HADLEIGH CASTLE, ESSEX
EARTHWORK ANALYSIS

SURVEY REPORT

Magnus Alexander and Susan Westlake

ARCHAEOLOGICAL
SURVEY AND INVESTIGATION

ENGLISH HERITAGE

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SUMMARY

Hadleigh Castle is an enclosure castle in south Essex overlooking Canvey Island and the Thames Estuary. Originally built by Hubert de Burgh sometime between 1215 and 1239 it was taken into royal hands and was redeveloped by Edward III in the 1360s. It was sold in 1551 and most of the internal buildings seem to have been systematically demolished soon afterwards.

This project consisted of analytical field survey of the castle's earthworks and its immediate environs, combined with new historical research and a broader landscape contextualization. This work has led to a better definition of the extent of the castle earthworks and an improved understanding of their chronological and functional development which has suggested that the role of Edward II may have been overshadowed by Edward III's later redevelopments. It is also argued that there are earthwork remains of probable gardens on the south side of the castle that may date from its original construction. The wider landscape survey has identified the probable site of the castle mill, reinterpreted the currently accepted mill site as a fish pond and discussed the location of the park. It has also been possible to demonstrate that features to the east are of recent origin.

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INTRODUCTION

Background

This document is the report of an earthwork survey and landscape contextualization of Hadleigh Castle, Essex; a guardianship monument with open public access. The work was undertaken jointly between English Heritage's Archaeological Survey and Investigation team based in Cambridge and the Properties Presentation Properties Research team.

This project arose from a request from Properties Presentation Department for assistance with further research into Hadleigh Castle, Essex. Properties Presentation and East of England Planning & Development team sought an improved understanding of the landscape context for this important medieval royal castle. This investigation and analysis of the site was intended to increase the appreciation of this relatively little known castle, which played a key part in royal activities in the 14th and 15th centuries, and contribute to public access and enjoyment. Coincidentally the Hadleigh Castle Country Park, some of the adjacent Salvation Army land and Hadleigh Castle has been identified as the possible location of the mountain biking venue for the 2012 Olympics.

Location and extent

Hadleigh Castle is located at NGR TQ 810 861, on a spur above the Thames Estuary on the south Essex coast over-looking Canvey Island to the south, about 7.5km west of Southend Pier and 11km south-east of Basildon Station (see Figure 1 overleaf). It is in a relatively isolated position somewhat removed from the village of Hadleigh itself which is 1km to the north. Historically, it was part of the manor of Rayleigh, the centre of which, the village of Rayleigh, is 5km north of the castle.

Hadleigh Castle stands on a bluff overlooking the north side of the Thames estuary. In the small valley to the north is a suggested dam and mill site with a second dam below this to the east. Earthworks 500m to the east of the castle have been identified as a possible building, perhaps associated with the castle. The castle is clearly visible from much of the Thames Estuary and the North Kent coast but is much less obvious from the landward side and is not visible from the village of Hadleigh except, perhaps, from the top of the church tower.

Built in the early 13th century by Hubert de Burgh, the castle was used as a royal residence by Edward I and more frequently by his son Edward II, who carried out building works at the castle during the early 14th century. In the later years of Edward III's reign further investment was made to improve the castle, and the years 1360-70 saw a major programme of building works carried out. Sold in 1551, it was soon afterwards partially demolished for building materials.

As an enclosure castle, Hadleigh is the only defensive structure of its kind guarding the north side of the Thames estuary. The most impressive feature remaining is the south-east angle tower, which still stands to a height of three storeys, together with the remains

of its partner tower at the north-east corner. Other towers, now ruined, existed at intervals along the curtain wall, including a large semi-circular tower adjacent to the barbican at the north-west corner. The walls were built of rubble, faced with Reigate stone blocks and bonded by mortar containing sea shells.

To the north, east and west, the ruinous curtain wall survives, but on the south side of the castle, the curtain has been reduced to large blocks of displaced rubble. Hadleigh Castle is unfortunately built on geologically unstable London Clay; within forty years of its construction, contemporary documents show that damage was already being caused by subsidence. This movement continues today, and as recently as the 1950s, the north-east tower partially collapsed due to this land slippage.

Figure 1: Location of Hadleigh Castle

TOPOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY

The castle sits upon on an east/west clay spur defied to the north by a shallow valley (see Figures 2 and 3). To the north-west the spur is divided from the relatively discrete, and slightly higher, Plumtree Hill, by a small saddle and open valley running away to the south. This hill is in turn connected on its north side to the main clay plateau of the Rayleigh Hills and the main modern access route to the castle runs from the saddle between the castle and the hill, around the north-east side of Plumtree Hill, and north onto the plateau towards Hadleigh village. To the east the spur initially drops down from the castle and then runs away slightly south of east as a uniform, broad, flat-topped ridge, known locally as Saddleback, for almost 500m before dropping to a well defined terminal. To the south the land drops rapidly to level alluvium which, in the medieval period, would have been marshland separating it from the Thames Estuary, though it is clear that tidal creeks ran to the base of the spur until well into the 20th century (visible on Figure 3).

The castle is built on geologically unstable London clay (Hutchinson & Gostelow 1976). This clay appears to be composed of alternating firm, stable strata and soft, unstable strata, which have resulted in bands of slumping easily visible on open ground in the

Figure 2 – Topography of the Hadleigh Castle area (based upon height data licensed to English Heritage for PGA, through Next Perspectives™.)

area (see front cover foreground, and Figure 2). The south curtain wall has collapsed and landslips displaced the north-east tower in the 1950s. Erosion and slippage continue today.

Figure 3 – Aerial photograph of Hadleigh Castle from the south (English Heritage (NMR) RAF Photography, MSO 31007 PO:2534 21 JULY 1940)

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The first published plan of the castle was by H W King, based upon a survey of 1862 (Figure 4). Earlier, somewhat inaccurate, sketch plans do survive in various hand-written documents in the Essex Record Office (ERO), including a basic outline drawn in about 1707 (ERO T/P 195/5).
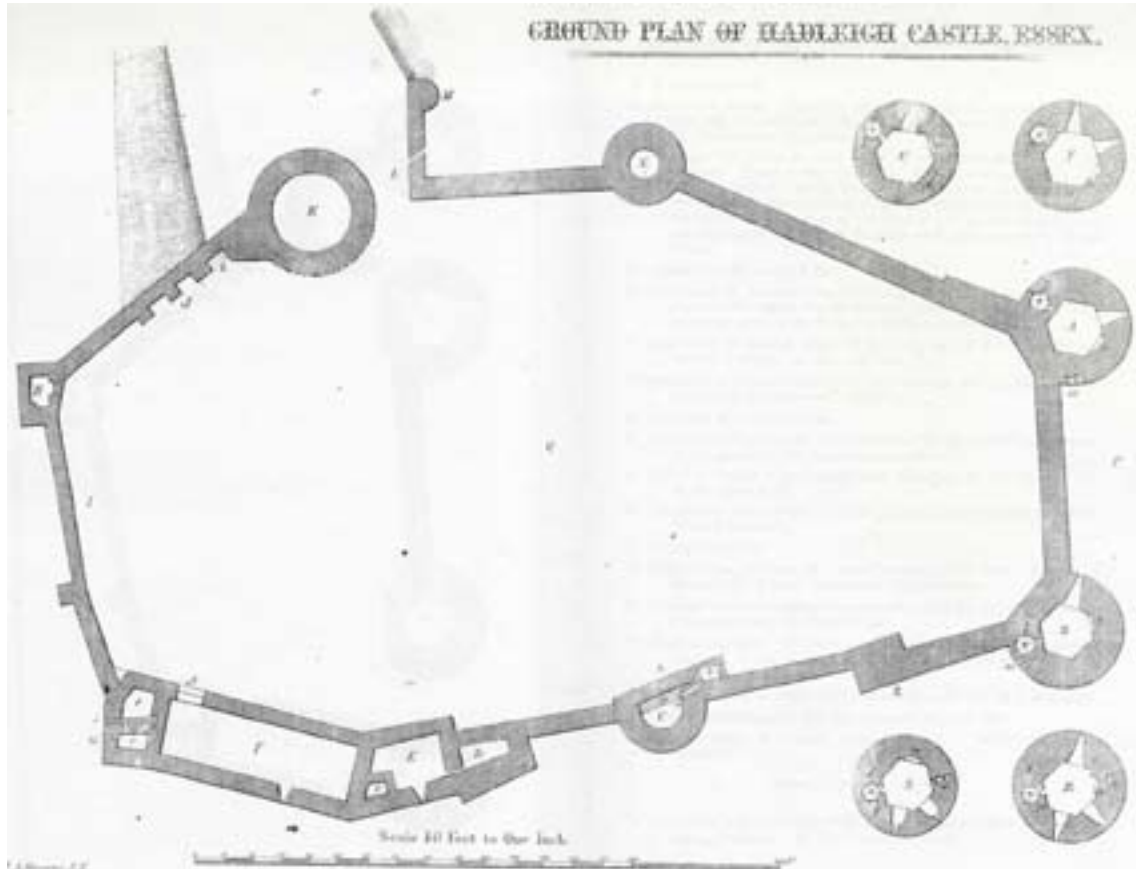
Figure 4 – Plan of Hadleigh Castle published by King, 1863 (King 1863 opp 91)

Between April and August 1863, H W King's son, H M King, directed excavations at the castle on behalf of the Essex Archaeological Society. These were later published by King senior (King 1889). Archaeologically, the Kings appear to have been advanced for their time but the finds were not adequately published and have since been lost. Excavations included digging around the south semi-circular tower, exploring the sunken area in the north east of the bailey and excavations around the large circular tower adjacent to the barbican, known as the high tower, and in the area now thought to be the site of the castle kitchens immediately to the south-west.

A basic inventory survey was undertaken by the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments (England) in the early 1920s (RCHME 1923, 63).

The outline of a '1939 – 45 trench (?)' is shown on Figure 8 of Drewett's excavation plans (Drewett 1975, 103) but nothing else is known of this work, or indeed if it was archaeological, though this seems unlikely at this date.

Standing Fabric, 13th C, phase 1
Standing Fabric, 13th C, phase 2
Standing Fabric, 13th C, phase 3
Standing Fabric, 13th C, uncertain phase
Standing Fabric, 14th C, only phase
Collapsed fabric
Projected fabric, 13th C, phase 1
Projected fabric, 13th C, uncertain phase
Projected fabric, 14th C, only phase
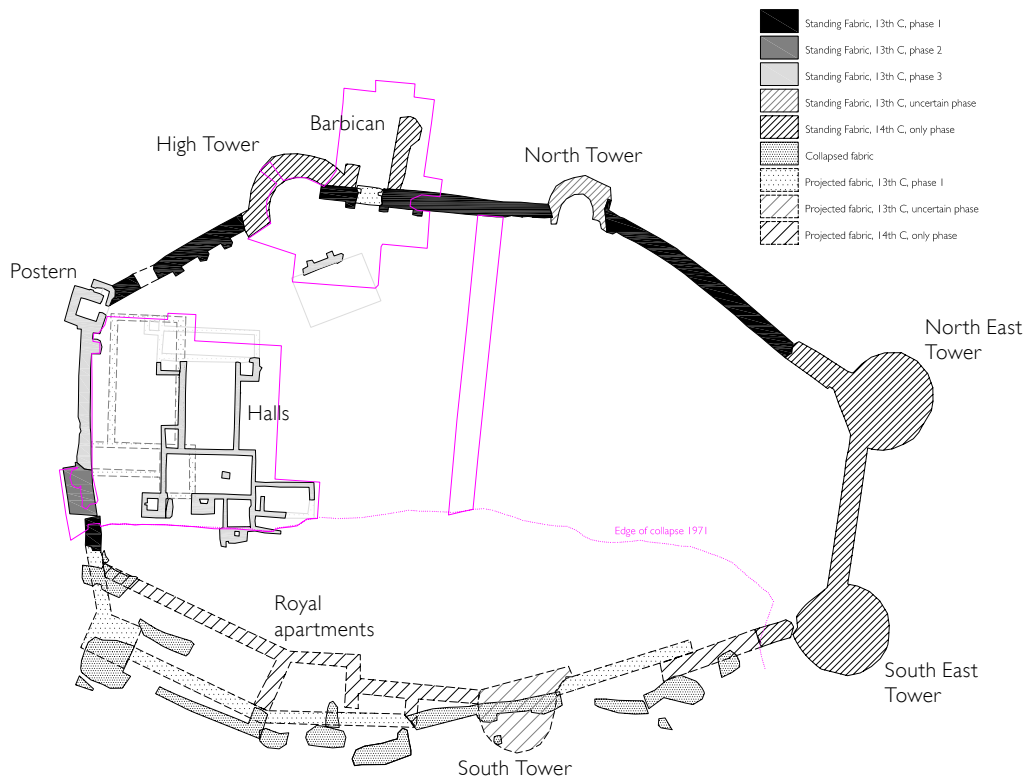
Figure 5 – Phase plan of Hadleigh Castle (Based upon Drewett 1975, Figure 3, 95; his excavations shown in purple)

A topographic contour survey was carried out in 1971 for tree-planting and management purposes (NMR plans room S71/1586-7).

In 1971 and 1972, following substantial landslips during the winter of 1969-70, large area excavations were undertaken, mainly within the western half of the castle enclosure. The outlines of domestic buildings had been visible as parchmarks in photographs taken by J K S St Joseph and these were revealed to be the remains of three successive hall and solar complexes. Drewett's findings have been published in some detail as two interim reports, and a summary report. There is also a draft unpublished guidebook to the site (Drewett 1972, 1973, 1975 and 1985).

Apart from the excavations by King and Drewett the rest of the interior has not been excavated, other than some rescue recording after further landslips in 2002. At the same time a geophysical survey of the interior of the castle was carried out, but results were inconclusive and it was postulated that the wet conditions had led to poor results (Clarke 2002; Roy 2004).

There has also been some recent research into the wider landscape which discussed the extent of woodland and common pasture on the Rayleigh Hills and the process of assarting since the early Anglo-Saxon period (Rippon 1999).

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR THE HISTORY OF THE SITE

Before the castle

The earliest known documentary reference to Hadleigh (Haeþlege) is from a list of estates of St Paul's dated to about AD 995-8 (Rippon 1999, 26). Archaeology and other evidence can, however, give an overview of the development of the area before this date.

This area of south-east Essex was certainly visited and very probably occupied during much of the prehistoric period, but there is little evidence from the vicinity of Hadleigh Castle, for settlement prior to the Late Bronze Age. Chance finds of flint implements include two Palaeolithic hand axes from the area to the west of the castle now covered by a housing estate, a possible Mesolithic core from the same area, a Mesolithic tranchet axe from the southern edge of Hadleigh village, a Neolithic flint knife found in the vicinity of Park Farm, and a Bronze Age barbed and tanged arrowhead from somewhere nearby (National Monuments Record (NMR) no. TQ 88 NW 68/69, 56, 61 18 and 29). A few Mesolithic flint blades were also found during the 1970s excavations of the castle (Drewett 1985, 6).

The first definite occupation evidence comes from Hadleigh village, where excavations in the 1980s revealed a square ditched domestic enclosure dating from the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (Yearsley 1998, 2; NMR TQ 88 NW 2). Another Iron Age site is thought to exist in the vicinity of Sayers Farm to the west of the castle, where Iron Age pottery and evidence for cremation burials were found in 1936 (NMR TQ 88 NW 74).

By the Late Iron Age or Romano-British period much of the Rayleigh Hills was settled and presumably being exploited. The Rayleigh Hills around Hadleigh have a relatively large number of Romano-British sites and finds, implying that the area was well settled (Rippon 1999, 23). A substantial double ditched enclosure is known through aerial photography to the south-west of Hadleigh village of a form elsewhere dated to the Late Iron Age or Romano-British periods (Rippon 1999, 22). It is alleged to be a Romano-British fortlet or signal station but it has not been excavated (NMR TQ 88 NW 3). There have also been chance finds of other Romano-British objects that may indicate settlement, such as a marble mortar from Great Wood (TQ 88 NW 7) and 1st century pottery found on the hills near Home Farm (NMR TQ 88 NW 16). A small bronze figure, a Lar (the image of a god which symbolised protection over a person or place) was found on the slope immediately below the castle (Yearsley 1998, 3, NMR TQ 88 NW 10) and is also suggestive of occupation in the vicinity but may represent casual loss. Coins from several locations in the Hadleigh area (NMR TQ 88 NW 21, 22, 37, 39, 51, 68, 87) are most likely to be casual losses. The coastal fringe has revealed evidence for small scale industrial activity in the form of several 'red hills', which are thought to be the remnants of Romano-British salt-workings, which when excavated have revealed a range of finds (Yearsley 1998, 3); those near Hadleigh have been ploughed out (NMR TQ 88 NW 23).

