# Tattershall Castle: Building a History

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# Contents

# Abstract

*Tattershall Castle in Lincolnshire, United Kingdom, was developed in the 1230s for the regional baron, Robert de Tateshale. It was later remodelled, in the fifteenth century, for Ralph Lord Cromwell as a major expression of his status as a royal councillor and Lord Treasurer of England. The castle consists of three wards surrounded by water-filled moats which contained five gatehouses, several lodging ranges, chapel, services, hall, solar and Great Tower. The latter dominates the entire site and originally acted as an architectural focus which was imbued with motifs connected to Cromwell's prestige.*

*The castle has been included within the pages of many important publications in English castle studies. Many statements were influenced by a prior generation of scholars who valued a military interpretation of castles. This view has been largely replaced by more nuanced thematic approaches over the last thirty years. Consequently, this project has offered the first opportunity to apply the contemporary disciplines of buildings archaeology, within the context of modern castle studies, to the site. Key theoretical principles have included the integrated techniques of historical archaeology and 'building biographies'. These have been used to reveal the connections between built environment, landscape, socio-political ideology and the human agency of mediaeval builders and patrons. A re-analysis of the castle's fifteenth century building accounts has enabled an understanding of the practices of the master builders and assessment of the Great Tower has revealed the underlying geometry that underpins the structure. Further work on the built environment of the castle has uncovered complex access routes and spatial functions alongside motifs in the diaperwork, window tracery, vaulting and chimneypieces which are deeply redolent of elite mediaeval lordship.*

*The architecture of prestige has been a constant theme throughout the project – from the probable emulation of the castles of Earl Ranulf de Blondeville by Robert de Tateshale, through to the carefully stage-managed designed landscape of lordship which extended significantly beyond the walls of Cromwell's castle. Evidence has also come to light that Cromwell was a major patron of highly innovative architecture which helped to demonstrate his social position further. Taking influence from both European and indigenous structures the castle was an architecturally unique site which dendrochronology, commissioned during the project, has shown may have been an originator of the Lancastrian court style. The castle then went on to have a significant impact on English architecture for around two centuries to come.*

*Ultimately, Tattershall went into a gradual decline during the post-mediaeval period. It has been possible to trace the changing built environment to give a complete picture of the status, visual appearance, land-use and conservation of the site across eight centuries.*

# Acknowledgements

# 1  Introduction

This thesis presents the results of a collaborative doctoral award on Tattershall Castle. It was sponsored by the National Trust and the Department of Classics and Archaeology at the University of Nottingham and was funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council.

The introductory chapter is intended to orientate the reader by giving a brief outline description of the site, an overview of English castle studies, Tattershall's historiography, the research questions and the methodologies which were employed on the project. The historiography (Chapter 1.2) will serve as an overview of scholarship. Detailed analysis will be reserved for succeeding chapters at points where consideration of prior research is directly relevant to the specific space or theme under discussion.

Tattershall Castle is in Lincolnshire, United Kingdom (Figure 1). It was originally developed for Robert de Tateshale in the 1230s and was then massively remodelled for Ralph Lord Cromwell in the 1430s and 1440s. The site remained an important residence for numerous aristocrats, including the earls of Lincoln, throughout the early modern period. It became a farm during the eighteenth and nineteenth century and was rescued from desolation by Lord Curzon in the 1910s. The site was gifted to the National Trust in 1925. It consists of three enclosures – the Outer, Middle and Inner Wards – which are separated by water-filled moats with an extra-mural space to the south known as the "Tiltyard" (Figure 2). Within the Outer and Middle Wards are the remains of two gatehouses and several lodging ranges. Much of the castle structures were cleared during the post-mediaeval period, but the site is dominated by the brick and stone Great Tower which lies on the north-western edge of the Inner Ward (Figure 3).

## 1.1  Background to English Castle Studies

The subject of castle studies was a relatively late addition to the study of architectural history within England. The foundation of groups such as the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1707 spurred an interest for indigenous mediaeval buildings (McGregor 2007, 45-74). Figures including Browne Willis, Nathaniel and Samul Buck produced artistic views of monasteries, cathedrals, castles, and great houses. They were followed, in 1776, by Edward King's *Observations on Antient Castles* - one of the earliest tracts dedicated to the subject of castles. Serious scholarship followed with Thomas Hudson and John Parker's four volume *Some Account of Domestic Architecture in England* which was published between 1851 and 1859 (Morris 2000, 12-13). These texts broadly corresponded with the French architect and military engineer Eugène Viollet-le-Duc's *Le Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'architecture Française du XIe au XVIe Siècle*, published in nine volumes between 1854 and 1868. Viollet-le-Duc also penned a treatise entitled *Military Architecture* and is generally considered to be one of the founding

fathers of castle studies. Meanwhile, pioneering fieldwork in England was carried out by General Augustus Pitt-Rivers, a soldier and archaeologist, on the earthwork castle at Folkstone (Thompson 1977, 56-57). Early castle studies were therefore dominated by men who had seen active service in the forces and brought a martial viewpoint to their research (Coulson 1996, 171-207). The emerging interest in castles led to numerous restoration and rebuilding projects at Arundel (Robinson 2011, 41-62), Windsor (Rowse 1974, 175-206) and the Tower of London (Impey 2008, 209-11); alongside the excavation of sites including Rochester (Arnold 1889, 196-99), Nottingham (Dobson 1905, 143-59) and Newcastle (Knowles 1926, 1-51) – which often amounted to little other than wall-chasing.

The first detailed study of English castles was George Clark's 1884 *Medieval Military Architecture in England*. This was matched in its militaristic focus by Alexander Thompson's 1912 book *Military Architecture in England During the Middle Ages*. These early texts established a precedent for highlighting the structural changes in castle design in a strict linear chronological approach which held sway until the 1990s. Equally, the emphasis on fortification, defence and martial features continued to dominate English castle studies for around a century through the writings of Charles Oman (1926), Sidney Toy (1939; 1954), W. D. Simpson (1969) and Philip Warner (1973). It was still favoured as late as the works of M. W. Thompson (1987; 1991), who discerned a linear trajectory in castles which started with the Norman Conquest, developed throughout the twelfth century to a military zenith at the end of the thirteenth century and then declined into what were essentially lightly fortified country houses. Warner (1973, 8), a senior lecturer at the Royal Military Academy, summed up this attitude by stating that the principal purpose of a castle was 'for delaying and dislocating an invading army.' David Stocker (1992, 415-20) has pointed out that the prevailing notion that castles were primarily fortifications was perhaps due to so many castle scholars having seen military service.

Alternative perspectives can be traced back to Ella Armitage who acknowledged the military uses of castles, but also emphasised their important domestic aspects as 'carefully built dwellings designed for residence' (Armitage 1912, 30). A certain duality developed in this strand of opinion through the work of Reginald Allen Brown (1954, 1976), who defined the castle as 'the private fortress and residence of a lord' (Brown 1954, 17). This balance of military and residence can also be felt in the writings of Colin Platt (1982) and Norman Pounds (1990). Fieldwork continued to take place across the country. However, detailed monographs were often lacking, and the publication of archival records tended to a separate enterprise (Thompson 1913-20; Barnes & Simpson 1951). When excavation and documentary records were brought together, especially in projects associated with the first two volumes of Howard Colvin, Arnold Taylor and Reginald Brown's *History of the King's Works* (1963), the results were generally much improved (Rahtz & Colvin 1960, 21-43).

A gradual change towards new perspectives began with the work of Charles Coulson. He sought to downplay the military versus residential debate in favour of an investigation of the symbolic and prestigious aspects of castles: 'the social purposes of fortresses almost always comprehended and transcended their military functions. Castles were seldom, if ever, in their own day purely functional fortifications; certainly, they were often homes as well (which fact imported an extra set of governing criteria), but, above all else, their builder sought to evoke in some manner the *moeurs* of chivalry, the life-style of the great, and the legends of the past' (Coulson 1979, 74). The changing views were supported by the publication of excavations at sites including Canterbury (Bennett et al 1982), Nottingham (Drage 1989) and Sandal (Butler 1991). Although there was pushback from proponents of the military orthodoxy (King 1988), important re-assessments of Bodiam Castle (East Sussex) finally ushered in a new era of scholarship. Coulson (1992) argued that the building was heavily imbued with symbolic rather than functional militaristic features; whilst Paul Everson (1996) proposed that the castle sat within a deliberately stage-managed landscape of lordship, intended to signpost the prestige of its patron, rather than offer defensible fortification. Such mature scholarship, which looked to place castles in their contemporary moment as a mechanism for understanding the mediaeval lived experience, paved the way for important new syntheses. Tom McNeill's *Castles* (1992) finally broke the chronological approach in favour of thematic chapters that helped to establish the elite social context of the subject. McNeill incorporated sections on how households accessed and used the internal spaces and the physical construction of castles which acted as signposts for full-length studies such as Christopher Woolgar's *The Great Household in Medieval England* (1999) and Malcolm Hislop's *Castle Builders* (2016). Meanwhile, an emerging generation of dedicated buildings archaeologists headed by Philip Dixon and Pamela Marshall engaged with high quality, site-specific studies of castles including Knaresborough (Dixon 1990), Hedingham (Dixon & Marshall 1993) and Newark (Marshall 1998). Such work helped to build up a strong body of detailed fieldwork that chimed with a newly complex view of castles in the mediaeval context. Building on both this new research and older fieldwork was Anthony Emery's magnificent three volume survey of *Greater Medieval Houses in England and Wales: 1300-1500* (1999, 2000 & 2006). The importance of Emery's publication lay in the detailed analysis of the phasing and development of hundreds of buildings which ranked castles, palaces, great houses and manor houses together. Consequently, it was possible to see the architectural connections and influences between regions and structures which had hitherto been overlooked. Emery was also keen to present backgrounds on the patrons of the houses, thus making an important link between biographies and buildings.

With castle studies no longer shackled to a rigidly chronological approach, that was obsessed with the tired debates surrounding military versus residential uses, the discipline was truly able to take wing. Important new thematic scholarship on the landscapes of castles by Oliver Creighton (2002, 2009), developed themes that had been briefly touched upon by figures such as Ella Armitage. In Creighton's view the castle was a structure integral to much wider physical and conceptual landscapes that stretched far beyond the walls. In the earlier of his two texts on the subject, Creighton (2002) looked at themes including the specific location of castles, the symbolism of landscapes and the relationships between castles and their concomitant manors, ecclesiastical buildings, and settlements. In his second text, Creighton (2009) dealt with the designed landscapes in the hinterland of castles and approached subjects including the immediate setting of castles, their relationships with estate management and the framing of views across parklands. Such studies have helped to lift the researcher from the micro scale of the minutiae of architectural features to look at castles more holistically in a manner that may have been more akin to how their patrons and contemporaries once saw them.

The conceptual appreciation of castle studies was also a major focus for Matthew Johnson's *Behind the Castle Gate*, which took a strong theoretical approach to 'understand them [castles] as backdrops in front of which and through which the identities of men and women were 'played out'' (Johnson 2002, 3). Both Johnson (2002, 93-135) and later John Goodall (2011, 431-491) have also stressed the importance of understanding the post-mediaeval context for castles. Structures which were still recognisably castles continued to be occupied and built during the early modern period, but this era (and that which followed) also had a highly significant impact on the visual appearance of mediaeval castles – whether that be a story of decline or conservation.

The relative freedom of thought has allowed room for some degree of consolidation. Important contributions were made by Charles Coulson (1996) and Robert Liddiard (2005) which helped to set out and clarify the changing trends in the discipline. The picture is not one of stasis and scholarship has continued to develop. Important studies of individual sites such as Clarendon Palace (James & Gerrard 2007), Knole (Cohen & Parton 2019) and Oxford Castle (Munby et al 2019) have taken place as a result of academic, conservation or developer funding. These pieces of work have adopted multidisciplinary approaches which have variously incorporated landscape survey, topographic survey, building survey, dendrochronology, graffiti survey, archival research and archaeological excavation. The literature has also seen a steady return of both chronological studies and those which detail the military context, alongside thematic work. The military context has been explored through several publications by Dan Spencer who has helped to nuance this reassessment of structures, that did occasionally play a role in

warfare, by looking at the subject both generally (Spencer 2018) and within specific conflicts (Spencer 2020). Perhaps the most important of the new contributions has been John Goodall's magisterial *The English Castle* (2011) which details the passage of architectural development from the Norman Conquest through to the seventeenth century. He also offered an important nuanced definition of the castle as: 'the residence of a lord made imposing through the architectural trappings of fortification' (Goodall 2011, 6). What sets Goodall's book aside from previous chronological survey is its ambitious breadth and depth coupled to thematic essays on subjects including the organisation of the King's Works, mediaeval brickwork and specific architectural traditions such as the styles favoured by the Lancastrian regime. In this format he was essentially following on from the work of Emery whilst also finding a middle ground between the chronological and thematic approaches. Other specialists have begun vital debates about the wider European context for castles (Creighton 2012; Emery 2016; O'Keefe 2021), the gendered use of space and landscape (Davis 2012-13, 282-84; Gilchrist 1999) and the complex relationship between patrons and builders in determining the visual appearance and projections of lordship (Hislop 2016).

It is against this background of English castle studies that both prior work and the current project at Tattershall must be placed – we shall now approach the specific historiography of the site.

## 1.2 Historiography of Tattershall Castle

The importance of Tattershall within the story of English architecture has been established by many specialists including Girouard (1978 73, 78), Jenkins (2003 442-43) and Thurley (2013b, 193). Its reputation was first established through the writings of nineteenth-century antiquarians (Anon 1811, Pickworth 1891), architectural historians (Turner & Parker 1859, 299-300; Thompson 1912, 355-58) and was significantly expanded on by Lord Curzon and Avery Tipping (1929). Their book was based on works at the site carried out between 1912 and 1914. Although the results of the architect William Weir's excavations were not well-reported, Tattershall is an early example of building conservation, historical research and archaeological fieldwork, brought together in a single project, which was then published. Subsequently, W. D. Simpson added to the bibliography through publication of the surviving mediaeval building accounts, which were prefaced by an essay on the castle that was mostly concerned with the architectural influences of the Great Tower (Simpson 1960). Such scholars were at pains to specify that Tattershall was definitely not to be considered as a strong military site (Thompson 1912, 355-58; Curzon & Tipping 1929, xv) and in this they were typical of a period in which late mediaeval castles were considered to be a degenerate version of the "true" (i.e. military) castle of the earlier period (Simpson 1969, 150-162).

During the mid-twentieth century, Tattershall can be found within the pages of many syntheses (Brown 1954; Simpson 1969; Warner 1973; Platt 1982), but the commentary tends to be repetitive. Platt (1982, 164-73) is symptomatic: a mention of the proliferation of fifteenth-century brick architecture, reference to Cromwell's status and wealth, speculation about continental origins, a note about the semi-fortified nature of the site versus its lavish comfort and speculation on the various functions of the Great Tower floor levels. There were many significant gaps in the literature that possibly retrained new thinking. There was no modern buildings archaeology survey. Little consideration was given to Tattershall prior to the time of Ralph Cromwell. Although Simpson (1960) published the building accounts of the castle, the detail was not interrogated and there was no clear understanding of the practices of the construction workers. The relationship between the builders and the patron was missing – especially with regard to using the built environment to better understand the socio-political world of Ralph Cromwell. Cromwell's wife, Margaret Deincourt, was largely absent from discussion, yet she must have had her own chambers at the castle. The wider landscape of the castle was acknowledged but not investigated thoroughly. There was no substantial attempt to present the story of the site between the death of Cromwell and the 1910s conservation project – the context of the site during the British Civil Wars was almost entirely omitted. However, some authors did attempt some diversity by covering subjects such as Cromwell as a patron of architecture (Gill 1915), the architectural influences on the castle (Simpson 1935) and the household accounts (Myatt-Price 1956). Anthony Emery broadened the debate on the architectural context of Tattershall as part of his article on Wingfield Manor - later republished for the Tattershall entry in his *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales Vol. II* (Emery 1985; Emery 2000).

Although the castle continues to be referred to in the principal literature, it has received no major re-assessment in the form of a monograph since the 1920s. Consequently, it has only received fleeting mentions from authors influenced by the new approaches to castle studies as catalysed by Coulson. Philip Dixon (1993, 96-97) looked at the castle in the light of physical visual markers of late mediaeval elite lordship. Matthew Johnson engaged in a short discussion on how to interpret the symbolic meanings of the castle enclosure and its landscape (Johnson 2002, 55-62). Oliver Creighton briefly mentioned its sacred landscape (2002, 130; 2009, 56) and viewshed analysis (2009, 182-83; 2010, 37-49). Neil Guy considered the castle as part of his wider study of spiral staircases (Guy 2011, 157-58). John Goodall (2011, 354-56) provided some concise words on the architectural influences and the arrangement of the Great Tower with regard to Cromwell and his contemporaries.

Whilst this limited scholarly debate has occurred in the pages of monographs and journal articles, the National Trust have been responsible for the ownership and management of the site. During this time the castle has been the recpient of constrained invasive and non-invasive archaeological fieldwork. Such projects have been reactive towards site management including evaluations carried out in advance of conservation works (Parker 2005; Lindsey Archaeological Services 1998 & 1992) or the laying of a cable trench (Jefferson 2016). The evaluations, whilst informative, have allowed keyhole observations without providing significant understanding of the below-ground layout of the castle. These interventions have been augmented by purely research-driven projects such as geophysical survey (Allen Archaeological Associates, 2009a & 2009b) and archaeological evaluation (Johnson 2015) that were part of a drive to better understand the archaeology of the site. Such work was augmented by a conservation management plan drawn up by Julian Munby (2008). This has been the most significant document relating to the castle since the 1920s. Its primary purpose was to sketch an overview of the history, archaeology, conservation, use and potential of the various buildings and spaces within the castle so as to inform the National Trust's management of the site. Munby made some very original contributions to the understanding of the history of Tattershall through his perceptive observations of the functions of the Great Tower, the 1780s survey of the building and the 1910s conservation.

Visitors to Tattershall have been presented with accounts of the castle through the pages of the various National Trust guidebooks which have been written by some of the most distinguished castle scholars of the twentieth century. The first of these was authored by Lord Curzon's historic buildings consultant – Alexander Hamilton Thompson. Although Thompson concluded that Tattershall was essentially a prestigious residence, his writing was imbued with the mid-twentieth century obsession with military matters (Thompson 1928). The book was divided into three sections – a historical background to the mediaeval period, a building description of the castle and another of the church. Thompson's guidebook went through many reprints and was not superceded until 1974 when a new publication was commissioned from Michael Welman Thompson. This author was also directly informed by the pre-Coulson school of castle studies and, as a result, this second guidebook is very similar to the first. It opened with a description of the site before moving on to discuss the mediaeval history, there were then short notes on the post-mediaeval history and Cromwell's other building projects. The most recent guidebook, by Tracey Avery (1997), also offers a tour of the castle before moving on to the church and finishing with a chronology of Tattershall's owners. Although it is generally a very accurate text, that has served the castle's visitors well for over twenty years, there is little in the way of original content and it was not deeply rooted within the context of modern castle studies

There has been a renewed interest in Tattershall as a direct result of the present research project. General thoughts were published, as a result of the author leading a tour of Tattershall during April 2019, by the Castle Studies Group (Guy 2019-20, 137-49). Elements of the research have been published by the author; in particular, articles on the connections of Cromwell's biography and architecture in both popular format (Wright 2018) and in a peer-reviewed journal (Wright 2021). The latter forms a companion piece to Pamela Marshall's article looking at access routes throughout the castle wards and Great Tower (Marshall 2020). Marshall's article was written after detailed correspondance and joint field visit, in October 2018, during which the two authors exchanged views and came to a close mutual agreement on the nature of the site's buildings archaeology. Another legacy of the project will be the publication of a fourth guidebook to the castle which has been informed by this thesis (Wright, forthcoming).

## 1.3   Research Questions

The unique historiography of Tattershall, as placed within the context of English castle studies, has directly shaped the research questions of this project (Chapters 1.1 and 1.2). Ultimately, there has been no substantive study of the castle since the 1920s (Curzon & Tipping 1929), which was a study deeply rooted in the style and mores of its time (Chapter 1.1).  Detailed contextual work on individual elite mediaeval sites was positively called for by Tom McNeill (1992, 109-17) and has been identified as a specific item for the archaeological research agenda in the East Midlands (Knight, Vyner & Allen 2012, 94).

The project levelled the following objectives:

1) What remains of the earlier thirteenth-century castle on the site as standing fragments, and can we learn anything further about its form and how Cromwell incorporated this earlier building?

2) What new insights can be gained into the construction and development of the fifteenth-century castle buildings through archaeological and historical analysis? Is it possible to relate the building accounts more accurately to the standing fabric, through structural or materials analysis?

3) What can we learn about the remaining parts of the castle which are in a more ruinous state than the keep from detailed fabric analysis? Can scars on the surviving buildings reveal more information about elements such as the great hall which no longer survive?

4) What can be said about the use of space in the late medieval keep from the standing remains, and how does this fit into current historical and archaeological scholarship on late medieval elite residences? Was Tattershall innovative in its plan and the use of space as well as its building materials, and did it influence other contemporary royal or aristocratic buildings?

5) What can be learnt from archaeological, cartographic, and historical sources about the creation of an elite landscape around the castle? Tattershall is often held up as a significant exemplar of the symbolic role of castles as centres of lordly power and consumption, and as its builder Ralph Lord Cromwell was a fifteenth-century 'new man' the castle had a particularly charged significance as a material expression of an aristocratic social identity.

6) Given the incomplete survival of the mediaeval castle, could a historical archaeological analysis of the post-mediaeval period help to explain the form of the castle recorded in the twenty-first century? What were the significant events or trends which have impacted on the current visual appearance castle?

**Question 1** on the evidence for the thirteenth-century castle is the focus of Chapter 0 and appears later as a consideration when approaching the later archaeology of the castle (Chapters 3, 4 and 5). This question is designed to address a significant gap in the understanding of the buildings archaeology of the castle. The only existing detailed discussion on the pre-Cromwellian period has a focus on genealogy and history rather than archaeology or architecture of the earlier castle (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 1-45) and, with the brief exception of Goodall (2011, 178-183), later studies have tended to gloss over the narrative of the castle prior to the fifteenth century (Chapter 1.2).

**Questions 2 and 3** relate to the buildings archaeology of the site and are specifically addressed through analytic survey of the castle in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 alongside Chapter 7 which deals with the architectural context of Tattershall. These chapters routinely incorporate reference to the mediaeval building accounts and extend to parallels with other contemporary sites. These questions addressed the need for a comprehensive understanding of the physical structure of the castle, alongside a robust wider context for the findings within the sphere of modern mediaeval studies. The site has been overlooked by researchers to the extent that much of what has been written about the site has been repetitive and based on the scholarship of an earlier period in castle studies which no longer resonates with contemporary approaches

(Chapter 1.1). Although figures such as Simpson (1960) and Emery (1985) have considered the mainland continental architectural influences on the castle, there was room to reappraise their conclusions and expand on their ideas to incorporate fresh thought in castle studies on European architecture (Chapter 1.1).

**Question 4** addresses several aspects. Initially, the function of space is covered in Chapters 3, 4 and 5; analysis of the extra-mural landscape is covered in Chapter 8 and the changing functions of the castle are assessed in Chapter 9. Question 4 also required that the study be placed in the context of modern castle studies. This has been attempted at all points throughout the thesis with especial reference to recent key scholars including Robert Liddiard, Oliver Creighton, and Matthew Johnson (Chapter 1.1). Robert Liddiard (2005, 11) noted that modern studies might include reflections on access routes (Chapters 3 and 5), the choices made by patrons and builders in the design scheme (Chapters 0, 3,4,5 and 6) and landscapes of lordship (Chapter 8). The latter has been substantially developed in the publications of Oliver Creighton (2002, 2009) and is the focus of Chapter 8. Matthew Johnson (2002, 16) has indicated that studies should include multidisciplinary contributions from archaeological, structural and landscape survey (Chapters 0, 3,4, 5 and 8), biographical contexts (Chapter 6), consideration on human agency behind architectural decisions (Chapters 0, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7) and an understanding of the European context for castle studies (Chapter 7). The thesis has also reacted to local research frameworks (Knight et al 2012, 100-01, 113, 120-21) which have called for the investigation of both mediaeval and post-mediaeval high status manorial centres (Chapters 0, 3, 4, 5 and 9) their wider estates (Chapter 8) and the impact of the British Civil Wars (Chapter 9).

**Question 5** looks at the wider landscape of lordship alongside the castle as an expression of the power of its patron. The landscape context for Tattershall is specifically detailed in Chapter 8, whereas the issue of Cromwell's prestige as reflected in architecture is a constant theme throughout the thesis but is directly considered in Chapter 6. As discussed in the paragraph above and in Chapter 1.1, landscape studies have become a fundamentally important part of English castle studies in the twenty-first century but have been largely absent from the literature on Tattershall (Chapter 1.2). The ability to be able to link the social, political, economic and religious aspects of the castle to the archaeology of its wider landscape in Chapter 8 means that we can start to approach the lived experience of the mediaeval estate in a more accurate manner than architectural studies which had formerly concentrated on brick, stone and mortar only.

**Question 6** considers whether we can effectively track the physical alterations to the castle through the post-mediaeval period and is the substance of Chapter 9. It can also be related to the objectives of Question 4 through reference to the wider research on the post-mediaeval lives of castles which has been called for by specialists such as Johnson (2002, 93-135) and Goodall (2011, 401-491). Such work has been carried out very successfully at other important mediaeval elite sites (Chapter 1.1). Although aspects of the post-mediaeval period have been investigated by Julian Munby, including the 1780s survey of the site (Munby 2014) and the 1910s conservation project (Munby 2008, 61-72), there has been no overarching narrative pieced together for the period. Important questions such as the status of the castle during the British Civil Wars have been largely overlooked (Chapter 1.2). Ultimately, this question is designed as a signpost towards providing a complete picture of Tattershall's history and archaeology which will explain how and why the castle came to appear the way that it does in the twenty-first century.

## 1.4 Methodology

The project has followed a multidisciplinary approach which included the application of historic building survey, landscape archaeology, site visits and desk-based research. The initial aspect of the project was concerned with information gathering and took place from October 2016 to February 2017. This involved the collation of a substantial bank of literature which focussed on the site itself, included references to the castle and acted as comparative and contextual data. The results of this research are referred to specifically in the referencing of this thesis, are discussed in Chapters 1.1 and 1.2 and are gathered together within the Bibliography. The historical background for the castle was established through reference to published archival sources such as the building accounts (Simpson 1960) or by reference to secondary sources which contain verifiable reference to contemporary documents. The latter included key documents such as a PhD thesis on Ralph Cromwell's biography (Friedrichs 1974) or the general history of the site (Curzon & Tipping 1929). It was not considered appropriate to replicate the detailed archival search made by Julian Munby (2008). Instead, reference was made either directly to documents quoted by Munby or his work was used to verify sources quoted in other publications.

Field survey of the buildings at Tattershall Castle began during February 2017 and lasted intermittently until February 2018, with an outlying site visit to pick up data in February 2020. The work was informed by reference to the standard guidance and manuals on fieldwork practice (Historic England 2016; CIfA 2014; Swallow et al 2004; Morris 2000). Initially, the pre-existing metric survey of the Great Tower – rendered in AutoCAD and provided by the National Trust from data originally created in 2008 by Foster Surveys – was checked for accuracy.

Elements of all floors of the tower were measured by hand and the figures were compared to the metric survey. It was found that the accuracy tolerance was less than 5mm and it was therefore possible to proceed in using and editing the pre-existing survey with confidence. Where elements, such as the second-floor garderobe in the north-east turret, were found to be missing they were measured by hand and the information added to the floor plans (Figure 3). All drawings comply with advice published by Historic England (2016) and English Heritage (2005).

There was no existing metric survey available for the rest of the site, but the National Trust were able to provide in-house photocopies and PDFs which showed the earthwork features and built environment. Additionally, the published plan of the structures excavated by William Weir during the 1910s conservation project was consulted. These sources were imported into AutoCAD and georeferenced against the Ordnance Survey mapping of the site. Again, a reasonable tolerance of accuracy was found and so a composite site plan was created (Figure 2).

The next stage of the project involved a careful, non-intrusive examination of the castle. Starting with the Outer Ward, each discreet element of the site was viewed, photographed and annotations to the drawings were made. This survey work incorporated the earthworks, excavated structures and standing buildings. The Middle Ward and Inner Ward were subsequently surveyed in this manner before the Great Tower was tackled. Recording of the tower was carried out systematically so that work commenced in the basement and then each ascending floor level was analysed in turn. The stairs were recorded as a single entity. The exterior elevations were then considered, beginning with the west front.

Concurrently, a survey of the substantial quantities of historic graffiti was made. Work on this began with a reconnaissance assessment into the potential of the assemblage in the spring of 2017. Several theoretical and practical training sessions were arranged for over 40 volunteers recruited from the general public, various heritage organisations and the National Trust house stewards who carried out the survey. The team was divided into groups of between 3 and 5 people who were each given an area of the Great Tower to record. The graffiti survey was carried out under guidelines established by the leading light in the field, Matthew Champion (2015a). Each graffito was illuminated by the raking light of a torch and then photographed with a scale bar in view. The location, description and photograph numbers were then entered onto a recording sheet. The results of the more significant elements of the assemblage have then been referred to in this thesis.

A further phase of archaeological work within the castle included the commissioning of dendrochronology sampling of the floor frame and roof structure of the "Guardhouse" from the Nottingham Tree-ring Dating Laboratory. A felling date range was positively identified (Arnold & Howard 2017). This was then compared to prior work on the site (Alcock & Tyers 2020, 129) carried out by the same laboratory and has helped to create a good indication of the fifteenth-century construction period at the castle (see Chapter 4.1).

The wider landscape of the castle was then considered throughout much of 2017, the summer of 2018 and in February 2020. This was supported by general guidance published by Historic England (2017) and more specific advice on its application to castle studies by Oliver Creighton (2002, 7- 20; 2009, 25-44). The work included walkover surveys and site visits to monuments in the immediate locale of the castle including the "Tiltyard", fishponds, collegiate church, and the exterior of the bedehouses. The built environment and layout of the adjacent village were inspected to include the exteriors of numerous properties such as the Fortescue Arms, Pow Cottage and Grange Farmhouse. Structures which were specifically connected to the building campaigns instigated by Ralph Cromwell were also drawn into the work and included assessments of the grammar school and market cross. Slightly further afield, visits were made to sites in the wider hinterland of the castle which also had direct connection to its patrons including Kirkstead Abbey and the Tower-on-the-Moor at Woodhall Spa. An important aspect of the landscape survey was due consideration of prior commentators on the planform development of the Tattershall estate alongside the reports of numerous archaeological surveys and interventions.

### 1.4.1  Contextual Site Visits

It became apparent that the key to understanding Tattershall Castle lay in contextualising the building within the broad architectural trends of late mediaeval England. This led to a significant number of site visits across the country, between February 2017 and August 2019, which were generously funded by a travel grant from the National Trust. Within Lincolnshire, sites which may have influenced the design of both the Tateshale castle and Cromwell's castle were assessed including Bolingbroke Castle, South Kyme Tower, St Mary's Guildhall (Boston), and Thornton Abbey gatehouse. Furthermore, several sites that may have then been directly influenced by the construction of Tattershall Castle were visited including Ayscoughfee Hall (Spalding), Rochford Tower (Fishtoft) and Hussey Tower (Boston). Beyond the county buildings patronised by Cromwell himself were inspected and included Wingfield Manor and All Saints South Wingfield (Derbyshire), Collyweston Manor (Northamptonshire), Temple Bruer Preceptory (Lincolnshire) and Holy Trinity Lambley (Nottinghamshire).

A wide selection of buildings across England and Wales were visited with the intention of establishing the framework into which Tattershall fits. Sites which may have proved influential on Cromwell and his builders which were considered included Arundel Castle (West Sussex), Colchester Castle (Essex), Dudley Castle (West Midlands), Duffield Castle (Derbyshire), Helmsley Castle (North Yorkshire), Kenilworth Castle (Warwickshire), Newark Castle (Nottinghamshire), Newcastle Castle (Tyne & Wear), Pontefract Castle (West Yorkshire), Richmond Castle (North Yorkshire), Sheriff Hutton Castle (North Yorkshire), Wardour Castle (Wiltshire) and Warkworth Castle (Northumberland)

Sites visits to properties which were largely contemporary with Cromwell's building works at Tattershall and were patronised by his contemporaries included Baconsthorpe Castle (Norfolk), Caister Castle (Norfolk), Eton College (Berkshire), St Mary & All Saints Fotheringhay (Northamptonshire), Haddon Hall (Derbyshire), Herstmonceux Castle (East Sussex), Minster Lovell Hall (Oxfordshire), Repton School (Derbyshire), Rye House (Hertfordshire), Southwell Bishop's Palace (Nottinghamshire), St Albans Cathedral (Hertfordshire), Sudeley Castle (Gloucestershire), Tutbury Castle (Staffordshire), Wells Bishop's Palace (Somerset) and Winchester Cathedral (Hampshire).

Buildings which may have been built in a manner which took influence from the architectural DNA of Tattershall that were considered include Ashby Castle (Leicestershire), Berry Pomeroy Castle (Devon), Bradgate Park (Leicestershire), Buckden Towers (Cambridgeshire), Jesus College Cambridge, King's College Cambridge, Queens' College Cambridge, St John's College Cambridge, Trinity College Cambridge, Farnham Castle (Surrey), Gainsborough Old Hall (Lincolnshire), Hampton Court Palace (Greater London), Hodsock Priory (Nottinghamshire), Holme Pierrepont Hall (Nottinghamshire), St Wilfrid's Kelham (Nottinghamshire), Kirby Muxloe Castle (Leicestershire), Kneesall Old Hall (Nottinghamshire), Knole (Kent), Lyddington Bede House (Rutland), Nottingham Castle (Nottinghamshire), Oxburgh Hall (Norfolk), Oxnead Hall (Norfolk) and Raglan Castle (Monmouthshire).

The travel grant was also used to fund attendance at the Castle Studies Group residential conferences in Cork (2018) and Northampton (2019) which also included numerous sites visits to castles. The real value of these conferences was to help embed the project within the world of castle studies and its many experts who were also able to offer help, advice, guidance and criticism. Overall, attendance at a wide array of sites enabled a deep understanding of the context, parallels and influences which can be felt at Tattershall. The results of such visits can be felt throughout every single chapter of the thesis.

## 1.4.2  Building Biographies

An important part of the methodology for understanding Tattershall has been to try and interpret the castle in relation to the life of its fifteenth-century patron. The biography written by Friedrichs (1974) is the fullest assessment of Cromwell's life but was based almost entirely on archival sources. In attempting to gain a fuller understanding, the present enquiry has augmented the written word with a close analysis of Cromwell's built environment through the techniques of buildings archaeology. This discipline grew partly out of church archaeology and partly out of "rescue" archaeology in the 1970s and 1980s and was coded into the United Kingdom statute books via the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act* (1979) and the *Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas Act* (1990) (Giles 2014, 1034). Subsequent guidance has made explicit the need for multidisciplinary approaches (Morris 2000). It has been stressed that there is a need for combining historical and archaeological techniques – in particular, a record of the physical structure coupled with archival research (Historic England 2016, 8-24; CIfA 2014, 18-23). This is neatly summed up by Wood (2014, 1042):

> '…it is not possible to conserve or manage a building without first understanding its history. There is a need to know how and why a building was constructed, how the spaces within a building and between buildings were altered and used through time, what survives of the building and what has been lost, as well as any association with individuals and events. In this way, the study of buildings is inevitably drawn down the path of research'

The interweaving of techniques in historical archaeology leads inevitably to the construction of '*building biographies*' - which has been a key theoretical principal that has underpinned the project. This concept has been drawn from anthropological theory which extolls a view of mobile material culture as having a life history which illuminates the society that created, interacted, and used such objects (Kopytoff 1986, 64-92). Such understandings have subsequently been applied to immobile material culture such as buildings or landscapes which can also be understood through this application. Interpretations are developed based on the architectural record with a close emphasis which illuminates the human decisions that led to the construction, meaning, use, remodelling and abandonment of historic buildings (Rogasch 2014, 1030-1).

The applicability of such approaches to castle studies have been made explicit by scholars such as Matthew Johnson who discussed Tattershall as a case study (Johnson 2002, 55-62) alongside wider calls for multidisciplinary techniques (Johnson 2002, 16), mechanisms for attempting to gain new understandings of castles (Johnson 2002, 67-71; 161-75) and the theoretical principles for doing so (Johnson 2002, 181-2). Furthermore, Johnson argued that

the earlier twentieth-century view of the structures of castles as entirely utilitarian is flawed and that we should try instead to gain a deeper understanding of the intellectual and symbolic messages which were expressed by patrons through late mediaeval architecture (Johnson 2002, 108-9). Johnson was building on earlier work on castles by Philip Dixon, who pointed out that 'architecture is influenced by the social and political contexts of the day: a shell for the overt symbolism of social power' (Dixon & Lott 1993, 99). Ultimately, both Dixon and Johnson were influenced by the significant shift in castle studies that followed on from the works of Charles Coulson (Chapter 1.1).

Much work linking the lives of elite patrons to the physical characteristics of their built environment has been carried out by Anthony Emery (1999, 2000, 2006) and the present project has served to expand on such precedents. In considering the architecture and landscape of Tattershall, the current study is focused on the messages which Cromwell attempted to project through visual media. It has approached questions of how he viewed his own place in society and how he wished that society to view himself. In turn, certain anxieties and tensions may have become apparent between those two positions which demonstrate the reality of Cromwell's life in fifteenth-century England.

## 1.5   Organisation of the Thesis

The historiography, research questions and methodology form a foundation upon which the following chapters are ordered. In keeping with publications over the last 30 years (McNeill 1992; Liddiard 2005; Goodall 2011) it was decided to group the chapters both chronologically and thematically so that a linear history of the castle could be established alongside enquiries into period-specific aspects of the archaeology. **Chapter 0** deals with the thirteenth-century castle. Beginning with an account of the historical background of the Tateshale family and the circumstances in which they were awarded a licence to crenellate, we will then move on to an assessment of the physical form of the castle and the structures which may have influenced its design. **Chapters 3, 4 and 5** offer a detailed analysis of the various areas and spaces of fifteenth-century Tattershall. **Chapter 3** deals with the three castle wards, **Chapter 4** looks at matters concerning the exterior of the Great Tower and **Chapter 5** looks at the interior. The latter also offers some conclusions on both the exterior and interior.

With the physical form of the castle established, **Chapter 6** serves to account for how the building reflected the status of Cromwell and acted as a physical projection of how he wished his contemporary peers to view his lordship. The known facts of his life will be outlined, using published sources as a basis, and then aspects of his architecture interrogated with regard to building biographies as the core theoretical approach of the thesis. The line of enquiry within **Chapter 7** is an extension of building biographies as it attempts to look into the relationships

between builders and patrons. We will interrogate the design scheme of the castle - what were the architectural influences which were drawn upon and how did Tattershall fit within the contemporary moment of fifteenth-century England. As a coda to this theme, we will then look at how the physical appearance of Tattershall helped to define a style of architecture which lasted for many decades. **Chapter 8** considers how the projection of power at Tattershall did not merely stop at the castle gate. Instead, it was an integral part of a much wider landscape of lordship, which had the castle as its focus, that broadcasted Cromwell's power far and wide. This included minute stage management of the immediate hinterland through extra-mural enclosures, collegiate church, and village; but also went further to include a wide hunting reserve to the north. Meanwhile, Cromwell's patronage of sacred architecture is analysed alongside his secular residences – at least two of which rivalled Tattershall in their magnificence.

Finally, the story of the castle will be brought to a close, in **Chapter 9**, through an overview of the key moments in its post-mediaeval history. If the castle and its landscape saw a zenith in the fifteenth century, the trends and events which led to it being a ruinous agricultural complex at the opening of the twentieth century need to be established. Without looking at the post-Cromwellian archaeology of the site we cannot fully understand its original form which the later history has impacted on so greatly.

Throughout the text reference will be made to figure numbers which link to the illustrations grouped together at the end of the document. When dealing with the longitudinal orientation of the site, it should be noted that the linear axis of the castle is east-south-east by west-south-west; but for clarity it will be assumed that it is east-west. Finally, several the spaces and areas considered have their pronouns enclosed within inverted commas e. g. "Guardhouse". This is an acknowledgement that the name is the one commonly used to describe the structure but is not necessarily representative of its original function.

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# 2 The Thirteenth-century Castle

## 2.1 Introduction

Although the region has been largely drained, we must not lose sight of the fact that the landscape around Tattershall is low-lying and was formerly characterised by fenland in the mediaeval period (Darby 1974, 2). The manor lies just over a mile above the confluence of the regionally significant rivers Witham and Bain, close to a point where the former intersects with an historic, cross-valley, fenland causeway at Tattershall Bridge (Figure 1 & Figure 5); Munby 2008, 4; Everson & Stocker 2005, 83). Tattershall stands on a plateau which rises above the fens on the 5-metre contour line – a factor which can be found in the derivation of its placename: *Tathere's Halh.* The constituent words refer to the plateau as a nook of land (halh) which belonged to an early mediaeval person by the name of Tathere (Mills 1991, 322). David Hinton has speculated that Tattershall may have been part of a high-status royal manor, dominated by a fortified enclosure, which may have been a source of patronage for the richly appointed grave of a seventh-century metalworker discovered at Tattershall Thorpe in 1981 (Hinton 2000, 102-04, 116).

Paul Everson and David Stocker (2005, 83) have noted that the Tattershall plateau is made up of relatively infertile sandy soils which supported mediaeval heathland and woodland. Meanwhile, Ian Rotherham (2007, 79-83) and Raymond Grant (1991, 5-6) have both independently pointed out that such marginal landscapes were often selected by elites to form areas of hunting reserves. Everson and Stocker (2005, 85, 100) have speculated that such an area, known as Tattershall Chase, may have originally been created during the Anglo-Scandinavian period and by the fifteenth century a parkland was enclosed within it (Figure 4 & Figure 5). They also point towards the historic importance of the manor which lay in a triangle at the extreme south end of an administrative area known as Linwood. This extended south from Market Rasen and was bounded by the Witham fens to the west, the Great Fen to the south and the River Bain to the east, with the Lincolnshire Wolds rising beyond (Figure 5). Tattershall itself acted as an important gateway into Linwood due to its crucial infrastructure links - the Witham, Bain, and causeway. The manor therefore presented a remarkably attractive site for the construction of a Lincolnshire castle set within a lordly landscape.

## 2.2 The Tateshale Family

The builder of the first castle at Tattershall, begun c 1231, is generally identified as Robert de Tateshale (Mansell-Sympson 1910, 29; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 3; Simpson 1960, xi; Munby 2008, 5; Goodall 2011, 183). Born c 1200, Robert was the third of his name in a family that could trace their ancestry back to Eudo fitzSpirewic – a man of Breton stock who was granted

the majority share of the lordship of Tattershall after the Norman Conquest of 1066 (Williams & Martin 1992, 932; Keats-Rohan 1999, 195).

Eudo's son, Hugh Brito, founded the Cistercian abbey of Kirkstead in 1139 (Figure 5; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 2). Although the Cistercians themselves favoured a line of thought that they singlehandedly brought fruitfulness to the wilderness; they were largely maintained in the early days of their foundations by secular lords. Such was the case at Rievaulx (North Yorkshire) during the 1130s when they were supported by Walter Espec (Loveluck 2013, 299-300) and it was also probably the case with Hugh Brito. Within the pages of the Victoria County History, it was suggested that the abbey was founded in 1139 and then moved to the present site in the third quarter of the twelfth century (Figure 8; Page 1906, 135-38). Following the work of Dorothy Owen (1975, 21), Everson and Stocker (2005, 86-90) have ventured that the original site of the monastery may have been located on what eventually became the site of Tattershall Castle. They argue that the Cistercian community initially utilised the chapel of St Mary, documented by 1160, which was potentially a precursor to the later castle chapel which was dedicated to St Nicholas and St Mary by the sixteenth century (Caley & Hunter 1821, 42).

Although the tradition of enclosing pre-existing chapels or churches within new castle enclosures was relatively widespread in the Norman period, it was in decline by the thirteenth century (Creighton 2002, 116-121, 132). The suggested physical evidence for the chapel of St Mary - or the putative monastery at Tattershall - is limited to four Romanesque sculpted stones (a nook cap, voussoir, grotesque corbel, and beak-head) excavated from the castle moat in 1912 (Everson & Stocker 2005, 88; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 3, 161; Simpson 1960, xi, fn4). It has then been suggested that the abbey may have been shifted to the current location approximately 4.6 kilometres (2.8 miles) to the north-west, due to a potential conflict between the expansion of the abbey on a relatively constricted site versus the developing power of the lordship of the Tateshales (Everson & Stocker 2005, 90). However, It should be allowed that the four Romanesque stones were discovered ex situ and could equally have originated from the adjacent parish church at Tattershall, which was demolished and rebuilt in the late fifteenth century (Figure 2 & Figure 9). Meanwhile, Everson and Stocker's hypothesis has been robustly challenged by Coppack and Harrison (2014, 1-8), who have shown strong documentary evidence that Kirkstead was under construction in stone at its current site by 1148 and that the original site was probably located within the adjacent enclosure in which St Leonard's Chapel was later built (Figure 10). The archaeological evidence for a monastic community is rather thin whereas Coppack and Harrison seem to have straightened out the documentary history of the abbey to indicate that the site was probably never located at Tattershall.

At the close of the twelfth century the fortunes of the Tateshale family increased when Philip de Tateshale was appointed sheriff of Lincolnshire (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 2). His younger brother, Robert II, inherited the estate in 1199 and gained a market charter for the manor in 1201 (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 3). The charter was granted in return for 'a well trained goshawk' - later reiterated in 1249 (Lyte 1922, 199) – which may have been a tacit acknowledgement of the fine hunting grounds at Tattershall. When Robert III inherited the estate in 1212 the upwardly mobile trend of his family placed him in a fine position to make an advantageous marriage c 1217 to Mabel de Albini (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 18; White 1953, 645-53). Mabel was one of four daughters born to William de Albini, 3rd Earl of Arundel. The connection between the two families may have been cemented via Tateshale's patronage of Buckenham Priory, in Norfolk, which had originally been founded by the Albinis in 1146. Robert lavished so much money on the priory that a new seal was struck displaying his arms alongside those of Albini (Blomefield 1805, 373).

It was probably the Albini marriage which drew Tateshale into the royal orbit. He campaigned for Henry III in 1224 when an explicit directive was issued, during the siege of Bedford Castle, instructing the king's bailiffs to assist Robert in the hunt for the rebel Falkes de Bréauté (Lyte 1901, 450). Robert was later entrusted as castellan of Bolsover in 1226-27 and Lincoln from 1227-29 (Lyte 1916, 11, 30, 55, 62, 78, 104, 107, 126, 134). Subsequently, he fought during the king's 1230 campaign in Brittany, Anjou, Poitou and Gascony (Lyte 1903, 29). Shortly after returning from the wars Tateshale was granted a licence to crenellate for Tattershall on 21 May 1231 (Chapter 2.3).

The foundation of the castle may have been developed in symbiosis with the development of sacred architecture at Tattershall. Whilst we only have evidence for a chapel at Tattershall in the twelfth century, a parish church can be inferred after the development of the castle through references to a rectory made in 1243 and 1250. The church itself was then mentioned in the tax surveys of 1254 and c 1291 (Everson & Stocker 2005, 86-8). It was probably located immediately to the east of the castle on the site of the current church of the Holy Trinity (Figure 2). A glimpse of an earlier building may have come to light in the early twentieth century when foundations were uncovered beneath the floor of the south transept (Anon 1913, 3). If the juxtaposition of castle and church occurred around the same time then Tattershall may stand in a rare group of jointly founded sites including Belvoir, (Leicestershire) and Castle Carlton (Lincolnshire) (Creighton 2002, 110-111).

Robert may also have patronised the exquisite Early English Gothic chapel of St Leonard on the southern periphery of Kirkstead Abbey (Figure 10). The building is in an entirely separate

adjunct to the monastery which may have been the original location for the abbey (Coppack & Harrison 2014, 8). The building may have functioned as the Tateshale chantry chapel, accessible from the castle via their hunting reserve (Everson & Stocker 2005, 90-98). This would be an early example of a chantry, made even rarer by being founded by a regional lord. Some of the very earliest chantries were associated with Prince John who, whilst still count of Mortain, founded a chantry at Lichfield in 1192 (Crouch 1997, 177) and endowed another within the royal palace at Clipstone, Nottinghamshire in 1215 (Wright 2016a, 42). Meanwhile, the chantry foundation for Bishop Hugh of Wells at Lincoln Cathedral, built c 1235 (Cook 1947, 17), could have acted as a local inspiration for Tateshale at Kirkstead. The reason for building the chantry so close to the abbey may have related to a compromise with the Cistercian order who had only agreed to bury secular people within their walls following the General Chapter of 1217; itself part of wide-ranging alterations to monastic life in the early thirteenth century (Leroux-Dhuys 1998, 99-100; Lawrence 1984, 159-164). However, masses were more usually said for the entire community of the dead within the precinct rather than for individual souls (Everson & Stocker 2005, 94). Such a communal service could have been a point of contention for an emerging, powerful, family determined to make their mark on the local landscape of lordship that now included a castle, church, chase and abbey. Placing St Leonard's close to, but still outside of, the monastic enclosure was possibly a way to ensure that individual masses were sung. Robert III died on 16 July 1249 (Thompson 1928, 2) and a recumbent effigy of a knight wearing the clothing and armour of the early thirteenth century within the chapel could well be his (Figure 11); Curzon & Tipping 1929, 2; Houston 1939, 54-61; Everson & Stocker 2005, 95).

The fortunes of the Tateshales continued to rise under Robert IV after he inherited the manor and castle of Buckenham alongside other estates in Norfolk from the Albinis (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 19). He continued his father's path as a staunch supporter of Henry III, campaigning in Gascony in 1253 and Wales in 1257, holding Buckenham against Sir Henry Hastyngs during the Barons War of 1264-5 and was also present at the battle of Lewes (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 20-21). Upon his death, in 1273, the inquisition post-mortem revealed a significant increase in the de Tateshale portfolio, with lands held across five counties. Tattershall Castle was explicitly mentioned in this document which curiously recounts that 'the body of Sir Robert, deceased, lies unburied in the Castle of Tateshal' (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 22). A. H. Thompson speculated that the body of Robert IV may have had to remain at the castle as flooding could have prevented access to Kirkstead Abbey (Thompson 1928, 2-3).

## 2.3 Licence to Crenellate

On 21 May 1231, Henry III granted a licence to crenellate to Robert III: 'Rex concessit Roberto de Tatteshale quod libere et sine impedimento unam domum de petra et calce firmari faciat apud manerium suum de Tateshal' / 'The King granted Robert de Tatteshale licence freely and without hindrance to strengthen one house at his Manor of Tatteshal with stone and lime' (Lyte 1903, 435). The wording of the Tattershall licence is entirely formulaic and typical of such documents. It speaks of permission, granted by the king, to one of his knights to build a strong, stone, private manor house. Research by Philip Davis (2006-7, 226-245), building upon data gathered by Charles Coulson (1982, 69-100) and David Cathcart King (1983), has pointed towards licences for 449 private residences, issued between 1199 and 1567. They were mostly granted by the reigning English monarch (39 during the reign of Henry III) and the largest number (23.27%) went to men of knightly rank such as Robert de Tateshale.

Greatly influenced by notions of the heavily bureaucratic, centralised, government of the British Empire, Victorian scholars concluded that licences to crenellate represented an attempt by the mediaeval state to limit numbers of military structures (Davis 2006-7, 227; Davis 2008-9, 247, 253; Parker 1856, 207-215, 323-330, 467-475). For example, Parker stated that 'few houses of any consequence were built in those days without being fortified, and that could not be done without licence from the suzerein' (Parker 1856, 207). More recent scholarship has demonstrated that the motivations for, and functions of, the licences were extremely complex. Coulson states that the licence to crenellate was a recognised marker of status actively sought by socially aspirational men seeking to affirm their place in society. Ultimately, it was not a document which was routinely doled out by the monarchy, but neither was it used as a mechanism to control the power of lords. Coulson explains that to seek a licence was often related to a period of good service to a lord and acted as an implicit acknowledgement of submission. It was therefore the king's prerogative to grant licence rather than to refuse it as a means of social or military control, as 'no feudal or sub-feudal ruler could either in law or in practice deny to his vassal the protection by self-help fortifying which he, as lord, has failed to provide' (Coulson 1982, 70-72; 97 n10).

Davis follows up this point by concluding that 'virtually all those who obtained licence to crenellate did some royal service' and speculates on the variable motivations which led to construction. He points out that it is not clear whether money earned from service 'produced the income to fund the building of a new house and pretensions of status that led to applying for a licence or [whether] the licence was an additional reward for the service' (Davis 2008-9, 256). He concludes that there was probably a symbiosis which eventually led to at least 215 licences granted in relation to service given. Effectively, the document was proof of royal

favour and acted as evidence of both social prestige and also of anxiety about affirming that social status. This insecurity was then symbolically articulated through the documentation of the licence and architecturally through assertive building using established military motifs such as crenellations (Davis 2008-9, 2; 5; 255-256). Crenellations, coupled with the appearance of a powerful gatehouse, acted as 'emblems of authority' and were an outward, albeit largely symbolic, signifier of a capacity to legally prosecute any incursions onto the property. Such imagery was important as actual garrisons in most castles were costly, ineffective and often not present. Therefore, an actual show of military force was rare in property disputes, which rendered militaristic architecture largely symbolic of the owner's intent to take legal action. The licence to crenellate was a document which helped to bolster that intent (Coulson 1982, 86; 90; Davis 2008-9, 252).

The Tattershall licence was entirely typical of the period – as a rising man Tateshale was making a social statement about himself at a particular moment in his life. Curiously, Davis (2008-9, 257-258) has pointed towards a preponderance of licences granted to socially inferior husbands of aristocratic women to bolster the standing of the male arriviste. Tateshale married Mabel de Albini, daughter of the 3rd Earl of Arundel, around 1217 – a match in which he was certainly the lower status participant. Tateshale's increased social status enabled him to act as a royal retainer, castellan, and soldier under Henry III. Both Coulson (1982, 86) and Davis (2008-9, 256) make explicit links connecting affirmation of status through royal service via the grant of licences to crenellate to loyal supporters of the crown. It may be that Tateshale reaped the benefits of his efforts, as both the husband of a social superior and as a king's man, and partly consolidated his newly established position via official documentation.

Several early twentieth-century commentators noted that a second licence to crenellate at Tattershall was issued within the Patent Rolls for 1239 (Mansell-Sympson 1910, 29; Curzon and Tipping 1929, 162; with the former quoted in Everson & Stocker 2005, 90). Analysis of the published text of this document (Black 1906) has revealed no such reference. Neither King (1983) nor Davis (2006-7) have a modern citation for the second licence in their definitive lists of licences to crenellate, therefore it may be concluded that earlier citations could have been in error.

## 2.4 Building the Castle

The licence to crenellate is not necessarily the absolute date that construction at Tattershall began. As will be demonstrated below, there is strong stylistic evidence that points towards the commencement of building in the mid-thirteenth century. Little remains of the early castle, but what is now visible above-ground was revealed during Weir's excavations in 1912 (Figure

12). The precise details of these excavations are no longer possible to establish as detailed plans and section drawings were not compiled and little in the way of photographic evidence remains. Analysis of the findings relies entirely on a schematic site plan and limited written descriptions by Curzon and Tipping (1929, 15-17, 161-165, 204-09). This can be augmented by some modern observations of the extant architectural features (Munby 2008, 20-21, 143-144).

The Inner Ward is assumed to represent the main survival of the thirteenth-century castle – an area of 0.43 hectares enclosed within a wet moat (Figure 2). Weir's excavations revealed two round stone towers on the west side of the Inner Ward, a segment of a third tower or bastion midway along the southern edge, an indication of another on the south-east corner and a stone bridge abutment in the north-east corner. There is also evidence for the survival of fleeting sections of a curtain wall which presumably once enclosed the ward, but what is most notable is that this was a polygonal enclosure studded with mural towers and a gatehouse, but it lacked the architectural focus of a great tower.

By the fifteenth century the castle moats were fed from a channel off the River Bain, probably above the nearby mill weir, which then fed back into the Bain further downstream to ensure that the water did not stagnate or overflow capacity (Figure 4). It is not clear if the thirteenth-century moat relied on the same water system. The width of the moat was extended during the fifteenth century, so only the inner line of the feature may relate to the earlier castle. Some debate has been expressed regarding the specific dating of the outer moat with Curzon and Tipping (1929, 15-16) questioning whether it could have related to the thirteenth century, whereas A. H. Thompson (1928, 7-8) being much more convinced that it was entirely fifteenth century. Modern scholarship has reflected this uncertainty (Munby 2008, 103) as it would be relatively unusual to encounter a castle with only a single enclosure at this period. Outer enclosures were generally required to contain service buildings and lodging ranges as occurs at Chartley (Staffordshire), Beeston (Cheshire) and probably Bolingbroke (Lincolnshire) (Chapter 2.5).

The tower in the north-eastern angle of the Inner Ward is the most well-preserved feature from the thirteenth century – it has a diameter of 6.2 metres and survives approximately 1.5 metres in height and has walls 1.34 metres thick (Figure 13). Scars on the masonry of the fifteenth-century north-eastern turret show that the earlier tower was retained and once rose to the level of the Great Tower's first floor (Chapter 4.6). The foundations are constructed from magnesian limestone that was later clad with greenstone in the mid-fifteenth century (greenstone was also used in the foundations of the Great Tower – see Chapter 4.2). Whereas the current tower

foundation reaches down to the moat water level, it may be that originally a berm separated the towers and curtain wall of the castle as the purpose of the green sandstone cladding was to act as a water-resistant barrier to the susceptible magnesian limestone. The effect would be rather different to the fifteenth-century Great Tower which rises directly from the water of the moat and may have been more akin to the early thirteenth-century construction at Dublin (Goodall 2011, 168).

The tower to the south of the Great Tower is less well preserved and survives as a low foundation only but is of comparable size to the northern example. It was depicted by Millicent in 1727 but, even then, was a heavily ruinous feature (Figure 16). Significantly, it was also physically linked to the Great Tower and the locations of the two pre-existing structures may have partially influenced the extent of the north-south axis of the fifteenth-century structure. The thirteenth-century structure may have been repurposed under Cromwell as a stair tower to act as a link between the ground floor kitchen block to the south and the first floor of the Great Tower to the north (Munby 2008, 139, Curzon & Tipping 1929, 162).

The evidence for further towers is somewhat limited. A segmental stone foundation midway along the southern moat edge was uncovered by Weir (Figure 14). Further stone projections were also recorded in the south-east corner and on the eastern side of the enclosure which may relate to towers or bastions. The segmental frontage of the former may give a physical indication that the curtain wall was set back from the moat edge to form a berm as hinted at above by the presence of unsuitable magnesian limestone petrology (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 162-3; Avery 1997, 8; Munby 2008, 139).

The remains of a stone feature adjacent in the north-east corner of the Inner Moat was buried within brick masonry in the fifteenth century (Figure 15); Thompson 1929, 8-9; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 163). This was re-examined by Lindsey Archaeological Services and was found to be a square platform of stonework encased in brick which extended halfway across the moat. It was originally a thirteenth-century abutment onto which a drawbridge could be lowered across a shorter span of the moat (Lindsey Archaeological Services 1992). There is no indication of what the associated gatehouse looked like although castles of this period tended to have projecting twin towers either side of a portal (Goodall 2011, 180).

Internally, no evidence can now be presented for the layout and design of the castle buildings. Buck's illustration (Figure 6) shows a great hall, solar, services and chapel within the ward but we cannot be certain of their relative dates. It seems likely that the great hall may have originated during the thirteenth century, even if it was later rebuilt or remodelled, as the location and orientation of great halls tended to survive later alterations (Wood 1965, 61-62).

As we have seen in Chapter 2.2 a chapel may have pre-dated the castle and its structure might have influenced the location of the building represented by Buck in the eighteenth century.

The thirteenth-century towers and gatehouse at Tattershall were linked by stone curtain walls which enclosed the administrative and residential buildings of the castle to form a ward surrounded by a polygonal moat. As we shall see below, this deceptively simple form of castle design - which eschewed the dominating feature of a great tower - was the height of fashion by the mid-thirteenth century. This planform had been developing gradually since the mid-twelfth century but reached maturity during the 1220s under both royal and aristocratic building projects. One of the primary advocates of the style was Ranulf de Blondeville and it was his building projects that probably had a major impact on the design of Tattershall.

## 2.5 The Influence of Ranulf de Blondeville

The Anglo-Norman aristocrat, Ranulf de Blondeville (1170-1232) succeeded to the earldom of Chester in 1181. He was a trusted supporter of the Angevin monarchy as demonstrated through his military support against the French in the late twelfth century and again throughout the political and military turmoil of 1215-17. Blondeville's staunch backing of the establishment led to rich rewards when he was named earl of Lincoln in 1217.  Ranulf immediately departed on the Fifth Crusade where he acquitted himself with great repute at the siege of Damietta in Egypt. On returning to England in 1220 he became an enthusiastic patron of architecture and left a remarkable legacy of castles built along highly innovative lines at Beeston (Cheshire), Chartley (Staffordshire) and Bolingbroke (Lincolnshire).

Blondeville's extensive service in Normandy (in 1189-1204, 1214 and 1230-2) saw him responsible for the castle of St James-de-Beuvron, Normandy and close association with Richard I's great building project at Château Gaillard in the Seine Valley from 1196-98 (Soden 2009, 30; 146). Both castles feature great rock-cut ditches which close off promontories on which their inner baileys stand and early usage of D-shaped twin towers flanking the gates (Swallow 2014, 293-4). Subsequently, his experiences in the Holy Land brought him into close contact with yet more pioneering architecture. The long siege of Damietta, in the Nile Delta (Egypt), gave Blondeville many months to consider the triple concentric walls with 28 projecting mural towers. Elsewhere, Blondeville was closely associated with the construction of the fortress of Atlit (begun in 1217) which he helped to part-fund by donating fifty silver marks to the Knights Templar in 1219 (Soden 2009, 88-9, 91, 125; Nicolle 2005, 32-3). Akin to Damietta, Atlit (Haifa, Israel) featured concentric walls, but the site was also had a promontory divided by a substantial rock-cut ditch similar to St James-de-Beuvron and

Château Gaillard. Also like the Norman sites was the proliferation of round, half round and D-shaped towers which became a widespread feature of military architecture in the Holy Land from the beginning of the thirteenth century as demonstrated at Margat and Krak des Chevaliers in Tartus, Syria (Nicolle 2005, 29-35). Blondeville's practical experiences in Normandy and the Holy Land may have fed into a wider trend in English castle which saw the transition from large rectilinear great towers and square mural towers to twin towered gatehouses, D-shaped or rounded mural towers and a widespread rejection of the great tower. This new style was underway from the late twelfth century in royal English building at Dover, Kent, Dublin and Limmerick in Ireland (Goodall 2011, 104, 108, 168, 183) and Blondeville could also have encountered such architecture as a staunch supporter of the monarchy.

On returning to England, Blondeville discovered that his star had fallen. He entered a period of abrupt political opposition to Henry III which came about through a severe enmity with the king's Chief Justiciar, Hubert de Burgh. The latter arranged the surrender of royal castles and lands held by Ranulf and his allies (Soden 2009, 100-102). This political isolation during the 1220s led to a remarkable series of architectural developments. Perhaps feeling vulnerable, and certainly concerned at his loss of access to many royal castles, Ranulf began to build. He still owned the greatest share of manors across England of any of the barons and could therefore direct considerable income towards construction work to consolidate powerful landholdings across the centre of England at Beeston, Chartley and Bolingbroke (Swallow 2014, 293-8; Soden 2009, 108-109; 125).

All three sites contain motifs that may have been first encountered by Blondeville in Normandy and the Holy Land. At Beeston, the Outer Ward is enclosed by a curtain wall featuring seven D-shaped towers, has a twin-towered gate and is divided from the Inner Ward by a rock-cut ditch. The latter is spanned by a bridge to another twin-towered gatehouse and the Inner Ward is studded with three D-shaped towers. Chartley, has an Inner Bailey curtain wall with two half-round towers, a D-shaped corner tower and a twin-towered gatehouse. Coincidentally, it is the only one of de Blondeville's castles to feature a motte and great tower, although the motte is an earlier feature that may have affected the decision to construct a great tower in the 1220s. Bolingbroke has a 0.3-hectare hexagonal enclosure with a curtain wall, approximately 4 metres thick, punctuated by enormous D-shaped towers on each of its angles and a twin-towered gatehouse faces towards a village and church to the north-east (Figure 17). The castles share several common features: projecting half round or D-shaped towers located on the angles of their curtain walls, twin towers flanking the principal gates, substantial ditches dividing enclosures at Beeston and Chartley and the rejection of great towers at Beeston and Bolingbroke (Soden 2009, 108-109; 125). Given the presence of a single patron with extensive

experience of castle building in Normandy, the Holy Land and by the English monarchy we can potentially see the hand of Blondeville's coherent design aesthetic

Although the precise dating of the three castles is not fully comprehended, it is generally understood that they belong to the period after his return from the Crusades. Rachel Swallow (2014, 298-302, 308-09) points out that Beeston may have acted as a gateway to the lands of Llywelyn Fawr, Prince of Gwynedd during a period of increasingly friendly interactions between Blondeville and the Welsh court during the first half of the 1220s (Swallow 2014, 298-304). Meanwhile, Iain Soden (2009, 93-103, 105) presents the case for a later start to construction, beginning around 1224, when Blondeville's troubles with the English court worsened. Both authors point towards Ranulf's early association at Whittington (Shropshire), in 1221-22, where he was responsible for over-seeing the construction work involving a D-shaped twin towered gateway coupled with drum towers at the angles of the powerful inner bailey (Soden 2009, 97; Swallow 2014, 296). Regardless of the specific dates, we can be certain that Blondeville had initiated an impressive programme of construction by the mid-1220s which was far advanced by his death in 1232 – the date when Bolingboke enters the documentary records (Goodall 2011, 181).

The size, shape and architectural arrangement of the enclosure castle at Bolingbroke compares well with the Inner Ward at Tattershall. Both have wet moats surrounding polygonal islands, stretches of curtain wall link rounded towers located at the angles of the enclosure, neither featured great towers and their gatehouses face out towards parish churches with the village settlements beyond. The consensus is that Bolingbroke is the earlier of the two castles and dates to the 1220s (Swallow 2014, 293; Goodall 2011, 180-81; Soden 2009, 108-09; Creighton 2002, 216, Thompson 1966, 155) with Tattershall probably developed in the following decade (Goodall 2011, 183; Munby 2008, 18; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 3, 161-62). Internally, Goodall (2011, 181) has suggested that Bolingbroke had timber-framed buildings ranged around the courtyard which may also have been the case at Tattershall. There are some differences between the two sites – Tattershall has rather slender cylindrical corner towers, possibly in association with half round bastions on the curtain wall, as opposed to the massive D-shaped structures at Bolingbroke. However, from the exterior the appearance of the sites may have compared well with Tattershall as a miniature version of Bolingbroke – a physical manifestation of the difference in status between a lord and an earl.

Given that Bolingbroke is located just eleven miles to the north-east of Tattershall and its was constructed for a man who was not just a significant landowner in Lincolnshire, but was also the titular earl, it would not be a significant leap to suggest that Tateshale may have looked to

Blondeville's new castle when considering his own building project. It may have been an attractive prospect for a rising man like Tateshale to reflect the architecture of a great magnate as a mechanism to bolster his own social and political position within Lincolnshire. Although there was no apparent direct affinity between the two, Robert de Tateshale may have been making a strong architectural statement at Tattershall of presumed deference and acknowledgement to the built environment of his neighbouring social superior.

## 2.6  Conclusions

It would not be possible to legitimately assess the fifteenth-century architecture of Tattershall Castle without at first considering what Ralph Cromwell and his master builders had inherited on the site. The castle was already 200 years old when it was remodelled and the polygonal shape of the Inner Ward, as laid out for Tateshale in the 1230s, does not seem to have been radically altered during the mid-fifteenth century. The continuum of power through attachment to a specific location was an important decision for mediaeval patrons. It can be seen in the eleventh-century appropriation of the surviving foundations of the Claudian temple at Colchester - which the great tower was deliberately built on. Alternatively, early mediaeval elite sites at Portchester (Hampshire), Trowbridge (Wiltshire) and Stamford (Lincolnshire) were repurposed during the Anglo-Norman period potentially to demonstrate the presence of a new regime following seamlessly from the old. Meanwhile, in the thirteenth century Richard de Cornwall deliberately selected Tintagel in reference to an Arthurian context made popular by Geoffrey of Monmouth (Creighton 2002, 69-72). For Robert de Tateshale, the choice of Tattershall may have been affected by the pre-existing road and river systems in association with an administrative unit of land that also had excellent potential for the development of a hunting landscape. Furthermore, the hints of a pre-existing chapel or monastery on the site may point towards an ecclesiastical consideration that may also have been harnessed as an expression of lordly piety.

The castle was built as an expression of the rising status of the Tateshale family who had begun to play a part both regionally and, to a limited extent, nationally. Robert III's important marriage brought him status through his association with the Albini family and his choice to apply for a licence to crenellate also indicates an ambition to be taken seriously as a social figure of substance. Although we have relatively little of his castle standing, there is enough to understand that he chose to build in a style that was in the contemporary fashion – an enclosure castle, without a great tower, studded with rounded towers. The presence of this style of architecture had been felt in England from the later twelfth century and had been firmly adopted across his estates by Ranulf de Blondeville in the 1220s. As a major stakeholder in the Lincolnshire landscape, who was an internationally acclaimed soldier and politician,

Blondeville was a figure to look up and take inspiration from. The result of such influence appears to have been the physical form that Tateshale patronised at his new castle built in the 1230s.

We will now move on to analyse the archaeology and architecture of the surviving castle structures of the Outer, Middle and Inner Wards throughout the mediaeval period in Chapter 3 before considering the fifteenth-century Great Tower in Chapters 4 and 5.

# 3 The Castle Wards

## 3.1 Introduction

Tattershall is divided into three wards by a system of wet moats fed from the River Bain (Figure 4). The precise dating of these spaces is not fully understood. For A. H. Thompson (1928, 7-8), the thirteenth-century castle was originally confined to just the Inner Ward and was then extended to incorporate the Outer and Middle Wards during the fifteenth-century remodelling. Curzon and Tipping (1929, 15-16) raised the possibility that the Outer Moat may have pre-existed Cromwell's interventions. The scope of this project has not involved below-ground archaeological evaluation, so it is not possible to do other than represent the thoughts of earlier scholars. As Weir arranged for the excavation of the moats in 1912 their fills are no longer in situ and unfortunately the work was not carried out with regard to detailed recording, so neither do we have section drawings as a record which may enlighten the relative dating of archaeological features (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 204-209).

This chapter will represent the sum of the archaeological knowledge of the three wards alongside analysis of the standing and excavated structures which lie within them. The chapter will open with a wider discussion on the moats which define the limits of the castle and its different enclosures. Each ward will then be addressed in turn according to the order that a mediaeval visitor to the site would have encountered them - Outer, Middle, and Inner. The discussion of each enclosure will then be sub-divided according to specific archaeological features within them. Finally, there will also be a consideration of the extra-mural enclosure to the south of the castle known as the "Tiltyard". Throughout the thesis the commonly used nouns referring to castle structures such as the "Tiltyard", "Guardhouse" or "Stables" will be included in quotation marks for clarity. It will become apparent that it is the opinion of the author that these functional definitions of space may be inaccurate. As will be demonstrated below, the primary use of the "Tiltyard" was probably a garden whilst the "Guardhouse" and "Stables" were originally lodging ranges.

## 3.2 Moats

The areas of built environment at Tattershall Castle are contained within three 'islands' defined as the Outer, Middle and Inner Wards (Figure 2). The islands of developed land are defined by a system of inter-connected man-made moats. The earliest of these is almost certainly the polygonal Inner Moat which was probably sunk during the construction of the thirteenth-century castle (Chapter 2.4). Although the inner bank is now just an earthwork feature, it originally had a curtain wall (Chapter 2.4). The moat was probably extended in width - in places it reaches up to approximately 23.5 metres across – during the mid-fifteenth century. At that time the outer bank was revetted with a brick wall approximately 4 metres high by 0.8-1.1

metres thick (Figure 14 & Figure 15). Some of the Cromwellian works to the moats are mentioned in the building accounts for the castle – in particular, the excavations of 1438-39 under the direction of Matthew Dyker which saw the construction of 80 feet of walling utilising 182,000 bricks (Simpson 1960, 60, 65).

The Inner Moat is connected to the Outer Moat via a north-south, cross-cut, partially revetted channel which probably dates to the mid-fifteenth century and divides the Outer and Middle Wards (Figure 18). The Outer Moat is approximately 10.5 metres in width and loops around the west, north and east sides of the castle, feeding back into the Inner Moat through modern iron grilles in the south-west and south-east corners. There has been some debate about the original course and dating of the Outer Moat. Curzon & Tipping (1929, 15-16) thought that it could have been thirteenth century; whereas A. H. Thompson (1928, 7-8) was convinced that it dates to the mid-fifteenth century. Everson and Stocker (2005, 87-88) have speculated that it may have originally been a sinuous water course, fed from a channel to the north of the church off the River Bain, which looped round the north and west sides of the castle only and then drained back into the river below the fishponds (Chapter 8.2). Mapping and earthwork evidence seems to confirm the route of the western channel (Munby 2008, 104). However, Munby noted that Weir may have experienced some uncertainty about the course of the eastern arm of the Outer Moat (Munby 2008, 103). A reassessment of the latter's text does not seem to uphold this notion. Weir stated that prior commentators had thought that the moat followed a route to the north of the church (later favoured by Everson and Stocker) but 'This idea did not prove correct, as the moat was found to take a sharp bend near the present entrance and pass through the orchard to the west of the churchyard' (Curzon and Tipping 1929, 204). He also assessed that the moat in this area had been filled in for a very long period of time – a point which chimes well with a complaint, made in 1594, by the parishioners of Tattershall that the 2nd Earl of Lincoln had caused part of the churchyard to be dug up to provide spoil to backfill the moat (Chapter 9.3; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 136).

Further speculation has surrounded the southern end of the eastern section of the moat (Figure 2). Weir (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 204) was of the opinion that 'it continued across the tilt-yard in the direction of the fishponds. An archaeological evaluation, in 1989, which monitored works to the National Trust public toilet block and associated pipe trenches found no evidence for the continuation of the moat to the south of its present channel; although it was acknowledged that sufficient depths may not have been reached to be conclusive (Field 1989, no page number). The absence of a feature was confirmed by geophysical survey in 1997 (Johnson 1997, 8), but a later geophysical survey by Allen Archaeology seemed to indicate the possible continuation of the moat across the "Tiltyard" (Hibbitt & Allen 2009, 9-10). However, Hibbitt and Allen's interpretation was challenged and rejected during a second

project by the same company just six years later (Evershed 2015, 5) and then conclusively disproved through archaeological evaluation (Johnson 2015, 13). The current consensus is that there was no southern extension of the Outer Moat and that it always fed into the south-eastern corner of the Inner Moat.

The Outer Moat is not a particularly redoubtable feature and the presence of the low-lying basement windows of the Great Tower indicates that the water-level of the Inner Moat can never have been particularly deep – certainly not higher than their cills (Figure 19). When besieged similar moats at sites such as Caister (Norfolk) provided very little defence against a determined aggressor such as the Duke of Norfolk in 1469 (Spencer 2020, 108-12). The moats at Tattershall were neither wide nor deep enough to provide serious defence but they would have had the side-effect of deterring access by Cromwell's many political enemies. Instead, moats provided an important social barrier between elites and non-elites as the passage of a visitor across them was tightly controlled by bridges and gatehouses. Moats had an extensive aristocratic pedigree connected to framed views which created theatrical backdrops and prestigious modes of access. They acted as a series of water-mirrors which romantically reflected the architecture above. Other important aquatic landscapes were created in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries at Framlingham (Suffolk) and Kenilworth (Warwickshire) as venues for pageantry. At Tattershall there is a hint of the necessary infrastructure for such events in the presence of a flight of stairs which descend to the water level to allow access from the Middle Ward. Equally, the stair could be used to practically maintain a moat which may have acted as a habitat for wildfowl and fish which could then be caught and eaten at table (Creighton 2009, 77-83 Johnson 2002, 19-54).

## 3.3  Outer Ward

### 3.3.1  Outer Gate

The Outer Gate of Tattershall Castle lies 19 metres to the south-west of the cross-cut between the Outer and Inner Moat (Figure 20). It has a portal which is approximately 2.5 metres in width and is supported by a battered stone plinth which projects to the north of the moat edge. The timber of the associated bridge was alluded to in the Tattershall building accounts for 1472 when William Smyth was paid for 110 iron nails to be used in its repair (Simpson 1960, 78). Meanwhile, the gatehouse itself was rediscovered during Weir's excavations (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 208-9) but has subsequently received only cursory interest via a drawn and photographic survey that did not include any interpretive work (Clark 1998). Akin to the Great Tower, only the lower courses of the structure were built in stone, with the more visible upper elements in brickwork. The portal foundations probably supported the relatively slender tower that is shown in an advanced state of ruin in the background of Buck's illustration (Figure 6)

and to the left of foreground in Millicent's drawing (Figure 30). A. H. Thompson reported that Weir's excavations also revealed the remains of structures on the north side of the moat including an oak cill beam. Thompson's speculation on the existence of a barbican may be too much given that a schematic outline in the accompanying site plan does not suggest more than a bridge abutment (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 167, 208-9).

