagstones on the exterior





*Sandgate Castle is a private residence, and no access has been granted.*

**Appendix O:**

**Historic England Listing Application, Photographic Survey for Eastry Chapel,  
June 2022**



The Chapel next to the vacant plot where the Victorian Workhouse Hospital formerly stood.





Example of spolia/medieval masonry markings in the main chapel elevations probably taken from St Radegunds Abbey via Sandown Castle





Example of spolia/medieval masonry markings in the main chapel elevations as probably taken from St Radegunds Abbey via Sandown Castle





Example of spolia/medieval masonry markings in the main chapel elevations as probably taken from St Radegunds Abbey via Sandown Castle





Evidence of structural failures that may be used to provide substantiation for the demolition to this formerly curtilage-listed chapel





Evidence of structural failures that may be used to provide substantiation for the demolition to this formerly curtilage-listed chapel





Evidence of structural failures from vegetation growth that may be used to provide substantiation for the demolition to this formerly curtilage-listed chapel





Evidence of structural failures from vegetation growth that may be used to provide substantiation for the demolition to this formerly curtilage-listed chapel





Evidence of structural failures from vegetation growth that may be used to provide substantiation for the demolition to this formerly curtilage-listed chapel



Significant water ingress and structural issues are being caused by this mid-C20th lean-to that is failing and causing damage to the interior of the chapel





Easterly elevation buttress is collapsing from lack of maintenance. The large Kentish ragstones are evidenced with Caen stone copings – the latter is very uncommon and unique for a vernacular chapel of this location.





Examples of Caen, Kentish Ragstone and other quality freestones, the latter two categories likely quarried by Tudor builders from the Folkestone beds, this provides provenance of stones taken directly from Sandown Castle as these are very similar in quality, consistency and colouration from the castles of Walmer and Sandgate that were all built at the same time as Sandown – with the same craftsmen and same material sources.



Example of spolia reuse stones to the curtain walling, arch stones possibly lifted from a doorway or ribbed ceiling at Sandown Castle. Note the vandalism.





As above





Vegetation due to no maintenance is affecting the fabric of the building



An example of how the Chapel is built on high ground and dominates the skyline of the village.





Example of Kentish Ragstone (et al.) within the walling, all probable spolia examples.

**Appendix P:****St. Radegund's Abbey Photographic Survey, March 2021**





The current farmhouse is well decorated using spolia



Possible ruins of the cloisters





Interior view of the remaining tower



**Appendix Q:**

**Sandwich Town Potential Spolia Photographic Survey, March 2023**





Spolia and decorative diapering to the upper level





Example of spolia use





Example of spolia using stone, flint and CBM (ceramic building material) to this garden walling





Entrance to St Clements Church





Flagstones at St Clements





Flagstones at St Clements



Example of spolia using stone and CBM to this garden walling





Exterior of St Mary's Church showing signs of freestone reuse





Exterior of St Mary's



Example of spolia use





Example of spolia use



Various reused stones in the elevation of these cottages





Example of spolia using stone and CBM to this garden walling to The Salvation

**Appendix R:**

**Neptune's Tower / Neptune's Towers / Neptune's Castle / Neptune's Temple / Arx Ruohim in Broadstairs, Kent (a ruined folly in the style of Walmer Castle), August 2023.**



Northern view from the golf course





View from the seaward public right of way





Chalk coursing to this 'bastion' with flintwork walling





View across the bay of Kingsgate Castle



View of the monument's bailey





View of the monument's bailey





View of the monument's bailey





View from the public right of way

**Appendix S:****Twentieth Century Ruined Walmer Court, October 2023.**



View of the grounds





A standing elevation as viewed from the abutting graveyard





The interior of where the keep would have been built





View of consolidated wall





Various remaining walls within the keep area



**Appendix T:**

**The Ruins of Titchfield Abbey, Hampshire, June 2023**



Mason's markings to the stonework used as a key for interior plasterwork since lost to time





View of the interior face of the front elevation





View of the interior of the tower





Consolidated remains of probable original monastic encaustic tiles





Remains of a column affixed to the front elevation





Front elevation





Interior view



**Appendix U:****The Ruins of St. Augustine Abbey, Canterbury, August 2022.**



Remains of the Abbott's lodgings





Remains of the crypt





Remains of St Pancras chapel





Remains of St Pancras chapel





Remains of St Pancras chapel





Remains of St Pancras chapel





Spolia used in the outer boundary walls





Consolidation work near the remains of the cloisters

**Appendix W:**

**The Rounds at Walmer Castle, January 2024**





A soldier's hammock hook left in situ





A modern exit formed below the drawbridge area





A reused stonemason's lewis stone found in The Rounds.