In the early Anglo-Saxon period the Rayleigh Hills apparently became much more marginal. The diminished frequency of earlier Anglo-Saxon sites is in marked contrast

to that for the Romano-British period, with only one site known on the whole of the Rayleigh Hills; a possible burial from Hockley, some way to the north (Rippon 1999, 23). This is likely to be a genuine feature of the archaeological distribution. If it were simply due to differential survival the Southend area, immediately to the east, which had a similar distribution of evidence to the Rayleigh Hills for the Romano-British period, would also be low in known Anglo-Saxon sites. In fact numerous sites of this period are known from here (ibid).

Though environmental evidence generally suggests that most land in the south of England remained open, it does appear that there was woodland regeneration on the Rayleigh Hills in the post Romano-British period (Rippon 1999, 23) and that well into the Anglo-Saxon period the area retained a well wooded character. A large number of place-names in the area contain the element *léah*, surviving in the modern form of ~leigh (Leigh-on-Sea, Hadleigh, Rayleigh) or ~ley (Hockley, Thundersley, Wheatley). This was 'the usual term for settlements in heavily wooded country' (Gelling & Cole 2000, 237) and was in use as a name-forming element in the period between about 750 and 950, being very rare before this and taking on more developed meanings during the 10th century. It therefore gives a clear indication of the landscape during this period (ibid). The place-name Hadleigh itself derives from the Old English *hæth léah* meaning 'heath clearing' (Mills 1991, 221, Gelling & Cole 2000, 240) and has been taken to imply colonisation of the wooded core of the Rochford peninsula (Rackham 1986, 14). The element 'heath' suggests that the land was already relatively open and had been for some time when the place name was formed.

Much of this woodland appears to have persisted into the Norman period, though at first glance Domesday Book (DB; Rumble 1983) appears to record relatively little woodland in the Rayleigh area. This is probably deceptive. The number of named places in the area is relatively low (see for example the distribution maps in Rumble 1983, particularly Rochford and Chelmsford Hundreds); Hadleigh was apparently not detailed separately in Domesday Book and was most likely to have been included as part of the honour of Rayleigh (Benton 1867, 229) to which it later belonged (below). Those holdings that have been identified had lower densities of ploughs, population and value per acre than surrounding areas in 1066 and there is no firm evidence for woodland clearance between 1066 and 1086 (Rippon 1999, 23-4). In fact it is highly likely that the area was still well wooded and that at the time of Domesday Book much of the woodland on the Rayleigh Hills was probably held by relatively distant manors as detached assets (ibid).

In the following centuries woodland appears to have come under increasing pressure from assarting. In some places lords appear to have responded by emparking areas to preserve woodland which in turn increased the importance of the areas of common grazing remaining (Hoppitt 1999). This would appear to be the case in the Hadleigh area; the presence of three parks (at Rayleigh, Thundersley and Hadleigh, see below) suggests that there was still considerable woodland when they were created in the late 11th to 13th centuries (Rippon 1999, 24) but that this woodland was coming under increasing pressure.

At the time of Domesday (1086), the honour of Rayleigh was held by Swein of Essex, an important landowner who probably 'made his castle' there together with a park (Rumble 1983). Built shortly after the Norman Conquest, this castle and the honour of Rayleigh passed to Swein's son Robert Fitzsweyn of Essex (died 1140) and then to his grandson, Henry of Essex. Henry fell out of favour with the king (after his cowardly actions at the battle of Counsylth) and his estates were confiscated in 1163 (Amt 2004). Rayleigh castle and manor was, therefore, in royal hands from 1163 until 1215. After this date, the castle in Rayleigh village seems to have been deserted (Colvin *et al* 1963, 804), presumably because the whole honour had been granted into private hands and Hadleigh Castle was soon to be built some way to the south.

The castle buildings

Several grants, petitions and other documents survive from the 13th and 14th centuries, which detail the circumstances of the ownership of the castle and provide glimpses of works being carried out. For the periods when the castle was in royal hands, many documents survive in The National Archives: Public Record Office (TNA:PRO). Some of these documents have been freshly examined for this project. For those periods when the castle was in private ownership, for example for most of the 15th century, records are less easy to find.

Period 1: Hubert de Burgh's castle (1215-1239)

The honour of Rayleigh was granted to Hubert de Burgh (approximately 1170-1243), Earl of Kent, by King John in 1215 (Hardy 1835, 153). Instead of rebuilding and improving Rayleigh Castle, Hubert selected a different site within his new lands, choosing a striking spot on the coast with views of the Thames Estuary, for his new castle. In total, Hubert de Burgh held lands at Hadleigh for about 24 years (approximately 1215-1239), establishing a sophisticated castle there at the centre of a large and complex estate.

Hubert was a long-serving royal servant, having been chamberlain of the royal household of King John from the beginning of his reign. After military action in France, and serving as custodian of Dover and Windsor Castles, Hubert set about establishing himself as a significant baron in England. An inquisition of 1213 shows he held more than 50 knight's fees in East Anglia and substantial holdings in Dorset and Somerset (West 2004). Soon after this King John appointed Hubert to the position of justiciar, or chief minister, and he is styled in this manner in official documents from 25 June 1215. A month later he was granted the honour of Rayleigh (West 2004), where King John had briefly stayed the previous year; 7-8 November 1214 (Crump 2009). As justiciar, Hubert's position depended on the king and in 1232, after being blamed for several embarrassing military failures and quarrels with king, he was dismissed and stripped of all the royal castles he held (West 2004). The indecisive king later pardoned him but in 1239 there was further trouble, and he was forced to yield his remaining castles, including Hadleigh (TNA:PRO C53/32).

The grant of the honour of Rayleigh was confirmed in 1227 by the new king, Henry III (Sparvel-Bayly 1878, 91), and in 1230 a license was obtained allowing de Burgh and his

wife Margaret to build 'a certain castle at Hadleigh which is of the Honour of Rayleg' (ibid). Most authors have taken this date to be the start of the construction of the castle, but there are several clues that suggest this may have been a retrospective license. According to this chronology, de Burgh only had a very short period of time to build a substantial castle. It was confiscated from him in October 1239 but before this, following his humiliating downfall, he spent many years either in prison or in sanctuary (West 2004). It would have been difficult for him to raise the money needed for the works at Hadleigh Castle, and even more difficult to supervise them during this time. It therefore seems unlikely that he started building the castle after 1230 and yet had time to complete it before 1239. Some published sources have therefore suggested that the castle was left unfinished (MPBW 1963, 1), but there is no evidence to suggest that this was the case (Drewett 1975, 94-5). In addition Hadleigh Castle, as recorded by the contemporary chronicler Matthew Paris, was one of Earl Hubert's dearest possessions, on which he spent great sums (Platt 1982, 56). It seems unlikely that he would have waited 15 years before embarking on construction.

The form of Hubert de Burgh's original castle can be deduced from the accounts of repairs during the time of Edward I, as little work had been carried out on the castle since de Burgh's time. From this, it appears that the castle consisted of a polygonal curtain wall with square, and possibly some D-shaped, angle towers, probably in the form of an octagon elongated east to west. The original entrance to the castle was on the east side of the castle, where it was protected by a barbican (TNA:PRO SC6/843/3). It was apparent in the 19th century that parts of the north and south curtain wall were internally buttressed, and this appears to have been a feature of the original castle
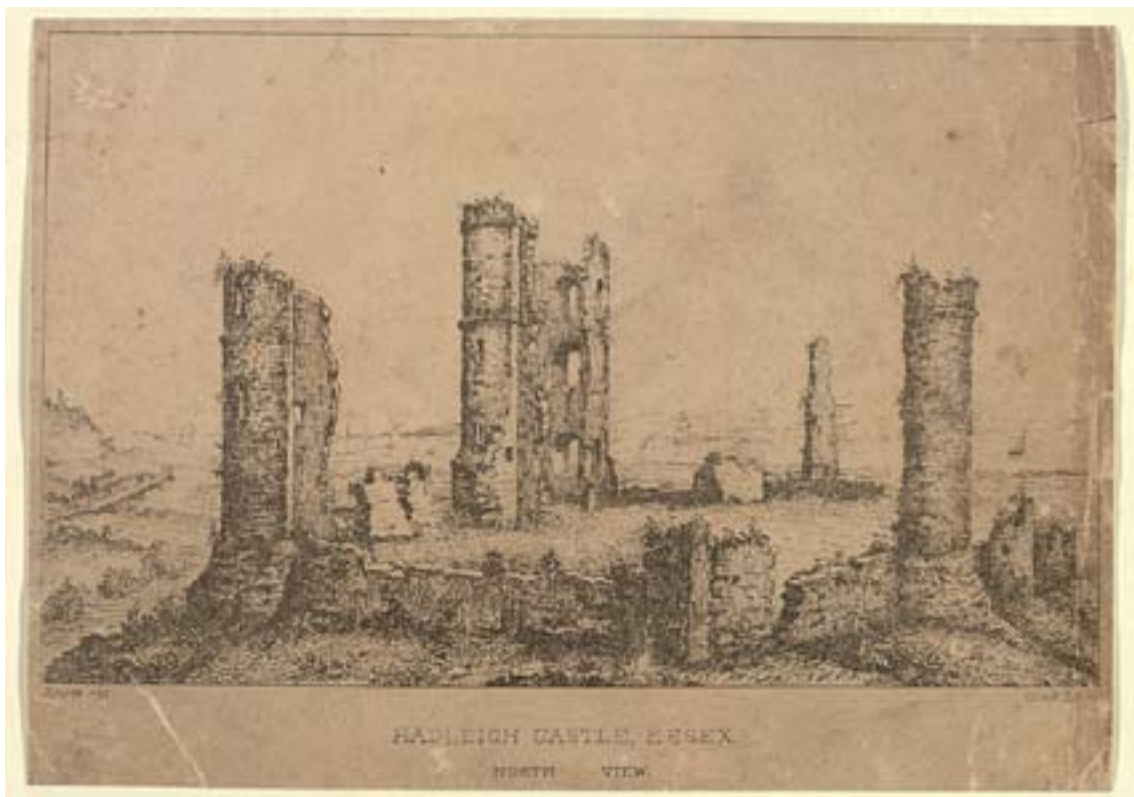

Figure 6 – Engraving of Hadleigh Castle by an unknown artist, 1735
(Reproduced courtesy of the Essex Record Office, I/Mp158/1/8)

(Drewett 1973, 83; ERO T/P83/I). Two walls excavated by Drewett were identified as the remains of a large Phase I hall that had largely been destroyed by robbing and later developments. This first hall is likely to have dated from Hubert de Burgh's period (Drewett 1975, 102), and was probably in use until about 1250.

The early appearance of Hadleigh Castle, although more elongated in shape, can be compared to Bolingbroke Castle, Lincolnshire, built by Earl Radulph de Blundevill between 1220 and 1230 and similarly a new castle built on a new site (Drewett 1975, 153). A closer parallel to Hadleigh might be Llantilio, or White Castle, near Abergavenny, an elongated enclosure castle with substantial semi-circular towers, remodelled by Hubert de Burgh at the same time that he was building Hadleigh (J, Ashbee pers comm).

The two semi-circular towers to the north and south are undated, but are secondary and likely to have been built during the 13th century. They may though be Hubert de Burgh's work, perhaps part of a second phase of his building work at Hadleigh in the later 1230s; they are certainly comparable to the towers at White Castle. They are referred to in later documents as the north and south towers (Colvin *et al* 1963, 664). Today the north tower has been reduced to the level of its foundations, whereas the south tower has fallen away with the collapse of the south curtain. However, in engravings and etchings from the early 18th century, it is clear that these two towers stood to a height of at least two storeys (Figure 6).

Period 2: 13th century neglect

From 1239, when Hadleigh was confiscated from de Burgh, the castle was in royal hands. However, it does not seem to have been regularly used by Henry III (Craib 1923), and it was probably not viewed as a royal residence at this time, though the income from the estate must have been significant (see below). After minor repairs were carried out at the castle in 1240 by the sheriff of Essex (TNA:PRO E 372/24), there is no record of any activity at the site for another thirty years.

An inquiry into the rents and tenements belonging to Hadleigh Castle was undertaken in 1250, when the castle was recorded as having 140 acres of arable land, two of meadow, pasture around the castle and the barns of the castle, pasture of the marsh for feeding 160 sheep, a park with an unknown number of beasts, and a water-mill (Sparvel-Bayly 1878, 92). On the 12th June 1256, the castle was again surveyed and found to be in a 'bad and weak state, the houses being unroofed and the walls broken' and 'all the utensils necessary for the castle were wanting' (TNA:PRO C145/10). This poor state may have resulted from subsidence or simple neglect, but despite this there is no record of any repairs being carried out and it was at about this time that Drewett's Phase I hall seems to have fallen out of use entirely (Drewett 1975, 104).

Fourteen years later, in 1270-1, over £25 was spent on various repairs to the castle and its adjoining mill (TNA:PRO E372/115). These may have been carried out at the time the castle was granted to Queen Eleanor of Provence, who is recorded as the owner in 1273 (Rickard 2002, 192). However, soon after this in 1274-5, an extent again described the castle as badly built and decayed (Colvin *et al* 1963, 660; TNA:PRO E142/80/4), which

suggests that the majority of the money spent a few years before went to the mill. This indicates that the importance of the estate was for its income rather than for the castle as a residence.

Further repairs costing about £41, took place between 1288 and 1290 (TNA:PRO E372/152) and on this occasion the money was certainly spent on the walls, houses and other buildings of the castle (Colvin *et al* 1963, 660). These works may have included building a new hall and solar complex, Drewett's Phase II hall. This second hall was 17m by 9m with eight bays and painted on the interior. It had glazed windows and the roof was tiled. It had an L-shaped solar at the southern end, which gave access to a garderobe tower. The ground floor of the solar was on a lower level than the hall, and in its southern wall steps led down to a privy courtyard laid out on an even lower terrace (Drewett 1975, 102). Almost immediately after the construction of the Phase II hall, it began to suffer slumping to the south-west and in an attempt to arrest movement, buttresses were added to the eastern wall of the hall and timber supports were added to hold up the roof. The works were not enough to ensure the survival of the hall, and it appears to have collapsed towards the end of the 13th century (Drewett 1975, 104).

In July 1293, Edward I is recorded as visiting the castle for the first of his two known visits, although he had frequented the nearby hunting lodges at Rayleigh and Eastwood several times previously (Gough 1900, 107). In 1299, the castle, town and park of Hadleigh, together with the neighbouring manors of Rayleigh and Eastwood, were assigned to Queen Margaret as part of her dower (Sparvel-Bayly 1878, 93). She soon complained about the pitiful condition of the castle, and requested that repairs be carried out (TNA: PRO SC8/313/E68). An extent of the manor was taken in 1302 (TNA:PRO SC12/7/42), and Edward I visited for the second time in 1305 (Gough 1900, 252). Margaret kept the castle until at least 1311-2, when she was reported as the owner at the time a new constable was appointed (Sparvel-Bayly 1878, 96).

Archaeological excavation has shown that the foundations of the eastern wall of the Phase II hall were re-used for a Phase III hall, constructed to the east of the second hall (Drewett 1975, 104). This hall may have been constructed towards the end of the 13th century or in the early years of the 14th century (ibid, 106), perhaps following Margaret's complaints or in preparation for the king's visits in either 1293 or 1305. It was entered up two or three steps into a porch, which led to a screen's passage and the hall, which was 11.4m long and 6.6m wide (ibid). The hall was plastered internally and had red decoration. At the north end of the hall was a long room, interpreted as a buttery or pantry. A large solar, only slightly smaller than the hall, lay at the southern end, and a range of small rooms, perhaps bedrooms and a chapel, were located at the south-east corner. This hall appears to have remained in use for many years and survived the substantial changes that took place to the rest of the castle; the last use of the garderobe in the solar can be dated to between 1475-1525 (ibid, 110).