Construction of the gatehouse tower was probably completed prior to the addition of flanking brick structures which abut its foundations – a north-south orientated sub-square build to the west and an east-west sub-rectangular build to the east. An L-shaped wall to the south and west of the gatehouse could be interpreted as a section of curtain wall linking the gatehouse to the lodging range to the south-west (Figure 2). A stub of this curtain wall was also depicted in Millicent's view of the castle (Figure 30). Too little of these adjacent structures survive to make confident assertions about their form and function. In common with Cromwell's house at Wingfield Manor, a relatively narrow outer gatehouse portal appears to have been complemented by a functional and unelaborated superstructure. The glories of Tattershall lay within.

### 3.3.2  Lodging Range (known as the "Stables")

Notionally identified as the castle stables (Thompson 1928: 13; Curzon & Tipping 1929: 69; Simpson 1960: xiii; Avery 1997: 8) this building comprises two adjacent, brick and stone structures which lie in the north-west corner of the Outer Ward (Figure 21). The principal build is orientated south-west to north-east and measures 27.22 by 7.47 metres internally with a wall thickness of 0.84-0.88 metres. Perpendicular to this is an abutting wing to the north-east measuring 9.34 x 5.4 metres internally with wall thickness of 0.7 metres. The southern build is laid in English bond (apparent throughout the castle) and has brick measurements entirely consistent with examples recorded at the "Guardhouse" and Great Tower - varying between 105-125mm (breadth) by 50-60mm (thick) by 210-225mm (length) with four courses measuring between 251-255mm. These measurements and the handmade quality of the fabric are commensurate with a mid-fifteenth century date (Hammond 1985, 30; Lloyd 1925, 89).

The upstanding masonry at the south-west end of the structure represents a relatively intact gable end featuring a centrally located fireplace flanked by recesses with pointed drop-arch heads (Figure 22). By the later eighteenth century, a hole had been punched through chimney breast – this is shown in a drawing of 1788-9 by John Claude Nattes and is confirmed in a photograph taken c 1870 (Figure 23 & Figure 24). Curiously, it is not shown in a late eighteenth-century print by Thomas Willson which depicts two gabled buildings standing

adjacent in this location – both with round-headed doors in their south elevations (Figure 25). The dating of this illustration is uncertain. Willson was born in 1751 and the drawing was engraved by Benjamin Cole who died in 1783. This probably indicates that it was made in the 1770s or early 1780s. There is a strong possibility that artistic licence was taken here as prior and later views do not corroborate this detail. Willson possibly also doubled up the buildings to the east of the castle as he also showed two structures in the location of the "Guardhouse" for which we also have no corroborative evidence (Chapter 3.4.3).

Internally, there is a low plinth, 0.2 metres above ground level, to the east of the fireplace but not to the west. Above the recesses are two stone, square-headed windows with two-light, trefoiled, Y-tracery. Internally, the segmental rear-arch and jambs are of moulded brick. Externally, the stone reveal has a moulding comprised of a chamfer, scotia, and shallow cavetto underneath a four-centred arch. Overall, the design is very similar to the windows of the "Guardhouse" - minus the external relieving arches and label moulds – which may indicate an intentional lower status. Similar to the "Guardhouse" and certain windows of the Great Tower, is a hint of anachronism in the use of Y-tracery and trefoils which hark back to the earlier fourteenth century (Figure 26). The reasons for this anachronism will be discussed in Chapters. 5.7 and 6.3.2.

A ledge associated with eleven joist holes marks the location of an upper floor which was provided with an off-centre fireplace that fed smoke into a brick-corbelled, projecting, chimney stack (Figure 22). The window to the west of the fireplace is of different design to those at ground floor. The internal arrangement is the same (moulded brick segmental rear-arch and jambs); however, the external stone, two-light tracery has a perpendicular central mullion flanked by cinquefoil cusps beneath a four-centred arch. The high gable once projected above the post-mediaeval roofline as can be seen on illustrations made in 1727, 1788-89 and 1857 (Figure 30, Figure 27 & Figure 28). There is no indication of how this roof structure was fixed to the gable as no chasing for purlins or trusses now remains in the masonry and it is likely that Weir's restoration removed all trace of this arrangement.

The segmental arched fireplaces were also restored by Weir. The ground floor example was almost destroyed when a hole was punched through the middle of the south elevation during the mid-eighteenth century (Figure 23). Only six courses of the springers survive on each jamb, but the remaining impression is of a very flat arch like those in the "Guardhouse". The first-floor fireplace has also been restored with only one brick of the eastern springer surviving in situ. A single course of bricks supported a hearthstone, of which just a fragment remains beneath the eastern jamb.

The south-eastern elevation has a high plinth 1.02-1.05 metres above present ground level. This contrasts with the corresponding stub wall of the north-western elevation which has stepped plinths 0.25 metres above ground level with another 0.78 metres above that. The doorway at the southern end of the south-eastern elevation was entirely rebuilt under Weir although there are traces of earlier brick jambs in situ and a hint of an opening in this location can be seen in an illustration made by Nattes in 1788-9 and in a photograph taken in 1857 (Figure 27 & Figure 28). The plinth course was chopped through when this door was rebuilt. To the north are the traces of two rectilinear openings which appear to be high level windows on the Nattes' drawing and 1857 photograph. The southern jamb of the southern window has been entirely rebuilt creating a straight joint in the masonry. Internally, three vertical rebates in the brickwork between the windows were once chases to receive the timber-framing which supported the first-floor structure. A similar arrangement survives in situ within the "Guardhouse" (Chapter 3.4.3).

At the north end of the eastern elevation is a bonded brick return at ground floor level only which indicates the possible presence of a transverse screen that divided the building internally (Figure 29). An apparent straight joint also shows in the masonry of the western elevation in the 1727 Millicent drawing (Figure 30). It is admitted that this could represent a crack in the ruinous masonry. At ground level an adjacent 4.57m linear stone feature is partially visible and may represent either the foundation course or a post-mediaeval dividing wall (Figure 31). Immediately to the south of the transverse wall is a stone step and brick threshold. This threshold rebated into the wall line adjacent to a weathered fragment of a stone door jamb (Figure 32). This stone is bonded into the masonry of the southerly build suggesting that the northerly build was always an integral part of the design. The surviving features seem to suggest two adjacent residential chamber blocks on each floor level although it is no longer clear how the upper floors were accessed. Similar two storey heated lodging ranges are also found in the 1430s and 40s at Wingfield Manor and Southwell Bishop's Palace. However, it must be admitted that in both cases the lodgings are timber-framed structures built around enclosed courtyards rather than free-standing buildings.

There is rather less brickwork available to inform interpretations of the abutting northern range and what is visible is very weathered and covered in moss and lichen (Figure 21). Despite this, a measurement of 105mm (breadth) by 45-55mm (thickness) by 150-200mm, with four courses at 250mm, does hint that the bricks may be from a separate batch to those of the building to the south. A brick threshold survives in the masonry of the south-western elevation, indicating direct communication with the adjacent structure. Little more can be stated regarding this building except that there is evidence for a drainage hole at ground level on the

west elevation, which is probably a secondary feature as it seems to have been punched through the brickwork. Weir suggested that the northern range may have been represented by Buck as a tower drawn to the north-west of the Great Tower (Curzon & Tipping 1929: 203-4). This is doubtful as, although the Buck drawing has a curiously inaccurate perspective, the represented building is more likely to be the Outer Gatehouse (Chapter 3.3.1).

The conventional identification of this group of buildings as the castle stables relies on their location, immediately to the south-west of the Outer Gate of the castle. This has been coupled with the archaeological observation that 'enough of the stable survives to note the rings that were set into its outer wall to tie up horses.' (Figure 33); Curzon & Tipping 1929, 69, 146). An excavated brick channel in the floor of the southern structure, which may have functioned as a drain, appeared to back up this assertion (Thompson 1928: 35; Curzon & Tipping, 1929: 225) as central drains were also found in the mediaeval stables at Minster Lovell Hall (Oxfordshire) and Maidstone Palace (Kent) (Steane 2001, 268). The great stable (magnus stabilis) is the most frequently referenced structure in the fragmentary Tattershall building accounts - with some relatively detailed information on its layout. The foundations were dug by labourers under the supervision of Matthew Dyker in 1438-9. It was located directly to the west of abutting buildings referred to as a 'small house' and 'le Wolhous' (Simpson 1960, 60, 65) – the latter presumably for storing wool from Cromwell's estates. On the surface this description does note a tripartite division of structures. However, the buildings mentioned in the accounts are listed from west to east as the great stable, small house and woolhouse. Aside from the fact that the standing buildings are on a different orientation (south-west to north-east) the size of the three identifiable spaces in the archaeology seem at odds with the archival account. The two southerly structures are substantial two storey chambers measuring 13.95m x 7.47m and 13.27m by 7.47m. According to the building accounts the first of these would have to be the stable, the second the 'small house' and the abutting north-eastern space the woolhouse. Although the north-eastern structure could be a woolhouse, and the adjacent chamber a small house, the remaining building is just too small for a 'magnus stabilis'. It also has the attendant problem of being residential - as evidenced by the two fireplaces in the south elevation.

Evidence presented in Chapter 9.4 will indicate that this range may have been converted into stabling or agricultural buildings during the post-mediaeval period. Their original use appears to have been a two-cell double-height retainer's lodging with an abutting structure to the north-east. The status of the building is marked as being lower to the other surviving lodging range at Tattershall (the "Guardhouse": Chapter 3.4.3), partly through its location in the outermost ward and partly through the lack of relieving arches or label moulds above the windows, which

is otherwise a characteristic feature of the fenestration at the castle. Such residential chamber blocks are common within the outer enclosures of late mediaeval great houses such as the Lower Court at Haddon Hall (Derbyshire), Outer Court at Wingfield Manor (Derbyshire) or Green Court at Knole (Kent).

### 3.3.3 Southern Sector

The south-west corner of the "Stables" has an un-bonded stub wall with a clear straight joint and a chamfered stone plinth - unlike the surviving plinths of the rest of the structure. The plinth appears to be related to another stub wall to the east which returns west from the Inner Moat retaining wall. These two fragments probably divided off the northern and southern sections of the Outer Ward and it is a possible that a gate or door was located at this point (Figure 34); Curzon & Tipping 1929, 69). The straight joint in the masonry indicates that this wall must have been inserted after the construction of the "Stables". Illustrations made in 1727, 1790 and 1799 all show a small single storey building standing against the south-eastern corner of the south elevation. This had a lean-to roof and a door in the western elevation. No trace of this remains and its function is unknown. It is suspected to be a post-mediaeval addition.

Further to the south, traces of former timber-framed structures adjacent to the Inner Moat western wall were noted by A. H. Thompson (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 167). Even at the point of excavation the evidence was notably ephemeral and little now remains above ground.

## 3.4 Middle Ward

### 3.4.1 Middle Gate

Standing approximately 31 metres to the south-east of the Outer Gate are the brick remains of the Middle Gate on the east bank of the moat cross-cut (Figure 35). The gatehouse is approached across a bridge supported by chases in the substantial brick abutments on the west side of the moat. Further abutments, with a projecting string course, support the bridge on the east side and there is a 3.5-metre-wide berm between the moat and gatehouse. The gate portal is approximately 2.8 metres in width and has a length of east-west orientated brick wall on its north side. To the south is a sub-rectangular chamber measuring approximately 3.6 by 4.8 metres internally, with a fireplace in the south elevation.

The surviving archaeology is at odds with the early eighteenth-century illustrations by Buck and Millicent (Figure 6 & Figure 30). Buck's drawing shows the west elevation of a square tower with a central gate portal crowned by a flattened arch. Directly above is a large window and a string course. The upper part of the elevation is blank, but the tower is crowned by

machicolations as the wall-top is no longer extant. Millicent's drawing, made only one year later, shows the structure from the south-west and confirms the square shape, central portal and machicolations; however, it also shows two tiers of windows above the portal and what may be projecting corner turrets in the north-west and south-east angles. The extant remains represent an off-centre portal within a rectangular structure so we may have to allow for a degree of artistic interpretation. Structurally, the surviving off-centre portal coupled with Millicent's machicolations bear relationship with the contemporary brick gatehouses at Rye House (Hertfordshire) and Caister Castle (Norfolk); in particular, the latter also has a large window placed directly above the gateway.

### 3.4.2  North Range

The fragmentary remains of this rectangular structure, located to the east of the Middle Gate, were excavated by Weir (Figure 2); Curzon & Tipping 1929, 70, 209). Beyond a statement that a fireplace lay at the east end of the range (which may have been a later insertion) little can be said about this building. It seems to have formed the curtilage boundary of the site in the north-east sector of the Middle Ward and is usually assumed to have been another lodging range (Avery 1997, 6; Thompson 1928, 13). Lodging ranges standing hard against the outer curtain wall are also found at Wingfield Manor. Curzon and Tipping's speculation that there was a gatehouse in this quarter is not based on strong physical evidence and would seem unlikely given the proximity of the Outer Gate (Munby 2008, 131; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 168). Weir's plan shows a short section of wall to the south-east of the North Range which is orientated towards the "Guardhouse" (Figure 12). This may be a trace of the curtain wall which enclosed the north-eastern angle of the Middle Ward.

### 3.4.3  Lodging Range (known as the "Guardhouse")

The "Guardhouse" is a trapezoid, brick and stone, two-storey, structure standing adjacent to the eastern arm of the Outer Moat (Figure 36). Internally, the building measures 7.88 by 6.33 metres and has a chimney stack and garderobe block projecting from the east elevation. The building is entered at ground storey via doors in the north and south elevations and the first floor is accessed via a twentieth-century dog-leg-with-winder stair. It has a steeply pitched crown-post with collar purlin roof clad with handmade tiles. The brickwork, averaging 105-110mm (breadth) x 47-58mm (thickness) x 205-240mm (length) with four courses measuring 240-255mm, is similar in character to the "Stables" and Great Tower. Millicent depicted the west elevation of the extreme northern end of the building in 1727 and later in the century Willson confusingly shows two gabled buildings in this location (Figure 30 & Figure 25). It is worth noting that he did similar with the "Stables" as well and there may be a level of artistic licence in his view (Chapter 3.3.2).

The stone doorway in the north elevation was inserted by Weir, having been brought from a nearby farmhouse under the assumption that it originated at the castle (Figure 37); Curzon & Tipping 1929, 153). Beneath the square head are two blank shields, sitting within rebated roundels in the spandrels, which frame a four-centred arch and jambs featuring a classic Perpendicular moulding of casement, small roll, and cavetto (Forrester 1972, 31). This insertion is joined by three other reset features: an armorial, above the door, featuring the Bernack arms (Figure 37); above that is a section of string course with carvings of a thistle, a face and a fleuron and, set level with the eaves in the centre of the elevation, a Tateshale armorial (Figure 38). To the east of the door is a tall, single-light, four-centred window with a hollow chamfered stone surround capped with a brick relieving arch. It is possible that the window was originally a ground storey doorway as it lies immediately to the east of a break in the brick plinth. Significantly, this aperture is close in design to the first-floor window which was itself originally a door. During a survey of the castle in the mid-nineteenth century, Nicholson recorded an oral history which referred to this upper door being accessed via a brick turret although there is nothing in the surviving masonry which suggests such a structure (Nicholson 1842, 9).

The northern first-floor access is matched on the opposing south elevation by a blocked door which survives as a recess internally and can be made out externally in the block-bonded pointing (Figure 39). Above is a reset, carved stone, male head. This door would have accessed a wall-walk to the south. A 0.11 metre stub of the curtain wall, measuring 0.44 metres in width, survives in the south-east corner of the building. A scar indicates the former location of a parapet coping above. A. H. Thompson was of the opinion that a brick arcade supported the wall-walk (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 169) which may have born a resemblance to the late fifteenth-century curtain wall between the Inner Gate House and Great Tower at Buckden (Cambridgeshire) (Figure 40).

At ground level, the south elevation is accessed by an original fifteenth-century door with a brick relieving arch above a stone four-centred arch with a hollow chamfer moulding (Figure 41). A mason's mark is located on the cavetto of the eastern voussoir. The plinth to the east of the door is broken directly below a single-light, cinquefoil window with a square head and label mould but no brick relieving arch above. The moulding is very similar to the reset northern door. A graffito of a fish (possibly a pike) was recorded on the internal cill (Figure 42). This window is visible in an early twentieth-century photograph taken prior to the beginning of Curzon's restoration; it seems to have been inserted as it does not have a relieving arch above.

The south-west corner of the "Guardhouse" is marked by chamfered masonry at ground and first floor level which has a perpendicular return resolved by a stone corbel just below the eaves level (Figure 43). This suggests a narrowed entrance to the area south of the building, possibly created by the close presence of lost structures of the castle. We can therefore imagine a layout which allowed access past the chamfered corner into a small yard off which there was a door leading directly into the "Guardhouse" at ground floor level. The upper level was accessible only from the wall-walk to the south or the door in the northern elevation – there is no remaining evidence for direct inter-communication between the two floors.

The ground and first floor windows of the south and west elevations have two-light Y-tracery with trefoil heads and scotia mouldings placed beneath a square-head with label moulds and relieving arches (Figure 44). They are a more elaborate version of the two ground floor windows at the "Stables" which have been noted to be anachronistic by the mid-fifteenth century (Chapter 3.3.2). Meanwhile, the eastern elevation contains the functional elements of the building: a large step-gabled chimney stack rising the full height of the "Guardhouse" to finish with a brick, two-course, projecting string (Figure 45). To the north is an angled, projecting, garderobe block with an outshot roof. Brick dentils feature at eaves level (as they do on the corresponding west elevation). The garderobes are lit at ground and first floor by small rectangular loops let into the south and east elevations respectively. The only other fenestration at ground floor level is a single-light trefoil window, with a square head and relieving arch, between the chimney and garderobe. A square headed window at first floor level, to the south of the chimney, has been heavily altered. It has its original brick relieving arch and its lintel is made of coursed tiles and the jamb mouldings are a post-mediaeval ovolo characteristic of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries (Hall 2005, 24). This elevation of the '"Guardhouse"' is sited directly on the shoulder of the Outer Moat and has experienced repeated incidents of subsidence as the garderobe block has been heavily buttressed to the east by stepped brickwork added to the original structure.

Internally, each storey was originally built as a single self-contained residential lodging furnished with fireplaces and garderobes. It has been speculated that the building may have originally been conceived as a longer range of two storey lodgings intended to stretch to the north, but this was never actually executed (Munby 2008, 127; Thompson 1974, 12). The fireplaces have flattened, two-ring, brick, segmental arches with chamfer mouldings similar to those of the "Stables" (Chapter 3.3.2) (Figure 46). To the south of the ground floor fireplace is a recess with a two-ring, brick segmental arch. Both fireplace and recess had been blocked during the post-mediaeval period but were reopened by Weir (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 153-4). The doors to the garderobes have a step up through four-centred, brick arches and internally

there are recesses to the north (probably for placing a light source), small window loops to the south and the blocked shafts of the garderobes straight ahead (Figure 47).

The building's floor frame is divided into three asymmetrical bays by two bridging beams running east-west (Figure 48). The southern beam is inserted into the west elevation above the west jamb of the window and to the east sits directly above the south jamb of the fireplace. The northern beam is inserted into the masonry of the west elevation immediately to the south of the staircase and into the east elevation directly above the space between the window and north jamb of the fireplace. The beams have been tree-ring dated to 1446-51 (Arnold & Howard 2017) and have chamfers with stops. Knee-braces rise from severed posts built into rebates in the masonry to support the beams - a similar design to the rebates for the first-floor structure of the "Stables" (Chapter 3.3.2). The western post and braces of both beams are original, and the chamfers of the posts have an integrated respond which then continues up along the soffits of the braces. Carpenter's marks survive to indicate that the soffit of the south beam is marked I with a kick at its east end jointing and the west end of the north beam with the post and brace was numbered II. The joists, orientated north and south, are supported by two further beams which partially sit on ledges in the brick masonry and are also supported by six stone corbels with cyma recta mouldings (three on each elevation). Only the west and centre corbels are intact on the north elevation, the west corbel of the south elevation has been cut flush with the wall and the remaining examples have damage to their upper beds. Two identical mason's marks were recorded on the west corbel of the north elevation and east corbel of the south elevation, with a second example featuring on the centre corbel of the south elevation.

A staircase was inserted by Weir in the north-west corner and in the exposed masonry of the return it is possible to see the brick ledges that once supported the beams and joists of the first floor in this location (Figure 48). Above, the roof structure is an impressive survival of a type of late mediaeval crown post with collar purlin once common in Lincolnshire (Roberts 2018, 68-70) (Figure 49). The structure is divided into just two bays by a single roof truss which spans the room east-west. Two further trusses are located flush with the north and south elevations. The cranked tie beams are supported by severed posts rebated into the brick masonry with knee-bracing. The principal rafters are conjoined with single pegs and what is assumed to be bridle scarf joints. The crown posts themselves are plain and unadorned. They are supported by curved down-braces morticed into the tie beams and, in turn, upward bracing from the crown post supports the north-south collar purlin. Above, a secondary collar is jointed directly into the principal rafters. The posts and braces, tie beams, downward braces and crown-posts are all chamfered. The most northerly common rafter on the west pitch is pegged

to the lower section of the adjacent common rafter to the south and a similar arrangement occurs on the east pitch. This helps to fill in the irregular angle created by the trapezoidal building. The carpenter's marks indicate that the timbers have remained in situ with the jointing of the southern truss marked up I and the central truss II. The roof, whilst unique in its survival at Tattershall, is utilitarian and was a common type throughout the east and north of England in the late mediaeval period. Timbers from the roof have a felling date range which matches that of the floor frame: 1446-51 (Arnold & Howard 2017). This discovery post-dates the latest of the building accounts, 1445-46, which deals with the construction of the castle (Simpson 1960, 74-77) and may be indicative of the closing period of Cromwell's building project at Tattershall (Chapter 4.1). Other similar surviving examples can be noted at the Merchant Adventurer's Hall, York dated 1358-60 (Walker 2011, 118-19) St Mary's Guildhall, Boston dated 1392 (Giles & Clark 2011, 226-56) and 111 Walmgate, York (Walker 2011, 24).

### 3.4.4  Tower and Curtain Wall

Approximately 2.6 metres to the south of the '"Guardhouse"' are the excavated remains of another brick structure measuring 6.3 by 4.46 metres internally, with a solid block of projecting masonry to the east and a smaller structure in the south-east angle with the curtain wall to the south (Figure 50). Although the eastern portion of this building, which stretched onto the slope of the Outer Moat, is no longer visible above the ground it is clearly shown on Weir's plan of the site (Munby 2008, 131). This was interpreted by A. H. Thompson (1928, 14; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 169) as two adjacent towers. However, it seems more reasonable to translate the plan as the ground floor of a single tower with a stair or garderobe turret to the south-east. The projecting mass to the east looks to be the foundations of a chimney breast, which is given some credence by the recorded internal projections which may represent the location of a chimneypiece. To the south, the brick curtain wall can be traced as a truncated standing feature another 21.9 metres along the western edge of the Outer Moat.

## 3.5 Inner Ward

### 3.5.1 Inner Gate

The Inner Ward is approached across an early twentieth-century bridge spanning the north-east corner of the Inner Moat (Figure 60). This seems to have consistently been the crossing point since the construction of the thirteenth-century castle (Chapter 2.4). Weir noted that a stone drawbridge abutment was discovered in the moat directly to the south-west of the fifteenth-century brick moat revetment (Figure 15). This was probably part of the gatehouse complex which was repaired c 1410 when the castle was still under the ownership of Ralph Cromwell's grandmother Maud de Bernack (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 32, 207). The abutment was then retained during Cromwell's reorganisation of the site and was clad in brick. The masonry revetment, constructed above, was duly fitted with three slots to take the bridge beams which rested on stone corbels (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 191, 207). This is the only extant archaeological remains of the Inner Gate's architecture. Although Willson (Figure 25) confirms that a slender tower was standing in the approximate location of the Inner Gate during the later eighteenth century, most of what we know about the structure comes from Buck's 1726 illustration (Figure 51).

Buck shows the building, as seen from the east, to have been a rather stark, windowless, tower with twin octagonal corner turrets featuring cross-shaped loops, a central portal containing a raised portcullis and a string course that does not extend to the flanking turrets. The latter is a reversal of the string course running beneath the third floor of the Great Tower which features on the turrets only and does not run across the principle show front (Chapter 5.8). The lack of windows between the flanking turrets may have been an architectural concession related to the mechanism for lowering a drawbridge.

The precise nature of the building materials has been the subject of debate; Curzon and Tipping were emphatic that Buck depicted stonework; whereas their architectural advisor, A. H. Thompson, concluded that it was impossible to be certain whether it was brick or stone (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 71, 170). Overall, there is a wider sense of uncertainty over the Inner Gate within the 1929 publication. It was stated that only the principal north-east elevation of the building was depicted (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 70), yet Buck also illustrated the south-west and north-west elevations (they are shown projecting above the north-east elevation). There is a further possibility that Buck represented the remains of a stair turret in the south-west angle. If this is the case, then the structure may have been built in a variant of the Tonbridge-style gatehouse which originated in the mid-thirteenth century. Such gatehouses are characterised by projecting towers flanking a portal, with stacked chambers above that were accessed from newels contained in small turrets to the rear (Guy 2011, 137).

Surprisingly, no previous commentator has noted the presence of two armorials directly below the wall-top on Buck's drawing. Matthew Johnson (2002, 61) speculated that, as Cromwell's surviving Inner Gate at Wingfield Manor (Emery 1985, 288) (Figure 52) included such features, the lost Tattershall gatehouses might have included such features. Closer examination of the Buck drawing has proved this point.

Despite these apparent oversights, Thompson seems to have been broadly accurate when he discussed the similarities of the design with other late mediaeval gatehouses at Maxstoke, Warwickshire; Alnwick, Bothal and Warkworth (the latter three all in Northumberland) (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 169-70). To this we might add the stone gatehouse built with polygonal corner towers at Boarstall, Buckinghamshire (c 1312-14) and the later brick gatehouses (which may have taken direct influence from Tattershall) at Hertford Castle, Hertfordshire (1460s); Kirby Muxloe Castle, Leicestershire (1480-83) and Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk (1480s) (Figure 53 & Figure 54).

### 3.5.2  The Ward

The Inner Ward, beyond the lost gatehouse, is now largely an empty space - apart from the dominating presence of the Great Tower which projects out into the Inner Moat to the north-west (Figure 2). The enclosure probably represents the extent of the thirteenth-century castle, (Chapter 2.4). It is clear from stray references in the documentary record, the Buck illustration and archaeological work that the ward once contained several lost buildings (Figure 6). Their clearance from the site will be covered in Chapter 9.4.

The ward no longer has a curtain wall and views into and out of the island are therefore unimpeded. We have already seen the evidence for Tattershall having been a lightly defended enclosure castle, of the 1230s, which was probably modelled on the much more massive Bolingbroke (Chapter 2.5). Given that Cromwell ordered the construction of a substantial Inner Gatehouse which incorporated elements of the older castle and kept two thirteenth-century towers as structures flanking the Great Tower, it seems highly likely that a curtain wall was also retained although only a fragment to the north-east of the northern tower remains in situ (Figure 13). Given the insubstantial archaeology, Curzon and Tipping (1929, 68-9) rather dodged the issue, as did Anthony Emery (2000, 310), although both A. H. Thompson (1928, 15) and more recently Julian Munby (2008, 139-40) were certain that the Inner Ward featured a complete curtain wall in the fifteenth century. A short stretch of this wall may have been represented by Buck, adjacent to the south side of the moat and behind the remains of the chapel (Figure 56). Whether the proposed circuit was the intact thirteenth-century stone structure or if it was remodelled in brick (or stone) under Cromwell would require further archaeological fieldwork.

Weir noted that 'the whole of the inner ward has been carefully trenched in search of any foundations of the buildings which appear in Buck's drawing, but no trace has been found with the exception of the kitchen buildings' (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 186). This rather bleak assessment must be taken with a pinch of salt. Despite the pioneering work of Pitt-Rivers in the late nineteenth century, British archaeology in the early twentieth century was largely concerned with hunting for masonry walls and the nuances of stratigraphy were mostly overlooked (Barker 1993, 36-7). Unfortunately, as Weir did not leave behind a detailed record, we cannot be certain of exactly where his interventions were located, but he is unlikely to have excavated the total area and would have missed any 'soft' archaeological features. More recent fieldwork has shown the potential for a reasonably significant survival of archaeological data. Two geophysical surveys of the Inner Ward were carried out 2009 and showed the possible survival of in situ building foundations in the north-west corner, extreme south-eastern sector and potentially on the location of the hall, services, and kitchens. Additionally, potential paved pathways were identified as well as a possible water-tank (Hibbitt & Allen 2009a, 5-6; Hibbitt & Allen 2009b, 5). In 2011 came the opportunity to further understand the below-ground archaeology when Archaeological Project Services were invited to sink 5 small trenches into the centre of the enclosure as part of a mitigation scheme in advance of the erection of marquees on the site. Although the interventions went no deeper than 1 metre in depth, it was found that both mediaeval and post-mediaeval stratigraphic levels were encountered in situ and, in two of the trenches, there were sections of truncated wall foundations (Cope-Faulkner 2011, 3-5). It is not currently possible to make significant statements about which structures the findings might relate to, given the keyhole nature of the excavations, but there is potential for understanding the ground plan of the Inner Ward during future research projects carried out under appropriate curatorship. By using a combination of historic illustrations, documentary archives and archaeological data we can make observations on a number of structures known to have stood within the enclosure.

### 3.5.3  Chapel

The chapel of St Nicholas is known to have existed by the late thirteenth century and was mentioned in various documents throughout the fourteenth century: notably in 1396 there is a reference to 'the chantry of the chapel of St Nicholas' (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 71-2). Although Curzon and Tipping interpreted this foundation in the conventional sense of a building intended for a priest saying masses for the souls of the dead (as definitely happened at Leeds Castle, for example), G. H. Cook (1947, 43) pointed out that chantries at castles, including Alnwick (Northumberland) and Farleigh Hungerford (Somerset), were often administrative foundations intended to provide a living for the castle chaplain rather than physical structures.

Buck depicted the fragmentary remains of the chapel in the left foreground of his 1726 illustration (Figure 56). At the extreme left of the image is a block of masonry which probably represents part of the south wall, punctured by a truncated window embrasure with an internal string course below. Opposite this is a section of the north wall with a very thick rubble core. Projecting to the north is an impressive and highly elaborate block with projecting step-buttresses, blind Y-tracery on two elevations at ground level and two tracery windows in the north and east elevations. M. W. Thompson (1974, 9) thought that the tracery was of fifteenth-century date, whereas Curzon & Tipping (1929, 72) believed it was like that of the great hall at Wingfield Manor and may have been the work of the same mason. A note of caution ought to be introduced here. Firstly, in the Buck illustration, the tracery of the Great Tower (Figure 6) bears very little similarity to the in-situ stonework and so we may be looking at an impression rather than reality. Secondly, the apparent detail of the windows – two cusped lights supporting possible mouchettes with a quatrefoil at the apex - is characteristic of the Falchion Style of Curvilinear Decorated period of the earlier fourteenth century (Hart 2010, 91-6). Although it is acknowledged that Cromwell patronised anachronistic architecture (Chapter 6.3.2), the window arch seems more comfortably Decorated than it does Perpendicular – so we may just be looking at in situ fourteenth-century work. Julian Munby summed up the confusion created by this highly decorative projecting feature when he wrote: 'Whether this was the chapel or, as has been suggested, merely a transept or chantry added to the side of the main chapel cannot now be known' (Munby 2008, 144).

The location of the chapel is unusual - it protrudes into the Inner Ward at the low end of the hall. Buck's illustration is confirmed by Millicent, who drew two arches partially shown to the south of the Great Tower (Figure 56 & Figure 25). It is also possible that a structure shown to the north of the tower on the Willson print may be the south elevation of the chapel with the possibility that the rather skewed perspective of this drawing depicts the south door, a ground floor window and a clerestory window. Normally, late mediaeval chapels were accessed, at first floor level, from the chamber block off the high end of the hall (Rawlinson 2011, 182; Wood 1965, 230, 235). Another anomalous location for a fourteenth-century chapel can be found at Maxstoke (Warwickshire) where it is found in line between the lower end of the hall and kitchen. Tattershall appears to be a variant of this as it stands perpendicular to the junction between hall and services (Chapters 3.5.4 and 3.5.5).

### 3.5.4  Services and Western Gatehouse

To the west of the chapel, and south of the Great Tower, are the low brick foundations of what has been traditionally presented as the kitchens (Avery 1997, 8; Thompson 1974, 9; Thompson 1928, 16) (Figure 57). There are two references to the kitchens in the building accounts which mention the construction of two galleries and chimneys in close association

with the services in 1439-40 and repairs to the chimneys and bakehouse hearth in 1472 (Simpson 1960, 73, 78). The archaeological remains consist of structures which project westwards into the Outer Moat. To the south is a block measuring approximately 9.5 by 8 metres which contains a circular, stone-lined, well in the north-west corner. On excavation the well was found to contain the remains of an oak pumping mechanism (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 206). A drain is located immediately to the south of this block. Attached to the north of the block is a smaller, secondary feature which contained a garderobe drain (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 206). To the north is another block projecting approximately 6 by 4.5 metres into the moat. Evaluation excavations adjacent to these walls confirmed that the masonry is in situ fifteenth-century work but confirmed that the surrounding earth had been intensively disturbed during the post-mediaeval and modern periods (Parker 2005, 7-8).

Reference to both the Buck and Millicent illustrations seem to offer corroborative data which fit the archaeology as found. Millicent, who viewed the site from the west, showed a block on the south-western corner of the Inner Ward (Figure 30). It was at least three storeys in height with square-headed windows in the west elevation and a crenellated polygonal turret in the north-east corner. The secondary block (which contained the garderobe drain) is then shown with two tiers of cross-shaped loops in the west elevation and another rectangular opening in its north elevation. Most interesting of all is what is apparently a gatehouse tower to the north. This contains a gate portal with a small rectangular loop over and three projecting machicolations. A square-headed window with a hood mould above the crown of the arch indicates the presence of an upper chamber. These features are framed within an arched recess and the overall impression has similarities with elements of gates at Saltwood (Kent), Monmouth (Monmouthshire) and Bodiam (East Sussex). Directly opposite the gatehouse are two rectangular recesses within the masonry of the Inner Moat retaining wall which almost certainly once housed supports for an associated drawbridge. To the north of the gatehouse, Millicent then drew a rather amorphous mass of masonry, incorporating a possible window reveal, which probably represents the remains of the southern flanking stone tower of thirteenth-century date.

Buck, viewing the site from the east, depicted what appears to be the east elevation of Millicent's south-western tower (Figure 56). This view shows two arched openings in the east elevation of which were interpreted by Munby as great kitchen fireplaces (Munby 2008, 141). Above is a possible stone ledge with a door or window to the south. If the ground floor arches really were those of fireplaces, then the kitchens may have been located further to the east, on land more firmly sited upon the enclosure of the Inner Ward, rather than within the adjacent projecting structures of the south-western block and gatehouse.

Further analysis of the Buck drawing gives some credence to this theory. The south-western block is presented as a stack of chambers reached by a projecting stair turret. The height required by a great mediaeval kitchen to allow the emission of heat and steam does not seem present in the arrangement of windows. As a result, we may be looking at a residential chamber tower, with attached garderobe turret, located beyond a kitchen block. This would be a similar arrangement to Bodiam – which also contains a well (Cohen, Wright & Champion 2016). If this is the case, then it would push the location of the services further to the east – comfortably within the enclosure of the Inner Ward and in line with the great hall. Such a configuration would also place them much closer to the rectangular block, shown by Buck, immediately to the west of the chapel and south of the hall. This was interpreted by Munby as being part of the north wall of the chapel (Munby 2008, 144) based on what were two arched windows in the north elevation. These openings reach fully down to ground level and were probably a pair of doors. Although the perspective of the Buck drawing is rather skewed, the shading of the shadow cast by this block does seem to indicate that the building is in line with the hall range. Consequently, it is considered possible that Buck drew two doors of the screens passage at the lower end of the great hall. The services which provided sustenance for the diners in the great hall would therefore be located further to the south. However, in the remodelled castle of the mid-fifteenth century it seems as if a second service range was added specifically to supply the Great Tower. This arrangement would make the new services an integral adjunct of the Great Tower as they could be reached directly from the blocked doorway in the stair turret (Chapter 5.2) (Marshall 2020, 266). Such a configuration would have been similar, albeit not identical to Anthony Emery's interpretation of the organisation of the tower, hall, water gate and kitchens at Caister (Emery 2000, 57). The addition of services for the Great Tower which were ultimately separate to the pre-existing suite which distributed to the older great hall is a novel arrangement. The provision of kitchens dedicated to specific household groupings was not unknown from very high-status residences such as the royal palace at Kings Clipstone (Nottinghamshire). Here no less than three separate kitchens served private chambers for the king and queen as well as the household assembled in the great hall (Wright 2016a, 102-03). Multiple kitchens were also present to serve the king separate from his household at Clarendon Palace (Wiltshire) (James & Gerrard 2007, 77). At the baronial level a kitchen was also provided for the earl of Northumberland in the great tower of Warkworth that was entirely separate to the one serving the great hall (Goodall 2006, 7, 25).

### 3.5.5  Great Hall and Solar

The former buildings which were directly interconnected with the Great Tower (and have left scars in the masonry of the latter) will be considered in Chapter 4.6. It will suffice to say here that there is evidence for a two-storey corridor, with a spiral stair at its north end, which stood

immediately to the east of the Great Tower. To the east of this corridor was the great hall and solar block. Nothing is known about these buildings archaeologically, beyond the potential survivals noted in the 2009 geophysical survey (Hibbitt & Allen 2009a, 5-6). As with most of the lost buildings at Tattershall, evidence for their form comes from the Buck illustration (Figure 58). Three bays of the east and west elevations of the hall are depicted with the wall-tops shown at a consistent height just above the windows – this may reflect the original eaves level. There are two arched windows, with three lights in each, in the east elevation and three to the west. The windows were located high in the elevations to provide an internal venue for panelling, paintings, or tapestries on the walls below them. Whilst it is again acknowledged that Buck may have inaccurately drawn the window tracery of the great hall, the illustration does seem to show a simple three-light form of mid to late thirteenth-century Geometric Decorated Gothic like those of the halls at Stokesay or Ludlow (Shropshire). It is anticipated that there may have been a further bay containing another pair of windows at the low of the hall which stood to the north of the missing east-west doorways into the screens passage. The northern bay of the east elevation is taken up by an impressive polygonal bay window which denoted the high end of the great hall. It featured two tiers of tracery separated by transoms. Whilst the bay is reminiscent of Cromwell's window at the high end of the hall at Wingfield Manor (Figure 59), Buck's illustration shows that the execution at Tattershall may have been even more refined and spectacular. The use of high-end projecting bays was in relative infancy when employed at Wingfield and Tattershall but became popular throughout the second half of the fifteenth century at sites including Crosby Hall (Middlesex), Eltham Palace (Kent) and Gainsborough Old Hall (Lincolnshire) (Wood 1965, 60).

One of the first jobs required of Cromwell's builders was to repurpose the great hall. Thus, we see in the earliest surviving year of the building accounts (1434-5) references to the repair of a chimney (probably a louvre above an open fire) and insertion of window glass, incorporating armorials, on the west side of the hall (Simpson 1960, 47, 49; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 65). A. H. Thompson speculated that the window glass may have been ordered specifically for use in the new bay window (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 171). It is generally accepted that the hall shown by Buck is representative of this pre-existing structure which was co-opted into Cromwell's fifteenth century re-organising of the castle (Avery 1997, 8; Thompson 1974, 9; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 65, 171; Thompson 1928, 5). The awkward juxtaposition of the Great Tower, corridor and hall may also be evidence for this. The prior existence of the hall forcing the builders to push the new tower out into the moat - although this may have been a desired outcome which ensured that the walls of the Great Tower plummeted directly into the moat to create a fine reflection (Marshall 2020, 266).

As would be expected, the high end of the great hall allowed direct intercommunication with a solar block (Emery 2007, 30). By the mid-fifteenth century the Great Tower fulfilled the function of a private solar tower, but a pre-existing suite was present to the north of the great hall. This block is known from the building accounts which refer to works on the panelling (or ceiling) and glazing of the parlour above the chamber (Simpson 1960, 47, 49). As with the physically absent private quarters at Wingfield (which may never have been constructed), the Buck drawing is also missing the chambers that were contemporary with the hall at Tattershall (Emery 1985, 291-2). What Buck depicted was the eastern, crow-stepped, gable of a post-mediaeval elevation (Chapter 9.3). The building is shown as being four storeys in height – probably a half-basement supporting three upper floors which are designated by projecting string courses and mullioned windows that are longer than they are high – possibly dating to the later sixteenth or seventeenth century (Hall 2005, 72-4) (Figure 58). The crow-stepped gable is also redolent of this period of architecture and was a feature deeply influenced by the trading links between the eastern counties of England and the Germanic diaspora – a particularly salient example survives at the sixteenth-century Hanseatic Salzspeicher at Lübeck (Schleswig-Holstein).

## 3.6 Gardens (known as the "Tiltyard")

To the south of the Inner Ward and collegiate church lies a broadly rectangular area of land, approximately 0.82 hectares (2 acres) in size known as the "Tiltyard" (Figure 60). It is enclosed within masonry walls built from handmade bricks, set in English bond, of dimensions in keeping with those of the castle structures (105-120mm breadth by 48-53mm thick by 230mm length with four courses at 255-265mm). Midway along the southern wall of the enclosure is a narrow rectangular projection which has a gap at its eastern end that may have contained a small gate allowing further access to the fishponds and River Bain beyond (Figure 2). The masonry of the enclosure has much evidence of remodelling including sections of the south wall which have plinths located 0.45, 0.78 or 1.2 metres above ground level as well as a clear straight joint to the east of the possible gate. This space had direct intercommunication with the Inner Ward via a bridge supported on a rectangular pier, located midway across the moat, and linking to three stone corbels let into the masonry of the outer wall of the Inner Moat (Munby 2008, 137; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 151, 180, 207) (Figure 14). It is presumed that this must have once been controlled by a gatehouse.

In the mid-nineteenth century a descriptive account of the area was made by Nicholson (1842, 10) which gives us further clues as to the status of the area. He noted the access was probably via a bridge from the southern side of the Inner Ward and that the entire enclosure was still traceable as a complete circuit. Intriguingly, he noted two internal walls, standing five feet high, which subdivided the area into three terraced plots. These walls may have been identified by

geophysical survey and ran north from the sides of the rectangular projection in the south wall (Johnson 1997, 5) (Figure 61). Other surveys concluded that the features may relate to ditches or ridge and furrow (Evershed 2015, 5; Hibbitt & Allen 2009a, 12). Evaluation by Allen Archaeology (Johnson 2015, 8-9) noted the presence of a north-south brick wall, with fabric congruent with the fifteenth century, on the orientation of the eastern anomaly detected by geophysics. The excavators concluded that shallow linear features discovered during the project 'may be contemporary features with the castle, possibly indicating an area of formal gardens just outside the castle moat' (Johnson 2015, 13). Nicholson's most important observation was that the southern wall of this enclosure contained doorways which had armorial carvings of Cromwell, Tateshale and Deincourt – which probably points towards a fifteenth-century date of construction for the putative gardens (Munby 2008, 120).

Although Nicholson concluded that the area was probably a garden, Curzon and Tipping (1929, 72) inserted the notion that it may have been a tiltyard – an enclosed area set aside for jousting and tourneying. David Crouch (2005, 51), a historian of mediaeval tournaments, has stated that: 'In the great days of the tournament, the knights did not confine themselves to roped off enclosures. They roamed the landscape like armies at war.' Everson and Stocker (2003, 149) favour a notion that the enclosure could be a post-mediaeval tiltyard created for Charles Brandon (Chapter 9.2). Such features are extremely rare, with physically demarcated examples known only from the early modern period at Kenilworth, Greenwich, Hampton Court Palace, Richmond, Westminster and Whitehall (Morris 2015, 3; Young 1987, 103-22). Yet Nicholson's suggestion that the enclosure was a mediaeval garden seems far more likely. His observation of in situ Cromwellian armorials offers a possible date of construction. Additionally, contemporary archival evidence contained within the court deposition of John Stanes, taken in the mid-1450s, seems to support the existence of an outer enclosure in the mediaeval period. Stanes related that he had approached the castle from Dogdyke, to the south, and witnessed: 'my lord [Cromwell] walked he had with hym xxxti or xl persones iacked and their bowes shoting as they went…at þe litill postern gate withoute þe brugge and fro thens he went to the hart garth' (Virgoe 1973, 481). Essentially, this is the confession of a henchman of one of Cromwell's most implacable enemies, William Tailboys (Chapter 6.2), in which he described creeping up to Tattershall from the south and spying on Cromwell, with a large group of retainers, exiting the castle across a southern bridge, departing through a postern gate and then entering a deer park. The postern referred to may be the entrance still visible in the masonry of the southern wall of this outer enclosure. Such extra mural enclosures, with a postern, accessed via a private bridge can be paralleled at Kennington, Greater London, in the 1380s (Creighton 2009, 59)

The archaeological understanding of gardens at elite sites in the mediaeval period is still a developing subject and far more is known from royal palaces than from aristocratic castles. Survey work at Marlborough, Woodstock, Westminster, Windsor, Clipstone and Clarendon has pointed towards the presence of enclosed spaces immediately adjacent to the occupied built environment. Gardens provided both a practical function in their production of herbs for cooking and medicine alongside fruits for consumption; but there was also a very important conceptual element which saw them used as venues for private elite rituals (Creighton 2009, 46). There seems to have been a particular relationship between gardens and the most high-status areas of residences to ensure inter-visibility. Evidence of this can be found in the royal building accounts for the construction of viewing balconies overlooking gardens at the royal suites at Clarendon in 1244 and Woodstock in 1354 (James & Gerrard 2007, 71-3; Steane 1993, 117-18). The intention was so that complex patterns of geometrical planting schemes could be appreciated in their entirety with a birds-eye view (Creighton 2009, 59). At Tattershall the dominating presence of the Great Tower ensured that views down into the southern enclosure would have been guaranteed. Within the garden, the terraced subdivisions recorded by Nicholson may have enabled the creation of micro-climates suitable for introducing exotic garden plants and vineyards which could be grown alongside areas set aside for other fruit trees, orchards and grass lawns (Creighton 2009, 45 73-77; Steane 1993, 118; James 1990, 84). Christopher Dyer (2000, 114) has pointed out that such lordly gardens tended to be around two acres in size - Tattershall is exactly this area in dimension. Meanwhile, Creighton (2009, 53-3, 58) states that even the act of enclosing such large spaces with expensive boundary walls proved to be yet another marker of status and provides parallels for the use of brick garden walls in works for Margaret of Anjou at Sheen and Greenwich.

The north to south, horizontal, sequence of enclosures at Tattershall are entirely typical of mediaeval landscape organisation. To the north was the castle, with the gardens to the south, beyond were the coneygarth and fishponds and finally the assemblage was framed by the River Bain (Chapter 8.2) (Figure 4). In this way the landscape management became notionally wilder the further away one looked or moved from the built environment. This was a greatly desired aesthetic during the period, as also noted in the early fifteenth century at Sheriff Hutton in North Yorkshire (Creighton 2009, 47, 71).

## 3.7 Conclusions

The layout of the wards at Tattershall indicates a very developed landscape which was designed with the express purpose of over-awing the visitor to the castle. To access the site, one needed to pass over the Outer Moat across a bridge to the towered Outer Gate. This external portal was directly overlooked by the much larger, dominating presence of the north elevation of the Great Tower. Assuming that access was granted, the visitor could then turn

to the east where they would be presented by yet another bridge and towered gatehouse controlling the route into the Middle Ward. The L-shaped structure of the Middle Ward would help to heighten the drama as to access the Inner Gate, the visitor would make a sharp turn to the south which would then reveal the full power of Tattershall. Standing at the north-eastern abutment of the Inner Moat bridge, the view would consist of a wide, brick-revetted watercourse that would have reflected the stone walls and towers of the thirteenth-century castle – a reminder of the antiquity of the lordship. Directly ahead was the Inner Gate, with its flanking turrets and armorial carvings, again a reminder of Cromwell's ancient power. Rising above all was the Great Tower featuring anachronistic window tracery, machicolations and crenellations – yet more symbols of lordly prestige (Chapters 4.4, 4.7, 5.7, 6.3.2 and 6.3.3). Those deemed worthy enough to pass through this third gate would then find the chapel, services, great hall and solar laid out in the Inner Ward with a backdrop of more towers ranked behind – a presumed tower over the southern gate to the gardens, the south-western tower, western gatehouse and two thirteenth-century towers flanking the 33.5 metre high Great Tower. To even access the tower required yet more spatial choices – negotiating the screens passage and coming into the corridor beyond which presented the visitor with a further three doors (Chapters 4.6 and 5).

This circuitous route can be paralleled in other late mediaeval castles such as Caister (Emery 2000, 56-61), Bodiam and Kenilworth (Johnson 2017, 17-8; Creighton 2002, 75-79; Johnson 2002, 24-6, 136-40). Johnson (2002, 47, 83) posits that such peregrinations may have brought to mind the processions enacted within ecclesiastical buildings (Chapter 6.3.1) whereas the use of water-filled moats 'simultaneously displays the castle but denies access to lower social orders unable to gain admission to the castle.' The lengthy journey through the castle wards would have also been an ideal opportunity to impress the visitor with the sheer accomplishment and expense of engineering and architectural organisation necessary to transform a landscape dominated by the ever-present Great Tower. The multitude of lodging ranges would also have alerted the viewer to the size, prestige and status of Cromwell's household – noted by William of Worcester to have numbered 100 horsemen (Harvey 1969, 72).

The impact of a proliferation of towers – that ancient symbol of lordship – can be hard to discern in the modern era as so much of Tattershall's built environment has been reduced (Chapters 9.3 and 9.4). Alongside the three principal gatehouses, which progressed the visitor through Outer, Middle and Inner Ward, there were also a further two entrances. The southern gate must have been an elite-only route from the Inner Ward to the gardens and riverside environment beyond. A reference from the 1450s specifically mentions Cromwell and his inner circle using this route to go hunting with crossbows (Chapter 8.2; Virgoe 1973, 481). The

status of the western gatehouse, depicted by Millicent, was perhaps more varied. It could have acted as a service entrance allowing direct communication between the Outer Ward and the kitchens, thus avoiding the circuitous procession demanded of visitors. In this respect it would have functioned in a similar manner to the southern gate at Bodiam (Marshall 2020, 267). Secondly, the western gate could have acted as a discreet entrance for Cromwell himself to access the Great Tower without having to circumnavigate the wards. It is to the Great Tower that we shall now turn for the next two chapters.

# 4 The Exterior of the Great Tower

## 4.1 Introduction: The Dating of the Great Tower

The Great Tower at Tattershall is the dominant feature of the castle (Figure 62). Even within the contemporary mediaeval experience, when the site was filled with a greater density of buildings, the tower would have acted as the architectural focus of the entire complex. The structure functioned as a residential and ceremonial solar tower with attached great hall and services. It was intended to overawe the visitor and confirm the high status of Ralph Lord Cromwell.

The precise dates of construction are not fully apparent. Only one clear documentary reference to the tower survives within the building accounts – an estimate that 322,000 bricks 'will be used in the great tower called le Dongeon' in 1445-46 (Simpson 1960, 76). It is not apparent how advanced the construction was at this point but there is no evident reference to the Great Tower made in the surviving accounts for 1434-35, 1438-39 or 1439-40. This spurred on John Harvey (1978, 183), Anthony Emery (1985, 321; 2000, 310-11) and Matthew Johnson (2002, 59) to suggest a construction period of c 1445-55. Emery postulated that the tower was a late addition to the design scheme of the castle – essentially an afterthought which explains why it had to be located to the west of the Inner Ward on a site pushed out into the Inner Moat. He went on to state that the catalyst to add the tower was the death of Cromwell's friend and neighbour Walter Tailboys, who had a solar tower 6 miles away at South Kyme and Cromwell would have been unlikely to want to offend Tailboys by building a much larger intervisible tower. However, Marshall (2020, 265) has pointed out that 'the impression of Ralph Lord Cromwell's character from the testimony of his contemporaries and his own actions and legacy hardly suggests one who would let sensitivity towards a neighbour's feelings have any great impact on his decision-making' (see Chapter 6 for more on Cromwell's character). Marshall (2020, 265-66, 270) has also made the case for the Great Tower having always been part of the design scheme for the castle. She points out that there was literally no other logical location for the Great Tower that would not have compromised its architectural effect on the Inner Ward and that it was framed by and created a backdrop for the pre-existing structures of the Inner Ward. The decision to push the Great Tower out into the moat may also have been a deliberate choice so that its walls plunged directly into the water to create an attractive reflection as at many other late mediaeval sites including Bodiam and Raglan.

Alongside Curzon and Tipping (1929, 68) and M. W. Thompson (1974, 15), Marshall (2020, 265) also favours an earlier date of construction for the Great Tower. Recent tree-ring dating may help to provide circumstantial evidence for a date in the 1430s. Three ex situ timbers, now housed within the basement south-west turret of the Great Tower, were sampled by the

Nottingham Tree-ring Dating Laboratory (Figure 63). Although we cannot be certain of their origins, Mansel-Sympson (1910, 40) confirmed that four beams of the tower floor frame were still in situ within the Great Tower in 1910. Meanwhile, Weir noted that bridging beams from the second and third floors were still in situ '*within recent years… only a few portions were found lying on the ground floor when the work of repair was undertaken*' (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 187). The three timbers in the National Trust collection appear to be congruent in size with the bridging beams inserted by Weir and that it is possible, albeit not definite, that they could have been removed from Great Tower. One of the timbers yielded a felling date range of 1406-31 (Alcock & Tyers 2020, 129). This is tantalising. If it came from the Great Tower, then it may indicate that it was felled as part of the construction project prior to the earliest of the surviving building accounts. It is clear that the period 1434-35 was not the first season of work at Tattershall as the account by Thomas Croxby refers to 'a surplus in the last account' (Simpson 1960, 41). The preference for mediaeval carpenters was to fell the timber in the winter and convert it whilst still green in the spring otherwise the wood was liable to twist and become very difficult to work as it seasoned (Grenville 1999, 13; Brunskill 1985, 28). The fact that the latest year in the felling date range is 1431 coupled to the known mediaeval carpentry practices may be indicative that the construction project at Tattershall was well-advanced several years prior to the earliest surviving building account. The variables relating to the sampled timber may not be entirely conclusive, but there is a reasonably convincing case that the Great Tower was the product of the 1430s.

The wider range of construction at the castle can be tracked through reference to three sources: Cromwell's biography, building accounts and dendrochronology. The known facts of Ralph Cromwell's life point towards a significant social and political boost in the late 1420s and early 1430s which enabled the finance for construction (Chapter 6.2). The 1406-31 felling range of the possible Great Tower timber and the building accounts indicate that work was underway prior to 1434-35 (Alcock & Tyers 2020, 129; Simpson 1960, 41). The building accounts for 1445-46 and the felling date range of 1446-51 for the "Guardhouse" roof and floor frame indicate that work was still underway in the later 1440s (Arnold & Howard 2017; Simpson 1960, 74-77). Overall, we might suggest that the construction project at Tattershall Castle began in the early 1430s and lasted for perhaps two decades until the late 1440s, with the Great Tower as an integral feature that was potentially begun during the 1430s.

## 4.2  Building Materials

The Great Tower was primarily constructed from locally sourced red bricks fashioned from Kimmeridge clays (Simpson 1960, xiii). This *terra rossa* was primarily sourced from kilns established by Cromwell to the north of Boston and near Woodhall Spa at Edlington Moor (Simpson 1960, xxxi). These locations maximise the relatively scarce sources of clay in the

region, whilst still being near Tattershall (Edwards 1948, 80-99). The building accounts refer to tremendous quantities of bricks being brought to the site from Baldwin Brekeman's (sometimes referred to as Baldewyn Brekmaker or Baldwin Docheman) kilns at Edlington Moor (Simpson 1960, 46, 56, 73), seven miles to the north, and from John Chamberleyne's kilns at Boston (Simpson 1960, 46, 60, 65, 75). These staggering figures include 500,000 from Edlington Moor in 1434-35 (Simpson 1960, 46) and 490,700 in 1438-39 (Simpson 1960, 60). The following year 182,000 were estimated to be needed to complete the moat revetment (Simpson 1960, 65). A total of 636,100 bricks were bought from Edlington and Boston in 1439-40 (Simpson 1960, 75) and 741, 600 from Edlington alone in 1445-46 (Simpson 1960, 76). Such largescale manufacture required investment in supporting industries such as a payment of £21 10s 2d to Foys Brekmaker for haulage in 1438-39 (Simpson 1960, 60) and the provision of 7480 faggots for fuelling the Edlington kilns in 1439-40 (Simpson 1960, 73).

During the first year of the building accounts – 1434-35 – the products created by the brick-masons were specified in two sizes 5 x 2 ½ x 10 inches (127 x 63.5 x 254mm) and 4 x 2 ¼ x 9 inches (101.6 x 57.15 x 228.6mm) (Simpson 1960, 56-57). Curiously, neither of these exact dimensions have been recorded at Tattershall – the nearest proportions may be found at Ralph Cromwell's hunting tower at Woodhall (Figure 64). Miscellaneous works were recorded at Woodhall in 1438-39 and the Tower on the Moor was specifically referred to in 1472 as providing a brick quarry for repairs at the castle (Simpson 1960, 61, 78). Overall, there does not seem to have been any uniformity in brick dimensions at the castle. Tolerances of up to 35mm seem to have been acceptable to the builders (adjacent brickwork in the exterior of the "Guardhouse" demonstrates various lengths spanning 205-240mm) and even the relatively important dimension of thickness – crucial for maintaining level coursing - was not standardised (adjacent brickwork in the Great Tower demonstrates various thicknesses from 49mm to 60mm).

A lackadaisical quality to late mediaeval and early modern brickwork can be noted across examples of related structures (Lloyd 1925, 89-90). Notably, the close contemporary structures to Tattershall at Queen's College Cambridge, dating to 1448-49, also show a diversity in brick thickness of 8mm (5/16 inch). Previously, Nathaniel Lloyd used the case study of brick sizes at Herstmonceux Castle to show how the variance in thickness spans 1¾ to 2⅝ inches (49-62mm) - figures which are eminently comparable to Tattershall (Lloyd 1925, 10). Jane Wight (1972, 28) has pointed out that a lack of standardisation was completely normal and 'no real tendency can be discerned'. Ronald Brunskill (1990, 37) noted a similar diversity, commenting that 'bricks of the fifteenth century are between 1⅞ [48mm] and 2¼ [58mm] ins thick'. Meanwhile, Goodall (2011, 349) stated that 'bricks could vary greatly in size'

but explained that proportionally it made structural sense that a brick was 'half as broad as long' to encourage solid bonds between stretchers and headers.

The overall pattern shows a preference towards relatively thin bricks during the late mediaeval period which was probably necessary to facilitate both the effective air drying of the bricks and efficient firing within the kilns (Brunskill 1990, 37). Lloyd theorised that mediaeval brick moulds greatly varied in size and time was not always taken by the brick-masons to completely fill them (Lloyd 1925, 11). Lloyd also pointed towards an early modern construction manual which specifically noted that the thickness of a brick would shrink and distort during kiln-firing (Leybourn 1685, 130). This lack of standardisation came with certain irritations to mediaeval authorities, which can be found in a ruling from the Quarter Sessions for Chelmsford, Essex, in 1425-6 that stipulated a stiff fine for bricks which did not keep to a specified format. Edward IV tried to standardise tiles in 1477 and a century later brick sizes were set at 9 x 4½ x 2 inches (Wight 1972, 28). It is apparent that no such regulations were employed at Tattershall – a factor that may well have been related to the sheer volume of bricks required from Baldwin Docheman and John Chamberleyne whose employees would have been hard pressed to keep up with demands on site.

The combined use of building materials in the construction of the Great Tower meant that Cromwell had a requirement for good quality stone – a product which Lincolnshire still has in abundance to this day. The Jurassic Belt of oolitic limestone sweeps up from Dorset via Somerset, the Cotswolds and Northamptonshire and through to the central portion of the county (Davey 1976, 20; Marshall 1946, 8-9). As the location of the brick kilns maximised the proximity of available estates for extraction, so Cromwell may have been able to utilise the resources from at least one of his Lincolnshire estates – Wilsford (near Ancaster) – to provide fine quality building stone for Tattershall. Simpson (1960, 44, n3) thought the manor one of Cromwell's possessions. However, Friedrichs does not list it in her catalogues of his properties either inherited or purchased (Friedrichs 1974, 179, 185, 196, 199). Regardless of ownership, the building accounts are clear that Wilsford was one source of stone for the castle. Limestone was also brought to the site in 1434-35 from Hesilburgh (which Simpson believed to be an adjunct to the Wilsford quarry), Skowpe (an unknown location) and from further afield at Ashby in Leicestershire (Simpson 1960, 44-5). Green sandstone was transported from Salmonby, on the Lincolnshire Wolds, 15 miles to the north-east of Tattershall. This was the stone which was used to construct the foundations of the Great Tower and to clad the plinth of the thirteenth-century towers (Chapter 2.4; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 66).

The cost of transporting stone often outweighed that of its extraction due to the unwieldy and weighty nature of the material – especially if the building site is at a distance from the quarry.

This can be seen in the Tattershall accounts where the total payment for all quarrying in 1434-35 comes to £5 6s 10d, whereas the carriage of the stone was given as £8 13s 9d for the Salmonby sandstone alone. The preferred method of transport was by water (Hislop 2012, 31; Gimpel 1983, 82, 87; Harvey 1973, 20-21) which would have been assisted by the local presence of the rivers Witham and Bain that would have been particularly useful for the stones from Salmonby and Wainfleet (via the port of Boston). Explicit mention of the purchase of boats for £8 13 s 4d was made during December 1434 'for the purposes of transport in connexion with the said work'. A man by the name of John Drawall and his team of boatmen were then paid £1 19s 4d for 'carrying in the same boats stone, bricks and other things needful for the said work' (Simpson 1960, 50). Further mention was later made in 1445-46 for the 'carriage of timber, faggots, stone and coal by water, £6 5s 11½d (Simpson 1960, 75). Where the transport of stone by water was either impossible or required additional road transport to and from the boats carters were employed for 'carrying stone, brick, sand and such like'. We are given the names of those men, in 1434-35, as John Bonour, Thomas Childe, Richard Baker and Richard Ermyt and the total cost of haulage was £10 7s 0d. The daily rate of the carters varied from as little as 4d up to 8d or 9d (Simpson 1960, 49).

The ordering of the building accounts for 1434-35 points towards the transport of either quarry blocks or roughly dressed stones rather than the finished products. The initial cost is first given for the purchase of stones. This is followed by a price for the carriage of stones from Salmonby before finally itemising the wages of the masons, which seems to indicate a chronological process in the operation. The presence of a mason's working drawing recorded as a graffito on the rear of the second floor lobby door arch (Figure 65) may be evidence that the builders were still working out the design for the tracery windows on site, which they would be unlikely to do if the stones were arriving from the quarry fully formed. The simple practicalities of transporting stone undamaged on rough roads would also discourage the practice.

Stone from Ancaster is still to be seen in abundance at Tattershall and was brought to site to be worked by men such as Peter Mason, John Mason, Robert Mason, John Boteler and his two servants, John Mason of Waynflet, Robert Mason of Yorkshire and Thomas Gemme at a cost of £14 1s 5d in 1434-35 (Simpson 1960, 45). The surnames of the craftsmen are mostly representative of their trade as was common practice in the late mediaeval period (Redmonds, King & Hey 2011, 127). Further examples of this practice can be seen in the building accounts through the names of workers such as John Kerver (i.e., carver), John Loksmyth, John Smyth, Ralph Smith, John Plommer, Walter Plummer, Richard Sawer and Mathew Dyker (Simpson 1960, 47, 48, 49).

The stone and brick are still tangible in the surviving architecture of Tattershall Castle. The manufacture, purchase and delivery of many other building materials are made apparent through analysis of the surviving building accounts (Simpson 1960, 41-78). Sand and quicklime were required for the mortar. Coal was brought in from Boston to fire the castle's lime kilns. Timber faggots to fuel the brick kilns at Edlington Moor are regularly mentioned and were sourced from Cromwell's nearby Lincolnshire estates (Thornton, Tumby, Stixwould, Kyme, Minting, Horsyngton, Bracken Wood and Highall Wood) as well as from further afield at Ellington in North Yorkshire. Charcoal was manufactured in Kirkby Wood. Timber was also sourced as a building material via imports through the port of Hull, from Cromwell's own woods at Branston and reused from houses at Revesby Abbey. Plaster for finishing the walls of the castle came from Gainsborough and Granby. Glazing was brought in from Boston. Unwrought iron, wrought iron and 'Spanish iron' was sourced through Coningsby and Boston. Local smiths then fashioned this iron into tools and nails in both the local village of Tattershall and nearby Coningsby.

## 4.3  Underlying Geometry

Although rarely considered in the study of secular mediaeval architecture, it has been possible to gain an understanding of the underlying geometry of the Great Tower. Notions of architectural proportion potentially entered western mediaeval principles through Leonardo of Pisa's reading of Abu Kamil's twelfth-century Arabic translations of Euclid's *Elements* (Livio 2008, 78; Schofield 1958, 85). Pacey (2007, 59-86) has shown physical evidence of the design process in the form of mason's drawings from the high mediaeval period at ecclesiastical sites such as Wells and there is some evidence for the use of the pentagram in the design of Amiens Cathedral (Somme, France) and Salisbury Cathedral (Wiltshire, England) (Bork 2011, 12, fn20). That the constructs of proportion were current in some mediaeval minds can be demonstrated by Thomas Aquinas' statement that 'a due proportion or harmony' was one of the three requirements for beauty (Aquinas 1845 edition, no page number). This was put into practical application during a dispute over designs for Milano Cathedral where the builders favoured 'non al quadrato, ma fino al triangolo' / 'not in the square, but up to the triangle' (Schofield 1958, 86). However, it is debatable whether proportion was a fundamentally important to practicing master builders on sites of the period. Drawing on the work of Walter Thomae, Paul Frankl and Konrad Hecht; the scholar Robert Bork has demonstrated that proportional theory was not in widespread practical usage in mediaeval Europe. Instead, Bork argues that the mathematical conventions of ratio or square root were an unintended side-product of the 'procedural conventions' of a simplified geometry reliant on the compass, straight edge and square (Bork 2011, 1-7).

Analysis of the Great Tower has shown that the master builders of Tattershall employed at least two standard mediaeval geometrical procedures. The geometry of the west elevation was found by consulting historic surveys of the building by Johnson (Munby 2014, 268-69) and Reed (1872) and measuring the width of the east and west elevations versus the vertical distance between the lowest plinth course and the top of the spirelets (i.e., the visible portion of the tower above the moat). The proportions of the rectangle, as found, could be constructed by drawing a six-petal rosette from which it is possible to then create an equilateral triangle, if the triangle is then bisected centrally the vertical and horizontal lines create two sides of a rectangle. This creates a rectangle with the proportions of 1:1.73 (Figure 66 & Figure 67). The same proportions can also be found, during the 1470s, in the layout of Green Court at Knole (Kent) and have been shown to be a relatively common mediaeval underlying system (Hislop 2012, 19-20).

The creation of a square could also be created using the six-petal rosette and at Tattershall the ground plan of the 17.5 x 23.69 metre tower was set out on a 3 x 4 grid of squares of 20 feet (5.9m) in dimension (Figure 68). Malcolm Hislop (2012, 20-21) has demonstrated that the ground plan of Lumley Castle (County Durham) was based on a grid of squares and the fourteenth-century tower at South Kyme has an internal footprint which is precisely 20 feet square (Emery 1985, 317). Furthermore, the western corner turrets at Tattershall are 5.9m squares which have been turned through $45^0$ to create octagons. This was again a common mediaeval practice and is seen in the thirteenth-century chapter houses of York, Salisbury (Wiltshire) and Wells (Somerset) and in the fourteenth-century lantern tower at Ely (Cambridgeshire). Octagonal details are also shown drawn in plan during the mid-thirteenth century by Villard de Honnecourt for the tower at Laon (Aisne, France) and the piers at Reims (Marne, France) (Bowie 1959, 88-89; 98-99). The master builders of Tattershall were not afraid to compromise on their idealised proportions and broke with the geometry in two areas. Firstly, the eastern turrets have been deliberately foreshortened by 0.14m off 5.9m on their east-west axis so that they are not true octagons. This decision was probably made to respect the pre-existing thirteenth-century towers and would have allowed for clear passage along the corridor between great hall and tower without encountering projecting impediments. Secondly, the "Parlour" is approximately 0.81m wider than the 5.9m basic square to give a dimension of 11.68 x 6.71 metres which has a ratio of 1:1.73 – which has a pleasing symmetry with the external elevations.

## 4.4　Window Tracery

The most perfectly formed aspect of the Great Tower at Tattershall is the west elevation (Figure 69). It is the only side of the building to present a near-symmetrical appearance, whereas the location of the fenestration on the remaining three elevations seems to relate more to the practicality of lighting the various internal spaces rather than presenting an external show front. Although there remains variance in the location of the windows in the north-west and south-west turrets, a strong overall symmetry is apparent in the positioning of the four pairs of windows lighting the principal chambers of the tower.

The west, north and (most of the) south elevations of the tower rise directly out of the moat (Figure 2). Today the moat is characterised by very shallow puddled water rather than as a continuous sheet of water, yet it is apparent that its depth was never great as the relatively impermeable green sandstone ashlar foundations can only be charted for a maximum of five courses before giving way to a plain chamfered Ancaster plinth. Directly above this plinth are two single light windows with stone drop arch surrounds which light the basement chambers in the north-west and south-west turrets (Figure 19). These are matched by similar arches, with Y-tracery, lighting the basement north and south elevations. The presence of these low-lying windows indicates that the moat must always have been shallow. Above this level two further stone plinths divide bands of brickwork set in English bond. The upper plinth course is double height and clearly marks a formal division in the architecture of the tower to divide the lower section associated with the moat and the more developed design above.

The eight tracery windows of Tattershall's west elevation are paired according to floor levels (Figure 69). The ground floor and third floor are identical as are the first and second floor examples. All sit within a stone hood mould framing four-centred arches with brick relieving arches above. The ground floor and third floor windows are subdivided into two principal lights by supermullions leading to subarcuation with a central cusped eyelet. The two lower lights have cinquefoil chamfer cusps. Above, are two pairs of smaller cinquefoil lights with cusped quartrefoils and the overall design is reminiscent of the fifteenth-century porch at Badwell Ash, Suffolk (Hart 2010, 124-25; Pevsner 1961, 71). In style the design of these windows is rather antiquated and redolent of the Decorated period of architecture. The implications of this will be discussed in Chapters 4.4 and 6.3.2.

The first and second floors are subdivided into two principal lights by a central through mullion. Hart considered this form to be rather rare in Perpendicular architecture as the through mullion rising to the apices creates a rather stark, undesirable, duality (Hart 2010, 124). The two lower lights have cinquefoil soffit cusping but above the crown of their arches is a transom which, in turn, supports the two pairs of smaller cinquefoil lights. The only significant difference between

the windows of the first and second floors is that the central spandrels of the upper lights of the second-floor windows remain uncusped.

The west front of Tattershall presents a show front intended to rise above the surrounding architecture of the outer ward to project the social importance of the patron using the medium of symmetry. The elevation overlooks the causewayed road from Tattershall Bridge to the south-west and may have been the principle means of reaching the castle for many high-status visitors via the River Witham from the port of Boston (Chapter 2.1). The alternative route from the north would have displayed Cromwell's landscape of lordship – abbey, deer park, hunting tower, planned town, marketplace, almshouses and church prior to reaching the outer gate of the castle (Chapter 8.2). Whichever option the traveller took messages of the Lord Treasurer's power were being made and the Great Tower dominated all approaches.

The windows of the east elevation (Figure 70) are of a much simpler form to those of the west elevation. There are understandably no tracery windows at ground floor level as they would have originally been enclosed within a corridor. Consequently, the only fenestration at this level is relatively small and functional: a single-light drop arch for the intra-mural chamber of the basement, and offset to the south, a plain square-headed light illuminating the room to the south of the "Parlour" entrance corridor. Both would have been dark spaces as the light they received was second hand via the corridor. Also receiving second hand light was the loop illuminating the "Parlour" garderobe passage via the upper floor of the great hall corridor (Chapters 4.6 and 5.4). The remaining window is another plain square-headed example lighting the east face of the north-east turret at ground floor level.

The windows of the first floor are noticeably asymmetrical. To the south is a two-light window with central through mullion and two cinquefoils. Offset to the north of the centre line is a square-headed window with central mullion, two trefoiled lower lights and four uncusped upper lights. Johnson's late eighteenth-century elevation drawings demonstrate this lack of cusping to be an original feature (Munby 2014, 268) and is the only such type in the Great Tower. The lack of cusping here is reminiscent of the entirety of the fenestration at the adjacent collegiate church and may have prefigured its design (Figure 71). Contemporary, uncusped domestic windows can also be found at Eton College and Ewelme Manor in the 1440s (Emery 2006, 95). This window may lie off centre in the external scheme but is perfectly symmetrical within the internal waiting chamber beyond the first floor lobby (Figure 3) (Chapter 5.5). It is the longitudinal presence of this internal chamber which seems to have caused the need for a very small square-headed single-light, with trefoil cusping, hard against the south elevation of the north-east turret. It was not possible to place the window through the thickness of the actual turret projection due to the presence of the pre-existing thirteenth-century tower to the

north-east. Therefore, the window on this side is sandwiched uncomfortably between the internal north wall of the lobby waiting room and the turret projection. Only the ground and first floor chambers of this turret are lit from the east as a fireplace and its chimney flue preclude fenestration on the subsequent floors.

The three windows of the second-floor match that of the first-floor lobby below and are all two-light designs with central through mullion and two cinquefoils. Similar examples can be found in the fourteenth-century chancel at Earl's Barton, Northamptonshire and the fifteenth-century clerestory at Little Casterton, Rutland (Hart 2010123-24; National Heritage List 1294226; National Heritage List 1361524); whilst the use of through mullions to the apices is reminiscent of the first and second floors at Tattershall. The inner arrangement of a five-bay vaulted corridor allows for both internal and external symmetry to be imposed. This symmetry and the identical nature of the windows with that of the first-floor lobby may indicate a deliberate signifier of two high status spaces intended to act as processionals en route from the staircase to the hall and chamber within (Chapter 5.6).

The third-floor windows return to the asymmetry of the first floor (Figure 74). Internally, the southern lobby window is stacked directly in line with the two windows below. The light in the adjoining space (to the north) is south of the external centre line so as to achieve an internal symmetry in the centre of the small room (Figure 3) (Chapter 5.7). The northern window is only marginally pulled to the south of the external centre line, yet the internal presence of a corridor (between the north-western turret chamber and possible strong room) does not allow the external symmetry to be maintained. An attempt has certainly been made, but the window is already uncomfortably located right in the north-eastern corner of this room and pulling it any further to the south would have heightened the external asymmetry.

The third-floor fenestration is enclosed within the entirely typical fifteenth-century Perpendicular four-centred arches (as already noted above in relation to the west elevation). What is different here is that the upper floor – the most high-status suite – of Cromwell's Great Tower is being marked out as significant by the deployment of three identical twin-light cinquefoils (Chapter 5.7). These windows subtly point towards Decorated Gothic Y-tracery through the complete absence of mullions rising the full height to the arch to create panel tracery (Figure 70). This type of design was also noted on the west elevation, albeit in a more complex form and has its root in the Decorated Gothic period of structures such as the Bishop's Palace, Wells (1280s) or Markenfield Hall, Yorkshire (c 1310). A similar device can be seen in the fifteenth century on the clerestory of St Andrew, Hambleton, Rutland (Addison 1982, 134; Pevsner 1960, 302) and the tower of St Paulinus, Crayford, Kent (Harvey 1978, 152). Hart (2010, 128) noted that during the early phase of Perpendicular a natural

conservatism led to the survival of older styles but that a later reaction took place in the fifteenth century against the strict austerity of the style which 'prompted reintroduction of some of the old, curved forms, in particular quatrefoils, reticulations, daggers, mouchettes and soufflets.' Harvey (1978, 150-1) points out that the Decorated form persisted in buildings of the Perpendicular court-style and those within its orbit. Cromwell was very much a member of that community and either he or his master builders (or of course both) may have had a particular penchant for such a deliberately anachronistic Decorated design. Further instances of this affinity can be seen at Tattershall in the south and east elevations of the "Guardhouse" as well as the south elevation of the Stables. Further afield, the bay window and porch windows of the great hall at Wingfield betray a similar inclination (Figure 59). As already noted, the reasons for this anachronistic style will be detailed in Chapter 6.3.2.

The tracery of the north (Figure 72) and south (Figure 73) elevations pays homage to that of the west elevation. The centrally placed ground floor window of the north elevation is identical to those of the west and south elevations. Similarly, the first-floor window of the south elevation matches those of the west elevation; the second floor of the north elevation is identical to the west elevation and the third floor of the south elevation is the same as its corresponding fenestration on the west front. It is only the east elevation breaks from the lead of the west.