A soldier's hammock hook and string left in situ





Some form of mason's mark





Each embrasure has a modern pocket cut in pairs on either side of the gunports and then evidence of some form of timber battening or trunking around the entrance of each passage. Perhaps formwork for a series of doors or to support shelving





Skull of a pigeon or small bird





Several modern gates are found within, layered with 'chicken wire' mesh





There are lots of examples of stalactites and stalagmites forming from the seaward bastions where water runs from the uncovered bastions areas and through the stonework below, depositing lime-based formations from the heavy NH lime mortar used in its construction.





There are lots of examples of stalactites and stalagmites forming from the seaward bastions where water runs from the uncovered bastions areas and through the stonework below, depositing lime-based formations from the heavy NH lime mortar used in its construction.





A lead downpipe, origin and termination unknown.





The jawbone of a fox. Fox hunting is mentioned in several sources.





An example of the passageways that are nearly identical to the photographs from the 1980s of the Sandown Rounds. The passageways also demonstrate a significant quantity of original freestones (probably spolia) and Tudor bricks.









As with Camber Castle, The Rounds display many examples of honeycomb erosion. A former hammock hook and string is also present in the photograph.



**Appendix X:****Nonsuch Palace Grounds, Museum, and the Remains of Nonsuch Banqueting Hall,  
February 2024**



Three corners of the former Nonsuch Banqueting Hall are displayed





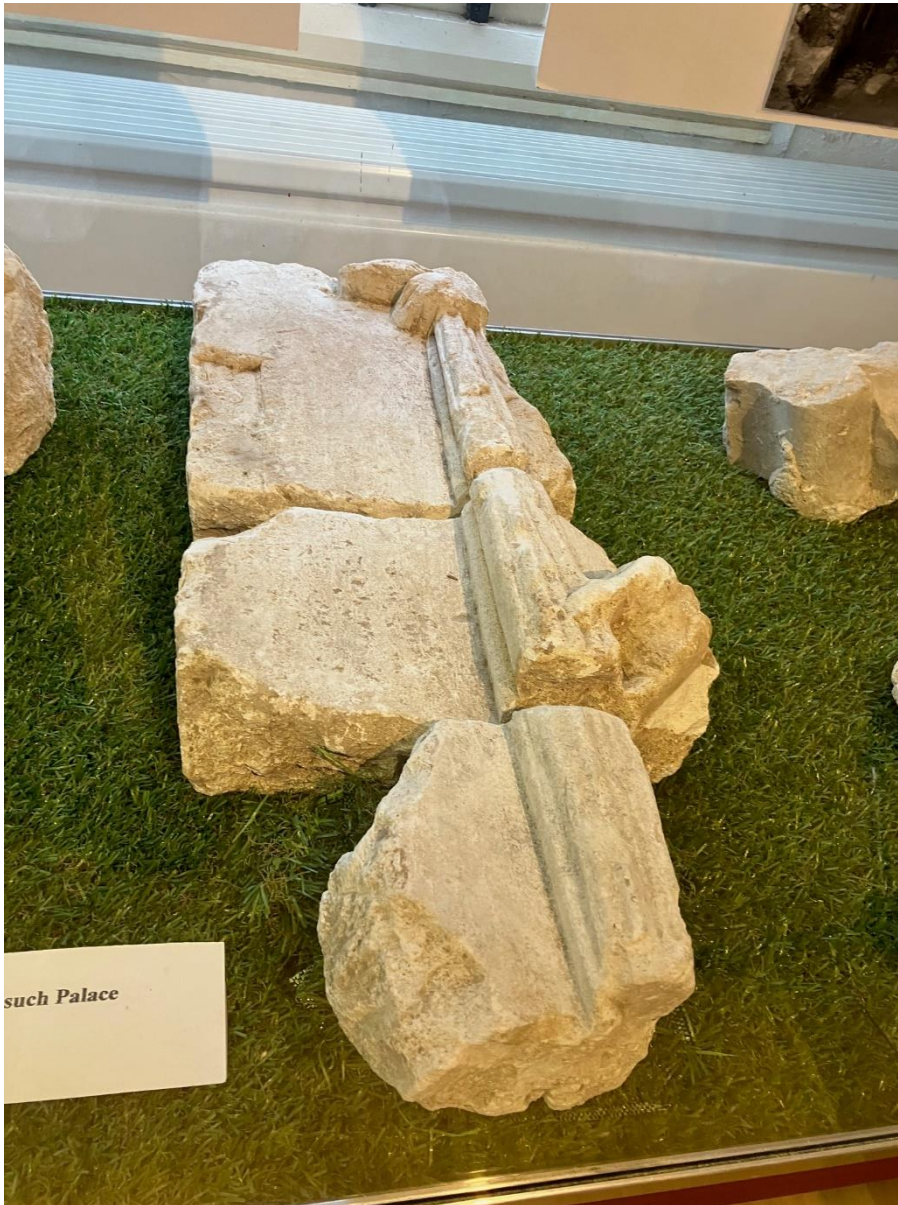
Old brickwork exposed on the Banqueting Hall as the earth around it has moved due to tree roots.