Period 3: Renewed interest, the early 14th century and Edward II (1305-1330)

By the beginning of the 14th century, the royal family were taking more interest in Hadleigh. Although Edward I had stayed in the vicinity several times during his reign,

probably to make use of the extensive hunting, he is only recorded as staying at the castle twice, in 1293 and 1305. In contrast, Edward II visited much more frequently than his father, and soon instigated a series of substantial repairs to improve the castle.

Edward II's first visit to the castle was in 1311, when he stayed for nearly two weeks between the 5th and 18th of September (Hallam 1984, 77). The account rolls for this year show that more than £50 was spent on the castle, probably in preparation for his visit, and that seven masons and 22 'king's carpenters' were employed at various times (TNA:PRO SC 6/843/3-4). They constructed a chamber above the main gate, which was plastered, roofed and provided with windows and doors the following year. In this same area, a section of damaged wall, likely to be part of the curtain wall, was taken down and new foundations dug, which suggests that the area near the main gate was susceptible to subsidence. Also in 1311-2, a new gate to the 'postern to the park' with a chamber was built. This chamber may have been the same 'long house next to the postern' which was nearing completion in the following year's accounts (Colvin *et al* 1963, 660).

The castle and its estate were in frequent use over the next few years. The king stayed at the castle for a period in early spring 1314, and for a large part of both May and June 1315 (Hallam 1984, 126-127). This concurs with the report that the royal barge was moored at Hadleigh whilst the king was in Kent during June 1315 (TNA:PRO SC6/843/5, Colvin *et al* 1963, 662 n5); he spent the beginning of the month at Hadleigh, then sailed to Kent on June the 9th and returned to Hadleigh on the 21st (Hallam 1984, 127). It is likely that Hadleigh was as far as the royal barge, a river vessel, could travel, and that the king transferred into a larger boat here to continue his journey to Kent.

By May 1316, the castle had been officially assigned to the chamber, which was often a sign of habitual royal residence (Colvin *et al* 1963, 660). Edward II continued to visit frequently, and repeatedly issued writs dated either at Hadleigh, or more commonly, from the park lodge at Thundersley, which seems to have become a favourite retreat during the summer months. The king visited the lodge in March-April 1318, June 1318, June-July 1320, June 1321, June 1324 and July 1324 (Hallam 1984). The castle building accounts refer from time to time to preparations against the king's coming (Colvin *et al* 1963, 660 n5).

In 1317-8, a section of the curtain wall collapsed (TNA:PRO SC6/843/7) and in 1320-1, a breach in the castle wall next to the barbican (probably that of 1317-8) was closed with wooden stakes, and a 'hedge' with two ditches was thrown around the barbican at a cost of £4 (TNA:PRO SC6/843/9). This may have been in the same area as the collapse repaired in 1311-12. The rushed closing of the breach in the curtain wall which had been open for some years was probably a response to events that took place in the Hadleigh area at this time. The account of Roger de Blaxhale for 1320-1 refers to a survey of the castle and also the expenses of a garrison of 24 men who were employed 'for the custody of the castle and town at the time when Bartholomew of Badlesmere and other enemies of the king were in rebellion in England' (Colvin *et al* 1963, 661). The record goes on to state that the rebels threatened to burn Hadleigh Castle, wounded certain of the townsmen and garrison and broke open the prison (ibid). This is the first mention of the prison but it is referred to again when repaired during Edward III's rebuilding (TNA:

PRO E101/464/10). The fact that it was recorded as being broken open but that the castle was not, suggests that the prison was not necessarily within the castle walls.

After 1324, Edward II does not seem to have visited Hadleigh or Thundersley again (Hallam 1984). However, in summer 1325, the king's carpenters were working again at Hadleigh (Colvin *et al* 1963, 662), presumably on further repairs or alterations. For the rest of the reign of Edward II, only minor repairs and maintenance projects were recorded at the castle. The accounts refer to walls, towers, the main gate, barbican, postern and 'long house next to the postern', hall, kitchen, larder and cellar, prison, old chamber and armoury.

Period 4: Edward III's rebuilding (1360-70)

In 1330 Queen Isabella, who had obtained the castle in 1327, surrendered Hadleigh to her son, the new king Edward III. For the next thirty years, it appears that little was done to the castle aside from the re-building of the water-mill in 1350 (see below). Edward III seems to have visited Hadleigh only once during this time, on the 6-7th June 1342 (Shenton 2007, 238).

After a long period of neglect, Edward III seems to have realised the potential of Hadleigh Castle. In the period between 1360 and 1370, an extensive programme of building works was undertaken. This rebuilding included a complete new eastern front with impressive drum towers, a new entrance and an extensive set of royal apartments. In the space of ten years, over £2,200 was spent on the castle (Colvin *et al* 1963, 663).

The first stage of rebuilding, undertaken in 1361-3, was to put the domestic buildings already on the site back into repair. The work was summarised as 'both the repair of the old houses… and the construction of certain new towers and walls' (Colvin *et al* 1963, 662). In the course of the works during subsequent years there are other references to the 'old houses' within the castle, to an old chapel and an old tower (TNA:PRO E101/464/6). The 1361 account refers to the re-tiling of the square tower, which probably refers to one of the towers at the west end of the castle; it is likely that these were part of the old fabric (Colvin *et al* 1963, 664). The king's hall is mentioned during the course of the works, but it does not seem to have been rebuilt. The hall built 60 years earlier (above) was still in reasonably good condition and only needed to be refurbished, which agrees with the archaeological evidence. The hall complex may well have contained the old chapel. Although much money was spent, it seems from this that several parts of the original castle were retained.

The major work of the following years was the total reconstruction of the castle's east front. Here, a massive new curtain wall was equipped at the angles with two impressive drum towers, hexagonal internally and circular externally. Their deep plinths have a chamfered offset, above which are a string course and a band of flint decoration, a continuous band on the south-east tower and alternate squares on the north-east. Assuming that the towers had garderobes on each floor, the garderobe shafts at ground level show that the south-east tower had three stories and that the north-east had four (Drewett 1985, 15) but the height of both was probably the same to present a

symmetrical front, as seen at Conwy Castle, Wales where two identical height towers have differing numbers of storeys (Jeremy Ashbee, pers comm). Mattocks were bought in 1362-3 for excavating the foundation trenches of the two towers, and by the following winter, the rising walls were covered against the frost (Colvin *et al* 1963, 663). They were apparently completed in 1365, when they were battlemented, the scaffolding removed and the putlog holes filled in (TNA:PRO E101/464/9).

During this period, new royal lodgings and a new chapel adjoining them were also constructed. Piles for the foundations of the king's chamber were supplied in 1362-3 (Colvin *et al* 1963, 664), making it likely that this was the southern range, which was probably built on made-up ground. The king's chamber had two fireplaces, and in 1363-5, a pentice was constructed in front of its entrance and 22 casements were supplied for its glass windows (TNA:PRO E101/464/8). It was probably on the first floor, and had a circular stair within it which perhaps led to up to a wall-walk (TNA:PRO E101/464/12). The king probably stayed at the castle at least once a year between 1362 and 1365, the year in which both the chambers and the chapel were battlemented (TNA:PRO E101/464/9). The king's new apartments, and in particular his chamber, appear to have been decorated and equipped to the highest standards. In 1362-4, a metal plate covered with gold was purchased for the king's chamber (TNA:PRO E101/464/6), and in 1366-9 plaster of Paris was bought for the chandelier in this room (TNA:PRO E101/464/10).

Amongst the last of the works to be undertaken, in 1369-70, was the construction of a new main gate with an elaborate projecting barbican on the north side of the castle. Archaeological investigations revealed a 2.5m deep pit within the entrance, which would originally have been spanned by a wooden turning-bridge (Drewett 1973, 83). The entrance was dominated by a circular or semi-circular tower, immediately to the west of the gateway. This tower is probably the 'high tower' which was being built in 1362-3 (Colvin *et al* 1963, 664) and being roofed with lead in 1366-8 (TNA:PRO E101/464/10). Excavations have revealed there may have been an earlier, square tower in this position and the foundations certainly incorporated some of the existing curtain wall into its structure (Drewett 1975, 100).

The foundations of a series of kitchens were uncovered to the south-west of the high tower, and a further range, interpreted as a stable block, was revealed between the barbican and the north tower. The exact date of these structures is unknown, but they are thought to have been constructed in the 14th century (English Heritage 1997).

The detailed accounts from this period shed light on the organisation of a royal building project in the later 14th century. For each account, the purchase of materials (nails, stone, timber, ironwork, boards, tiles, chalk, etc) is listed, followed by a list of necessaries bought for the works, including items such locks and keys, crampons, picks, a seal of office, scaffolding, a sieve and baskets for bread. There then follow varying costs for transport by land and by water. It seems that at least two procurers were employed, one for the goods and labourers arriving by land and one for goods arriving by sea (eg TNA:PRO E101/464/6). From the wage lists it is clear that an overseer (paid 2s a week) supervised masons (under a chief mason), stone-layers, carpenters (under a director), sawyers, tilers, pargetters (who put up timber walls and plastered them), lime/chalk

burners (for making mortar), carters and general labourers on the site. In the accounts for the years 1362-4 (TNA:PRO E101/464/6), the names of 154 different workmen are listed. The workers had their own lodge, recorded as constructed in the accounts covering 1362-4 (ibid), and worked regular shifts regulated by a bell, which was recorded as being repaired in the same account. Security was obviously a concern, as payments were made to people to guard certain materials, such as recently unloaded stone (ibid). There are several instances of labourers being sent from Hadleigh to work on the king's other building project in the area, Queenborough Castle, just across the estuary on the Isle of Sheppey. For example, in the accounts of 1366-9, there is recorded the cost of sending 5 labourers of Essex across to the 'Castle of Shepeye' (TNA:PRO E101/464/10).

Edward employed large numbers of people on several building projects in the 1360s, despite the fact that due to the Black Death, labour was in short supply (Platt 1982, 145). This sometimes caused striking and desertion as when, in 1362, 'for excessive gain […] almost all the masons and craftsmen hired for the king's works in his castles of Windsor, Hadleigh and Sheppey and in other manors and places have secretly withdrawn, and are retained with religious persons and other masters, clerks and laymen, to the king's hurt and hindrance of his works, whereat he is moved to anger' (ibid).

Key to these building works was Edward's close associate and surveyor of works, William Wykeham, later bishop of Winchester (Sparvel-Bayly 1881, 202-203; Colvin *et al* 1963, 663). He was made chief keeper and surveyor of the castles of Windsor, Leeds, Dover and Hadleigh in 1359 (Partner 2004), and was responsible for much of the work at Queenborough. It is likely that he was the architect of the project at Hadleigh and that subsequent clerks of works and surveyors mentioned in the documents (including Henry de Mammesfeld, Godfrey de la Rokele, Richard Snarry, John Barnton, John Werdeman and Nicholas Raunche) were working to his plans. In Richard II's reign, an account of 1378-81 mentions a tower called 'Wikham's tour' at the castle (not identified), strengthening the link between the man and this site (Colvin *et al* 1963, 666).

Why did Edward III choose to rebuild Hadleigh Castle at this time? The answer has traditionally lain with the need for a more systematic defence of the Thames Estuary and the military requirements of the Hundred Years War. In 1337, the king had formally claimed the French throne as his own (Platt 1982, 109). His mother, Isabella of France, was sister of the last Capetian king and as nephew, he was closer in line to the throne than the new incumbent Philip, the late king's cousin. Edward III's claim led to a renewal of the war with France, French attacks along the entire south coast, and to the sacking of Portsmouth and Southampton in 1338 (ibid). It has been suggested that this threat was the main reason why Edward refurbished Hadleigh, and also constructed his spectacular new castle at Queenborough on the Isle of Sheppey on the opposite side of estuary (a major investment by the crown and the last new royal castle of medieval England). Both projects were begun in 1361 and both were frequently visited by Edward III throughout 1362 and 1363 (Platt 1982, 111). Their positions guarding the route to London along the Thames estuary suggests that they were deliberately placed for defensive purposes.

However, the period between 1359 and 1369 was a period of relative peace during the Hundred Years War, when the debate over the French throne led to negotiations rather

than fighting (Saul 2005, 138). An agreement reached at Rheims in 1359 granted Edward an enlarged Aquitaine in return for surrendering his claim to the throne. Although this gave Edward less than he wanted, it marked for England the end of the most successful period of the war in the 14th century and led to ten years of peace (ibid). The peace was popular in England and when ratified in 1361, it was celebrated with great ceremony by the king and royal family at Westminster Abbey. Hostilities did not reopen until 1369, in the years of Edward's decline (ibid). During these peaceful years, Edward completed a great programme of building works including the rebuilding of his birthplace Windsor Castle, works at Westminster and the Tower of London, the construction of Queenborough, as well as the works at Hadleigh and many other smaller projects at the royal manors (Ormrod 2004). The king had received vast sums of money from the ransom of the French king (Ormrod 2004) allowing him to fund these grand building projects. Hadleigh was different in kind to Edward's other major building projects which generally swept away the old and replaced them with a unified whole; at Hadleigh much of the earlier fabric was retained and there seems to have been no attempt to create a 'grand plan' presumably resulting in a much more intimate and personal arrangement (Jeremy Ashbee pers comm). From 1360, most of Edward's time was spent in south-eastern England and the Home Counties, where these works concentrated (Brindle 2009, 2). During 1362, the year of his 50th birthday, Edward III visited Hadleigh at least six times to oversee the most intensive stage of the project (ibid).

Although there were certainly some military considerations and the war with France was still uppermost in Edward's mind, there seem to have been two key reasons that the king chose to refurbish Hadleigh. Perhaps the most important was to create a comfortable residence where he could retreat from London, and where the royal family and guests could stay. The castle has splendid views to the south over Canvey Island across to the shores of Kent (and Queenborough) and to the east towards the open sea. It was also surrounded by extensive hunting lands and was easily accessible by river and sea. For a large part of the 1360s Hadleigh took its place among a small group of Edward's favoured residences (Brindle 2009, 2). Secondly Hadleigh, together with Queenborough on the opposite shore, was a statement of power. The twin towers faced the east, the open sea and the Continent, giving an imposing impression of the king's strength; he had evidently not forgotten his claims to France. Anyone coming up the estuary would have been in no doubt that the king of England had enormous power, wealth and status. From the river, the castle's battlemented and substantial apartments along the south curtain wall would have given the impression of bulk and strength, the castle dominating the marshes and the estuary below.

Towards the end of the 1360s, the castle is shown on the famous Gough map which has been dated to between 1355 and 1366 (Millea 2007, 13). This is the earliest surviving depiction of the castle, and the map also shows Queenborough, called Sheppey at this time. Although the depictions of settlements and monuments are symbolic, it shows Hadleigh ('Hadle') with distinctive castle turrets and highlights the importance of the castle to the king at the time; alongside other residences shown in great detail, including Windsor Castle and the Tower of London.

In the 1370s, Edward's health and control over events declined, but repairs continued at Hadleigh, recorded in the accounts in 1372-3, 1373-4 and in 1377, just before he died.

Period 5: Decline (1377-1550)

After the death of Edward III, royal interest in the castle waned and it spent much time in private hands. Before this though, between 1378 and 1381, maintenance was carried out 'against the king's arrival' to a tower 'called Wikhams tour' and to the making of a new ditch to the north of the castle, at a cost of £22, 'for its safe custody and defence against the enemies' (Colvin *et al* 1963, 666), possibly a response to the Peasant's Revolt. Richard II is known to have been at the castle on the 5th July 1380, his only recorded visit (Saul 1997, 469).

In 1381 Sir Aubrey de Vere, later 10th Earl of Oxford, was made chamberlain of the royal household, and Richard II also granted him custody of the castle and manor for life provided he did what was required of the office and maintained 'at his own cost the enclosures and lodges of the king's parks of Haddele, Thunderle, and Reyle' (Sparvel-Bayly 1878, 98). A further £187 4s were spent by the crown upon the castle, lodges and parks of Hadleigh, Rayleigh and Thundersley between August 1382 and November 1384 but there is no information about what was done (Colvin *et al* 1963, 666). After this date works at Hadleigh no longer appear in the general accounts of the Clerk of the King's works, and presumably responsibility had passed fully to de Vere (ibid, n7).