The windows of the south-eastern stair turret are all cinquefoils beneath drop arches. This design is copied from an offset window which destroys the symmetry of the south elevation. Here it is set to light the intramural garderobe attached to the privy chamber off the high end of the Great Chamber (Chapter 5.6). Correspondingly, the identical offset third floor window on the north elevation is lighting another privy chamber garderobe and so is the square-headed, single-light with cusped ogee off the high end of the chamber on the north elevation (Chapter 5.7).

The fenestration of the turrets and garderobe windows of the north and south elevations conform to a scheme of square heads with trefoils below the continuous string course between the first and second floors (Figure 72 and Figure 73)<mark>Error! Reference source not found.</mark>. Above this line, the upper windows of the second floor, third floor and roof level have drop arches, beneath which are two cinquefoil cusped lights with a glazed central spandrel above. The gallery above the machicolations is lit by square-headed single lights with cinquefoil cusps. The upper chambers of the turrets are lit by crosslet loopholes with oillets. There is a noticeable elaboration of the fenestration above the continuous string course which indicates that this part of the tower was meant to be seen as a status symbol, not just of the loftier and more important rooms of the upper floors of the tower, but also because they could be seen clearly above the curtain walls (Chapter 5.8).

## 4.5 Diaperwork

If Cromwell's tastes in tracery were a touch conservative, he does appear to have been an innovator in his patronage of decorative diaperwork. The extensive use of misfired or deliberately burned ends of bricks to pick out geometrical decoration upon a brick building was understandably *avant-garde* given that Tattershall was one of the first English domestic brick structures on this scale. Both small four-quarry and nine-quarry lozenges pepper the elevations and turrets of the Great Tower from the ground floor to third floor (Figure 74). The lack of diaper below the springing line of the west elevation ground floor windows may indicate that the designs were meant to be seen from within the outer ward above the inner moat boundary wall. Areas of partial or incomplete diaper may have been due to a lack of steadily available burned headers to the brick masons (Brunskill & Clifton-Taylor 1978, 16) rather than an unfamiliarity in the style. It is also worth pointing out that incomplete or unconfident designs may reflect a lack of surviving physical evidence. The east wall of the 1520s chapel at Hampton Court Palace demonstrates that diaperwork could be painted onto a ruddled wall (Foyle 2002; Brunskill 1990, 58). This may indicate that incomplete designs (or brick structures completely absent of diaper) may have been filled out by paintwork if the quality of laying or quantity of burned ends did not pass muster.

Interspersed amongst the geometrical shapes are other more complex designs such as two extensive complete lattices. These are located adjacent to the third-floor window on the north-western elevation of the south-western turret and below the first-floor window in the west elevation of the north-western turret (Figure 75). There is also a possible third incomplete lattice located between the ground and first floor on the north-western elevation of the south-western turret. Lozenges and lattices are repeated across the tower, but not in the volume that they can be seen on the west face, which again points to a deliberate determination to create a show front (see Chapter 4.4). A diaperwork armorial, symbol of secular lordship is situated between the two tracery windows at second floor level and indicates a level of sophistication in decorative brickwork substantially ahead of its time (Figure 76). Close by is an inverted double-V design, between the two tracery windows at second floor level, which is also repeated on the south elevation of the south-western tower in both upright and inverted forms (Figure 77).

The use of the double-V symbols at Tattershall potentially relates to an expression of lordly piety (see Chapter 6.3.1). It may be considered that the inverted version of the symbol, seen on both the west front and south-west turret, could potentially be the initial M (for Margaret Deincourt?). However, this explanation cannot be functional for the presence of the W symbol placed directly above the M on the turret as there was no significant living member of Ralph Cromwell's immediate family with this initial (Chapter 6). The earliest example of diaper family

initials does not seem to arrive until the 'Wh' placed on William Lord Hastings' gatehouse at Kirby Muxloe in the 1480s (Wight 1972, 134) (Figure 53); neither does it appear to have been a common motif. Instead, a more usual exposition of the M or W symbol might be looked for in ecclesiastical architecture where the repeated letter M is often used to convey devotion for Mary the mother of God. Fifteenth century examples of this practice can be found in the flint flushwork crowned M's (*corona virginum*) on the angle buttresses of St Martin's, Fincham (Norfolk) and in the gateway to the bishop's palace at Norwich (Woolgar 1999, 74). A later, yet altogether more similar diaperwork instance, comes from the sixteenth-century rood stair at St Peter and St Paul, Sustead, Norfolk (Pevsner 1962a, 160-61; Pevsner 1962b, 324-25; Matthew Champion pers. comm.) The use of the W motif, whilst more commonly found informally in historic mediaeval and early modern graffiti, may also be devotional in character. Although interpretations vary it has been suggested that this may also relates to the Virgo Virginum (Virgin of Virgins – i.e., Mary) (Champion 2016, 30; Easton 2016, 41-44; Champion 2015, 56-57). If these symbols are truly redolent of Mary, then we might surmise that Cromwell was making an expressed statement of his religious devotion through symbolic diaperwork on the external walls of his Great Tower.

The concurrency of secular and ecclesiastical power has been long established (Speight 2004, 271-80; Creighton 2002, 110-32; Morris 1989, 227-74) so the placement of Marian symbols upon the tower of a great lord may be readily explained. This connection between secular and temporal power was further developed by Ralph Cromwell through his widespread religious building projects – the collegiate church at Tattershall, as well as parish churches at Ranby, South Wingfield and Lambley (see Chapters 6.3.1 and 8.3). The proximity of a heraldic shield in diaperwork directly above the west front Marian diaperwork serves to reinforce this connection – especially when presented on the main show front (see Chapter 4.4). The armorial is not legible as a specific coat of arms but is a generic shield with a plain diaper design within. The point is made simply – this is the tower of a pious lord. Heraldic statements were later made in a more developed form by William Hastings at Kirby Muxloe (Figure 78) in the form of his family livery badge of the maunch or sleeve (Wight 1972, 134), but Cromwell was apparently the first to use such a device in brickwork.

## 4.6   Evidence of former adjacent structures

The east elevation has good structural evidence for the presence of a double-height corridor between the Great Tower and the former great hall. At ground level the corridor functioned as a route between the great hall and the "Parlour", basement, and stairwell doors. The upper level of the corridor was more private and linked the first floor of the solar block to a door onto the Great Tower staircase located in the south-east elevation of the south-east turret.

At ground level, between the "Parlour" door and the north-eastern turret, is a low, truncated brick mass which was once the plinth for a spiral staircase (Figure 70). The threshold of a door is still visible facing to the south and there is still the distinct impression of brick steps rising clockwise within the north-west corner. Notably, the plinth clearly abuts the masonry of the Great Tower and must therefore be structurally later than the ground floor elevation. Given that the chamfered plinth of the Great Tower remains undisrupted by the stair, and there is no evidence of a scar or stain in the brickwork of the tower above it, may be that the stairwell was partly timber-framed. This is given credence by three vertical beam slots which may have supported the south elevation of the structure.

A wall scar and truncated masonry denote the presence of a stone doorway between the corridor stair and the upper level (Figure 70). To the south is a double row of six relict beam slots which once carried the floor frame and roof structure. A projecting course of masonry above the upper beam slots is evidence for the ridgeline of the roof which must have been of just a single pitch to create a drainage valley between the corridor and great hall. A similar masonry course is located to the north, higher up the elevation, which denotes the roof of the stairwell. Two stone corbels mark the passage of the corridor through a doorway around the front of the south-eastern turret. Three relict beam slots sit beneath the south-eastern turret door and above are the beam slots of the roof structure which interconnected with the stub of the western curtain wall.

The presence of the great hall, stairwell and Great Tower must have made the corridor a rather dark space unless there were significant windows in its south elevation. The former existence of these may be hinted at by the manifestation of the windows to the basement, ground floor intramural chamber and "Parlour" garderobe – all of which must have relied on second-hand light via the corridors (see Chapter 4.4).

The north-eastern turret has the vestige of the brick curtain wall surviving to a significant height (Figure 55). The masonry of the wall respects the pre-existence of the thirteenth-century round tower as it curves neatly around the older structure. Above the wall thickness is a scar of a battered merlon against the turret (see Chapter 2.4).

To the south-east is a far more substantial remnant of the western brick curtain wall (Figure 79). The stub of the wall heads south from the south-eastern turret. There is the truncated head of a segmental brick arch which points towards a blind arcaded structure. This must once have borne a similarity to, and indeed may have been the inspiration for, the inner curtain wall at Buckden (Cambridgeshire) (Figure 40). A comparable structure has also been postulated for the eastern curtain wall at Tattershall immediately to the south of the "Guardhouse" (see Chapter 3.4.3). The arcading supported an intramural passage, with segmental vaulting and

stone flags that connected the castle kitchen block to the south with the stair of the Great Tower. This passage was lit by a crosslet loophole with oillets - a feature that was presumably repeated along its length (Figure 79). Further examples of these loops can be seen in the Millicent drawing of the turret between the south-west tower and adjacent gatehouse (Figure 30). Alike to the north-eastern curtain, the southern wall is capped by a battered merlon against the turret.

## 4.7   Machicolations and Crenellations

The machicolations supporting the roof gallery are an astoundingly eye-catching detail which help to mark out the Great Tower as being of extreme high status (Figure 69). The strong use of stone contrasts visually with the brick above and below to make a tremendously bold visual statement. The machicolations can only be found between the turrets and are rendered somewhat functionless by the presence below of the moat, into which the tower projects on three sides, and the great hall corridor to the east. The lack of machicolations around the body of the turrets also points towards them being militarily impractical structures which were never designed with the intent to drop projectiles upon attackers at the foot of the wall. Instead, they were related to a symbolic declaration of lordship using the trappings of military architecture.

The oversailing projections are supported by a triple tier of stone corbels characterised by ovolo mouldings which culminate in simply moulded capitals. These, in turn, support substantial single-stone arches with trefoil heads. There are 15 bays of machicolations on the west elevation and 18 on the east front (Figure 74) The latter has an extra pair of corbels fixed into the masonry of the south-east and north-east turrets – perhaps an elaboration of design to mark the entrance to the tower beyond the great hall. This factor is mirrored by the higher number of merlons in the crowning parapet (seven on the west elevation and eight on the east). The north and south elevations each have eight bays of machicolations. The cinquefoil gallery windows are located between each machicolation bay and have modern shutters hanging from iron pintles.

Above the machicolations is a moulded cornice surmounted with brick relieving arches, for the windows below, which have been partially truncated by the presence of later slots in the brickwork acting as drains from the parapet level. The cornice on the east elevation is terminated at north and south with carved stone heads of men with long hair, beards and moustaches (Figure 74). The stone-coped crenels of the parapet are half the width of their corresponding merlons and were largely rebuilt by Weir - although the exterior masonry utilises historic brickwork to ensure a uniform appearance (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 193). Both merlons and crenels have stone copings. The height of the merlons is again indicative of a

lack of military intention for the great tower as they stand to a relatively low height and would never have offered real protection for a man on the fighting platform (Figure 80). The same can be said of the parapets at Bodiam (Johnson 2002, 24). Instead, the crenellations should be seen as 'recognition features' and an 'essay in prestige' which 'denoted, as much as defended, a noble residence' (Coulson 1979, 80, 85). This did not stop Simpson from making the inaccurate and dogmatic point that: 'At Tattershall the wall-head arrangements have still a serious defensive value' (Simpson 1969, 146). Neither were Pevsner and Harris (2002, 748) in any doubt when they revealed that 'the top parts are most strictly for defence.' Although the features of the wall-tops at Tattershall may generally derive from functional military architecture (Hislop 2016, 160-62; Goodall 2011, 218-19; Friar 2003, 184), the machicolations and crenellations here were merely redolent of lordship and a symbol of Cromwell's power rather than genuine fortifications (see Chapter 5.9). Pamela Marshall (2020, 264) sums this view up when she states: that the 'elegant machicolation gallery suggests conformity to convention, rather than serious defence'. The sizable windows above the oversailing machicolations should be proof enough of the indefensibility of the wall-tops which is then further compounded by the impractical relationship of the machicolations to the moat and great hall corridor below.

# 5 The Interior of the Great Tower

## 5.1 Introduction

This chapter follows on from the previous discussion on the exterior of the Great Tower and will move towards an understanding of the internal spaces of the structure. Initially, the staircase is analysed as it offers the principal mode of access through the building. Afterwards, each storey of the tower will be considered in turn beginning with the basement and working vertically through to the roof galleries.

## 5.2 Staircase

There is just a single, clockwise, spiral staircase rising through the full height of the Great Tower which is contained within the south-east turret (Figure 81). The vice is approached through a drop-arch door in the east elevation of the turret. It is made of Ancaster stone moulded with a hollow chamfer and ogee and quarter round moulding which is entirely typical of the period 1400-1550 (Forrester 1974, 18-19, 31). The design of the door and mouldings is identical to the "Parlour" and basement doors (see Chapters 5.3 and 5.4). The timber door is of stile construction with a rebated head timber and nine internal battens varying from 215-267mm in thickness (Figure 82). The rear of the door has two lengthy plain strap hinges with a simple cross-hatched design at the ends (Figure 83). Weir certainly considered it to be the original (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 200) and there is a certain degree of similarity of the outer face to the c 1450 south door at St Nicholas, Tolleshunt D'Arcy, Essex (Hewett 1980, 192) and that of the Beaufort Tower, Hospital of St Cross, Winchester, which dates to 1404-47 (Hewett 1985, 179).

The stair lobby contains one further stone step before the newel proper rises from its moulded base (Figure 84). The base profile is unusual for the Perpendicular period in that it is circular in plan but has an entirely typical bell-shaped profile with no sharp arrises (Paley 1847, 82-83). It bears a passing resemblance to early fifteenth-century moulded piers at St John the Baptist, Eastnor, Herefordshire (Forrester 1972, 45). The stair lobby may have been in direct communication with the "Parlour" via a blocked door that once connected to the dog-leg garderobe passage (Figure 3 & Figure 85). The masonry to the north of the newel post has a straight joint and a flat stone lintel capped off the feature. Curzon and Tipping (1929, 75) speculated that the blocking may have been evidence of a change in design during the construction process. This could have been related to a decision to make a strong distinction between the household use of the "Parlour" and the higher status use of the upper floors of the Great Tower. Equally, it might be proposed that the access from the "Parlour" to the stair would never have been particularly salubrious by passing along the garderobe dogleg (which would have exposed the stairwell to unpleasant odours). Weir considered that the door may

have been blocked very soon after the completion of the tower construction (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 197) and it could have been a temporary feature, included at the time of construction, to allow the builders quick, practical access between spaces prior to closing it up once the work was complete.

The cylindrical walls of the clockwise staircase are composed of brickwork of dimension 105-110mm (breadth) by 50-57mm (thickness) by 195-214mm (length) with an average of 244mm four courses thickness. As brick architecture developed, many narrower newels adopted the laying of bricks mostly end on to create a header course thus enabling a tight cylinder to be formed - such as that at Faulkbourne (Guy 2011-12, 157, 162). Tattershall is a much grander example of 'a key domestic architectonic feature of display that could add elegance, dignity and drama' (Guy 2011-12, 168), so within the staircase the bricklayers were able to lay stretchers as well as headers to maintain the English bond of the rest of the tower.

The vice created houses 150, one piece, interlocking, cut-slab winders which are integral to the newel from base to roof level. The number of steps is recorded as a graffito on the masonry of the handrail at the foot of the stairs. The stair is lit by single light trefoil and cinquefoil windows (see Chapter 4.4). The winder width is a consistent 1.32m, a maximum extrados depth of 0.5m (dwindling to 60mm at the newel) and the height of each riser is 0.18m. The newel post itself is 185mm in diameter. The underside of the stairs are chamfered to give a sculptural appearance similar to a much smaller and earlier example of the type at Maxstoke, Warwickshire (Guy 2011-12, 140, 158). Most of the worn mediaeval treads were repaired (rather unsympathetically) in the 1910s using a granite dust and cement render (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 200) which contrasts sharply with the pale limestone of the original.

The ashlar countersunk handrail (Figure 81) is an astonishingly mature innovation rarely seen at this period within English architecture. It went on to have a significant impact on the design of staircases throughout the fifteenth century. The moulding of the handrail is ingeniously designed so that the masonry above is set back 32mm from the wall plane below the roll, enabling an ergonomic use of the feature without bruising elbows during ascent or descent (Curzon and Tipping 1929, 76). Such handrails had been used before in straight stairs such as the crypt chapel at Grantham (c 1350) (Figure 86) and the great hall stair at Eton (1443-50) (Figure 87). Alongside the broadly contemporary Alnwick Tower at Lincoln Bishop's Palace constructed c 1436-49, Tattershall was one of the very first uses in a newel stair (Emery 2000, 269-70; Mansel-Sympson 1910, 38).

Between the ground and first floor are two former doors which accessed the stair (Figure 88). The lower door has quoins within the detail of the handrail, a splayed embrasure and a lime plaster rear arch. The door was originally accessed from the upper level of the great hall

corridor and may have been the preferred mode of access to the upper floors from the solar block behind the high end of the great hall (see Chapter 4.6; Munby 2008, 149-50). This door is now glazed as a window. Immediately to the west is another blocked door – this time with brickwork rather than glazing – with a brick rear arch and in situ stone step that originally gave access to the services to the south (Figure 89). This second doorway provided a dedicated servants entrance, from the kitchens to the south, which bypassed the ground floor entrance as used by high status visitors (see Chapter 3.5.4; Marshall 2020, 269, 270)

Brick relieving arches are a feature of the upper section of the stair – above the second floor – and may have been built to improve the load-bearing capacity of the turret in relationship to the heavy stone staircase (Figure 90). Close to the summit are two rectangular rebates let into the ashlar beneath the handrail measuring 400 x 90 x 30mm and 395 x 90 x 30mm (Figure 91). It has been considered that these may have related to metal plaques by either the builders (Munby 2008, 150), or ones like that placed within the outer gatehouse at Cooling, Kent, that stated the purpose of the castle as to be 'mad in help of the cuntre' (Johnson 2002, xiv-xv). The newel ends abruptly without a screen or moulded feature (as at Buckden Palace) and the drop back down the staircase is prevented by a modern iron railing (Figure 91). Two doors access the battlements to the west and north-east. They both have brick arches with chamfered crowns and jambs. Between the two doors is a plain unglazed window with a pointed arch. Above is a brick dome.

A further intramural stair reaching to the summit of the south-eastern turret is entered by a door with a plain chamfered brick arch facing east off the newel (Figure 92). The stone steps span the thickness of the stair and are very narrow. William Weir reported that the stair was rebuilt during the mid-nineteenth century (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 186). The first 14 steps are just 490mm in width by 490mm deep with a rise of 260mm. A pointed brick vault covers this first section. The remaining eight steps are 470mm in width with a depth of 300mm and a rise of 235mm. They are composite steps of brick supporting stonework rendered with lime ash on the treads. Above these final steps is a concrete lintel inserted during the early twentieth century. The intramural stair is lit internally by second-hand light from a single plain loop and externally by one crosslet loophole with oillets.

## 5.3 Basement

The basement of the Great Tower is accessed from the middle door in the east elevation which has moulded jambs identical to the stair and "Parlour" doors (see Chapters 5.2 and 5.4) (Figure 70). The door itself is also comparable in design to that of the stairwell and is plausibly mediaeval in date (see Chapter 5.2). It opens into a straight stair chamber with an upper and a lower segmental brick vault (Figure 93). The upper vault is placed higher to allow the door

to swing fully open. A flight of 11 stone steps then descends into the basement. On the north elevation of the stair is a recess with a lancet arch between the fourth and fifth steps from the bottom (Figure 94). This is one of four identical lancet-headed recesses within the basement (the others are to be found in the north-east turret and in the eastern intramural chamber) measuring 345 x 630 x 345mm, which were all unhinged, and likely positioned to house a source of artificial lighting within the darkest spaces.

The main chamber of the basement is orientated north-south and has a mediaeval brick, flattened, barrel vault over a modern concrete floor which has been paved with brick (Figure 95). The floor levels have been altered over time. Curzon's excavations revealed that the original plaster surface of the north-east turret was 2 feet (0.6m) lower than the floor at present. The eastern intramural chamber was accessed via a short flight of steps and had a beaten earth floor at comparable level to that of the north-east turret. The levels of both chambers were then raised by Weir and low brick plinths 185mm high were inserted against the longitudinal walls of the main chamber (Curzon 1929, 197).

The central chamber is lit through small windows in the north and south elevations which are both offset to the west in order to allow the garderobe shafts, from the floors above, to fall to the moat level within the thickness of the walls to the east (see Chapter 4.4). The walls of the tower at this level are approximately 4.15m thick so the natural lighting is minimal as it passes down what are essentially two small segmental arch vaulted tunnels (Figure 96). The rear arch of the southern window vault has two rebates let into the brickwork 940mm above the plinth level which may have carried timber shuttering.

In the centre of the main chamber is a well which was excavated under Curzon and then capped off with an oak cover (later brick). It was found to be 18 inches in diameter (0.46m) and lined with stone. It was excavated to a total depth of 4 feet 3 inches (1.3m) and the natural water level settled at 6 inches (0.15m) from the floor level (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 197).

The south-western and north-western turrets are accessed from a single step up into short passageways which terminate in the jambs of doors which still have evidence for mediaeval door pintles and latch-plates (Figure 97). Each rectangular space has a single window located directly opposite the door. The north-western turret has irregularly spaced, blocked, rebates approximately 170mm in height, located 1.65m above floor level in the longitudinal walls (Figure 98). They are suggestive of either low beams for hanging meats or joists for timber shelves or racks.

The north-eastern turret passage does not have a step and has a modern timber door with its stone surround featuring chamfers with plain stops. Internally, the rectangular chamber is chamfered in the south-west and north-east corners. The south-western truncation is to avoid

the presence of the garderobe shafts and the north-eastern to maintain the thickness of the outer wall of the turret. There is a lancet-headed recess in the south-eastern elevation. The window does not face the door due to the presence of the thirteenth-century turret to the north-east and so faces to the north-west (see Chapter 2.4). Currently the space is used to house a very large stack of architectural fragments recovered during excavations at the castle (Munby 2008, 154).

The final space in the basement is the intramural room within the eastern elevation (Figure 99). This is accessed via a door, with its iron pintles surviving, in the north-western corner. A single light illuminates the space placed high in the eastern elevation. An iron staple is set into the west wall 300mm from the south elevation. Both the north and south walls have lancet-headed recesses let into them.

The interpretation of the basement functions has been rather varied. A. H. Thompson thought that the main chamber was a store but also fell for the romantic notion that the intramural chamber was a prison (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 175). Later he changed his mind and for the most part the concept of the entire storey as a set of storage chambers was then followed (Thompson 1928, 20; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 74). Simpson (1960, xvi) briefly returned to the prison theory. Matarasso (1993, 185) introduced the idea that the basement may have functioned as a servant's hall, and this was duly followed by both Avery (1997, 10) and surprisingly Emery (2000, 309). The latter seems rather a stretch. The space is low-vaulted, unheated, poorly lit and has a well located impractically in its very centre. The vaulted space below Cromwell's great hall at Wingfield Manor is sometimes thought of as a servant's hall (National Heritage List: 1014829) (Figure 100). Although this space is much more adequately lit and has some impressive stone-carved roof bosses and corbels (inserted c 1443) there is still the issue of a lack of heating. It is curious that Emery pointed towards the functions of storage and a servant's waiting chamber for this rather grand space yet considered the very gloomy and unadorned basement at Tattershall to be a potential hall (Emery 2000, 309, 454). There seems to be a conflict here. Although much altered, the provision of a staff hall is perhaps better illustrated at Raby in Northumberland through the Lower Hall of c 1367-77 and servant's hall of c 1381-88 (Emery 1996, 123-33). However, it is viewed that a different principle was in effect at Tattershall. On completion of the Great Tower, it may have been the case that the old great hall of the inner ward functioned as a general-purpose hall with the adjacent "Parlour" acting as a household hall. The most sophisticated attribution for the basement to date is that made by Julian Munby (2008, 153), who points towards its potential use as a buttery cellar for the storage of ale and wine which would have communicated the old great hall and upper floors of the tower via the corridor.

## 5.4   Ground Floor (known as the "Parlour")

The ground floor of the Great Tower is accessed via the northern doorway of the east elevation (Figure 70). The design of the door is identical to the stair and basement doors (see Chapters 5.2 and 5.3). The threshold is accessed by two stone steps onto a small landing, prior to a third step which leads into a brick-vaulted vaulted corridor. This has been plastered to take a fictive masonry finish. The door itself is a twentieth century copy of the original mediaeval designs still in situ within the stair and basement entrances (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 200). The corridor is 4.34 x 1.7 metres in dimension and passes through the full thickness of the eastern wall of the tower. The width of the corridor is matched by the north-south orientated second floor processional corridor; however, here the vaulting is plain which indicates that a lower status space is being entered.

Midway along the south elevation of the corridor is a small doorway with a two-ring brick arch and stone threshold step (Figure 101). Threshold steps are a common feature of internal doorways within the Great Tower located to reduce drafts. They can also be seen in the gatehouses at Thornton Abbey, Lincolnshire (Figure 102) and Knole, Kent. The room within measures 1.93 x 3.26 metres and has a plain vault, lit by a single square-headed window with an internal brick four-centred rear arch. When originally built the space must have been dark as it took second-hand light from the corridor between the tower and great hall (see Chapter 4.6). The springing line of the vault features three pairs of blocked square rebates. Potentially they held beams for wooden centring used to construct the vault. The purpose of this room is rather obscure. It is not residential as it lacks both fireplace and garderobe. Curzon (1929, 74) considered a guardroom. A 0.81-metre-high brick plinth, measuring 1.71 x 0.43 metres and located in the north-east corner, may have related to the activities of household staff using the room as an office.

The main ground floor chamber is the smallest of the principal four chambers in the tower measuring 6.71 x 11.68 metres (Figure 103). Each successive storey widens to allow for a ledge to support the bridging beams and to create a lighter structure under the weight of compression from the upper floors (Salvadori 1990, 60). The floor surface of the ground floor is a lime ash plaster (noted by Weir to have survived in the corridors and turrets) laid on top of a double layer of concrete and fibrous plaster (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 193). The ceiling is 5.521 metres high and is carried on four bridging beams approximately 0.47 metres thick which support 11 north-south floor joists within each bay. The floor timbers for the entire structure were all inserted during the conservation programme under Curzon (Curzon &

Tipping 1929, 157). Three sections of what may be the original fifteenth-century bridging beams are stored in the south-western basement turret (see Chapter 4.1).

The windows of the main chamber light the north, west and south elevations (see Chapter 4.4). Each splayed embrasure has a plinth 1.16 metres high and has plain vaults 4.43 metres high. The vaults have been plastered, painted, and scored with fictive masonry (Figure 104). Weir pointed out that fictive masonry only occurs in the vaults of the public spaces on the ground floor (i.e., the entrance corridor and window embrasures) but is not a feature of the more private rooms (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 197). This observation may be challenged as there is evidence for fictive masonry in the window vault of the south-western turret. Throughout the tower all the arrises between the wall faces and embrasures have chamfered brickwork to ensure ease of movement. The two western windows of the ground floor are placed symmetrically, whereas those to the north and south are off centre to avoid the garderobe shafts contained within the wall thickness (see Chapter 4.4). Iron pintles and catches for window shutters have been largely retained throughout the building. Surveys of the building by Johnson (Munby 2014, 268-70) and Reed (1872) demonstrated the substantial survival of fifteenth-century window tracery. It was in poor condition in the early twentieth century and Weir replaced large sections in Weldon stone due to lightning damage, iron corrosion and natural weathering (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 196).

Two examples of fractured window glass quarries with foliate designs painted in red were excavated from the moat of the castle (Boyle, Cope-Faulkner & Taylor 2009, 1; 15-18) (Figure 105). The exact context of the finds was not recorded (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 204-09) and we cannot be certain that the two fragments originated from the Great Tower which give us an indication of the sumptuous fifteenth-century glass at Tattershall. Examination of ex situ material, dating to the early 1480s, in the lower half of the chancel east window at Holy Trinity (re-sited in 1804) hints at the quality of the glaziers working at Tattershall in the mid-fifteenth century (see Chapter 8.3) (Figure 106). Much of the collegiate church's glazing was removed in 1757 and can now be found variously at St Martins Stamford, Burghley House and Warwick Castle (Hebgin-Barnes 1996, 304-05).

The brickwork of the ground floor is laid in English bond. The masonry in this part of the tower had been substantially damaged when the ground floor was used as a cattle shed (Avery 1997, 28; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 197; Thompson 1928, 20; Anon 1811, 6). Weir notes that the brickwork was repaired, brushed and repointed using a 1:4 mix of lime sourced from Barrow-on-Soar and sand sourced near to Tattershall railway station (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 196-97).

Rectangular timber blocks were noted in a line approximately above the springing line of the window embrasure rear arches of the west and south elevations (Figure 104). There are two blocks between the west windows and another two to the south of the southernmost west window (plus a third located adjacent to the relieving arch). In the south elevation there are two pairs of blocks either side of the window arch. Two small straight joints above the garderobe door may be the only identifiable trace of a similar system on the east elevation. It is possible that these features originally related to a construction of rails and pegs upon which painted cloths or tapestries could be hung. Similar blocks were noted by former researchers in the first-floor chamber at Tattershall where they were variously interpreted as relating to tapestries (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 76) or wainscoting (Avery 1997, 13) (see Chapter 5.5). The latter may be a stretch too far as there is no evidence of timberwork lower down the elevations which would be expected if the panelling was fixed securely. Timber rails for hangings are mentioned in documentary accounts at Carmarthen Castle in 1428 and the manor of Pleasaunce at Greenwich in 1447 (Salzman 1952, 259-60); whereas pegs survive in the masonry at South Wingfield Manor, Derbyshire (Emery 1985, 290) and Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire (Wood 1965, 404). Further documentary accounts refer to tapestries hung in the great chamber and Nether Hall at Caister Castle, Norfolk, with the latter featuring the siege of Falaise - a scene known personally to the castle's patron Sir John Fastolf (Barker 2009, 18; Woolgar 1999, 63, 73).

A finely carved fireplace is in the east elevation of the main chamber (Figure 134). The fireplaces will be discussed as a group in Chapter 5.8. Notably, the northern jamb is situated 0.69 metres to the south of the longitudinal centre line of the chamber. Given the presence of a garderobe passage immediately to the south of the fireplace, and the survival of timber blocks for hanging tapestries in the south elevation, the collective evidence points towards the south of the chamber acting as the high end although it lacks the corbels to hold a lordly tester frame as noted on the upper floors of the Great Tower (see Chapters 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7).

The garderobe passage is accessed from a chamfered brick doorway with a four-centred arch and threshold step (Figure 103). Internally, the lobby turns south into a splayed passage lit by a raking squint which originally took second-hand light from the upper storey of the great hall corridor (see Chapter 4.6). Traces of white plaster on the walls and vault increased the reflectivity of light in this dark space. A second element of the passage is reached via a step down and the corridor widens slightly. The south-eastern elevation is angled and was originally the location of the door to the stair. The garderobe itself is reached after a turn to the west with the siege (now capped) located against the west elevation with natural lighting, plus ventilation, provided by an angled squint adjacent to the door in the south elevation (Figure 107). The fact that the garderobe can be accessed directly from the main chamber of the

ground floor indicates that it was intended for communal use – all the other garderobes in the Great Tower have more private access via privy chambers contained within the turrets (Marshall 2020, 269).

Only three of the turret chambers are directly accessible from the ground floor chamber as the south-east turret contains the stair entered via a separate door. The north-western and south-western turrets are of equal dimensions – 1.9 x 3.2 metres – and are identical spaces with lime ash floors, plain brick vaults and four-centred two-ring brick arched doorways with threshold steps. The doors are modern twentieth-century insertions but there is evidence for original pintles and latches. Internally, there are small, angled lobbies followed by the rectangular turret chambers with small windows located in the longitudinal elevations.

The north-eastern turret has a discreetly different design which is replicated on the upper floors. Although the doorway, floor and vault are like those of the other two turrets, the internal chamber is slightly larger – 2.6 x 4.56 metres – and is orientated north-south. This seems to relate to the location of the early thirteenth-century tower to the north-east (see Chapters 2.4 and 4.3), coupled with the foreshortening of the eastern elevation of the turret to allow for the presence of the great hall corridor. The lobby to the turret has a right-angled turn and the windows are in the north-western corner and east elevation. Three pairs of rebates like those noted above just below the vault springing line may also be related to centring of the arch.

The function of the ground floor has engendered a lively debate amongst scholars. A raft of opinion throughout the twentieth century viewed the space as a great hall (Mansel-Sympson 1910, 37-41; Gill 1915, 112-13; Forde-Johnston 1981, 127-28; Platt 1982, 170-71). Simpson (1960, xxvi-xxviii) initially flirted with the concept of a great hall before identifying it as a manorial courtroom (Simpson 1969, 142). Perhaps this was an acknowledgement of the pre-existing great hall immediately to the east of the Great Tower and the change of tack may have reflected a concern about the relative functions of the two spaces. Later commentators have tended towards explicitly referring to the ground floor as a withdrawing chamber or "Parlour" (Thompson 1988, 13; Matarosso 1993, 185; Avery 1997, 10; Emery 2000, 309). The term is taken from the building accounts of 1434-35, which refers to payment to Robert Kerver for joinery in the "Parlour" (Simpson 1960, 47), although this by no means refers directly to a space within the Great Tower. A comparative opinion was expressed by Curzon, Tipping and A. H. Thompson that it was a hall for Cromwell's household retainers (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 75, 175), an interpretation followed by Wood (1965, 173), M. W. Thompson (1987, 89), Munby (2008, 155) and Marshall (2020, 269).

The interpretation of the ground floor as a suite of chambers designed for use by the household, but significantly not by Lord Cromwell himself, has some traction when the

implications of the architecture are unpacked. This is the smallest space which features a fireplace and garderobe (and can therefore function as a hall). The width of the garderobe passages of the upper floors are all much larger (first floor: 1.33 metres; second floor 1.24 metres; third floor 1.13 metres) than the ground floor (0.69-0.92 metres) – again suggesting a ranking of status based on size. A similar phenomenon can be seen in both the width and height of the turret chamber doorways on the upper floors - in particular, those of the second and third floors which have stone surrounds rather than brick at ground and first floors (se Chapters 5.6 and 5.7). Rib vaulting, spandrel mouldings and ceiling bosses are entirely absent from the ground floor again indicating a lower status environment. The main chamber lacks the stone corbels which supported a tester frame on the three upper floors indicating the location of the high end. Finally, the ground floor does not have direct communication to the stair which again suggests that it was, alike to the basement, a lower status suite of rooms that did not need access to the lordly rooms above.

The ground floor was plausibly a lesser hall with a suite of ancillary rooms for storage or offices located off the entrance corridor and in the three turrets. This hall was intended for the daily life of the castle, potentially when Cromwell was away from the site and Tattershall was under the control of his constable (Friar 2003, 139). The adjacent great hall may have been only used for major communal activities such as feasting on high days.  Lesser halls are known from other castles of the later thirteenth century at Caerphilly, Gwent (Kenyon 2010, 106) and Goodrich, Herefordshire (Woolgar 1999, 52, 56-57) and the fourteenth century at Bodiam, Sussex (McNeill 1992, 62). The c 1400 Great Tower at Warkworth, which stood beyond the 'Old Hall' in the bailey, contained a lesser and upper hall - with the former used by Lord Percy's constable (Johnson 2002, 83). Tattershall had a similar arrangement to Warkworth – an external great hall with a separate Great Tower that contained a lesser hall with a private hall above.

## 5.5  First Floor

The first floor of the Great Tower is accessed from the north of the stair via a stone doorway with a four-centred head with chamfer mouldings (see Chapter 5.2). The soffit of the arch has two rebates cut into the masonry above the springing line which may once have held the timbers of a door frame (Figure 108). The door accesses a lobby measuring 2.02 x 2.91 metres whose east elevation is mostly taken up by a window embrasure. Above is a sexpartite groin vault with evidence of fictive masonry (Figure 109).

To the north of the lobby is a narrow doorway with a four-centred brick arch and chamfered jambs accessing a service chamber 2 x 7.1 metres in dimension, with a plain brick vault which is lit by a single window in the east elevation (Figure 110). This may have originally provided

a place for servants to ready materials and foodstuffs brought up the staircase prior to taking them into first floor hall (Marshall 2020, 269). The plinth of the window has been reduced in height to 0.92 metres to allow more light into the space at a lower level – possibly at a period when it was used as a residential room during the post-mediaeval period. Also from this period is a blocked fireplace in the west elevation, with a segmental chamfered brick surround. These alterations were date to the post-mediaeval farm complex (see Chapter 9.4; Munby 2008, 11, 157; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 141). Further post-mediaeval alterations to this space may also include the insertion of two iron rings in the crown of the vault and two blocked rebates near to the north-eastern corner. This corner also contains an inserted doorway which was punched through the north elevation, so that the occupants of the chamber to the south could access the turret chamber to the north after the main chamber floor had become unsafe (Figure 111).

In the west elevation lobby is a finely moulded stone doorway featuring an ogee and quarter round moulding identical in size and design to the basement, ground floor and stair doors (Figure 108). The returns of the mouldings have evidence for lime plaster indicating that the stone was once painted white in contrast to the fictive masonry still present to the west of the service chamber door. The door itself is modern oak hung and closes against a threshold step.

The main chamber measures 7.21 x 12.34 metres and is 5.53 metres high (Figure 112). The ceiling has four east-west orientated bridging beams (0.42 metres thick), supported on stone pads, each of the corresponding north-south bays has 12 floor joists. Curzon and Tipping (1929, 77) speculated that the beams in this space may have been elaborately moulded although there is no physical evidence of this surviving. Solar buildings in the fifteenth century did display such mouldings, for example at gentry level in the 1460s at Great Dixter, Sussex (Emery 2006, 340-41) or c 1500 at Chalgrove Manor, Oxfordshire (National Heritage List: 1368856). Other more high-status structures, such as the suite of rooms in the fifteenth-century roof structure of the bishop's great chamber at Lyddington, Rutland (Thompson 1976, 3) and the 1480s tower of royal councillor Sir Thomas Burgh at Gainsborough Old Hall (Allan 2012, 25) are relatively plain. Ultimately there is no consistency so we cannot make generalisations about what the ceiling timbers at Tattershall may have looked like.

In keeping with the ground floor, the fireplace sits to the upper end of the longitudinal centre line of the room (see Chapter 5.8) (Figure 3 & Figure 135). The space follows a reverse plan to the ground floor (which is entered from the north-east) and is accessed from the south-eastern corner (see Chapter 5.4). Opposite is the high end denoted by a row of four plain corbels rebated on their upper surfaces to carry the timber framework of a tester (Figure 112). Such canopies were an instant visual signal of lordly status and were widely depicted in late mediaeval art – examples can be seen on folios 1, 65, 83 and 113v of the Book of Hours

commissioned by John, Duke of Bedford c 1423 (BL Add. MS 18850). The presence of the tester required that the north elevation is a blank wall. The tester was probably flanked by tapestries, hanging from rails, attached to the six timber blocks let into the masonry. Further blocks are also visible in the remaining elevations: three in the south, five in the west and seven in the east elevation.

There is an off-centre, splayed, window embrasure in the south elevation accessed via a single low step into a brick vaulted arch 4.27 metres above the chamber floor. Internally, the vaulting is supported by two cavetto moulded transverse ribs (Figure 113). The embrasures of the two symmetrical west windows are accessed via a single step although the crowns of their arches are slightly lower (4.01 metres). The vaults contain examples of finely moulded fifteenth-century brickwork. The northern vault is a slightly more elaborate sexpartite rib vault with cavetto mouldings and missing central stone boss (Figure 114). The southern embrasure has a quadripartite rib vault with cavetto mouldings and a carved central boss featuring a plain shield that may originally have been painted with a heraldic motif (Figure 115). All three vaults have traces of plaster and are exactly 1.94 metres in width; but the further away from the high end of the hall one is the less the vaulting is elaborated.

The first-floor turrets follow a similar pattern to the ground floor (see Chapter 5.4). All the rooms are reached by doorways with chamfered brick mouldings and four-centred heads which are approximately 0.8 metres in width. The doorways do not have doors within them, but their stone threshold steps are still in situ, as are the iron pintles. Internally, all three turrets have lime ash floors and plain brick vaults. The south-west turret has eight handmade nails fixed into the north-west elevation and the walls are plastered and painted white up to 0.91 metres from the floor level. The windows are in the south and west elevations. Originally the turrets may have been stores.

The location of the windows in the north-western turret match those of the south-west as they light the west and north elevations. The plain brick vault is 4.02 metres in height and the walls are plastered and painted yellow up to the springing line of the vault. An iron ring is fixed within the eastern jamb of the north window. Further fixings within this turret include 11 timber blocks at the springing line which could be evidence for wooden centring. However, in the context of this space they are potentially more likely to be relics of tapestry hangings. This is because the turret was a high-status space with access, via a brick doorway with four-centred arch and threshold step in the east elevation, to a garderobe passage 1.33m in width (Figure 116). The latrine passage is lit by one small window in the north elevation and there is evidence for lime wash on the south elevation which must have increased the reflectivity of light in the space. The straight passage is 4.99 metres long and terminates in a blocked-up garderobe with a

segmental brick arch let into the thickness of the north elevation served by a substantial rebate, also with a segmental head, which possibly served as a lighting recess (Figure 117).

The north-east turret is noticeably larger than the western examples. It is orientated north-south and has a plain barrel vault (Figure 111). The two single light windows in the east and north-west elevations may once have been augmented by a lancet-arched light recess which has been remodelled through the insertion of grooves rubbed into the brickwork and mortar to take three shelves. It is possible that this room was once used as an office with a desk placed underneath the light recess to maximise the impact of light cast from candle or lamp set in the rebate plus natural light cast laterally and behind from the two windows.

Prior commentators on the purpose of the first floor have been almost unified in their interpretation that this was a great hall or private dining chamber for Lord Cromwell (Thompson 1928, 21; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 76; Wood 1965, 173; Simpson 1960, xvii; Simpson 1969, 142; Forde-Johnston 1981, 127-28; Platt 1982, 170-71; Thompson 1987, 89; Thompson 1988, 14; Matarasso 1993, 185; Avery 1997, 12; Emery 2000, 309; Johnson 2002, 59-60; Munby 2008, 157-58; Marshall 2020, 269). Only early scholars such as Mansel-Sympson (1910, 38) and Gill (1915, 112) identified it as an audience chamber. Both drew the conclusion that the ground floor was Cromwell's great hall and, by the logic of elite progression (Johnson 2002, 69-71; Wood 1965, 166), the room above must therefore be Cromwell's great chamber. However, both came rather unstuck when they assessed the second and third floors (see Chapters 5.6 and 5.7). They agreed that the second floor was a bedchamber, but Mansel-Sympson (1910, 39) did not even attempt to identify the purpose of the third floor whereas Gill (1915, 112) was only able to conclude that it was '*a large chamber*'. The problem for both was the assumption that the ground floor contained Cromwell's own hall as opposed to a lesser hall. (see Chapter 5.4) By accepting that the ground floor was a household hall, we can see the first floor as a lordly hall with a great chamber and bedchamber above.

The high-status nature of the first-floor hall is initially made apparent through the impressive stone doorways of the lobby, with a service chamber accessible from the kitchens via the stair (Figure 110). A progression of complexity is visible in the brick vaulting of the embrasures as one moves to the north. Beyond the longitudinal centreline can be found the fireplace set closer to the high end to ensure that the lord is kept warm beneath his tester supported on the stone corbels (Figure 112). Provision for further privacy is allowed directly to the north-west by a privy chamber in the turret which also accessed a latrine.

By the fifteenth century it was increasingly common to find a communal great hall within the courtyard and a private lordly hall within a solar tower. This pattern began in the later thirteenth century at sites such as Haughton, Northumberland or Stokesay, Shropshire and continued

throughout the fourteenth century at Longthorpe, Cambridgeshire and Edlingham, Northumberland; with Philip Dixon pointing out that 'these were solar towers, private apartments beside more public halls' (Dixon & Lott 1993, 95). An immediate precursor to Tattershall is at Warkworth. (Goodall 2011, 323; Johnson 2002, 100-03; 63; Emery 1996, 144-45; McNeill 1992, 65). Caister, in Norfolk, is a contemporary castle with two halls built for Ralph Cromwell's old colleague and friend Sir John Fastolf. Here the spaces were used seasonally as the Summer Hall and Nether (Winter) Hall by the household (Woolgar 1999, 63-68). As the century wore on the pattern was repeated at Raglan, Ashby, Tutbury, Warwick and Nottingham (Dixon & Lott 1993, 72-73).

The use of such a space would be essentially more private and removed from the daily life of the wider household and the public events that required the use of the great hall. As the first-floor hall was raised the large windows would act as both an external statement of prestige and provide wide-ranging views across Cromwell's extensive landscape of lordship beyond the castle walls (see Chapter 8.2). The very act of incorporating the private hall within a tower intimately connected interior to exterior in a powerful visual display (Johnson 2002, 141). Halls were multi-purpose spaces which might be called upon to provide the location for feasting, entertainment, courts, estate offices, ceremonies, displays of patronage and as vehicles for social projection or more prosaically they may be a place where lower status members of the household could sleep (Johnson 2002, 78-80; Steane 2001, 97-98; Paston-Williams 1993, 68; Hammond 1993, 145-150) - although the latter was becoming increasingly rare by the late mediaeval period (Woolgar 1999, 64-65). The replication of a hall space within a residential tower indicates a social need to be removed from the wider household with a much more intimate group of the lord's retainers, peers or even superiors. There was also the attractive quality of the private hall being both physically closer to the great chambers on the floors above and sufficiently removed from the great hall below as to engender comfort and status in a single package. All of the elements of the great hall could still be enacted within the first floor space but the level of access to this area of particular social status was so much more prestigious (Woolgar 1999, 46-48; McNeill 1992, 67).

## 5.6  Second Floor

The second floor is accessed directly off the main stair via a doorway with a modern timber door housed within a four-centred stone arch with hollow chamfer mouldings (see Chapter 5.2). These mouldings are identical to the corresponding doorway on the third floor (see Chapter 5.7). This contrasts with the plain chamfer of the first floor (see Chapter 5.5) and is an immediate indicator that we are entering into an even higher status space. Unlike the lower floors, but in common with the third floor, there is a step down into the corridor beyond. This may be a deliberate attempt to physically disorientate the visitor from the outset as they

entered into a space specifically designed to heighten drama. Johnson (2002, 69-70) and Dixon (1996, 53) have pointed towards comparable architectural features deployed at Warkworth and Bolton to intentionally baffle the visitor through the ambiguous destination offered by identical doorways. At Tattershall, the visitor would have to negotiate a downwards step, necessitating the head to drop down to ensure that the manoeuvre was taken safely, which would be followed by the breath-taking spectacle of the brick vault above (Figure 118).

Beyond the door, the corridor that is entered measures 13.6 x 1.72 metres and is distinguished by five bays of quadripartite brick vaults with deep cavetto mouldings springing directly out of the walls without corresponding corbels. The surface of the vault has been rendered with fictive masonry. The corridor is amply lit by three, symmetrically placed windows in the east elevation whose southern jambs are congruent with the southern springers of the first, third and fifth vaulted bays (counted from the south end of the corridor). The jambs of the window embrasures have also been elaborated with hollow chamfers. The very striking vault has been described as: '*unexcelled by any other piece of brick architecture in England*' (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 23) and has, again, struck up energetic debate about its potential influences (see Chapter 7). Simpson (1960, xxvi), Platt (1982, 171) and M. W. Thompson (1988, 16) all favoured points of inspiration deriving from the continent, whereas Emery (2000, 311) points towards near-contemporary English structures - in particular, the brick-vaulted mural galleries dating to c 1380 at the gatehouse to Thornton Abbey, Lincolnshire (Emery 1985, 319).

The theatricality of the corridor is heightened by the placement of central stone bosses carved with five heraldic shields relating to Cromwell's lineage and family connections, emblazoned on foliate backgrounds. From south to north these represent the arms of:

1) Cromwell (a bend and a chief)

2) Deincourt (a fess dancetty between ten billets)

3) Tateshale (a chequy a chief ermine)

4) Driby (two cinquefoils, a dexter canton)

5) Clifton (bendy of ten)

Confusingly, these devices are all orientated so that they are read most easily looking north to south rather than the direction of travel from the stair door towards the entrance to the main chamber. A photograph taken in 1910, prior to conservation, shows this to have been an original feature (Lloyd 1925, 373) (Figure 119).

The purpose of this corridor is to create a piece of theatre in the approach to the main chamber of the second floor. The corridor enables the direction of entrance into the chamber to be the

reverse from the first and third floors as, the space is entered from the north-east. Here the delay created by having to walk the length of the corridor before either entering the waiting chamber at the north end or turning west into the great chamber (with its high end at the opposite south end) is a familiar one from a much older period of great tower construction (Liddiard 2005, 51-53). The vault above is much more elaborate than anything encountered on the lower floors and is here coupled with heraldry. An earlier example, which might be similar in purpose to Tattershall, could be the two-storey passageway linked to the great hall and chamber in the first half of the thirteenth century at Wells Bishop's Palace (Le Roy 2017, 12-13; Emery 2006, 669-670; Thompson 1998, 47-50).

John Goodall memorably describes the increase in artistic flourish as the tower heightens as 'gathering magnificence' (Goodall 2011, 354) and an example of this is the elaboration of the doorway mouldings – a hollow chamfer on the stair door, an ogee with quarter circle on the waiting chamber door and, most ornate of all, a combination of double ogee, hollow, fillet and ogee surrounding the impressive main chamber door (Figure 120). These mouldings exactly match the profiles of the stair, anteroom, and main chamber doors on the third floor respectively. The higher status of the second floor is also intimated using Ancaster limestone in the dressings of both doors at the north end of the corridor. The waiting chamber has a heavily worn threshold step below a drop arch whereas that into the main chamber has a square head beneath which an equilateral arch is framed by two plain, sunken spandrels. Stylistically, this door bears a strong resemblance to many fifteenth-century parish church doors such as the porch at St Martin's Fincham, Norfolk and the priest's door St Bartholomew's Tong, Staffordshire. It may be that this was deliberate as Matthew Johnson has pointed out that the twists and turns that the visitor is forced to make in gaining access to the upper portions of the Great Tower may have prompted the mediaeval mind to consider comparisons with ecclesiastical processions (Johnson 2002, 47, 83). This type of door can also be found in contemporary domestic contexts at Rye House, Hertfordshire, the fifteenth-century bishop's palace at Lyddington, Rutland and, a generation later, in the stair turret at Kirby Muxloe, Leicestershire.

The waiting chamber to the north of the corridor is contained within the north-east turret and is very well-appointed with a plain brick vault and a fireplace with a flattened brick arch, complete with moulded chamfers (Figure 121). The room is lit by a window in the north-west elevation which would have looked out towards Cromwell's deer park (see Chapter 8.2). A door in the west elevation led to a garderobe passage. The doorway has a brick four-centred arch with a simple chamfer moulding. Within, the passage doglegs to the north and has a recess for lighting in the west elevation beneath an equilateral arch with chamfered jambs.

The siege, capped with a piece of ashlar in the early twentieth century, sits against the north elevation and is lit and ventilated by a loop with oillets.

On entering the main chamber, the scene is relatively like the first floor albeit it in reverse (Figure 122). There are four bridging beams, 0.44 metres thick, dividing the ceiling into five bays each of which has thirteen joists orientated north-south. Four corbels in the south elevation are of identical design to those on the first floor and denote the high end of the chamber. The south and east elevations feature timber blocks in the brickwork akin to those of the ground and first floors for hanging mediaeval tapestries. There is also evidence in the form of blocked rebates in the north and west elevations which may indicate that the full sweep of the room was once decorated. The space is illuminated by two tracery windows in the west elevation with a third in the north (see Chapter 4.4). The four-centred rear-arch of the north window is higher (4.7 metres) than those of the west (4.19 metres). Strangely, the window embrasure vaults are unelaborated with ribs – unlike the floors above and below – although there is evidence for original plaster.

The fireplace is the only one in the Great Tower not located in the east elevation as it is situated between the two window embrasures of the western elevation (see Chapter 5.8) (Figure 136). This serves two purposes. Firstly, it allows the three flues of the ground, first and third floor chimneys ample room to reach the stacks above without pushing any of the hearths too close to the lower ends of their chambers - which would be the case if a fourth flue were introduced into the scheme. Secondly, it adds an extra element of drama on entering the room as the fireplace acts as a visual marker of status as the visitor makes the turn from doorway towards the high end – a factor not present on the other floors.

The north-western turret is entered over a stone threshold step through a doorway with a stone drop-arch moulded with a hollow chamfer. Within there is no fireplace or garderobe and, aside from the plain vault, the only feature of note is the window in the west elevation. It is difficult to ascertain the purpose of this chamber, but the stone door surround does indicate a level of status not seen on the floors below nor, curiously enough, in the south-western turret. Potentially, this space could have been used as a wardrobe like that at Lyddington, Rutland (Thompson 1976, 3).

The south-western turret has a modern iron gate is set within the deceptively simple four-centred arch with chamfer moulding. If there was a threshold step originally, it has been subsequently removed – possibly to facilitate access in the post-mediaeval period. Originally this was Cromwell's privy chamber off the high end of the great chamber. Within the plain vaulted space, illuminated by a window in the south-west elevation, was remodelled as a dovecote in the post-mediaeval period (see Chapter 9.4; Pevsner, Harris & Antram 2002, 748;

Avery 1997, 15) (Figure 123).  A door, identical to the turret door - but with a threshold step, in the east elevation of the privy chamber leads to a straight intra-mural passage 4.48 x 1.24 metres in dimension. The passage has a plain vault and is lit via a small window in the south elevation. This space is the twin of the passage behind the high end on the first floor and leads to a garderobe. The siege is in the south-east corner and has a rebated shelf to the south and light recess to the north which is identical to the one in the waiting chamber garderobe.

Earlier thinking on the function of the second floor has been largely influenced by A. H. Thompson's statement (first made in his 1914 notes on the site) that this was Cromwell's 'great chamber or withdrawing-room' (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 177; Thompson 1928, 21). His conclusions were followed by Wood (1965, 173), Simpson (1960, xvii-xviii; 1969, 142) and M. W. Thompson (Thompson 1974, 8). Julian Munby's view was that the room was a private chamber (Munby 2008, 159) – a term still in keeping with that of a great chamber. A slightly more nuanced approach was taken by Mansel-Sympson (1910, 39) and Gill (1915, 112) who both considered the space to be a state bedchamber. A functionally specific approach was also followed by Curzon and Tipping who stated it was 'a great chamber of ceremony and audience' (Curzon and Tipping 1929, 78). The latter opinion especially effected thought on Tattershall during the late twentieth and early twenty-first century as specialists reviewed the work of Curzon and Tipping (Forde-Johnston 1981, 127-28; Platt 1982, 172; Thompson 1987, 89; Matarasso 1993, 185; Avery 1997, 14; Emery 2000, 309; Pevsner, Harris & Antram 2002, 748; Marshall 2020, 267). M. W. Thompson (1988, 14) and Johnson (2002, 60) do not use the specific term 'audience chamber' but still talk about the space in relation to the processional corridor, waiting chamber and magnificence of the main chamber.

There is nothing essentially wrong with any of these opinions, but the more specifically functional views perhaps overlook the multi-functional aspects of great chambers in the late mediaeval period. Friar (2003, 273) stated that great chambers were often located directly above the hall in towers of this period and points to the specific example of Warkworth. The division of space indicates that something significantly different to the function of lordly halls may have been occurring within these spaces. This is an attitude picked up on by both Jane Croom (2018, 65) and Christopher Woolgar who pointed out the great chamber was used for 'sleeping, dressing and washing, for living during the day, eating, receiving guests – in fact for anything that the occupant did not wish to do in front of the full glare of the household' (Woolgar 1999, 50). Given that Cromwell already had a communal great hall and private dining hall, we can appreciate that the architecture of the second floor points strongly towards a degree of ceremony, but we should not become all consumed by this single function. A letter from Margaret Paston to her husband John, dating c 1454, discusses her arrangements in moving his accountancy equipment into the withdrawing chamber – indicating that the practical

business of estate management could also took place in these rooms (Davis 1971, 111-13). Margaret Paston also discussed her problems of space as she had to fit the accountancy equipment into a chamber already dominated by the presence of a bed. Large beds acted as yet another marker of status and we must imagine a scene not unlike those represented in the Bedford Hours where beds are pictured standing below testers on folios 32, 75, 89v and 120 (BL Add. MS 18850). A bed almost certainly stood beneath the canopy supported upon the four corbels set into the south elevation and as well as offering Cromwell somewhere to rest, would also have acted as a piece of furniture on which he could sit to discuss the business of the day with his visitors (Woolgar 1999, 78).

Our view of the second floor must be one of a magnificently well-appointed space reached by a processional corridor and waiting chamber in the north-east turret complete with heating and en suite facilities. Within, the lavishly decorated great chamber allowed Cromwell to show off his wealth and status with access to both a possible wardrobe in the north-west turret and a privy chamber with intra-mural garderobe in the south-west turret.

## 5.7  Third Floor

On passing through the hollow chamfer moulded doorway off the stair (see Chapter 5.2), the visitor to the third floor first encounters another single step down. The lobby beyond is the most magnificently vaulted space at Tattershall (Figure 124). Curzon and Tipping (1929, 23) believed the second-floor corridor was the finest space in the tower but in this they were challenged by Lloyd (1925, 86), Pevsner (2002, 748) and Goodall (2011, 355-56) who all commented on the astonishing sight of the lierne vaulting and armorial bosses, with evidence for a white plaster skim, in the third-floor lobby. The room measures 1.88 by 2.73 metres, and its ceiling is divided into a major quadripartite vault with ribs, springing from foliate corbels, that have deep cavetto mouldings flanking a roll with frontal fillet – the latter an antiquated form originally favoured in the mid-thirteenth century (Forrester 1974, 12-13). Goodall (2011, 355) has pointed towards the similarity of this lierne vault to civic and ecclesiastical brick architecture in the Baltic region. In the centre of the vault, and emblazoned on a foliate background, is a stone boss with the arms of Cromwell (a bend and a chief) quartering those of Tateshale (a chequy a chief ermine). The spandrels of the major vault are then subdivided into a minor sexpartite vault with similar, but smaller, mouldings. The spandrels of the minor vaults are further elaborated with blind tracery, finely moulded into daggers, mouchettes, wheel tracery and quatrefoils. The crown of each minor vault has a heraldic stone boss:

North: Clifton (bendy of ten)

East: Tateshale (a chequy a chief ermine)

South: Cromwell (a bend and a chief)

West: Deincourt (a fess dancetty between ten billets)

The tracery window in the east elevation of the lobby has jambs and rear-arch moulded with a chamfer and hollow chamfer respectively (see Chapter 4.4). To the west is a magnificent doorway, complete with threshold step, which is almost the twin of the main entrance to the second-floor great chamber except that it has the extra elaboration of elegantly cusped trilobes within the spandrels (Figure 125). In this respect, it bears a resemblance to the porch doors of Holy Trinity Tattershall (Figure 126). To the north is a second, smaller doorway which is the twin of the door into waiting chamber on the second floor. Here the threshold step was either never present or has been artfully removed.

The chamber to the north of the lobby measures 1.53 by 3.73 metres and has a plain vaulted ceiling rendered with fictive masonry (Figure 127). It is lit to the east by a window that has the original iron pintles and shutter catch in situ within the masonry of the embrasure. This cannot ever have been a residential space as it does not have a source of heating or en suite facility. It may have been either a room for readying goods to be taken into the main chamber (akin to the first floor) or an office. The presence of a tall, yet shallow, recess, measuring 0.35 by 1.57 metres, may have contained furniture necessary to either possibility.

The principal chamber is a larger and more elaborate version of the first floor (Figure 128). The four bridging beams of the ceiling are supported by concave braces which help take the weight of the extra tension created in the beam by the wider span plus the weight of the roof structure above. The ceiling is supported by five bays of thirteen north-south orientated joists.

The high end of the chamber is again denoted by a row of four stone corbels which supported a canopy frame. The fireplace is inclined slightly northwards of the centre line towards the high end (see Chapter 5.8) (Figure 137). There is less surviving evidence for timber blocks for hanging tapestry rails at this level, but two pairs of blocks can still be noted either side of the window of the south elevation.

The room is lit by two windows in the west elevation and one in the south (see Chapter 4.4); those of the west elevation have a rear-arch 4.61 metres high with that to the south being 4.52 metres. The southern embrasure vault is plain with fictive masonry, but those to the west are much more elaborate. Both are quadripartite vaults whose ribs have double cavetti flanking a roll with frontal fillet and have central stone bosses. The northern vault has a shield with an off-centre saltire (Figure 129), which may be the arms of the see of Wells (Van der Zee 2012, 27) or the city of St. Albans (Roberts 1993, 20), whereas the southern boss is a stylised rose

(Figure 130). The spandrels of both vaults are filled with blind tracery featuring quatrefoils, trefoils, mouchettes, daggers, triskeles, and wheel tracery.

Further rib vaulting can be seen in the two lobbies leading into the north-west and south-west turrets. Each has a quadripartite vault with ribs featuring cavetto mouldings flanking a roll. The northern lobby measures 0.98 x 1.04 metres whereas the southern is slightly larger at 0.98 by 1.25 metres. The central stone boss of the northern example is a plain shield (Figure 131), whilst the southern shield features a pale between six estoile (Figure 132) which cannot currently be linked to a specific English armorial, but which does bear a strong resemblance to the civic arms of Gouda in Holland. There is some doubt about the provenance of this stone as the colouring and patina look very fresh and it appears that it may be an inserted cast. Both turret lobbies have stone door surrounds with hollow chamfer mouldings and four-centred arches. Internally the south-western turret has a plain brick vault, is lit by a window in the west elevation and has an inner door from the lobby with a chamfered brick moulding on the four-centred arch. The north-western turret also has a plain brick vault and is lit by a window in the north elevation (Figure 133). The inner door from the lobby has a brick surround, there is a brick fireplace in the south-western elevation with a flattened arch head and another doorway, with a stone surround, drop arch and hollow chamfer. Internally, in the east elevation. The latter leads into a straight garderobe passage measuring 5.43 by 1.13 metres which is lit, centrally, in the north elevation. As per the garderobe on the second floor the siege is in a corner of the passage and has a rebate let into the nearside wall and a light recess adjacent.

The north-eastern doorway off the high end of the third floor has a stone surround with hollow chamfer moulding and leads into a short corridor orientated east-west which accesses a plain vaulted room to the north, via a door with stone surround and hollow chamfer moulding, which is contained within the north-eastern turret and is lit from the north. To the south is a second doorway of identical design to the turret door but with an additional threshold step. This leads into a rectangular intra-mural chamber with plain vaulting and a window in the east elevation.

It has already been alluded to above that, until the late 1960s, there was a widespread opinion that the third floor was devoted to the household of Margaret Deincourt (Thompson 1928, 22; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 79, 178; Wood 1965, 173; Anon 1969, 8). Since this period a consensus grew that this was Ralph Cromwell's own private bedchamber (Simpson 1960, xviii; Simpson 1969, 142; Platt 1982, 172; Thompson 1987, 89; Thompson 1988, 14; Matarasso 1993, 185; Avery 1997, 16; Emery 2000, 309). Other authors have been slightly non-committal, merely stating that the third floor was a private chamber (Gill 1915, 112; Forde-Johnston 1981, 128; Munby 2008, 161). More recently, Pamela Marshall (2020, 267) has returned to the notion that this floor may have been devoted to Margaret Deincourt.

Meanwhile, Mansel-Sympson (1910, 39) offered no function for the space at all, despite pointing out the potential purposes for the floors below. That Tattershall had a proliferation of chambers (large and small) within the Great Tower (and beyond in the wards below) is unassailable. This was part of a widespread pattern in late mediaeval architecture which related to the increasing permanence of occupation by households that were increasing in numbers (Liddiard 2005, 61-65; McNeill 1992, 53-57). The difficulty is in explaining the purpose of these chambers – even in structures as high-ranking as Tattershall.

We should perhaps look again at the earlier view that the third floor may have been the location for the Deincourt household. The practice of separating female members of the great lordly household has been widely established (Friar 2003, 236; Steane 2001, 106-07; Johnson 2002, 64-65; Gilchrist 1999, 120; Woolgar 1999, 25-26, 34-36; Gilchrist 1994, 168) and it may be that we are seeing a physical manifestation of this gender segregation at Tattershall. It has been pointed out that identifying specific architectural evidence of feminine spaces within mediaeval castles is hugely problematic (Brindle 2012, 71; Coulson 2003, 382, Gilchrist 1994, 167). Some work has been done to detect female households at castles such as the twelfth-century great tower at Conisbrough (Brindle 2012, 61-74), the thirteenth-century Round Tower at Barnard (Davis 2012-13, 282-84), the fourteenth-century West Tower at Helmsley (Gilchrist 1994, 168) and in the suites above the great hall at Bodiam (Johnson 2017, 47). Several authors have emphasised the remoteness of women's quarters in castles. Davis pointed out that spaces occupied by Dervorguilla Balliol on the upper floors of the Round Tower at Barnard were accessed from the great chamber via a door whose draw bar was symbolically located on its exterior (Davis 2012-13, 282). This practice chimes well with Gilchrist's observation that: 'Women's quarters were situated in the most segregated parts of castles' (Gilchrist 1994, 168). This position was followed with a discussion of late mediaeval literary evidence from the *Romance of Guy of Warwick* (c 1300) and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (c 1400) which both make it explicitly clear that the women of the household kept separate chambers (Gilchrist 1999, 123). The archaeological and literary evidence is confirmed by documentary accounts pertaining to Caister Castle which have shown that Dame Millicent Fastolf had separate rooms in the north-west tower (Woolgar 1999, 63-67).

The very practical reason for suspecting that the third floor was potentially a feminine space is based on the identification of the second floor as Ralph Cromwell's great chamber. If the space functioned as the lord's chamber (see Chapter 5.6), we can have no problem with the storey above being a space for his wife. If, instead, the second floor was a single-function audience chamber and the third floor was Cromwell's bedchamber, we then have to explain where Margaret Deincourt had her space. It seems incredibly unlikely that Cromwell would be

forced to descend the entire staircase of the Great Tower and then cross to another putative building that we cannot even identify in the Inner Ward should he wish to see his wife.

Architecturally, there are clues as to the purpose of this suite of rooms. Of the five shields in the lobby vault, the Deincourt arms are subtly located closest to the main chamber door (). The very magnificence of this vault – easily the most complex in the Great Tower – also fits well with another statement by Roberta Gilchrist: 'Positioned in the upper ends of halls or the upper reaches of castles, the female household may have been characterised by a greater degree of luxury' (Gilchrist 1999, 125). This luxury is also apparent in the high quality of the vaulting of the western windows, the vaults of the turret lobbies, the finely moulded stone doorways, garderobe, fireplace, tester corbels and blocks for tapestry rails. Goodall's notion of the 'gathering magnificence' (Goodall 2011, 354) of the Great Tower reaches its apotheosis on the third floor and may be entirely attributable to the presence of Margaret Deincourt.

Johnson has pointed out how the design of windows was often key in identifying the internal purposes of castle spaces (Johnson 2002, 77). Many commentators speculated that the third floor was used as a feminine space which housed Margaret Deincourt's chambers (Marshall 2020, 267; Thompson 1928, 22; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 79, 178; Wood 1965, 173; Anon 1969, 8). If this is the case then the deliberate anachronism of the windows may point towards the antiquity of the Deincourt family (see Chapter 6.3.2), whose coat of arms is also repeatedly displayed internally via the chimneypieces and roof bosses. The anachronism of Decorated-style windows in a building, which also harked back in appearance to the great towers of the twelfth century, was perhaps very deliberate and could be interpreted as a statement on the continuum of ancient power at Tattershall. Such visible stylings at Tattershall may have then helped to popularise the form in Lincolnshire during the second half of the fifteenth century. Parallels can be observed in the clerestory and tower of St Mary, Bloxholm; the clerestory at St Thomas Martyr, Digby and much of the Perpendicular work to the tower, clerestory and aisles at St Mary, Pinchbeck (Pevsner & Harris 2002, 149-50, 252, 601-02).

The functions of the remaining turret and intra-mural chambers are debateable. The north-western turret can potentially be identified with a greater degree of confidence as it provides access from the high end to a garderobe and contains a fireplace (Figure 133). This indicates a household residential capacity. Gilchrist gives examples of maidservant's chambers adjoining the principal rooms in the twelfth century at Ardres, Puy-de-Dôme, France and in the thirteenth century at both Woodstock and Westminster (Gilchrist 1999, 124). In the fifteenth century Millicent Fastolf's retainer Margaret Hodesson had an adjoining chamber in the north-west tower at Caister (Woolgar 1999, 63-67).

The relationship of high-ranking women and private chapels has also been demonstrated by Gilchrist (1999, 120, 123-24) and examples of chapels on the upper floors of royal palaces for queens have been documented at Winchester, Windsor, and Havering (Colvin, Brown & Taylor 1963b, 862, 867, 1013). Although Tattershall was furnished with both a parish (later collegiate) church and a chapel in the Inner Ward, it may be the case that one of the remaining spaces on the third floor functioned as a small private oratory. There is no direct architectural evidence in the form of an elaborate east-facing window or piscina but small oratories adjacent to private chambers were common in fifteenth-century great houses and may have contained portable fittings (Rawlinson 2011, 182-189). The stylised rose in the vaulting of the south-western turret lobby could potentially offer a religious context as this flower was often (but not exclusively) connected to the Virgin Mary (Ward 2016, 42). Failing that, the space may have been used as a wardrobe, store, strongroom, or office – functions which may also be applied to the north-east turret and intra-mural passage.

## 5.8 The Chimneypieces

The superlative language used to discuss the four chimneypieces at Tattershall (Figure 134, Figure 135, Figure 136 & Figure 137) is illuminating: 'famous' (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 187; Rushforth 1926, 163), 'splendid' (Thompson 1987, 89), 'magnificent' (Avery 1997, 5), 'magnificently diverse' (Emery 2000, 310, 'the finest remaining examples of Gothic fireplaces in the country' (Hills 1983, 16), 'the finest of their kind in England' (Simpson 1969, 143), and 'the high water of Gothic fireplace design and ornamentation' (Shuffrey 1912, 40). Authors are unanimous in their exultant praise with only Wood querying whether the real zenith was during the late fifteenth to early sixteenth century at sites such as Exeter Bishop's Palace, Muchelney Abbey, Somerset and Fawsley Hall, Northamptonshire (Wood 1965, 269-71). At Tattershall, A. H. Thompson was certainly correct when he stated that 'the feature which strikes the visitor most is the beauty and variety of the sculpted fireplaces' (Thompson 1928, 7).

Although variously different the fireplaces do share many similarities. All are constructed from Ancaster limestone (Avery 1997, 8; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 201) and have brick relieving arches above. Each has a flattened, four-centred arch made from two pieces of stone with a central joint (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 200-01). This design is both convenient for bridging a low opening and enabling a wide span to be achieved, whilst leaving space for decoration on the lintel and spandrels (Wood 1965, 266; Shuffrey 1912, 38). The jamb mouldings of each chimneypiece are identical - two large rolls flanking a classic Perpendicular Gothic double hollow chamfer (Forrester 1974, 17). All have a pairing of projecting pilasters and cornice, known as a parel (Wood 1965, 272), with paterae supporting miniature crenellations. Beneath these are friezes made of up to five stones (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 200-01) and containing figure sculpture, personal and heraldic devices within square panels on the ground floor,

roundels on the first floor and geometric panels on the second and third floors. Originally all had stone kerbs which would have supported andirons which were either repaired or replaced by Weir (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 201-02; Shuffrey 1912, 35).

Chimneypieces acted as focal points within a chamber or hall and were prominent places to display carvings relating to heraldry, religion, mythology, history and allegory (Friar 2003, 69). In direct relation to Tattershall, Emery (2000, 311) has stated that 'buildings… which made a splendid display were seen as an essential adjunct of authority… they were permanent demonstrations of his [i.e., Cromwell's] ancestry, his standing, and his achievements.' We have already noted the repetition of armorials in the vaulting at Tattershall and the chimneypieces were yet another venue for Cromwell to display them. We can legitimately interrogate the chimneypiece carvings to try and discern messages of social projection to see how Cromwell wanted visitors to the Great Tower to see him (see Chapter 6.3).

All four chimneypieces are capped by cornices with miniature crenellations - a device widely seen as a marker of aristocratic status (see Chapter 4.7; Coulson 2003, 111, 126, 187) (Figure 138). Below this level, the foliage of the chimneypiece cornice and lintel, would have been seen as analogous to warnings against sin and evil (Figure 138). This was made clear by church teachings during the mediaeval period in conjunction with concerns about sin brought about through the fruit tree in the Garden of Eden alongside other biblical allusions (Hayman 2010, 8-11). Such notions were often expressed through sculpted foliate heads (Batsford 1978, 19-21) which are subtly hinted at in the Great Tower through the juxtaposition of fleurons with grotesques (Figure 139). The latter may also have had an apotropaic function, considered necessary in proximity to the hearth which was seen as a liminal space vulnerable to access by evil spirits (Wright 2016b, 72; Woodcock 2011, 19-20). We may also speculate that a latent guilt at the sin of greed may have been expressed on the third floor where the cornice is carved with 11 fleurons interspersed with five Treasurer's purses (Figure 140). The specific link between carved analogies of sin and wealth is intriguing. The alien 'otherness' of woodland in mediaeval thinking is also demonstrated at Tattershall by the repeated carvings of wild men (especially on the first floor) who were symbolic of outcasts living beyond the realms of civilisation whose base nature it was the duty of virtuous men to reject (Hayman 2010, 11; Johnson 2002, 159) (Figure 141). The combination of carvings of wild men, grotesques and fleurons can also be seen in the context of liturgical marginalia which often featured such imagery (Rose & Hedgecoe 1997, 30-31) and at Tattershall these figures do have a liminal quality relegated to the cornice, lintel, capitals or supporting elements of the main panels without ever being the principle focus of the frieze.

The source of the wealth that brought about the construction of the castle is prominently displayed on all four chimneypieces via the repeated motif of the Treasurer's purse (Figure 142). The decade spent as Lord Treasurer of England marked the pinnacle of Cromwell's political career and may have acted as the catalyst for his building projects (Emery 1985, 327-28). The purse is depicted as a pouch tightened at its neck by two strings and hung from a metal clasp (Thompson 1988, 13). It features more than any other motif on the fireplaces, appearing 35 times, and alternates with heraldic shields on the first, second and third floors or flanks and supports such devices on the third floor. On the ground and first floors the purse is found in association with Cromwell's personal motto 'Nay je droit' (Have I not the right?) and foliate sprays of lithospermum offinale known as the common Gromwell weed (Figure 142). The latter being a horticultural rebus on Cromwell's name (Rushforth 1929, 163-65). The gromwell rebus is found in the frieze related to the Treasurer's purse on the ground and first floors, in the spandrels of the third floor and possibly on its own in the spandrels of the second floor. It has also been noted as present in the later fifteenth-century stained-glass of the east window of Holy Trinity Tattershall (Figure 106) and was formerly incorporated within the state apartments at Wingfield Manor (Rushforth 1926, 163-64).

Cromwell's familial connections are explored in the heraldry of the fireplaces. There is a notable desire to express more distant kin such as Vipont (Figure 143), Albini (Figure 144), Marmion (Figure 145), Clifton (Figure 146) and Grey of Rotherfield (Figure 147) on the ground floor chimneypiece (see Chapter 6.3.2). Albini is displayed just once again on the first floor, but these more remote connections are entirely absent from the second and third floor chimneypieces which, along with the two lower floors, repeat the arms of Cromwell (Figure 148), Tateshale (Figure 149), Deincourt (Figure 150), Bernack (Figure 151) and Driby (Figure 152) - the principal families that owned Tattershall, along with that of Cromwell's wife. Previous scholars have emphasised that the ground floor fireplace is the most accomplished of the four, despite damage done to it by cattle in the post-mediaeval period (Avery 1997, 11; Thompson 1988, 13; Anon 1811, 7), and Emery (2000, 311) has drawn parallels between the great central, crocketed ogee arch with foliate finial and the west doors at St Botolph's Boston (c 1370) (Figure 153) and St James' Louth (c 1440-45). To that list, we can probably add the crypt doorway at St Wulfram's Grantham (c 1450) as well as the porch (c 1400) and tomb of John Salmon (died 1416) at St Mary's Nottingham. Harwood has pointed out that the Perpendicular ogee arches found in Nottingham and Lincolnshire at this period owe their inspiration to works at Gloucester Cathedral in the fourteenth century which was probably transferred by work in the West Midlands (Harwood 2008, 31-5). Perhaps the more public function of the ground floor as a household hall led Cromwell to demonstrate both his high-

ranking family links to a distant and glorious past as well as show an architectural flair symbiotic with the demands of fifteenth-century lordship.