Modern brickwork covered in ivy now denotes the approximate location of the former Banqueting Hall at Nonsuch.





Spolia tracery now housed in the museum



A complete replica of one of the decorative stucco panels that were installed at Nonsuch was made using pieces discovered during the archaeological works.





More window tracery including red paint samples





Scale model of how Nonsuch Palace possibly looked on completion



A quatrefoil in the rear entrance spandrel at Nonsuch Manor House





The rear entrance of Nonsuch Manor House

**Appendix Y:**

**Photographic Survey of Eastry Chapel, January 2020**





Vegetation taking hold on the southern flank





Exterior view





Exterior view





Exterior view





Apparent signs of a variety of differing spolia



Apparent signs of a variety of differing spolia





Apparent signs of a variety of differing spolia



Apparent signs of a variety of differing spolia





Apparent signs of a variety of differing spolia



Vegetation taking hold to the former bell tower





Apparent signs of a variety of differing spolia



Apparent signs of a variety of differing spolia





Apparent signs of a variety of differing spolia





Structural collapse to the rear elevation





A later lean-to building (possible outhouse) is suffering from structural decline



Apparent signs of a variety of differing spolia





Apparent signs of a variety of differing spolia





Apparent signs of a variety of differing spolia with former mason tool markings



Apparent signs of a variety of differing spolia





Apparent signs of a variety of differing spolia





Apparent signs of a variety of differing spolia



Apparent signs of a variety of differing spolia





Apparent signs of a variety of differing spolia

**Appendix Z:**

**Auction Finds with Noted Walmer Castle Provenance**



# Bonhams

Mr Chris Moore



Customer no: [REDACTED]  
(Please quote in all correspondence)  
Condition report no: 2304495

Telephone: +44 [REDACTED]  
Email: office@hiltonesurveyors.com

Thursday 18 April 2024

## CONDITION REPORT

Auction details: Home & Interiors, Online, London , 05 Apr 2024 at 10:00

169 Catalogue Description:  
TP **OF HISTORICAL AND MILITARY INTEREST - A William IV 'Antiquarian' mahogany armchair purportedly used, and probably owned, by the Duke of Wellington at Walmer Castle**

1830-1840

With ring turned and spiral twist turned frames, arm terminals, spindles and front legs, the panelled back mounted with an engraved brass plaque which reads: ' *This chair came from Walmer Castle, and was in constant use by the late, Duke of Wellington, up to the day of his death, September 14th, 1852*', surmounted by a pierced C- and S- scrolled foliate cresting, with splayed rear legs, terminating in ceramic castors, approximately: 66cm wide x 72cm deep x 125cm high, (25 1/2in wide x 28in deep x 49in high)