Sir Aubrey died possessed of the castle in 1400, and in July of that year, the castle was granted for life to Edmund of Langley, Duke of York and fifth son of Edward III (TNA: PRO SC8/255/12749). He may not have had time to visit his new estate, as he died less than two years later in 1402 and the grant passed to his son Edward, Earl of Rutland, who held it until his death at Agincourt in 1415 (Colvin *et al* 1963, 666). After reverting to the crown, the castle was given to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, son of the reigning Henry IV, in 1418 (Colvin *et al* 1963, 666). Upon his death in 1447 it was granted by Henry VI to Richard, Duke of York (Sparvel-Bayly 1878, 99) and in 1453, Henry VI gave a 'grant of castle and lordship or manor of Hadley in Essex, with all courts, lets, rents, services, mills, fisheries, views of frankpledge, suits of court and all other appurtenances and advowson of the church, together with one market every week on Wednesday, to Edmund de Hadham, earl of Richmond' (Sparvel-Bayly 1878, 100), his half-brother Edmund Tudor. Upon Edmund's death in 1456, the castle and estate again reverted to the crown (Drewett 1975, 96). In 1465, the castle was in the possession of Queen Elizabeth Woodville, renewing the tradition of granting the castle to the queens of England as part of their dower (Colvin *et al* 1963, 666). Elizabeth kept the castle until 1485. In 1504, Henry VII granted the custody of the castle, manor and lordship of Hadleigh to Leo Craiforde, an otherwise unknown esquire, together with the offices of constable and doorward, bailiff of the lordship and parker of the park (Sparvel-Bayly 1878, 100). The title of doorward, or gatekeeper, in use from 1504 seems to indicate the changing role of the castle constable. It may suggest that the position was more closely akin to a guard by this time and that the castle was no longer in use as a residence.

Throughout the 15th century therefore, the castle and estate were largely in private hands, repairs were not recorded in the royal accounts and the extent of the upkeep and use of the castle is therefore largely unknown. The only recorded repairs are some carried out by the crown in 1452 (Colvin *et al* 1963, 666).

Henry VIII granted the castle to a succession of his wives for their maintenance. By 1509-10, Hadleigh Castle was part of the possessions of Queen Catherine of Aragon (Drewett 1975, 96), perhaps given to her as part of her wedding celebrations. She probably held it until the annulment of her marriage to the king in 1533, as the bailiff Edward Strangman rendered accounts to her from the estate in 1529-31 (Sparvel-Bayly 1878, 101). In 1539, the castle was granted to Anne of Cleeves, Henry's forsaken queen, for her maintenance (King 1863, 88), and in 1544, the castle, lordship and manor of Hadleigh were granted to Queen Katherine Parr for life when she became queen (Sparvel-Bayly 1881, 190).

There is no certain evidence that Hadleigh was ever visited by these royal owners after 1380, although Henry VIII made great use of the parks for deer stock, and timber for two of his ship-building projects (Sparvel-Bayly 1881, 206; Rackham 1986, 20). Although holders of the estate may have resided at the castle from time to time, it was never a permanent residence and the primary significance of Hadleigh was again most likely as a source of income from the estate.

Period 6: Demolition

Parts of the Hadleigh estate began to be sold off from 1544, the date of Katherine Parr's grant, when Rayleigh Park was sold (Rackham 1986, 18). Three years later, Thundersley Park was also sold (ibid, 19). In 1551, Edward VI finally sold the castle, manor and park at Hadleigh, with a separate fishery and the advowson of the church to Richard Rich (1496/7-1567), first Baron Rich, and his heirs for £700 (Drewett 1975, 96). Lord Rich probably had no intention of using it as a residence as it was, no doubt by that time, falling into decay. Lord Rich disposed of most of the castle in piecemeal fashion (Drewett 1975, 154), probably selling the stone for use in the building of churches and various other structures in the area around Hadleigh.

The archaeological evidence for the destruction of the castle is clear. The mid-16th century pottery from the demolition layers of the Phase III hall suggested that this was one of the first parts of the castle to be demolished; the roof tiles were slid off the roof and left in dumps on either side of the hall (Drewett 1975, 106). Evidently the window lead and stone was more valuable; when the hall was demolished, a well-made tile hearth was built into the floor of the hall and drips of lead in and around it indicate that this hearth was used to melt down the valuable lead window cames and possibly the roof lead (ibid). To the north of this, a shallow rectangular pit was filled with flint and ragstone blocks to form a platform on which to rest the lead moulds. The walls were demolished to ground level (ibid). At the same time, a pit was cut into the rubbish of the courtyard, which contained evidence of burning, probably associated with the demolition of outbuildings. The bridge pit within the barbican was filled, and the west wall of the barbican demolished, presumably to allow easy access for carts to carry away stone from the interior. Pottery evidence shows that this took place between about 1550 and 1575 (Drewett 1975, 100-1).

Even after the castle had been made ruinous, the castle estate remained a valuable asset. A terrier of the possessions of Lord Rich's son, Sir Robert Rich, taken in 1576-7 describes a water mill worth 100s, the late park, the site of the manor, marshlands and a fishery

(Benton 1867, 233). The estate passed to his son Robert, second Earl of Warwick, in 1620. By this time, Camden had described the castle as 'now defaced with ruins' (Camden 1607). The estate eventually passed to a descendant of the Rich's, Henry St John, Lord Bolingbroke (Drewett 1975, 96).

During excavation, several pieces of 'Salvation Army Hadleigh Home Farm' plates, bowls and cups were found in the robber trenches of the hall complex (ibid, 105), showing that demolition and robbing of the castle materials seem to have continued through to the early 20th century.

Period 7: 17th century and later

The earliest depiction of the castle, other than the Gough Map, is a rough perspective sketch of the castle on a map of the castle park dating from 1647 and showing the castle with two, or perhaps four, towers (Figure 7).

Figure 7 – Detail from a map of Hadleigh Park showing Hadleigh Castle, 1647
(Cambridgeshire Record Office (CRO), Huntingdonshire Archives, M16/54, © Cambridgeshire County Council)

The Bucks' engraving of 1738, showing the castle from the north (Figure 8), bears a striking similarity to the anonymous, sketch of the castle dated 1735 (Figure 6) which may be an earlier version of the Buck view.
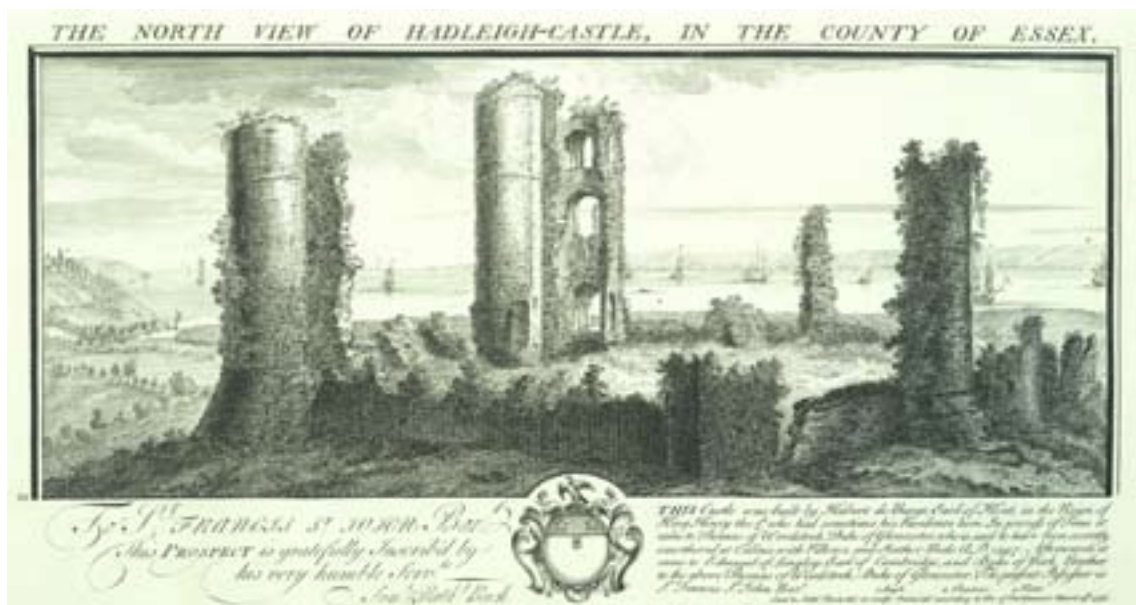

Figure 8 – Engraving of Hadleigh Castle by the Buck brothers, 1738
(Buck and Buck 1774, 92)

Grose's view of the castle published in 1772 shows the castle from the south and appears to be a reliable source of information for the southern curtain wall and towers before their collapse (Figure 9).
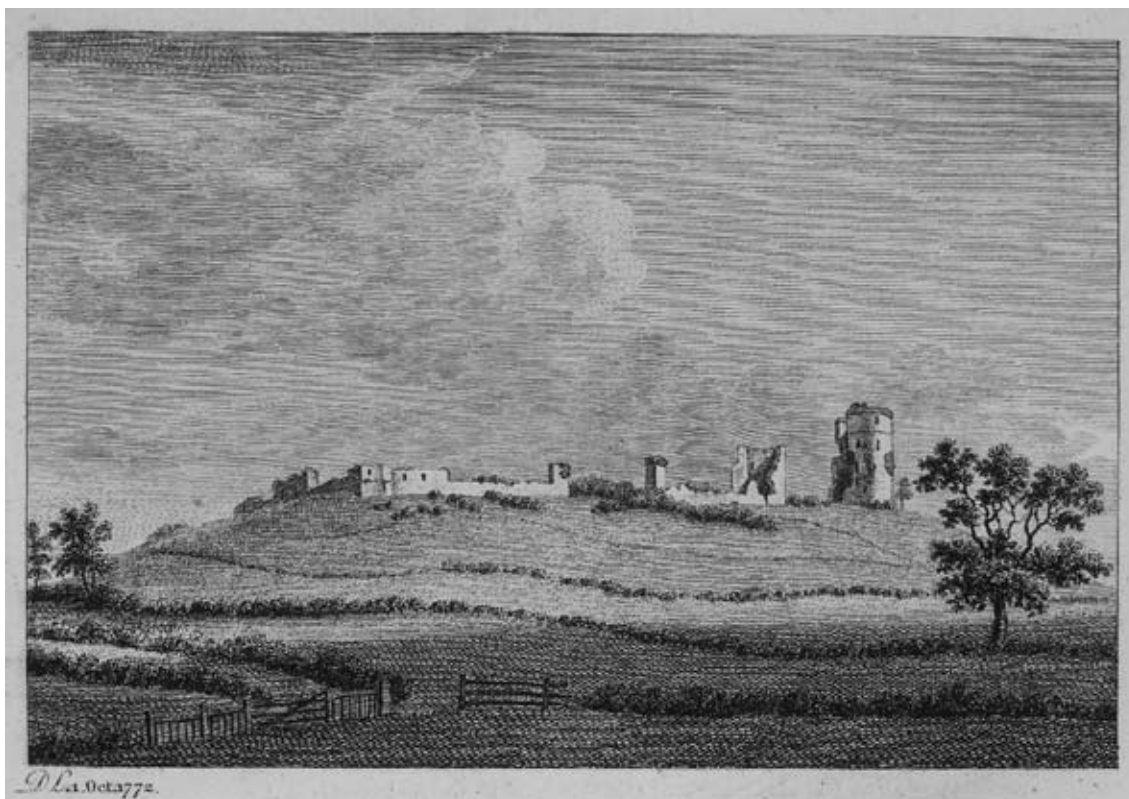

Figure 9 – Engraving of Hadleigh Castle from the south by Francis Grose, 1772
(Bodleian Library, University of Oxford Gough Gen Top. 40, Vol. II, p.123)

The castle was immortalised in a painting by John Constable (Figure 10), which was painted in 1828 or early 1829, after Constable had visited the site in 1814 (Hawes 1983).

By the mid-19th century, the site was owned by Major Spitty and in 1891 it was purchased by 'General' William Booth, founder of the Salvation Army (Yearsley 1998, 51). He built an extensive farm colony where the poor and destitute could be trained in farming, before going on to find jobs in Britain or abroad in British colonies (ibid). The farm later increased to 3,200 acres and incorporated much of the area of land to the north and west of Hadleigh Castle, including the castle itself (Figure 11). This plan shows that the farm included a brick-works, poultry farm, nurseries, piggeries and a new wharf. Although occupying a smaller area, the farm colony is still in existence today.

A Scheduled Second World War heavy anti-aircraft gun site survives on Sandpit hill, to the west of Home Farm Colony. It comprises two batteries, an earlier 4.5 inch site and a later 5.5 inch site (NMR TQ 88 NW 71). It was one of 39 such sites across Essex designed to combat German bombers on route to the capital, of which only 7 survive in good condition (Nash 1998, 70).

*Figure 10 – John Constable's painting of Hadleigh Castle, 1828/9
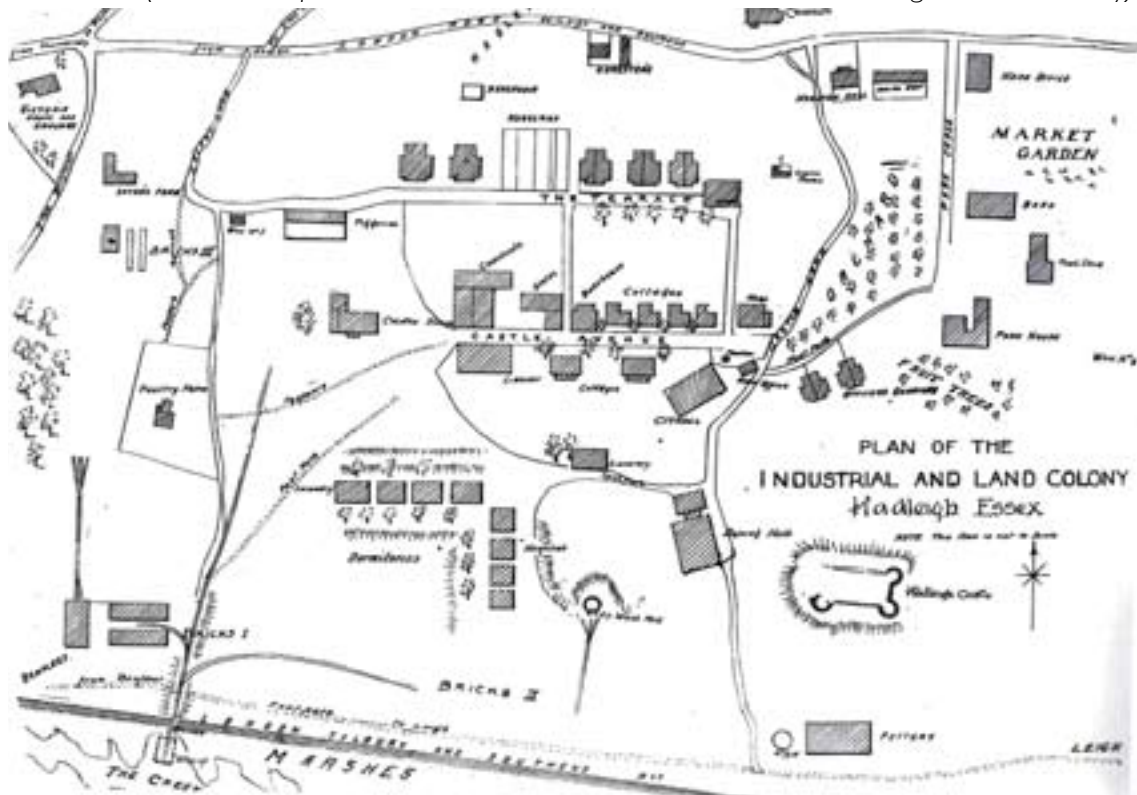(Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, USA/The Bridgeman Art Library)*

*Figure 11 – Sketch map of Salvation Army's Farm Colony at Hadleigh, about 1900
(© The Salvation Army)*

The Salvation Army placed the castle in the guardianship of the Ministry of Works in 1948 (Drewett 1975, 96). Today, the castle is preserved as a scheduled ancient monument: the most important late medieval castle in Essex. It now forms part of Hadleigh Country Park, managed by Essex County Council.