Despite this, there is an argument to say that the most interesting of the four fireplaces is that of the first floor (Figure 135). Although more architecturally subtle than the ground floor, this chimneypiece contains more sophistication of both motif and sculptural ability. For example, it is the only one of the four to have a double row of fleurons and grotesques appearing on both the cornice and lintel. Figure sculpture is much more common here, too with no less than six wild men (Figure 141), plus marginal scenes in the spandrels in the form of a rabbit or hare eating a plant (Figure 154) – synonymous with the notion of Christian meekness (Barber 1992, 66) – and a dragon fighting a centaur (Figure 155) which represented the battle between good and evil (Barber 1992, 183). This motif is also reprised in the form of St Michael slaying the dragon (Figure 156) on the northern lintel of the main frieze which is also matched symmetrically on the southern lintel by the scene of a man fighting a lion beneath a castellated gateway (Figure 157). The latter has been identified as either the Old Testament scene from the life of Samson or as a piece of legendary family history relating to Hugh de Neville who was reputed to have slain a lion whilst on crusade (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 77). This interpretation might also reference Margaret Deincourt's familial connections to the Nevilles via her grandmother (Friedrichs 1974, 26). Strong political and religious statements were being made on the first-floor chimneypiece (see Chapter 6.3.1).

The second and third floors are much simpler in design and the heraldry is represented with much smaller motifs and shields (Figure 136 & Figure 137). This reduction in grandeur of chimneypieces is at odds with the wider vertical display of growing splendour in the Great Tower and may be an indication that a parity of status had been reached between Cromwell and visitors to the two upper floors. Notably, these two chimneypieces appear above the level of the continuous external string course which may itself have been a visual marker of the higher status upper spaces in the tower (see Chapter 4.4). Overall, the scheme is dominated by geometrical panels. The second-floor frieze contains ten principal panels made up of an upper tier of three trefoils on top of a middle tier of larger trefoils (the central ones containing the heraldry) resting on three quatrefoils (Figure 136). The third floor has Treasurer's purses within quatrefoils supported by four trefoil panels alternating with shields in double-cusped trefoil panels with foliate principal cusps below two cinquefoil panels. Margaret Wood has pointed towards a revival of the antiquated quatrefoil on chimneypieces from c 1460 at sites such as Crosby Hall, London, Ashby Castle, Leicestershire (Figure 158) and Cannington Court, Somerset (Wood 1965, 268-69). This would put Tattershall slightly to the fore of the newly re-emerging fashion - and potentially as the initial catalyst.

## 5.9  Roof and Battlements

We come finally to the part of the Great Tower that has been affected most by the conservation project of the 1910s (see Chapter 9.5). A photograph taken from the top of the staircase in 1910, prior to the conservation work, clearly shows the overgrown and fallen nature of the roof and battlements at this period (Lloyd 1925, 110) (Figure 159), as later noted by Weir (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 186).

The lower stage of the double-tiered roof structure is accessed to the north of the staircase into an open-sided brick gallery 12.45 x 2.03 metres in dimension (Figure 80). This side is wider than the others probably due to the projection of the chimney stack. The east and west sides of this enclosure have eight bays whilst the north and south have six. Overall, the effect of the four walkways is one highly reminiscent of a monastic cloister despite the adjacent oversailing machicolations (see Chapter 4.7).

The earliest commentator on the site simply states that: 'The tower was covered by a grand platform, or flat roof' (Anon 1811, 6). The current brick gallery was a slightly speculative construction by Weir, as the interior masonry had completely disappeared when the conservation work began in April 1912. A. H. Thompson cautiously noted that the roof was 'possibly contained by an inner wall' (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 146, 178). Whilst it is felt that the project probably did reconstruct the space correctly (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 194), we must introduce a note of caution into the wide-ranging debates about the influences on this design as we cannot be completely sure that it ever appeared in quite this way during the mediaeval period.

The western elevation of the gallery is dominated by the enormous chimney stack (complete with an unglazed window penetrating the masonry) 4.71 by 0.76 metres in dimension (Figure 80). This crow-stepped stack had only its lower portions surviving when the conservation work begun, and Weir experimented with the varying heights of the protruding chimneys until he settled upon the central one rising highest of the three. This seems to be a sensible option as the Millicent illustration shows a single chimney rising above flanking raking elevations (Figure 7). Two of the stone caps were replaced based on the example recovered during the moat during excavations. The ground, first and third floors ejected smoke through this stack whereas the second floor was served by a chimney on the west side which was completely missing in 1912 and had to be built anew (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 80, 147, 158, 179, 195).

The flat roof of the central space noted in 1811 (Anon 1811, 6), was probably the post-mediaeval insertion noted by Weir (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 188). The vestiges of masonry rebates of it are visible in the south-east elevation of the north-west turret in Carlton's photograph (Lloyd 1925, 110) (Figure 159). The original mediaeval roofline was substantially

lower and had a slight east to west fall so that it could drain through the machicolations and into the moat (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 188). The current concrete and asphalt roof has a fall towards the east side where water is gathered into a north-south orientated gully before discharging into the moat via copper pipes set into the original ventilation shafts of the garderobes (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 190, 193).

At the level of the lower gallery, the three octagonal turret chambers are all largely identical and measure approximately 3.8 by 3.7 metres internally (Figure 160). The north-eastern turret is approached via the south elevation directly from the gallery whereas the western turrets are entered on the angles. Despite this difference, all three doorways have stone detailing with four-centred arches and ogee and quarter circle mouldings (Figure 161). Internally, the ceiling structures are supported on central east-west orientated beams and the spaces are illuminated by single, glazed windows and have fireplaces with flattened arch brick surrounds. The lower turrets may have been banqueting suites marked by the presence of impressive stone door surrounds and fireplaces (the lack of latrines at this level probably precludes residence). From this comfortable vantage Cromwell's most favoured guests could have admired the wide views, beyond the castle gates, across his landscape of lordship (see Chapter 8.2). This would have been an impressively mature conjunction of architectural and landscape design which has been noted as a marker of elite aesthetics (Creighton 2009, 58-59), but which is more commonly associated with later Renaissance houses such as Wollaton Hall (Marshall 2020, 269).

At the upper level of the wall-walk, Weir found evidence that the original parapet had been roofed with lead but during the rebuild concrete and asphalt was favoured (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 188, 193). The weather damage to the crenellations was such that they had to be almost totally reconstructed although reused bricks were favoured and stone copings dredged from the moat were refixed and served as models for new ones cut from Weldon stone (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 147, 158, 193-94). The inner post and rail safety fence was also inserted by Weir (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 195).

The turrets form part of the wall-walk circuit (Figure 80). Those to the west sit back from the parapet and their interiors are accessed by a single step up, although the north-east turret has to be physically passed through to complete the circuit. The octagonal spaces are plain but are well lit by brick arched windows internally and cruciform oillets externally (see Chapter 4.4). Their timber ceilings were inserted by Weir and have hatches to access the roofs. The north-east turret had been struck by lightning prior to conservation and was largely rebuilt (Curzon 1929, 146-47, 186). Meanwhile, the south-east turret had been reroofed prior to Curzon purchasing the site – presumably to keep the stairwell in good order (Curzon & Tipping

1929, 147, 186). The turrets were subsequently rebuilt or reroofed and fitted with lightning conductors (Curzon & Tipping, 194). The c 15 foot tall, lead, spirelets with crocketed finials, visible in the Buck and Millicent illustrations (Figure 6 & Figure 7). The presence of roofs on towers was a relatively common feature, as noted at the Tower of London (Goodall 2011, 355) and Farleigh Hungerford (Johnson 2002, 179).

## 5.10 Conclusions

The subject of the Great Tower has been a popular one with prior commentators, but it has tended to generate repetitive statements (see Chapter 1.1). The tower is usually brought up in syntheses as an example of how the late mediaeval castle was developing away from military fortification towards country houses (Thompson 1987, 89; Platt 1982, 164) – a trend in writing that was explicitly noted by Johnson (2002, 14). As many have stated before, Tattershall was not a true military castle but, as Coulson (1979, 73-90), Liddiard (2005, 2-11) and Goodall (2011, 6) have demonstrated, castles were inherently more complex structures than the reductive fortification-versus-residential debate allowed. The Great Tower's defensive features were not functional – its machicolations are ill-sited and the crenellations are far too low to be practical – instead they were symbolic of a lordship dependent on the perceived intent of militarism. Additionally, the building is too accessible via five doorways and a staircase that is exceptionally wide (because it is intended to be a grand statement of power), the huge windows were glazed and had no defensive capabilities, above the basement all the floor frames are wooden rather than vaulted (making them vulnerable to attack) and the basement well is inaccessible to the upper floors. Dixon pointed out that the positioning of late mediaeval castles as being in decline from a perceived militaristic heyday in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as proposed by Thompson (1987), is a false one. Instead, great towers were (and always had been) 'a shell for the overt symbolism of social power' (Dixon & Lott 1993, 99).

Whilst Cromwell's High Tower at Wingfield Manor has been shown to be residential guest lodgings rather than a lordly tower (see Chapter 8.4; Dixon & Lott 1993, 96-97), the functions of Tattershall were far more complex. Externally, the tower is visible for many miles around and acted as a dominating visual focus, across the flat Lincolnshire fens, both within and without Cromwell's extensive landholdings (see Chapter 8.2). The Great Tower's double-height parapets also offered the possibility of being a venue for viewing those landholdings as well. Creighton (2010, 41) has demonstrated the potential for using the tower as a platform to appreciate the gardens and extensive deer park to the north. Marshall (2020, 269) has drawn specific attention to the potential for the use of the heated upper spaces in the turrets as high-status banqueting rooms with impressive views over the landscape of lordship below.

Access to the Great Tower was tightly controlled. The meandering route through three gates and wards was overseen by the ever-present view of the tower (see Chapter 3.7). When the visitor was finally admitted to the Inner Ward, they would still have to negotiate the ancient Tateshale buildings of the courtyard prior to considering the range of doors off the great hall corridor. Those not admitted to the tower could still appreciate the prestigious messages being projected. The use of brick was innovative – the very fabric of the structure declaiming status. Furthermore, the combined use of brick and stone, diaperwork, antiquated window tracery, chimneys projecting above the crenellations and the overall form of the great tower – centrally stacked chambers with octagonal turrets spoke of an emerging style in English architecture. This new fashion will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7.5, but the probable dating of Tattershall Castle to the earlier 1430s puts the site at the forefront of what became the Lancastrian court style. Subsequently, the design of Tattershall went on to have a long-lasting effect on English building which could still be felt well into the seventeenth century (see Chapter 7.5).

New insights into the form and functions of the Great Tower have been gained through a fresh and detailed survey of the structure. Evidence has been presented for the possibility that the structure may date to the 1430s rather than the 1440s (Chapter 4.1). The landscape context for the choice of building materials, noted both physically and in the building accounts, has been understood to relate directly to Cromwell's estate holdings (4.2). For the first time it has been possible to understand something of the calculations made by the master builders in the layout of the floor plan and elevations including the use of formal geometry (Chapter 4.3). The window tracery has been identified as containing specific examples of anachronistic design that points towards a style preferred by newly rising men and which eventually went on to influence royal building (4.4). It has been observed that the use of diaperwork was not only early in a building of this scale but was also leading the way with innovation through the presence of motifs redolent of lordship and piety which were not widely followed until later in the century (4.5).

Internally, the floor levels of the Great Tower become more lavish as the structure rises. The relatively humble storage basement is mirrored in many other great towers (Chapter 5.3), but the household hall on the ground floor is rarer – itself a marker of the status of Cromwell's large retinue (Chapter 5.4). The stair is one of the true glories of Tattershall, not only in its impressive width but also through the incorporation of the expensive and technically proficient recessed handrail which itself became a marker of status deliberately copied by others (Chapters 5.2 and 7.5). The complex access arrangements to the staircase also point towards a zoning of social status – servants accessed the newel via a separate door from the kitchen

to the south, visitors entered via the principal ground floor door in the east elevation whereas the most high-ranking individuals could move from the solar or the corridor staircase to an upper door in the south-east turret (Chapters 3.5.4, 4.6  and 5.2). Above were Cromwell's dining hall, great chamber and a bedchamber that may have been the preserve of Margaret Deincourt (Chapters 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7). Each floor is marked by increasing flamboyancy in the brick vaulting and moulded doorways. Conversely, the carved motifs on the chimneypieces grow smaller and references to Cromwell's distant ancestry disappear entirely on the second and third floors – a level marked externally by the presence of a continuous stone string course (Chapter 5.8). Crowning all was the architecturally unique double-height gallery, with integral turrets possibly used as banqueting facilities, that had wide views over the landscape of lordship beyond (Chapter 5.9). Those invited to such elevated locations would have been the most socially prominent of Cromwell's guests. The chimneypieces have been shown to be highly redolent of Cromwell's social aspirations to demonstrate that he was a powerful lord operating on the national scale. However, within the details of the sculptures there are certain tensions present which reflect underlying anxieties that Cromwell may have felt about his position in society. It is towards the subject of how we can gain a closer understanding of Cromwell's character and personality through analysis of his architecture that we shall turn next.

# 6  The Newly Built Personality of Ralph Lord Cromwell

## 6.1  Introduction

As referred to in Chapter 1.1, the only substantive biography of Ralph Lord Cromwell is an unpublished PhD thesis written by Rhoda Friedrichs whilst studying at the Faculty of Political Science at Columbia University (Friedrichs 1974). The work is a highly competent and detailed piece of writing which discusses the life of Cromwell through a deep analysis of primary sources largely relating to his public offices, his legal cases, and the management of his estates (Friedrichs 1974, 2-5). This study led to the production of two journal articles which gave an overview of Cromwell's political biography (Friedrichs 1988) and a detailed discussion of the partisan nature of his various wills (Friedrichs 1990).

There are short biographical introductions to Cromwell either as stand-alone pieces (Reeves 2004; Myatt-Price 1957, 4-13) or which touch on his architectural achievements (Emery 1985, 276-339; Gill 1915, 105-140). Reference has been made to Tattershall (Johnson 2002, 55-62; Emery 2000, 308-316; Avery 1997, 20-27; Thompson 1974, 15; Wight 1972, 127-32; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 43-94; Mansel-Sympson 1910, 26-45). Parts of Cromwell's life are briefly mentioned in several castle studies syntheses as part of an outline of his building programmes (Goodall 2011, 354-6; Thompson 1987, 87-91; Platt 1982, 165-73).

Cromwell is usually represented in the literature as a political figure, mentioned in passing, in relation to more well-known or influential historical figures and events. He has been noted as a soldier and diplomat for Henry V (Allmand 1992, 148), a councillor to Henry VI (Grummitt 2015, 55, 60, 89; Wolffe 1981, 67, 71, 107, 109; Jacob 1961, 211-12, 218, 230, 234, 253, 433) and with reference to the breakdown in law and order in the lead up to the Wars of the Roses (Johnson 2019, 316-8; Grummitt 2015, 174; Hicks 2012, 67-8, 97, 106, 112-13; Rose 2002, 401-3; Gillingham 1981, 76-7, 82, 169; Wolffe 1981, 116, 222-3, 274-5, 281, 297; Jacob 1961, 492, 494, 502). For most writers, it is Cromwell's reputation as Lord Treasurer of England from 1433 until 1443 that is the principal feature of his political life (Johnson 2019, 185; Grummitt 2015, 115-17; Hicks 2012, 62; Barker 2009, 194, 305; Wolffe 1981, 73-4, 77, 100, 162-5; Jacob 1961, 255, 330, 468; Kirby 1951, 121-51).

In other short studies, earlier scholars tended to concentrate on financial matters - the building accounts for Tattershall Castle (Simpson 1960) and the household accounts for 1417-76 (Myatt-Price 1956, 99-113). Several articles have targeted some of the more controversial aspects of Cromwell's activities including pieces on his appropriation of the Heriz inheritance (Turville-Petre 1998, 174-87; Payling 1995, 117-36; Payling 1986, 67-96) and the murky relationship between Cromwell and William Tailboys (Virgoe 1973, 459-82).

The following section will give an overview of his life based on these (and other) secondary sources before we analyse the results of Cromwell's architectural patronage for clues toward his projected personality.

## 6.2 Ralph Cromwell: A Biographical Overview

Ralph Cromwell was born into a socially rising midlands family in January 1393. The family took their name from their manor of Cromwell in eastern Nottinghamshire, a county in which their estates were centred on a house at Lambley (Emery 2000, 313; Weir 1981, 75). As the financial and political fortunes of the Tateshales had risen due to patronage and marriage alliances during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, so the Cromwells had begun their own steady rise to prominence by the reign of Edward I. Ralph Cromwell II (c 1238-89) fought in the Welsh wars and began to expand the family estates into Derbyshire and Lincolnshire through his marriage to Macerie Marmion of Scrivelsby (Friedrichs 1974, 6). His younger son, Sir John Cromwell (1275-1335), continued this military connection in Scotland and France; for which service he was appointed governor of the Tower of London (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 30-1), steward of the royal household and Chamberlain of the Exchequer (Friedrichs 1974, 7). Meanwhile, the elder son – Ralph Cromwell III – took over the lordship, but it was his grandson (Ralph V c 1325-64) who would increase the family fortunes further through marriage to the heiress Amice de Bellars (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 31). Their son, another Ralph (c 1341-98), was able to countenance marriage to the heiress of the Tateshale fortune – Maud de Bernack (1337-1419). The families may have already considered themselves distant kin due to the Bernack's inheritance of the Tateshale estates via the Albini family. Ralph Cromwell II had married a relative of the Tateshales, Margaret de Somery. whose own mother (Nicole d'Albini) was the sister of Mabel d'Albini. The latter married Robert III de Tateshale – the builder of the 1230s castle (see Chapter 2.2; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 31).

Following the union between Cromwell and Bernack, the fortunes of the family increased once again. Ralph 1st Lord Cromwell was summoned to Parliament in 1375, led a company to the wars in France and played a great part in the politics of the East Midlands (Friedrichs 1988, 208; Friedrichs 1974, 8). Their son, Ralph (c 1368-1416), may have supported Henry of Bolingbroke in his usurpation of the throne in 1399 and his younger brother, Sir William Cromwell, was certainly given an annuity by Henry IV in 1400 for longstanding service (Friedrichs 1974, 8-10). This Ralph (2nd Lord Cromwell) is a rather shadowy figure, and it is uncertain what effect he may have had on the early life of his son, the future Lord Treasurer of England. Friedrichs (1988, 207; 1974, 10-11) has demonstrated that it was probably Sir William who brought his young nephew into the orbit of the royal court via his own connections with the household of Thomas, Duke of Clarence - the second son of Henry IV. The precise

date of this placement is uncertain. It could have occurred as early as 1401 but had taken place by 1407.

As the newly established Lancastrian dynasty strengthened their position the Cromwells further augmented their standing through royal patronage. As an esquire, Ralph (soon to be 3rd Lord Cromwell) was on campaign in France with Clarence in 1412. He then returned with the invasion force of the newly crowned Henry V in 1415 and he was probably knighted at Azincourt. Whilst perhaps not a natural soldier, he proved himself to be very capable as an administrator and in the gentle art of diplomacy during the English campaigns of 1417-20. In recognition of this, he was granted the lieutenancies of Bec, Poissy and Pontoise, the captaincy of Harfleur, and Clarence named him constable of the army (Friedrichs 1974, 12-3). It was during this period that both Ralph's father and grandmother died leaving him with a substantial inheritance that included Tattershall Castle (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 34).

Cromwell had apparently come to the notice of the king by 1420 as he was entrusted as one of the diplomats tasked with negotiating the Treaty of Troyes (Emery 2000, 312; Friedrichs 1988, 208; Friedrichs 1974, 13-14; Myatt-Price 1957, 5; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 34). With the death of Clarence at Baugé, in March 1421, Cromwell is presumed to have deepened his links to Henry V (Barker 2009, 37-8; Emery 2000, 312). By the time of Henry's own death, in August 1422, Ralph had fully consolidated his position and was named a member of the Council which was to administer Henry VI's minority government on both sides of the English Channel (Friedrichs 1974, 17-19).

Having established himself as a landowner and political figure, Cromwell's next move was to marry Margaret Deincourt in mid-1423. The two were evenly matched – Margaret was the daughter of John Lord Deincourt and Joan, the heiress of Lord Grey of Rotherfield. Margaret brought a substantial amount of wealth to the match as she was co-heiress to an estate worth more than £1000. Many of her lands were adjacent to Cromwell's own East Midland estates and this furthered his ambitions to present himself as a man of substantial means (Emery 2000, 313; Friedrichs 1988, 209; Friedrichs 1974, 24-5). The Deincourt connection also linked Ralph to other rising men such as William Lord Lovell who was married to Margaret's sister and was another important patron of architecture during the 1430s at Minster Lovell Hall (Oxfordshire).

Of the seventeen councillors appointed in 1422, twelve were leading magnates or churchmen, three were knights who had given lengthy terms of service to the crown, whilst Cromwell and Lord FitzHugh had both risen to prominence due to their wartime administrative and diplomatic skills. They were in effect junior members dominated by higher-ranking figures, the most powerful of whom were Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester (Henry VI's great uncle) and

Henry V's brothers Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, and John, duke of Bedford. Gloucester and Bedford were the pre-eminent members as Protector of England and Regent of France respectively. With Bedford personally managing the rulership and ongoing war in France, factions began to develop in England between Gloucester and Beaufort (Ross 2016, 10; Grummitt 2015, 57-60; Kelsall 2000, 4; Wolffe 1981, 41-3; Underhill 1978, 60). Initially, Beaufort took a lead when he was appointed Lord Chancellor for the third time in July 1424. Cromwell had linked himself to the bishop when he named Beaufort as a feoffee of Tattershall Castle (Underhill 1978, 59; Friedrichs 1988, 210). This connection may have been made as Beaufort's sister, Joan, was married to Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, whose own sister was Margaret Deincourt's grandmother, Alice the dowager Lady Deincourt (Friedrichs 1974, 26). Cromwell showed political acumen by drawing himself close to Gloucester's adherent John Lord Scrope (Friedrichs 1974, 29-30) whilst forging important links with other powerful Councillors including the bishops Thomas Langley and William Alnwick (Friedrichs 1988, 210).

The next phase of Cromwell's political life saw an uncertain and inconstant series of peaks and troughs. The initial months of Beaufort's munificence saw the wellspring of royal favour deliver lands, wardships and grants to Cromwell. However, by mid-1425 Gloucester had reasserted himself and Cromwell was sent away from the centre of power on a low-key diplomatic mission to Scotland. So dissatisfied were Beaufort's followers at this time that street fighting broke out with Gloucester's retainers in October. Bedford eventually intervened, in 1426, and persuaded Beaufort to resign his position - thus freeing him to further his ecclesiastical ambitions as a cardinal (Grummitt 2015, 57-60; Emery 2000, 312; Friedrichs 1988, 210; Wolffe 1981, 38-44; Underhill 1978, 60; Friedrichs 1974, 37-53). Bedford's diplomatic skills ensured that Beaufort's faction remained on the Council, but with Gloucester ascendant once again, Cromwell's access to patronage was severely curtailed (Friedrichs 1974, 55-64). The situation changed again in November 1429 after the coronation of Henry VI ended Gloucester's protectorship. Beaufort was recalled to the Council (Johnson 2019, 109-110; Friedrichs 1974, 64-5) and with the return of his benefactor, Cromwell once again received such bounty that the revenue from his 42 manors now amounted to £1020 (Emery 2000, 313). This period saw him granted further incomes from two royal farms, the temporalities of the vacant see of Carlisle, the positions of steward and constable of Castle Rising and the office of King's Chamberlain.

The Beaufort faction travelled to monitor the trial of Joan of Arc in Rouen in March 1431 (Friedrichs 1988, 211; Friedrichs 1974, 65-71). When Cromwell returned to England without the cardinal, in February 1432, Gloucester aggressively took control of the Council by replacing the Beaufort faction almost in its entirety (Friedrichs 1974, 70-1). Cromwell did not go quietly and made a declaration of his 'determination to demand his legal due, to insist on

public and formal recognition of his rights and his honour, even in the face of the most daunting opposition' (Friedrichs 1988, 212). Cut adrift, Cromwell formally entered an alliance with Beaufort in which he was named feoffee for all of the cardinal's lands and estates (Friedrichs 1988, 212; Friedrichs 1974, 72).

Cromwell's loyalty paid off. The military situation in France was in turmoil by 1433, due to the resurgent power of Charles VII and a significant lack of funding for the embattled English troops. Gloucester's choice of Lord Treasurer, Lord Scrope, had admitted to the Council in April that he was unable to provide a source of income to pay for the earl of Huntingdon's soldiers. Bedford sought to rectify these problems by ensuring that a steady flow of money came from England. He did this by wresting control of the Council from his brother and transferring power to several of Beaufort's faction, including Cromwell who was named as the new Lord Treasurer on 11 August 1433 (Emery 2000, 312; Friedrichs 1988, 212; Friedrichs 1974, 75-81).

The appointment as Lord Treasurer marked the zenith of Cromwell's political career and, despite the parlous state of English finances, he managed to retain the position far longer than any other Lancastrian incumbent. The precarious economic situation had been brought about by a combination of factors including the expensive French wars, a slump in the availability of gold bullion and the sheer expense of the royal household. Cromwell's first task was to present an account to Parliament, in October 1433, which demonstrated that gross annual revenue amounted to £65,000, whilst expenditure was £81,000 and accrued debt was £164,000 (Grummitt 2015, 115-17; Hicks 2012, 62; Barker 2009, 194, 305; Emery 2000, 312; Friedrichs 1988 212-5; Wolffe 1981, 73-4, 77, 100, 162-5; Friedrichs 1974, 111-26; Jacob 1961, 255-6; Kirby 1951, 121-51).

Cromwell's responsibilities as Treasurer required him to oversee royal revenues and assets, whilst also being involved as a councillor in policy decisions which effected finance. He seems to have been very diligent in his responsibilities and there is clear evidence of his close involvement in procedure within the documentary record. After providing the estimates of 1433, he suggested a threefold solution to the problems which called for a subsidy to pay off the king's debts, to prioritise (or postpone indefinitely) the repayments and a demand that he be consulted before the Council sanctioned any further grants from the royal coffers and estates. Cromwell managed limited successes when Bedford, Gloucester and Talbot agreed to take only part of the sums owing to them in February 1434. In May, the Council cited Cromwell's estimates as a reason to reject Gloucester's demand to fund further campaigning in France. However, parliament refused to pay off the accrued debts and in the summer

Cromwell's customs taxation policy was blocked after representation by the earl of Warwick (Friedrichs 1988, 212-5; Friedrichs 174, 121-43).

Already a wealthy man and, despite his warning against Council members using their positions to appropriate grants, the opportunities for increasing his fortune during his years as Lord Treasurer were vast. By 1446-8 he had increased the number of his estates by almost 100 and was receiving £2263 5s 10 1/2d per annum from them. This was augmented by his wages for Council service amounting to by £233 6s 8d per year (Emery 2000, 313; Friedrichs 1988, 217; Friedrichs 1974, 196-200, 204).

The case of the widow Elizabeth Swillington and the Heriz inheritance serves to demonstrate just how avaricious Cromwell could be. During the mid-1430s he sought to deprive the heiress of the manors of Gonalston and Widmerpool in Nottinghamshire and Tibshelf and South Wingfield in Derbyshire. Given his very dubious claim to these lands, Cromwell took punitive action against Swillington and had her kidnapped and imprisoned at Tattershall, demanding that she sign over her inheritance to him. She was treated so badly at the castle that she lost an eye, leading Cromwell to send her to the more remote Castle Rising in case word was spread. Six months later, Ralph sent Elizabeth to Kings Lynn during a dangerous outbreak of plague, but she still would not relent. He recalled Swillington to Tattershall and then deposited her at Catley Abbey - which she subsequently threatened to set fire to. Eventually, she was locked in the chapel at Tattershall Castle with Justice William Paston who eventually forced her to sign over the inheritance to Cromwell (Turville-Petre 1998, 174-87; Payling 1995, 117-36; Payling 1986, 67-96). Perhaps it was this kind of sharp practice that had led Brother Richard Parteney of nearby Bardney Abbey (Lincolnshire) to state that it was Cromwell's 'fortune… to sweep the floor' (i.e., to be executed by beheading) as was the fate of so many other Lord Treasurers (Thompson 1918, 24).

The accumulation of land and political power inevitably led to major construction projects. Liddiard (2005, 41) has pointed out that: 'To the medieval mind, the castle was… far more than a place to live or an administrative centre: it represented and reflected the rank and dignity of the lord.' Cromwell's social and political advancement acted as the catalyst for a sequence of construction which began with the redevelopment of Tattershall Castle during the 1430s and 1440s (see Chapter 4.1). Subsequently, Cromwell instigated concomitant work at Wingfield Manor c 1439-50 (Emery 1985, 303-7) and at Collyweston Manor in the 1440s (Emery 2016, 361-3) (see Chapter 8.4). The residential hunting lodge known as the Tower on the Moor at Woodhall Spa probably dates to this period and was constructed alongside the emparkment of part of Tattershall Chase (see Chapter 8.2; Everson & Stocker 2005, 99-101; Emery 2000, 313). The settlement of Tattershall was reorganised as a proto town with a

substantial marketplace, complete with a stone cross symbolic of Cromwell's economic power (see Chapter 8.2; Roberts 2018, 8; Everson & Stocker 2005, 87). Meanwhile, the religious foundations of the collegiate church, school and almshouses at Tattershall (Johnson 2002, 61) and rebuilding of All Saints South Wingfield (Gill 1915, 126-7) were initiated (see Chapter 8.3). Notions of grandeur and self-promotion cannot have been far from Cromwell's mind when he began this astonishing series of building projects during the 1430s and 40s. This work was so ambitious and widespread that it led Emery (2000, 313) to conclude that: 'The range and scale of this activity was so prodigious that he outstripped all his contemporaries and shares with the duke de Berri the seeds of megalomania.'

The Beaufort faction seems to have been behind the marginalisation of Gloucester from 1441, following the indictment of his wife, Eleanor Cobham, on charges of witchcraft (Kelsall 2000, 7-9; Underhill 1978, 61-2). Despite this, Cromwell resigned his position as Treasurer on 6 July 1443 citing ill health. This has not generally been taken at face value. Cromwell certainly did not lack energy, in 1444, when he was appointed lifetime posts as constable of Nottingham Castle, keeper of the palace at Kings Clipstone and warden of Sherwood Forest (Wright 2016a, 119; Avery 1997, 22). Both Emery (2000, 312) and Friedrichs (1988, 219) have pointed out that the resignation may have related to Cromwell's opposition to the Council's decision to appoint John Beaufort, duke of Somerset to lead a campaign in France. Not only was this another rashly expensive project but it also apparently bypassed urgent funds needed by the embattled Richard, duke of York – himself a far more experienced soldier than Somerset (Lewis 2016, 91-5). Friedrichs also points out that the emergence of William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, as a leading light on the council during the latter years of the aging Cardinal Beaufort's life may have unsettled Cromwell. She points towards Suffolk being a member of youthful Henry VI's household and that Cromwell's replacement John Boteler, Lord Sudeley, had also been a member of that inner circle. The implications of the fact that Cromwell did not attempt to fight his demotion, as he had done in 1432, may implicitly point to the agency of the king in appointing his own trusted retainers to positions of power (Friedrichs 1988, 219-20; Friedrichs 1974, 216-29). Cromwell simply did not have sufficient political influence to oppose the decision and so resigned.

Cromwell remained a member of the Council, yet when Beaufort died in 1447 his former acolyte was left in a political wilderness. Suffolk ceased the flow of royal patronage in Cromwell's direction from 1446 (Friedrichs 1988, 220) and from this point we see far less expenditure on his major building projects. The period 1444-7 saw approximately £138 spent on the timber-framed manor house at Lambley and £31 16s 10d at Depham in Middlesex (see Chapter 8.4; Emery 2000, 313). Further work may have occurred in Lincolnshire at St

Germans Ranby and Temple Bruer Preceptory (see Chapter 8.3; Emery 2000, 313) but the scale of the projects seemed to reduce concurrently with a decline in royal patronage.

The final years of Cromwell's life were marred by political wrangling and a lengthy series of litigations. As Suffolk rose to power on the Council, he felt confident enough to order Gloucester's arrest, in 1447, and potentially arranged his murder (Kelsall 2000, 9-10). Shortly after, the marginalised Cromwell began to be plagued by the sinister actions of William Tailboys who physically attacked him as he entered the council chamber in November 1449 (Friedrichs 1988, 221; Virgoe 1973, 466-7). Tailboys was already known to Cromwell in connection with three murders, several assaults, and several robberies which Ralph had been commissioned to investigate in 1448. Tailboys seems to have enjoyed the patronage of Suffolk and the charges of assaulting Cromwell were soon dropped (Virgoe 1973, 463-6). When Cromwell complained to the Council about the attack, Suffolk again blocked any investigation and it is highly likely that Ralph then instigated and supported the process which led to the impeachment and downfall of de la Pole in January 1450 (Emery 2000, 312; Friedrichs 1988, 221; Wolffe 1981, 222-3; Friedrichs 1974, 241-9; Virgoe 1973, 467). Cromwell managed to rescue some of his standing in Suffolk's absence and was appointed king's chamberlain and later chief steward of the Duchy of Lancaster (Friedrichs 1988, 222).

With his patron gone, Tailboys was imprisoned in the Tower, but such was his enmity towards Cromwell that he continued to mastermind a vendetta against him. A confession made by Tailboys' chaplain, John Stanes, indicates that he was sent to Tattershall twice with the intention of kidnapping Cromwell and sent other men to both Collyweston and South Wingfield to murder him. When these schemes came to nought, Stanes gathered a band of men together at York with the intention of attacking Cromwell there. Ralph was called to London because of Jack Cade's insurrection, in May 1450, during which Tailboys ordered Stanes to use gunpowder to blow up Cromwell's lodgings. Once again, the plan failed. Undaunted, Tailboys funded a smear campaign, in 1450-1, which relied on the distribution of libellous pamphlets accusing Cromwell and Archbishop Kemp of being both corrupt and responsible for the disastrous French wars. (Johnson 2019, 234-5; Friedrichs 1988, 222; Friedrichs 1974, 262-4; Virgoe 1973, 467-70). Although these slanders had little effect, a further accusation, claiming Cromwell's involvement with the Yorkist rebellion at Dartford in 1452, was made by another priest (probably in the pay of Tailboys), Robert Collinson (Lewis 2016, 198-2008; Hicks 2010, 100-5; Virgoe 1973, 470-1). The ensuing investigation led to his suspension from the Council, although he was eventually exonerated following an enquiry on 24 April 1453 during which he made an impassioned statement of his lengthy royal service and innocence (Friedrichs 1988, 223; Friedrichs 1974, 264-5; Virgoe 1973, 471; Lyte 1910, 93-102).

This chaotic sequence of events was entirely typical of the late 1440s and early 1450s as the rule of law and order began to collapse. Cromwell was also fighting Henry Holland, duke of Exeter, over the rights to the manors of Ampthill and Millbrook in Bedfordshire. Ever the volatile character, Exeter ordered his retainers to loot Millbrook in June 1452. He then ignored arbitration in November and seized Ampthill Castle in the spring of 1453. Both men descended on Westminster with armed retainers and were duly arrested – Cromwell was then imprisoned at Wallingford Castle for a week (Emery 2000, 312; Friedrichs 1990, 99-100, 102; Friedrichs 1988, 223; Friedrichs 1974, 267-9).

Cromwell's position was now parlous. He sought to create new allies with the powerful Neville family. He did this by making a substantial loan of £1800 to Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury, alongside arranging the marriage of his niece and co-heiress, Maud Stanhope, to Sir Thomas Neville. The wedding took place at Tattershall Castle in August 1453, but the event was marred by the actions of Thomas Percy, Lord Egremont, who subsequently ambushed the Neville party at Heworth Moor near York. This was staged as part of a long running feud between the two families newly inflamed by the Neville's connection to Cromwell. They were incensed that Cromwell was in possession of the manors of Burwell and Wressle - which the rebellious Percies had forfeited in 1403 (Johnson 2019, 316-8; Hicks 2010, 96; Rose 2002, 402-4; Friedrichs 1990, 101-3; Friedrichs 1988, 224; Gillingham 1981; 76-9; Wolffe 1981, 274; Friedrichs 1974, 270-1).

With the Council now led by the unpopular Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, England was on the brink of civil war. The capitulation of the English forces in Gascony, in July 1453, may have acted as a catalyst for Henry VI's mental breakdown at Clarendon Palace in the early days of August. He remained in a catatonic stupor for 18 months and never really recovered fully (Ross 2016, 65-9). Somerset and York wrestled for control of the protectorate. The former ultimately lost and was suspended and later imprisoned. Cromwell was drawn towards York's faction through his connections with the Nevilles, themselves strong supporters of the Yorkist cause (Friedrichs 1988, 224). This gravitation was made more necessary as Exeter allied himself with the Percies - doing so symbolically at Cromwell's manor of Tuxford in Nottinghamshire. Cromwell further strengthened his alliance by marrying his younger niece, Joan Stanhope, to York's nephew, Humphrey Bourchier in 1454 (Friedrichs 1990, 103-5). The gambit seemed to pay off as York captured and imprisoned Exeter during a rising in Yorkshire that same year (Friedrichs 1988, 225).

A tangible link to the Nevilles was broken on 16 September 1454 when, their kinswoman, Margaret Deincourt died (Friedrichs 1990, 109). Ever the cautious politician, Cromwell began to reach out to figures beyond the Yorkist faction. Cromwell's strongest links were forged with

John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury and William Waynflete, bishop of Winchester both of whom were named as executors of his final will made in 1454 (Friedrichs 1988, 225). The contents of this will offer important evidence of Cromwell's political position at the time as he ordered most of his lands to be sold to the highest bidder. The intention was to fund charitable building projects such as the completion of his collegiate church at Tattershall and the rebuilding of Holy Trinity Lambley (see Chapter 8.3). Essentially, he largely disinherited his heirs and their Yorkist husbands of all but his entailed lands – which represented only about a third of his wealth (see Chapters 8.3 and 9.1). Cromwell now had more political space as Exeter had been removed from power whilst the Yorkist faction had potentially over-reached themselves (Emery 2000, 313; Friedrichs 1990, 108-9; Friedrichs 1988, 225). Publicly, his support for York's bid to rule the Council waned, although he claimed that his reticence to serve the cause was due to being feeble and unwell (Johnson 2019, 326-7). In November 1454, he named 28 new feoffees of Tattershall Castle, none of whom had direct connections with either York or the Nevilles. One of these men – Lord Clifford – was even an ally of the Percies who eventually sided with the Lancastrians.

Such prudence to distance himself from York was well-advised. The king regained his faculties at Christmas 1454, York's protectorate was terminated and his ally, Salisbury was replaced as chancellor. The following March, Somerset was reinstated, and Exeter was summoned back to court. By 22 May 1455 the country was at war as York, Warwick and Salisbury attacked the Lancastrian faction at St Albans. During the ensuing battle Somerset, Lord Clifford and Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland were slain and Henry VI was captured by the Yorkists (Lewis 2016, 251-4; Ross 2016, 69-73; Grummitt 2015, 177-80; Hicks 2010, 107-12; Gillingham 1981, 76-91; Wolffe 1981, 289-95). Significantly, Cromwell and Shrewsbury were not present at the battle. Both were apparently en route at the head of a large force but, whether deliberately or by accident, they failed to arrive in time. An extremely heated argument broke out on 17 July when the earl of Warwick publicly accused Cromwell of being the instigator of the fighting (Johnson 2019, 341). The source of this row may have been Cromwell's lobbying for action against Somerset given his concerns over the release of his implacable enemy Exeter (Friedrichs 1990, 110; Friedrichs 1988, 226; Friedrichs 1974, 277-80).

Ralph Cromwell did not live to see the end of another winter. He had been a diligent and tenacious member of the Council since 1422 and had weathered the aggressive faction-fighting which marred the middle years of the fifteenth century. Aged 62, he collapsed in his chamber at Wingfield Manor on 4 January 1456 and his last breath was witnessed by John Talbot and Reginald Boulers, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry (Emery 2000, 312; Friedrichs 1990, 110; Friedrichs 1988, 226; Friedrichs 1974, 280-1).

## 6.3 A Character-building Castle

### 6.3.1 Power and Piety

We have very little documentary evidence to help analyse Ralph Cromwell's character. A brief, contemporary assessment was presented to king and Council, on 24 April 1453, during the enquiry over his involvement with the Dartford muster. It was recorded for posterity in the Calendar of Patent Rolls (Lyte 1910, 95-6):

> '…*he hath been trewe liegeman to the kynge youre fader and to you his souverain lorde and is, shall and woll be as longe as his lif shall endure, as therein he reporteth bin to god above that knowith all and to youre moost noble rightwvsnesse of all his trewe service afore this, and in which tyme he hath spent his yought and goodes in such service as diligently and trewly as he couthe, as he also reporteth him to all youre faithful and trewe liegemen.*'

This glowing account of a faithful royal retainer cannot not be taken at face value. It was almost certain recorded verbatim from Cromwell's own testimony at a time when he was fighting for his political life after being accused of treason. Friedrichs (1974, 5) concluded that 'the nature of the sources does, however, impose limitations. Cromwell's character and personality can only be guessed at'. By tracking the known facts of his life, we can compare the data to his architectural patronage and try to understand how he wished the world to view him through the visual projection of his building projects. A significant element of that building work was ecclesiastical in nature, and it is to those structures that we shall turn first.

Ralph Cromwell, in keeping with most of his contemporaries and peers, was eager give the appearance of being a pious Christian. Rawlinson (2011, 172) has pointed out the all-pervading presence of Christianity within the late mediaeval household: 'On a day-to-day basis these domestic religious routines appear to have centred upon the celebration of Masses and a reduced form of the monastic hours.' Whether or not this devotion was profound is difficult to establish. Rawlinson also states that religious themes in secular architecture were 'a social commonplace, rather than an expression of elite or exceptional piety' (Rawlinson 2011, 199). Individuals conveyed their religious convictions in different ways. Henry V was able to harness his piety for nationalistic secular purposes in a highly successful manner (Mortimer 2009, 24-6). This contrasts utterly to his son's withdrawn and obsessive godliness which ultimately contributed to the breakdown of society (Ross 2016, 17-21). We must therefore approach the subject of Ralph Cromwell's religious beliefs with some caution.

The presence of the chapel in the Inner Ward at Tattershall, and possible oratory in the Great Tower (see Chapters 3.5.3 and 5.7), point toward the provision for the required observation of ritual in Cromwell's castle. Such structures were considered an entirely necessary part of aristocratic life (Steane 2001, 115-25; Keevil 2000, 117-25; James 1990, 20-1) Additionally,

the foundation of the adjacent collegiate church (see Chapter 8.3) must be seen as part of a pattern of similar, magnificent late mediaeval foundations at Windsor, Warkworth and Fotheringhay (Creighton 2009, 56; Johnson 2002, 38-9; Creighton 2002, 130). Despite this, Holy Trinity Tattershall was established first and foremost as a collegiate church to say masses for Cromwell's soul (Johnson 2002, 61; Friedrichs 1974, 288); with its public, parochial purpose decidedly a secondary function. Although Cromwell did engage with re-building work on parish churches, which provided spiritual facilities for their communities, at Ranby, South Wingfield and, posthumously, at Lambley (see Chapter 8.3), we still cannot be certain of his specific motives for doing so.

Creighton (2002, 110) sums up the conundrum of trying to interpret mediaeval aristocratic intentions behind sacred architecture when he states that 'the foundation or patronage of an ecclesiastical institution by a castle lord could be an important social statement and an expression of wealth as well as piety.' Referring to secular structures such as Bodiam, but in a manner entirely applicable to Creighton's position, Matthew Johnson (2002, 29) asks: 'But to ask 'What did Dallyngrigge really have in mind when he built this structure?' is an unanswerable question. We will never know what Dallyngrigge really had in mind… As poststructuralists insist… the owner or builder, is dead.' Later, Johnson re-emphasised this assertion whilst describing the impossibility of interpreting a 'dynamic landscape' which is 'complex, messy, contradictory, and ultimately human' (Johnson 2017, 74). Both are entirely right to advise caution. We will never fully understand Cromwell's motives (if he even admitted such a sense of self-awareness in himself) but we can begin to assess what outward messages he wanted to project about himself and his place in society. In doing so there is a point in which the cracks begin to show, the mask slips and we may be able to get a glimpse, admittedly refracted and clouded, of his personal characteristics.

There is nothing in the biography of Cromwell which points towards a deep piety (see Chapter 6.2). He was friends with several bishops including Kempe, Waynflete and Boulers, but they were all statesmen too (Friedrichs 1974, 288). We do not find evidence that he patronised monasteries such as the Tateshale foundation at Kirkstead and there is no record of him going on pilgrimage. In effect his religion seemed to be very formulaic and geared towards the needs of his own status in the buildings that he ordered to be constructed.

There are allusions to Christianity in the architecture of Tattershall's Great Tower. The possible Marian symbols picked out in the diaperwork of the west elevation and south-west turret are significant (see Chapter 4.5) (Figure 77). They are displayed on the show-front of the castle, which dominated the principal approach from Tattershall Bridge, and are found in conjunction with a diaperwork armorial – a symbol of lordship (Figure 76).  Juxtapositions of sacred and

secular power were very common in the stone sculpture of monastic and collegiate gatehouses. In the 1440s, at All Souls College Oxford, the figures of the founders - Henry VI and Archbishop Chichele - were positioned below images of Christ and the resurrected on the day of judgement (Steane 2001, 80-7). Such combinations were less common in secular building. In the 1430s and 1440s this was rare. Cromwell's contemporaries used only geometric devices in their diaperwork such as Fiennes at Herstmonceux (Lloyd 1925, 68), de la Pole at Ewelme (Steane & Ayres 2013, 12) and Ogard at Rye House (Holland 2018, 19). By the later fifteenth century, a new generation of lords adopted Cromwell's early innovation. In the 1480s Lord Hastings picked out his initials, the sleeve from his coat of arms, a ship and a jug in the diaperwork at Kirby Muxloe (Goodall 2011, 19-20) (Figure 78) and at the bishop of Lincoln inserted crosses in the diaperwork of Buckden in the 1480s or 90s. Tattershall is a rare and early example of where the link between lordship and religion was made explicit in the diaperwork of a secular building. This statement was also made on a larger scale through the close landscape relationship of castle and church (see Chapter 8.3) (Figure 2).

The conceptual links between processions through ecclesiastical and secular spaces was mentioned above regarding the complex route through the castle wards (see Chapter 3.7). Such a motif may also be sensed internally as the visitor passed through the great hall to the adjacent corridor and then selected one of the doors into the Great Tower (see Chapter 5.10). These portals acted as sophisticated social spatial markers. Non-elites might be able to enter the basement to retrieve stores or bring food from the kitchens via the upper doorway from the mural passage in the south-east turret. Lesser members of the household were catered for in the ground floor hall. Visitors to Cromwell's quarters above could take the door to the stair at ground level. Perhaps higher status visitors or family members may have climbed the newel stair up to the passage above the external corridor. This probably also linked the chambers at the high end of the great hall to the Great Tower via the lower door in the south-east turret. The processional access to the second-floor great chamber via the intra-mural corridor is self-evident (see Chapter 5.6).

Religious themes can also be discerned in the detail of the carved chimneypieces (see Chapter 5.8). Whilst the foliate carvings (Figure 138) – redolent of metaphors relating to sin - are relatively common on other chimneypieces from the period (Reading Abbey and St Peter's Hospital Bristol), the apotropaic grotesque head sculpture and carvings of wild men are much rarer (Figure 139 & Figure 141). Most contemporary chimneypieces are generally much plainer and tend to feature simpler geometric designs such as those at Southwell Bishop's Palace and Lyddington Bede House (Figure 162 & Figure 163). Cromwell's taste in architecture certainly ran towards the lavish (Friedrichs 1974, 287). It could be that he was demonstrating an aesthetic for a busy form of sculpture which over-emphasised the messages

he was trying to deliver – namely that he was a great Christian lord. The overall style of the Tattershall chimneypieces helps to reinforce this notion as they bear a good relationship to some late mediaeval tombs such as those for John de la Pole at St Andrew's, Wingfield, Suffolk or Sir Richard Pomeroy at St Mary's, Berry Pomeroy, Devon (Figure 164). The similarity between the ogee arch of the ground floor chimneypiece and several church doorways was established in Chapter 5.8 (Emery 2000, 311). Again, these observations may hint at a complex mix of religious statements in a secular context.

Only the first-floor chimneypiece carries explicit sacred themes (see Chapter 5.8). This perhaps befits the semi-public nature of the dining hall. The motif of the rabbit eating a plant has links to the concept of Christian meekness in bestiaries of the period (Figure 154). Although this may have been anathema to the avaricious and litigious Cromwell, it was a trait seen as an essential aspiration for a mediaeval aristocrat - even if the reality did not match the intent. This tension is perhaps additionally represented by carvings depicting the fight between good and evil embodied by St Michael and the Dragon (Figure 156), a centaur and a dragon (Figure 155), plus, what may just be Samson and the lion (Figure 157). We cannot be certain in identifying the latter, as an alternative view is that it may be a carving of Hugh de Neville fighting a lion whilst on crusade. The interpretation that it is Samson would certainly fit the overall scheme of the fight between good and evil (and in a sense so would the crusader's battle). Whereas the Neville connection may link to Margaret Deincourt's family connections and Cromwell's alliance with the family in the 1450s (see Chapter 6.2). It is entirely possible that a combination of these messages was apparent – once again linking secular and sacred themes.

### 6.3.2  Family Status

The principal messages in Cromwell's architecture were those of power and prestige. He was determined that no one should miss the fact that he was an immensely rich and influential man. The sheer scale of the landscape of lordship pushes that point far beyond the castle walls (see Chapter 8). Within the castle, the choice of construction on a pre-existing site of regional dominance, built for his ancestors, must have also linked Cromwell to a continuum of power that reinforced and emphasised his right to such authority (see Chapter 0). This was made corporeal through the declaration of power made by the presence of impressive gatehouses that were almost certainly embossed with his family armorials as the inner gate is at Wingfield Manor and the Buck drawing seems to indicate over the Inner Gate at Tattershall (Figure 51). Tattershall's five gatehouses facilitated an ease of movement around the site – enabling the moats to be crossed between the three wards and providing access between the Inner Ward and the gardens or Outer Ward (see Chapter 3). Cromwell also seems to have been making deliberate statements of power through the repeated use of towers studding the

walls of his castle (see Chapter 0). In his book on *The Archaeology of Power*, John Steane made the comment that towers 'were symbolic, a statement in architectural terms of political power and will' (Steane 2001, 79-80). Cromwell may have taken his cue from the pre-existing thirteenth-century towers built for his ancestor, Robert de Tateshale, but he transformed the site into something far more spectacular. The western prospect would have appeared as a near-constant cluster of towers lining the inner ward: the brick Great Tower, flanked by two earlier stone towers, followed by a short section of wall before a gate tower and south-western tower and a possible gatehouse to the south. Behind this show-frontage, the tops of other towers in the wards may have been visible and with the church tower further to the east. In style, Pamela Marshall (pers. comm. 25/10/2018) has pointed out that this prospect may have looked something akin to Vincennes near Paris – a site known to Cromwell.

At the very summit of the Great Tower the presence of crenellations and machicolations can be read as statements of lordly prestige (see Chapter 4.7; Coulson 1979, 80, 85). Cromwell's architecture repeatedly makes this point. Crenellations can be found on the cornices of all four fireplaces and (in a re-sited context) carved in timber and mounted on the wall-plate of the "Guardhouse" (Figure 46). The crenellations of the south porch to the great hall at Wingfield Manor transmit the links to lordship via a panel carving of the Cromwell arms quartered with Tateshale (Figure 165). Crenellations can also be found in many locations at Holy Trinity collegiate church – on the principal rafters of the roof structures, the supertransoms of the window tracery and even on the pedestal of the pulpit (Figure 166). The examples from the church date from Waynflete's period of construction, yet, as executor to Cromwell's will, he appears to have been very diligent to the wishes of the deceased. The repeated use of the Treasurer's purse in the stained glass at Holy Trinity and carved onto the east end of the church at Lambley, gives us the possibility that Waynflete was either responding to clear instructions from Cromwell or, that he was building in a manner entirely appropriate to his friend's tastes (Figure 106 & Figure 167). That Waynflete was influenced by Cromwell's architecture is immediately apparent on looking at the brick secular buildings that he patronised – Wainfleet School, Farnham Castle (Figure 168) and Esher Palace – which all take influence from the Great Tower at Tattershall (see Chapter 7.5). Significantly, these were structures built by a mason, John Cowper, who had also worked at Holy Trinity Tattershall (Harvey 1987, 73-4) - which offers us an insight into how architectural ideas were communicated between patrons, their peers, and builders.

Cromwell appeared overly concerned with matters of his family ancestry. We have already seen how an armorial was picked out in the diaperwork of the west elevation of the Great Tower (see Chapter 4.5) and a coat of arms decorating the crenellations at Wingfield (Figure 165 Once again, the chimneypieces at Tattershall were used as a vehicle for heraldry, as are

the bosses of the brick vaults (see Chapter 5.8). We should not be surprised to see Cromwell's own arms, or those of Margaret Deincourt, repeated so often. Also present are members of his extended family who had been regionally prominent themselves – Bernack, Driby, Marmion, Clifton, and Grey of Rotherfield. Stained glass depictions of Cromwell's arms quartering those of Tateshale could also once be found in the east windows of the aisles at All Saints South Wingfield (Cox 1886, 66). The seventeen shields above the gateway at Wingfield Manor are blank but were presumably once painted with similar heraldry (Emery 1985, 308).

Some of the family connections represented are rather more obscure. The Vipont family (Figure 143) were a family very distantly related to Cromwell after the brother of his 3x great grandfather married Idonea de Layburne, the daughter of Robert de Vipont, Lord of Westmoreland (c 1232-64). Equally remote is the presence of the Albini arms (Figure 144). The link to this family came via Mabel d'Albini, wife of Robert III de Tateshale, Cromwell's 5x great grandmother. This obsession with family history could be seen as evidence of a man conscious of the fact that his position in society had been reached rapidly and that the Cromwell branch of his ancestry was not particularly ancient and august. Essentially, we might be seeing a desire to project the antiquity of his family through the branches with particularly proud and powerful members such as the de Albinis and Viponts. The effect is something which looks a lot like an uncertainty and tension about Cromwell's social position.

Demonstrating family links was a perfectly normal late mediaeval sculptural motif, as was depicting the shields of close political allies. This can be seen on the gatehouse at Lumley, County Durham, carved for Ralph 1st Baron Lumley, depicting his own arms associated with the shields of Richard II, the Percies, the Nevilles, the Greys and the Hyltons (Hislop 2017, 230-4). However, Cromwell did not try and associate himself with anyone except his family members – many of whom, such as the Tateshales, Bernacks and Dribys, were no longer influential names. It may be that in the politically tumultuous days of the mid-fifteenth century it was safer not to broadcast allegiances in stone given the rapidly shifting sands of the Council (see Chapter 6.2). Despite this, we might be surprised not to see the arms of Cromwell's long-term patron, Henry Beaufort. Equally, so much of Tattershall Castle is simply no longer extant. The five gates may well have featured other heraldic devices (as hinted at on the Buck drawing) – with the internal fireplaces reserved for displaying family links. Evidence for these lost schemes may be found in ex situ examples of heraldic shields which probably originated at the castle, which can be found in the north elevation of the "Guardhouse" (see Chapter 3.4.3) and on the south elevation of a nearby property - Grange Farmhouse, Hunters Lane, Tattershall (NHL 1288158) (Figure 37 & Figure 169).

Perhaps Cromwell did not wish to make his political connections explicit, but he may have made a more subtle expression via his favouritism for antiquated architectural features. Goodall (2011, 340-41; 360-63) has presented arguments that there was a recognisable Lancastrian court style of architecture and Harvey (1978, 185-86) specifically noted the use of windows which contained older styles of tracery within them (see Chapter 7.5). This has already been noted at Tattershall with regard to the window tracery of the "Stables", "Guardhouse" and third floor of the Great Tower (see Chapters 3.3.2, 3.4.3, 4.4). It can also be seen in the mouldings of the third-floor lobby (see Chapter 5.7). Elsewhere, further evidence for this antiquated aesthetic can be gleaned from the architecture of the great hall at Wingfield Manor. The antiquated shape of the equilateral arch of the great hall south porch door is emphasised by the insertion of fleurons within its mouldings. Internally, the eastern window features Y-tracery and was probably carved by the same hand that cut the great hall bay window which lacks Perpendicular mullions and incorporates Decorated Gothic motifs. Finally, Anthony Emery has referred to the use of retrogressive capitals in the arch of the hall's north porch (Emery 1985, 297, 311). Notably, Cromwell's friend John Fastolf also patronised similar window tracery in the bay at the high end of his great hall at Caister (Figure 170). Intriguingly, Fastolf and Cromwell may well have been pioneers of the Lancastrian court style during the period of Henry VI's minority when the young king could hardly be expected to lead in architectural patronage. Instead, members of the Council seem to have helped to define the visual appearance of English building during the late 1420s and 1430s until the monarchy began to build in the 1440s (see Chapter 7.5)

Cromwell's preoccupation with using historical forms to demonstrate his family's prestige can also be seen in the repeated use of armorials relating to distant family connections on the chimneypieces, but it is also there in the very decision to remodel and extend the castle of the Tateshales. Moreover, the very fact that Cromwell ordered the construction of a new tower, on a site that had formerly lacked one, may also be indicative of an interest in atavism. We will discuss the implications of choosing an architectural form which looked for inspiration simultaneously towards both English and mainland continental contemporary buildings in Chapters 7.3 and 7.4, but it is worth nothing here that the very choice to build a great tower demonstrated Cromwell's awareness of the historic importance of these ancient structures (Dixon & Lott 1993, 96).

### 6.3.3  Symbols of Prestige

The motif which is represented more than any other is the Treasurer's purse – it appears 35 times on the chimneypieces alone (see Chapter 5.8) (Figure 142). Beyond that, it can also be seen in the surviving window glass at Holy Trinity Tattershall (Hebgin-Barnes 1996, 304-05) (Figure 106), above the inner gatehouse at Wingfield Manor (Emery 1985, 288) (Figure 52)

and on the east end of Holy Trinity Lambley (Emery 1985, 331) (Figure 167). Around the year 1535, John Leland noted that at Collyweston '*Bagges of purse remayne there yn the (chapel) e and other places'* (Smith 1964, 22). Cox tells us that the purse could once be found carved into timberwork in the great hall at Wingfield Manor (Cox 1886, 75). Even moveable objects were resplendent with the Treasurer's purse - a carriage belonging to Cromwell, which was looted by Exeter from Ampthill bore the motif (Emery 1985, 331). As with the heraldic shields, we can probably expect that many of the missing structures at Tattershall probably carried further examples of the purse.

This repeated signal displays an enormous pride in both the office of Lord Treasurer and the vast incomes which came about as a result of the exulted position (Emery 1985, 308). That Cromwell was still using the image of the purse after he stepped down as Treasurer in 1443 is apparent, from the cross-range at Wingfield Manor which was begun in that year (Emery 1985, 306, 331) and possibly in the upper floors of the Great Tower at Tattershall (Simpson 1960, 76). This speaks of a pride in his past accomplishments - he was a very capable officer at a time when the lifespan of the post tended to be relatively short. He was certainly not alone in using the position of Treasurer to build magnificent great houses. This can be seen in the substantial residences of Walter Hungerford at Farleigh Hungerford, John Boteler at Sudeley, Roger Fiennes at Herstmonceux (Emery 1985, 327) and James Fiennes at Knole (Sorapure & Wright 2013-14, 264). Only Cromwell ordered new construction at multiple houses simultaneously and the splendour of his structures far outstripped those of his peers. That was a remarkable achievement at a time when 'conspicuous expenditure was considered a virtue' (Emery 1985, 327).

Despite all these overt statements of power and prestige, there is an underlying anxiety inherent in Cromwell's architecture. This is perhaps best explained through an examination of his personal motto. This is another repeated signal found particularly in association with the Treasurer's purse on the ground and first floors (Figure 142). The phrasing of the motto is rather extraordinary and confrontational: '*Nay je droit*' (Have I not the right?). The emerging fashion for personal mottoes began to gain traction throughout the fifteenth century, but Cromwell contrasts sharply with those of his contemporaries. Henry IV used the rather elegiac '*souveyne vous de moi*' (Remember me), which possibly related to a deceased family member, as well as the more straightforward statement of monarchy: '*Soverayne*' (Sovereign) (Mortimer 2008, 384-7). Edward III and Henry V adopted, what eventually became the royal motto, '*Dieu et mon droit*' (God and my right) to emphasise their claims to the French throne (Barker 2005, 10). Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, favoured the pious phrase '*Espérance en Dieu*' (Hope in God) (Fairburn 1905, 415). Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, made a rather gushing declaration of his love for Eleanor Cobham with '*Loyale et belle'* (Loyal

and beautiful) (Hourihane 2012, 15). Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset, sounded off with characteristic bragging militaristic belligerence: '*Altera securitas*' (Additional security) (Baumgaetner 2010, no page number). Cromwell's great friend John Falstaff opted for the confessional '*Me fault faire*' (I do sin) (Thorpe 2011, 274).

The Cromwell motto appears to be of a type which refers to a personal adage relating to an aspiration for a way of life. Other stylistic options included those which evoked commemoration, religion, war cries, riddles, or a rebus (Huizinga 1996, 275-6). The latter can be found across the Tattershall chimneypieces in the form of carvings of the Gromwell weed, often placed alongside the Treasurer's purse and motto (Figure 142). The implications of the combination of rebus, motif and truculent motto seem unequivocal - Ralph Cromwell was demanding due respect for his place in society. As it stands, the ultimatum 'Have I not the right?' could be interpreted as a very bold challenge. The question also seems incongruous – why does he even need to ask it? There is a tension and anxiety here that seems representative of a man who sensed that his peers may genuinely have been asking that very same question. The motto seems at odds with the confidence or piety of his contemporaries. If anything, the Cromwell motto recalls the one acquired from the College of Arms in the following century by William Shakespeare, son of a glove-maker: '*Non sainz droict*' (Not without right). That was a very self-confident statement of a gentility which the family were perhaps not truly entitled to (Ackroyd 2005, 274). The difference is that where Shakespeare over-emphasised his (questionable) right, Cromwell offers an argumentative query which comes across as a blatant challenge to dare to contest him.

This abrasive characteristic can be witnessed in various episodes of Cromwell's life. He was tenacious in establishing his credentials whenever he felt a challenge to his position. We can see this in his attempts to retain his position on the Council in 1432-3; in his harsh treatment of Elizabeth Swillington in the 1430s; in his political manoeuvring which probably led to the impeachment of Suffolk in 1450; in his conflict with Exeter over the ownership of Millbrook and Ampthill in 1452-3; and in the statement to the Council of his innocence after Robert Collinson's accusation of treason (see Chapter 6.2). Rather than drawing his sword, as the hot-headed Tailboys and Exeter did, Cromwell generally opted for a 'reliance on formal and legal vindication' (Friedrichs 1974, 287). This can be contrasted with Gloucester's tendency towards isolated brooding when on the defensive, or Suffolk's impermeable and implacable close-mindedness to all criticism (Friedrichs 1974, 287).  Emery elaborated on this when he said that Cromwell was 'touchy on matters affecting his honour or his rights, frequently pointing out that as he always followed the correct procedures, he must necessarily be in the right' (Emery 1985, 282). The reality is perhaps more complex given the shocking treatment of Elizabeth Swillington, which led Payling to the assessment that Cromwell was 'devious,

dishonest and, even judged against the standards of his own age, more than commonly rapacious' (Payling 1995, 117). His high-handed behaviour in that case was presumably possible due to his social superiority to the widowed heiress. Yet his obstinacy to survive the ravages of senior men under all political circumstances, points towards a very strong will that is aptly characterised by his motto.

## 6.4 Conclusions

If Cromwell's character comes across as cold, calculated and grasping it may be that his temperament was a survival mechanism which proved to be surprisingly resilient given that his political 'role was always that of an important figure of the second rank' (Friedrichs 1974, 286, 288). Put simply, he was a rising man who struggled to maintain his position in society through an intertwined combination of the force of his administrative capabilities and enormous wealth. The Cromwell family were relatively new figures on the political scene and although Cromwell's grandmother's kin had been the lords of Tattershall for two centuries, they were still only a regionally, rather than nationally, important family (see Chapters 2.2 and 6.2).

Emery (1985, 328) has stated that in reading Cromwell's architecture: 'There is no doubt that these different projects were a direct reflection of Cromwell's own personality and taste.' Speaking more generally, Johnson takes the concept even further when he says that the landscape and architecture of 'the castle was in part that person's social standing, was in part constitutive, not reflective of social status' (Johnson 2002, 12). Everything about the design of the Great Tower at Tattershall marked out the differing status of visitor and magnate. The 'gathering magnificence' described by John Goodall (2011, 354) is apparent in the increasing elaboration of the brick vaulting at each successive stage of the tower. Cromwell was unequivocal about these social divisions and the high ends of each of the three principal chambers were clearly delineated through the presence of corbels which carried the tester frames. This was particularly apparent in the placement of the processional corridor to take the visitor along an elongated route to the great chamber via a passage positively drenched in reminders of Cromwell's high status familial connections. Not only was each level intended to be used for gradually higher status purposes - dining, audience, private residence – but so the social quality of the visitor would increase with height. By the upper floors it could be that only individuals with parity or greater status to Cromwell may have been admitted. This elevated status may be represented through the increasing the artistry of the vaulting on the upper floors. This can be contrasted with the chimneypieces of the second and third floors which are, by contrast, less elaborate, more geometric and feature shields and motifs of diminished size. Perhaps the need to emphasise family connections was only necessary for an audience of subordinates on the lower floors. By the upper storeys those connections would have seemed less impressive to the very high-status occupants present in these spaces. Here

again lies the tension inherent in Cromwell's position in society. Power was a personality trait which was emphasised and reinforced through magnificent architecture studded with details of personal motifs, heraldry and the repetition of symbols of prestige. Ralph Cromwell's architecture was representative of a man operating in an international context yet finding himself just below the upper echelons of the English aristocracy after having risen from a relatively obscure gentry background of limited regional influence.

Royal service elevated Cromwell and enabled him to spend lavishly on his building projects – perhaps it is therefore no surprise that he should use that architecture to make strong statements about his place in society. Neither should it be completely unexpected that this architecture could potentially reveal the fracture lines in Cromwell's status. His family were not highly connected, and where they did have links to powerful families, they were through very distant relationships. Consequently, we could understand the repeated heraldic devices as Cromwell's attempt to over-emphasise the antiquity of his lineage. He then demonstrated, through the replicated carvings of purses and the Gromwell weed, that his exalted position as Lord Treasurer had brought him wealth and power which in turn funded his buildings. The continuation of this new man's power was maintained with a prickly and jealous pride typified by his motto. Christian motifs also drove home the important connections between the demands of religious piety and social prestige. Such grouped architectural statements were entirely congruent with the perspectives of his contemporaries and many of those men also used their wealth to create a material culture representative of their power. However, none of them were, in any way, as prolific or splendid as Cromwell in their ambitions and he would remain unrivalled until the advent of the Tudors (Emery 1985, 327-8, 332). Cromwell can be seen as a skilful social climber who not only rose in society but proved himself entirely capable of maintaining his position despite the political difficulties which brought down less adroit figures. The men that he fended off were variously his inferiors - such as Tailboys, his peers - such as Scrope, and his superiors - such as Gloucester, Suffolk, Exeter, and Somerset.

# 7 The Architectural Influences and Inspirations of Tattershall

## 7.1 Introduction

In his entry for Tattershall, in *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales*, Anthony Emery rather knowingly pointed out that: 'Much energy has been expended by architectural historians during the twentieth century in identifying the extent to which the great tower at Tattershall was influenced by foreign models' (Emery 2000, 310). The debate about the architectural origins and inspirations of Tattershall has drawn several key players. Although earlier commentators, such as the anonymous author of *A Topographical Account of Tattershall* (1811) and Reed (1872), were more preoccupied with uncritical descriptions of the in-situ architecture, Mansel-Sympson (1910, 40) and A. H. Thompson (1912;1928) prefigured the notion that Tattershall may have European connections. The latter observed that Tattershall did not accurately resemble contemporary great towers in the north of England (Thompson 1928, 17) and that machicolated galleries were more commonly found on the continent (Thompson 1912, 355; 1928, 22; also noted by Pevsner 2002, 748-9). He summarised that: 'nowhere in England is there anything quite like it' (Thompson 1928, 29) Gill (1915, 106, 113), Lloyd (1925, 7) and Curzon and Tipping (1929, 59-61) also stressed the uniqueness of Tattershall.

Simpson (1935, 177-92; 1960, xx-xxix; 1969, 143-4) was very dismissive that Tattershall had any truly English influences and - probably inaccurately - identified the mainland European brickmaker, Baldwin Docheman, as the architect (Simpson 1960, xxix). This latter point was also made by Brown (1976, 167). Subsequently, Warner (1973, 234) Cook (1974, 48) and M. W. Thompson (1974, 15-6) followed the line of thought that the great tower was essentially European in style, although the latter did qualify his opinion by stressing the local origins of most of the craftsmen and materials. Latterly, Platt (1982, 164-6, 172-3), highlighted the perceived importance of the military experience in France of Ralph Cromwell and his peers upon fifteenth-century English castles.

The contrasting view that Tattershall contained English influences was first alluded to briefly by Curzon and Tipping (1929, 61-2), when they pointed out superficial similarities to the twelfth-century great towers at Rochester and Hedingham. This was developed further, in the direction of an explicitly English origin, by Brown (1985, 15, 34, 38; 1976, 140-1; 1954, 108-9), who pointed out a direct continuity of great towers in mediaeval England from the eleventh through to the fifteenth century. This opinion was held despite Simpson's assertion that 'rectangular donjons of Norman and Angevin times had fallen out of favour by the beginning of the thirteenth century' (Simpson 1960, xxv); which he coupled to a rejection of the notion

that Tattershall was symptomatic of 'conscious architectural atavism' (Simpson 1969, 143). Brown's challenge to Simpson has been picked up by other scholars (Girouard 1978, 73-4; Dixon & Lott 1993, 96; Matarasso 1993, 186; Liddiard 2005, 59) and developed substantially by Emery (1985, 316-26; 2000, 310-12; 2016, 40-1, 369, 370, 372) who strongly argued that 'the origins of Cromwell's great tower, like his contemporary manor house at Wingfield, had its roots in the English soil and was most influenced by earlier buildings in the same country' (Emery 2000, 312).

More recently, John Goodall (2011, 354-56) and Neil Guy (2019-20, 140) have more recently expressed a consideration for the dual nature of Tattershall's influences. This is in keeping with recent thinking (Munby 2008, 25-6; Avery 1997, 24) which has generally sought to re-visit ideas first presented by Curzon and Tipping (1929, 59-61) that both European and English motifs can be seen in the building.

The overall change in interpretation of Tattershall from a European to an English building and eventually to an appreciation of both viewpoints, coincided closely with the development of progression within castle studies, beginning in the early 1990s, which has emphasised the importance of trying to understand the contemporary mediaeval socio-cultural experience of this class of building (Liddiard 2005, 10-11, 122-50). Before we add further data to this litany of analysis it is worth taking a step to the side and considering another viewpoint on assessing the architectural influences of a building – making allowance for human agency.

## 7.2 Patron and Builder

Johnson first mooted the idea that discourse on architectural associations between buildings had become too abstract: 'An explanation of any castle, as with any building, has to be in terms that refer to those human beings who built it and lived in it. 'Parallels' are interesting but are not a substitute for explanation in human terms' (Johnson 2002, 111). The danger of trying to understand a building with regard to explicitly identified precursors is outlined with reference to the 1390s great tower, of the veteran soldier of the French wars, John Lord Lovell, at Wardour in Wiltshire (Johnson 2002, 111) (Figure 171). This castle had formerly been assumed to be modelled on Concressault (Cher, France) and comparison was made between the common features of an octagonal great tower built around a central octagonal courtyard (Saunders & Pugh 1968, 3). However, Wardour probably predates Concressault by at least half a decade (Goodall 2011, 321) and the latter was in a region far to the south of Lovell's known area of military activity (Johnson 2002, 111). Furthermore, scholars have pointed out that Wardour owes more to indigenous sites such as Windsor, Southampton, Flint and, especially, Queenborough (Girouard 2012, 27; Goodall 2011, 321).

The starting point of the dialogue between patron and builder may be glimpsed in a small number of building contracts, from other sites, which give specific details that extant structures were to act as model and inspiration for a new build. Hislop (2012, 14) gives three such examples in his discussion of the design principles of stonemasons: the stonework of the monk's dormitory at Durham Priory (built 1398-1404) was specified to be similar to the Constable Tower at Brancepeth Castle; in 1433 the battlements of St Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester were to be modelled on the 'little closet' at Chester Castle and, in 1487-8, the steeple of St Mary's, Helmingham, Suffolk was based on nearby churches at Brandeston and Framsden. In all three cases, there was close regional proximity between the new builds and their models.

The need to appreciate actual human agency in the changing roles and functions of castles, and their constituent elements, must be considered if we are to gain depth to the analyses of architectural connections between buildings (Johnson 2018, 367—75). The patron may not have been involved in every minute detail of the project, but as the conceptual and financial originator of the works they did play a vital role. An example of patron participation is given by Derek Renn in his discussion of the arrow loops in the Great Tower at Kenilworth which may have had their lower splays recut, on the orders of Robert Dudley in the 1570s, to allow flowers to be distributed from them during the visitation by Elizabeth I (Renn 2011-12, 175-9). This takes the physical feature directly into the historical moment, leading Wheatley to call for the conceptual nature of castles by their patrons to be reassessed as 'an architectural referment for complex and interlinked ideas of civic harmony, devotional piety and imperial power, both in general and very specific ways' (Wheatley, 2004, 147-8).

Dixon has demonstrated that late mediaeval castles can be read as the considered will of the patron clarified through the practical experience of the builder. This is demonstrated with reference to at least nine meetings, over dinner, between William Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, and the master carpenter, Hugh Herland. Further evidence is offered, from the rebuilding of Knaresborough where Edward II ordered the mason, Hugh of Tichemers, to construct the new great tower 'as we have more fully indicated'. This clearly required further discussion because Hugh found it necessary to visit the king four more times in person 'in order to find out his express wishes and intentions concerning the works' (Dixon 2018, 380). At another level, the wishes of the patron could lead to deliberation between master builders on technical matters - as happened in 1442, at Tutbury, when Robert Westerley consulted masons at Pontefract on how to proceed (Hislop 2016, 4).

The notion that patrons of castles wished to project complex social, political, economic, religious and legendary affinities can be seen through Taylor's assessment of the mythological

connotations of the design of Caernarfon. Here, Edward I made architectural statements linked to Roman imperial buildings and Welsh stories of Mascen Wledig as part of an expression of conquest and domination over his new territories (Colvin, Brown & Taylor 1963, 370-1). Such advanced conceptual architecture could not manifest fully fledged without complex negotiation between the patron and builder. Consequently, in the following sections discussing the buildings which Tattershall drew inspiration from, and the buildings which it subsequently went on to influence, we must remain acutely aware that behind the functions of perceived model and new build lay enormously sophisticated discussions on design.

## 7.3  Continental Inspirations

Scholars who have advocated a strong European influence on the design of the great tower at Tattershall have drawn parallels with sites as disparate as Poitiers (Vienne), Rambures (Somme), Vitré Ille-et-Vilaine), Sully-sur-Loire (Loiret), L'Anglais (Alpes-Maritimes), Azay-le-Rideau (Indret-et-Loire) and de L'Islette (Indret-et-Loire) (Avery 1997, 16; Platt 1981, 172-3; Anon 1969, 9; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 80, 160-61, 183; Simpson 1960, xxiii-xxiv; Mansel-Sympson 1910, 40). One of the earliest proposed connections made a positive link between the machicolated gallery at Tattershall and those of the three, mid-fourteenth century, fortified bridge towers at the Pont Valentré at Cahors, Lot (Thompson 1912, 55; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 183) (Figure 172). This seems to be a stretch too far. Not only was Cahors far to the east of the English enclave of Guienne this region was also hundreds of miles to the south of Cromwell's known area of activity in Normandy and the Île de France (see Chapter 6.2; Friedrichs 1974, 11-13). Moreover, the design of the Pont Valentré is significantly different to that of the wall tops at Tattershall. A. H. Thompson drew a parallel between the rectangular windows opening above the projecting machicolations, yet at Cahors the windows (with central-pivot hoardings as opposed to the casement shutters at Tattershall) are much larger and do not open into the same space as the machicolations – instead they light a separate floor above the projecting galleries. Neither are the galleries continuous around the three towers - they are essentially overhanging timber hoardings converted into stone boxes. Only the east tower has machicolations on all four elevations - the western tower is defended on three sides whereas the middle tower does not have any machicolations at all. On balance, it seems highly unlikely that the Pont Valentré offers a convincing architectural inspiration for Tattershall.

Parallels were also drawn between Tattershall and two sites in the Hauts-de-France – the palatial château, built for Louis, duke of Orléans, at Pierrefonds, Oise, and the more compact site, commissioned for Louis' steward, at Véz, Oise (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 60-1, 183-4; Simpson 1960, xxiii-xxiv). The oldest part of Pierrefonds is a large, but only partially intact, tower house, begun c 1393-4 and originally containing cellars, a lesser and an upper hall. This

was soon expanded (c 1397-1405) to include three ranges of buildings grouped around the north, east and west sides of a central courtyard with eight round and D-shaped towers projecting out from the enceinte. Scholars have drawn parallels between the wall-tops at Tattershall and the machicolated wall-walks with a secondary upper tier parapet and conical roofs at Pierrefonds (Emery 2016, 246, 248) (Figure 173). However, the latter is not a close match and was also a burned-out shell between 1407 and 1440, resulting from the actions of the count of St Pol (Emery 2016, 47), we might conclude that it would have been a less than impressive site during the years of Cromwell's French experience.