£900 - £1,400

Footnote:

**Provenance** An engraved brass plaque mounted on the present lot states that it was used, and by extension almost certainly owned, by the Duke of Wellington whilst Britain's most famous military hero resided, during his latter years, at Walmer Castle until his death there in 1852. At some later point in time, this armchair came to form part of the furniture and furnishings of St. Vincent's Priory in Clifton, Bristol. Indeed, the chair appears in both an old black and white photograph (which appears to date to the 1960s) showing the interior of the upper ground floor reception room at St. Vincent's, as well as featuring in a near contemporary



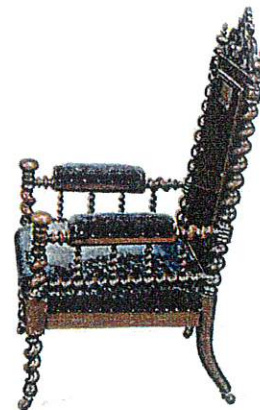
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+44 20 7393 3900

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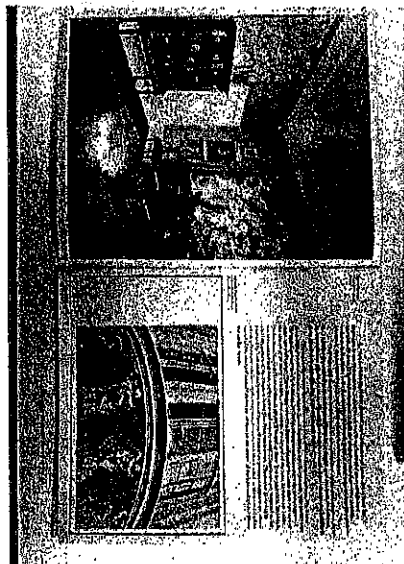
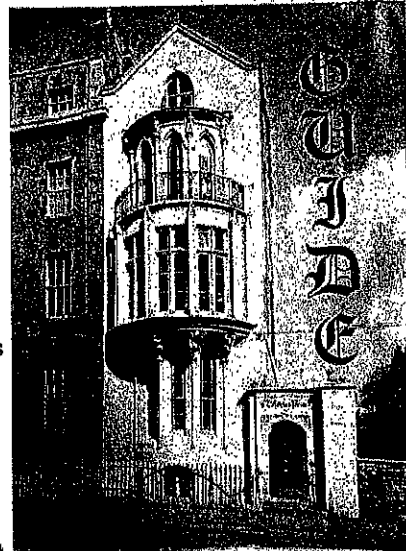
## CONDITION REPORT

guide booklet about the house. Within the short booklet simply called *Guide*, it is stated that: 'The Priory was acquired in 1967 by the artist and philosopher George Melhuish', so clearly from that date onwards the offered lot belonged to Melhuish. **The Duke of Wellington at Walmer Castle** In his capacity as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, a position he held from 1829 until his death in 1852, every autumn during this period the Duke of Wellington would reside at Walmer Castle. And for two months following the great man's death at the age of 83, his body 'lay-in-state' at Walmer. During which time, the state funeral was being organised at St. Paul's Cathedral; where it was to eventually take place. Ultimately, the route through which the funeral procession passed was lined with over 1.5 million mourners. On 14 September 1852, the Duke of Wellington was found by his valet to be incapable of rising from his campaign bed, which was located in his bedroom at the castle. As a result of this fact, he was transferred to an armchair, but sadly went on to die later that same day. Interestingly, in 2015, this room was represented to the public, upon the 200th anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo, as closely as possible to how it appears depicted in a watercolour by an artist called Thomas Shotter Boys, which the latter had completed only a short while after the Duke's death. [www.english-heritage.org.uk](http://www.english-heritage.org.uk) **St. Vincent's Priory** This charming, novel and idiosyncratic gothic revival house was evidently built in 1828. It is believed to have been constructed on top of caves traditionally held to have served at one point as a Christian sanctuary. However it remains unclear whether St. Vincent's Priory was originally conceived in the early 19th century to fulfil an ecclesiastical purpose, or rather be a kind of architectural folly. But it seems likely that a 'high church' figure, and certainly someone with a highly developed sense of Antiquarian aesthetic appreciation, was responsible for its creation. Arguably the most extraordinary element on the facade of this building are the presence of a number of stone figures. The row of lancet windows, which constitute the upper ground floor, are surmounted by four caryatids or sculptures seemingly holding up or supporting the overhanging shelf immediately above, which in turn indicates the base of the largest main central bay. These unusual figures appear to relate to several small carvings at the church of St. Mary Redcliffe. Higher up the facade, four smaller carved and painted wood caryatids of a more grotesque aspect crown the second floor bay. **George**