The castle estate

Elements of the castle's extensive and complex estate, were in existence before the castle's construction, and some continued in use until well after its demolition. Much of the information for this comes from contemporary medieval documents, but also from 17th century maps and plans of the estate.

From the beginning, Hadleigh Castle was surrounded by an extensive and valuable estate. In 1250, this comprised 140 acres of arable, 2 acres of meadow, a curtilage (probably in Hadleigh village), 'pasture around the castle and barns of the castle for supporting a plough', pasture on the marsh for 160 sheep, a water mill, toll of the fair and a park (Sparvel-Bayly 1878, 92). In 1274-5 there is even a reference to a vineyard (Colvin *et al* 1963, 662).

Somewhere in the immediate vicinity of the castle, in an area referred to as 'Castle Hill', there seem to have been some additional buildings relating to the castle. In 1362-3, accounts record the cost of taking down a barn within the castle and rebuilding it on Castle Hill. In the same year new iron plates for the gate at the entrance to the barn on Castle Hill were purchased, and a double fireplace was built in a room of the grange of Castle Hill, with a hearth and a screen in the kitchen there (TNA:PRO E101/464/6). The location of this 'Castle Hill' is unknown, but the grange *of* Castle Hill may indicate possession rather than location and this could have been on the site of the current Castle Farm. It is also possible that the barns were here or that they were simply moved from within the bailey to immediately outside it, perhaps to remove the day-to-day workings of the estate from the sight of the king. It is just possible though that they were moved to the nearby Plumtree Hill, 250m to the north-west.

Market and fair

Hadleigh had a weekly market and an annual fair which would have been important sources of revenue. The market was probably held within the village but the fair would have needed more space and could have been held on the common. The market was first recorded in 1228 when Henry III granted Hubert de Burgh markets at four manors, including Hadleigh, as part of a grant of those manors (GMF). This implies that the markets were already in existence at this time. In 1231 a Wednesday market was granted to de Burgh but by 1246 the market was in the hands of the king (ibid). The market was still continuing when the estate was granted to Edmund Tudor in 1453 (above). The fair was first recorded in 1184 and was perhaps the 'Fair of St James' (25th July) mentioned as part of the estates of Henry de Essex in 1181. It was granted to de Burgh in 1228 and was still taking place in 1547 (GMF).

The mill, wharf and dams

There are frequent references in medieval documents to the castle mill, or the king's mill at Hadleigh. It was first recorded in 1249-50 when it was listed in an inquest of lands belonging to the castle and valued at 2 marks yearly, and it was repaired in 1270-1. In 1350, a new water mill was built, probably in the same location and it was repaired at regular intervals over the next 30 to 40 years. Records of these repairs, under control of the clerk of works at the castle, provide details about the workings of the mill. In 1366-68, two sawyers were paid to make a new water-wheel, six men were paid to clean and mend the mill pond and ironwork was bought for the spindle of the mill. In 1368-71 carpenters were again recorded working at the mill, and the ironwork purchased at this time included some sort of bracket for holding up the water-gate of the mill (perhaps a sluice of some kind), two hinges for the water-gate, ironwork for binding together the cog-wheel and a collar for the head of the axle of the mill (TNA:PRO E101/464/12). The accounts for repairs in 1375-7 are even more detailed. They record several purchases including timber piles for the dam of the mill, nails for the water-wheel, ironwork for the axle of the mill wheel, for the great water-gate and small water-gate and a 'shotiere' (unknown meaning) for the foundation of the mill and the wharf. Payment was also made to John Ferne and John Cupse for 'blocking up the flood and building a new earth wall next to the king's marsh and for digging a ditch in the marsh between the flood and the mill'. The total cost of these works was £162 5s 3d (TNA:PRO E101/464/13, 14). The mill seems to have had a long working life, surviving well after the castle became ruinous. It is recorded in 1400, 1453 and again in 1576-7, when it was worth 100s a year (Benton 1867, 233). It survived at least until 1670, when it was depicted on a map of the marshes (Figure 12 overleaf).

The castle mill was adjacent to a wharf (below) and so both must have been by a navigable watercourse. The name 'Mill Fleet' was recorded for a channel on the first edition 6'' OS map (1876) indicating the location of the mill, but by far the best evidence is the map from 1670, which depicts Mill Marshe and Hadley Parke Marsh (Figure 12). This shows that there was once a wide, likely navigable watercourse, called 'Mill Creake' which flowed right to the bottom of the castle hill, and also depicts the site of the mill. By 1876, this watercourse had been much reduced in size and the marshes were already largely drained (OS 1876). The site of the water-mill was apparently still marked by a slight elevation in the ground upon the marshes below the Castle in the 19th century (King 1863. 90), and fragments of building materials and a large piece of mill-stone were described as being seen in this location (ibid).

In 1953 a storm surge in the North Sea caused extensive flooding and following this a series of aerial photography flights were undertaken to asses the damage. Some of these show Hadleigh Castle very clearly and highlight the area of raised ground where the mill and wharf were located (Figure 13). Though the Mill Fleet had been filled in by this time a roughly square raised area about 10m across can be seen at ST 812 858, close to the western arm of the fleet and a likely candidate for the mill site. The location of the water-mill suggests that it may have been a tide mill (Colvin *et al* 1963, 662), and certainly there is a difference of about five metres between high and low tides along this coast.

Figure 12 – Sketch map of the marshes below Hadleigh Castle, 1670. North is to the right of the page (CRO, Huntingdonshire Archives, M16/54, © Cambridgeshire County Council)

Figure 13 – Aerial photograph showing possible site of mill as pale raised area (circled)
    (V540RAF1016 5 February 1953 0037)

The wharf was always referred to as being by, or adjacent to, the mill. It was repaired in 1375-7 using oaks from the king's store from the park at Rayleigh (TNA:PRO E101/464/13, 14). The mill or more specifically 'the Mill House' seems to have been used for storing items that had arrived by boat and had yet to be transported up to the castle. For example, in 1368-9 the accounts record the removal from the Mill House to the Castle of a 'chest for putting the king's armour in' (TNA:PRO E101/464/10).

When the nearby London, Tilbury and Southend Railway was built during the 1850s, it was reported that workers constructing culverts along the line of the railway at the foot of the castle hill, discovered planks and timbers which appeared to be the remains of sunken vessels, with considerable quantities of ragstone from Kent, at a depth of 12ft (3.6m) from the surface of the marsh (King 1863). Unfortunately, no record of this discovery can be found in the accounts of the railway construction (TNA:PRO RAIL 437) though this story is likely to hold some truth; King wrote less than 20 years after the event and as a local historian may well have had direct knowledge of the discovery. It provides further evidence that there was a navigable watercourse, at least by small boats, to the foot of Castle Hill. These boats were most likely delivering stone from Kent for building works at the castle. It seems likely that small boats were used to ferry the materials from larger ships moored further out.

It is interesting to note the repeated references to difficulties experienced in transporting materials in bad weather between the castle and the ships at the wharf, owing to the marshy ground , sticky London clay and the steepness of the slope. In the winter of 1317-8, when stone was being shipped to Hadleigh from Westminster, 'sledes' and hand-barrows had to be used instead of horse-drawn carts between the castle and the wharf (Colvin *et al* 1963, 662).

The royal barge seems to have been regularly brought down from London to the wharf at Hadleigh. As noted above, this was presumably the furthest down the river that the barge could safely travel. It is recorded as being moored here whilst Edward II was in Kent in June 1315 (Colvin *et al* 1963, 662, n5), and it is likely to have regularly been used to transport the elderly Edward III between his London residences and his two favoured Thames Estuary castles at Hadleigh and Queenborough during the 1360s. In 1370, the constable of the castle seems to have been carrying out a policing role, taking a ship called the St Nicholas into custody on behalf of the king because the wool was not packed properly (C P Kean notes - ERO T/P 128/8/3), indicating a wider maritime role of the castle. In 1372, there is even a reference to barges being constructed at Hadleigh (PRO 1915, v15, 219).

An earthwork dam is located in the valley 70m to the north of the castle. It is part of the same Scheduled Ancient Monument and has been interpreted as a mill dam, with mill pond and adjacent mill. As has been discussed above, closer inspection of the medieval documents shows that the mill cannot be located in this position. It is therefore more likely that the dam held back a fishpond; a 'stank' (fishpond) is recorded on the castle estate in the late 14th century (Rippon 1986). It also probably formed part of a designed landscape acting as a causeway into the park to the north.

In summary:

- *The mill and wharf at Hadleigh Castle were located to the south-east of the main castle buildings on the level ground adjacent to a creek (at about ST 812 858).*

- *There is a high probability of significant archaeological features surviving on the mill site.*

- *The site of the mill and wharf is not currently protected.*

- *The currently scheduled mill site to the north of the castle is almost certainly not a mill and was more probably a fishpond, and possibly an element of the medieval designed landscape.*

The fishery and marshes

The royal estate at Hadleigh included the coastal fishery of Hadleigh Ray, a tract of inter-tidal land south-east of the castle that was used for oyster and mussel beds, as well as for fishing. The right of fishery here had been enjoyed since at least the time of Henry III (Benton 1867, 228) and the fishery was mentioned in a grant of 1453 as well as in 1544 (Sparvel-Bayly 1878, 100-1), and 1551 (Benton 1867, 233). The last two of these call them 'the queen's fisheries' implying a continued royal connection; Queen Katherine Parr

apparently drew a plan of the fisheries in her own hand (unknown map, Benton 1867, 257). A dispute over Hadleigh Ray in 1824 resulted in a map being drawn that clearly depicted the extent of the fishery (ERO D/DGs/P11) and it is likely that these boundaries were much the same in the medieval period.

The excavations at the castle in the 1970s retrieved many fish bones and remains of shellfish from the garderobe in the hall range and in the solar. These included cockles, whelks, oysters, mussels, ling, cod, flounder and crab, from the estuary, probably from Hadleigh Ray. The bones also show that deep-sea varieties of fish were being caught off-shore (Drewett 1975, 150). In addition, a section across the castle courtyard revealed a large pit dug into the clay and lined with chalk, with a mass of oyster shells at the bottom. Although the purpose of this pit was unclear, it may have been an attempt to store live shellfish within the castle, as the chalk lining would have reduced the acidity of the water (ibid, 110).

The grassland of the marshes below the castle was another source of income, and was rented out for pasture. An inquiry into the rents and tenements belonging to Hadleigh Castle undertaken in 1250, recorded pasture of the marsh for feeding 160 sheep valued at 4 marks, twice that of the mill (Sparvel-Bayly 1878, 92). In 1362, the cost of re-building a 'bercary', or sheepfold in the marsh, and the house of the bercary in the marsh was recorded (TNA:PRO E101/464/10). It had probably been blown down in the well-attested 'great storm' of January 1362 (Jeremy Ashbee pers comm).

To summarize:

- *Hadleigh Ray was an important source of fish for the castle, and the inter-tidal marshes provided rich pasture land that could be rented out.*

The parks

The three parks within the Hadleigh Castle estate (Figure 14) served an important social function as the object of patronage and gift; their keepership was clearly a prized position with rights of grazing, cutting timber and a quota of deer. The parks were an important statement about the authority of a major landholder – forming as they did a large area of land devoted to non-agricultural production.

Rayleigh Park was mentioned in Domesday Book, and must have been created prior to 1086 (Yearsley 2005, 18). Over the next 150 years or so two more parks were created within the estate; Hadleigh Park near the castle, first recorded in 1235 (Rippon 1999, 26) and Thundersley Park, which was first referred to in 1254 (Rackham 1986, 18).

The parks and their attendant parkers are referred to regularly in the Close and Patent Rolls and other documents. Sometimes this was directly in relation to supplies for, or works at, Hadleigh Castle, for example, in 1373-4 Nicholas Raunche was ordered 'to cut down so many of the King's trees in the King's parks of Rayleigh and Haddele as will suffice for the fuel and store of the King's castle at Haddele' (TNA:PRO E101/683/37). At other times, timber or other park products such as bracken or underwood was sold
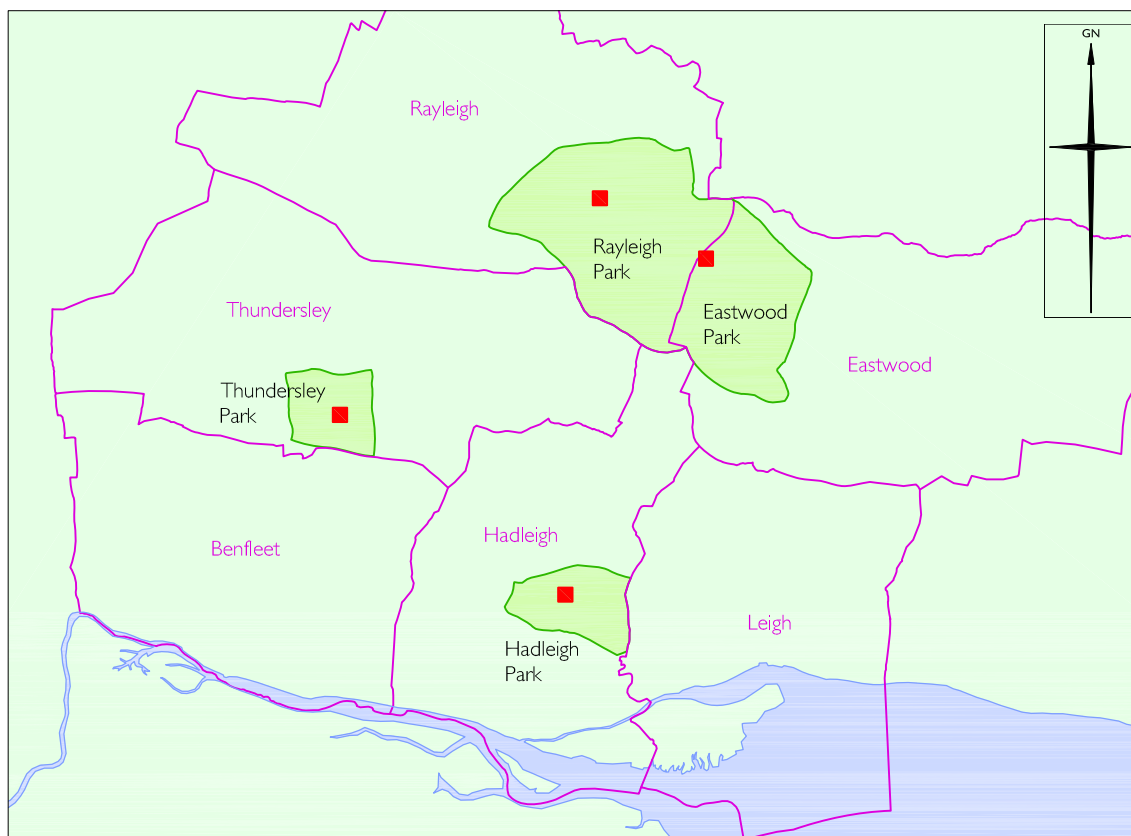
*Figure 14 –The probable locations of the three parks associated with Hadleigh Castle
(Based on Rackham 1986, figure 2, 2: approx scale 1: 35 000, parishes outlined in
purple, parks in green, lodges marked in red)*

and the profit spent on works at the castle. For example, in 1380 profit from the sale of
underwood was delivered to the clerk of works at the castle:

> "Appointment of Geoffrey Dersham and Thomas Ocle, parson of
> the church of Estwod, to cut down and sell […] a suitable amount
> of underwood in the King's parks and woods of Haddele, Rayleigh,
> and Thunderle […] and with the money obtained to pay the costs of
> enclosing the coppices thereby made, delivering the residue to John
> Blake, clerk of works, for the repair of [Hadleigh] castle". (Yearsley
> 2005, 19)

Medieval parks are usually thought of as 'hunting reserves'. Deer were certainly kept
in the parks, and seem to have been given as royal gifts periodically. For example, in
1235, Ralf Bernardson was allowed two bucks and six does from Rayleigh Park, as a gift
from the king, to stock his own park (Rackham 1986, 19). In 1362 a list of the rights of
the parker of Hadleigh Park includes one shoulder of every deer caught in the park (see
below) and in 1366-7 hay was recorded as being bought for the deer in Thundersley
Park (TNA:PRO E101/464/10). Henry VIII later used the parks as a source of live deer
to replenish Greenwich Park (Yearsley 2005, 19). Several kings are likely to have hunted
in the royal estate parks. Henry III was in the area in August 1222, dating several
documents at Rayleigh (Craib 1923, 32). Edward I is recorded as being at Eastwood and
Rayleigh on several occasions between July 1276 and August 1305, most likely visiting

for the hunting. Edward II spent several summers staying at Thundersley Park lodge between 1318 and 1325 (Hallam 1984) and Edward III may also have made use of the hunting in the royal parks during his frequent visits in the early 1360s. His right to hunt in Hadleigh Park was certainly confirmed and retained in a document of 1338 (Sparvel-Bayly 1878, 97). Several archaeological finds uncovered during the 1970s excavations at the castle also point to the importance of hunting; the bones of a male merlin (the favourite falcon of noble ladies for hawking) were found at the bottom of a garderobe and several iron arrowheads, suitable for hunting, as well as horse-shoes, a rowel spur and two elaborate horse pendants were found (Drewett 1985, 21).