Jean de Véz's great tower lies just 8.2 miles to the south of Pierrefonds and is a closer match to the social status of Tattershall as it was built for the steward of the brother of Charles VI - a position somewhat analogous to Cromwell's position in English society. Constructed c 1390-1410, this large trapezoidal enclosure, with a central chapel, is dominated by a great tower located in the north-east angle, whose four storeys rise approximately 30 metres in height (Figure 174). Although somewhat different in plan to Tattershall – it is composed of a pentagon created by adding a triangle to the south-east of a rectangular block – the tower is inherently residential in character and features thirteen very large windows, a single newel stair in a projecting turret, further projecting corner turrets and an incomplete circuit of machicolations. Curzon and Tipping's absolute certainty that 'Cromwell will certainly have known both Pierrefonds and Véz, not merely from hearsay but by actual vision' (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 61) cannot be verified (Friedrichs 1974, 11-13), yet the overall similarities of Véz to Tattershall are more apparent than Cahors or Pierrefonds.

Given Cromwell's immensely close connections to the Crown from the treaty of Troyes onwards (Friedrichs 1974, 14), he is more likely to have been familiar with the French royal castles of the Bastille (Paris) constructed c 1370-82 (Anderson 1970, 208-9), and Vincennes (Val-de-Marne). The latter was built in two campaigns c 1335-40 and 1361-71 (Emery 2016, 252, 330) (Figure 175) and was a favoured residence of the Valois. Its suitably enormous great tower, reflective of their status, stands at approximately 50 metres in height - making it the tallest surviving mediaeval great tower in Europe (Emery 2016, 88, 90; Gondoin 2007, 46; Anderson 1970, 208). Later, Vincennes was a building favoured by Henry V and Catherine de Valois (Seward 1987, 93-5), with the latter eventually lingering in his final illness for three weeks on the second floor of the great tower (Matusiak 2013, 232). Despite clearly dwarfing the Lincolnshire castle, there are marked similarities between Vincennes and Tattershall. Firstly, the overall form of the great tower is a six storey, central rectangular block of stacked chambers with very large windows. The four projecting corner turrets contain chambers, with the south-east turret featuring a wide newel stair linking the principal first and second floors (a smaller subsidiary stair links all the floors and is contained with the thickness of the south

elevation). The north-west turret has an additional asymmetrical rectangular turret projecting to the north which contained the king's study and latrines. The tower is entered from the east via a footbridge to the first floor, which acted as both a queen's chamber and audience chamber for the king. Notably, this space is accessed from an intramural passage. Above, was a high-status bedchamber, probably also used by the king. Both the first and second floors are marked out as being of especially high status through the incorporation of a separate access stair, carved fireplaces, sculpted window embrasures, window seats, vaulting and, externally, a string course. As is common elsewhere, the ground floor acted as a store and wellhouse. The vertical 'gathering magnificence' (Goodall 2011, 354) of Tattershall is not present in quite the same way as the upper floors at Vincennes, are functionally austere spaces for household staff, storage, and near-continuous machicolations. In this regard there is a certain degree of similarity to the upper floors of Cromwell's friend John Fastolf's castle at Caister. Whilst it cannot be said that Tattershall bears a comprehensively strong resemblance to Vincennes, the physical similarities are stronger than at Véz and Pierrefonds.

Vincennes itself seems to have acted as a catalyst for other French late mediaeval designs including buildings such as the Palais de Justice in Poitiers (Vienne), with its attached hall block (Simpson 1960, xxiii), Septmonts (Aisne), Montépilloy (Oise) and Crouy-sur-Ourcq (Seine-et-Marne) (Emery 2016, 252). This late mediaeval desire for expansive courtyard houses studded with projecting towers and dominated by a great tower, effected structures as far flung as Tarascon (Bourches-de-Rhône, France), Nunney (Somerset, England) (Anderson 1970, 208) and Belsay (Northumberland, England) (Emery 2016, 330). A later example of this tradition was built in the 1440s at Anjony (Cantal, France), overlooking the Doire valley, for a retainer of the duke of Orléans (Figure 176). Here the plan of the great tower has been likened to Nunney, Belsay and especially Tattershall (Emery 2016, 330). Given the contemporaneity with Tattershall, coupled with the geographical remoteness of Anjony from areas of English activity, we cannot infer a direct model to new build link. Instead, the architectural associations are reflective of a much wider European tradition of building (Emery 2016, 372), which existed far beyond France and England, that Cromwell and his builders were tapping into generally, rather than looking at specific structures for inspiration.

The pan-continental influence was noted by Goodall (2011, 356) who looked to the Baltic regions to explain the appearance of Tattershall. Several fourteenth-century Polish sites, with express connections to the Teutonic Order of Knights, contain motifs also found at Tattershall. These could be explained through the strong links between England and the Teutonic Order during the late mediaeval period (Mortimer 2007, 89-90, Campbell 2003, 96). Simpson (1960, xxiv; 1969, 143-44) drew attention to similarities between Tattershall and the Westbau at the headquarters of the Teutonic Order at Malbork (Pomeranian, Poland) (Figure 177), Between

1380 and 1398 Klaus Fellenstein of Koblenz built this prominent residential tower which was linked to an earlier great hall via a connecting corridor. The rectangular tower has projecting corner buttresses which transform into machicolated bartizans, capped by spirelets, to create a lofty show-front exemplified by exceptionally large windows. Elsewhere, the castle features extensive vaulted corridors and diaperwork (Campbell 2003, 105). Further architectural links can be seen in the double height cloister at Lidzbark and the residential great tower, with attached hall, at Olsztyn (both in Warmian-Masurian, Poland) (Jensen, Parikka & Kylsberg 2013, 12-23). Elsewhere in the Baltic, tourelles can be seen at Nyborg in Denmark and Turaida (Vidzeme) in Latvia (Jensen, Parikka & Kylsberg 2013, 60-3; 190-3), brick vaulting is present at Trakai (Vilnius), Lithuania (Jensen, Parikka & Kylsberg 2013, 216-9) and a structure remarkably similar to the Tower-on-the-Moor in Lincolnshire was constructed in the early fourteenth century at Kärnan (Skåne), Sweden (Figure 178).

Both Platt (1982, 172) and Emery (2016, 340-1) noted the similarities between brick castles of the northern continental mainland and England. The latter observed the early fifteenth-century prevalence of moated, brick, courtyard houses dominated by residential towers directly connected to the upper end of hall ranges, typified by the Prinsenhof at Ghent, Belgium. This site was built in the 1420s and 30s for Duke Philippe of Burgundy – a close political ally of the English crown from 1419 until 1435 - who owned large swathes of Flanders. A similar site was also developed for Philippe in the 1450s at Coudenburg in Brussels (Emery 2016, 339-41) - indicating that the form had longevity. Such moated houses found great popularity in the Dutch and German states of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, where they have been termed 'wasserburg' (Anderson 1970, 223; Simpson 1960xxvi). Sites including Muiderslot, Gooise Meren; Doornenburg, Lingewaard (Anderson 1970, 68); Schloss Kempen, North Rhine-Westphalia (Simpson 1969, 137) and Slot Loevestein, Zaltbommel are generally cited to have been an influence on Caister (Simpson 1960, xxvi) which is a distinct possibility given John Fastolf's documented travels in northern Europe as a young man in the household of Henry of Bolingbroke (Cooper 2010, 9-11).

The catalyst for brick manufacture in England initially came from a widespread region spanning the Baltic and Germanic states, Low Countries, and northern France. This area was ill-served for high quality natural building stone which led to widespread manufacture of brick from at least the twelfth century. Meanwhile, in England, re-used Roman bricks had been incorporated at structures such as St Botolph's Colchester (Figure 179) and St Albans Abbey, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but it was only used in a limited capacity (Roberts 1993, 36; Brunskill 1990, 116-17). Spurred on by continental usage, substantial imports of bricks from the Low Countries were incorporated at the Tower of London in 1278 and 1283. This may have helped to introduce the fabric to a wider audience via the royal works (Wight 1978,

26), but had only a slow effect at a limited number of sites including Coggeshall Abbey, Essex (Lloyd 1925, 3) and Little Wenham Hall, Suffolk (Brunskill & Clifton-Taylor 1978, 13-14). The fabric grew in popularity throughout the fourteenth century and many of these English structures, including the North Bar at Beverley, East Yorkshire (completed 1409), demonstrate Baltic characteristics such as the incorporation of niches and shields (Figure 180). However, much English brickwork tended towards Dutch and French influences as most early brick makers came from these regions (Brunskill 1990, 19; Brunskill & Taylor 1978, 14-15; Wight 1972, 22; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 48; Lloyd 1925, 6-7). Consequently, fifteenth-century English bricks broadly conform in size with those of the Low Countries - which are much smaller than those of the Baltic. A further connection to the Netherlands was demonstrated in the predilection for so-called 'English bond', as opposed to monk's bond which was popular in the Baltic (Goodall 2011, 349-50).

Diaperwork patterns in brickwork entered the English architectural lexicon at a slightly later date (see Chapter 4.5). The style ultimately derived from Poland and flourished during the fourteenth century in the Low Countries and northern France, as exemplified by the dovecote at Boos Manor (Rouen, Seine-Maritime, France) (Goodall 2011, 349-50; Lloyd 1925, 69, 364, 439). The earliest known example in England comes from Stonor Park in Oxfordshire where Dutch brick makers were employed at (Ralph Cromwell's great rival) William de la Pole's house in 1416-17 (Goodall 2011, 350, 354). The form of brick diaper combined with stone detailing was swiftly established in the 1440s at Eton College (Figure 181) by Henry VI and his master builder Robert Westerley as 'a hallmark of the most lavish patronage' (Goodall 2011, 350, 354).

The employment of Continental master brickmakers in the building projects of late mediaeval English patrons probably helped to popularise the use of brick in eastern and southern England (Brunskill 1990, 19; Brunskill & Clifton-Taylor 1978, 14). This area of the country was closely aligned with the commercial activities of the Hanseatic League (Campbell 2003, 103; Power & Postan 1933, 91-154; Lloyd 1925, 6-7). Jane Wight (1972, 46) lists a number of continental brick masons who were lived and worked in England during the early fifteenth century, such as Henry Henryson listed in the Aliens roll for 1436 at Ipswich as 'born in Teutonic parts or William and John van Gildre who lived in Isleworth but originally hailed from the Lower Rhineland. The origins of Cromwell's brickmaker at Edlington Moor - Baldwin Docheman (i.e., Dutchman) points towards the root of his name in the word 'Deutsch' - indicating that he was recruited from the Low Countries or from the German diaspora (Simpson 1960, xxv-xxvi).

By the mid-fifteenth century, England's economic and political links with the coastal regions of Europe had fundamentally begun to break down. This was initiated by a cooling of the English relationship with the Hanseatic League, who controlled the Baltic trade (Dyer 2003, 302). Meanwhile, the English alliance with Burgundy fell apart after the death of John, duke of Bedford in 1435 (Barker 2009, 240-1; 250-1). The limited period of political alliance with Philippe of Burgundy coupled with the failure of wider trading links by the mid-fifteenth century goes some way towards explaining why it was the 1420s and 30s, which saw the most striking impact of Dutch, Germanic, and Baltic architecture upon English building. Consequently, the construction of Tattershall and many other English, brick, courtyard houses with prominent residential towers, often in combination with expansive moats, can be dated to this final phase of the strong European relationship. After this period the points of architectural reference were more indigenous (see Chapter 7.5).

## 7.4   English Influences

Whilst we cannot (and should not) deny the debt that Tattershall and many of its contemporary buildings owes to Continental forms; by the 1430s, many of these motifs had already become firmly established within English architecture. Whilst some studies emphasise the alien nature of brickwork to the English in the late mediaeval period (Pevsner & Harris 2002, 747; Avery 1997, 24), most scholars accept that during the fourteenth century, brick became a better-known material in the high-status buildings of eastern and southern England (Thompson 1928, 18; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 46-58; Brown 1976, 66-9; Wight 1978, 22, 29; Goodall 2011, 348-56). Notable examples can be found within easy range of Tattershall at Holy Trinity Hull (1300-20) and St Mary's Guildhall, Boston - built c 1390 (Giles & Clark 2011) (Figure 182). latter was a structure probably known to Ralph Cromwell, given his prominent position in local government in Lincolnshire (Friedrichs 1974, 59-61). Its crown-post roof structure is of the same type as the "Guardhouse" at Tattershall and helps to illustrate how aspects of Tattershall were entirely representative of local building styles (see Chapter 3.4.3; Roberts 2018, 68-70). The use of brick was, itself, becoming part of those local traditions and the gatehouse at Thornton Abbey (c 1377-1382) has been cited as potential precursor in design to Tattershall's Great Tower by Emery (2000 311; 1985, 319-20) (Figure 183). He draws attention to the combined use of brick and stone to create a large rectangular edifice with projecting octagonal turrets, independent ground floor chambers, small closets accessed from the larger chambers and the presence of intra-mural passages. To this we could also add the inclusion of a large, recessed fireplace on the first floor, timber ceilings at first and second floor and a self-conscious western show-front with substantial Perpendicular window tracery on the eastern elevation. There are also differences – Thornton is a self-contained suite within a monastic gatehouse, designed in the 'Tonbridge-style' and has a central portal flanked at the rear by

twin projecting stair turrets (Guy 2011-12, 137-9; Goodall 2011, 190-2). Meanwhile, Tattershall is a residential tower, intimately connected to a complex of hall solar and services. Thornton features only two principal storeys, and the central chambers were subdivided rather than left open. Finally, the use of brick may not have been so noticeable originally, as the exterior elevations at Thornton were formerly rendered (Clapham & Reynolds 1951, 17). The impact of Thornton was to provide a precedent for a massive brick residential tower in the flat Lincolnshire landscape as an impressive statement of lordship.

Whilst much has been made of Tattershall's continental brickmaker, Baldwin Docheman, little reference is made to a second manufacturer, John Chamberleyn, who leased Cromwell's kilns at Boston (Simpson 1960, 65, 73). He was apparently an Englishman – indicating that by the late 1430s brick manufacture had partly become an indigenous industry that was not completely monopolised by mainland specialists. The wider use of brick may have been popularised by its favour with members of the Lancastrian court circle (see Chapter 7.5) and the growing taste led to the introduction of both vaulting and diaperwork. An early example of brick vaulting was the North Bar at Beverley (Figure 180) but by the second quarter of the fifteenth century it could also be found in gate portals at Herstmonceux (Figure 184) and Rye House (Emery 1985, 321) (Figure 185). Both of these structures also exhibit the use of diaperwork. Nathaniel Lloyd (1925, 68) believed that diaper helped to give a building scale - causing the viewer to overlook the minute size of the bricks (emphasised by coursed and jointed lime mortar) in favour of an appreciation of the patterned designs picked out by the burned ends. A building on the scale of the Great Tower may have required extensive diaperwork to achieve a much more successful visual appearance than its near contemporaries at Eton or Herstmonceux. These sites are characterised by homogenously bland frontages, with simple interlocking diaper lozenges, and were probably both the work of brickmaker John Rowelond. A second associated figure was the Lord Treasurer, Roger Fiennes, who was the patron at Herstmonceux and eventually held the purse strings for the royal works at Eton (Goodall 360-63). The confident assurance with which the master builders deployed diaperwork at Tattershall, Rye House (from 1443) (Holland 2018, 19) and at Ewelme (from 1446) (Goodall 2011, 354) potentially indicates a growing maturity of English craftsmanship (Emery 2000, 289-91; Steane & Ayres 2013, 12).

The development of English brickwork led to significant visual statements of lordship in a medium most often used in collaboration with stone detailing. From the west, the Ancaster stone window tracery of the Great Tower helps to present an impressively symmetrical show front (see Chapter 4.4) and it is the over-sailing machicolations which immediately draw the eye (see Chapter 4.7). Simpson (1960, xxiv), Pevsner and Harris (2002, 748-9) assert that the machicolations at Tattershall ultimately derived from French sites. However, by the 1430s

there was already a lengthy tradition of English machicolations stretching back to the 1260s, with stone-corbelling supporting timber hoardings at the Durham Tower, Newcastle-on-Tyne and the 1280s gateways at Conwy (Hislop 2016, 162). Machicolations then became a ready feature of castle design throughout the fourteenth century, especially in connection to parapets directly overlooking gateways such as those at Lewes, Windsor, and Carisbrooke (Goodall 2011, 270, 271, 289-90). Early examples of the entire wall-heads of towers being machicolated can be found from the mid-fourteenth century at Hexham, Stafford, Warwick. (Hislop 2016, 162) (Figure 186) and at Lancaster between 1402 and 1413 (Goodall 2011, 342). Although it cannot be denied that continuously machicolated wall-heads were a notable feature of French architecture during the period of Cromwell's military experience, both he and his masons would not have had to look far from Lincolnshire to see indigenous examples from which to source inspiration.

The castle's show-front far outstripped most of Cromwell's contemporaries. Faulkbourne (c 1439-65) features a dominant great tower with tourelles and a corbel table but has much subtler windows with brick surrounds (Emery 2000, 96-100). Herstmonceux (c 1441) certainly has an impressive gate tower although the original fenestration took after Eton College and was very understated (Goodall 2011, 360-63). Perhaps the Duke of York's tower at Hunsdon (c 1446-47) would have been a confident rival to Tattershall with its stone detailing, diaper and magnificent crowning 'oriole' described by William Worcester in 1478. Now lost, this may have been a feature akin to the arcaded parapet at Tattershall (Goodall 2011, 356, Emery 2000, 96-100) which is one of the most often commented on features of the Great Tower – cited as being a totally unique example from mediaeval England by Platt (1982, 172-3) and A. H. Thompson (1928, 29). Meanwhile, Emery has queried whether Tattershall's apparent uniqueness is a result of the relative lack of surviving wall-tops at late mediaeval English towers (Emery 1985, 321). Much data has been lost – a point that is readily apparent from an examination of sites such as Ashby or Raglan. Tattershall may have been prefigured by the fourteenth-century arcaded parapet at St David's Bishop's Palace in Pembrokeshire (Evans & Turner 2005, 42-43). Emery has pointed towards a possible parallel to the wall top of Tattershall at Chipchase Castle, Northumberland (Emery 1985, 321; Emery 1996, 68). Additionally, a very close analysis of the great hall range at Caister has showed the potential for a double height machicolated gallery, once accessible from the great tower staircase, that may have been similar in form to Tattershall (Figure 187).

Tattershall's arcaded roof gallery may be a rather more English structure than has previously been considered. It is also worth noting that arcaded parapets occur elsewhere at the castle – there is truncated evidence of such structures supporting the wall-walks to the south of the great tower and also to the south of the "Guardhouse" (see Chapters 3.4.3 and 4.6).

Additionally, the rectangular arcade of the Great Tower might be considered akin to cloistral ranges or pentices which lined the courtyards of Westminster Palace, Goodrich Castle, Harlech Castle and Lyddington Bede House (Friar 2003, 22). It is entirely in keeping with the brick and stone courtyard arcading at Herstmonceux (Figure 188) and Eton (Figure 189). The decision to raise up the covered walkway to the summit of the great tower at Tattershall, to provide a promenade sheltered from the Fenland weather, was one of great originality, yet in other contexts this feature is entirely consistent with other English building (see Chapter 8.2).

Another feature which had also previously speculated to be redolent of mainland continental influence is the design of the four chimneypieces (see Chapter 5.8). Platt (1982, 172-3) thought that they displayed clear evidence of French design and craftsmanship. Comparisons with contemporary examples at Pierrefonds and Bourges (Anderson 1970, 196) shows that the French were preoccupied by projecting forms that were significantly bolder and more exuberant in a style rather different to the chimneypieces of the English late mediaeval period. In England, recessed fireplaces, with chimney flues divesting smoke through the thickness of the wall, became common during the second half of the fourteenth century at sites such as Bodiam, Sussex and Guy's Tower, Warwick. With the proliferation of castle chambers and residential towers, due to the increased demands for privacy, came a need to heat these individual spaces with recessed fireplaces located either centrally or closer to the high end (Croom 2018, 61, 96; Liddiard 2005, 61-65; McNeill 1992, 53-57; Shuffrey 1912, 35). Hearth sizes gradually became larger (Friar 2003, 67-68; Wood 1965, 265; Shuffrey 1912, 35) and decoration developed with lintel and mouldings flush to the elevation as can be seen in the great hall at Wardour Castle (Figure 190) and Wingfield Manor (Shuffrey 1912, 35-38; Emery 1985, 314; Wood 1965, 267). By the second quarter of the fifteenth century, we can start to see the development of pilasters and cornices. At Southwell Bishop's Palace the pilasters are still flush with the elevation but the crenellated cornice projects outwards (Emery 2000, 300; Wood 1965, 268; Shuffrey 1912, 39) (Figure 162). Tattershall marks the point where the English style began to fully flourish. Its chimneypieces have pilasters which fully project from the elevation and support the crenellated cornices with either foliated capitals or ones decorated with wild men acting as Atlas-figures (Figure 138). The friezes between the cornice and the hearth lintel are elaborated with panelling and sculpture. Other similar chimneypieces from this period are found at Church House, Salisbury, St Peter's Hospital, Bristol and Ockwells Manor, Berkshire – the latter being a late example of c 1465, after which pilaster shafts rather went out of fashion (Wood 1965, 267; Shuffrey 1912, 39-40, 44).

Further analysis of the overall form of the Great Tower also seems to place its structure within the wider context of English design. Curzon and Tipping considered that Tattershall's pedigree credibly stretched back to the Anglo-Norman great towers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries

such as the White Tower. Impey and Parnell (2000, 18-19) have shown that the functions of the White Tower, dated c 1070, are in a sense analogous to those of Tattershall: 'the lower rooms served a relatively public and ceremonial function, and the upper ones a progressively private and domestic one… its single most important purpose – and crucially the one that required it to be a tower – was symbolic.' This symbol of lordship was also visually similar – a rectangular block filled with substantial windows and framed by four projecting corner turrets crowned with spirelets (Figure 191). Whilst it cannot be contested that French sites such as Loches and Ivry-la-Bataille influenced the design of the White Tower, the wave of Anglo-Norman great towers built in its wake - Castle Rising, Dover, Newcastle, and Rochester - looked to the example in London rather than further back to the mainland continent for inspiration (Impey & Parnell 2000, 18-19). The essential visual markers which ultimately led to the plan-form of Tattershall can therefore be seen at other mid-late twelfth-century castles including Hedingham (Essex), Canterbury (Kent), Bamburgh (Northumberland), Kenilworth (Warwickshire), Scarborough (North Yorkshire), Appleby (Cumbria) and Richmond (North Yorkshire) (Figure 192).

Simpson (1960, xxv) attempted to block this line of enquiry by denying that late mediaeval lords ever looked backwards for inspiration. He went on to state that 'the donjon, whether round or square, was in the course of being abandoned about the turn of the twelfth century' (Simpson 1969, 87). Essentially, he believed that there was no direct continuity in the use of the great tower between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries and, as there was no tradition of looking back to the distant past, the Great Tower at Tattershall must be the sole result of near-contemporary continental models. There are two problems with these ideas. Firstly, a later generation of scholarship turned Simpson's assumption about anachronism on its head. Philip Dixon pointed out that such a phenomenon was energetically pursued by late mediaeval aristocratic society (Dixon & Lott 1993, 93-94) and drew attention to Richard Bradley's statement that: 'the past was being used in a much more active manner, to promote or protect the interests of a social elite' (Bradley 1987, 14-15). A clear example of this is Caernarvon where Edward I's juxtaposition of older Welsh princely buildings contained strong architectural associations with a legendary Romano-British past (Colvin, Brown & Taylor 1963, 369-395). Secondly, Goodall (2011, 183), has demonstrated that the dominance of the great tower continued uninterrupted throughout the mediaeval period. The apparent decline in great tower construction in the thirteenth century can be countered by a realisation that the form developed as features of the great tower were transferred to gate towers. Strongly presented gate towers, such as those at Caerphilly and Tonbridge, with projecting drum towers either side of a gate portal, stair turrets at the rear and large residential and ceremonial central chambers contained between represented the architectural focus of the castle in much the same way as a great

tower did. Such powerful gatehouses continued in popularity during the Edwardian period at royal castles, such as Conwy and Harlech, but it is worth considering that to all intents and purposes the Eagle Tower at Caernarfon is a polygonal great tower. Elsewhere, great towers persisted at sites such as Dudley. Into the fourteenth century, Edward II commissioned a trapezoidal, turreted, composite gate house and great tower at Knaresborough. Great towers can also be found from this period at Langley, Stafford and Nunney. Meanwhile, prominent residential towers – Guy's Tower and Caesar's Tower - with attached lodging ranges were created by the Beauchamp family at Warwick (Figure 186). By the very end of the century the ceremonial and residential great tower had seen a complete revival in status with important works under John Lovell at Wardour and Henry Percy at Warkworth (Figure 193). Thornton Abbey gatehouse also belongs to this period (Figure 183).

Accordingly, Cromwell and his contemporaries were steeped in a lengthy tradition of English great tower construction stretching back in a continuity to the Anglo-Norman period. The architectural focus of the great tower, the ultimate symbol of status, was then adapted to include mainland continental; motifs by men that Cromwell knew and worked with – Richard Beauchamp at Cardiff, John Fastolf at Caister, John Montgomery at Faulkbourne, John Boteler at Sudeley and William Oldhall at Hunsdon or in the form of a gate house by Roger Fiennes at Herstmonceux and Andrew Ogard at Rye House. The overall style that these men adopted was that of the Lancastrian court and it had a surprisingly long legacy.

## 7.5  The Afterlife of Tattershall Castle

When discussing the growing confidence apparent in English architecture of the mid-fifteenth century, John Harvey drew attention to the master builder Robert Westerley. He had seen substantial royal patronage throughout his career in Normandy, Sheen and Charing Cross, worked at Eton during the 1440s and may have had a hand in drafting designs at the royal works in Cambridge (Harvey 1987, 330). Westerley also worked for Margaret of Anjou at Tutbury Castle (Goodall 2011, 341) and was probably employed by Roger Fiennes at Herstmonceux - leading Goodall (2011, 341, 362) to determine that 'the king's master mason remained the first port of call for architectural expertise for those within the orbit of the court'. Goodall has been explicit in his belief that all elite architecture during the Lancastrian age ultimately took its cue from the monarchy - especially from the works at Sheen, Eton, and Cambridge. This Lancastrian court style was defined as featuring the combined use of brick and stone fabric, regular courtyards, great towers or gatehouses with stacked central chambers and octagonal turrets, strongly projecting chimneys over the crenellations and the early use of diaperwork (Goodall 2011, 340-41; 360-63). Goodall thought that courtiers such as Roger Fiennes, building at Herstmonceux Castle, drew direct architectural influence from Henry VI's work at Eton. Prior to Goodall, Harvey (1978, 185-86) had also advocated for the

presence of the court style based on the austerity of design present in fifteenth-century architecture patronised by those in the royal orbit. He also noted the Lancastrian preponderance for anachronistic window tracery (see Chapters 5.7 and 6.3.2). For example, Margaret of Anjou's foundation at Queen's College Cambridge, in 1448, yielded a very sombre Front Court, completed by a brick and stone gatehouse with four corner turrets (Figure 194). Here the window tracery is uninspired and has a noticeable anachronistic style redolent of the late Decorated period. Similarly, the east window at Eton College chapel (c 1459-60) is akin to the north-east chapel (c 1446-60) of Kings College Cambridge in its austerity (Figure 195). Whilst Harvey (1978, 185) argued for the hands of the royal master builders, Reginald Ely and John Westerley, in the design of the two colleges, it is also clear from building accounts that Henry VI also personally took a very detailed interest work (Ross 2016, 25-27; Grummitt 2015, 109-14; Wolffe 1983, 135-45). If Harvey and Goodall's argument is followed then much of the design of Tattershall Castle was learned by reference to the royal works at Sheen, Eton and Cambridge of the 1440s.

Conversely, Howard Colvin was somewhat resistant to the idea of a Lancastrian court style. He cited difficulties in identifying the conscious initiatives of the king, sought to downplay the experience of the master masons by drawing the conclusion that most of them had never worked on royal projects and pointed to an overall lack of a permanent staff of craftsmen which he felt was necessary to establish a school of architecture. Furthermore, Colvin queries whether it was possible to determine the works of courtiers from the royal household (Colvin 1999, 14-17). Although it is felt that much of this critique is flawed – Henry did play a part in the designs of his buildings and men like Westerley were supremely well-versed in royal projects – Colvin's point about the influence of courtiers is important. There does seem to be a recognisably homogenous style of architecture present in fifteenth-century England, but we may wonder if such a style could ever have originated from the king's works.

The problem is one of chronology. Although we no longer have access to Henry VI's buildings at Sheen, it is clear that 'the grete quadrangle with a gatehouse all of new to be made for the necessary logging of the worshipful household, with a new closer of brike toured about garden there' (Colvin 1963, 1000) was constructed between 1444-47. Of Henry and Margaret's standing buildings, Eton was not commenced until 1441, King's College was begun in 1446-47 and Queens' College followed in 1448-49. Although it is fair to say that post-1450 buildings such as Lord Scales' Middleton Towers (Norfolk) may have derived some influence from the royal works, there were also many structures apparently built in the Lancastrian court style which preceded Henry and Margaret's patronage in the 1440s. Archaeological evidence suggests that the fashion was employed at the great houses of the king's uncles at the Manor of the More (Henry Beaufort) and Greenwich (Humfrey, duke of Gloucester) during the period

of Henry VI's minority in the late 1420s and early 1430s (Biddle 1959, 138, 150-54; Dixon 1971, 219-22). Contemporary with these buildings is Caister, where construction is known to have begun in 1432-33 (Barnes & Simpson 1951) and assessment of the standing buildings points towards a strong affinity with the court style. To this period, we can also add Tattershall where building was underway by the early 1430s (see Chapter 4.1). The building projects at both Caister and Tattershall were therefore significantly advanced prior to the commencement of works at Eton and predate Sheen and Cambridge by over a decade. Construction of the Great Tower at Tattershall would have been well-advanced by the time that the gatehouse and Old Court of Queens' College Cambridge were founded by Margaret of Anjou from 1448 (Bradley & Pevsner 2014, 176). The building features brick and stone detailing with antiquated tracery coupled to a gate tower that could conceivably be based on the Great Tower at Tattershall. As a result, we must also reconsider the early dates of other lordly buildings including Faulkbourne (c 1439), Rye House (c 1441) and Herstmonceux (c 1441) (Davis 2006-07, 243-44). Does this group of buildings indicate that a vibrant Lancastrian court style was active amongst courtiers prior to the monarchy becoming active as patrons of architecture? If so, could it be said that the style developed during the minority of Henry VI and was then adopted by him rather than being led by the king?

It must have been a source of some satisfaction for the prestige-hungry Ralph Cromwell to note, within his own lifetime, imitators of his architectural achievements at Tattershall. This may have been happening even as construction works were still ongoing at the Lord Treasurer's castle. The roof structure of the great hall at Ayscoughfee Hall, just 26 miles to the south, in Spalding has a felling date of 1451 (Davies 2010, 13) and is indicative of the period of construction of a brick house which also incorporated a residential tower. The latter contains motifs familiar from Tattershall including a three-bay, quadripartite, moulded brick vault over the stair (off the high end of the great hall) which is remarkably similar to that of the processional corridor on the second floor at Tattershall (see Chapter 5.6) (Figure 196). The small, three storey, brick solar tower at the north end of the house is nowhere near as impressive as the great tower at Tattershall although it does contain a vaulted storage basement with a flattened, barrel vault. Above are two bedchambers with timber floors accessed by a single, projecting stair turret which rises above the line of the tower parapet. The clockwise vice contained within this turret is made of one piece, interlocking, cut-slab winders which are integral to the newel from base to roof level. The builders at Ayscoughfee also chose to follow the example Tattershall's recessed handrail, albeit constructed entirely of moulded brickwork (Figure 197). Given that Tattershall had been under construction since the early 1430s and that the patron of Ayscoughfee, Sir William Ayscough (a lawyer with the Court of Common Pleas), was of much lower social station than the well-connected Ralph Cromwell,

it is probable that the much grander, near contemporary, works to the north acted as the catalyst for Spalding.

Another residential tower, on the outskirts of Boston – the Hussey Tower, has also been identified as a near-contemporary of Tattershall. Terrence Smith has noted that the brick building is the only extant part of a much larger complex of buildings which included a two-storey range with direct intercommunication to the east of the solar tower. He also posited that it was the work of Richard Benyngton, a Lincolnshire landowner and customs official, who was often recorded as active on fenland drainage commissions alongside Ralph Cromwell (Smith 1979, 34). Here we can see the direct human agency that may have led to the transfer of architectural ideas in a geographically proximate region – these two men almost certainly knew each other. As the person of lesser status, we can imagine Benyngton taking inspiration from the nearby building projects at Tattershall and opting for his own, more modest, version of the castle's Great Tower, which Smith believed to have been constructed prior to c 1460 (Smith 1979, 34). In common with Ayscoughfee Hall, the Hussey Tower is three stages high and contains a brick vaulted storage basement with two heated chambers stacked above. They are accessed from a projecting octagonal, turret, that rises above the parapet line and houses a clockwise, brick newel stair (Figure 198). Notably, the turret is also graced with a moulded brick recessed handrail (Figure 199). The first and second floor chambers are more substantial than those at Ayscoughfee, but their functions as bedchambers seems certain and the design of the recessed fireplaces with flattened two-ring brick lintels are very similar to those of the "Stables" and "Guardhouse" at Tattershall (see Chapters 3.3.2 and 3.4.3) (Figure 22, Figure 46 & Figure 200). The presence of stone detailing for the large traceried windows of the north and south elevations, coupled with the stone jambs of the stair turret loops, is also reminiscent of Tattershall. A further nod towards Cromwell's turreted architecture is the small south-western bartizan, the moulded brick cornice and the crenellations with stone copings, which must once have been augmented by projecting chimney stacks (Figure 201).

Just two miles to the east of the Hussey Tower lies a third brick building of the mid-fifteenth century, the Rochford Tower. Slightly larger than the Hussey Tower or Ayscoughfee Hall, Rochford is a four-storey solar tower with an octagonal stair turret complete with recessed handrail (Figure 202). Other familiar features include a lost intercommunicating range to the south, blind arcading, bartizans and crenellations with projecting brick chimneys. To all intents and purposes both the Hussey Tower and Rochford Tower are more complete incarnations of the Tower-on-the-Moor, which is itself a reduced version of the Great Tower at Tattershall. Smith has even gone so far as to speculate a common builder, another 'Docheman', Peter Lyndon known to have been active at Tattershall College in 1458 (see Chapter 8.3; Smith 1979, 35).

Perhaps two men, more than any others, helped to spread Cromwell's architectural legacy during the second half of the fifteenth century - William Waynflete and his master builder John Cowper. The connection between Waynflete and Cowper may have stemmed from the period when the former had been Provost of Eton, between 1442 and 1447. Cowper's early experience on this building, from at least 1453 until 1459, might have inspired the bishop to later employ him at Winchester, Oxford, and Bramber during the 1470s (Harvey 1978, 71). Waynflete had been a constant companion to Cromwell during his latter days and took his position as executor of the will very seriously indeed (see Chapters 6.2 and 8.3). The terms of that will demanded the completion of the brick and stone college at Tattershall and, from the late 1470s, we find John Cowper responsible for those works in a capacity that was akin to a modern project manager (see Chapter 8.3; Davis 1993, 100). Waynflete and Cowper's style may be represented by the unusual uncusped window tracery at Holy Trinity Tattershall and Holy Trinity Lambley (Gill 1915, 127, 134) (Figure 71 & Figure 167). This was prefigured by approximately 40 years in the upper lights of the second-floor windows of the castle great tower - which may have sparked a local preference for this style (see Chapter 4.4). It can be found in several East Midlands buildings of the later fifteenth century including the penultimate stage of the tower at St Botolph's Boston (Pevsner & Harris 2002, 56-7), St Katharyn's Chapel at St Wulfram's Grantham (Knapp 2004, 5, 19) and much of St Wilfrid's Kelham (Gill 1915, 135). Cowper's knowledge of brick architecture, gleaned from Eton and Tattershall, then put him in good standing to advise on the construction of Lord Hasting's castle at Kirby Muxloe in 1481 (Thompson 1913-20, 255). The unfinished gatehouse was originally intended to be a substantial affair, more than 30 metres in height, and what was constructed indicates that lessons had been learned from Tattershall (Goodall 2011b, 21-3) (Figure 53). The first floor contains a large, rectangular central chamber with projecting corner turrets served by garderobes. The doorways which access the brick newel turrets to the rear are redolent of the internal doors leading into the main chambers at Tattershall, although the internal vaulting of the stair is more akin to Rye House (Figure 185). The incomplete first floor main chamber has evidence for a brick fireplace akin to Tattershall's "Stables" and "Guardhouse" (see Chapters 3.3.2 and 3.4.3) and features substantial stone tracery windows. The diaperwork of the west elevation is extensive, but in its use of decorative devices symbolic of lordship - the initials 'Wh' for William Hastings, his personal badge of the maunche, a ship, and a knight alongside geometric lozenges and lattices - we can see a tradition stretching back directly to Tattershall (see Chapter 4.5) (Figure 78).

Cowper and Waynflete were to work together extensively during the 1470s and 80s (Harvey 1978, 74) and acted as a conduit between the, principally, royal and aristocratic brick architecture of the first half of the fifteenth century and the great ecclesiastical surge in

favouring this material after Bosworth (Davis 1993, 108). Inspiration was again taken from Tattershall for Waynflete's palace at Esher in Surrey, built over twenty years from c 1465 (Emery 2006, 336; Davis 1993, 108-10). The surviving brick and stone gatehouse tower features large, well-lit, central chambers, projecting octagonal corner turrets, a recessed handrail, stone string coursing, diaperwork, blind arcading and crenellations – motifs which have become so familiar to us from Tattershall (Figure 203). Recent excavations have also demonstrated that the curtain wall walk was supported by arcading (Wessex Archaeology 2006, 18), as noted earlier at Tattershall.

Begun slightly after Esher, Waynflete's tower (known erroneously as Fox's Tower) at Farnham Castle, built entirely in brick, was underway by 1470 and again features large, well-lit, chambers, a single projecting octagonal corner stair turret, diaperwork, blind arcading machicolations and crenellations (Figure 168). The direct architectural links between Waynflete and Cowper's building works can be explicitly demonstrated at the bishop's foundation of Wainfleet College, Lincolnshire. In April 1484 John Gygour, the project overseer and warden of Tattershall College, suggested that the master carpenter, Henry Alresbroke, build Wainfleet College '…after the patron and facyon of the flore of the chambyr in the tower over the gate of the manor of Essher' (Chandler 1811, 370). Although Esher was cited as the parallel by Gygour, that building itself clearly owed much to Tattershall with prominent use of octagonal turrets, stone string courses, diaperwork, projecting chimneys and large Perpendicular traceried windows (Figure 204). It is highly likely that many later buildings also looked to structures other than Tattershall for inspiration, but the Great Tower's DNA can ultimately be identified as the originator of the style.

The influence of Cromwell and Waynflete upon contemporary patrons was extensive. We can see motifs which link back to Tattershall in solar towers and gatehouses such as Sir Robert D'arcy's Moot Hall in Maldon, c 1435-40 (Wight 1972, 262), Lord Scales' Middleton Tower, Norfolk, c 1455 (Emery 2000, 126-7), Archbishop Bourchier's work at Knole in the 1460s and 1470s (Gregory 2010, 40-84), Edward IV's residential tower at Nottingham, c 1476-80 (Drage 1989, 54), Lord Hasting's great tower at Ashby, Leicestershire, 1470s (Goodall 2011b, 10-12), Sir Edmund Bedingfield's Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk, c 1482 (Emery 2000, 138-40), Sir Thomas Burgh's solar tower at Gainsborough Old Hall c 1480s (Allan 2012 25) and Richard III's Bear Tower at Warwick Castle, 1483-5 (Dixon & Lott 1993, 97).

It has already been noted how ecclesiastical patrons began to favour the new style of brick courtyard houses from the late fifteenth century, and this point is made emphatic by considering the bishop of Lincoln's palace, built c 1480-94, at Buckden in Cambridgeshire (Figure 205). The extant structures are of heavily diapered brick with stone detailing and

include a precinct wall, inner gatehouse, arcaded inner wall walk and a great tower that can only be described as a miniature Tattershall. The architectural references between the two sites are extraordinary and verge on outright copying. John Harvey has even suspected the hand of John Cowper in the design (Harvey 1984, 74). Other notable work in this style by churchmen included Bishop Morton at Hatfield, c 1478-86 (Thompson 1998, 144) and, following his translation to Canterbury, at Lambeth, 1490-1500 (Emery 2006, 237), Archbishop Warham at Otford, Kent, c 1500-32 (Thompson 1998, 45) Bishop Fitzjames at Fulham, c 1504-22 (Thompson 1998, 147) and, Cardinal Wolsey's great work at Hampton Court Palace, from 1514 (Sturgis 1998, 8-16) (Figure 206).

Concurrent with the increased circulation of ecclesiastical brick houses was the continued interest in this style by secular lords. Thus, at the turn of the sixteenth century, we can see Nottinghamshire families such as the Pierreponts at Holme Pierrepont Hall (Dixon & Lott 1993, 98) (Figure 207) or the Cliftons at Hodsock (Wight 1972, 353) (Figure 208) building great brick courtyard houses with prominent gatehouses. The fashion continued into the 1520s, with the added sheen of Renaissance magnificence, at Layer Marney (Essex), for Henry VIII at Hampton Court Palace and St James' Palace in the 1530s (James 1990, 158-9) and for his scheming councillor Sir Richard Rich at Leez Priory (Essex) from 1536 (Wight 1972, 258-60). In the mid-later sixteenth century we can recognise the influence of Tattershall's central rectangular block sprouting octagonal turrets in the gatehouses of great patronage houses, built for courtiers and statesmen such as William Cecil at Burghley House, Lincolnshire, c 1553-80 (Howard 2007, 143-4) and Robert Dudley at Kenilworth Castle, c 1571-2 (Morris 2015, 25-7) (Figure 209). Even into the seventeenth century the impact of the castle can be found at Abbott's Hospital in Guildford (Surrey) (Figure 210). What is perhaps most remarkable is that following the deaths of Cromwell in 1456 and Waynflete in 1486, the style of architecture, which they so actively patronised in their lifetimes, continued to have a major impact upon English architecture. Essentially, the afterlife of Tattershall was so strong that it became the benchmark for English building for many decades to come.

## 7.6 Conclusions

The origins for the design of Tattershall's Great Tower have exercised many scholars. There probably is not one simple, linear line of enquiry. For example, Simpson largely rejected English or French antecedents in favour of a Baltic derivation. The importance and significance of Tattershall is that the design scheme of the castle is likely to be the result of many factors. Firstly, it was the output of the wishes of Ralph Cromwell as filtered through discussions with his builders. Those negotiations may have considered Cromwell's own observations of great towers whilst active during the English conquest of Normandy. Also present on the drawing board may have been ideas that circulated more generally because of the movement of

architectural ideas around the North Sea diaspora, perhaps engendered by strong economic and cultural links with the Hanseatic League, which saw the popularity of brickwork in the Baltic and Germanic states reach English shores during the late mediaeval period. This led to the employment of many brickmakers, such as Baldwin Docheman, from the mainland continent whose technical ability was in great demand throughout eastern and southern England. Despite this, English brickmakers were also beginning to emerge and we can see the presence of John Chamberlayne in the Tattershall building accounts alongside his continental colleague. The English enthusiasm for brick building had developed apace during the late fourteenth century so that there was already an extensive corpus of structures which might be referenced architecturally – including Lincolnshire foundations at St Mary's Guildhall at Boston and Thornton Abbey. The detail of Tattershall's design indicate many strong English architectural themes. These include the use of machicolations which had been established since the mid-thirteenth century and the chimneypieces which follow on from craftsmanship apparent in the late fourteenth and earlier fifteenth centuries. Meanwhile, the roof gallery which cannot be paralleled on the mainland continent but may have connections to fragmentary survivals at Chipchase or Caister. Finally, the overall scheme for the Great Tower seems to act as a summary of ancient Anglo-Norman forms and contemporary French styles filtered through the Baltic experience.

A new perspective which has emerged is the potential for buildings which were begun during the very early 1430s, such as those patronised by Fastolf and Cromwell, to have acted as pioneering structures within an emerging English style of building. Henry VI was not active as a patron of architecture until after his minority and his works at Eton, Cambridge and Sheen did not take off until the 1440s. We can see that Caister and Tattershall prefigured the Lancastrian court style, which had previously been identified as originating at Eton, by around a decade. A widespread group of courtiers energetically helped the style to develop and by the middle of the century the use of brick with stone detailing in the construction of regular courtyards with gatehouses or great towers with centrally stacked chambers and octagonal turrets became established as the mode. The details of these great houses often that featured diaperwork, antiquated window tracery and chimneys projecting above crenellations. It was a style that lasted for a remarkably long time. Popularised by men such as William Waynflete, working in conjunction with the master builder John Cowper, the DNA of Tattershall can be found in his building projects at Esher, Farnham and Wainfleet. Cowper went on to transfer the style to William Hastings' castle at Kirby Muxloe and possibly to the bishop of Lincoln's palace at Buckden – where a remarkably similar great tower to Tattershall was created at the close of the fifteenth century. The Lancastrian court style had become so entrenched that it helped to define the appearance of the earlier Tudor period at sites including Oxburgh Hall,

Holme Pierrepont Hall and Hampton Court Palace. Its ripples were still felt in Elizabeth's reign at Kenilworth and beyond into the Jacobean period at Guildford.

Almost 200 years after building began at Tattershall the effects of that project were still being felt in English architecture. If the power of the castle has been long-lived, we will now assess how it was projected across long distances through analysis of Cromwell's landscapes of lordship.

# 8 Beyond the Castle Gate - A Landscape of Lordship

## 8.1 Introduction

Anthony Emery's statement that Ralph Cromwell's building projects bore 'the seeds of megalomania' (Emery 2000, 313) is largely vindicated by looking at the wider landscape beyond the castle at Tattershall. Robert Liddiard (2005, 97) has noted that: 'A castle rarely stopped at its moat and certain aspects of castle-building can only be fully appreciated if we take a broader, landscape-based perspective.' In doing this, it becomes apparent that Cromwell stage-managed varied landscapes of lordship, both within the manor of Tattershall and far beyond it. What is so remarkable about the case of Tattershall and, to an extent, Cromwell's other estates, is the quality of preservation of the built environment relating to those landscapes. The buildings of no other late mediaeval aristocrat survive in quite such a tangible manner and no other lord was building on quite such a scale as Ralph Cromwell.

Estate management could be viewed in a variety of ways in the mediaeval mind. Some of these ideas might include the concepts and practicalities of production, recreation, lordship, religion, and aesthetics (Liddiard 2005, 100-119). Quite who was thinking what may also be related to status and activity. The contemporary interpretation may be internalised or externalised (or both) and could be simple, layered, or complex. Looking out, northwards, from the parapet of the Great Tower, across his manor at Tattershall, Ralph Cromwell would have had an entirely different perspective to one of his tenants looking across the open fields surrounding the village. That paradigm shift would have been both physically removed and conceptually diverse. Even the visual access was different – Cromwell was able to climb to a great height to gain a vertically distinct impression of the estate; whereas the tenant only had the horizontal viewpoint available to a person with their feet firmly rooted in the soil. We cannot be certain who the specific architects of these designed landscapes were, whether they opted to create a complete landscape or whether such creations were brought about piecemeal. We can be sure that lordship played a vital role in the management and presentation of landscapes laid out with an eye towards how they would look from castles and how the castle would be framed by those landscapes (Wright 2016a, 119-137; Creighton 2010, 37-49; Creighton 2009, 167-196; James & Gerrard 2007, 45-69; Richardson 2007, 27-48; Liddiard 2005, 97-121)

## 8.2 The Tattershall Estate

The foreground view at Tattershall was characterised by the riverine environment of the Bain (Figure 62). The river rises near Ludford, on the Lincolnshire Wolds, and flows south-west, via Horncastle, until its confluence with the River Witham - approximately 1.2 miles south-west of the castle - at Dogdyke. The section of the Bain between Horncastle and the Witham was

canalized between 1792 and 1802 under the management of a committee led by Sir Joseph Banks (Clarke 1990, 8). Accordingly, the modern channel at Tattershall is not the same as the mediaeval river but the general direction of flow remains similar (Bennett & Bennett 1993, 8-9). The Bain approaches Tattershall from the north-east and swings to flow north-south at Tattershall Weir, so that it passes approximately 165 metres from the south-eastern corner of the Middle Ward of the castle (Figure 4). The castle building accounts offer circumstantial evidence that the Bain was navigable through several references to the transportation of materials by boat (Simpson 1960, 50, 75), including a specific mention of '*carrying bricks, lime, sand and suchlike from the water*' (see Chapter 4.2; Simpson 1960, 60). Much of the mediaeval traffic approaching the castle may have been waterborne. The south gate of the castle, which entered directly into the inner ward, faced towards the Bain and would have been approached via what were probably once gardens (see Chapter 3.6) (Figure 14). This could well have been Cromwell's favoured private access point to the castle if he was travelling by water.

The link between the castle and river are alluded to in the court deposition of William Tailboys' henchman, John Stanes, who described his attempt to kidnap Cromwell whilst he was at Tattershall. After travelling to the castle from Dogdyke, Stanes witnessed Cromwell crossing the southern bridge into the garden, and then out of a postern gate, with a retinue of 30 or 40 men. According to Stanes, they were shooting bows as they walked past a coneygarth and then went down towards the river (see Chapters 3.6 and 6.2; Virgoe 1973, 481). The presence of a coneygarth, or artificial rabbit warren, is another signifier of the high-status infrastructure within the immediate landscape of the castle. Warrens were often placed in prominent locations that were directly inter-visible with lordly chambers to emphasise prestige (Wright 2016a, 132). Prior to the Black Death rabbits were often consumed at the high table (James & Gerrard 2007, 59, 87; Rowley 1988, 183-84 but even in the later Middle Ages the farming of rabbits provided great economic benefits as their skins could be sold on to be worn by servants, grooms, artisans and townsfolk under sumptuary laws (Steane 2001, 262).

Lying to the south-east of the castle, and presumably close to the former coneygarth, are the earthworks of at least five oval or sub-rectangular fishponds which were probably once fed by leets off the Bain (Figure 4). Such ponds were another essential marker of status (Creighton 2009, 114-119; Creighton 2002, 184-5; Steane 1993, 139; James 1990, 50). Acting as a breeding fishery and holding tanks ready for consumption at table, they may have held species including pike, eels, tench, bream, perch, and roach. The ponds were long and narrow to enable the greatest ease of access to the shallow water edges (Woodfield & Woodfield 1988, 11). Freshwater fish were an important part of the regular mediaeval aristocratic diet (Creighton 2009, 116), which favoured the consumption of protein, with the advantage that

fish could be eaten during periods of fasting when other meats were not allowed by ecclesiastical decree - such as during Lent and on many specific holy days (James & Gerrard 2007, 87). The specific dating of fishponds is notoriously problematic (Creighton 2002, 185) and it could be that those at Tattershall date to the thirteenth or fourteenth-century occupation of the castle, although it seems likely that they would also have been used during Cromwell's tenure and through into the post-mediaeval period. The ponds are entirely typical in size and layout to other suspected late mediaeval examples in the East Midlands including Greasley, Nottinghamshire (Wright 2008, 30, 41) and Lyddington, Rutland (Woodfield & Woodfield 1988, 11-13); which sit in discreet enclosed clusters a short remove from their houses. Further evidence of mediaeval fishing at Tattershall comes in the form of net sinkers for, weighing down ground-ropes, which were recovered from the Bain near to the weir (White 1984, 29-35).

The weir was part of the infrastructure which supported a watermill which ground cereal crops harvested from the open fields. The mill was in a corner of land on the west bank of the Bain, at a point where the Horncastle Canal was later navigated to link the village to the river (Figure 4). This operation may have been a remodelling of an earlier channel (discussed below). We cannot be sure when a mill was founded at Tattershall, although one was extant by c 1410 when Maud Bernack authorised payment for works on the site (Kingsford 1925, 203). The mill was remodelled or rebuilt in 1438-9, when it was estimated that the works required 25,000 bricks for the forthcoming season (Simpson 1960, 65). The construction of the mill in brick was a rather unusual choice as non-elite structures were rarely built using the fabric during the mediaeval period. Creighton (2009, 56-7) has postulated that mills were another essential statement of authority over agrarian livelihoods. This was expressed through the obligations imposed on tenants to bring their crops to the lord's mill for grinding, which in turn provided a source of income. Mills were often located on the periphery of lordly enclosures and formed part of what has been described as 'one prong of a seigneurial 'triad' comprising church, manor house and mill' (Creighton 2009, 57; Langdon 2004, 108). Tattershall certainly fits this spatial arrangement with the adjacent castle and collegiate church compounds creating a hook of land, bounded to the east by the Bain, with the mill sitting in the extreme northern corner (Figure 4).

The confluence of the Bain and Witham, at Dogdyke, linked Tattershall northwards to Lincoln and southwards to the port of Boston. The Witham was navigable in the mediaeval period (Bennett & Bennett 1993, 56-9) and the road from Dogdyke to Tattershall may have led to the positioning of the west gate and the show-front of the Great Tower (see Chapters 3.5.4 and 4.4) (Figure 5). Goods being transported from Boston to Dogdyke could have been brought to the kitchens on carts via this western service entrance. Despite the decline in trade through

Boston from the second half of the fourteenth century, with a notable slump c 1430, the port remained viable and still provided some trade and travel options with both the east coast of England and, further afield, with the European ports on the North Sea (Beckett 1988, 92; Platts 1985, 226-8). The direct link between Tattershall and Boston was still active as late as 1475 when the household accounts specifically refer to the purchase of sea fish from Boston for consumption at the castle (Myatt-Price 1956, 101).

Water management played a key role in the earliest of the surviving building accounts (see Chapter 3.2). This is entirely understandable given the low-lying contours of Tattershall's wetland environment (see Chapter 2.1). Matthew Diker was paid to dig an east-west channel from the Bain (probably from near the mill weir) to a location referred to as '*le Baryate*' in 1434-5 (Simpson 1960, 51). The latter was on the edge of Tattershall marketplace and may have been a town gate restricting access into the settlement (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 67). Diker was then paid to dig a second, north-south, ditch between '*le Baryate*' and the east end of another east-west channel called '*Newdike*' which linked up to the outer moat of the castle. Both Simpson (1960) and Curzon and Tipping (1929, 67-8) considered that this network of channels looped around to the north-west of the bedehouses before connecting with the north-south ditch somewhere to the east of the present road (Figure 4). This would certainly match the contour lines of the topography. The overall effect would have created a large manorial enclosure to the east of the castle wards which contained gardens, fishponds, collegiate church, bedehouses and mill.

North of this seigneurial enclosure lay the settlement of Tattershall. The Tateshale family patronage of both a seigneurial and ecclesiastical complex (see Chapter 8.3) may have acted as a catalyst for planned settlement growth during this period (Creighton 2002, 159-63; Morris 1989, 243-8). This can be seen in the eleventh and twelfth centuries at Stone (Staffordshire) in the construction of a church and then an Augustinian priory (Taylor & Shaw 2012, 17-25). A similar pattern appears at Castleton (Derbyshire), with the castle acting as an economic impetus for the foundation of a town (Stroud 2002, 6). The de Tateshale family were serious about the establishment of an economically viable secular community at their manor and, in 1201, they received a market charter at Tattershall (see Chapter 2.2; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 4). Everson and Stocker (2005, 87) have speculated that the early settlement may have been dispersed across two planned nuclei, one to the north of what is now High Street and a second to the west of Sleaford Road, with a strand marketplace to the east of the latter. If the latter is true then the marketplace reached south-westerly down towards the castle enclosure, and we might be able to think of it as a castle-gate market like those found at nearby Lincoln or Bolingbroke (Creighton 2002, 216). However, there is currently no firm corroborative archaeological or documentary evidence for this suggestion.

The few commentators who have discussed the community of Tattershall in the fifteenth century are of the opinion that Ralph Cromwell instigated the reorganisation of the settlement around the single focus of a new, sub-rectangular, marketplace orientated south-east to north-west. (Everson & Stocker 2005, 87; Pevsner & Antram 2002, 749; Simpson 1969, xiii) (Figure 4 & Figure 211). Confirmation is circumstantially based on both documentary and physical evidence. A description of dikes constructed in 1434-5 refers to a new channel 'descending in a straight line through the midst of Tateshale market' (Simpson 1969, 51) which may be an allusion to a remodelling of the space. This seems likely given Cromwell's imposition of a stone market cross, midway along the south-western edge of the space (Figure 4 & Figure 212). The square plinth of the cross shaft has broach stops and is mounted high on top of five octagonal steps. The shaft itself is also octagonal, with broach stops, and rises to a crenellated corbel frieze featuring figures of wild men, shields and paired trefoils. These are all familiar motifs from the chimneypieces and vaulting at the castle, indicating a likely contemporary date (see Chapter 5.8; Thompson 1974, 19). The cross was another proclamation of the prestige of the patron, which by invoked divine blessing and protection over Cromwell's economic venture, through the combined use of religious and secular themes (see Chapters 6.3.1 and 8.3).

If the marketplace was shifted further to the north-east of the castle the decision to do so may have been influenced by the presence of several converging road systems, as also happened at Alnwick in Northumberland (Creighton 2002, 165). Tattershall marketplace is of a rather large size (measuring approximately 0.52 hectares or 1.3 acres) for what is, now, a relatively small village. Perhaps Cromwell was attempting to increase the social and economic functions of the settlement, with the hope that it could develop into a successful market town that would further increase his wealth through revenues. Ultimately this plan failed as wider forces served to reduce the economic viability of Lincolnshire - the control of urban guilds over trade slipped in the aftermath of the climate change and bubonic plague in the fifteenth century, and diplomatic ties with the Low Countries were disrupted (Camenisch et al 2016, 2107-2126; Bennett & Bennett 1993, 42; Beckett 1988, 88-94; Platts 1985, 218-229).

The architecture of the village is, nowadays, characterised mainly by post-mediaeval brick and pantile buildings or modern houses. Beyond the castle and church enclosures, very little of the mediaeval period can be positively identified. Pow Cottage (No. 27 High Street) is reputed to be a mud-and-stud vernacular building dating to the fifteenth century (Glew 2012; Anon 2008) (Figure 213). There has never been a historic building survey of the structure which could reliably confirm or deny this assertion. A documentary reference, from 1449, mentions nine shops standing on the north side of the marketplace (Simpson 1960, xiii). Meanwhile, on

the south side, a ceramic louvre, known locally as Tom Thumb's House (due to its form of a house with windows flanking a door) is perched on top of the ridge of No. 13 Marketplace. The house itself is mainly eighteenth century, with later alterations (NHL 1287779), but the presence of a fifteenth-century louvre in the village points towards an origin on a structure of some relative status (Roberts 2018, xxxix; Pevsner & Antram, 750). This could, of course, have once been located at the castle. A more static feature is the fifteenth-century, brick, school to the south-east of the marketplace (see Chapter 8.3). Historic England have categorised No. 10 Marketplace as having a fifteenth-century stone chamfered plinth (NHL 1215314). The rest of this brick house is eighteenth and nineteenth century and it could be that the plinth also relates to this much later period (Figure 211). Two further brick structures are listed as potentially relating to the period of Cromwell - a 20 metre length of brick wall to the rear of No. 2 Marketplace which lies adjacent to the school building (NHL 1215995) (Figure 214) and parts of a wall in the north-western gable end of the Fortescue Arms (NHL 1215315) (Figure 215). The fabric and dimensions of the bricks in both structures are consistent with that of the bricks at the castle (breadth 110mm x thickness 54mm x length 217mm with four courses at 255mm), but it is by no means certain that they are not reused. The reuse of mediaeval fabric in the village can be attested to by the presence of fifteenth-century stone corbels and an armorial now incorporated within Grange Farmhouse, Hunters Lane, which was built c 1700 (NHL 1288158) (Figure 169).

The overwhelming picture is that most of the mediaeval settlement was lost during subsequent remodelling in the post-mediaeval period. Archaeological watching briefs and evaluations, which have taken place in the village, have rarely demonstrated the survival of intact mediaeval features (Peachey 2009; Trimble 2004; Lindsey Archaeological Services 2001; Cope-Faulkner & Hall 2000; Johnson 1995) although work at Blacksmith's Corner has revealed traces of the post-holes of structures with associated pits and a barrel well which probably date to the late mediaeval period (Hogg 2012, 10-14). The only other traces which may date to the mediaeval period are known from aerial photographs showing ploughed out ridge and furrow north of Hunters Lane (Pastscape 1405350). These features relate to the open field systems of the wider agricultural landscape which supported the tenants of the lords of Tattershall.

Beyond the castle and village, a significant hunting reserve, known as Tattershall Chase, had been established by at least 1231 (see Chapter 2.2). This was characterised by open heathland interspersed with areas of woodland stretching almost as far as Horsington - some 6.8 miles to the north of Tattershall (Figure 5). It is not clear when the, roughly oval, parkland of approximately 2000 acres was enclosed between the parish of Tattershall and the precinct

of Kirkstead Abbey (Figure 5). Everson and Stocker are of the opinion it probably dates to the period of the Cromwell family's tenure, as it is first documented during Maud Bernack's term (Everson & Stocker 2005, 97-101). Subsequently, the park appears in the building accounts of the castle for the years 1438-9 (Simpson 1960, 63) and in 1472 a bailiff is named Richard Parker – his surname probably indicating a role in management of the enclosure (Simpson 2005, 78).

By the fifteenth century, deer parks had become an essential feature of the lordly landscape. Although most were relatively small, at 90-180 acres in size (Rowley 1988, 171), at c 2000 acres, Tattershall was one of the largest in England. This size is another factor which must be considered when considering that it may have been a Cromwell foundation - given the prominent desire of the Lord Treasurer to express his status (see Chapter 6). Comparable parks belonged to the see of Winchester at Bishop's Waltham and Bramshill in Hampshire - 1000 and 3000 acres respectively (James & Gerrard 2007, 50) and the c 1500-acre royal park at Clipstone (Nottinghamshire) was in Cromwell's keepership from 1437 (Wright 2016a, 119-123; Friedrichs 1974, 193). Such parks acted as secure enclosures to breed, rear and hunt game. Whilst hunting, ostensibly, provided a source of food for the household, it also acted as a method of prestigious entertainment for lords and their guests and as a source of gifts of animals or meat for retainers, family members and peers (Wright 2016a, 121). Given that venison was considered a high-status food (Sykes 2007, 51-55), the hunting and consumption of it set aside those involved as an elite group. Magnates used parks as private training grounds for horsemanship and martial feats, which enabled a demonstration of both courage and status as part of an important social bonding between peers (Griffin 2007, 30-31).

The park and chase offered resources in the form of woodland and water (the Witham acted as a western boundary to the chase) for their incumbent animals, but also supplied materials necessary for estate maintenance. The building accounts hint at the sourcing of turves for garden lawns (Simpson 1960, 63; Everson & Stocker 2005, 100) and there are repeated mentions of timber taken from Stixwould - which lay in the extreme north-west of the chase (see Chapter 4.2; Simpson 1960, 42, 52, 56, 58, 66, 73). Everson and Stocker (2005, 98-99) have also pointed to the presence of moated enclosures, in the northern quadrant of the chase, which may have been deliberately located at a discreet remove from the centre of lordship at Tattershall (Figure 5). These sites may have been centres for specialist enterprises such as charcoal production, lime burning and brickmaking. The latter has been associated with the moated site at Halstead Hall which is close to historic brick pits on Edlington Moor - first noted in the building accounts for 1434-5 (see Chapter 4.2; Simpson 1960, 46).

Also within the Chase was the manor of Whitehall, mentioned in the building accounts of 1438-9 and 1445-6 (Simpson 1960, 61, 75). This was probably a moated site (measuring approximately 45 by 55 metres) lying 2.8 miles to the north-east of Woodhall Spa (Figure 5). The site was used as a residence on two occasions by Cromwell in 1438-9, for four and five weeks respectively (Everson & Stocker 2005, 99), so the amenities must have been of good quality. The rectangular enclosure within the surviving moat is almost identical in area to the fourteenth-century hunting lodge known as Queen Bower at Bolderford Bridge in the New Forest (Sumner 1917, 107-8), and it could have been a remodelled Tateshale hunting lodge.

To the south-west of Whitehall, standing centrally within the Chase, are the remains of the Tower-on-the-Moor (Figure 5 & Figure 64). The building consists of a four storey, brick, stair turret approximately 18.2 metres in height. Each storey is marked by a doorway with brick segmental heads, facing south-east, and lead off a vice. The stairs are no longer in situ, but it is clear from a wall scar that they were once made of brick and rose in a clockwise direction. There are two stub walls bonded to the east and south elevations of the stair turret that once formed part of the walls of a suite of stacked chambers. The scars of the stub walls do not extend further than the fourth storey, indicating that this was the maximum height of the building. The exterior of the tower features a chamfered plinth of brickwork projecting seven courses above the current ground level. Putlog holes pepper the masonry and are indicative of the timber scaffolding used to construct the building. The west and east elevations are lit by two round-headed windows, with simple brick reveals; whilst the southern elevation of the turret has a square-headed, stone, window reveal with a hollow chamfer moulding like several examples at Tattershall. Adjacent to the north elevation is a low, east-west, linear, wall running parallel to the eastern stub wall. This may be part of a boundary wall or possibly an adjacent building which could have been entirely self-contained or interlinked with the tower. An illustration from the Coleraine Collection, held by the Society of Antiquaries of London (Figure 216), shows the tower drawn from the west which seems to show truncated beams and joists, the arch of a window at first floor level and a possible intramural passage in the third floor of the western stub wall. In the foreground is what looks to be a partially buried wall and a series of earthworks. The earthworks of what appears to be a boundary ditch are also visible on Samuel Buck's engraving of 1726 (Figure 217). Additionally, Buck shows that the stair turret was once much higher and incorporated two projecting string courses. The building was probably conceived as a hunting lodge intended to provide a comfortable retreat for aristocratic hunters and as a base of operations for their retained professional huntsmen (Friar 2003, 157). The masonry of the tower is laid in English bond and the bricks are of comparable fabric and size to those of Tattershall Castle (breadth 100-115mm, thickness 47-57mm, length 210-230mm with four courses 247-255mm). Overall, there seems to be little doubt that the

structure dates to Ralph Cromwell's period of activity (NHL 1359921, Everson & Stocker 2005, 99; Pevsner & Antram 2002, 810-811; Thompson 1988, 19; Smith 1979, 34-35; Simpson 1960, 61; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 63-64).

The Tower-on-the-Moor once resembled two, less ruinous, nearby buildings: the Hussey Tower at Boston, and the Rochford Tower at Fishtoft (see Chapter 7.5). Both date to the period c 1445-60 and were probably modelled on the slightly earlier Tower-on-the-Moor (Smith 1979, 34-5). This would indicate that the latter may have originally been a rectangular structure with a single north-western stair turret that allowed access into a stack of four chambers. It is now impossible to say whether these were serviced by fireplaces or garderobes; but this does seem likely based on surviving evidence for fireplaces at the Hussey Tower and a possible intramural passage of a garderobe shown in the Coleraine Collection image (Figure 216). The Hussey Tower and Rochford Tower have evidence for adjoining ranges, in the form of wall scars relating to now-demolished chamber blocks, which communicated directly with the towers (see Chapter 7.5). The in-situ wall to the north of the stair turret at the Tower-on-the-Moor may relate to such a structure, although without geophysical excavation or excavation this cannot be verified.

Simpson (1960, 61) concluded that a reference to the manor of Whitehall, in the building accounts for 1438-9, was a reference to the existence of the Tower-on-the-Moor which he attributed to Cromwell. This is probably a confusion with the nearby moated enclosure already discussed. Writing less than a century after Cromwell's death, John Leland was unequivocal in his belief that 'One of the Cromwelles builded a pretty Turret caullid the Tour of the Moore' (Chandler 1993, 300). Furthermore, it is clear from the building accounts that Cromwell was building in the locale as they refer to a large pool dammed with a stone causeway, and then lined with brick, called the '*Syncarr*' - which once lay approximately half a mile to the south of the Tower-on-the-Moor (Everson & Stocker 2005, 100; Simpson 1960, 75-6; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 64) (Figure 5). The pool probably created an opportunity for the watering of animals, a location for wildfowling and a harmonious focus in the landscape which appealed to the romantic ideals of the period. Leland ascribed the '*Syncarr'* to the Cromwells in the same passage that he referred to the Tower-on-the-Moor (Chandler 1993, 300) and it seems inevitable that Ralph Cromwell instigated the construction of both pool and tower. The latter was certainly standing by 1472, when it was effectively decommissioned, as the building accounts reveal that it was being used as a source of brickwork to be used in repairs at the castle (Simpson 1960, 78). Notably, this took place the year after the death of the husband of Cromwell's heiress, Joan Stanhope, at the battle of Barnet in 1471 (see Chapter 9.1). As outright owner of Tattershall, Joan may have been enforcing dominance over her new estate by ordering repair work at the castle using the Tower-on-the-Moor as a quarry.

It was an expectation of Cromwell's status that he would have sophisticated hunting amenities on his estates. His appointment as Master of the Royal Mews, King's Falconer and Master of the King's Horse (Everson & Stocker 2005, 101) points towards a particular interest in the practice, for which his set of skills were deliberately called upon by Henry VI. Add to this his selection as co-warden of Sherwood Forest, keeper of Clipstone Park, forester of Macclesfield and the grant of vert and venison in the Forest of Rutland in the late 1430s (see Chapter 6.2; Friedrichs 1974, 193-4; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 84) and Cromwell's appreciation for the pleasures of the chase seems apparent. Cromwell may have even commissioned a map of Sherwood Forest at this time, which contains detailed illustrations of the great royal parks at Bestwood and Clipstone (Barley 1986, 131-9). The royal manor of Clipstone, located at the heart of Sherwood Forest, contained an idealised romantic landscape incorporating many of the features also found at Tattershall - including a vast park, hunting tower, dammed lake, religious compound, open fields, a settlement with a marketplace, watermill, fishponds, and a sprawling palace (Wright 2016a, 119-137). Given his intimate connections to both Sherwood and Clipstone, it is slightly shocking to consider that, in many ways, Cromwell superseded this royal landscape. The wider Tattershall estate was a much larger and more developed environment than even Clipstone – and in this we can really start to see tantalising evidence for Emery's (2000, 313) assertion about the potential for megalomania.

The stage management of Tattershall's mediaeval landscape would have been an overpowering statement of lordship and dominance. This was emphasised by the consistent use of the newly emergent fashion for brickwork – found at the castle, college, mill, school, Syncarr and Tower-on-the-Moor (see Chapter 4.2). The planned layout of the estate would have been familiar to Cromwell's peers, who were aware of other such desired landscapes. Furthermore, they may have been cognisant of late mediaeval literature, such as *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight,* which describes the eponymous hero encountering a similar landscape to Tattershall rendered as an ideal estate to be aspired to:

> 'He became aware, in those woods, of high walls
> In a moat, on a mound, bordered by the boughs
> Of thick-trunked timber which trimmed the water.
> The most commanding castle a knight ever kept,
> Positioned on a site of sweeping parkland
> With a palisade of pikes pitched in the earth
> In the midst of tall trees for two miles or more.
> From the corner of his eye this castle became clearer
> As it sparkled and shone with shimmering oaks…
> 'Out of water of wondrous depth, the walls

Then loomed overhead to heavenly height

(Armitage, 2007, 40: lines 764-772; 41: lines 787-9)

Analogy to such a vision would have been most apparent to visitors approaching the castle from the north. They would pass through the managed heath and woodlands of the chase, with its peripheral moated enclosures, dominated by the Tower-on-the-Moor and the nearby lodge at Whitehall (Figure 5). Further on was the aquatic focus of the Syncarr, with Kirkstead Abbey to the west and the enclosed park to the south. After negotiating the park, the visitor would encounter the open fields on the edge of Tattershall, which eventually gave way to the streetscape of Cromwell's tenants. At the new marketplace was the stone cross and school with the castle commanding the skyline beyond. Prior to reaching the castle, the visitor would admire the well-managed network of water-management dykes, with the mill and its weir. Immediately opposite the eastern castle gate were the bedehouses and collegiate church – and it is to Cromwell's ecclesiastical landscape that we shall look next.

## 8.3  A Sacred Landscape

We have already discussed the problems of trying to assess the depth of Ralph Cromwell's personal religious convictions and have noted that the patronage of ecclesiastical projects was essential for mediaeval aristocrats (see Chapter 6.3.1). Creighton (2002, 110) states that 'the foundation of an ecclesiastical institution by a castle lord could be an important social statement and an expression of wealth as well as piety.' Earlier magnates favoured the patronage of churches and monasteries but, by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, elites often favoured the foundation of a college of secular canons (Friar 2003, 62; Creighton 2002, 129-30; Thompson 1928, 25). Cromwell was involved in a number of ecclesiastical projects, including work on at least three parish churches (see Chapter 6.3.1), yet his greatest sacred legacy was the posthumous construction of Tattershall College (Figure 2 & Figure 218) on the site of the de Tateshale's parish church - known to have been in existence since at least the mid-thirteenth century (Everson & Stocker 2005, 86). His priority in life was for secular buildings but in death it was his great chantry college (Marshall 2020, 265). These fixations may explain why the nearby foundation of Kirkstead Abbey, with its attendant mortuary chapel, did not receive his patronage (Figure 8 & Figure 10). Whilst the abbey formed part of the wider landscape of lordship, Cromwell was keen to build his castle and college. Both Friar (2003, 62) and Emery (1985, 331) have pointed out that chantry colleges were popular with late mediaeval elites, such as the Cromwells, who had no direct heirs and wished to provide for their lasting personal salvation.

Cromwell was already considering the redemption of his soul as early as 1431 - a time when he was about to return to the French wars (see Chapter 6.2). He issued a will leaving monies for the foundation of a chantry chapel at Tattershall alongside a bequest to construct bedehouses (Avery 1997, 16; Friedrichs 1990, 94). Eight years later, at the height of his powers, Cromwell was thinking far more ambitiously. He received letters patent on 14 July 1439 licensing the rededication of the parish church of Saints Peter and Paul as the collegiate church of the Holy Trinity, Blessed Virgin Mary, St Peter the Apostle, St John the Baptist, and St John the Evangelist (Avery 1997, 16; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 83; Knowles 1997, 3). In November 1440, Cromwell named himself a trustee of the college alongside Henry Beaufort, John Scrope, Walter Hungerford, Walter Tailboys and William Paston. Cromwell's second will, in 1451, was more generous towards sacred projects and left money for 3000 masses to be said for his soul, numerous gifts to churches across Lincolnshire and a substantial amount for the foundation of Tattershall College (Friedrichs 1990, 95, 107). A final will, made in 1454, subtly altered the terms so that after funding Tattershall College and rebuilding of Holy Trinity Lambley, his moveable goods and non-entailed lands (amounting to over £650) were to be sold to the highest bidder (see Chapter 6.2). The income could then be used by his executors to fund charitable projects as they saw fit. Building work did not commence at Tattershall College until after Cromwell's death in 1456, probably because the necessary funds were not released until after his will was proven (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 83-84).

Despite the protestations of Cromwell's heirs (see Chapter 9.1; Friedrichs 1990, 111-2), work progressed rapidly under the administration of the principal executor, William Waynflete (see Chapters 6.2 and 7.5). He was assisted by John Gygour, first warden of the college, who expedited progress on site. In 1457, 140,000 bricks were ordered from Baldwin Docheman's kilns on Edlington Moor and a further 84,000 were delivered from Boston (see Chapter 4.2). Construction had advanced to the point where the chamber of John Leynton (the trustee's lawyer) was glazed and hangings were purchased for the hall (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 94-5, 97; Thompson 1928, 26-7). The following year, John Lyndon built a brick turret in the north-east angle of the college enclosure for £3 5s 10d (Smith 1979, 35). This feature was probably part of the complex excavated, by Laurence Keen in September 1967, to the north-east of the collegiate church (Figure 2). Archaeological work revealed a north-facing, brick, gatehouse, measuring approximately 12.2 by 10.3 metres, which had a 2.4-metre-wide portal flanked by two polygonal towers each of 3.65 metre diameter. The western gatehouse turret contained a newel stair, whilst the eastern turret, an adjacent north-eastern tower (probably built by Lyndon) and another turret, 19.2 metres to the south, contained garderobes. Three rooms were identified on each side of the gate portal which formed a courtyard 11.9 metres wide. One of the eastern rooms had possible evidence for fireplaces. Another rectangular structure

- orientated north-south - lay adjacent, to the west, and may have had a turret in the angle with the gatehouse. Pottery from the destruction layers indicated demolition during the sixteenth century, presumably after the dissolution of the college in 1545 (see Chapter 9.2; Avery 1997, 18; Wilson & Hurst 1969, 247; Wilson & Hurst 1968, 168-9, Curzon & Tipping 1929, 123).