## CONDITION REPORT

**Melhuish (1916-1985)** George Melhuish was an expressionist painter, aesthete and philosopher who bought and moved into St. Vincent's Priory in 1967. This interesting modern British artist lived at the remarkable house in Bristol until his death in 1985. Not only did he house therein a collection of his own pictures along with some works of his modernist contemporaries, but during his residence Melhuish also oversaw major restoration and refurbishment to the interior of the house. Whilst Melhuish lived at St. Vincent's it is evident that such internal revitalisation was not matched by any corresponding operations to its exterior. However, it seems the painter even got involved in the aforesaid restoration process himself through his own work carried out on the frieze of the music room. The previously mentioned (probably 1970s?) guide booklet about St. Vincent's Priory, together with a couple of old photos of the building and two room interiors (probably 1960s?), along with a short book about George Melhuish, are available to view with this chair and will accompany the lot once it has sold.



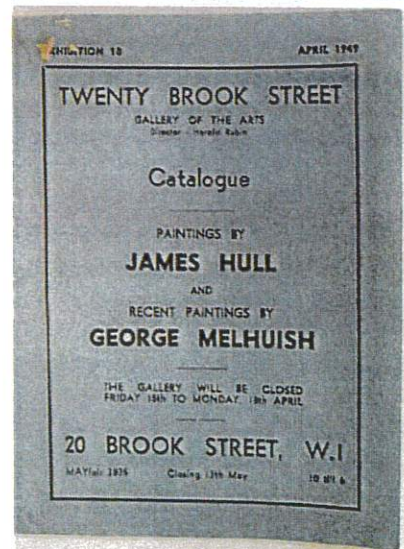
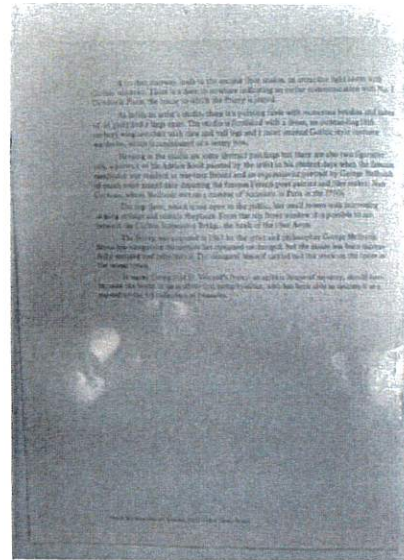


# CONDITION REPORT





# CONDITION REPORT



## CONDITION REPORT

### Condition Report:

Signs of a couple of old repairs to the pierced scrolled foliate cresting.

The back perhaps previously upholstered as evidence of this remains to the reverse- arguably the main panel was inset as a replacement, obviously in honour of Wellington after his death. This would also explain the presence of slightly later Victorian-looking screws and fixings to the border of the back panel.

Some rubbing and marks to the brass plaque probably through various failed attempts at cleaning it.

There is a vertical surface mark or line running down the back of one rear leg.

Historical re-polishing or re-varnishing - with some slightly darker areas to surfaces.

A metal brace for the springing to the front of the underside of the seat has become loose and is lifting to the front which has disrupted the front edge of the sack cloth covering.