In addition to hunting, the most important use of the royal parks appears to have been for pasture, as implied in the 1274 survey of Hadleigh Park (see below). Letting the grazing in the parks to local farmers created the most profit, followed by allowing pannage, the grazing of acorns by pigs (Rackham 1986, 19).

Hadleigh Park

Of the three parks, Hadleigh Park was clearly the most closely associated with the castle and formed an important part of its immediate landscape. As well as acting as a hunting reserve, source of timber and other woodland products and grazing area, the park also acted as a buffer and meant that the castle could not be seen from beyond the park, thereby providing a considerable degree of privacy.

It was located to the north of the castle, around the site of Park Farm, stretching across the hillside in full view of the castle. It was first documented in 1235, and in 1274, an extent of the manor of Hadleigh described the park:

> ''There is there one park whose perimeter scarcely amounts to one league. In which a hundred greater and lesser animals can be sustained per annum, and the pasture is surveyed at 40s per annum, and the pannage of the same park is worth in ordinary years 2s'' (TNA:PRO E142/80/4).

In 1314 Queen Margaret complained that 'divers persons had entered her parks, free chases and free warrens of Hadley and hunted therein without her license. Also in like manner entered her closes, there broke her houses, walls and fences, fished in her stew and free fisheries, carried away her trees and fish and took deer from her park and hares, rabbits, pheasants and partridges' (ERO T/P128/8/3). In addition to illustrating the wealth of resources available from the park, this also shows that security seems to have been a problem for the absent landlady.

In a survey of 1362, the park pale is mentioned and the allowances of the parker:

> 'Hugo Parker … shall have, every day, herbage for 5 animals… and 5 pigs'-worth of pannage, and all timber felled by the wind and branches ditto, and all the tops of trees felled for use in the castle or sold, and shall have one shoulder from every deer caught in the park and shall have the necessary fencing for mending fences and all the bracken growing in the park' (TNA:PRO SC12/7/42).

Timber from the park is recorded as being used for several purposes including supplying the king's works at the Tower of London in 1275 (Rackham 1986, 19), repairing the royal water-mill in 1357-8 (TNA:PRO E101/464/5), and building Henry VIII's ship 'Henry-grace-a-dieu' in 1513 (Sparvel-Bayly 1881, 206).

An interesting document from 1293 orders the making of two trenches through the middle of Hadleigh Park, with the trees growing within the clearings to be cut down, and the area made into arable land (Rippon 1999, 26). These areas may have been alongside roads through the park (Rackham 1986, 19), perhaps one leading to the park lodge from the north, and another from the park lodge to the castle.

Within the park was a vineyard, which was apparently built in 1362 (TNA:PRO E101/464/6) and which was being maintained in subsequent accounts dating from 1362 to 1365 (TNA:PRO E101/464/6, 8). There were also several enclosures; a new enclosure of 50 perches was made in 1363-5 (TNA:PRO E101/464/8) and further works to enclosures were carried out between 1366 and 1371 (TNA:PRO E101/464/11, 12). These enclosures were probably built in order to protect coppiced areas and to divide up the parks into areas with differing management regimes.

At Hadleigh Park the lodge was called 'Park House' in documents of the 14th century, and was located on the site of the present Park Farm. In the 1860s, foundations of a lodge building were discovered beneath a grass plot in the grounds of a 'Mrs Wood's residence' described as a quarter of a mile distant to the castle on the opposite hill towards the north-east (King 1889, 77). From the 1861 census, it appears that Mrs Wood and her family lived at Park Farm, and this is therefore likely to be a description of the original lodge on this site. The ground plan was a simple rectangle divided into two apartments, each 14ft square (ibid). The map of 1647 (Figure 15) depicts the lodge in this position, and also shows a second lodge where the northern boundary of the park meets the London Road (at NGR TQ 8146 8675).

The exact boundaries of the park are uncertain. In 1274 Hadleigh Park was described as having a perimeter that 'scarcely amount to one league' (above). A league was most commonly the distance that could be walked in about an hour, or roughly 5km. When the extent of Hadleigh Park was mapped in 1647 (Figure 15), its boundary was shown as running from the point where the parish boundary meets the marsh to the east of the castle, north along the parish boundary to the London Road (A13), along this for a way before curving back around and meeting Castle Lane which it followed back towards the castle. It then appears to run close to the castle and then east, perhaps along the ridge, to the point at which it started. This boundary accords with the 1670 Marsh map (Figure 12) which shows the marsh to the east of the mill site abutting Hadleigh Park, though what appears to be a footpath within the marsh suggests that the park boundary may have been a little to the north of the actual marsh edge. This forms an area with a perimeter of about 3.6km and enclosing 82.2 hectares (about 203 acres), which is reasonably close to the figure of 228 acres given on the 1647 map. Both Rackham and Rippon however show the southern boundary of the park running along the stream in the valley to the north of the castle and then along the marsh edge east to the parish
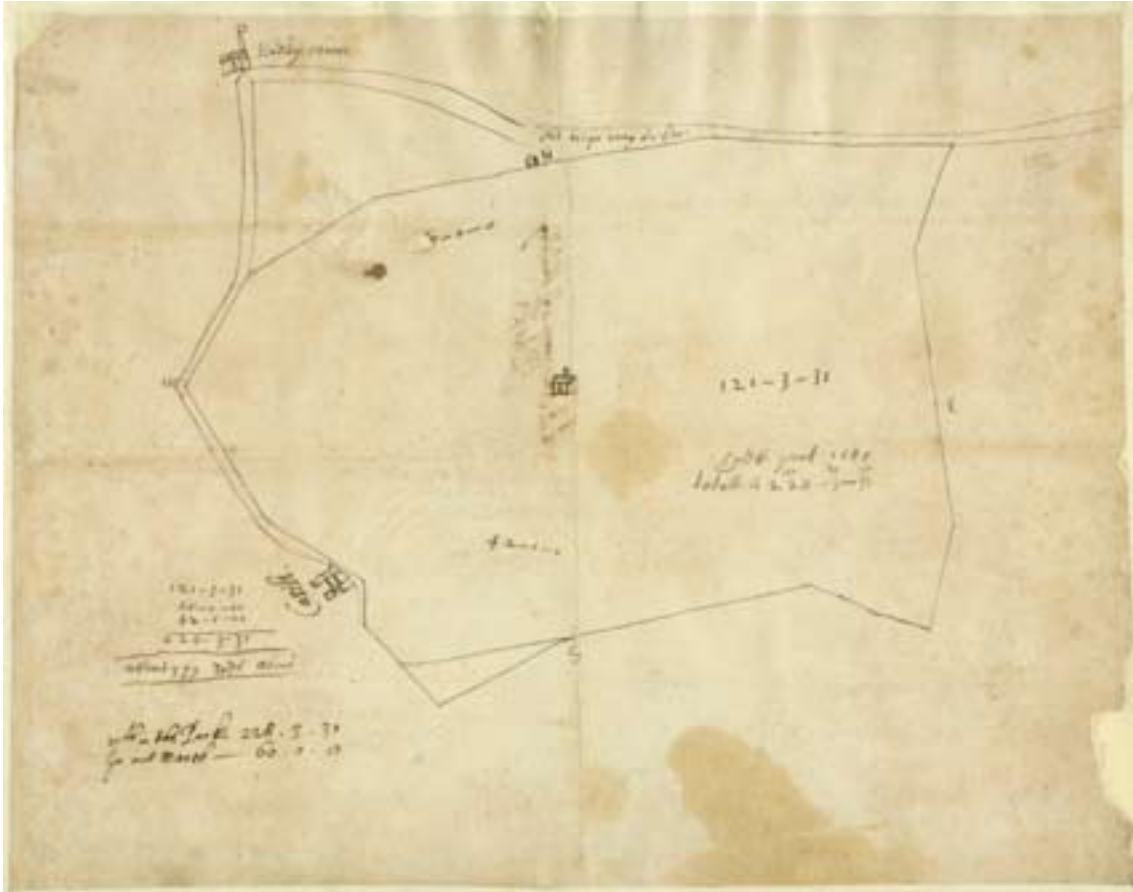
Figure 15 – Map of the boundaries and lodges of Hadleigh Park, 1647
(CRO, Huntingdonshire Archives, M16/54, © Cambridgeshire County Council)

boundary (Rackham 1986, Fig 15; Rippon 1999, Fig 23). This defines a slightly smaller area with a boundary of 3.5 km length and an area of 72.2 hectares (about 178 acres).

In both cases the length of the perimeter accords fairly well with the description of 'scarcely a league' from 1274 and whilst the two 17th century maps are consistent the extent at this date is not necessarily the same as in the medieval period; the 1576-7 reference to the 'late park' may be significant in this context suggesting that it had gone out of use as a formal park by this time. The park boundary would have been enclosed by a pale (mentioned in 1362) consisting of a bank and ditch in order to keep the deer and other livestock within. No remains of a pale were seen running along the ridge or around the north side of the castle and given the survival of other features this lack of evidence might actually be evidence for the absence of a pale here. If the park boundary ran along the stream then the lack of evidence for a pale here can be more easily explained; the stream bed itself could have formed a part of the pale which might in part have been eroded by the stream or by ploughing, and in part covered by hill wash. It seems more likely therefore, that in the medieval period the park boundary ran along the valley to the north of the castle. This is also consistent with possible approaches to the castle discussed below.

Rayleigh Park

Rayleigh Park straddled the boundary which divided Rayleigh and Eastwood parishes. The portion of the park which lay in Eastwood parish was sometimes referred to as a separate park, Eastwood Park. A 1544 survey gives no area but values the soil of the park at £20 per annum, which suggests about 800-1000 acres (Rackham 1986, 20), about four times the size of Hadleigh Park. The boundaries of this park have also been reconstructed by Rackham, who postulates that it lay between Rayleigh town and the small settlement of Nobles Green and was bisected by the north-west to south-east road that ran between them (ibid, fig 15, 20). Much of the park boundary has apparently survived as an earthwork in New England, Tile and Pound Woods, and around Oak Wood (ibid). There are several records which describe the use of timber from Rayleigh Park. Some, for example, was shipped to Dover Castle for works there in 1214 (ibid, 19) and in 1372-3, profit from timber from the park was used on the repair of Hadleigh Castle. In 1234, the king's chaplain Henry de Bernavell was allowed to have wood and branches from the park for his fire (ibid). Rayleigh Park was sold in 1544 and broken up on its owner's death in 1583 (Yearsley 2005, 19).

King Edward I dates documents at Eastwood (Estwode) in 1276, 1279, 1281, 1284 and 1289; evidently it was a favoured hunting retreat for the king, and the lodge was repaired in 1303-4 (TNA:PRO E163/2/17). After this date, there is no record of the lodge being used by royal visitors but it is possible that Rayleigh Lodge was preferred from this time. This is referred to in documents as 'the king's house at Rayleigh' and was largely re-constructed in 1362-4, when the costs of building a new hall with a chamber, chapel, kitchen with screens and a cellar, in the park at Rayleigh, were recorded (TNA:PRO E101/464/6), a further indication of the extent of the king's interest in the area at this time.

Somewhere within the Hadleigh estate, most likely within Rayleigh Park, was a horse stud. Its existence in 1220 can be inferred from a gift of horses given by Hubert de Burgh to the king. In 1313-4 Roger de Blaxhale took delivery of a grey stallion at the king's stud at Hadleigh and Rayleigh (TNA:PRO E43/172). An undated document of the early 14th century records that Gilbert de Chalk was dwelling at Hadleigh Castle with a valuable courser (strong and swift war horse) of the king (TNA:PRO E213/315). The park breeding centre is likely to be the same stud as that referred to in a document from 1322, which states that the Henry, parson of Rayleigh, claimed a tithe of the foals coming from the stud farm within Rayleigh parish that had been the custom for 'time out of mind' (TNA:PRO SC8/68/3379). These documents suggest that the main location of the stud was within Rayleigh Park but that stables within Hadleigh Castle were also used to keep the king's horses.

Thundersley Park

Thundersley Park presumably lay around Thundersley Lodge, where there is an area of about 100 hectares between greens and ancient main roads, an earthwork bisecting Coombe Wood might be the park's western boundary (Rackham 1986, 20). The lodge at Thundersley Park was a favourite summer retreat of Edward II between 1318 and 1325 (Hallam 1984). The lodge was probably the peel (a tower house) built by Edward II in 1315 (TNA:PRO E 101/376/7, Colvin *et al* 1963, 660 n5). In 1372-3, Edward III appointed John Goldeman, reeve of the king's manor of Thundersley, to cut down and sell eight

acres of wood called Birches within the park of Thundersley, delivering the money to Nicholas Raunche for the repair of Hadleigh Castle (Sparvel-Bayly 1878, 98). The park was sold off in 1547 (Rackham 1986, 19).

In summary:

- *There were three parks within the honour of Rayleigh in the immediate vicinity of Hadleigh Castle.*

- *They were all used to provide resources for the castle and sometimes these were sold to provide funds for repairs and alterations to the castle fabric.*

- *The boundaries of Hadleigh Castle are reasonably well known to the west, north and east but the southern boundary is uncertain. By the 17th century it included the spur the castle sits upon but in the medieval period the boundary probably ran along the valley north of the castle.*

- *Rayleigh and Thundersley were both popular royal retreats, the former particularly with Edward the I during the 1270s and 80s, the latter with Edward II between 1318-25. Hadleigh Park is probably not mentioned in this context probably due to its proximity to the castle.*

- *Rayleigh was very probably the location of a stud farm.*

DESCRIPTION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE REMAINS

As discussed in more detail in the methodology section below, the area within the fenced castle enclosure was surveyed at a nominal scale of 1:500, and archaeologically significant features outside this at a nominal scale of 1:1000. These are all shown with black hachures on the plans accompanying the text below. Beyond the castle the natural topography was often complex with many areas of slumping and creep, often on slopes with quite low gradients. In many places this slumping formed steep scarps apparently reflecting softer strata in the underlying geology. These features were surveyed at a large scale and much detail was omitted as it was not thought to be archaeologically significant. They are shown by dark green hachures on the following plans.

The earthworks associated with Hadleigh Castle have, to an extent, been determined by the natural topography and underlying geology of the site. An understanding of this existing topography will help explain the castle earthworks visible today. As described above, Hadleigh Castle sits on a spur of land above the Thames Estuary. It seems that prior to the construction of the castle the spur consisted of Plumtree Hill which was connected to the main clay plateau by a broad saddle to the north and to the south-east by a second saddle to the hill where the castle now stands. This hill was probably narrower, with a sharper summit than seen today, as the curtain wall appears to have been constructed around it before the top of the hill was levelled off and the material used to fill the area behind the southern curtain wall to create a level bailey. To the east this hill then dropped down to the level, flat-topped spur which ran eastwards for 500m.

There is no clear evidence on the site for any earthworks existing prior to the construction of the castle. A platform at the east end of the castle probably associated with the barbican here appeared to overlie two scarps (shaded green on Figure 16 below) but these may be of natural origin.

The castle remains

Period 1: Hubert de Burgh's Castle

The documentary evidence discussed above suggests that the first castle consisted of an octagonal curtain wall, elongated slightly east to west, probably with square angle towers, and with an entrance towards the east protected by a barbican (see 'Castle buildings' above). This plan and orientation, not determined by the topography, which would probably have favoured a north-west to south-east alignment, means that the longest axis of the castle was oriented so as to give the impression of greatest size when seen from a distance, particularly from the Thames Estuary and the approach from Hadleigh village, a layout seen at several other castles such as Framlingham (Alexander 2007, 24).