Further traces of the college precinct are hard to discern. The remains of brick and stone vaulting project from the north elevation of the collegiate church choir (Figure 219). Curzon and Tipping (1929, 109) thought this to be a sacristy, whereas Knowles (1997, 5) considered it to be cloistral. The architect Peter Rogan (pers. comm. 27/01/2019) has speculated that the brick boundary wall to the south of the church may contain traces of a building with an opening into it. Twentieth-century accounts refer to brick foundations east of the church (Simpson 1960, xiii; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 110) and M. W. Thompson (1974, 17) noted that there may have been two brick courts, east and south of the church, accessed via Keen's gatehouse. The rectangular structure, north-west of the gatehouse, is at odds with Thompson's suggestion (Figure 2), archaeological watching briefs have also revealed a stone wall lying 40 metres to the north-west of the church (Trott & Clay 2012, 1) and a rectangular building lying beneath the seventeenth-century bedehouses (Cope-Faulkner 1997, 1) (Figure 225). The foundations and lower courses of the latter were built in limestone and brick. Associated high status worked stone revealed evidence for the masonry detailing of windows and doors and the archaeologists deduced that the building could not be the earlier timber-framed bedehouses known from documentary accounts in 1486 (see below). They instead concluded that it may relate to the collegiate foundation (Cope-Faulkner 1997, 7; Thompson 1928, 29). Ultimately, the archaeological evidence points towards a more complicated picture than Thompson allowed for.

The statutes of the college, laid down in 1460, reveal that it was intended to house seven priests (including warden, precentor, sacrist, steward and provost), six secular clerks, six choristers, 13 bedesmen and the parish priest. The warden was paid £20 per annum and was allocated two servants and two rooms; the priests were paid £10 per annum and had one room each; the clerks were paid 10 marks each and shared a room between two; finally, the choristers shared a single space (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 98). Further provision was made for a grammar school to further the education of 'all sons of tenants of the lordship of Tattershall and of the College [i.e., choristers] without charge' (Simpson 1960, xiii; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 110). The school survives as a roofless, brick, structure measuring 15.9 by 8.1 metres located to the south-east of the marketplace (see Chapters 8.2 and 9.4) (Figure 220). It is still recognisably a fifteenth-century building as its architectural details all match similar examples

at the castle - the fabric and size of the brickwork, the four-centred stone arch of the north-eastern doorway and the hollow chamfer mouldings of the upper windows. Furthermore, a historic photograph of the roof structure (taken prior to demolition) shows a six-bay clasped purlin roof of a type known in Lincolnshire from the mid-fifteenth century (Roberts 2018, 70-5). The ground floor was probably used as either stabling or offices. It was originally accessed from doors in the north-eastern corner and centre of the south-western elevation and lit by windows with simple brick surrounds. The school chamber was at first floor level which has more intricately moulded stone window jambs (Avery 1997, 18; Thompson 1974, 19). Parallels have been drawn between its design and William Waynflete's foundation of 1484 at Wainfleet School. Significantly he also employed John Gygour as facilitator there too (see Chapter 7.5; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 109-110).

The centrepiece of the foundation - the collegiate church – was not constructed until the 1470s (Figure 2). The first direct reference is for £832 0s 9d worth of stone in 1476 and another £53 2s 2 ½ d spent in 1482 (Hebgin-Barnes 1996, 304; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 95). Cromwell's will of 1454 states that he was to be buried in the choir until the completion of the collegiate church, whereupon he was to be moved to the centre of the building (Thompson 1928, 26). Whilst the college accommodation was completed services were presumably held in the old parish church in which Cromwell's body was temporarily housed. Holy Trinity, built in Ancaster limestone, consists of a western tower, nave with aisles, north and south transepts, stone rood screen and an 18.2-metre-long chancel of five bays (Figure 221). The four-bay nave is accessed from the north porch, a southern door and the western double doors of the tower. All of these portals contain their original, timber, panelled and traceried doors (NHL 1215320; Knowles 1997, 3) (Figure 126). There are two further entrances in the south elevations of the south transept and chancel. The screen divided the parochial nave from the collegiate choir (Thompson 1974, 17) and was gifted by Robert Whaley in 1528 (Knowles 1997, 4) (Figure 221). Otherwise, the church dates to the late fifteenth century with only limited nineteenth-century restoration work (NHL 1215320).

The master builder at the college, from c 1480, was John Cowper who, with Gygour, was another of Waynflete's trusted men. Cowper had worked for Waynflete previously at Eton and Bramber Bridge (see Chapter 7.5; Avery 1997, 17; Harvey 1987, 73) and was documented as responsible for the belfry stage of the tower at Holy Trinity. He probably acted as a project manager who was consulted on by other masons, in the mould of Henry Yevele (Hislop 2012, 54-5), as he was often paid to journey from Tattershall to advise on the works at Kirby Muxloe Castle. Alternatively, the Kirby Muxloe mason, Robert Steynforth, sometimes travelled to Tattershall to consult with Cowper (Goodall 2011, 377-8; Goodall 2011b, 26; Davis 1993, 115;

Harvey 1987, 73). The work at Holy Trinity contains many architectural motifs belying a strong understanding of Cromwell's tastes by Waynflete and Cowper. Crenellations appear often – on the principal rafters of the roof, the supertransoms of the window tracery and the pedestal of the pulpit – and the wild men, found on the castle chimneypieces are recalled as supporters on Cromwell's tomb brass (Figure 222).

The window glazing also referenced Cromwell's concerns. Accounts from 1480 and 1481 show that commissions were made from the geographically widespread workshops of John Power (Burton-upon-Trent), John Glasier (Stamford), John Wymondeswalde (Peterborough), Thomas Wodeshawe and Richard Twygge (Gloucestershire). The glazing survived the Reformation but was later removed, in 1757, after purchase by the earl of Exeter and scattered between St Martin's Stamford, Burghley House, Warwick Castle and the hermitage at Louth. Fortunately, some of the assemblage remained at Tattershall and was eventually remounted within the east window in the early nineteenth century (Figure 106). Antiquarian accounts refer to glazing containing armorials of Cromwell, Deincourt, Tateshale, Albini, Bernack, Driby, Clifton, Vipont, Marmion and Grey of Rotherfield; alongside Yorkist imagery, Marian symbols and the Treasurer's purse (Knowles 1997, 5-6; Hebgin-Barnes 1996, 305, 306; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 95, 108, 111; Thompson 1938, 27; Anon 1813, 11). All of these motifs are known from the castle and Johnson (2002, 61) has pointed toward the visual and symbolic power of repeated armorials and personal badges that '*links together monuments such as churches and castle, inscribes or stamps them all as the lord's own, despite their origin in very different architectural genres*.'

Curzon & Tipping (1929, 108) pointed towards affinities between the west elevation of the sixteenth-century rood screen and the castle chimneypieces (see Chapter 5.8) (Figure 221). The detailing of the central ogee arch may relate to that of the ground floor chimneypiece and the geometric panelling of the upper elevation recalls the second and third floor fireplaces. This may be anachronistic - it was built after the lifetimes of both Cromwell and Waynflete - but the emphasis elsewhere on Cromwellian themes in the church may have focused the later master mason's mind.

Bedehouses were a common feature of collegiate enterprises and were founded as charitable institutions through motivations, once again, linked, to the salvation of the patron (Hallett 2004, 4-8). Simpson (1960, xiii), Curzon and Tipping (1929, 97) and A. H. Thompson (1928, 29) assumed that Maud Bernack's bequest for the foundation of bedehouses equated to construction. Cromwell's bequest of 1431 may demonstrate that her wishes had not been fulfilled (Friedrichs 1990, 94) and it seems likely that the documented construction of

bedehouses in 1486 could be the original build. Re-used timbers were brought from Tydd St Mary, by the carpenter Henry Halsebroke, to build a structure 172 by 19 feet (52.4 by 5.8 metres) in dimension (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 97). These dimensions are like the two-storey example built in 1427-8 by the Guild of the Holy Cross, Stratford-Upon-Avon, adjacent to a collegiate chapel and school (Fogg 2014, 12-17; Hallett 2004, 23) (Figure 223). Tattershall had thirteen chambers, appended by a hall and chapel, accessed via a long '*gallery*' (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 97, 111; Thompson 1928, 29). The gallery may have been an external pentice like Lyddington Bedehouse in Rutland (Woodfield & Woodfield 1988, 4) (Figure 224). The assertion that the row of, seventeenth-century, brick and stone bedehouses at Tattershall (Figure 225) were built on the site of the earlier timber-framed range (Avery 1997, 18) is open to question. The archaeological discovery of a fifteenth-century brick and stone structure, beneath the extant building, showed no evidence for timber-framing (Cope-Faulkner 1997, 7). Consequently, we cannot be certain where the 1486 bedehouse stood.

Johnson (2002, 61) stressed that Cromwell's 'college on one reading is an attempt in part to assert his status after his death'. In this desire, Cromwell was not alone. Collegiate churches were built in direct landscape association with castles in the fourteenth century by Thomas of Lancaster at Kenilworth (Morris 2015, 29), Edward III at Windsor (Goodall 2011, 283-9), William de Clinton at Maxstoke and John de Wingfield at Wingfield in Suffolk (Creighton 2002, 129). This tradition continued apace during the early fifteenth century through the foundation at Staindrop by Ralph Neville outside his castle gate at Raby. The personnel at Straindrop were like Tattershall as it housed a warden, 12 priests and 18 poor persons (Friar 2003, 63). Meanwhile, Edward, 2nd duke of York, founded St Mary and All Saints Fotheringhay in 1411 (). Here, as at Tattershall, the nave was parochial and the choir collegiate. It was served by a master, precentor, 11 priests, eight clerks and 13 choristers. Fotheringhay served as a mausoleum for various members of the Yorkist dynasty and the family were represented via repeated armorials in the stained glass of the church. The administration, repeated motifs, and mortuary usage of Raby and Fotheringhay functioned in a manner wholly consistent with the later foundation at Tattershall (Friar 2003, 63; Johnson 2002, 82; Pevsner & Cherry 1973, 220; Simpson 1960, xiii). Although relatively short-lived, Tattershall College was a successful enterprise, as on the eve of the Reformation it was estimated to be worth £348 5s 11d per annum (Anon 1813, 10).

Beyond Tattershall, Cromwell provided funds for the remodelling of several parish churches (see Chapter 6.3.1). An inscription at St Germans Ranby (Lincolnshire) referred to his patronage and his armorial and badge were still visible there in the nineteenth century (Friedrichs 1974, 205; Gill 1915, 131-2). Although the church was rebuilt in 1860, the surviving

Perpendicular font may be a relic (Pevsner & Antram 2002, 606-7). The east windows of the aisles at All Saints South Wingfield (Derbyshire) once contained stained glass depictions of Cromwell's arms quartering those of de Tateshale (Cox 1886, 66). The west tower, which dates from the Perpendicular period, features blank shields on the angle-buttresses similar to those on the inner gatehouse at Wingfield Manor, and the tracery of the west elevation is in the antiquated style already noted as characteristic of Cromwell's Derbyshire and Lincolnshire residences (see Chapter 6.3.2; NHL 1040011, Pevsner & Williamson 1978, 321; Gill 1915, 127) (Figure 227). More tangibly, the nave and chancel at Holy Trinity Lambley (Nottinghamshire) were rebuilt during the 1470s (the rededication took place on 29 April 1480), following Cromwell's bequest of £300 in 1454 (Pevsner & Williamson 1979, 160; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 92). Waynflete was again the prime mover at Lambley and there are architectural affinities with Holy Trinity Tattershall – the Treasurer's Purse makes an appearance in the stonework either side of the east window (Figure 167). More unusually, both churches feature uncusped window tracery (Gill 1915, 134). Secular buildings in the first half of the fifteenth century including the Great Tower at Tattershall, Eton College and Ewelme Manor prefigured this taste (see Chapter 4.4). It can then be found in sacred buildings, during the latter part of the century, in the penultimate storey of the tower at St Botolph's Boston (c 1450-1520) and the chapel of St Katharyn at St Wulfram's Grantham (c 1496). The idea may have developed from secular buildings, and it is the architecture of Cromwell's widespread estates that we will now examine.

## 8.4 Manorial Domains

William of Worcester's account of Cromwell's wealth and property gives an indication that, by the later fifteenth century, his legacy of prestige was still notable (see Chapter 6). From Worcester we learn of 4000 marks spent at Tattershall, the building of Wingfield Manor, construction of a chapel at Collyweston and purchase of Ampthill for over 5000 marks. Cromwell's annual spending was estimated at over £5000 and, if Worcester's figures are correct, much of this must have gone on maintaining a household exceeding 100 members who had access to a stable for 120 horses in London (Harvey 1969, 72). Friedrichs (1974, 177) took Worcester's claims as realistic, given his close connections with Cromwell's friend John Fastolf. This is given support by an assessment of *fercula* from April 1450 to July 1451. Woolgar (1999, 11) estimates that individuals in late mediaeval households received *fercula* of one or two loaves of bread a day alongside one gallon of ale. As Cromwell's household consumed 63,479 loaves of bread and 27,360 gallons of beer during the stated period, the household averaged around 70 persons - with the caveat that this would fluctuate (Friedrichs 1974, 177). This placed Cromwell squarely alongside his contemporaries Edward, 2nd duke of

York and Thomas Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury, who are estimated to have fielded households of 91 and 68 respectively (Woolgar 1999, 12).

Such wealth and largesse were derived partly from landed income and exports of grain and wool, but the majority came from the wages and perquisites of royal office. A substantial portion of Cromwell's finances – more than £15,000 – were invested in the purchase of estates, and a conservative estimate indicates that at least another £8000 was spent building on those lands (Friedrichs 1974, 204; 206-7; 210-11). The year 1447 is instructive of Cromwell's spending as he had building projects running at all his major residences: Tattershall £657 5s 9d, Collyweston £366 5s 11 ½d, South Wingfield £189 18s 5 ¾d, Lambley £77 12s 9 ½d and Depham £31 16s 10d, plus a further £359 4s 2d on repairs to existing structures: a total of £1682 3s 11 ¾d. It is revealing to note that these five residences were evenly spread across the principal clusters of his estates in Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, plus a house near the centre of the political sphere in London.

After Tattershall, Collyweston (Northamptonshire) received the greatest outlay in 1447. Cromwell purchased the manor from Sir William Porter's executors in 1441, but little can be said of the layout of the house beyond Worcester's assertion that Cromwell was responsible for a chapel and offices (Harvey 1969, 73) and Leland's note that the Treasurer's Purse was displayed in the stonework (Smith 1964, 22). Antiquarian accounts speak of the presence of a great hall, tower and kitchen with four chimneys (Bridges 1791, 433). A topographic survey has revealed gardens, fishponds, pillow mounds and parkland (RCHME 1975, 29-32) (Figure 228). Much of this could date to later work under Margaret Beaufort and there is no evidence to support Emery's speculation that the tower might have been Cromwell's (Emery 2018, 362-3). Cromwell's executors estimated the annual value of Collyweston, described as a 'feyre and plesaunt bildying', to be £51 4s 7d and sold the estate to the duke of Warwick for £1066 13s 4d. By comparison, the magnificent Wingfield Manor, had an annual estimate of £29 13s 2d and was sold to the earl of Shrewsbury for £700 (Emery 1985, 330; Friedrichs 1974, 202). Perhaps this reflects the poorer agricultural land of the Derbyshire estate, and a favourable price may have been levied by the executors to Cromwell's confidante, Shrewsbury, versus his eventual enemy, Warwick (see Chapter 6.2). Based on the account of the antiquarian John Leland it has usually been assumed that Collyweston was a relatively unpretentious residence until it was transformed under Margaret Beaufort in the late fifteenth century (Smith 1964, 22). However, the evidence from the building accounts and Cromwell's executors may point towards a major complex which ought to rank as one of the great "lost" houses from mediaeval England.

Also lost, are Depham (near Edmonton) and Lambley (Nottinghamshire). Very little is known of the former, which was acquired by Cromwell c 1438 (Baggs et al 1976, 149-54). The house was commodious enough to receive a visit from Bishop Bekyngton in 1442 and in 1454 livestock was driven there from Duddington in Northamptonshire (Friedrichs 1974, 205). It is not clear whether this was the London residence with stabling for 120 horses (Harvey 1969, 72) or where Tailboys' assassins attempted murder Cromwell (Friedrichs 1974, 263). As a royal councillor, Cromwell was presumably accommodated in chambers at royal residences whilst on official business at London and Westminster (Colvin Brown & Taylor 1963, 534).

Lambley attracted only minor building expenses (Emery 2000, 313). The redundant earthworks of the site were mapped by Richard Banks in 1609 and are now only partially extant within a field to the south of the church (Figure 229). The rest of the house has been lost to a twentieth-century housing development (Weir 1981, 75). We can understand the detailed layout of the house through a rental made in 1459. It consisted of two wet moats linked by a wooden bridge. The inner court measured 26 roods in circumference (approximately 143 metres) and contained two granaries plus a timber-framed residence, built on a stone groundwall, which had four rooms on the ground floor and three above. The outer court housed ancillary buildings including stabling, granary, two barns, animal sheds, orchard, dovecote, kitchen, bakery, brewhouse, residential chambers and a gatehouse. Beyond the outer court was a piggery, granary, maltings and another orchard (Weir 1981, 76-7). Further to the north is a windmill mound constructed c 1450 (Pastscape 320010). Lambley, therefore, had the classic seigneurial landscape expected of the late mediaeval gentry, but was probably not a principal residence for the status-driven Cromwell, who may have maintained the house as a gesture towards the antiquity of his familial links with the manor.

Wingfield Manor (Derbyshire) has been extensively researched by antiquarians (Ferrey 1873; Blore 1793) and buildings specialists including M. W. Thompson (1976, 438-57), Philip Dixon (1995; 1989, 57-9) and Anthony Emery (2000, 449-459; 1985, 276-399). It is not the place of this thesis to offer new interpretations, or detailed building analyses, for what is already a well-known site. Instead, it will suffice to give a brief assessment of how the architecture and landscape of Wingfield demonstrated Cromwell's dominance over his estates. The cruel lengths that he went to in imparting the manor from Elizabeth Swillington (see Chapter 6.2), followed by extensive litigation with Henry Pierrepont, speaks volumes about his determined intent to build a palatial residence there – with construction beginning before the ink was barely dry on the deeds (Turville-Petre 1998, 174-87; Payling 1986, 67-95; Emery 1985, 282).

The manor house was constructed in an upland region, of local gritstone, and took the form of two rectilinear courtyards, linked by a cross range containing a gatehouse emblazoned with

Cromwellian armorials and badges (Figure 52 & Figure 230). In some respects, the surviving architecture offers us a glimpse of what has been lost at Tattershall - although many of the high-status residential chambers do not survive, the two gatehouses, barn, lodging ranges, services and great hall are still present (Figure 52, Figure 231, Figure 232, Figure 233 & Figure 234). Much has been made of the High Tower standing at the western end of the cross range (see Chapter 5.10) (Figure 235). Whilst Emery (1985, 312) and Dixon (1993, 96-7) differ on the precise dating of the structure, they agree that it has a clumsy structural relationship with the adjacent cross range and guest lodgings on the west side of the inner court. Both are resolved that it was a late addition to the complex which formerly lacked an architectural focus. Yet this solution was a very different structure to the Great Tower at Tattershall, which acted as an elite residential tower intended to overawe the visitor. At Wingfield, the tower was nothing more than an extension of the guest lodging ranges and was intended to look impressive externally, whilst not playing a central lordly function internally (Dixon & Lott 1993, 97; Emery 1985, 303, 312).

The wider landscape at Wingfield contains many of the same features of elite prestige as Tattershall – indeed, they were essential markers of aristocratic status. The presence of a deer park is known, but its precise boundaries have not been traced (NHL 1014829). More identifiable, is the garden terrace immediately to the north of the inner court (Emery 1985, 283). The approach to the outer gate in the south-east corner was circuitous. It would have paraded the visitor across the valley of the River Amber, with the physical authority of the great house silhouetted above on a rocky crag to the west. Fishponds, identified from aerial photographs, were located to the east of the original settlement of South Wingfield, between the River Amber and Oakerthorpe Brook (Pastscape 313802). They presumably related to an older manorial centre which pre-dated Cromwell's house. That house is at 0.8 miles south-west of the historic core of South Wingfield, which once clustered around the mediaeval church of All Saints (Brighouse 1968, 125-6). We have already discussed the remodelling of the church by Cromwell (NHL 1040011, Pevsner & Williamson 1978, 321; Gill 1915, 127), but the religious landscape may also have been augmented by a hermitage on the banks of the Amber (Pastscape 313805). The shift in the morphology from nucleated village to a linear settlement is thought to have taken place in reaction to the reorganisation of the seigneurial enclosure, by Cromwell, from Ufton Hall (adjacent to the church) to Wingfield Manor (Brighouse 1968, 125-6). As at Tattershall, the tenants would have been compelled to use the manorial watermill (Pastscape 1463093) and their agricultural livelihood is represented archaeologically by a croft documented to have been assarted from an extension to the deer park (Brighouse 1968, 125-6). The upland nature of the estate also created opportunities for mineral extraction - bell pits related to the mediaeval iron mining industry have been recorded east of the Amber in Shaw

Wood (Pastscape 1463093). This activity may have afforded Cromwell yet another source of income.

Emery (1985, 316-21) has discussed the overall design of Wingfield Manor as akin to a sequence of English great houses including Penshurst, Dartington and Winchester College (Figure 236); whilst Tattershall balanced continental nuances alongside the continuity of indigenous forms (see Chapter 7). The parallels between the two buildings are strong. Both reused the sites of earlier castles and, therefore, established a continuity of power statements (Avery 1997, 5; Emery 1985, 284). Their dominating towers are both residential markers of status that consist of large, stacked chambers directly linked to adjacent ranges (Emery 1985, 317-9). The relationship between the great hall and adjacent spaces at Wingfield bears some similarities to Tattershall, 'including the vaulted undercroft leading off the great hall, the audience chamber with a processional approach and waiting room, and Cromwell's private rooms on a higher floor' (Emery 1985, 321). More subtly, we have already touched on the repeated use, at both sites, of antiquated window tracery, plus repetitive armorial, and badges (see Chapter 6.3.2). Cromwell's forceful architectural achievements went on to have a tremendous influence - Wingfield prompted a variety of stone-built sites in the midlands and south such as Sudeley, Minster Lovell and Raglan, whereas the brick of Tattershall provided inspiration for eastern England in the form of Gainsborough, Oxburgh and Buckden (see Chapter 7.5; Emery 1985, 324-6).

Antiquarians linked Cromwell to Temple Bruer Preceptory in Lincolnshire (Figure 237) and Maxey Castle in Northamptonshire. The latter seems unlikely as he had no connection to the manor; but at Temple Bruer the presence of the Cromwell arms and badge in a window were noted (Emery 2000, 313). More certain was his notorious relationship with Ampthill Castle (Bedfordshire) that led to much acrimony and expense, during the 1450s, at the hands of the duke of Exeter (see Chapter 6.2). That Ampthill was worth litigating over is clear as its builder, Sir John Cornwall, had developed a fine, brick and stone, fortified house with two courtyards. The inner court, measuring 67 by 82 metres, was entered via an imposing gatehouse, and contained impressive lodging ranges with stair turrets described as 'faire towers of stone.' Cromwell filled this residence with lavish furnishings, but the pressure of Exeter's avarice led him to sell the estate in 1454. It was demolished in the next century, making it 'one of the major lost houses of the later middle ages' (Emery 2000, 205-6).

Another site that eventually caused trouble for Cromwell was Wressle Castle (East Yorkshire) (see Chapter 6.2). This courtyard house, with corner towers and a five-storey gatehouse was built for Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester, in the late 1390s but upon the rebellion of the Percies, in 1403, it was seized by the Lancastrians. Following the death of Bedford in 1435,

Wressle was handed to Cromwell. Storey (1966, 143) thought that it was resentment over this grant that led to the feud which spilled over into the skirmish at Heworth Moor.

Cromwell was entrusted as castellan of Castle Rising (Norfolk) from 1430-1 (Friedrichs 1974, 194). With its mid-twelfth century great tower built by his distant Albini relatives it could be considered whether Cromwell's interest in great towers was focused by his association with the site (see Chapters 6.2 and 6.3.2). Similarly influential, may have been the palace-fortress of Nottingham Castle, for which Cromwell was named constable in 1437. He was also made co-steward of Sherwood Forest and keeper of Bestwood and Clipstone parks (see Chapter 6.2). His association with the latter went back to 1433 when he was granted the farm of the manor (Friedrichs 1974, 193). The responsibility for these royal estates gave Cromwell direct financial interests in building projects at Clipstone and Nottingham. Consequently, we can see deputies of the Clerk of the Kings Works, John Arderne, authorised to work at both Clipstone Palace in 1435-43 and at Nottingham in 1437-41 (Wright 2016a, 158; Colvin, Brown & Taylor 1963, 764. The relationship between financier and builder can be explored through the probable single identity of a mason called John Boteler, found working at Tattershall Castle in 1434-5 (Simpson 1960, 45), with John Botiller of Toddington (Bedfordshire) who led works at Clipstone in 1435 (Colvin, Brown & Taylor 1963, 921). Malcolm Hislop has suggested that this mason may have been the master builder in charge of both projects (Hislop 2016, 85-6).

## 8.5 Conclusions

Having already considered the elite desire for idealised landscapes through an assessment of the *Gawain* poem, it is worth reflecting on Oliver Creighton's view of another piece of late fourteenth-century literature (Creighton 2002, 179-80). He quotes Andrew Breeze's translation of the Welsh court poet, Iolo Goch's description of Owain Glyn Dŵr's manor at Sycharth in Clwyd:

> 'Each side full, each house at court,
> Orchard, vineyard and white fortress;
> The master's rabbit warren;
> Ploughs and strong steeds of great frame;
> Near the court, even finer,
> The deer park within that field;
> Fresh green meadows and hayfields;
> Neatly enclosed rows of grain;
> Fine mill on a smooth-flowing stream;
> Dovecot a bright stone tower;
> A fish-pond, enclosed and deep,

Where nets are cast and need be,
Abounding, no argument,
In pike and splendid whiting;
His land a board where birds dwell,
Peacocks, high-stepping herons.'

(Breeze, 1997, 137)

If the *Gawain* poet gives us an indication of a castle's relationship with its landscape, Goch describes the physical structures that we can expect to find beyond the castle gate in that landscape of lordship – orchards, rabbit warrens, open fields, parkland, mills, dovecotes, and fishponds teaming with fish and wildfowl. Allowing for poetical hyperbole, we can see something recognisable in the elite environment that existed at Tattershall and Ralph Cromwell's other estates. The dominance over those estates became a major extension of his personal characteristics identified in Chapter 6. The use of replicated motifs – both widely understood seigneurial and sacred markers of prestige or those relating to personal architectural aesthetics, armorials, and badges – helped to create a devastatingly unified brand across a diversely wide landscape that repeatedly overemphasised Cromwell's grasping pride in what remained his uncertain status in society.

This chapter has helped to move the study of Tattershall beyond the macro level of buildings archaeology and into a more holistic arena of looking at castles in their totality. This has been a feature of the last thirty years of English castle studies, which has built upon the published work of Oliver Creighton (2002, 2009) to consider contemporary mediaeval viewpoints which did not end at the walls. The Tattershall case study can be presented alongside similar studies of elite landscapes at sites including Sherriff Hutton Castle (Dennison 2005), Clarendon Palace (James & Gerrard 2007) and Knole (Cohen & Parton 2019). Evidence has been presented for a powerful statement of prestige through the careful stage-management of a designed landscape which incorporated features such as gardens, a mill, college, watercourses, fishponds, and a re-organised village which were all intervisible with the castle. Cromwell's interests did not end with what could be seen. The castle was also intimately connected to a wider landscape that rippled outwards to include a deer park, mortuary chapel, abbey, hunting reserve, hunting lodges and manors. Even further out lay an impressive portfolio of over 140 manorial estates which included churches and houses that were maintained, remodelled or constructed by Cromwell.

# 9 The Post-mediaeval Castle

## 9.1 Cromwell's Heirs

At the time of his death Ralph Cromwell cut a rather isolated figure. His closest associates appear to have been William Waynflete and the men present at his deathbed – Reginald Boulers, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield and John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury (see Chapter 6.2). He was considered a rebel by the Lancastrians and was at odds with the powerful Yorkist faction. What little family he had remaining belonged to the latter and were doubly incensed upon finding out the details contained within his most recent will of 1454. Cromwell had secretly switched the terms so that they only received his entailed lands – less than 40 per cent of his estates which were worth just 500 marks per annum (see Chapters 6.2 and 8.3). Much of his vast landed estates, and all his portable valuables, were to be poured into the construction of ecclesiastical architecture at Tattershall College and Holy Trinity Lambley. Another clause demanded that any remaining property was to be auctioned off and the resulting money donated to charitable causes picked by the executors of his will. Waynflete channelled much of the largesse into his foundation at Magdalen College Oxford (Friedrichs 1990, 108-09).

The husbands of Cromwell's heirs Maud and Joan Stanhope, Thomas Neville and Humphrey Bourchier were present at Cromwell's funeral at Tattershall; perhaps not entirely in a state of reverential mourning as they used the opportunity to loot £2,130 19s 4 1/2 d worth of goods from the castle. Furthermore, at the end of 1457, Bourchier advanced on Wingfield Manor with an armed retinue and forcibly seized it from the earl of Shrewsbury who had recently purchased the house (see Chapter 8.4). Nearly three years later Cromwell's executors estimated that the two Yorkists had seized a further £15,974 2s 5d in profits from 35 manors to which they were not entitled. Neville died at Towton in 1460, but it was not until 1462 that Bourchier was legally compelled to accept the terms of the will - although he continued to quibble over minor details and never returned the goods looted from the castle (Friedrichs 1990, 111-12).

Despite the intense and lengthy wrangles over Cromwell's property, ownership of Tattershall Castle itself passed to Joan Stanhope who retained ownership in her own right according to the terms of Cromwell's will - which specified that it should be entailed with his own heirs. When her husband, Humphrey Bourchier, died fighting for the Yorkists at Barnet in 1471, Stanhope swiftly married Robert Ratcliffe - possibly a relative of one of Cromwell's former feoffees John Ratcliffe (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 99-102, 114). Around this period, some remedial maintenance took place at the castle as an account survives for the sum of £9 7s 6d spent in 1472. This refers to payments made by the bailiff, Richard Parker, for works including

two new bridges and repairs to the 'great bridge' next to the outer stables, horse mill, kitchen chimneys and bakehouse oven. There is also mention of five days-worth of labour expended on dismantling brickwork at the Tower on the Moor – presumably to be reused at the castle (see Chapter 8.2; Simpson 1960, 39, 78). This may imply that the hunting lodge was no longer in use.  By this period Tattershall was probably much reduced – a point confirmed by a letter from the lawyer John Leynton to the Master of Tattershall College, John Gygour, in which he candidly noted that the estate had been allowed to fall into decay due to a result of a lack of funds (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 102-03).

Joan Stanhope died in 1481 and was buried under a fine brass memorial at the collegiate church (Figure 238). At this point the ownership of the castle becomes clouded. Ratcliffe outlived Joan but, as he was not a specified heir of Cromwell, he would not have been eligible to retain custodianship. Neither does the castle seem to have been inherited outright by Joan's thrice-widowed sister Maud, whose last husband - Gervase Clifton - had died fighting for the Lancastrians at Tewkesbury. The allegiance with the Yorkist's enemies probably precluded her from consideration and, instead, the castle seems to have become a possession of the crown by the last years of Edward IV's reign. Richard III was definitively lord of the manor in 1484 and upon his death, at Bosworth the following year, the estate was seized by Henry VII (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 103-05, 114).

## 9.2   Sixteenth Century Tattershall

Henry Tudor gifted Tattershall to his mother, Margaret Beaufort, although she never spent any time there and does not seem to have concerned herself with any building maintenance at the castle. On her death, in 1509, the estate reverted to the crown and was endowed upon Henry Fitzroy, illegitimate son of Henry VIII, in 1525 until his death in July 1536 (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 114-19).  Later that year the castle was briefly occupied by rebels during the Lincolnshire rising against the king's religious reforms, known as the Pilgrimage of Grace (Gairdner 1888, 225). The rebellion was emphatically dealt with by Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, who used the castle as a base during his operations in the region (Everson & Stocker 2003, 146). By April 1537 the castle had been formally granted to him, partly in gratitude for suppressing the rebellion and partly because Henry demanded that Brandon remain present in Lincolnshire to discourage further revolt (Bryson 2016, 108-09).

Tattershall became Brandon's symbolic headquarters in the county alongside his development of residences at Grimsthorpe Castle and the former monastic sites of Barlings Abbey and Kirkstead Abbey (Bryson 2016, 109; Everson & Stocker 2005, 101, 104; 2003, 145-58). There is no direct evidence that Brandon involved himself with any building work at the castle itself. Everson and Stocker (2005, 104; 2003, 149) have speculated that he may have been

responsible for the construction of a tiltyard in the brick enclosure to the south. However, evidence presented in Chapter 3.6 suggests that this was more likely to have originally been a Cromwellian garden rather than a Tudor-era tiltyard.

Shortly before Brandon's death, in 1545, Tattershall College was closed by Henry VIII's reforming commissioners, and he was able to purchase it for 4000 marks (see Chapter 8.3). Brandon thought so highly of Tattershall that his wish was to be buried simply at the former collegiate church, but the king intervened, and his body was interred - with great ceremony - at St George's Chapel, Windsor. Despite this, Tattershall was not forgotten as Brandon left £100 to be distributed between his poorest Lincolnshire tenants, including those in the parish (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 123).

An inventory was made of the castle after Brandon's death which reveals the presence of several beds, ceremonial tester canopies (including one depicting the Tudor rose and Beaufort portcullis), Anatolian woven rugs and wall-hangings – of which four represented the life of Alexander the Great (Avery 1997, 27). Tattershall was duly inherited by Suffolk's son, Henry Brandon, but once again reverted to the crown after his death in 1551 (Bryson 2016, 181). The estate was briefly owned by the statesman and courtier, Sir Henry Sidney, prior to its sale in 1573-4 to Edward, 9th Lord Clinton and eventual earl of Lincoln (Avery 1997, 27). In the 118 years since Ralph Cromwell's death Tattershall Castle had a confusing history of ownership and was controlled by no less than eleven individuals prior to Clinton's purchase. Beyond the building accounts of 1472 there is no surviving direct historical or archaeological evidence of structural work at the castle by any of these occupants.

## 9.3 The Earls of Lincoln

At the opening of the seventeenth century the antiquarian William Camden included a brief mention of Tattershall in his *Britannia*. He has the distinction of being the first historian to refer to the site although he was far more concerned with the descent of the manor's ownership and did not leave us any notes on the physical appearance of the building at that time (Gibson 1695, 471-72). By this point the castle was owned by Henry Clinton, 2nd earl of Lincoln - the subject of a complaint by the parishioners of Tattershall who accused him of digging up part of the churchyard and using the spoil to fill in the eastern arm of the Outer Moat (see Chapter 3.2; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 136). Further work undertaken during this broad period probably included the construction of a crow-stepped gable to the solar block illustrated by Buck (see Chapter 3.5.5) (Figure 58). The earliest use of crow-stepped gables in Lincolnshire dates to the 1560s and the style continued well into the seventeenth century (Roberts 2018, 348). Therefore, the solar would appear to date to the Clinton's occupancy and is an indication that they required a contemporary upgrade of the private facilities inherited from Cromwell's tenure.

Henry's grandson, Theophilus Clinton had strong Puritan sympathies and was a veteran of the Germanic wars. With the outbreak of the British Civil Wars, in August 1642, he supported Parliament against Charles I. He was named as Lord Lieutenant of South Lincolnshire - a subordinate to Francis Willoughby, earl of Parham (LaCombe 2004). Tattershall Castle was initially used as a prison. One of the inmates, James Gibson, was an anti-Puritan clergyman from Horncastle who scratched his name on the one of the stones of the western jamb of the doorway between the stair and the third-floor apartments of the great tower in 1642 (Figure 239). The following year the royalist newsbook, *Mercurius Aulicus*, reported that 'the Earl of Lincoln… hath begun very lately to entrench and fortifie his owne house at Tattershall. As also they have cast there 2 pieces of ordinance, each of them bigge enough to discharge 60 musket bullets and were then casting another… able to carry a bullet [cannon ball] of ten pounds' (Stark 1843, 122). Although this information must be taken with some scepticism, as it was reported by Clinton's enemies in a royalist publication, the specific detail may indicate that it was based on a genuine observation of cannon-founding at Tattershall. Mention of musket balls is further relevant to the buildings archaeology of the site as the west front of Holy Trinity collegiate church has evidence of what may be impact scars on the ashlar and buttress to the north of the west door of the tower (Figure 240). Impact scars are a relatively common archaeological discovery at castle sites which were garrisoned during the British Civil Wars (including Moreton Corbett and Kenilworth) but can also be found at churches such as St Mary's Acton (Cheshire) and St Oswald's Winick (Lancashire). They are usually interpreted as physical evidence for gunnery during skirmishes or sieges (Foard 2008, 154-64). Although there is no direct evidence of any military confrontations at Tattershall, it is conceivable that these scars may have been the result of garrison musketry practice. The potential for a similar attribution has also been noted by Matthew Champion (2017, 15-16) at Lyveden New Beild in Northamptonshire.

The castle was briefly relinquished to the army of the royalist commander William Cavendish, earl of Newcastle, without a fight, during his advance into Lincolnshire following the battle of Gainsborough in the summer of 1643 (Varley 1948, 48). It was one of two principal strategic castles, along with Bolingbroke, which underpinned royalist lines encircling the edges of the fens around Parliamentarian Boston. In October 1643, the earl of Manchester's troops, commanded by Oliver Cromwell and Thomas Fairfax, pushed hard against the royalist screen and despite a setback at Horncastle they achieved victory at Winceby. Parliament subsequently regained control of much of Lincolnshire and Tattershall changed hands once again (Bennett 2017, 72-78; Holmes 1973, 456). It was then used as a local tax collection point garrisoned by a troop from Sir Edwards Rossiter's Eastern Association Regiment of

Horse commanded by Captain Christopher Bushey until he transferred into the New Model Army (http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/cromwell-army-officers/surnames-b).

Despite acting as Speaker of the Commons in 1647, Clinton's loyalty came into question the following year when he was suspected of complicity with royalist risings during the summer of 1648. A party of 180 royalists were reported to be mustering to seize Bolingbroke and Tattershall but were dissuaded by a strong presence of local militia. In July, one Mr Francis Fines was sent to take direct control of Tattershall and to slight Bolingbroke in the name of the Commons. The historian Pickworth referred to an item in the accounts of the Corporation of Boston relating to £11 8s 6d expended on gunpowder delivered to Tattershall Castle in November 1648 (Pickworth 1891, 27-28). Pickworth linked the presence of gunpowder to Clinton's claim, made the following year, for damages to the castle made by the garrison. Conventionally, this has been interpreted as potential evidence that it was used in the deliberate slighting of the castle. However, in a study of castle slighting Lila Rakoczy (2007, 67-69, 148-52) has drawn attention to the lack of contemporary documentary or archaeological evidence for the use of gunpowder in slighting operations. Instead, undermining with burnt props and manual dismantling may have been used in many situations due to the expense, difficulty of transportation and unreliability of gunpowder for the task.

Evidence from the domestic Calendars of State Papers and Journals of the House of Commons, presented by M. W. Thompson, has pointed to a rather laborious sequence of negotiation for the slighting of Tattershall from April 1649 onwards. Initially, Clinton was ordered to demolish the great tower, but he tendered a preference towards removing only the floors and roof. In June the Council agreed that Clinton would be eligible for financial compensation for his losses (Thompson 1987, 184). Clinton made complaint about the occupation of the castle to the Commons, and was backed by the Lords in this, yet the garrison was still in place during late August when the Governor of Boston was ordered to begin the demolition (Thompson 1987, 184; Prize 1923, 138, 145). It seems likely that Clinton's position and authority may have alleviated the demands for the removal of the Great Tower as further correspondence indicates that nothing was done during the autumn so that on New Year's Day 1650 the Governor was still being urged to get on with the job. Eventually, on 25 March £60 was paid out to Governor Colonel Edmund Syler. He then passed the sum on to John Wincap who was presumably to be tasked with completing the slighting of Tattershall. Frustratingly, the last we hear of the matter is an order on 24 January 1653 demanding an enquiry as to the state of the castle and a query as to whether Clinton should be compensated (Thompson 1987, 184). Clearly the Great Tower remained standing despite the determination to demolish it in 1649 but it has to be considered that the curtain walls and many mediaeval buildings within the castle wards may have been reduced by Wincap in the spring of 1650.

This would go some way to explain the fragmentary appearance of the site as depicted in the 1720s by Buck and Millicent.

The castle must have been at least habitable as it remained the residence of Theophilus Clinton until his death in 1667. It passed to his grandson Edward who then left the estate to his cousin Francis. Afterwards it passed to Bridget Boscawen, great-grand-daughter of Theophilus Clinton, in 1693. At this point the title of the earl of Lincoln and the ownership of Tattershall Castle were separated. The interests of Boscawen's husband, Hugh Fortescue, lay far to the south-west in Gloucestershire, Devon, and Cornwall (Munby 2008, 11; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 140). By this point, Tattershall was an unfashionable mediaeval gothic castle - at a time when Neo-Classical houses were all the rage – and the Fortescues never chose to occupy the castle. It ceased to be a principal residence of nobility.

## 9.4  Absentee Lordship of the Fortescues

Curzon and Tipping (1929, 140) assumed that the castle was in a habitable state when it passed from the Clintons to the Fortescues in 1693 and that the built environment subsequently declined to the deleterious state recorded by Samuel Buck (1726) (Figure 6) and William Millicent (1727) (Figure 7). As we have seen from the detailed analysis of the castle in previous chapters, both antiquarian views appear to be broadly accurate (despite some questionable artistic perspective from Buck) and complement one another very well – Buck viewing the site from the east and Millicent the west. Overall, the exterior of the Great Tower seems to have been in a reasonable state of repair with most of its tracery windows, wall-tops and spirelets intact. On Millicent's view of the west elevation the northern ground floor window looks as if it had been remodelled into a doorway, with quoin-stone jambs. This was apparently confirmed in Willson's late eighteenth-century view (Figure 25). Close examination of a photograph taken c 1870 (Figure 24) shows that there was a scar in the masonry and a break in the plinth course which corresponded with the doorway (although it had subsequently been partially blocked up again to recreate a window by c 1870). Millicent also showed that the tracery of the adjacent window to the south had been removed - otherwise the mediaeval integrity of the building looks to have been retained.

In Buck's view there is also a chance that the solar block was in a serviceable state as the condition of the crow-stepped gable end also appears whole. Otherwise, only the southern end of the "Stables" and the "Guardhouse" lodging ranges were still roofed. All other architectural features in the two 1720s views were represented as roofless fragments with foliage growing from the wall tops. This was a castle in an advanced state of disrepair and even if the Great Tower had still been occupied as late as 1693, questions must be raised about where food was prepared for the Clintons as the mediaeval service ranges were no

longer standing by 1726-7 (see Chapter 3.5.4). By comparison, Tattershall was in an even more parlous state than Buck's views of other contemporary fifteenth-century castles that were besieged or slighted during the British Civil Wars including Sudeley (Gloucestershire), Raglan (Monmouthshire) and Ashby (Leicestershire). Despite the evidence that Tattershall was probably slighted, an additional factor may have been that the general decline of the site, noted by John Leynton in the 1470s, may not have been substantially arrested by its post-mediaeval owners (see Chapter 9.1).

The fate of castles after the British Civil Wars was somewhat varied. In the eighteenth century, Ashby was partially remodelled into a house that lay among the ruins of the castle (Goodall 2011, 38). Raglan was left a shattered ruin (Kenyon 2003, 22-23), as was Sudeley until its restoration by the Dent family in the mid-nineteenth century (Anon 2019, 28-30). The ruins of the latter began to attract tourists spurred on by the popularity of the picturesque movement and other slighted sites, such as Wardour (Wiltshire), were deliberately presented as evocative romantic ruins within designed landscapes (Girouard 2012, 43-46). Tattershall also appealed to Romantic artists including de Wint, Walker and Girtin and who all painted the site – the latter in a fine example of the sublime style (Figure 241 although the castle grounds were not carefully curated for discerning tastes. Instead, the castle became adjunct to a farm, located to the west, which was eventually run from Castle Cottage (Munby 2008, 11, 64). In this respect the use of site was like a great many other late mediaeval great houses which were subsumed within working farms including Greasley Castle (Nottinghamshire), Minster Lovell Hall (Oxfordshire) and Caister Castle (Norfolk).

By 1762 an agent of the duke of Newcastle was able to report that 'the ruins of an Antient Castle Situate near the Church which appears to have been Surrounded with double Ditches or Motes. One entire Tower of Curious Workmanship is still Standing' (Munby 2008, 11). Writing three and a half decades after the Buck and Millicent drawings Newcastle's surveyor may help us to better understand some more of the differences between the two drawings of the 1720s. Buck illustrated the moats as clearly delineated earthwork circuits (Figure 6), whereas Millicent's view was much more nuanced in that it showed a glimpse of brick revetment to the north of the "Stable" lodging range (Figure 30). Additionally, Millicent's foreground is an uneven, tussocky mass of earth in which it appeared that the Outer Moat to the west of the Great Tower had been filled in. The Inner and Outer Moats may have been traceable as earthwork features in the 1720s, but Buck possibly idealised his view to show a complete circuit not readily apparent to Millicent.

An important survey was made of the Great Tower by the young Warwickshire architect John Lees Johnson, during the winter of 1783-4, for the naturalist, scientist, and antiquarian Sir Joseph Banks of Revesby Abbey (Figure 67). In his assessment of Johnson's work, Julian Munby (2014, 253-289) demonstrated that Banks, a member of the Society of Dilettanti inspired by the wave of eighteenth-century architectural surveys of classical sites, became one of the earliest antiquarians to commission measured drawings of an English mediaeval castle. The Tattershall survey was the first of a sequence of drawings, commissioned by Banks, of antiquities throughout Lincolnshire (although the rest were carried out by John Claude Nattes) and was a more detailed rendition of the building than the 1720s views. Johnson was able to access all of the Great Tower's storeys which points towards intact floors. He also refers to 'the People of the Castle' in a letter dated 1 October 1783 which almost certainly means that the site was occupied at this stage (Munby 2014, 262-63). It is not certain that Johnson drew a completely accurate representation of the Great Tower as the building is shown in such a good state of repair. It can be compared to Nattes' near-contemporary views of the building, made in 1788-9 (LA RA/3/9) which showed that the merlons of the south-east turret and east elevation may not have been nearly as crisp and pronounced as Johnson presented them (Figure 27). Additionally, Millicent's western doorway (which we know was still evident from both Willson's late eighteenth-century view and a photograph taken in c 1870) was not represented. Ultimately, Johnson's view may have been idealised to please his rather demanding patron.

According to the historian Pickworth (1891, 28), in 1790, the surviving buildings of the castle were purchased by Gervase Footitt who then proceeded to dismantle the ruins. The readily reusable building materials were taken to the site of the grammar school to be incorporated during the transformation of the site into a maltings (see Chapter 8.3). Footitt also dug into the foundations of the buildings, greatly reducing the level of the Inner Ward. Weir reported that Footitt's spoil was laid in the Inner Moat (indicating that it had not been entirely backfilled by this period) but noted that parts of the circuit on the north and west were left open (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 186, 191). This can be confirmed by a photograph taken c 1870 which shows the brickwork of the moat revetment to the north-west of the Great Tower (NT 1282713) (Figure 24). Footitt then established two limekilns within the Inner Ward – later to be excavated by Weir immediately to the south of the Great Tower and adjacent to the Inner Gatehouse site (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 140-41, 186).

It has been speculated that the brickwork was less reusable than the stonework and that this accounts for the surviving presence of the "Guardhouse" and "Stable" lodgings (Chapters 3.3.2 and 3.4.3; Munby 2008, 12; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 141). This notion is problematic given

that the grammar school that Footitt repaired is also a brick building and that Weir found much of the brickwork at the castle to be in a good condition – even reusing some of it to rebuild the crenellations of the Great Tower (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 158). It seems more likely that Footitt's purchase was conditional on the structures not being in use at the time. The "Guardhouse" was in use as the cottage of the castle's porter and, according to Lord Torrington in 1791, a family were living in one of the turrets of the Great Tower (Munby 2008, 11; Avery 1997, 28; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 122). Footitt probably only removed whichever ruined and roofless structures were still standing in 1790.

Physical evidence of the continued occupation of the Great Tower survives in the form of a small fireplace within the chamber to the north of the first floor lobby (see Chapter 5.5) (Figure 110). It was inserted into the rear of flue serving the main first floor dining chamber and the mediaeval fireplace was bricked up. According to Nicholson (1842, 22) and Pickworth (1891, 28) the space was used by a retired soldier responsible for a warning beacon, made from an old tar barrel, which was installed on the summit of the south-east turret in 1803-04 as a reaction to the threat posed by Napoleonic France. The post-mediaeval farm was also served by a dovecote installed within the second floor of the south-west turret (see Chapter 5.6; Pevsner, Harris & Antram 2002, 748; Avery 1997, 15; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 190) (Figure 123).  Its wooden framework is partially constructed from reused timbers - the lintel above the garderobe passage door has empty mortises - with a lath and plaster finish within which are 259 dove holes. Most of the holes have in situ perching rods – a particularly rare feature in dovecotes (Hansell 1988, 51). Weir reported that it had been in active use within the late nineteenth century (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 191).

The "Guardhouse" had been transformed into a cottage 'divided into several rooms and fitted up in a modern manner' (see Chapter 3.4.3; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 192). This involved the insertion of a door at the north end of the west elevation, which was visible on the Millicent drawing and survives as a break in the masonry plinth and differential colouring in the brickwork (Figure 30). Internally, a stain on the soffit of the joists between the two ground floor spine beams indicates former division of space and the southern beam has three relict mortices in the soffit (Figure 48). Lime staining, orientated east-west, coupled with relict nails on the joists indicates that ceiling was lath and plastered, although it is apparent that the beams would have been left exposed. In 1872 the surveyor Frederick Reed mapped the internal divisions of the ground floor showing that there were two equal-sized rooms to the east with a larger room in the north-west quadrant and a small space to its south (Figure 242). At first floor level, the roof structure was remodelled to incorporate joists inserted into the upper face of the tie beams. The purpose of this inserted ceiling was presumably to make the space

more habitable by reducing the amount of rising heat loss. The joists were later removed by Weir but the severed tenons were left in situ (Figure 49).

As described in Chapter 3.3.2, the "Stables" were originally a two-cell double-height lodging range with an attached structure abutting to the north (Figure 2). The brick transverse screen wall of the lodging was removed (Figure 29), probably during the early modern period, and a brick drainage channel which ran the full length of the building (excavated by Weir) was inserted (Figure 12). This could be congruent with the remodelling of the building as a stable. John Steane has noted the presence of open floor drains as being a requirement to help remove effluent from the building (Steane 2001, 268). Additionally, the presence of the tether rings suspended from four rectangular stone blocks on the exterior east elevation may further support this (Figure 33). Close analysis of the surrounding brickwork indicates the presence of closers in the brickwork alongside neatly severed stretchers, pointing towards the later insertion of the tether rings into pre-existing masonry. The insertion of the channel and rings may therefore point towards the re-use of the building as a stable during the early modern period. This was then remodelled by the time of Millicent's 1727 illustration (Figure 30) when the building had been divided into three sections and had an agricultural character. To the south was a roofed structure, whose north elevation probably corresponds to the archaeological survival of a stone transverse wall; the middle structure and the area to the north were left ruined. By the late 1780s Nattes showed that the southern and middle structures had been consolidated under a single tiled roof and even the northern building had been thatched – suggesting a major remodelling (Figure 27). Nate also showed that access had been facilitated via a substantial hole punched through the southern chimney stack (Figure 23). By the photograph of 1857 (EH DD67/00011) (Figure 28) only the southern and middle sections were extant and the building was a roofless shell by c 1870 (NT 1282719) (Figure 24).

The turn of the nineteenth century saw the beginnings of more detailed interest in the castle. Published anonymously, G. Weir produced the first Topographical History in 1811 (reprinted two years later) which gave a broad overview of the history of the lordship, castle, and church alongside illustrations of the collegiate church, Great Tower, and chimneypieces on the ground and first floors. An Augustus Charles Pugin sketch, possibly made during 1818 indicated that the roof was no longer in situ (Hill 2007, 49; FLLAC 1864.2.2689.v) (Figure 243). Pugin clarified the state of decay in his 1825 text *Specimens of Gothic Architecture* via an annotation to his drawings of the ground and first floor chimneypieces: 'still higher are two other fireplaces, now become inaccessible by the decay of the floors (Pugin 1825, 26, Plates XXXVII and XXXVIII). The Tattershall chimneypieces are commonly presumed to have acted as models for the work of Pugin's son, Augustus Welby, at the Palace of Westminster in the 1840s

(Thurley 2013a, 73; Gilmour 1994, 418; Gill 1915, 115). They were also brought to a wide audience because of the casts taken of the ground and first floor chimneypieces that were incorporated into the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum (Rushforth 1926, 163).

In 1842 Nicholson's detailed paper on the site attempted to place the building in the wider context of fifteenth-century mediaeval castles (albeit through a highly militaristic perspective), elaborated on its ownership and included a sectional elevation of the Great Tower. Nicholson also went on to give some valuable insights into lost archaeological features that would have gone unrecorded such as an account that there had been a stair turret associated with the "Guardhouse" (see Chapter 3.4.3). His most important observations related to the gardens to the south of the castle where he identified two gateways, armorials and internal subdivisions which are no longer apparent (see Chapter 3.6; Nicholson 1842, 9-10).

The castle continued to inspire building surveyors and historians throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1872, Frederick Reed published a survey by private subscription, with accompanying notes, that he dedicated to Hugh, 3rd earl Fortescue (Figure 244). Although Munby has indicated that very little had changed in the appearance of the Great Tower since Johnson's survey (Munby 2008, 60), it has been noted above that the 1783-4 survey may have been idealised (Figure 67). Reed was apparently unaware of Johnson's survey, but a comparison shows that he drew specific attention to 'the broken battlements' which the latter may had chosen to draw whole despite contemporary evidence that they were ruinous (Reed 1872, 1, 3). Importantly, Reed demonstrated that much of the window tracery was missing from the east elevation, only the north-east turret retained its spirelet and all the floors of the main chambers had fallen leaving only the transverse beams (1872, 3, 5, 6, 8). Reed was also the first person to explicitly draw attention to the diaperwork, which he both included in his elevations and drew details of too. We also learn that much more of the interiors featured fictive masonry than the few small areas retained by Weir (Reed 1872, 7).

Reed did not just confine himself to the work of a surveyor, but also took on the responsibilities of an amateur archaeologist when he decided to investigate local folklore which spoke of a secret passage stretching from the castle to Kirkstead Abbey (some 2.89 miles to the north-west) (Figure 8). The story related to him stated that the passage began in the garderobe of the south-east turret (Figure 107). The doughty Reed descended into the latrine shaft and began shifting fallen masonry until him could ascertain that the source of the story was nothing more than the drain which fed into the moat (Reed 1872, 6). Whether or not the story was deliberately concocted as an elaborate practical joke cannot now be known, but historian of the subterranean, Jeremy Errand, has pointed out that 'a large proportion of stories of secret passages contain more moonshine than a fisherman's boast' (Errand 1974, 156).

Also containing somewhat dubious information was M. A. Pickworth's *History of Tattershall,* which was executed in a rather florid style in 1891. Although he drew heavily on Reed's observations, Pickworth was not averse to letting his own imagination run wild. He considered that the castle was 'erected at a period when gross tyranny reigned supreme' and asking the reader to picture 'the rude but open-handed hospitality dispensed within its walls' (Pickworth 1891, 11). Statements were also made about the general condition of the building which largely confirm Reed's work nearly two decades previous.

The nineteenth century saw further visual representation of the castle. The artistic renditions tended towards an arcadian style which presented the buildings in an idealised agricultural context. Such renditions had begun in the late eighteenth century with the inclusion of two cows placed ostentatiously in the foreground of Girtin's view (later copied by Benjamin Howlett and Thomas McLean) (Figure 241). This tradition was continued in the works of Thomas Allom (1836) (Figure 245), Thomas Bush Hardy (1879) and Isabelle Smith (1886) (Figure 246). Allom also favoured the placement of cows (and suitably rustic milkmaids) in the foreground, whereas Hardy depicted a group of reapers at harvesttime with the west elevation of the castle in the background (Figure 247). Meanwhile, Smith painted a view of the Great Tower with sheep dotted around the Inner Ward. Although idealised, according to contemporary artistic fashion, we can be reasonably confident that the representations of the buildings made during this period were broadly accurate by comparing them to photographs were taken of the site during the second half of the century. The earliest known photographs date from 1857 and are two with opposing views looking south-west (EH DD67/00011) (Figure 28) and north-east (EH DD73/00173) (Figure 248). Along with the dominating great tower, the images also show two thatched agricultural buildings immediately to the south and an important view of the "Stables" before complete ruination. The castle then became a regular subject for photographers including Alfred Capel Cure's 1860 view (MMoA 1987.1183.57) (Figure 249) and anonymous images from c 1870 and 1880 which are held within the National Trust archives (NT 1282719 and NT 579441) (Figure 24 & Figure 250). The agricultural nature of the site is confirmed by a view of the Great Tower looking north-west which shows the Inner Ward as an arable field at harvesttime (NT 579462) (Figure 250).

By assessing the varied imagery of the Great Tower, it is possible to trace the removal of the lead and timber spirelets. They were all intact at the time of Johnson's survey of 1783-4 (Figure 67), but the south-east turret was denuded by the time of Benjamin Howlett's 1799 print (NT 579374) (Figure 251). The north-west turret was emptied somewhere between Thomas Allom's print of 1836 and an early photograph taken in 1857 (Allom 1836; EH DD67/00011) (Figure 245 & Figure 28). The loss of the south-west spirelet was captured between two photographs of 1860 (MMoA 1987.1183.57) (Figure 249) and 1870 (NT 1282719) (Figure

252). The final turret to lose its spirelet was therefore the north-east. Isabelle Smith's painting of 1886 (NT 579415) (Figure 246) shows it intact but five years later Pickworth (1891, 16) reported that only the timber frame survived. It too had been lost by the time of Lord Curzon's acquisition of the site in 1911; although Weir believed it was a 'modern reconstruction' in deal – but it is difficult to imagine that it could have been replaced any time after 1693 (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 186)

## 9.5  Conservation under Lord Curzon and William Weir

The particulars of how Lord Curzon came to acquire Tattershall Castle have been detailed elsewhere (Munby 2008, 61-65; Johnson 1978, 8). It will suffice here to say that the ruinous building was put up for sale in early 1910 by Hugh, 4th Earl Fortescue. After various offers the castle and its chimneypieces were offered separately to two American purchasers. Upon learning of the potential danger to the site, Curzon, who had a lengthy interest in the conservation and archaeology of historic buildings (Thurley 2013a, 74; Gilmour 1994, 416-17) successfully negotiated purchase in the autumn of 1911. The following summer he was able to acquire the chimneypieces which had been removed from the castle and were en route to America. They were duly returned to Tattershall amid much pomp in June 1912 (Figure 253).

The near catastrophe at Tattershall led directly to the submission of a report to Parliament, by the Royal Commission on the Historic Monuments of England. It revealed the scale of the dangers posed to ancient monuments across the country and bills were introduced to Parliament with the intention of arresting such threats. This resulted in the Ancient Monument Consolidation and Amendment Act of 1913 and led to the creation of the Ancient Monuments Board. Their role was to monitor potential threats to nationally important ancient sites and, if need be, to impose preservation orders (Thurley 2013a, 74-79).

The architect William Weir was retained to oversee the conservation of the castle (Munby 2008, 13; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 146). Weir was a committee member for the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings which advocated that historic fabric should be retained, where possible, as it contained important information and interest to the structure (Thurley 2013a, 32). With this philosophy actively employed at Tattershall, work began in April 1912 with a team that included between 9 and 27 labourers, 2 or 3 masons, 3 to 9 bricklayers and 2 carpenters (Figure 254). Wages cost between £35 and £45 a week and in total £9,209 14s 1d was expended on the project (Munby 2008, 66, 70).  Weir's work was recounted, in detail, in both the main text of Lord Curzon and Avery Tipping's 1929 book and in in an appendix written by himself (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 145-160; 185-209).

Unfortunately, Weir was not as good an archaeologist as he was an architect (a discipline for which he had no training). Although he made some cursory remarks about the state of the

castle grounds prior to his interventions, we are at a loss to fully understand the results of the excavation work. Crucially, there are no surviving detailed archaeological plans, section drawings, photographs, or paperwork. Weir indicated that his principal focus was to try and recut the line of the moats and to excavate wall foundations (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 146, 204-09). We are afforded a glimpse of his methodologies within the Inner Ward: 'the enclosure was dug over in systematic lines to discover any remains of foundations'. They were apparently found to be lacking, although evidence of Footitt's limekilns were recorded (see Chapter 9.4). This technique would not have respected archaeological stratigraphy or the contextual relationships of the cut and fill of soft features. The excavations went to a great depth. Weir noted that the sand and gravel used in the repair works was dug out from the Inner Ward and that the upper horizon of these layers was reached at a depth of 7 feet (2.13 meters). It is not stated what the dimensions of the excavation were or how much further down the digging went (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 204-05). Trenching also took place across the line of the moats to determine width at various unrecorded junctures prior to being emptied of their backfill. Weir noted that there was a layer of humic soil directly on top of a deep layer containing debris of the building materials which he believed to have been interred during Footitt's excavations in the late eighteenth century (see Chapter 9.4; Curzon & Tipping 1929, 141, 206). Below this were sealed layers of sediments from which Weir recovered most of the archaeological artefacts later to be professionally catalogued for the National Trust (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 206; Boyle et al 2009a & 2009b).

Weir did at least provide a reasonably good snapshot of the Great Tower's appearance just before he commenced conservation. For example, he accurately described the fallen and overgrown nature of the battlements, the dislodged floor beams, and the varied preservation of the window tracery (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 186-7). The real importance of Weir's appendix is the detailed description of the interventions that he made. So meticulous was his conservation principle that he recorded rebuilding the crenellations at the summit of the tower using bricks which were retrieved from the core of the building rather than the insertion of new fabric and the original copings were dredged from the moat. Elsewhere, he reported the ingenious decision to alter the direction of the fall of the new roof to allow rainwater to be delivered into the existing garderobe shafts (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 193). Perhaps most surprising was Weir's careful retention of the post-mediaeval dovecote, which was also subjected to repairs, in a project that was otherwise largely concerned with the fifteenth-century structure (see Chapters 5.6 and 9.4; Curzon & Tupping 1929, 199) (Figure 123). Sadly, despite various trials, it was not deemed possible to satisfactorily replace the spirelets (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 194) (Figure 255). Elsewhere, the building had fatally lost structural elements and Weir was not afraid to insert new materials to ensure stability. The roofs of the

turrets were reconstructed with six inches of reinforced concrete. English oak was used to create new internal doors, the machicolation trellis, and the floor structures. Lime-ash plaster was introduced to provide a historically accurate floor surface. Weldon stone was brought in to replace lost or damaged areas of the window tracery (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 193-95) which were filled by a heraldic stained glass scheme from the workshops of Clayton & Bell and H. G. Wright (Pevsner, Harris & Antram 2002, 747; Avery 1997a, 30) (Figure 256). Externally, Ernest Gimson was employed to design what have been described as 'robust vernacular style' bridges to span the moats (Munby 2008, 15) (Figure 15).

Tattershall Castle was formally opened to the public on 8 August 1914 (Avery 1997, 30) (Figure 257). Lord Curzon died in 1925 and left the site to the National Trust, who continue to own, manage and maintain the site.

## 9.6 Conclusions

The purpose of Chapter 9 has been to try and demonstrate the key figures, moments, and trends in the history of Tattershall Castle which help to explain its architectural appearance in the early twenty-first century. There is no specific mention of any outstanding debts to craftsmen in the either the 1451 or 1454 wills of Ralph Cromwell (Friedrichs 1990). Along with the dendrochronology of the "Guardhouse" roof - dated 1446-51 and possibly representing the final phase of building work at the castle - this is taken to be indicative that construction work at the castle had ceased long before his death in January 1456 (Arnold & Howard 2017). Although there is some evidence to suggest that Cromwell's heiress, Joan Stanhope, may have initially struggled to maintain the castle and estate (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 102-03), the story does not seem to be one of consistent decline. For example, Charles Brandon was very taken with the property and even enlarged his landholdings at Tattershall through the purchase of the college after its dissolution in 1545 (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 123). Buck's drawing indicates that there was even remodelling of the mediaeval solar block during the early modern period – probably during the tenure of the earls of Lincoln (see Chapter 9.3) (Figure 58). However, akin to so many castles, the seventeenth-century British Civil Wars took a toll on Tattershall. Initially, the scars were relatively light – prisoner graffiti and impact scars of garrison musketry – until Parliament's decision to slight the castle in 1650 seems to have led to a significant removal of building material from the castle wards (Thompson 1987, 184). Despite threats to significantly reduce the Great Tower, it survived and remained a residence until 1693.

Under the ownership of the absentee Fortescues the castle was rented out as a farm. The succeeding period continued the decline begun during the conflicts of seventeenth century. The two important illustrations of the castle from the 1720s show the Great Tower to be

essentially whole, but the rest of the site was in an advanced state of disrepair with only roofless ruins surviving in the Inner Ward and only fragments of the gatehouses in the Outer and Middle Wards. In 1790 even these ruinous structures were removed when Gervase Footitt established his limekilns in the Inner Ward (Curzon & Tipping 1929, 140-41, 186). The nineteenth century provides many opportunities to monitor the dilapidation of the castle as it attracted artists, surveyors, and photographers so that we gain snapshots of the site whilst still under agricultural usage.

Perhaps the most significant moment for the castle since Cromwell's remodelling came in the 1910s. With the sale of the site by the Fortescues and its acquisition by American syndicates, the future of the castle looked parlous until the intervention of Lord Curzon. His swift action led to the saviour of the castle and an Act of Parliament intended to provide future protection for historic buildings. Almost immediately a programme of excavation and conservation was instigated under the control of the architect William Weir. Although much archaeological data went unrecorded, the building conservation, influenced by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, was of an extremely high standard.

The site which Curzon bequeathed to the National Trust in 1925 was in very fine condition despite the significant losses to the built environment during the post-mediaeval period.

# 10 Conclusions

Tattershall Castle is a building which dominates. Physically, the brick Great Tower can be seen clearly as a tall landmark dominating the skyline for many miles. The flat landscape of the Lincolnshire fens emphasises this regional dominance. The site was initially chosen for the construction of Robert de Tateshale's thirteenth-century castle to highlight his provincial lordship. During the dramatic fifteenth-century remodelling of the site, Ralph Cromwell's Great Tower became the architectural core - one of many symbols of lordship employed to vigorously reinforce an emerging power within English politics. In the twenty-first century the tower remains the dominating focus of a site that was otherwise largely cleared in the post-medieval period. The word 'dominate' is an entirely appropriate word here, given its root in the Latin '*dominus*' meaning '*lord, master*' - a word which was also the root of the contemporary medieval term for a great tower: '*donjon*' (Friar 2003, 95-6).

Prior to Cromwell's Great Tower was Robert de Tateshale's important enclosure castle, which itself entirely lacked a great tower – as was the fashion in the 1230s. Although Curzon and Tipping outlined the known histories of Tattershall's earlier owners, little attention has previously been paid to the physical appearance and wider context of the castle prior to Cromwell's remodelling. It has been possible to interpret Tateshale's provincial ambitions as presaging Cromwell activities on a national scale. Yet we must be careful to note that Tateshale was himself building in an innovative style that probably drew direct influence from the castles of Ranulf de Blondeville - themselves inspired by sites in England, France and the Holy Land.

If there has been an opportunity to offer new insights into the fragmentary remains of the thirteenth-century site, the potential to investigate Ralph Cromwell's castle have been much greater. Although it was rarely possible to offer tangible connections between the structures mentioned in the building accounts and the known archaeology of the castle, the analysis of the documentary record has allowed for a deeper understanding of the practices of the builders of Tattershall. This has extended far beyond accountancy to a consideration of the building materials, trades and timelines. It is here that real connections have been possible to the material culture of the castle. By retro-engineering the surviving structure of the tower, the underlying mediaeval proportional geometry has been revealed for the first time. On a macro-level the very details of stonemasonry practices have been exposed through analysis of a graffito which is apparently a working sketch for the windows of the tower.

It has become clear that the personality of Ralph Cromwell is to be found all over the design of the castle, indicating a close working relationship with the master builders. The site

demonstrates a strong preference for the combined use of brick and stone fabric, a form of great tower with stacked central chambers and octagonal turrets, chimneys projecting over the crenellations, antiquated tracery and the early use of diaperwork. Alongside contemporary buildings such as Caister Castle, Tattershall seems to have led the way - in advance of the monarchy – to create what became the Lancastrian court style.

Everything about the design of the Great Tower at Tattershall marked out the differing status of visitor and magnate. Cromwell was unequivocal about these social divisions through visual markers such as family armorials, rebus, motto, miniature crenellations and pious themes in the carvings of the chimneypieces. Yet there is a tension inherent in Cromwell's artistic patronage. He seems to have felt the uncertainty of his power and the need to emphasise and reinforce it through magnificent architecture studded with details of personal motifs, heraldry, and the repetition of symbols of prestige.

Part of the study has been an attempt to better understand the practical function of the buildings. This has been achieved through analysis of a combination of sources including the architecture, archaeology, and archival drawings.  What had previously been referred to as the "Stables" and "Guardhouse"" have been revealed as household lodging ranges and the "Kitchens" are now understood to have been a complex of structures including interconnecting services, gatehouse and tower. The area around the Great Tower was studded with towers which would have presented a flamboyant external impression to create a fashionable show front. The wider spatial relationships of the castle have been addressed, with especial regard to the access routes. This has led to an understanding of the complex entry through multiple gates and wards which were always dominated by the Great Tower. Everything about Tattershall was carefully curated to ensure that the visitor to the castle was in no way uncertain about the prestige of its patron.

Tattershall's glory is, of course, the Great Tower which had its reserved elite status emphasised by its location standing out into the moat. It could only be reached by most visitors to the castle via a circuitous route through three gates across three wards. Even then, the tower stood screened by an earlier great hall and access corridor. When the latter was reached the visitor would be presented with three doors. At the lowest levels were the more functional storage basement and household hall. Those of sufficient standing were then invited to climb the sumptuous stair upwards towards even greater intricacies. The first floor was probably given over to Cromwell's dining suite. The second floor contained a processional corridor, antechamber, great chamber, and privy chamber. Most sumptuous and private of all was the third-floor private chamber. This may have been Margaret Deincourt's suite of apartments, an

observation which helps to broaden the otherwise very masculine architecture of Tattershall. Beyond lay the roof gallery, heated turrets and parapets which gave wide views over the Cromwell's landscape of lordship – a feature that has been noted elsewhere as also being connected to feminine spaces in castles.

Although the spatial arrangement of a basement, lower semi-public hall and private hall above could be found in the Anglo-Norman towers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Tattershall takes this model and extends it both horizontally and vertically. The tower can be said to spread horizontally via its integrally planned service range immediately to the south. Vertically, the tower rises further according to John Goodall's concept of "gathering magnificence" to include increasingly lavish and more private spaces. Few other late mediaeval towers contained such a comprehensive assembly. The ideas which underpin the design aesthetics of the building show it to be a nodal pivot at the cusp of the English mediaeval gothic and northern Renaissance styles. The existing English medieval tradition of building a great tower was interwoven with motifs popular in France, Flanders, the Germanic and Baltic states – in particular, the important combined use of brick and stone.

The castle went on to have a remarkable architectural legacy which can be seen both regionally and nationally. Analysis of contemporary features in Lincolnshire - such as the prevalence of the brick great tower, recessed handrails on newel stairs and brick turrets, vaulting and blind-arcading - points towards an influence on local architecture within Cromwell's own lifetime. This can be seen at the Rochford Tower, Hussey Tower and Ayscoughfee Hall. Reaching wider, Cromwell's friend William Waynflete appears to have developed a particular penchant for Tattershall-esque brick and stone buildings at Esher, Farnham and Wainfleet. It has been informative to see how elite social networks led to the changing patronage of architectural styles, but even more illuminating to note that the master builders themselves may have had a strong hand in design. John Cowper worked for Waynflete at both Esher and Holy Trinity Collegiate Church in Tattershall before taking the style on to Kirby Muxloe for William Hastings. Once enshrined into architectural language Tattershall became the marker of fashion so that in the later fifteenth century it can be seen at Buckden Towers and Oxburgh Hall. The fashion survived well into the sixteenth century via Hampton Court Palace and Layer Marney to Leicester's Gatehouse at Kenilworth and Burghley House during Elizabeth I's reign. The effect was still present within the Jacobean period at Abbott's Hospital.

The importance of the castle would also have been abundantly apparent via a plethora of visual and physical markers which signified status across its hinterland. The immediate extra-mural features included the castle water-management systems, gardens, warrens, a weir and mill. The funds left by Cromwell in his will led to the rebuilding of the parish church as a collegiate foundation, intended as an enormous chantry to his own memory, immediately opposite the east front of the castle. This charitable institution was complemented by a school for choristers off the marketplace in Tattershall and a nearby group of bedehouses. The economic control over the village and its market was made prominent by a market cross - featuring Cromwellian heraldic devices. Further afield, a vast swathe of land was removed from common usage through the formation of that essential signifier of aristocracy – the deer park, with its brick hunting tower at Woodhall Spa. Beyond Tattershall, Cromwell's sacred building projects involved construction at Ranby (Lincolnshire), South Wingfield (Derbyshire) and Lambley (Nottinghamshire). Cromwell also engaged in extensive domestic building projects at Wingfield Manor (Derbyshire) and Collyweston (Northamptonshire), whilst also maintaining houses at Lambley and Depham (Middlesex). This was truly a landscape of lordship which reached well beyond the borders of the manor of Tattershall.

Cromwell's character typically comes across as cold, calculated and grasping. It may be that his temperament was a survival mechanism which proved to be surprisingly resilient, given that his political 'role was always that of an important figure of the second rank' (Friedrichs 1974, 286, 288). Put simply, he was a rising man struggling to maintain his position in society through an intertwined combination of the force of his administrative capabilities and enormous wealth. The Cromwell family were relatively new figures on the political scene and although his grandmother's kin had been the lords of Tattershall for centuries, they were still only regionally, rather than nationally, important. Royal service elevated Cromwell and enabled him to spend on his building projects. Perhaps it is therefore no surprise that he should use that architecture to make overtly strong statements about his place in society. Neither should it be completely unexpected that this architecture could potentially reveal the fault lines in Cromwell's status. His family were not highly connected, and where they did have links to powerful families, they were very distant relationships. Consequently, we can consider the repeated heraldic devices as Cromwell over-emphasising the antiquity of his lineage. He then demonstrated, through the replicated carvings of purse, that his exalted position as Lord Treasurer had brought him wealth and power which in turn funded his buildings. The continuation of this new man's power was maintained with a prickly and jealous pride typified by his motto. Christian motifs also drove home the expected important connections between the demands of religious piety and social prestige. Such grouped architectural statements were entirely congruent with the perspectives of his contemporaries. Many of those men also

used their wealth to create a material culture representative of their power, yet none of them were in any way as prolific or splendid as Cromwell. He can be seen as a skilful social climber who not only rose in society but proved himself entirely capable of maintaining his position despite the political difficulties which brought down less adroit figures.

The analysis of Tattershall Castle has not ended with the life of Ralph Cromwell. The lives of the post-mediaeval owners and occupants of the castle and the surviving records of the estate have illuminated the later story. That is a tale of the decline of the castle and how it was viewed by its contemporaries. The broad picture is one of neglect following Cromwell's death as noted by John Leynton during Joan Stanhope's tenure. However, the trend may have been arrested under Charles Brandon and the Clintons were almost certainly responsible for works to solar during the early modern period. Ultimately, the course of British Civil Wars took its toll upon Tattershall. Initially garrisoned for Parliament, by the the late 1640s there were calls for its demolition. This was later transmuted to slighting in the spring of 1650 and the Great Tower survived so that the castle remained a residence until 1693. During the Fortescue's ownership of the castle eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the estate became a tenant farm and de facto quarry with limekilns established in the Inner Ward. Illustrations and photographs made during this period in the castle's life clearly show its agricultural nature. Starting with the Buck and Millicent drawings made during the 1720, the surveys made by Johnson and Reed, numerous artistic representations and a catalogue of early photographs it is possible to track the decline of the remaining buildings.

It was not until the second decade of the twentieth century that the conservation of the site was taken in hand after Lord Curzon's timely and dramatic purchase of the castle. This restoration was carried out under William Weir according to principles laid down by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. Accordingly, the brief was one of such high quality that the buildings which was bequeathed to the National Trust in 1925 were in fine condition.