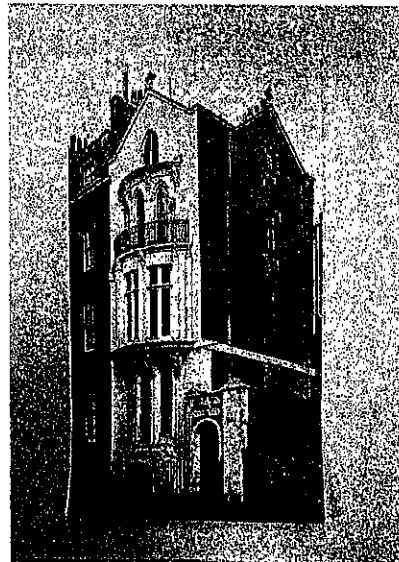
There are two brass loops attached to either side of the underside; not sure of the reason for the presence of these but they appear to have good age.

Minor nicks, scuffs and blemishes to surfaces commensurate with age.

Wear to the upholstered arm supports.

A couple of hairline surface cracks to the reverse of the seat frame.

In good decorative, structurally sound and ready to use order.



§ Net amount due for Margin Scheme is hammer price plus premium. Input tax has not been claimed and will not be claimed by Bonhams in respect of this lot. AR Additional Premium payable for Artists Resale Right. † VAT at 20.0% on hammer price and commission. ‡ Imported goods, NMT VAT at 20.0% on hammer price. \* Zero rated VAT. † Wine lying in bond. ‡ Investment Gold. † Shipping and handling restrictions apply. ‡ Off site storage location. † CITES export licence required. ‡ Item contains or is made of ivory. ‡ Item subject to US Import restrictions. ‡ Seller guaranteed a minimum price. † Bonhams has an economic interest. ‡ Item has no reserve. ‡ If purchased by a UK resident, this machine is subject to a NOVA declaration, undertaken by Bonhams upon a successful sale, to facilitate the registration of the machine here in the UK. ‡ £25 + VAT uplift and storage at £5 + VAT per lot per day. ‡ £50 + VAT uplift and storage at £10 + VAT per lot per day. ‡ Requires specialist shipping and storage at the buyer's expense.

## CONDITION REPORT

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Words in *italics* are defined in Appendix 3 Definitions and Glossary, printed in the *Catalogue* for the *Sale* and/or available on <https://www.bonhams.com>

## LOT 676 A SMALL EARLY 19TH CENTURY GILT OVERMANTEL MIRROR, THE LATER RECTANGULAR PLATE WITHIN A REEDED AND

In Furniture, Works of Art and Clocks

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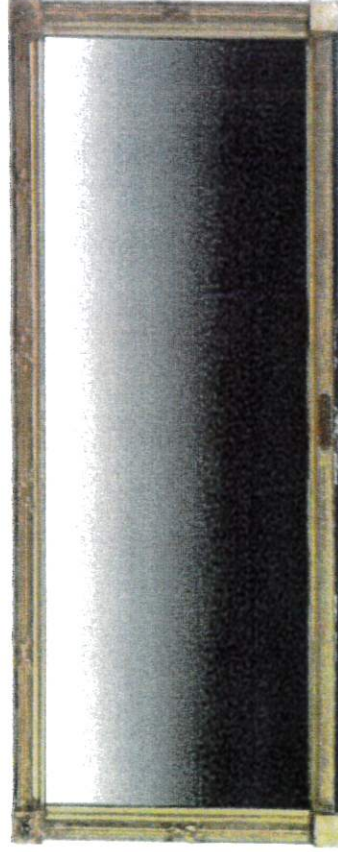
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Description

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A small early 19th century gilt overmantel mirror, the later rectangular plate within a reeded and ribbon frame, with corner rosettes, with an applied brass plaque, inscribed 'PURCHASED AT WALMER CASTLE JULY 1905', 32.2 x 78.7cm.

Provenance: 'A Lifetime of Collecting'-The property of a gentleman.



# ESTATE PLAN. A MAP & DESCRIPTION OF THE MANOR OF WALMER LYNGE IN EAST KE WITH ONE TENEMENT ONE

LOT  
**174**

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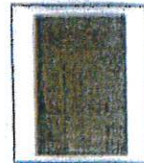


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