Enough of the original curtain wall remains to make it clear that it was constructed over the existing hill or ridge. The curtain wall runs slightly below the top of this feature on its north side, climbing over it in the north-west sector and then running fairly level for nearly 40m before dropping down well below it on its south side. The east side of the castle has been entirely remodelled but the extent of later work suggests that the early

plan was probably approximately symmetrical. Therefore, the original eastern curtain probably ran to the west of the current line and also climbed up over the existing ridge before dropping down to the southern curtain in a similar way to the north-west section.

At some point after the construction of the curtain wall, the ridge within was apparently reduced and the material dumped behind the southern curtain wall in order to create a level bailey. It is not certain at what date this occurred. King records that a shaft sunk against the South Tower within the bailey reached a depth of 14 feet (4.25m) and went through 'virgin clay' (King 1889, 72). He makes no mention of any occupation layer or finds, and elsewhere in his writing appears to be a reliable reporter of the evidence. This suggests that the levelling took place at the time of construction, but the South Tower was probably rebuilt some time in the later 13th century (Drewett 1975, 153) and the levelling could be contemporary with the construction of this tower rather than the original curtain wall. It should be noted that Drewett reports that the ground floor of the Phase II solar he identified was at a lower level than the hall to the north and that this in turn gave access to a courtyard to the south at a still lower level (ibid, 102-4). It is therefore possible that this side of the bailey sloped down to the south somewhat in the mid 13th century. He does not specify the size of this drop, though on Section S-T (ibid, Fig 12 opp 108) it appears to have been less than a metre from hall through solar to terrace. The amounts of money known to have been spent on the castle after its initial construction and prior to the renewed interest in the early 14th century were generally modest; the most significant was £41 spent between 1288 and 1290 'for the repair of the walls, houses and other buildings of the castle' (Colvin *et al* 1963, 660). There is no mention of earth moving at this time and the other amounts spent seem to be too small for this work and so it seems most likely that the levelling was part of the original plan. The location of Drewett's Phase I structure, probably a hall constructed very soon after the first castle, supports this. It was located very close to the area of current subsidence and may have extended beyond it (Drewett 1975, 101-2). It seems unlikely that it would have been built here if the ground had not been levelled by this time since the south wall would have been unstable and there would have been limited access around the structure.

This levelling would have involved much labour and it would appear that Plumtree Hill to the north-west could have provided a site with a more open level top, upon which it would have been possible to create a well protected curtain, with a level bailey of similar proportions, considerably more easily and with a much more impressive landward approach. The most likely explanation is that Plumtree Hill would have lacked the approach along the ridge to the east indicated by the likely position of the original barbican (Colvin *et al* 1963, 661). The broad, level nature of the ridge along much of its length would have acted as a natural formal approach and the castle's narrow proportions from this side, enhanced by the barbican and rising topography, would have exaggerated its height, enhancing the impression of power conveyed by the castle as visitors neared it and suggesting that the castle was always intended to be reached by river or sea.

Here, at the east end of the castle, where the barbican is likely to have been, there is an approximately square level area between the two later drum towers (A on Figure 16 -

shown in orange). This is defined by steep scarps dropping away on three sides (shown in a paler orange) and seems to have been constructed by building up the natural surface level as it appears to overlie two features to the north and south; possibly an underlying terrace though they could equally be two separate features (B on Figure 16 - shown in green). This may have been an open area in front of the barbican to allow those entering and leaving to order themselves. As there is no evidence that there was an entrance on this side of the castle after Edward III's rebuilding, this platform very likely predates this phase. Later developments in this same area (below) suggest that the platform was constructed earlier in this period, rather than later. It seems most probable therefore, that it was an original feature contemporary with the barbican.

In front of this platform, to the east, and slightly offset to the south was a second, smaller, sub-rectangular platform (C on Figure 16 - also shown in orange). This was confused by having two distinct surface levels; the southern part appears to have been built up later (below) and the northern part has been eroded by a path running up from the east. It was therefore unclear what its original form was and to what extent it had been built up from a natural level, or if it had been created entirely by the sculpting of the natural slopes to the north, east and south. The most likely original form was probably the terminus of a modified natural ramp running up from the level ridge to the east allowing access to the barbican.
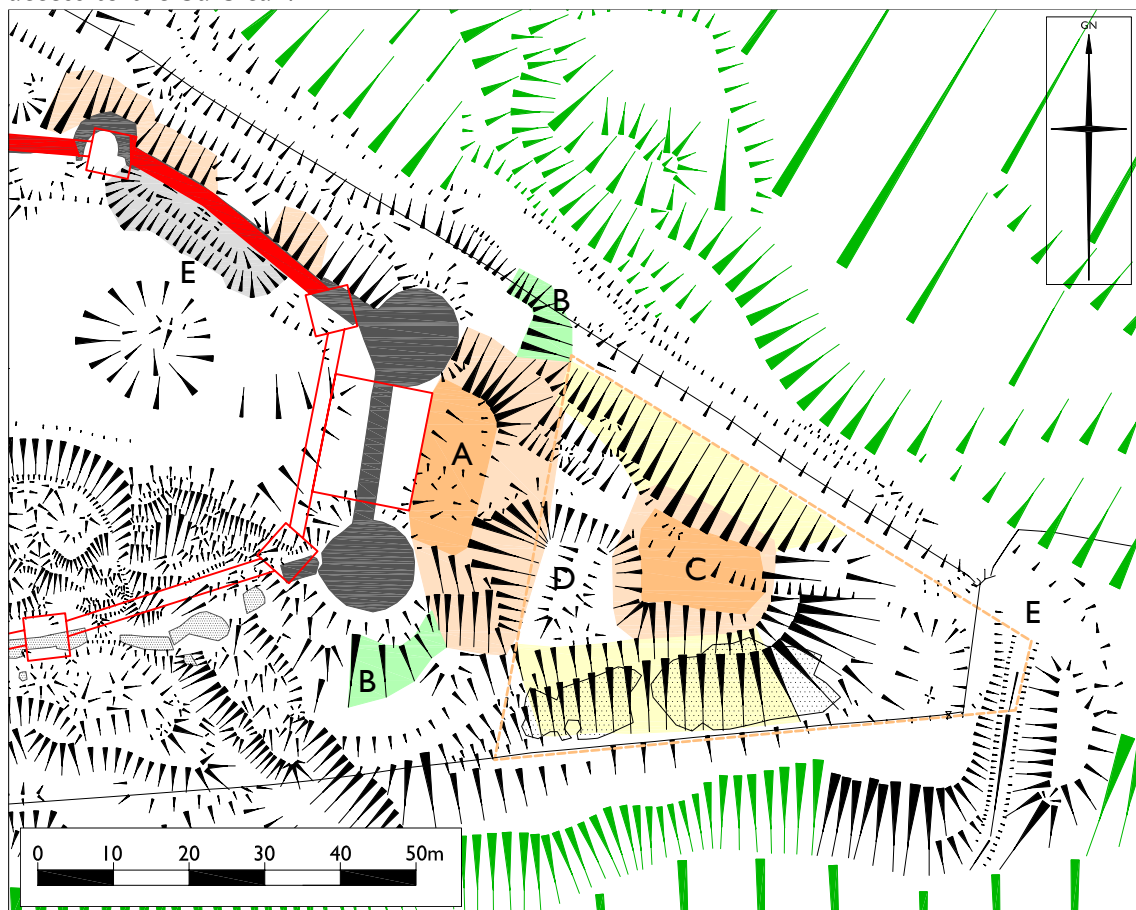

Figure 16 – Period 1 earthworks to east of bailey (Extract from Figure 27. Letters refer to text, colour coding explained therein) © Crown Copyright and database right 2009. All rights reserved. Ordnance Survey Licence number 100019088.

Between this ramp terminus/platform and the barbican platform was what appeared to be an extraction pit. Originally however, this was probably an open gully between the two platforms (D on Figure 16), later defined on its northern side by a causeway (below). The extent to which this was a cut feature is uncertain and it may have been partially created by the building up of the barbican platform and approach ramp. Originally, this ditch would probably have been crossed by a timber bridge, of which no trace now remains.

These features appear to sit upon a spur which was sculpted to enhance its natural form, as mentioned above. It is likely that there was more than one phase to this work: the north and south sides of the spur were most likely to have been steepened when the castle was built, to narrow the ridge and enhance the formal eastern approach; the eastern scarp was probably only similarly cut back when the entrance at this end of the castle went out of use as the steep slope would have made the approach to the barbican difficult (the possible outline of the intermediate form of the spur is shown on Figure 16 as a dashed orange line (E); note that it overlies several presumably later features).

A second entrance to the castle, 'the postern to the park', is mentioned in the early 14th century (Colvin *et al* 1963, 660); the park lay to the north of the castle (above). Though it is not certain that this postern was planned as part of the original castle it would be unusual if there were not a postern of some sort from its first phase. This seems unlikely to have been the postern seen today at the west end of the castle (see Figure 5), which lies to the south of the large spur projecting north-west from the castle and so did not lead directly to the park. Furthermore, this postern was in a section of the curtain wall probably reconstructed about 1300 (Drewett 1975, 106). The original walls of the castle on the north side are largely intact and leave only three possible positions for a postern; in the base of the earlier tower that was replaced by the semicircular north tower, on the site of the later gate and barbican or possibly in the base of the tower replaced by the high tower. One of the first two options seems most likely as Drewett's 'stable range' against the curtain wall between these two points, measured about 3m by 20m (Drewett 1975, 108) and so could well be the 'long house next to the postern' built in about 1312 (Colvin *et al* 1963, 660, 662, see below). The north tower was probably rebuilt in its current form before this date (Drewett 1975, Fig 3, 95) and it therefore seems most likely that the postern was where the later gate and barbican are located, and that any indications of its presence have been lost under later features.

Running along the inside of the northern curtain wall to the east of the north tower is a large gully (E on Figure 16 - shown in grey). This was defined by a scarp parallel to the curtain wall dropping down to the north-east with returns at each end. The profile of the northward facing scarp seemed to be continued by the slope dropping away outside the curtain wall to the north suggesting that it is a remnant of the natural profile of the ridge/hill here. This interpretation seems to be confirmed by King who reports the excavation of a cutting in the base of the gully which revealed the bones of an ox 'but no remains of masonry' (King 1889, 73). There are a few slight scarps running across the level base of this gully, perpendicular to the curtain wall and it is possible that some of these may mark the King's cutting but no plan has been published and this is therefore uncertain. Several large trees were growing here in 1947 (CPE/UK/2226 5029 15 August

1947; most had gone by 1953, see 540RAF1016 0038 5 February 1953) and some at least of these scarps must be from tree throws. However, a ditch was revealed in this area by both magnetometry and resistivity survey 'running parallel to the castle wall' that was thought either to relate to the curtain's construction or that it may have been the Kings' trench of 1863 (Clarke 2002, 12, Figs 11-14). The published plans make it difficult to relate the ditch accurately to the curtain or the gully feature but it seems likely that the surveys stopped at the top edge of the gully and the probable ditch therefore ran along the top edge of the gully. This would seem to rule out the Kings' trench which was apparently dug within the gully (King 1889, 73). Perhaps therefore this feature is a robber trench representing a wall-line here and given that elsewhere the bailey appears to have been levelled up it seems most likely that this gully does represent a building foundation or cellar; the Kings' failure to find any structural features being because their trench was entirely within the building. The building appears to have ended somewhat to the west of the location of the original north-east tower and east curtain, perhaps respecting them, so may well be from before this area was rebuilt. It is also possible that this feature combines aspects of both the previous topography and a building foundation; perhaps the building was constructed utilising the natural slope here and the bailey was levelled up afterwards to create a semi-basement. If so then a building here could have been an original feature of the castle.

To summarize:

- *The site of the castle appears to have been chosen to make use of the ridge to the west as a formal approach, and to present a view to the south, and therefore the river, of a substantial and large castle.*

- *This indicates that the castle was always intended to be approached primarily from the estuary.*

- *The levelled bailey was probably a primary (or very early) feature of the castle.*

- *The main eastern entrance consisted of a barbican with complex outworks including a ramp up from the ridge and a substantial ditch, presumably with a wooden bridge.*

- *There was probably a postern from the outset of the castle's construction but this was probably not where the existing postern is. It is most likely that it was in fact on the site of the existing barbican.*

- *The gully against the north-eastern curtain wall may represent the semi-basement of a building probably from this period (or Period 3 below).*

Period 2: 13th century neglect

The north and south towers were secondary to the initial construction of the castle but it has been suggested (above) that they may still have been the work of de Burgh. It is possible though, that they were built or rebuilt during this period (Drewett 1975, Fig 3, 95), perhaps at the same time that the Phase II hall was built. A faint scarp curving

around immediately to the south of the remains of the North Tower probably marks the line of the internal wall of this tower.

Period 3: Renewed interest, the early 14th century and Edward II

Although it is known from documentary sources (see 'Castle Buildings' above) that much building work was carried out by Edward II, there is little to be seen in the earthworks from this date, largely because the works apparently took place in areas that were later substantially redeveloped by Edward III, obscuring the earlier evidence.

The likely Period 1 earthworks to the east of the original barbican entrance consisted of a raised levelled area separated from a ramp or platform by a large ditch probably crossed by a wooden bridge (above). At some point, perhaps during Edward III's rebuilding, a causeway was apparently constructed across this ditch (below), presumably to replace the suggested wooden bridge here. Within the gully to the south of this causeway is a north/south bank (A on Figure 17 - shown in orange) with a reasonably well defined ditch to the west and a less clear ditch to the east (shown in grey). It is unclear which period this bank and its flanking ditches are from, they could even be features original to Period 1. In 1320-1 though, there is a record of a 'hedge' with two
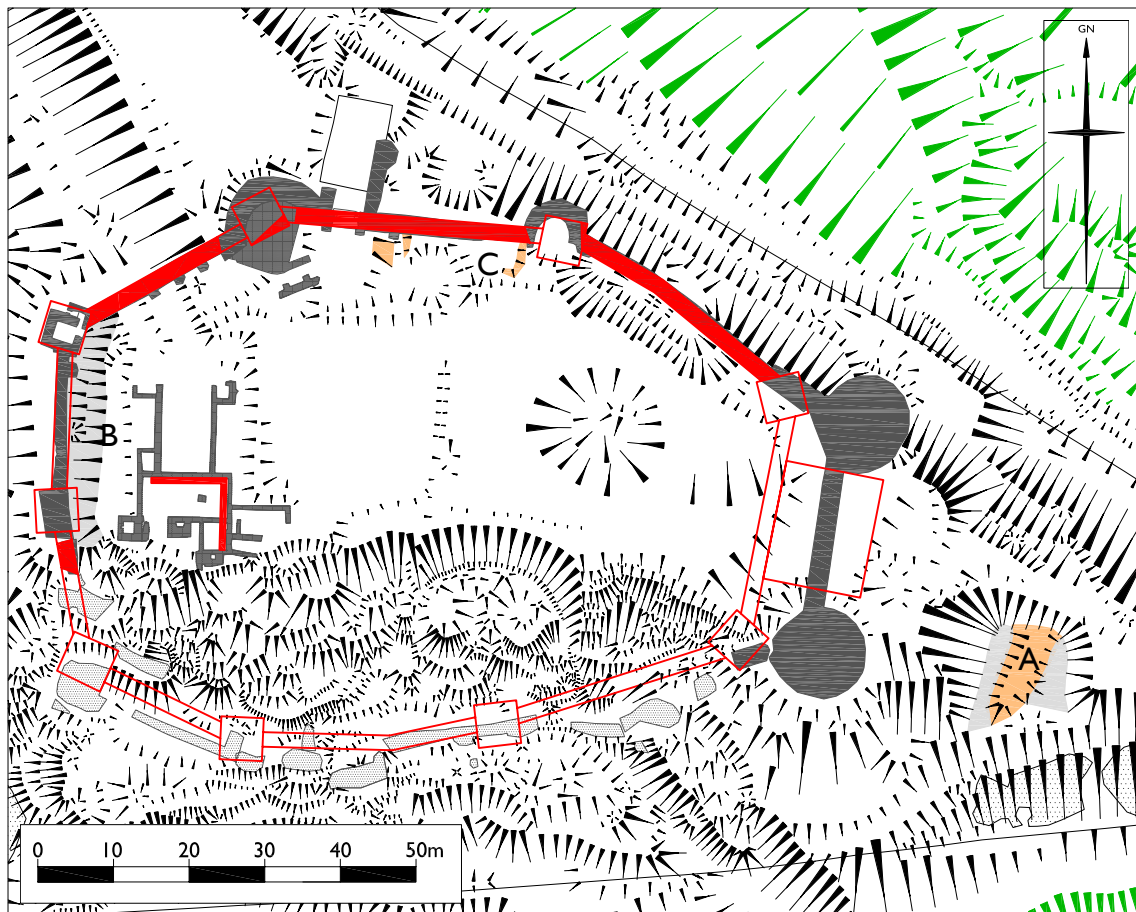

Figure 17 – Period 3 earthworks (Extract from Figure 27. Letters refer to text, colour coding explained therein) © Crown Copyright and database right 2009. All rights reserved. Ordnance Survey Licence number 100019088

ditches being thrown around the barbican at a cost of £4 (TNA:PRO SC6/843/9) which might fit with the earthworks seen here.