It has been accepted that much earlier scholarship on Tattershall was effected by the mores of its time which valued the military interpretation of castles very highly. For many commentators, such as A. H. Thompson, W. D. Simpson or M. W. Thompson, Tattershall was seen as an extraordinary building but its presence towards what they saw as the end of the chronology of castles made it a fringe curiosity rather than an inherent part of the story. Although Curzon and Tipping's mongraph was an important milestone in the historiography of the site, it too was somewhat mired in this school of thought. Subsequently, the castle evaded any serious re-evaluation and was the recipient of rather brief statements in the syntheses which have been published over the last 30 years of renewed scholarship. This study has been

rooted within the post-Coulson world. Whilst it was unavoidable to present a linear chronology for the site, as a re-interpretation of the buildings archaeology was urgently called for, the thesis has also adopted a strong thematic approach. Questions have been asked about the early history of the site, on how the different spaces within the castle were viewed, accessed and used. The project has enabled genuinely original data, observations, and conclusions to emerge. These have included an understanding of the part which Ranulf de Blondeville's castles played upon the design of Tattershall, the underlying proportional geometry of the Great Tower, the practices of the master builders and the identification of very early conceptual diaperwork. Meanwhile, new dendrochronology has helped to reinterpret the dating of the castle which may indicate that it was vital in shaping the Lancastrian court style. Evidence has been presented for Tattershall acting as an influential architectural touchstone for almost two centuries. For the first time, the total sum of Cromwell's wider landscape has been analysed to show that his reach extended far beyond the castle walls. Furthermore, the biographical circumstances of Ralph Cromwell were examined, in particular linking his his life to the buildings and landscapes which he patronised. Building biographies has been a key theoretical principal of the research and has enabled an appreciation that Cromwell's architectecture and landscapes had very redolent significance as material expressions of an aristocratic social identity. Such new observations have the potential to feed in to vital debates, beyond the strictly academic, pertaining to the material conservation and public interpretation of the site itself.

Tattershall Castle is a site with a very high level of archaeological, historical, architectural and aesthetic significance. As one of the very first major brick domestic structures in England, it had a wide-ranging influence on contemporary and later architectural design. This research project has enabled an in depth archaeological assessment using the full range of historical archaeological methodologies available in early twenty-first century. It has led to an understanding far beyond the castle walls and has entered into a discussion on aspects of the physical, social, symbolic nature of  high status late medieaeval residences and their associated landscapes of lordship. The significance of such a line of enquiry has produced new insights into the design, construction and development of Tattershall within the broad fields of buildings archaeology, architectural history and castle studies.

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National Heritage List for England [NHL]

https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/

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# Illustrations
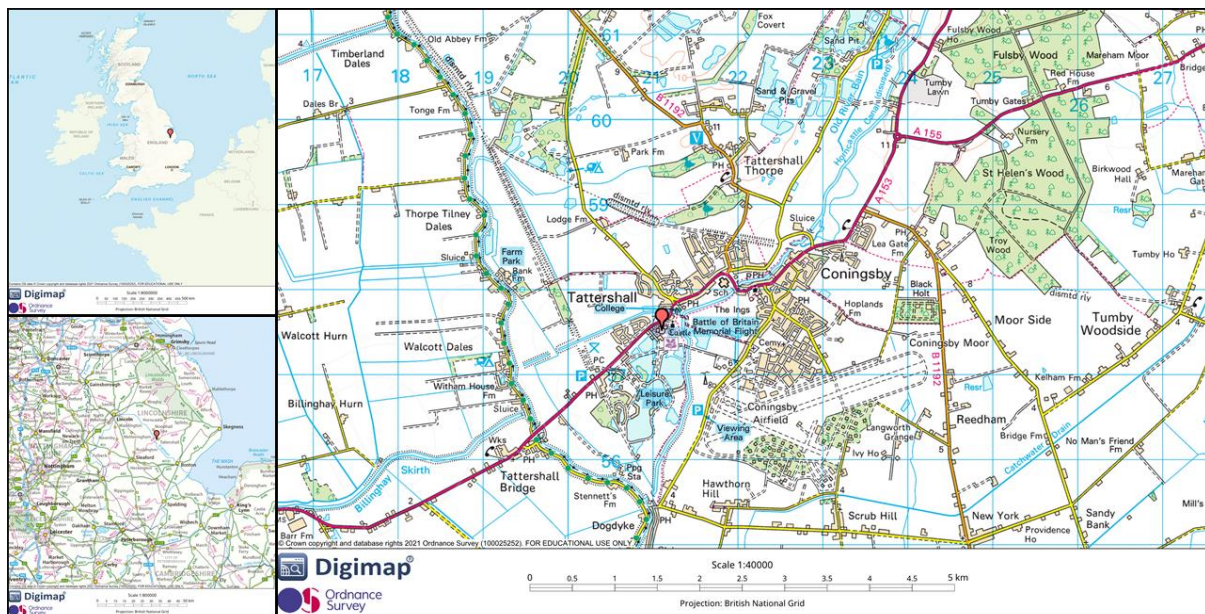


*Figure 1 Site location (Edina Digimap / Ordnance Survey)*
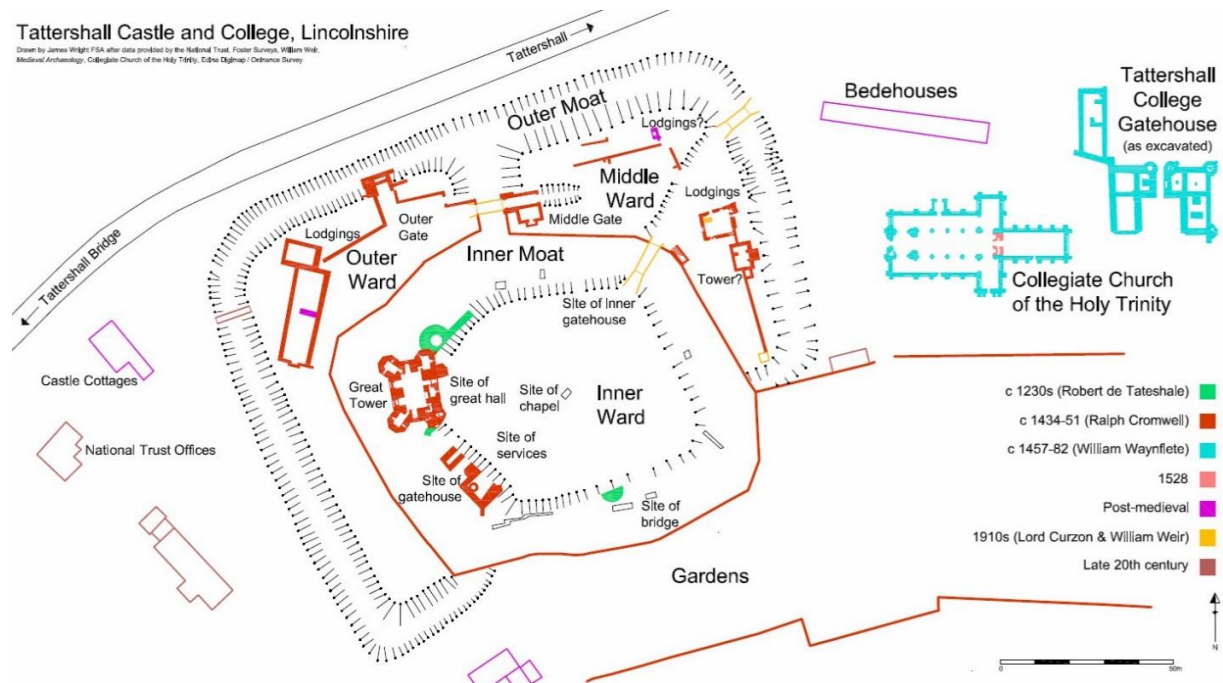


*Figure 2 Phased site plan of Tattershall Castle and College*

Tattershall Castle, Lincolnshire
Floor plans of the great tower
Drawn by James Wright FSA after data provided by the National Trust and Foster Surveys.
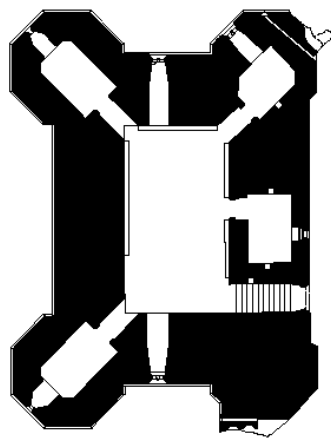
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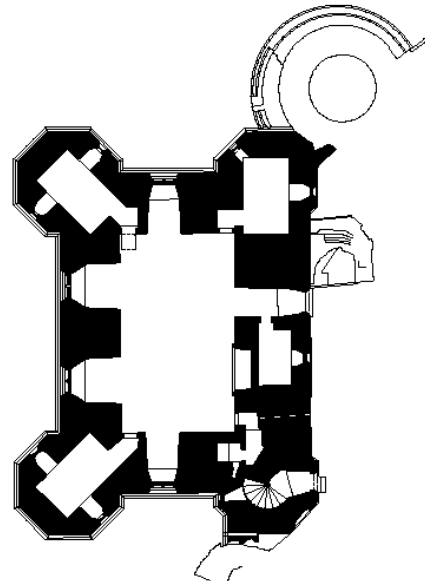
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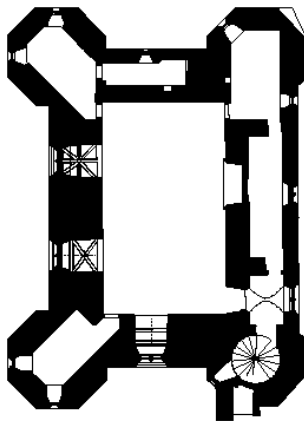
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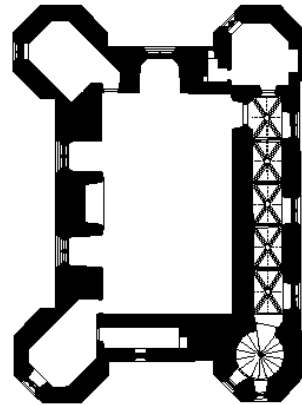
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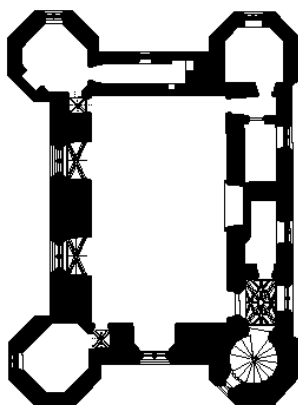
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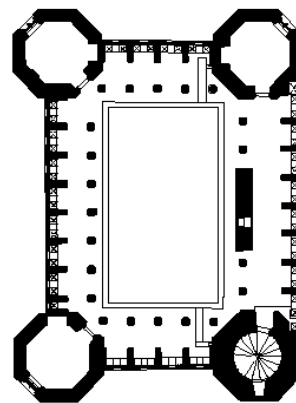
Parapets
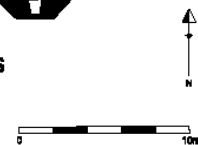
Figure 3 Floor plans of the Great Tower

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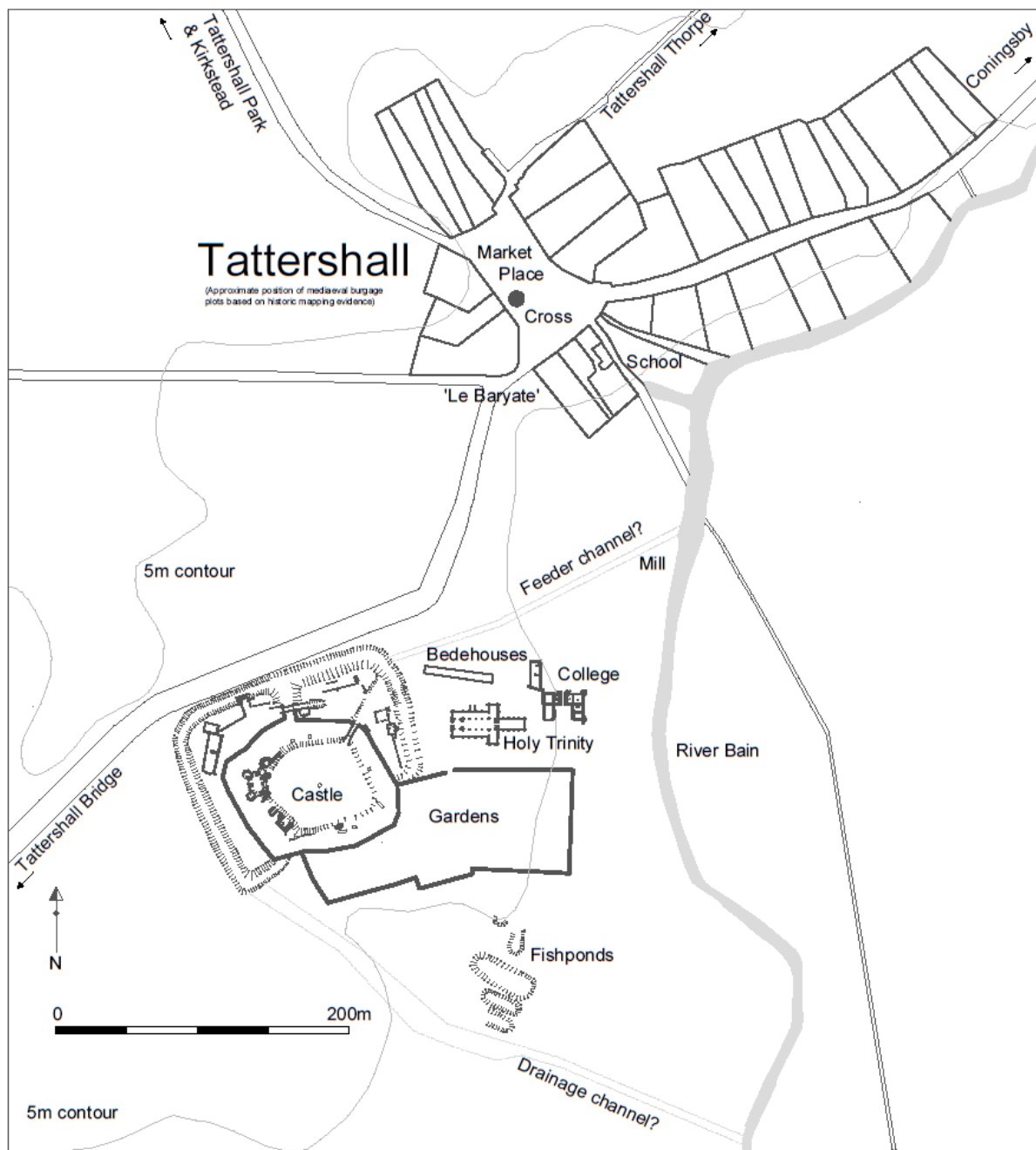
*Figure 4 Interpretative plan of Tattershall showing the proposed mediaeval layout, after Everson & Stocker 2005, 87 (Edina Digimap / Ordnance Survey)*
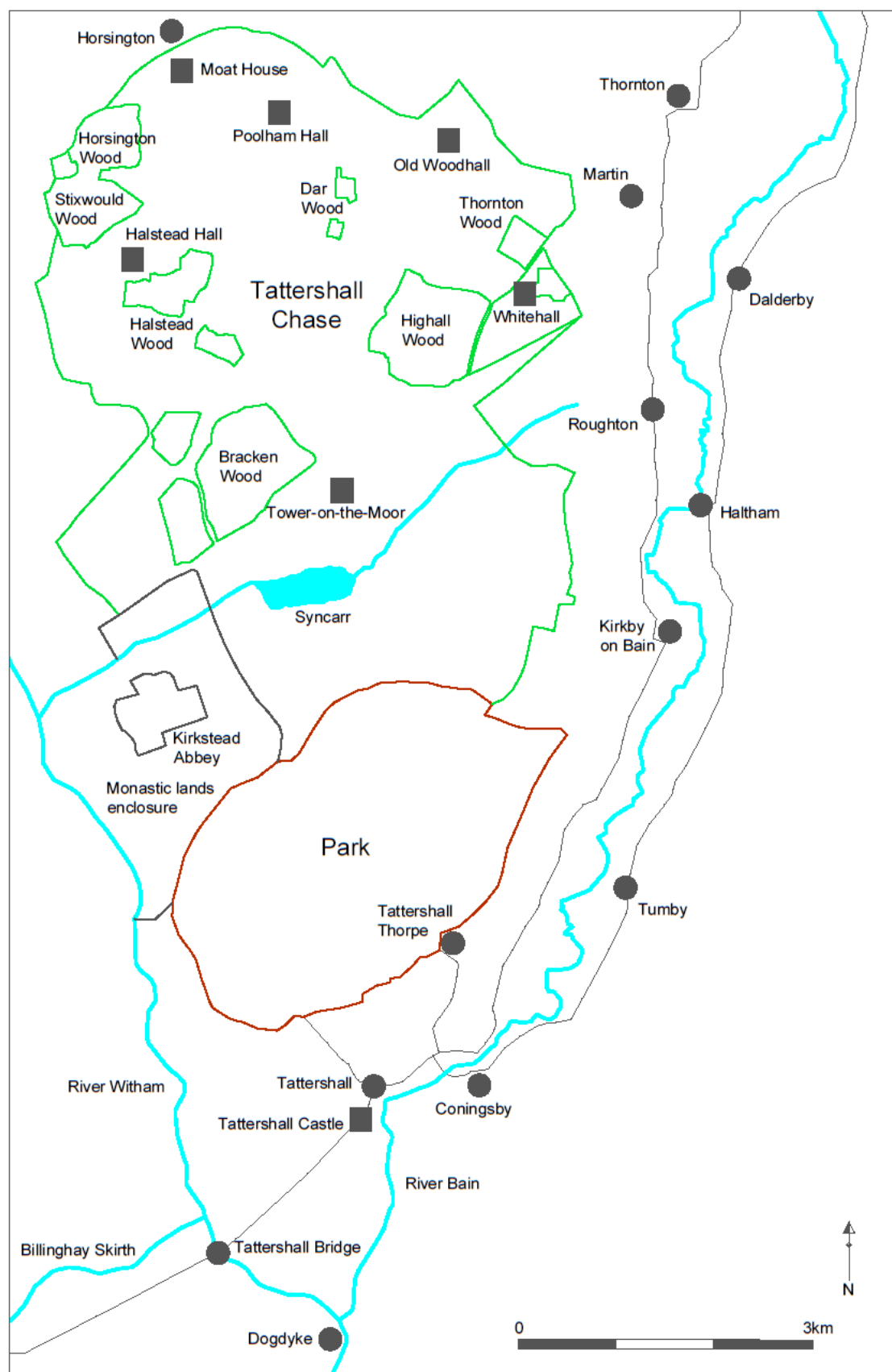
*Figure 5 Interpretative plan of the mediaeval hinterland of Tattershall, after Everson &
Stocker 2005, 97 (Edina Digimap / Ordnance Survey)*
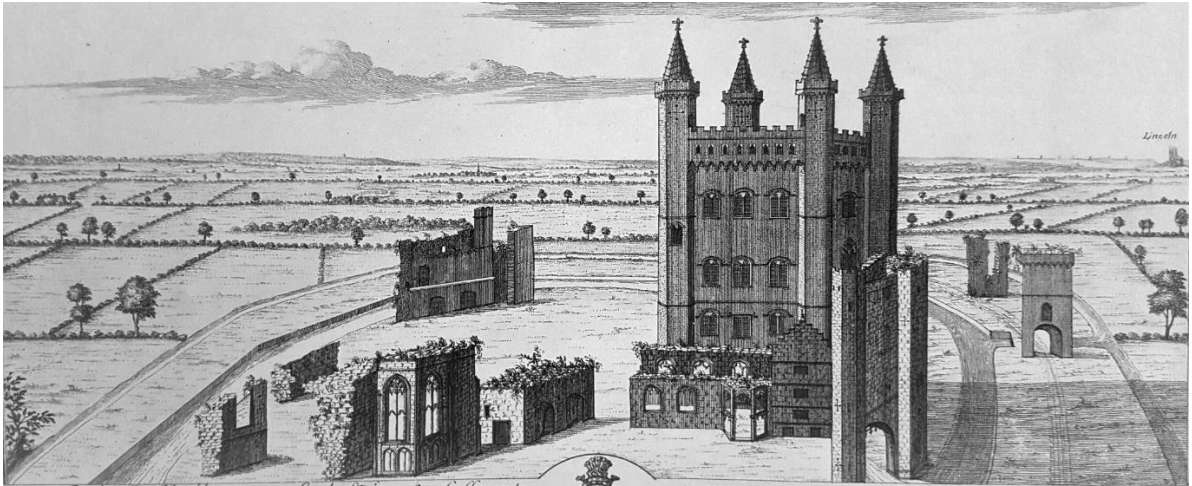
*Figure 6 Samuel Buck's illustration of Tattershall Castle, 1726 (Society of Antiquaries of London)*
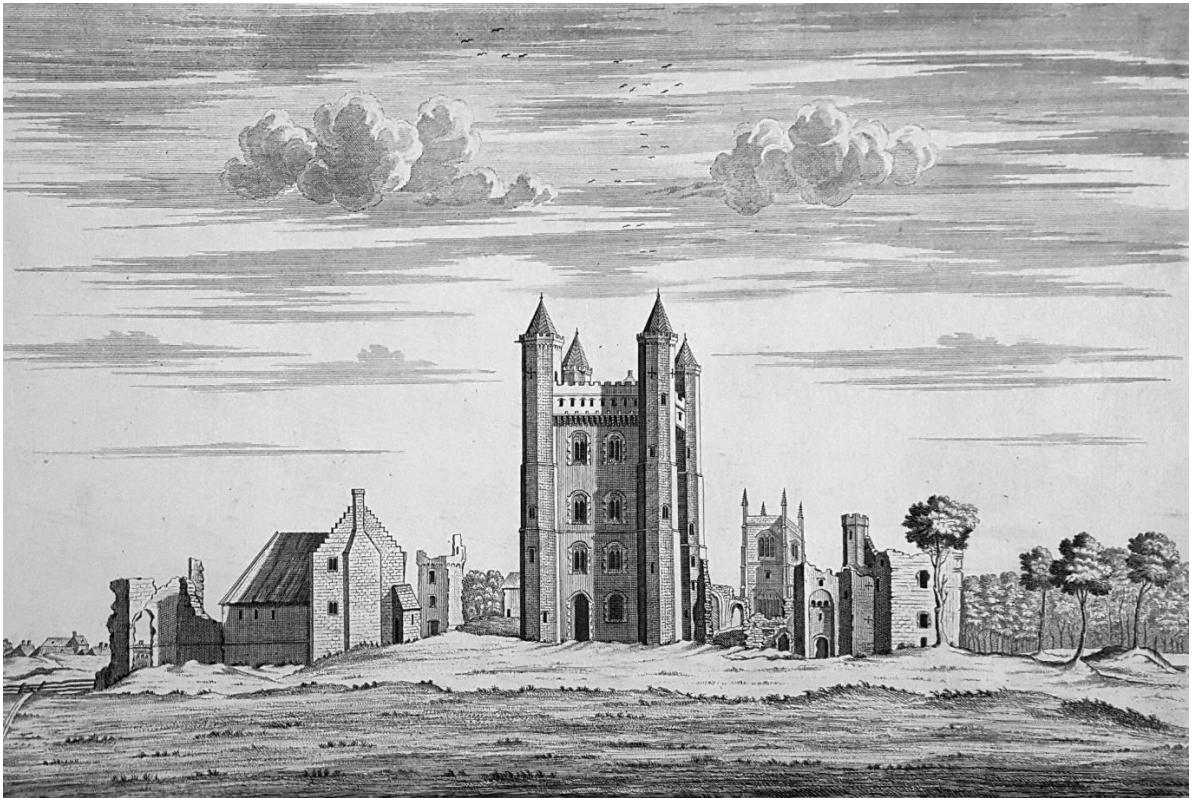


*Figure 7 William Millicent's illustration of Tattershall Castle, 1727 (Society of Antiquaries of London)*

*Figure 8 South transept of Kirkstead Abbey*

*Figure 9 Inner Ward of the castle and Holy Trinity collegiate church*



*Figure 10 St Leonard's Chapel, Kirkstead*

Figure 11 Thirteenth century effigy of a knight from St Leonard's Chapel (Parker 1846, Plate V)
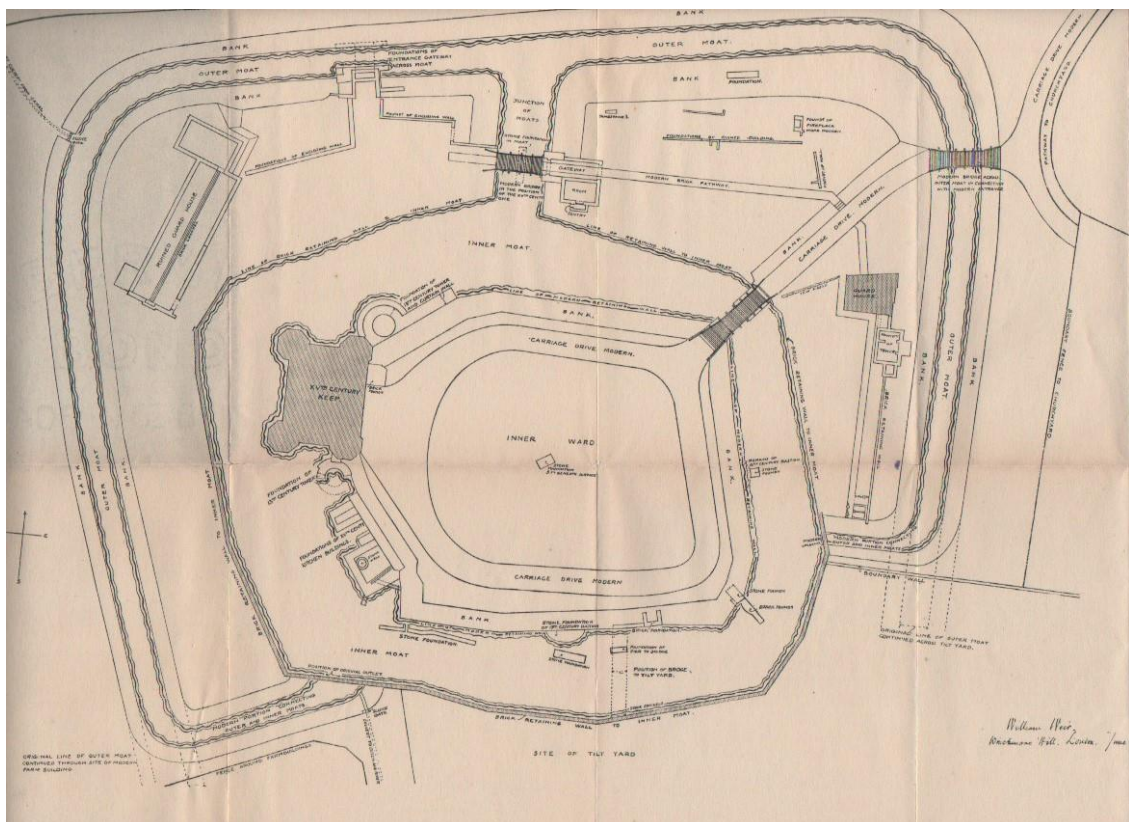


Figure 12 Schematic plan of the built environment and archaeological features recorded by William Weir (Thompson 1928 / National Trust)

*Figure 13 Thirteenth century tower foundations to the north-east of the Great Tower*



*Figure 14 Thirteenth century tower foundations along the southern bank of the Inner Ward and location of the south bridge*

*Figure 15 Thirteenth century bridge abutment encased in mid-fifteenth century brickwork*
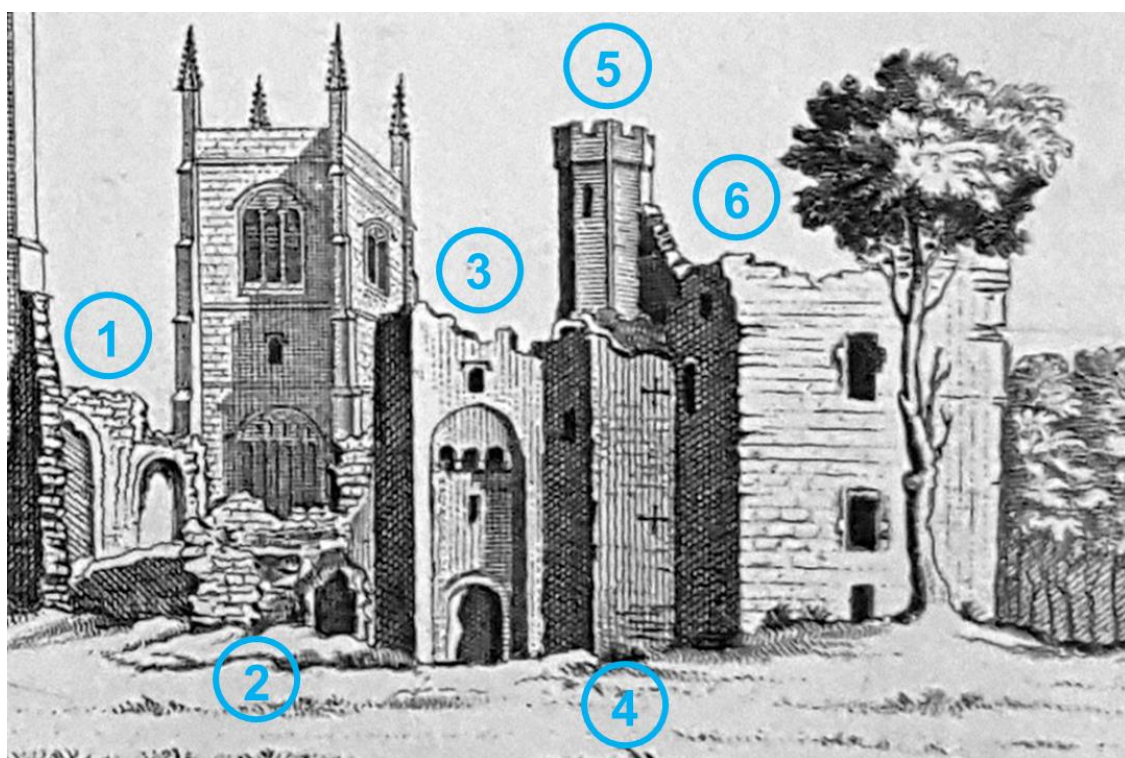


*Figure 16 Detail of the Millicent illustration. Showing 1) services, 2) thirteenth century tower, 3) western gatehouse, 4) possible garderobe turret, 5) stair turret of south-western block, 6) south-western block (Society of Antiquaries of London)*
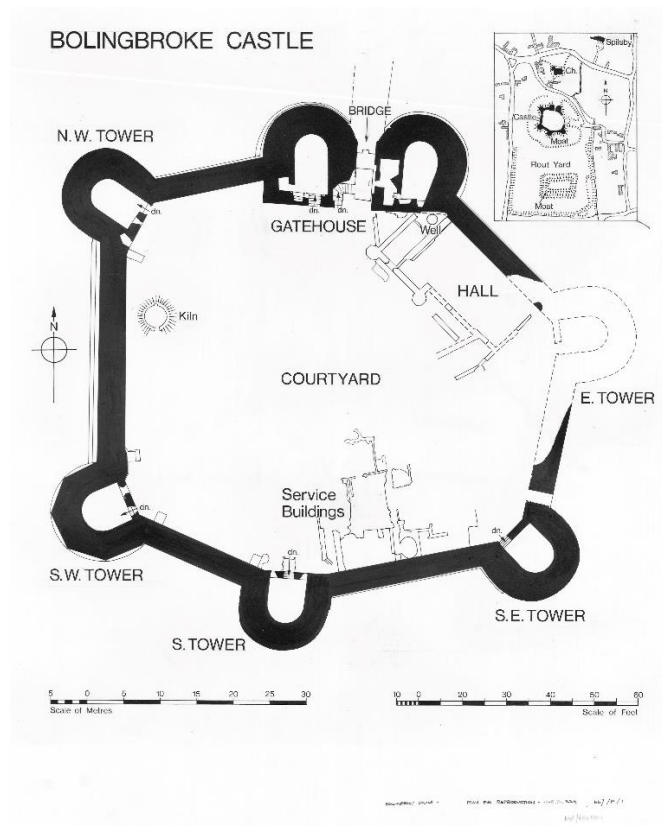
*Figure 17 Plan of Bolingbroke Castle, Lincolnshire (Historic England MP/BBK0011)*



*Figure 18 Cross-cut between the Outer and Inner Moat*

*Figure 19 Exterior of the Great Tower basement*



*Figure 20 Foundations of the Outer Gate*

*Figure 21 Lodging range known as the "Stables"*



*Figure 22 North-east elevation of the "Stables"*
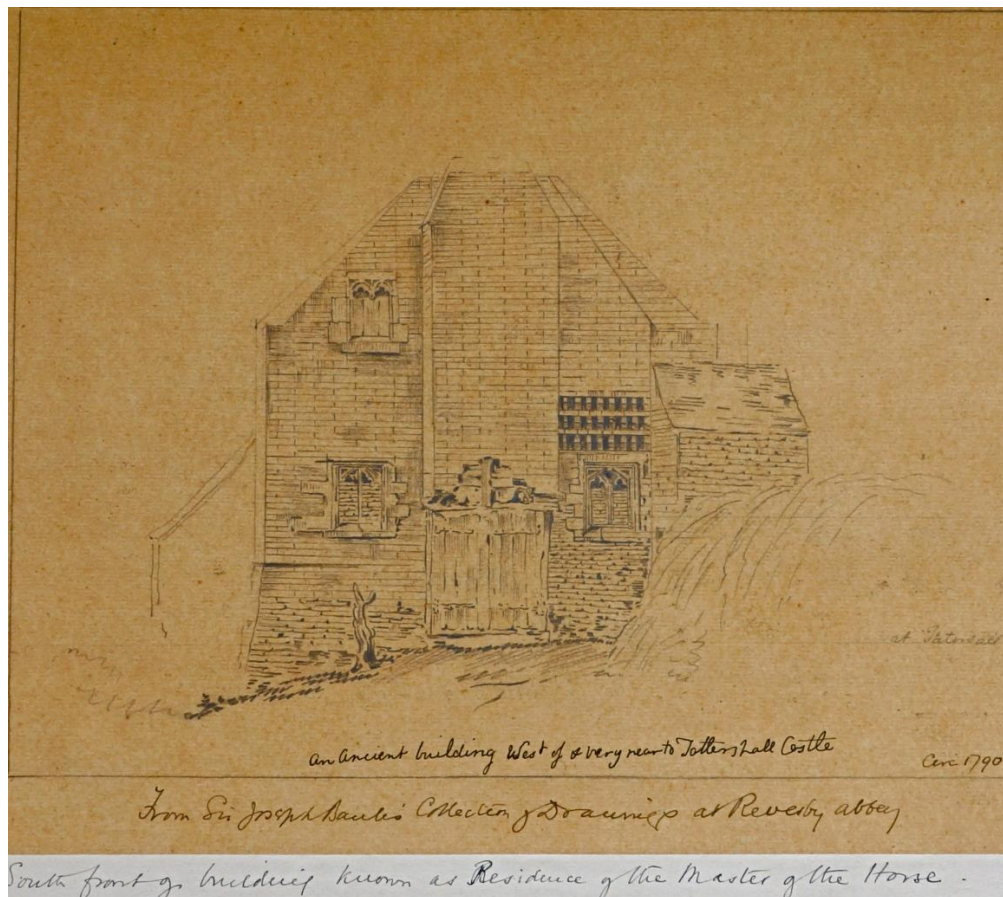
*Figure 23 Nattes drawing, 1788-89, south-west elevation of "Stables" (National Trust 1282697)*



*Figure 24 Photograph, 1870, of "Stables" and Inner Moat (National Trust 1282713)*

*Figure 25 Thomas Willson's illustration of Tattershall Castle, late eighteenth century (National Trust 1233115)*



*Figure 26 Window of the "Stables" with anachronistic Y-tracery*

*Figure 27 Nattes drawing, 1788-89, Great Tower and "Stables" (National Trust 1282693)*



*Figure 28 1857 photograph of Great Tower and "Stables (English Heritage DD67_000011)*

*Figure 29 Stub of transverse screen wall in the east wall of the "Stables"*
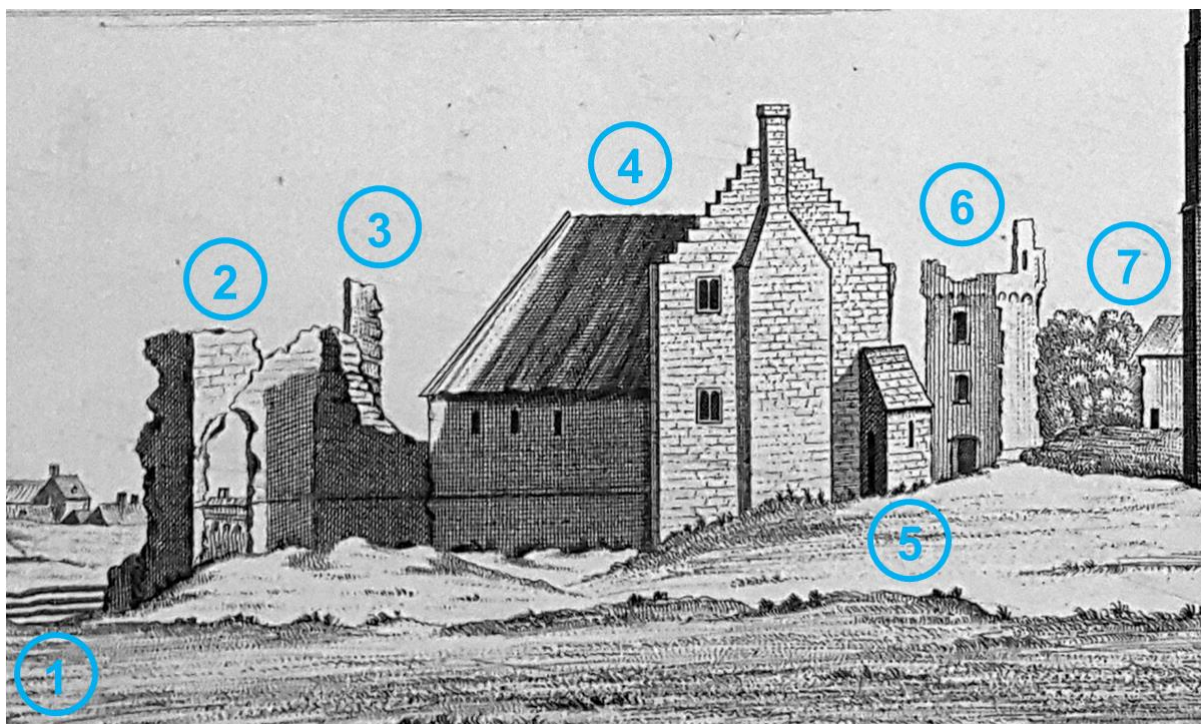
*Figure 30 Detail of the Millicent illustration (1726). Showing 1) Inner Moat, 2) northern abutment to "Stables", 3) central block of "Stables", 4) southern block of "Stables", 5) post-mediaeval lean-to, 6) Middle Gate, 7) "Guardhouse" (Society of Antiquaries of London)*



*Figure 31 Foundations of post-mediaeval dividing wall of the "Stables"*

*Figure 32 Moulded stone door jamb and brick threshold of the "Stables"*



*Figure 33 Possible tether ring set into the west elevation of the "Stables"*

*Figure 34 Passage between the "Stables" and Inner Moat*



*Figure 35 Middle Gate*

*Figure 36 North and west elevations of the "Guardhouse"*



*Figure 37 Inserted door (bottom), inserted Bernack armorial and carved string course (middle), former doorway (top) in the north elevation of the "Guardhouse"*

*Figure 38 Reset Tateshale armorial in the north elevation of the "Guardhouse"*
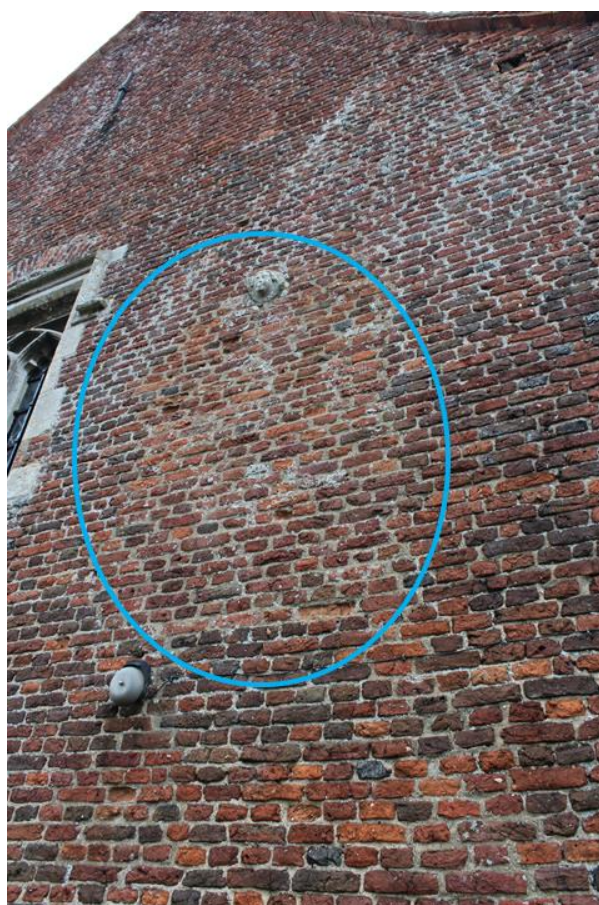


*Figure 39 Blocked first floor doorway with sculpted head in south elevation of the "Guardhouse"*

*Figure 40 Arcaded inner curtain wall at Buckden Palace*



*Figure 41 Ground floor of south elevation of the "Guardhouse"*

*Figure 42 Graffito of a fish on the cill of the eastern ground floor window of the south elevation of the "Guardhouse"*



*Figure 43 West and south elevations of the "Guardhouse"*

*Figure 44 First floor window tracery of the first floor of the "Guardhouse"*



*Figure 45 East elevation of the "Guardhouse"*

*Figure 46 First floor of the "Guardhouse"*



*Figure 47 First floor garderobe of the "Guardhouse"*

*Figure 48 Ground floor interior of the "Guardhouse"*



*Figure 49 Roof structure of the "Guardhouse"*

*Figure 50 Foundations of the tower and curtain wall to the south of the "Guardhouse"*
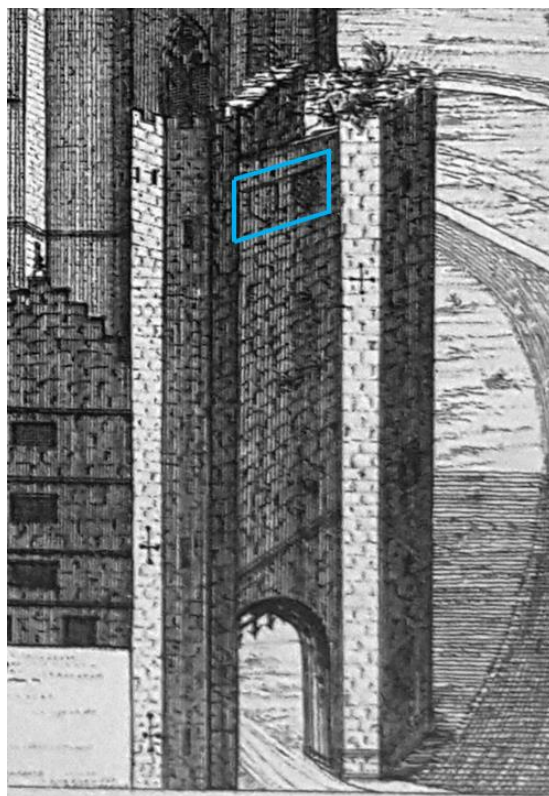


*Figure 51 Detail of the Buck illustration (1726) showing the Inner Gatehouse armorials (Society of Antiquaries of London)*

*Figure 52 Inner Gate at Wingfield Manor*
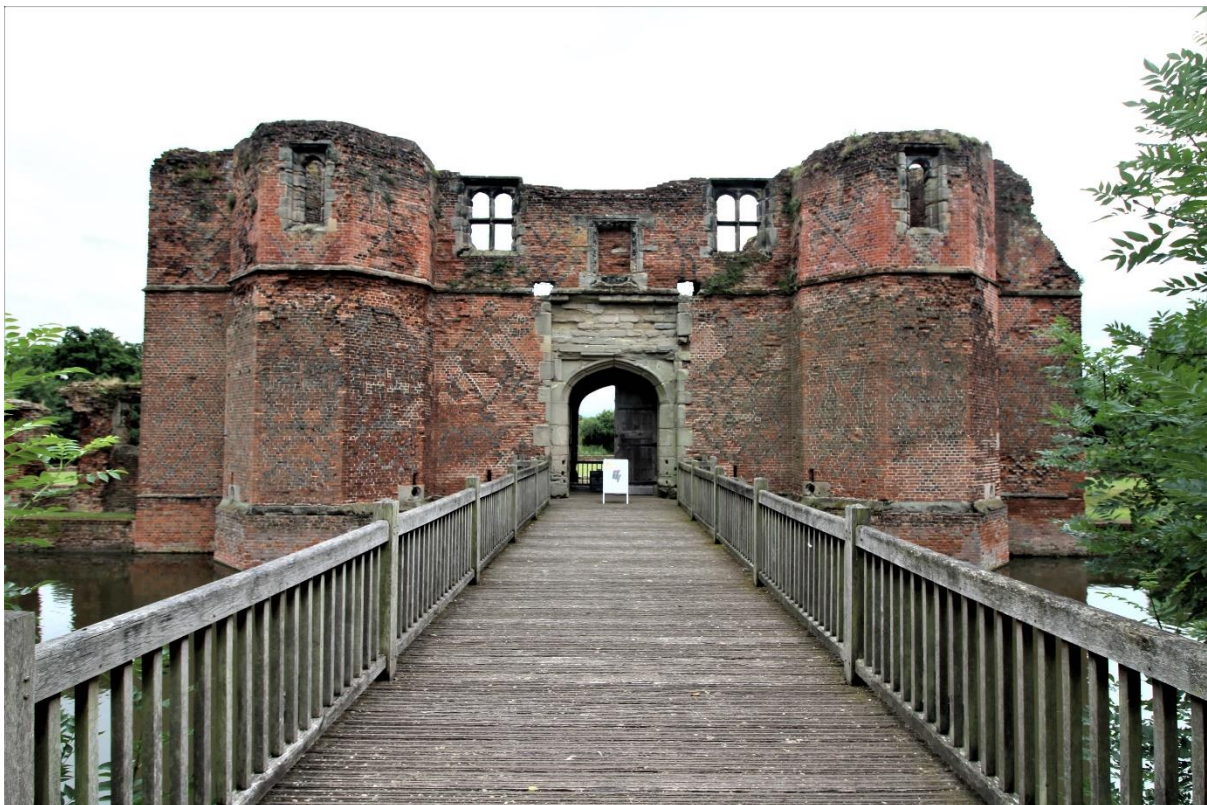


*Figure 53 Gatehouse of Kirby Muxloe Castle*

*Figure 54 Oxburgh Hall*



*Figure 55 East and north elevations of the Great Tower*
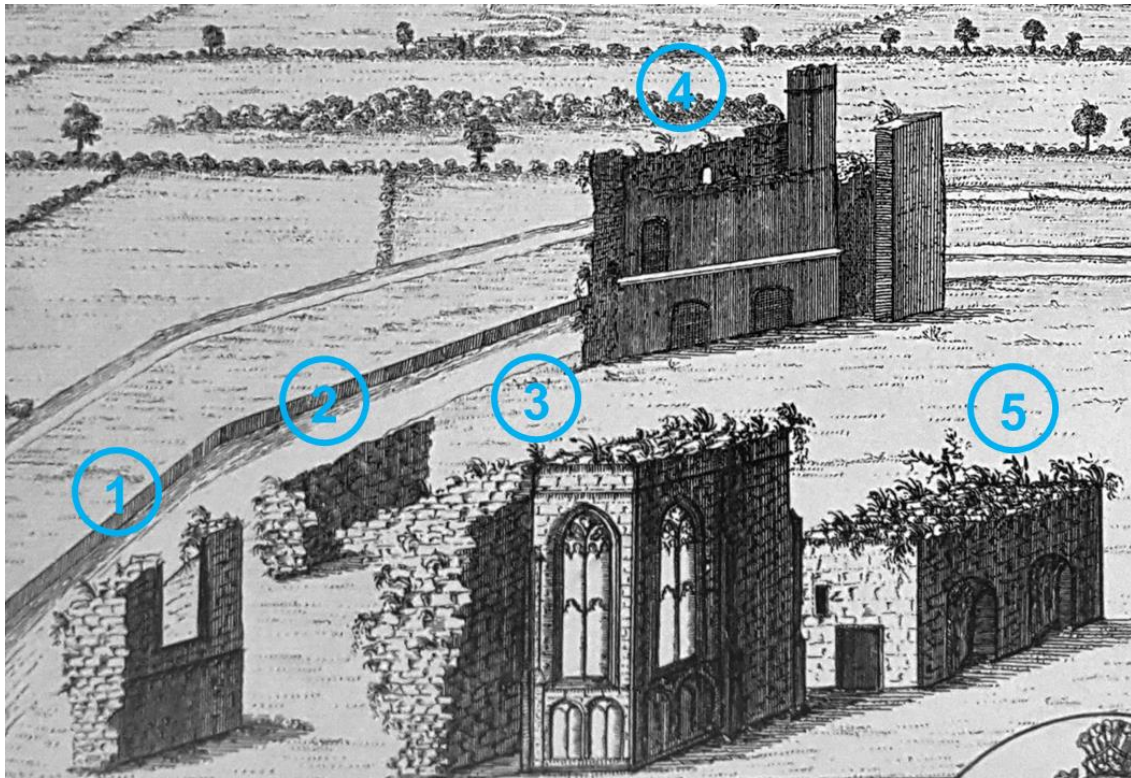
*Figure 56 Detail from the Buck illustration (1726). Showing: 1) South wall of the chapel, 2) possible fragment of Inner Ward curtain wall, 3) north elevation of the chapel, 4) south-western block and western gatehouse, 5) possible services (Society of Antiquaries of London)*



*Figure 57 Foundations of structures to the south of the Great Tower*
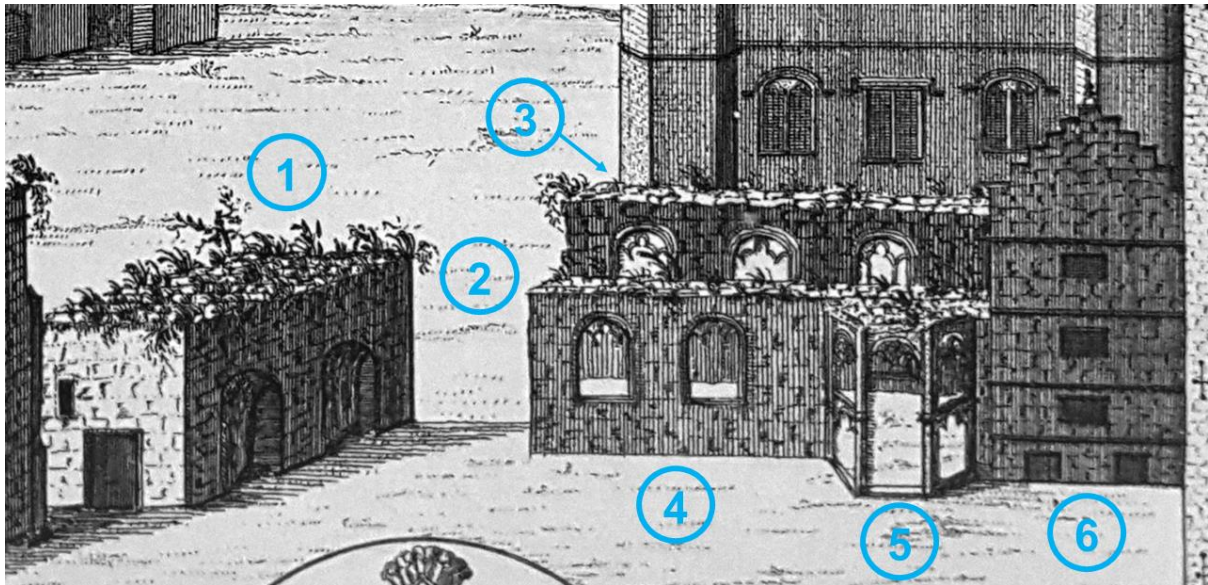
*Figure 58 Detail from the Buck illustration (1726). Showing: 1) possible services, 2) possible location of screens passage, 3) corridor between great hall and Great Tower, 4) great hall, 5) bay window at high end of the great hall, 6) post-mediaeval solar block (Society of Antiquaries of London)*



*Figure 59 Bay window at the high end of the great hall at Wingfield Manor*

*Figure 60 View from the summit of the Great Tower. Showing: 1) "Guardhouse", 2) Holy Trinity collegiate church, 3) fishponds, 4) site of Inner Gate, 5) Inner Ward, 6) Gardens (known as the "Tiltyard")*
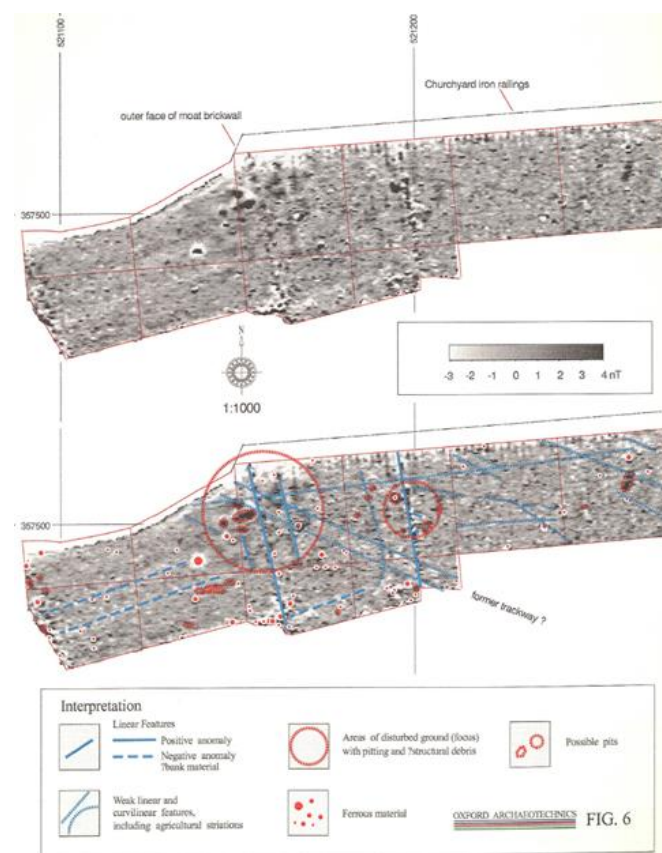


*Figure 61 Gradiometer survey plot of the "Tiltyard" (Johnson 1997 / National Trust)*

*Figure 62 Tattershall Castle and Holy Trinity collegiate church viewed from the River Bain*



*Figure 63 Basement of the south-west turret*

*Figure 64 Tower-on-the-Moor*

*Figure 65 Interpretative drawing of a graffito on the second floor corridor doorway*
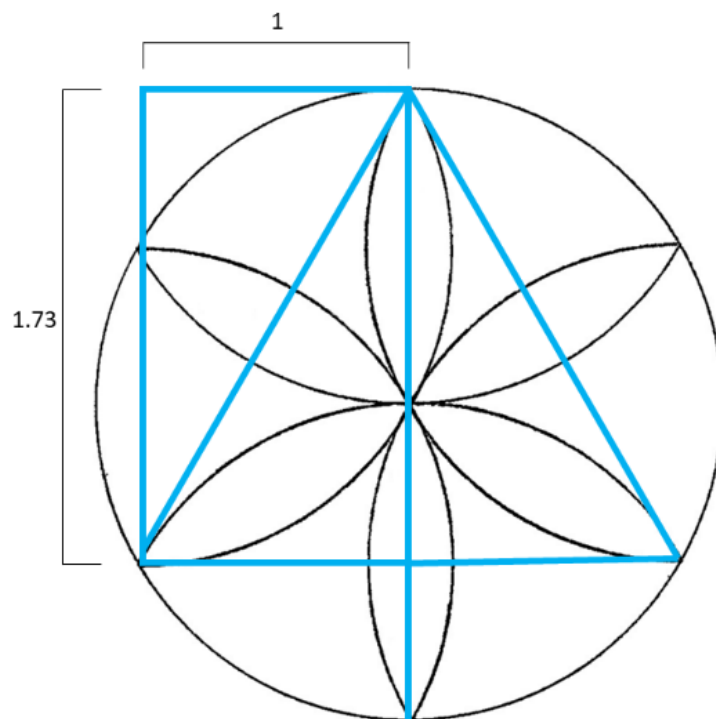


*Figure 66 Setting out for an equilateral triangle and rectangle with the proportions 1:1.73 using a compass-drawn rosette*
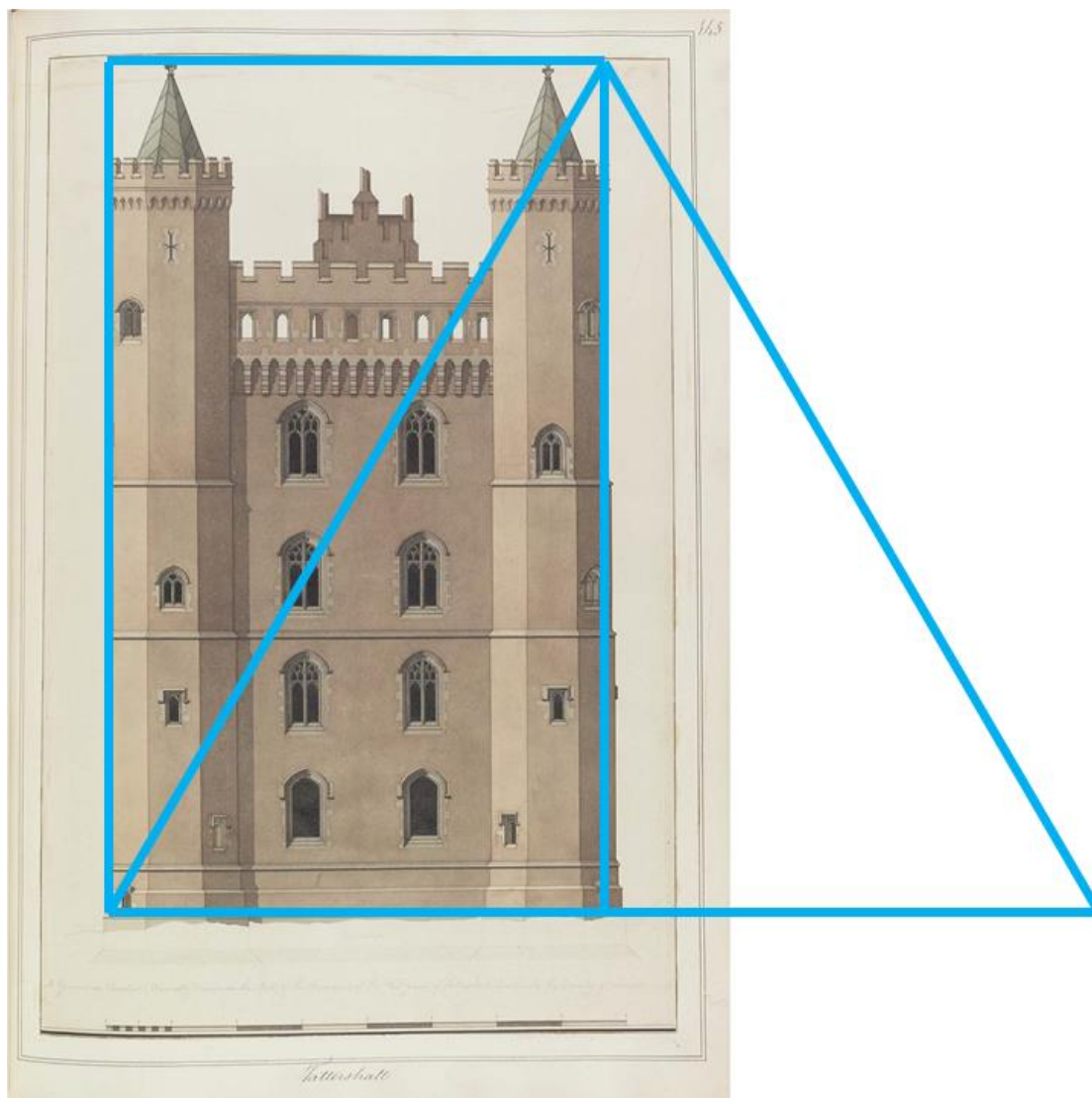
*Figure 67 Underlying geometry of the west elevation of the Great Tower. Drawing by John Lees Johnson, 1783-4 (National Trust 128700)*
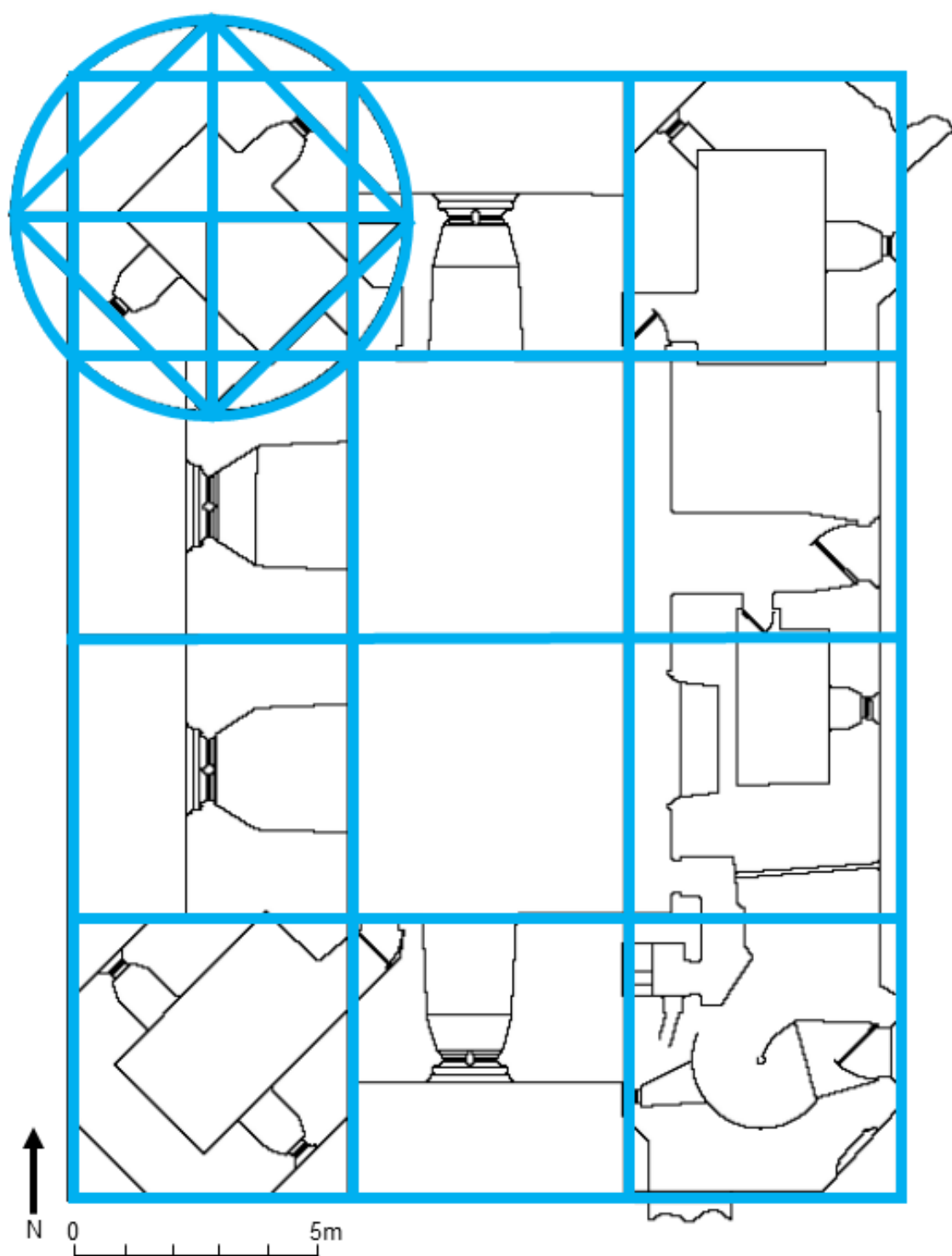
*Figure 68 Underlying geometry of the Great Tower ground floor (National Trust / Foster Surveys)*

*Figure 69 West elevation of the Great Tower*

*Figure 70 East elevation of the Great Tower*

*Figure 71 Uncusped window tracery of the tower of Holy Trinity Tattershall*



*Figure 72 North elevation of the Great Tower*

*Figure 73 South elevation of the Great Tower*



*Figure 74 Detail of the east elevation of the Great Tower*
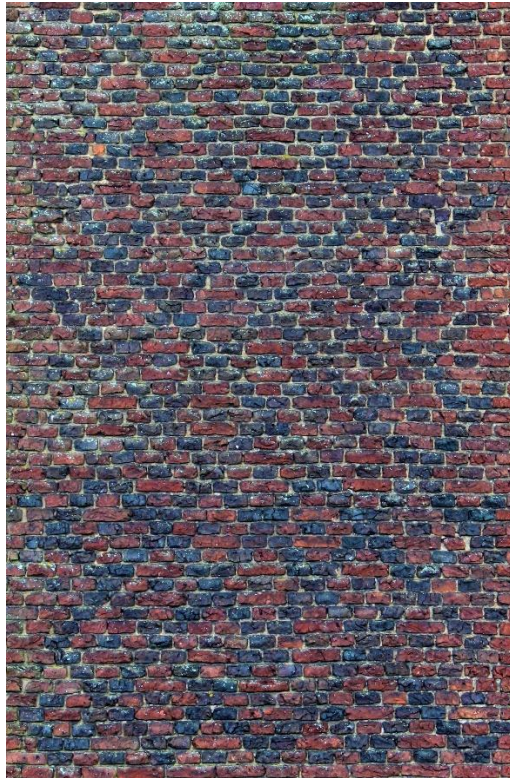
*Figure 75 Detail of diaperwork lattice on the west elevation of the north-western turret*
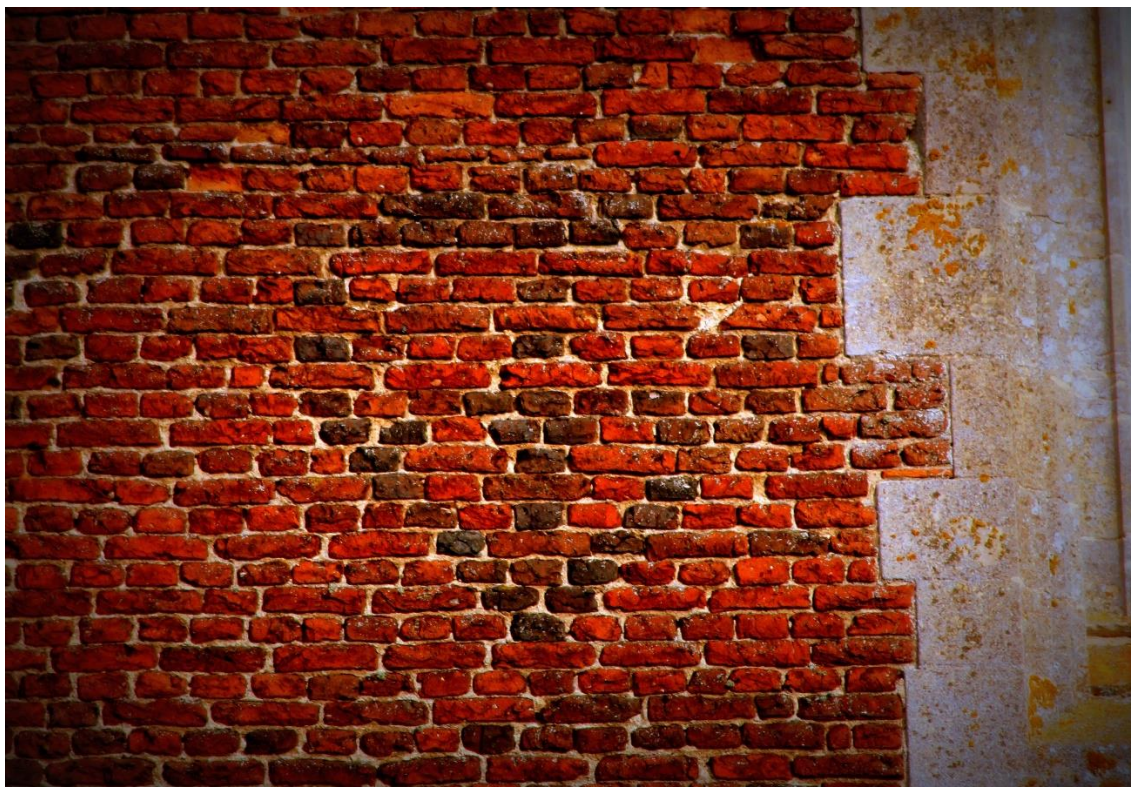


*Figure 76 Detail of diaperwork armorial on the west elevation of the Great Tower*

*Figure 77 Detail of diaperwork W and M designs on the south-west elevation of the south-west turret*
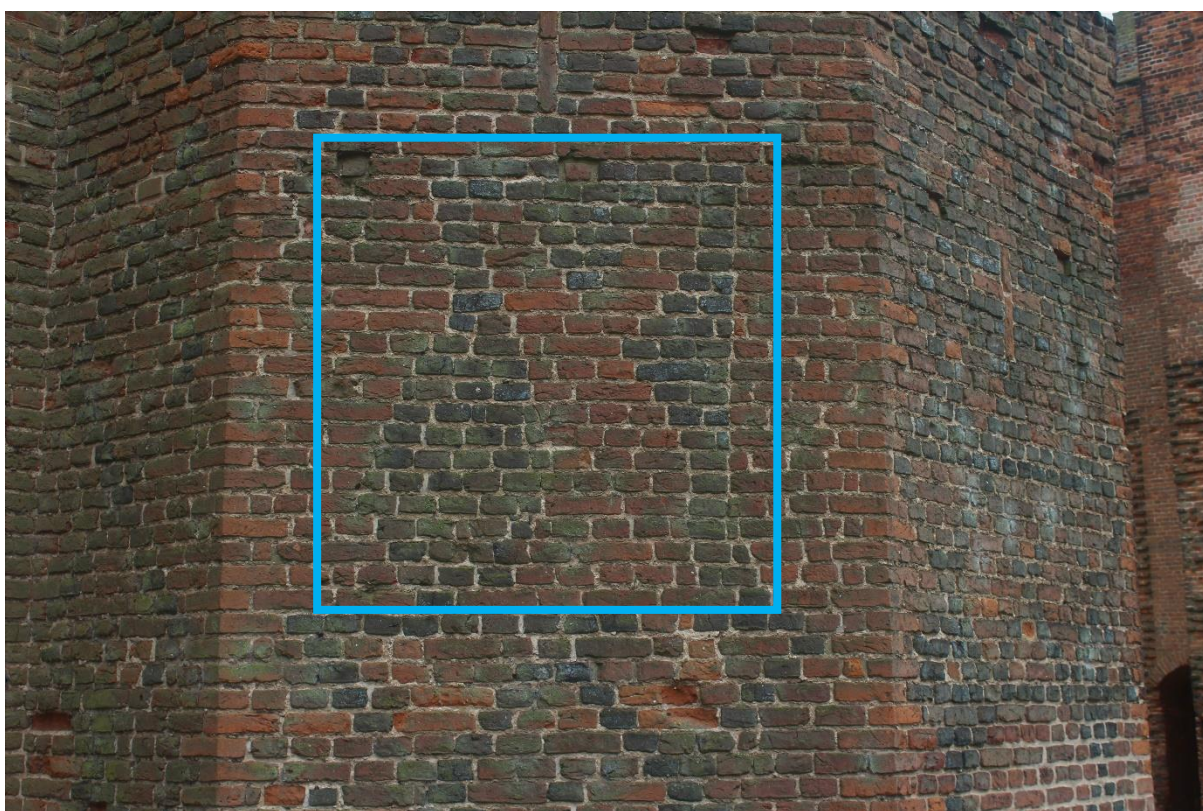


*Figure 78 Detail of diaperwork sleeve at Kirby Muxloe Castle*

*Figure 79 Detail of the west elevation of the south-east turret and curtain wall*



*Figure 80 Roof of the Great Tower*

*Figure 81 Stair of the Great Tower*

*Figure 82 Ground floor door to the stair*

*Figure 83 Rear of the ground floor stair door*

*Figure 84 Stair lobby*

*Figure 85 Stair lobby and blocked door*
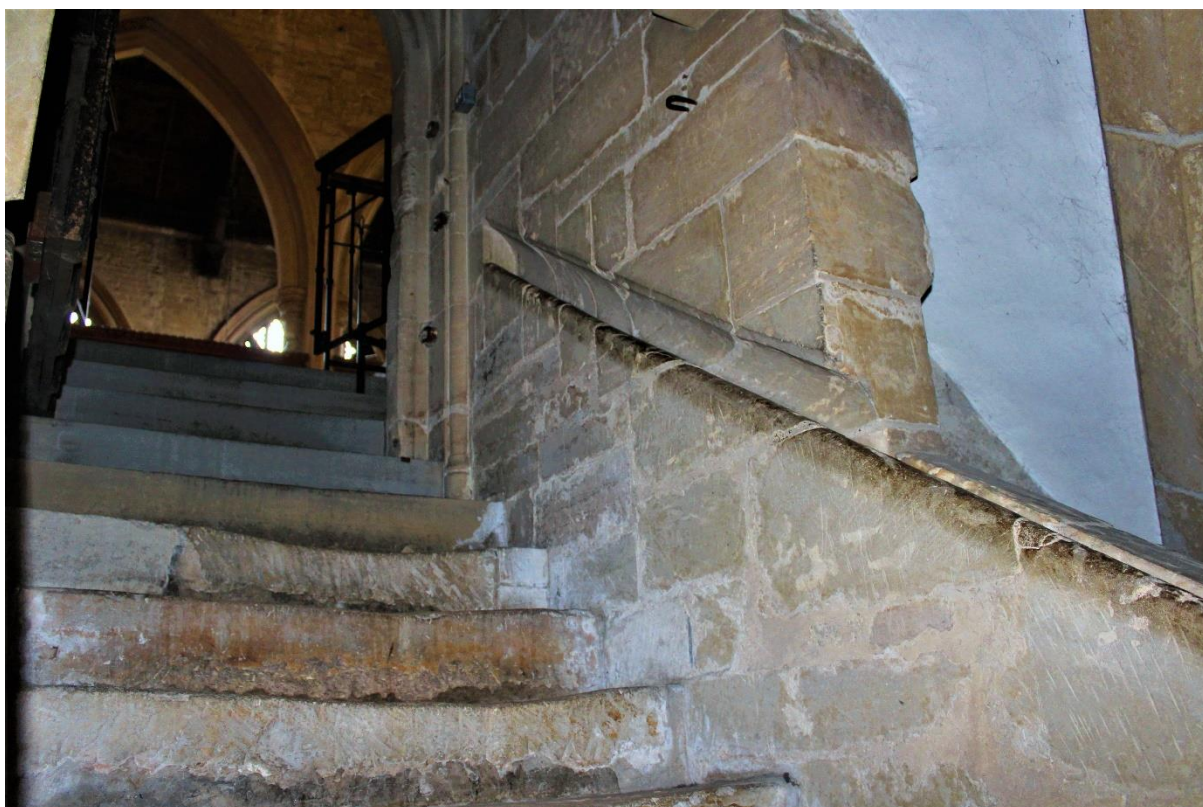
*Figure 86 Recessed handrail at St Wulfram's Grantham*
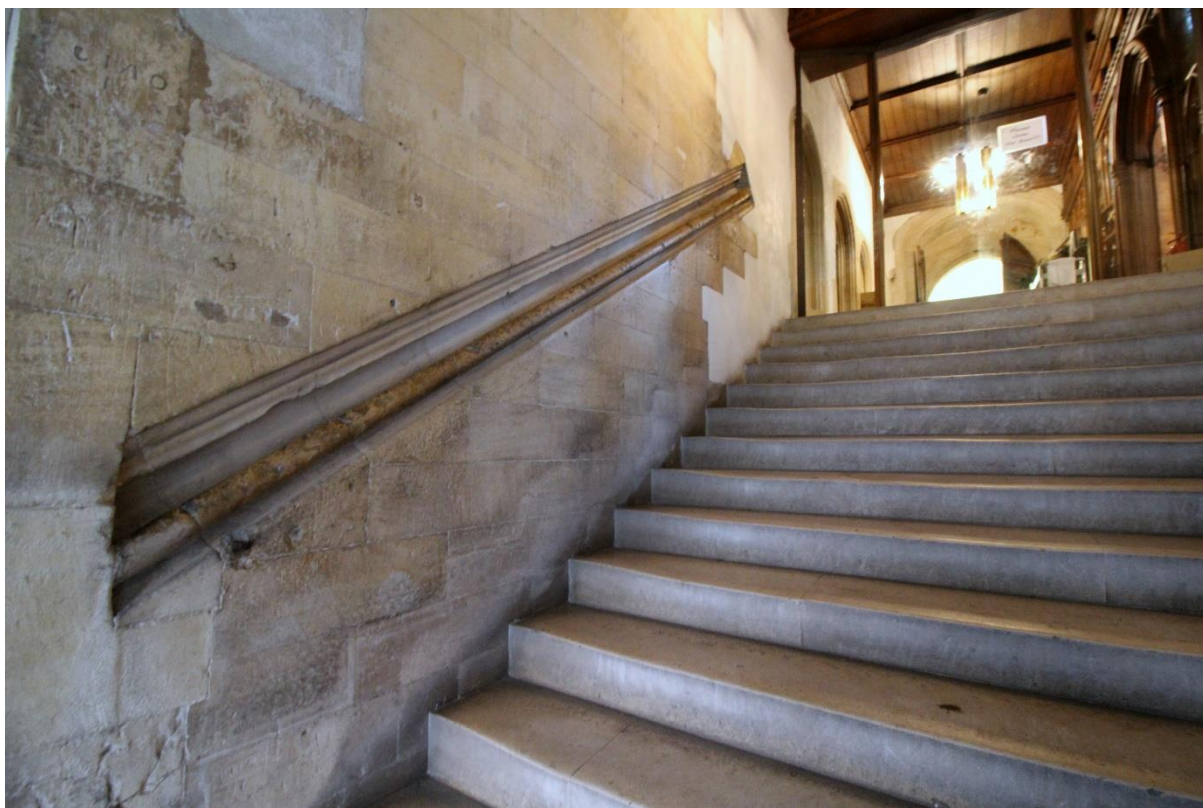


*Figure 87 Recessed handrail at Eton College*

*Figure 88 Ground storey of the south-eastern turret*



*Figure 89 Former doorways between ground and first floor in the stair turret*

*Figure 90 Staircase relieving arch*
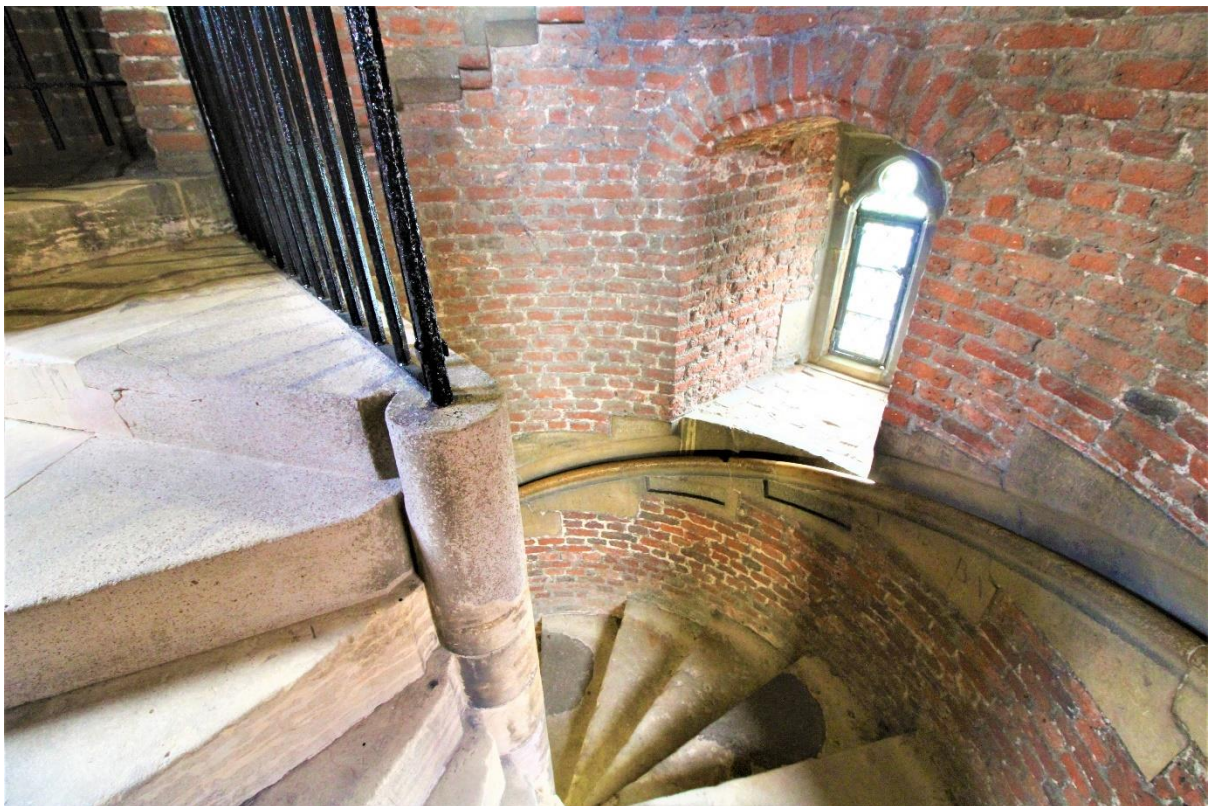


*Figure 91 Summit of the staircase*
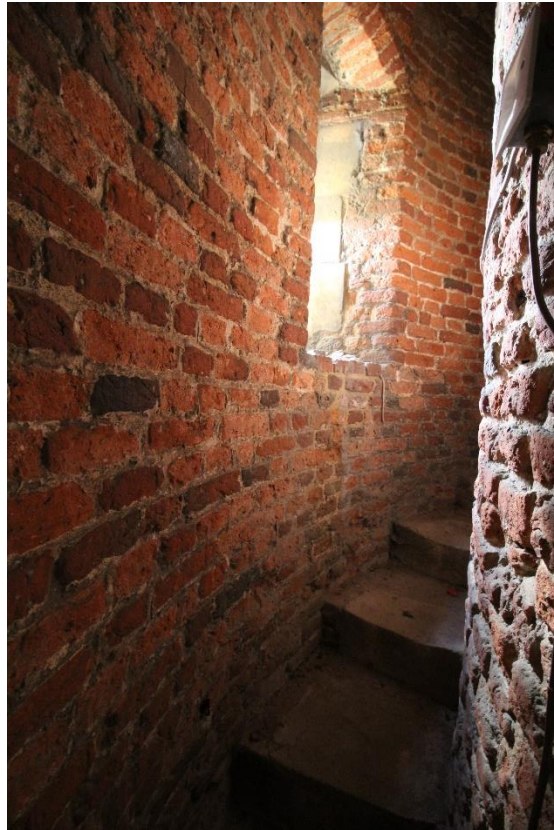
*Figure 92 Intramural stair leading to the south-eastern turret parapet*



*Figure 93 Basement stair*

*Figure 94 Recess at the foot of the basement stair*



*Figure 95 Basement of the Great Tower*

*Figure 96 South window of the basement*



*Figure 97 Pintles of the basement south-western turret doorway*

*Figure 98 North-western basement turret*



*Figure 99 Eastern intramural chamber of the basement*

*Figure 100 Great hall basement at Wingfield Manor*



*Figure 101 "Parlour" entrance corridor*

*Figure 102 First floor of the gatehouse at Thornton Abbey*



*Figure 103 North and east elevations of the "Parlour"*

*Figure 104 West elevation of the "Parlour"*



G22

0          5 cm
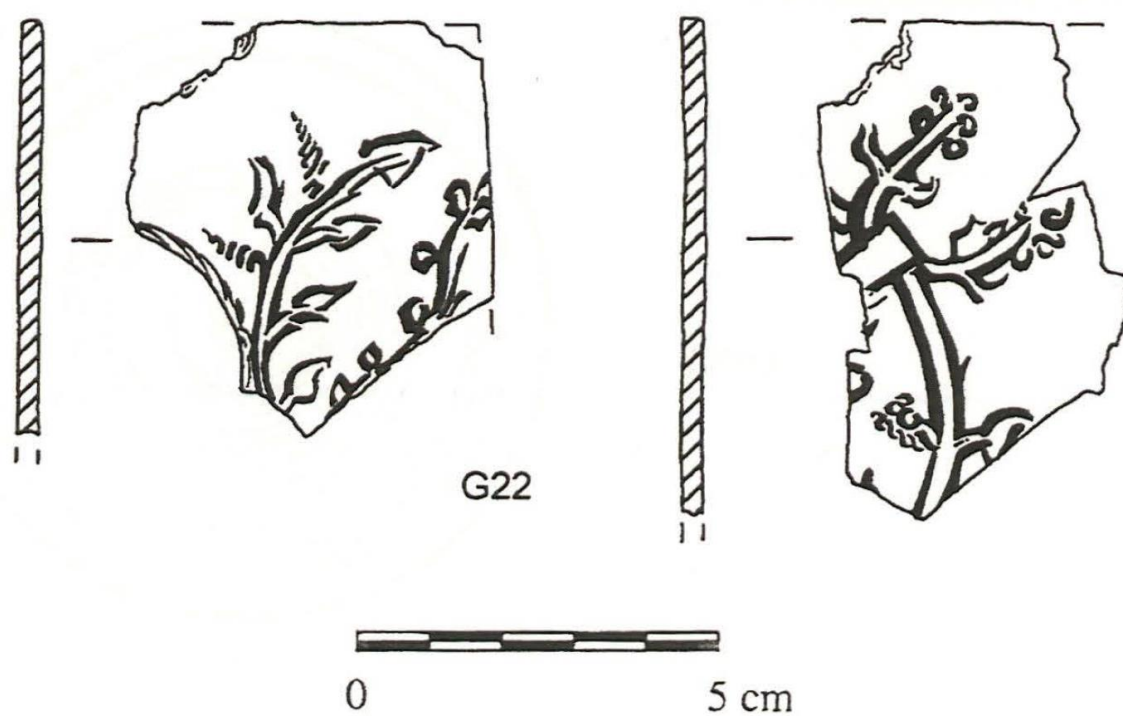
*Figure 105 Drawing of window glass excavated from the moats (Boyle et al 2009, 17 / National Trust)*

*Figure 106 East window of Holy Trinity Tattershall*



*Figure 107 "Parlour" garderobe*

*Figure 108 First floor lobby*



*Figure 109 First floor lobby vaulting*

*Figure 110 Room to north of first floor lobby*



*Figure 111 First floor of north-east turret*

*Figure 112 First floor of the Great Tower*



*Figure 113 Vaulting of first floor south window*

*Figure 114 Vaulting of first floor north-western window*



*Figure 115 Vaulting of first floor south-western window*

*Figure 116 First floor north-west turret*



*Figure 117 First floor garderobe*

*Figure 118 Second floor corridor*

*Figure 119 Photograph by H. Carlton, 1910, showing second floor corridor prior to conservation (National Trust 294591)*

*Figure 120 Second floor chamber (left) and ante-chamber (right) doorways*

*Figure 121 Second floor ante-chamber*



*Figure 122 Second floor of the Great Tower*

*Figure 123 Second floor south-west turret*



*Figure 124 Vaulting of third floor lobby*

*Figure 125 Third floor lobby*

*Figure 126 South door of Holy Trinity Tattershall*



*Figure 127 Room to north of third floor lobby*

*Figure 128 Third floor of the Great Tower*



*Figure 129 Vaulting of third floor chamber north-west window*

*Figure 130 Vaulting of third floor chamber south-west window*



*Figure 131 Vaulting of lobby to third floor north-western turret*

*Figure 132 Vaulting to lobby of third floor south-western turret*
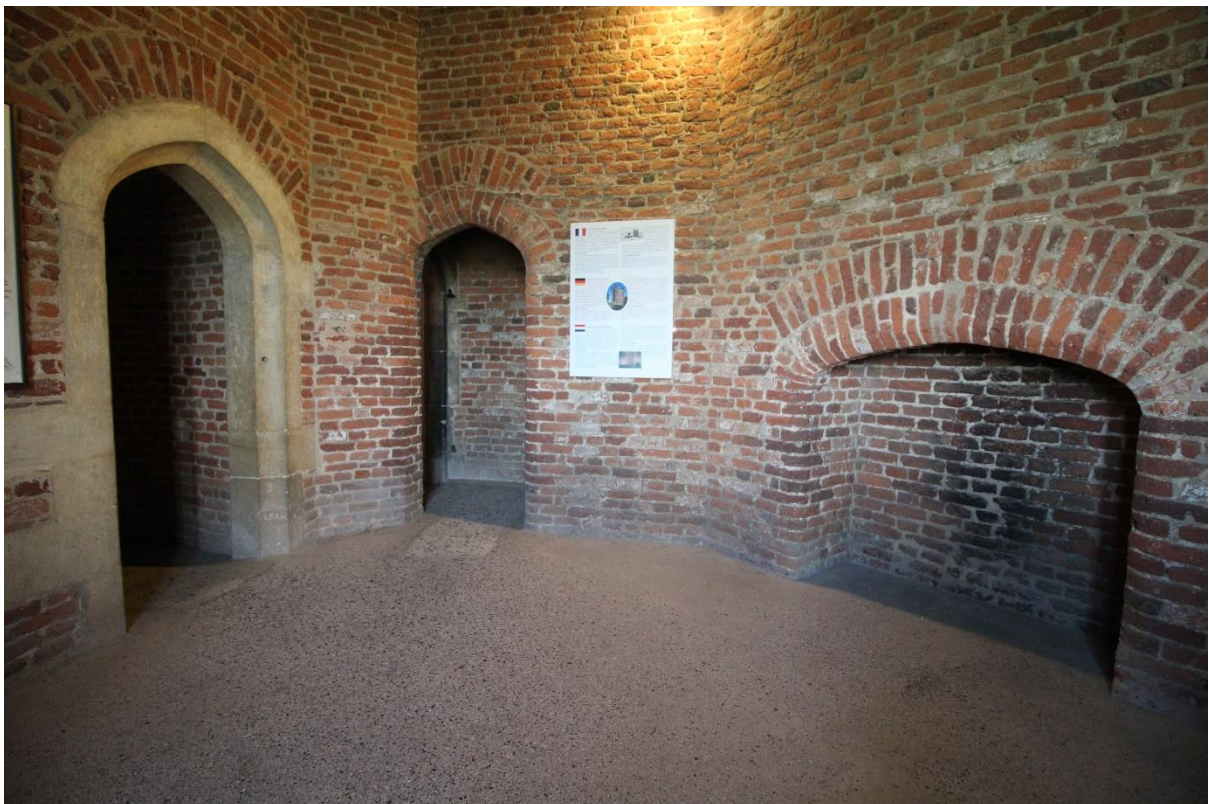


*Figure 133 Third floor north-west turret*

*Figure 134 Ground floor chimneypiece*



*Figure 135 First floor chimneypiece*

*Figure 136 Second floor chimneypiece*



*Figure 137 Third floor chimneypiece*

*Figure 138 Detail of third floor chimney piece: wild man, crenellations and fleurons*



*Figure 139 Detail of second floor chimneypiece: crenellations, fleurons and grotesque*

*Figure 140 Detail of third floor chimneypiece: crenellations, fleurons and purses*



*Figure 141 Detail of first floor chimneypiece: wild man*

*Figure 142 Detail of "Parlour" chimneypiece: purse, rebus and motto*



*Figure 143 Detail of "Parlour" chimneypiece: Vipont armorial*

*Figure 144 Detail of first floor chimneypiece: Albini armorial*



*Figure 145 Detail of "Parlour" chimneypiece: Marmion armorial*

*Figure 146 Detail of "Parlour" chimneypiece: Clifton armorial*



*Figure 147 Detail of "Parlour" chimneypiece: Grey of Rotherfield armorial*
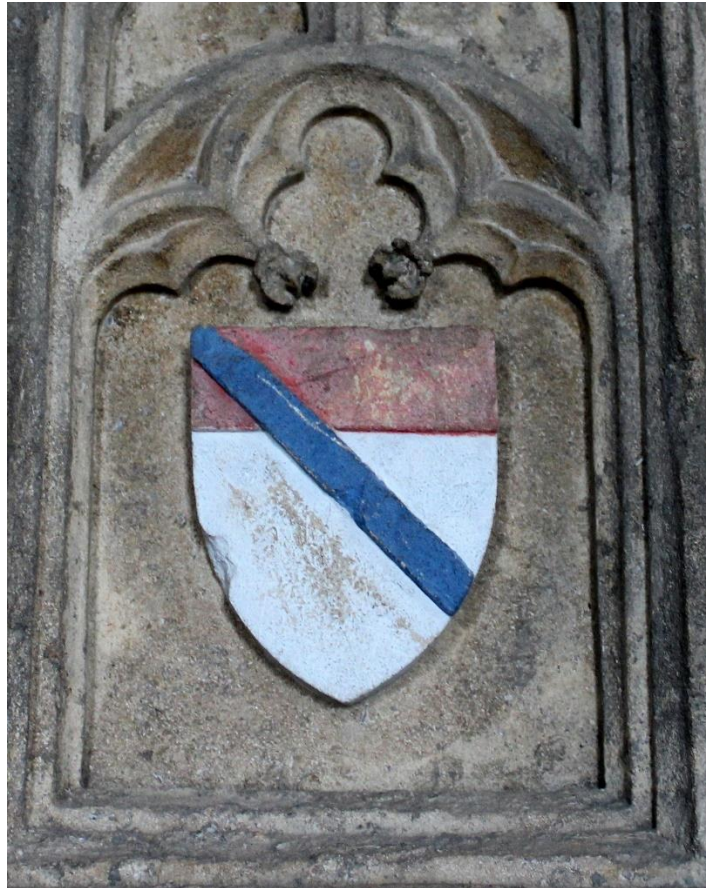
*Figure 148 Detail of third floor chimneypiece: Cromwell armorial*
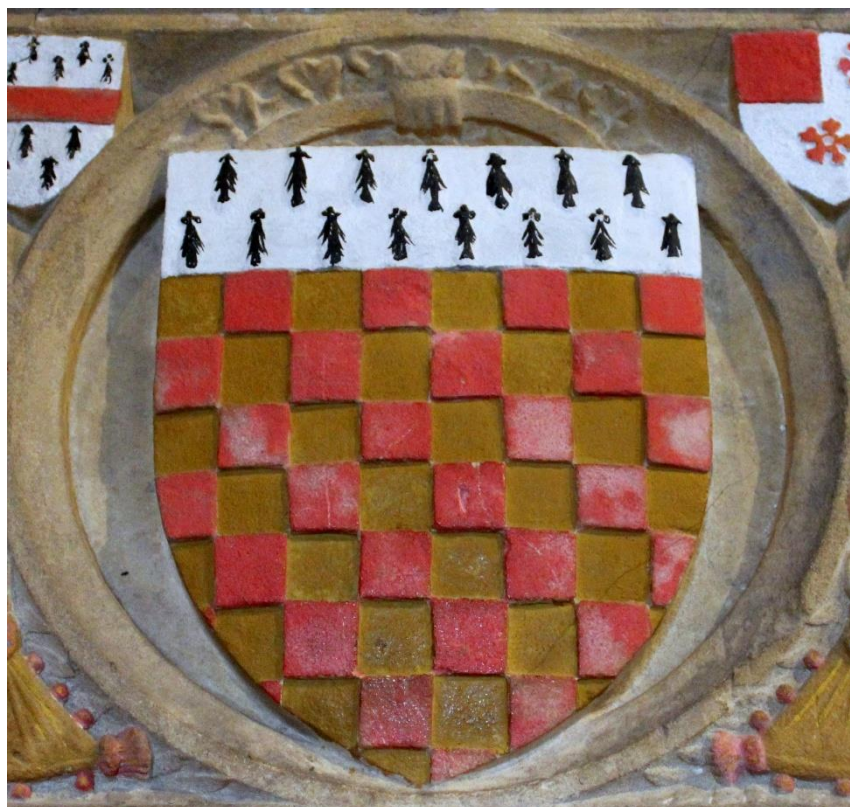


*Figure 149 Detail of first floor chimneypiece: Tateshale armorial*

*Figure 150 Detail of third floor chimneypiece: Deincourt armorial*



*Figure 151 Detail of third floor chimneypiece: Bernack armorial*

*Figure 152 Detail of third floor chimneypiece: Driby armorial*



*Figure 153 West door of St Botolph's Boston*

*Figure 154 Detail of first floor chimneypiece: rabbit or hare eating a plant*



*Figure 155 Detail of first floor chimneypiece: dragon fighting a centaur*

*Figure 156 Detail of first floor chimneypiece: St Michael fighting a dragon*



*Figure 157 Detail of first floor chimneypiece: man fighting a lion*

*Figure 158 Great Chamber chimneypiece at Ashby Castle*



*Figure 159 Photograph by H. Carlton, 1910, of the roof (National Trust 294616)*

*Figure 160 Roof, south-west turret*



*Figure 161 Roof, doorway to north-western turret*

*Figure 162 Archbishop's Great Chamber chimneypiece, Southwell Bishop's Palace*



*Figure 163 Presence Chamber chimneypiece, Lyddington Bedehouses*

*Figure 164 Tomb of Sir Richard Pomeroy, St Mary's, Berry Pomeroy*



*Figure 165 Cromwell and Tateshale armorial above the south porch at Wingfield Manor*

*Figure 166 Detail of the pulpit, Holy Trinity Tattershall*



*Figure 167 Purses and tracery at Holy Trinity Lambley*

*Figure 168 "Fox's Tower", Farnham Castle*



*Figure 169 Grange Farmhouse, Tattershall*

*Figure 170 Great Hall bay window, Caister Castle*



*Figure 171 Wardour Castle*

*Figure 172 Pont Valentré, Cahors (Accrohoc / Wikimedia Commons)*



*Figure 173 Château de Pierrefonds (Eric Pouhier / Wikimedia Commons)*

*Figure 174 Donjon de Vez (Pline / Wikimedia Commons)*



*Figure 175 Château de Vincennes (Selbymay / Wikimedia Commons)*

*Figure 176 Château d'Anjony (Béa / Wikimedia Commons)*



*Figure 177 Malbork Castle (Gregy / Wikimedia Commons)*

*Figure 178 Kärnan (Manvswow / Wikimedia Commons)*

*Figure 179 St Botoloph's Colchester*

*Figure 180 North Bar, Beverley (Dr Patty McAlpin / Wikimedia Commons)*



*Figure 181 Lower School, Eton College*

*Figure 182 St Mary's Guildhall, Boston*



*Figure 183 Thornton Abbey gatehouse*

*Figure 184 Gatehouse portal, Herstmonceux Castle*
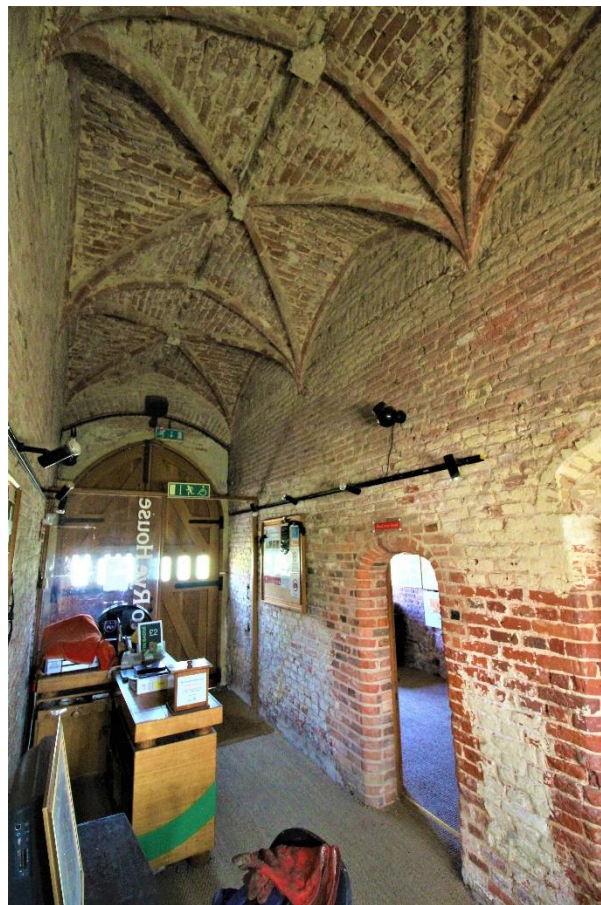


*Figure 185 Gatehouse portal, Rye House*

*Figure 186 Guy's Tower, Warwick*



*Figure 187 Detail of great hall range at Caister. Showing: 1) Crenellations and blind machicolations, 2) blocked door to parapet, 3) wall scar, 4) arcaded corbels for lower machicolations*
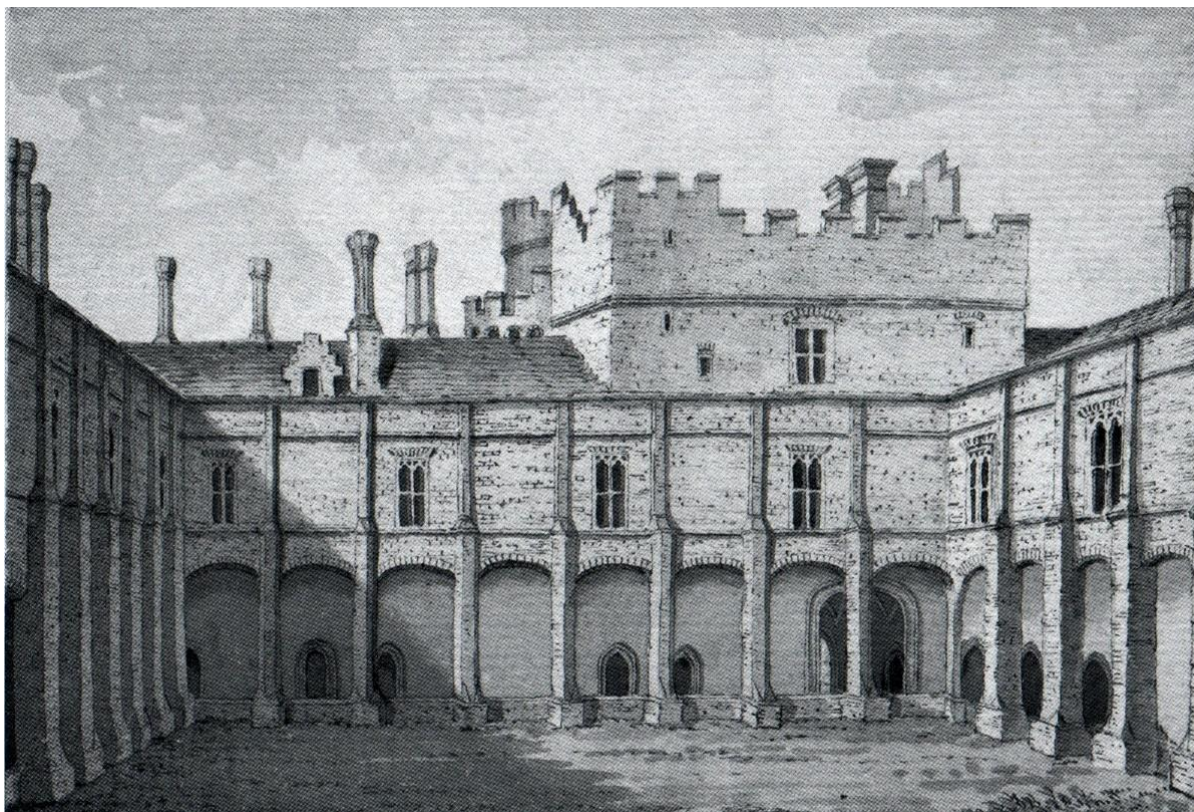
*Figure 188 Herstmonceux Castle by Paul Sandby, 1770s (Society of Antiquaries of London)*
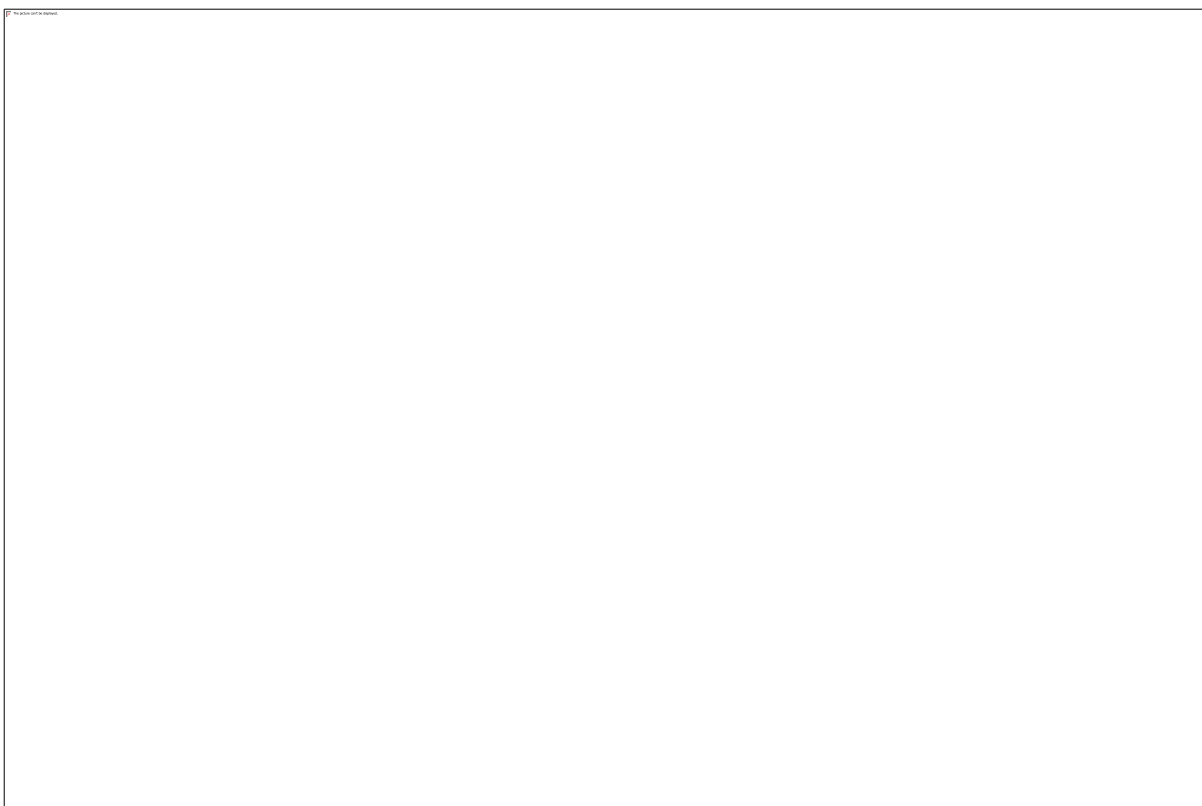


*Figure 189 Cloister Court, Eton College*

*Figure 190 Great hall chimneypiece, Wardour Castle*
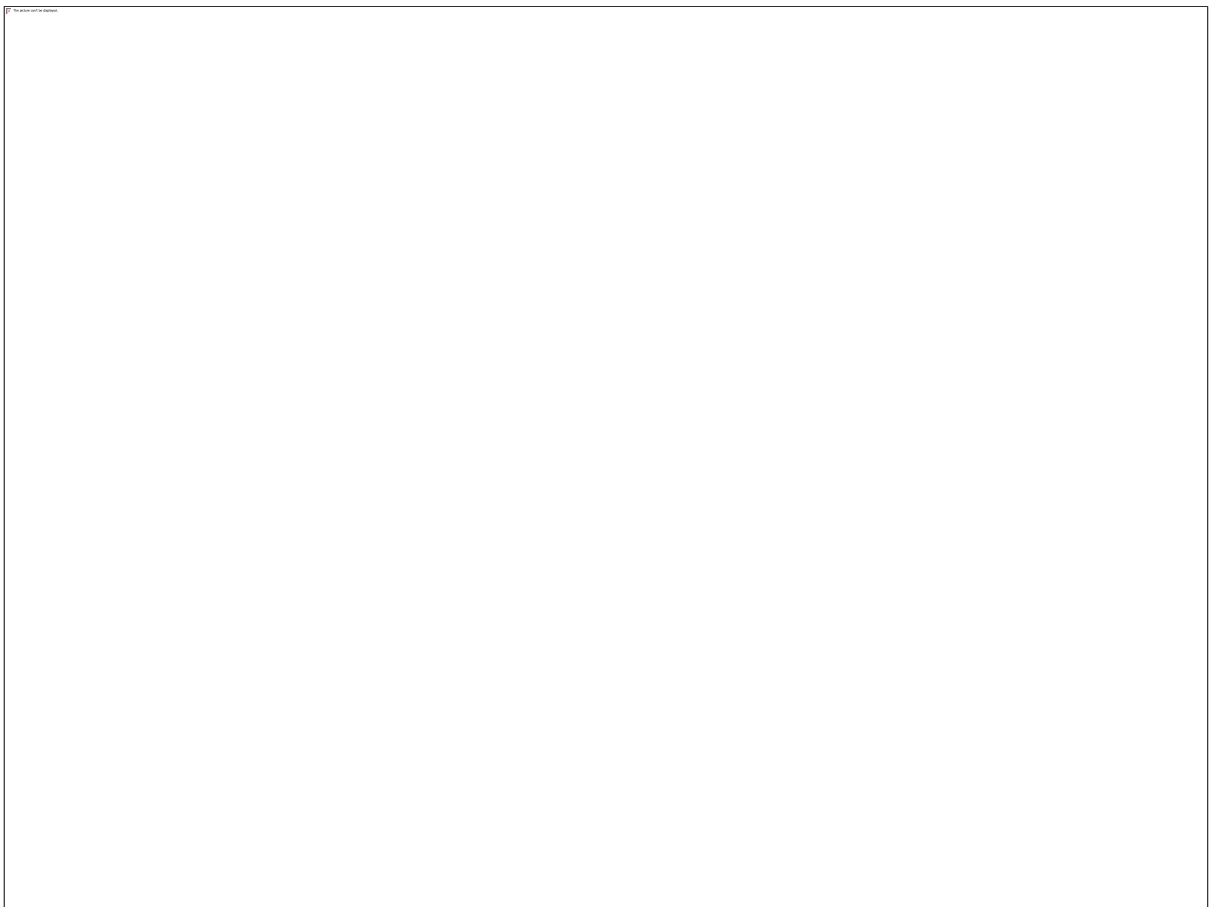


*Figure 191 White Tower, Tower of London*

*Figure 192 Richmond Castle great tower*
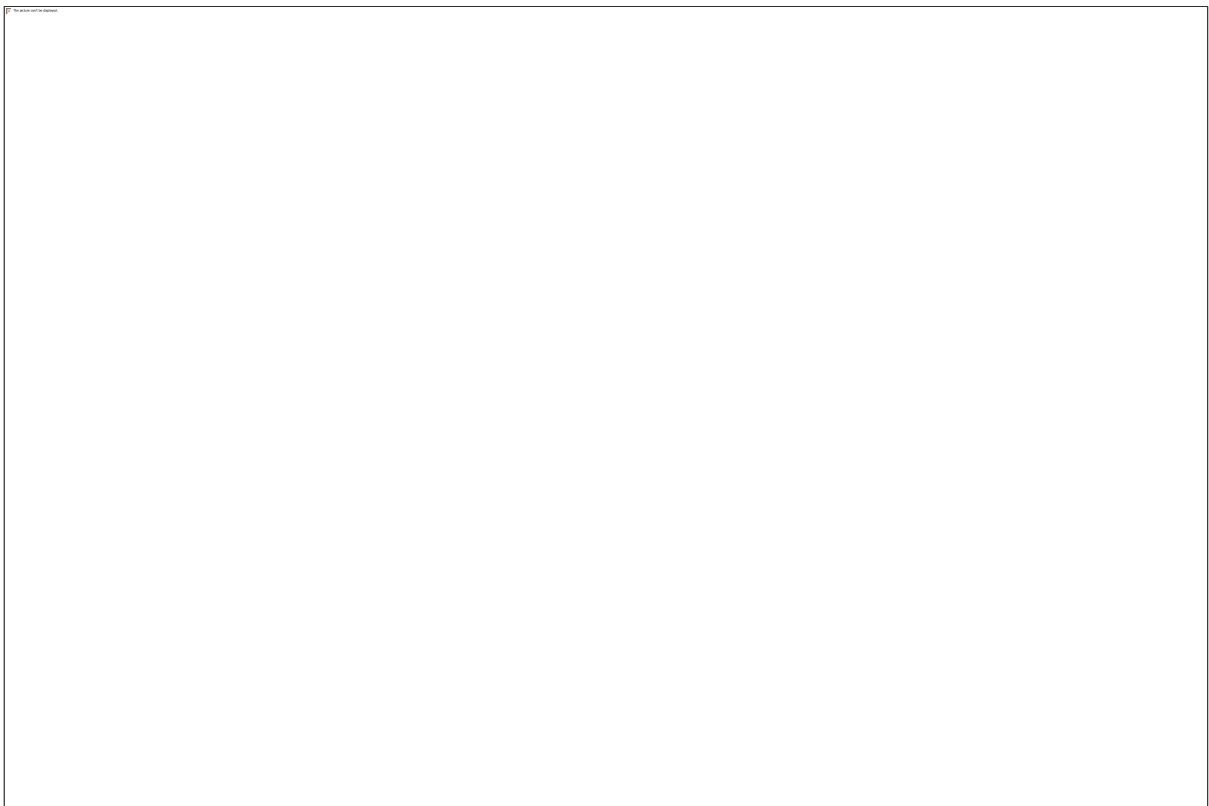


*Figure 193 Warkworth Castle great tower*

*Figure 194 Front Court, Queens' College Cambridge*
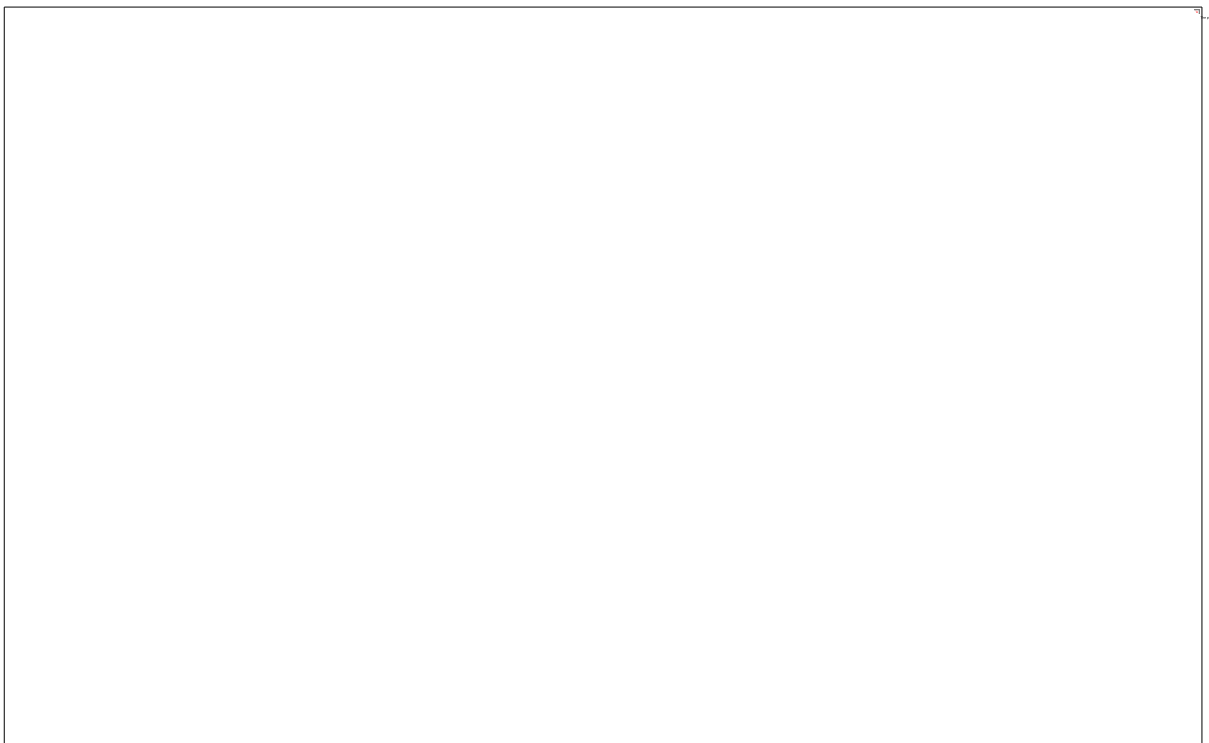


*Figure 195 Window tracery, King's College Cambridge*

*Figure 196 Stair vaulting, Ayscoughfee Hall*
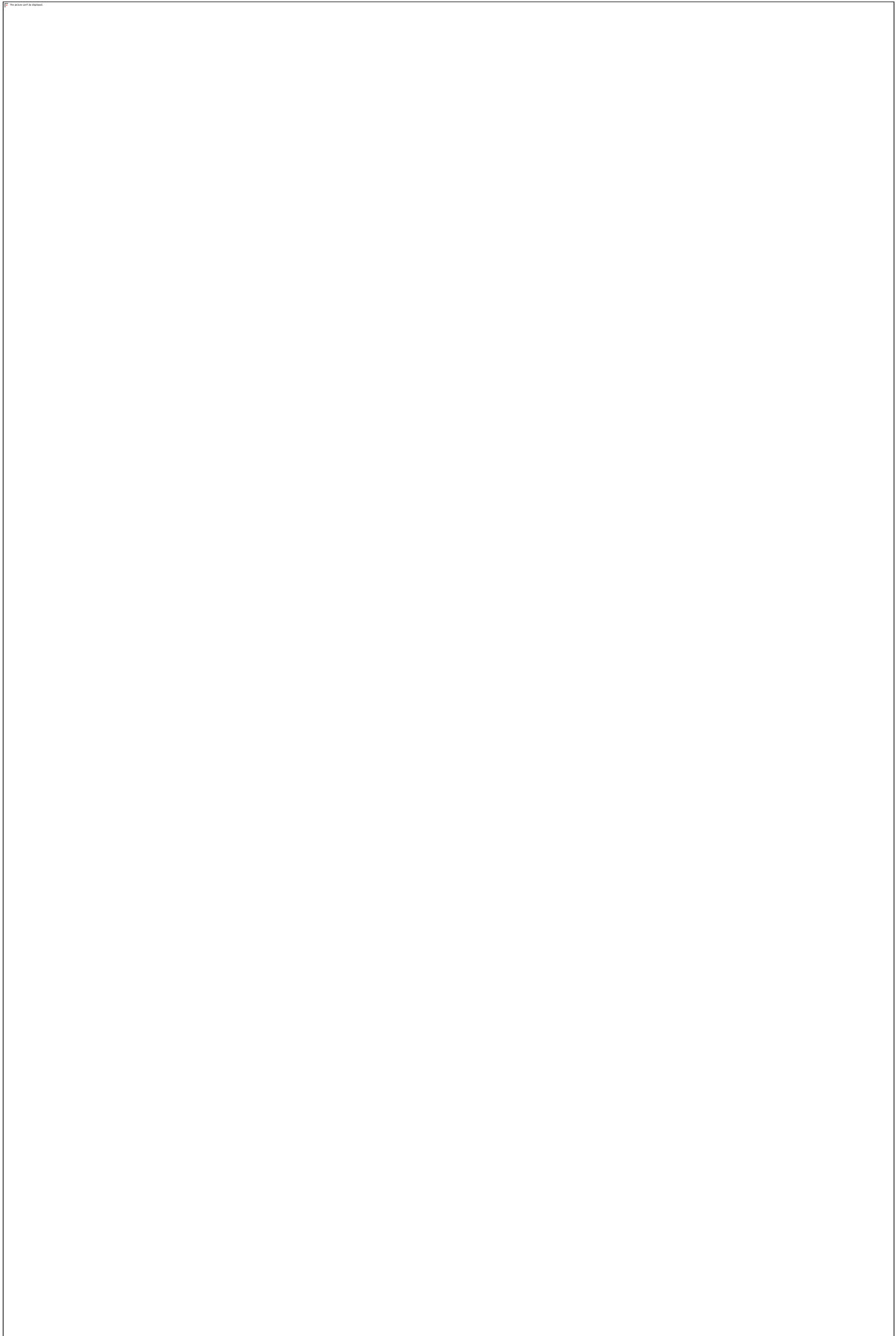
*Figure 197 Stair turret, Ayscoughfee Hall*
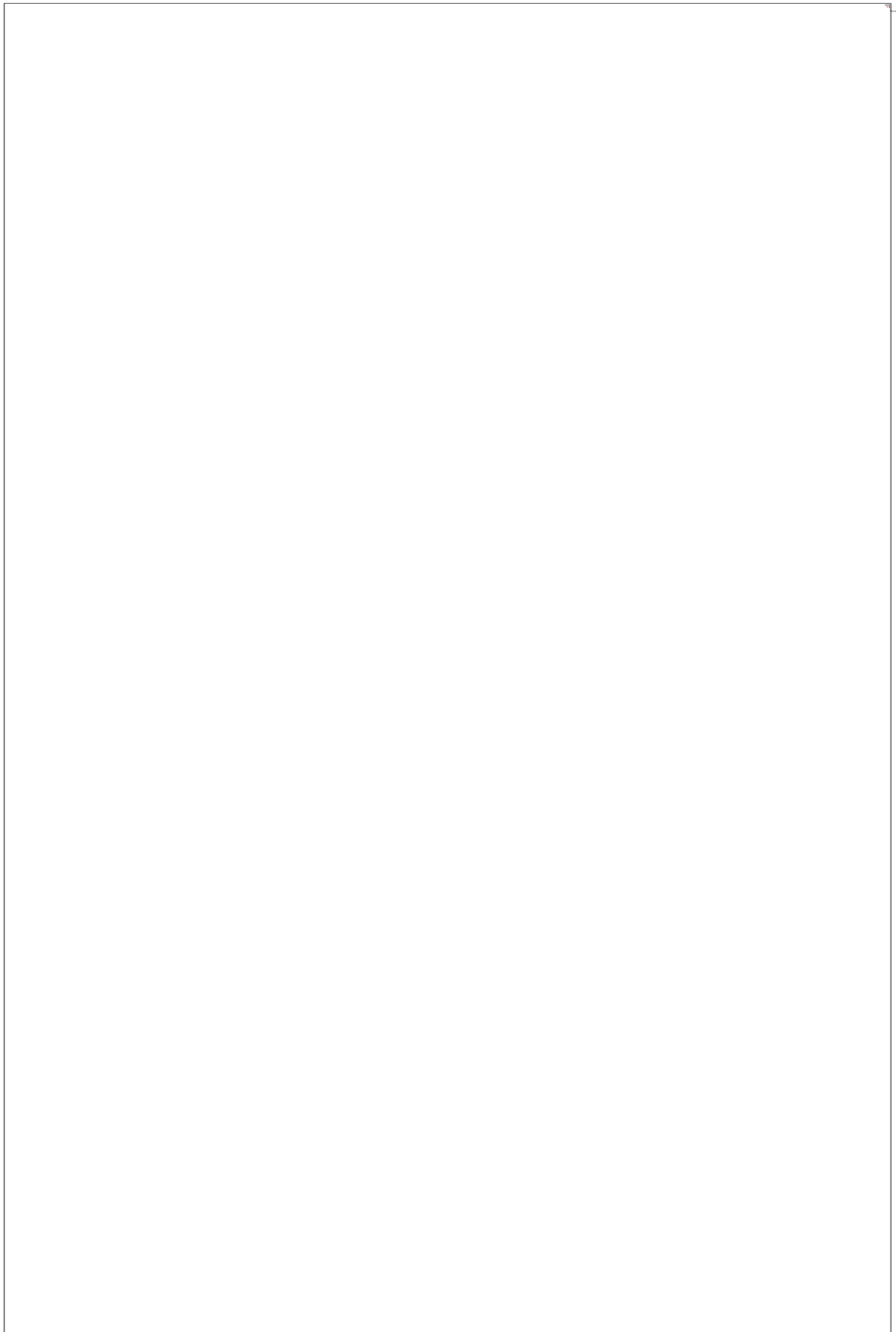
Figure 198 Hussey Tower, Boston

*Figure 199 Detail of stair turret, Hussey Tower*
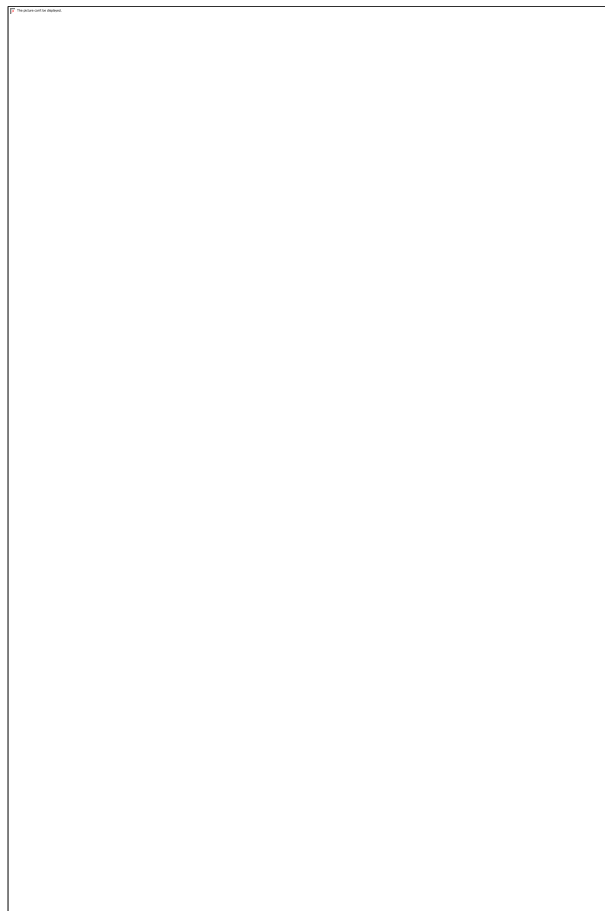


*Figure 200 Interior of Hussey Tower*

*Figure 201 Wall-tops of Hussey Tower*
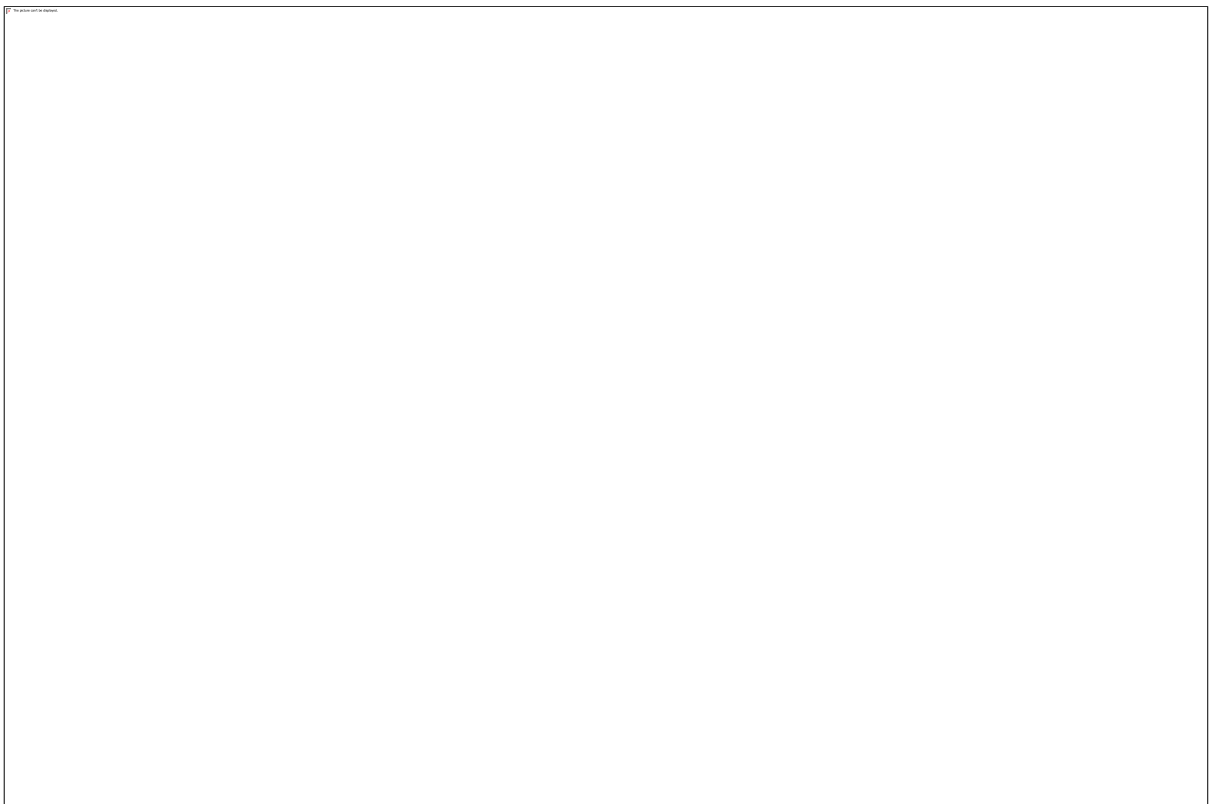


*Figure 202 Rochford Tower*

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*Figure 203 Waynflete Tower, Esher (Jonathan Foyle, built.org.uk / Wikimedia Commons)*
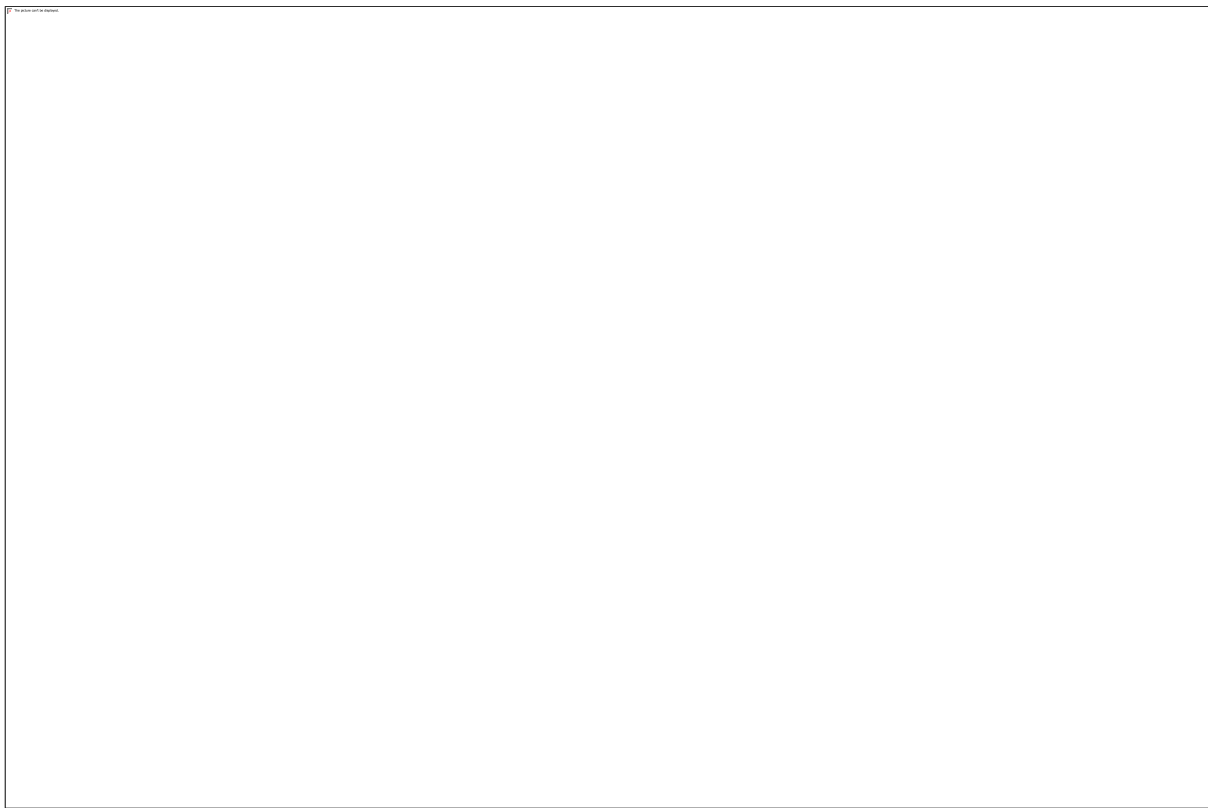
*Figure 204 Magdalen College School, Wainfleet (Richard Croft / Wikimedia Commons)*
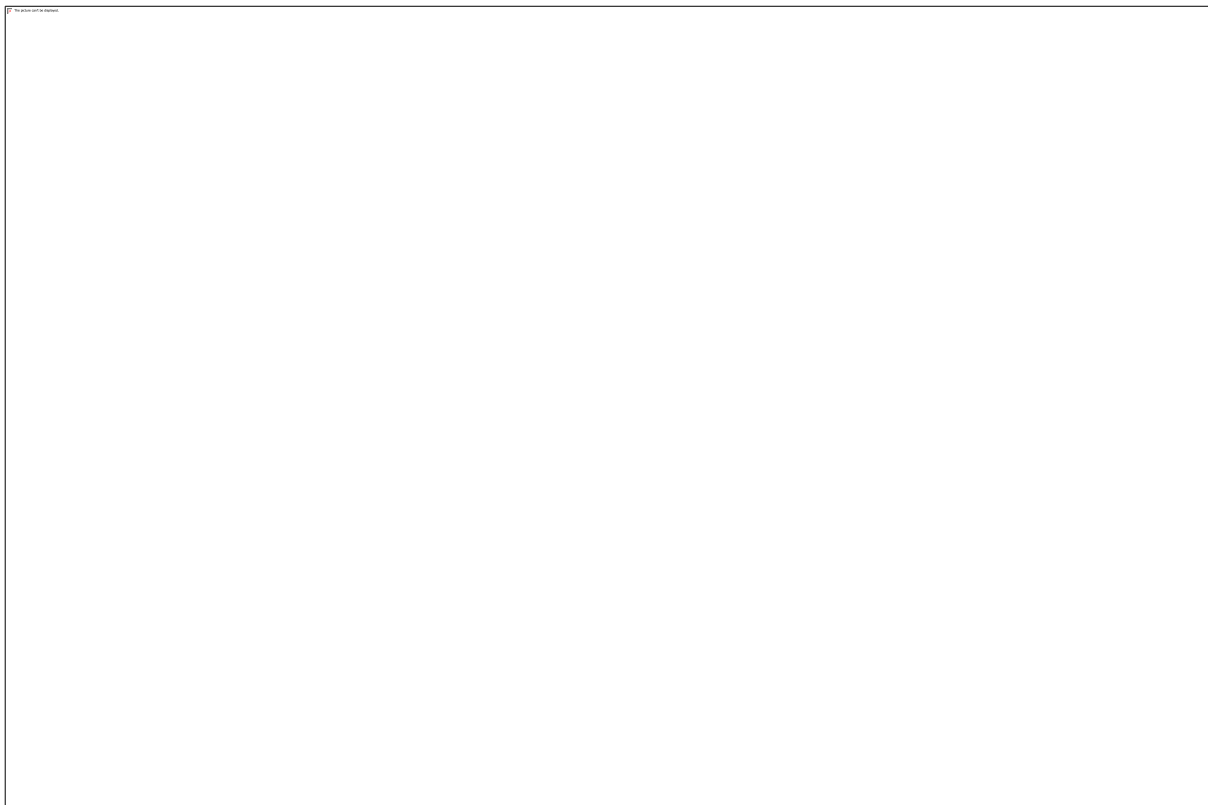


*Figure 205 Buckden Palace*

*Figure 206 Hampton Court Palace*



*Figure 207 Holme Pierrepont Hall*

*Figure 208 Hodsock Priory*



*Figure 209 Leicester's Gatehouse, Kenilworth Castle*

*Figure 210 Abbot's Hospital, Guildford (Jack1956 / Wikimedia Commons)*


*Figure 211 Tattershall marketplace*

*Figure 212 Tattershall market cross*

*Figure 213 Pow Cottage,Tattershall*



*Figure 214 Wall to rear of 2 Marketplace*

*Figure 215 Rear elevation of Fortescue Arms*
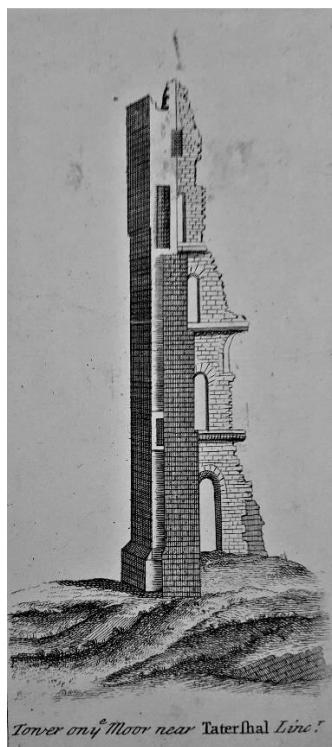


*Figure 216 Antiquarian view of Tower-on-the-Moor (Society of Antiquaries of London)*
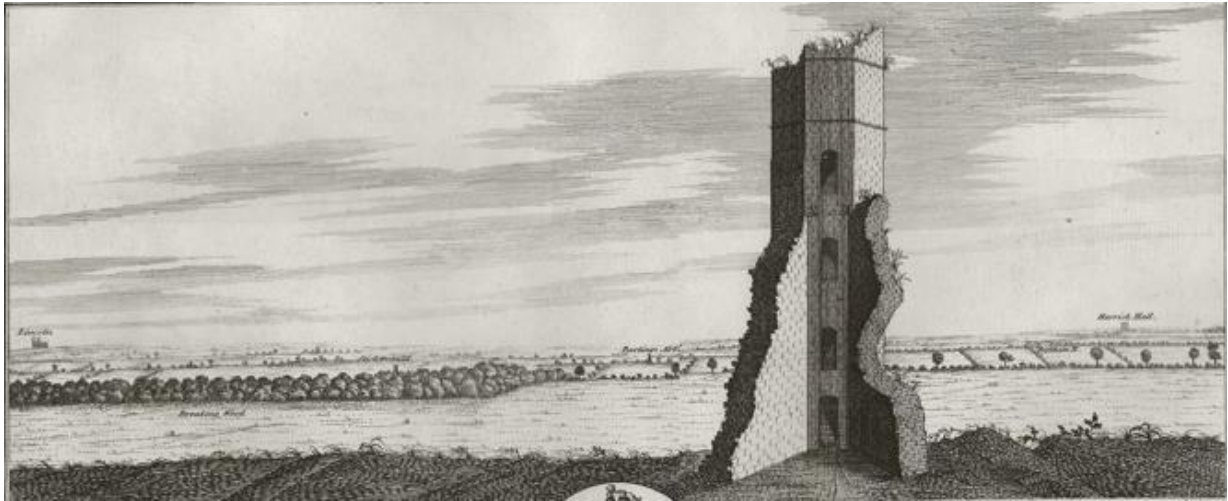
*Figure 217 Samuel Buck illustration of the Tower-on-the-Moor, 1726 (The Collection Museum, Lincoln)*



*Figure 218 North and west elevations of Holy Trinity collegiate church*

*Figure 219 South elevation of Holy Trinity collegiate church*



*Figure 220 Tattershall Grammar School*

*Figure 221 Holy Trinity nave*
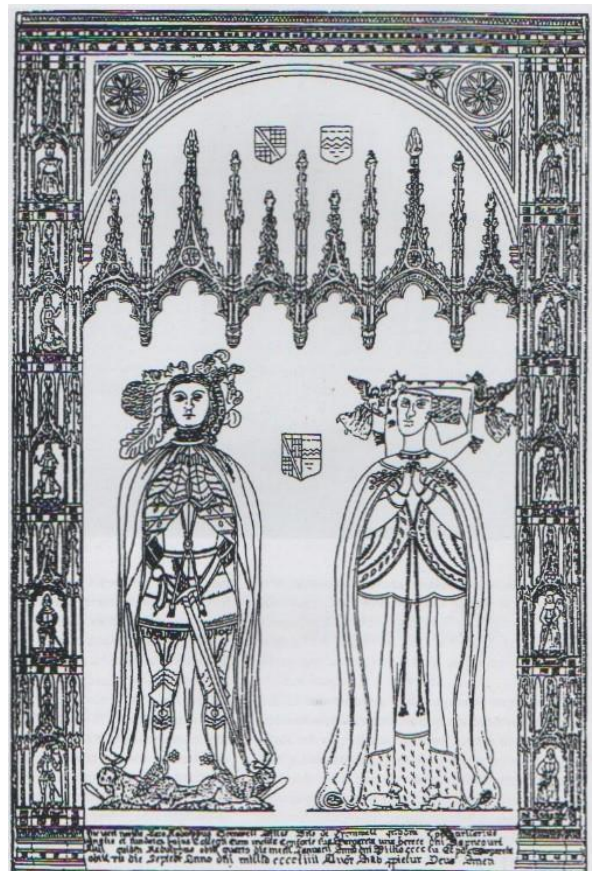


*Figure 222 Tomb brass of Ralph Cromwell (left) and antiquarian drawing of the brass when still complete (right) (National Trust)*

*Figure 223 Guild of the Holy Cross almshouses, Stratford-upon-Avon*



*Figure 224 Lyddington Bedehouses*

*Figure 225 Tattershall Bedehouses*
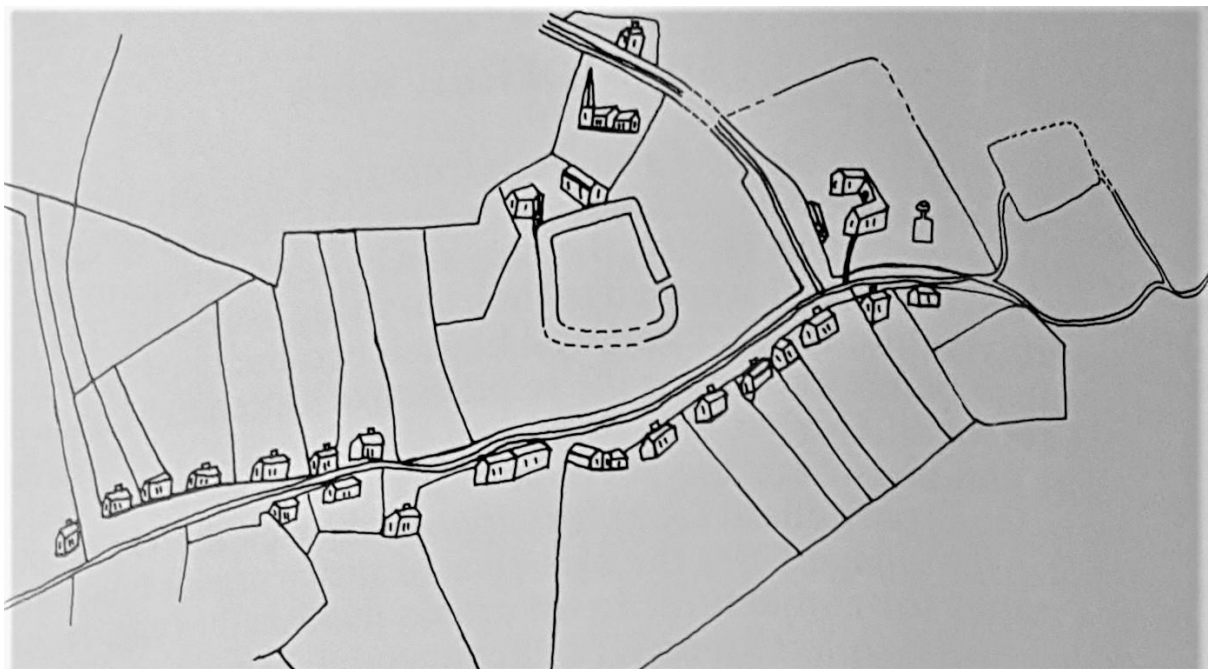


*Figure 226 Fotheringhay collegiate church*

*Figure 227 All Saints, South Wingfield*

*Figure 228 Remains of fishponds with deer park beyond at Collyweston*



*Figure 229 Richard Banks survey of Lambley, 1609 (Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire)*

*Figure 230 Wingfield Manor*



*Figure 231 Wingfield Manor barn*

*Figure 232 Wingfield Manor Inner Court lodgings*



*Figure 233 Wingfield Manor kitchens*

*Figure 234 Wingfield Manor great hall*



*Figure 235 Wingfield Manor High Tower*

*Figure 236 Winchester College*



*Figure 237 Temple Bruer Preceptory*
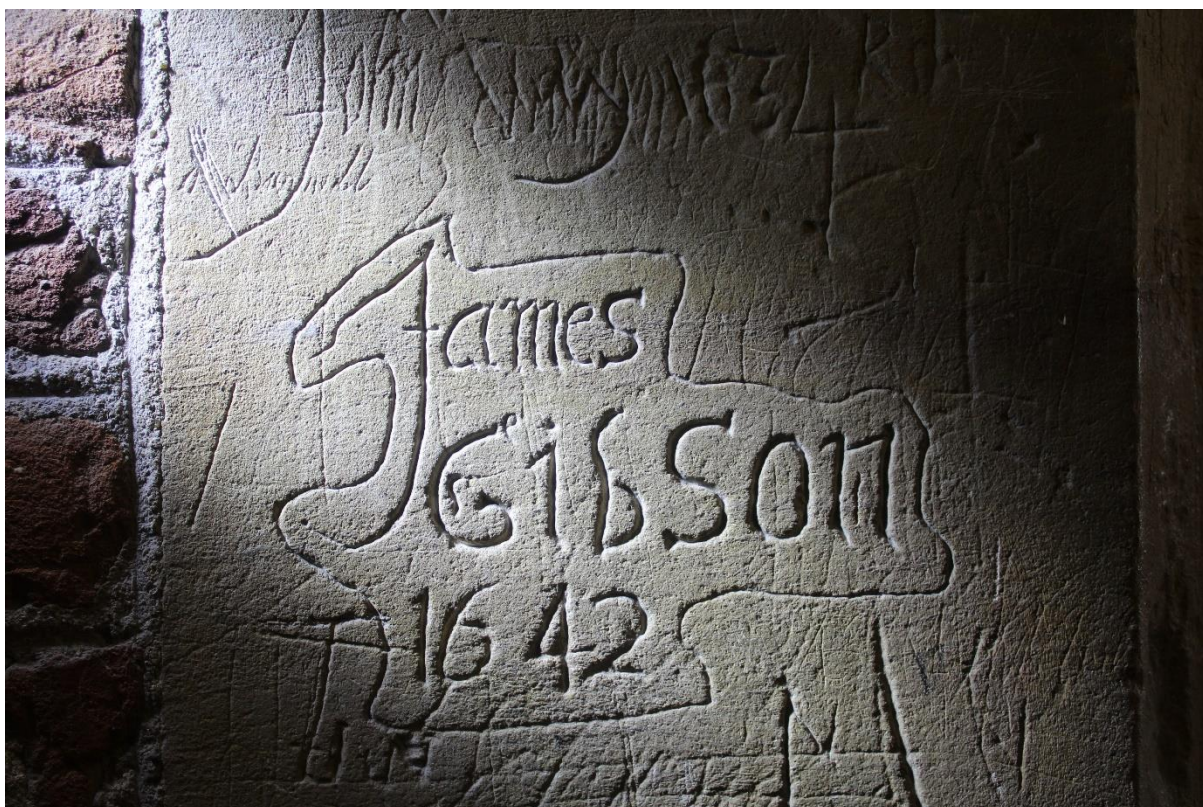
*Figure 238 Tomb brass of Joan Stanhope*

*Figure 239 "James Gibson 1642" graffito*



*Figure 240 Possible bullet impact scars on west elevation of Holy Trinity*

*Figure 241 Copy of Tattershall Castle by Thomas Girtin, 1775-1802 (National Trust 1282696)*
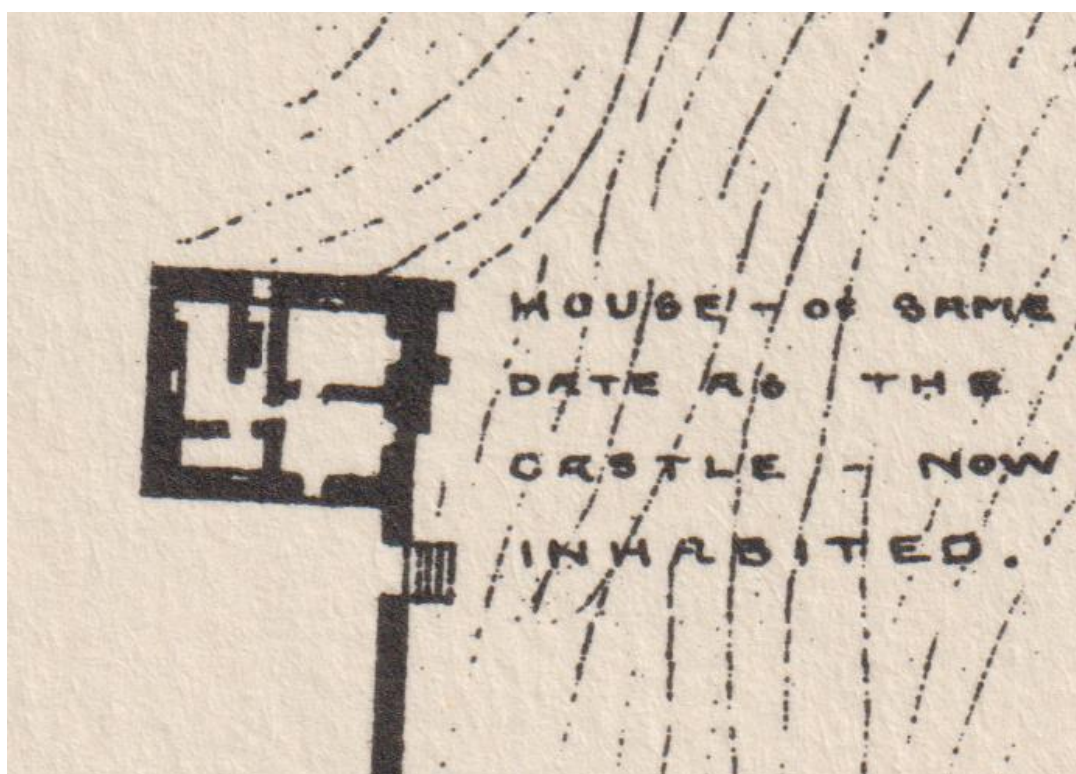


*Figure 242 Plan of "Guardhouse" by Reed, 1872*

*Figure 243 Great Tower roof by A. C. Pugin, 1818 (Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center 1864.2.2689.v)*
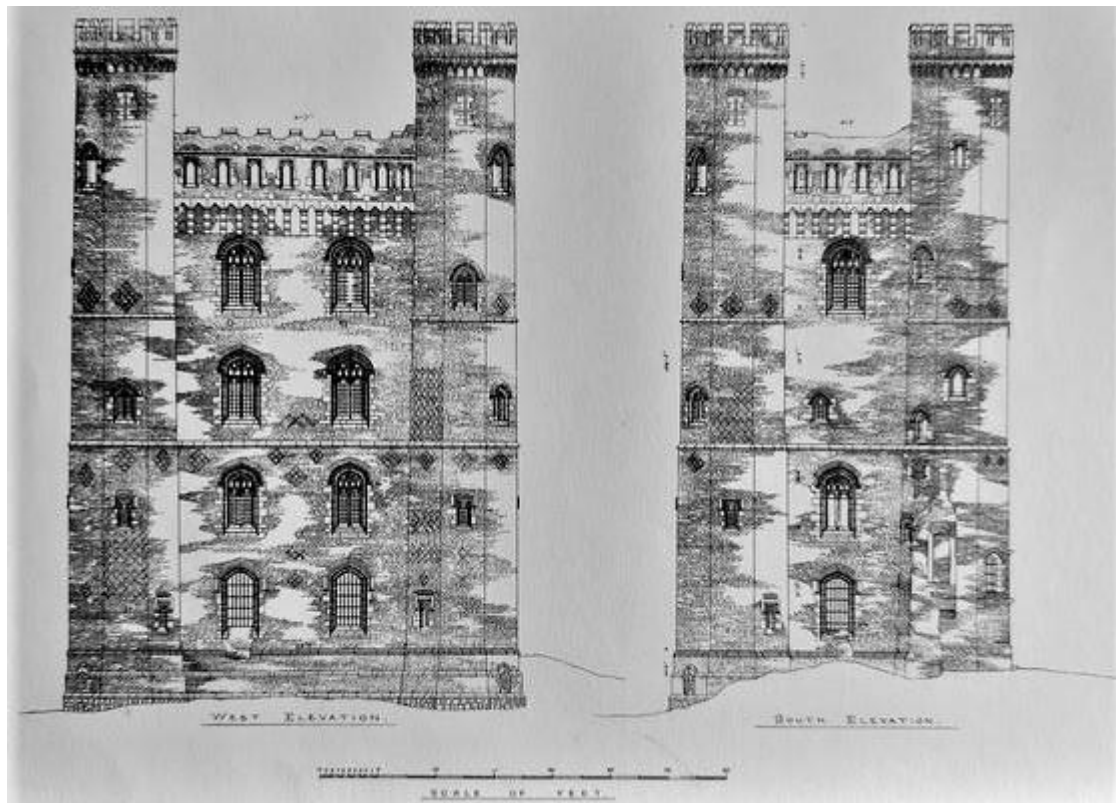


*Figure 244 West and south elevations of Great Tower surveyed by Reed, 1872*

*Figure 245 Tattershall Castle, c 1836 (Picture Source: Allom 1836)*



*Figure 246 Tattershall Castle, 1886, by Isabelle Smith (National Trust 579415)*

*Figure 247 Tattershall Castle by Hardy, 1879  (National Trust: 579383)*



*Figure 248 1857 photograph of Tattershall Castle (English Heritage DD73/00173)*

*Figure 249 Tattershall Castle, 1860, by Alfred Capel Cure (Metropolitan Museum of Art 1987.1183.57 / Public Domain)*



*Figure 250 Tattershall Castle, 1880 (National Trust 579462)*

*Figure 251 Tattershall Castle, 1799, Benjamin Howlett after Thomas Girtin, (© The Trustees of the British Museum: 1214.528)*



*Figure 252 Tattershall Castle, 1870 (National Trust 1282716)*

*Figure 253 Chimneypieces returned to Tattershall, 1912 (National Trust 231959)*



*Figure 254 Conservation work underway, 1910s (National Trust 1282762)*

*Figure 255 Weir's spirelets trial (National Trust 579443)*



*Figure 256 Stained glass of second floor corridor*

*Figure 257 Tattershall Castle reopens, August 1914 (National Trust 231963)*