The western curtain wall and tower were reconstructed around 1300, following the collapse of the Phase 2 hall and the adjacent length of curtain (Drewett 1975, 106 & Fig 3). The relatively steep scarp within the bailey dropping down to this western section of curtain wall (B on Figure 17 - shown in grey) is probably the remains of the foundation trench for the rebuilt curtain wall though at its southern end it is shown as '1939-45 trench (?)' (Drewett 1975, 102 & Fig 8).

It is not certain that the postern in the base of the tower at the north end of this section of curtain was a part of this rebuild or inserted later. Despite extensive excavations in the area nothing resembling a 'long house next the postern' was revealed either by the Kings' or Drewett (Drewett 1975, Fig 3). In contrast a long, narrow structure measuring 3m by 20m was uncovered to the east of the later barbican entrance on the north side of the castle. This was interpreted as a stable range (ibid, 108) but could well have been the 'long house'. Some earthwork evidence for this range could be identified: slight scarps to the east of Drewett's trench across the centre of the barbican may mark the east end of this range (C on Figure 17 - shown in orange); a low mound that appears to have been truncated to the east by the same trench probably represents collapse debris; a gully immediately to the west, within the trench excavated to examine the barbican, is probably the stone lined pit he examined (ibid) showing through after the settling of his back-fill; and a scarp slightly further west again probably represents the west end of this building (also shown in orange). Since the 'long house' was recorded as being constructed around 1312 it seems likely that the postern in the western tower was probably inserted after this. The most likely context would be Edward III's rebuilding following the rearrangement of the entrances and approaches.

The gully behind the eastern section of the northern curtain (E on Figure 16 - shown in grey), which probably represents a building, may be from this period. As noted above it appears to respect the probable position of the early north-east tower and eastern curtain and so would seem likely to predate the reconstruction of this area. It is unlikely that a substantial building would have been constructed during the neglect of Period 2 (above) so either this period or Period 1 would seem to be most likely.

In summary:

- *A hedge with a bank and two ditches may have been thrown around the barbican to shore up its defences following the collapse of a section of wall.*

- *The western curtain wall was also reconstructed following a collapse, together with the Phase II hall complex.*

- *Though excavated by Drewett several scarps in the north of the bailey might be the remains of the 'long house next the postern' built in the earlier 14th century.*

- *The gully against the north-eastern curtain wall may represent the semi-basement of a building from this period (or Period 1 above).*

Period 4: Edward III's rebuilding

Towards the end of his reign, in the 1360s, Edward III spent considerable amounts of time, effort and money rebuilding Hadleigh Castle. These works consisted of the repair and enhancement of much of the existing fabric, and internal buildings together with many new structures (see 'Castle buildings' above).

At some point a causeway was apparently constructed across the ditches and bank to the east of the original barbican entrance, presumably to replace the suggested wooden bridge here (A on Figure 18 - shown in orange). This could have taken place at any time after the initial construction of the castle, but since it overlay the double ditch and bank feature noted above it may have been constructed after 1321 and probably before the slope up from the east ridge was cut back (this probably took place after the drum towers were complete in 1365, see below), since this would have made the approach to an entrance here much more difficult. Perhaps it was built to move heavier materials than a wooden bridge could bear, which suggests it was to enable Edward III's rebuilding, allowing stone to be brought up from the wharf by the easiest approach for the construction of the two drum towers. There were though earlier building phases that might have required a causeway to bring laden carts into the bailey.
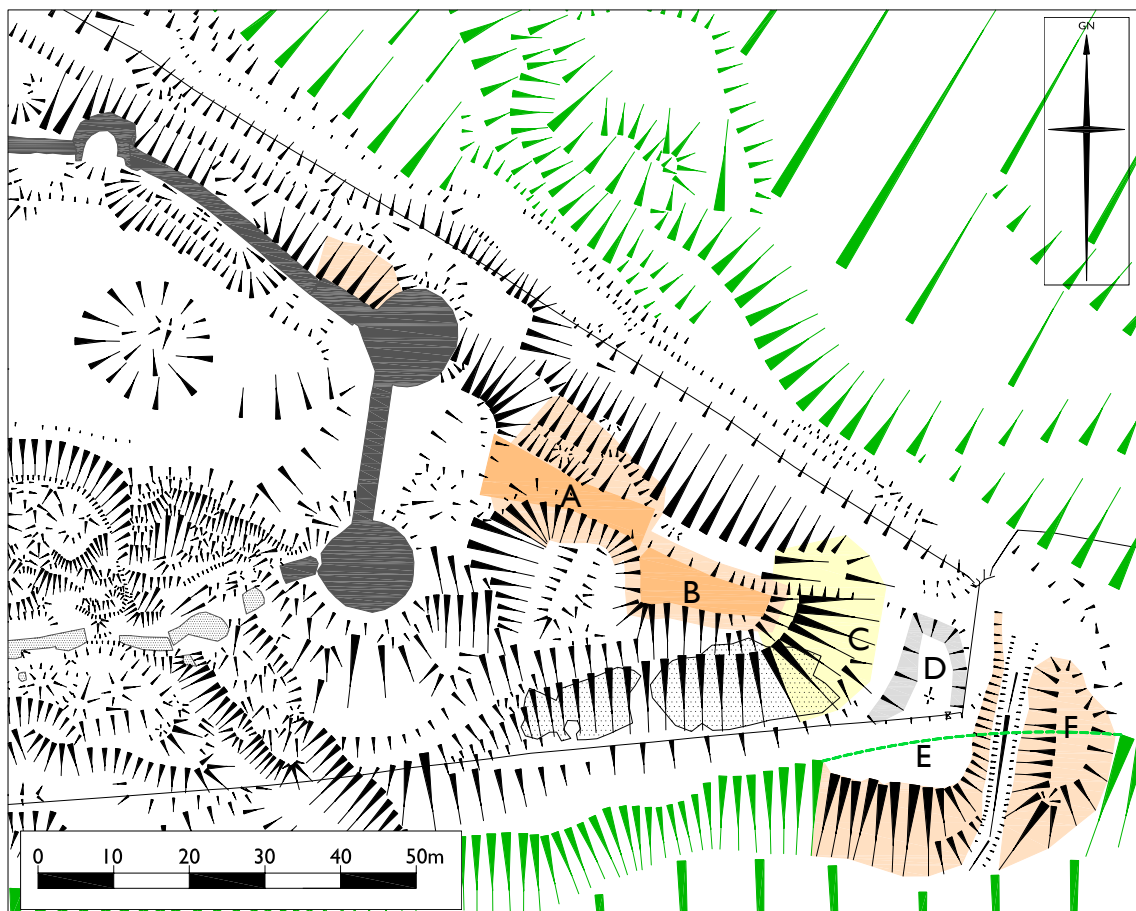

Figure 18 – Period 4 earthworks, east of the bailey (Extract from Figure 27. Letters refer to text, colour coding explained therein) © Crown Copyright and database right 2009. All rights reserved. Ordnance Survey Licence number 100019088

The eastern end of the castle, including the two massive drum towers still standing today, was completely rebuilt between 1361 and 1365 (Colvin *et al* 1963, 664) replacing the earlier barbican and sections of the castle walls that had collapsed (ibid, 660-1). There is no evidence that an entrance was retained here, a probability strengthened by the construction of the new barbican on the north side of the castle. This was not built until about 1369-70 however (ibid, 665), which implies that there must have been another entrance to the castle during this transitional period; perhaps the postern was enlarged to create a new main gate before the barbican was added.

This redesign seems to have changed the approach to the castle. The previous route along the ridge would now lead to an awkward and narrow path around the side of the castle and a rather steep approach to the new barbican. This was probably replaced by a new route, therefore. Either east from the wharf, up the valley to the north of the castle along a steadily rising gradient to join the main landward approach that doubles back along a relatively broad and level terrace to the barbican close to the modern car-park, or west from the wharf and up the valley where Castle Lane now runs, to join the same approach at the saddle immediately north-west of the castle. The former seems more likely as it utilises parts of the existing route and probably brought visitors to the castle along the boundary of the park and past the fish ponds, both features that a royal owner would like to have displayed to his visitors. The western route might also have compromised the privacy of the south side of the castle. If this is is correct, then it suggests that the ridge may have changed from being a part of the formal public approach to the castle, to part of the private space immediately adjacent to the castle.

The platform opposite the site of the former barbican entrance at the east end of the castle appears to have been modified. Its top appears to have been raised somewhat and levelled off (B on Figure 18 - also shown in orange) and the slope east (C - shown in yellow), and perhaps also to the north and south, steepened to created a well defined platform. This was perhaps to create a 'mount' from which to view events on the ridge to the east; maybe the 'mount' was the site of a pavilion or *gloriette* from which the ladies could watch the joust or tilting (Turner 2005, 120). Edward was known to have been very fond of this sport in his youth, though perhaps by the time of his visits to Hadleigh he preferred to watch. It could also have been the site of a building related more to the gardens to the south of the castle (below) such as a banqueting house.

At the base of the modified platform is a sub-rectangular depression, marked by inward facing scarps to the west, north and east, which must post-date the sculpting of the spur here (D on Figure 18 - shown in grey). To the south it has been truncated by the modern fence line and associated erosion, and has been partially obscured by dense vegetation, so it is not clear how far it originally extended in this direction. It is interesting to note that the apparently natural, though heavily slumped, slope to the south appears to be forward of the 'natural' line (shown as a green dashed line (E) on Figure 18) so may have been modified to accommodate this feature, perhaps using material from the sculpting of the spur. The low mound to east (F on Figure 18 - shown in pale orange), on the other side of the track up from the slopes below, could be associated with this area and truncated by the track. This area is offset slightly to the south relative to the ridge to the east but is more centrally placed relative to the possible

mount above it. This may suggest that the mount and the features here were part of the same scheme or at least the latter were constructed whilst the former was in use. This area may have been the site of a building or perhaps a garden, or both, though if the mount above was the site of a *gloriette* then a second building seems less likely.

One of the last works to be undertaken was the construction of the new barbican on the north side of the castle (see 'Castle buildings' above). This was approached by a causeway from the north-west which turned sharply south and rose more steeply immediately in front of the barbican, presumably in order to hamper any direct attack on the gate (A on Figure 19 - shown in orange). This turn has, however, been somewhat eroded by the path running along the north side of the fence here and immediately in front of the barbican the causeway has been cut through, apparently relatively recently, presumably to allow easier access along the south side of the fence. The causeway is

Figure 19 – Period 4 earthworks, west and north-west of the bailey (Extract from Figure 27. Letters refer to text, colour coding explained therein) © Crown Copyright and database right 2009. All rights reserved. Ordnance Survey Licence number 100019088

now defined on its south-west side by a ditch which may not have been excavated until after the barbican was constructed (below) so its original form may simply have been a terrace. Nevertheless, the sharp turn and rise in front of the barbican would have still had the effect of restricting a direct approach to the gate.

To the south of the barbican entrance, within the bailey, are two faint scarps, one falling away to the east, the other to the west, defining a very slight raised area (B on Figure 19 - also shown in orange). These may represent the approach to the barbican which would have needed to have been reinforced with shingle or some such material to resist the heavy traffic here, though as they lie within the area of Drewett's excavations they may not be significant.

The postern visible today may well have been inserted at this time (above) following the change in the entrance arrangements of the castle. From here it is probable that tracks led away from the castle towards the village and perhaps down the valley to the marshes south of the castle. No sign of either was seen during the survey but these have probably been overlain by the modern track entering the castle in this area, and the modern farm track running south towards the former marsh (Period 7 below). What can be seen though, is a narrow terrace running south from the postern, along the line of the castle wall towards the south side of the castle (C on Figure 19 - shown in green). It is possible that there may have been terraced gardens here (below) and this might mark the line of a path providing access from the bailey to this terrace. It is also possible that this terrace has been created as a result of various collapse episodes here or simply from generations of visitors following the wall line around the castle. Similar, though much smaller, terraces can be seen around the bases of many of the wall sections and towers.

To summarize:

- *The 1360s saw a large programme of improvements at Hadleigh Castle.*

- *The main entrance was moved to the north side of the castle where a new barbican was built. The existing postern may have been inserted at this time.*

- *The eastern entrance was replaced with the two drum towers and the outer works were modified. This included a causeway across the ditch, probably from this period and perhaps to allow construction materials to be brought in.*

- *This re-planning would have changed the primary approach route to the castle which was probably re-routed up the valley to the north of the castle.*

- *The ridge may then have become a part of the private recreational space around the castle. The modifications to the eastern earthworks may include the creation of a mount from which to view activities on the spur such as tilting, perhaps with a small garden below.*

Period 5: Decline

The large spur of land running away from the castle to the north-west must predate the castle as the curtain wall can be seen to rise up over it and the highest part of the bailey is in this area. It is most likely to be natural in origin but with its broad flat top and steep, relatively uniform sides it has clearly been sculpted into its present shape (shown as pale orange on Figure 20). When this occurred or if it was all of one period is uncertain. On its top there is some modern erosion around the base of the High Tower and in the area of the barbican, and at the north end some amorphous hollows and mounds are probably the remains of tree throws. Between these there are some earthworks that hint at possible structures (A on Figure 20 - shown in orange). The end of the spur appeared to have been built up slightly and along the top of the main north-east facing scarp was a second faint scarp set about 0.5m back from the edge which suggests a wall line here (B). A second wall line might be represented by the low bank seen at the south end of the spur running parallel to the south-west facing scarp above the current entrance to the castle (C). In the central area there were some other very faint features but these did not form a coherent pattern, apart from one scarp which ran across the spur about half way along its length (D). Taken together these suggest that the top of the spur may have had an outwork of some form on it but the slight earthworks suggest that if this was the case then it was either a short-lived structure, or cheaply built, or

Figure 20 – Period 5 earthworks, north-west of the bailey (Extract from Figure 27. Letters refer to text, colour coding explained therein) © Crown Copyright and database right 2009. All rights reserved. Ordnance Survey Licence number 100019088

both; perhaps constructed in timber as a response to a specific threat. On the north-east side of the spur is a ditch separating it from the causewayed approach to Edward III's barbican (E on Figure 20 - shown in grey). On the first edition maps a feature curving around the end of the spur is described as a 'Moat (remains of)' (OS 1876; site shown as a grey dashed outline (F)) and it is possible that this ditch originally curved right around the end of the spur. It is also possible that a ditch ran along the line of the track approaching the current break in the curtain wall, which is used as the modern entrance to the castle; the scarp of the spur on the south-west side is depicted on the first edition map as being of much the same form as today, despite there being no break in the curtain wall where the modern entrance is which would seem to rule out the creation of the terrace for the current track. It is therefore possible that the spur was modified to create a defensive structure with some unity, probably of a single phase.

The dating of this work is problematic. It appears to have been protecting what was the main approach to the castle from the 1360s onwards, implying that it post-dated this, though there was probably always an approach to the castle from this direction so it may have been earlier. There is a reference to the digging of a new ditch to the north of the castle early in Richard II's reign, sometime between 1378 and 1381, 'for its safe custody and defence against enemies' (Colvin *et al* 1963, 666). No other ditches on this side of the castle were noted during the survey, and the reference may be to this ditch, though it could have been some way further north-west, perhaps across the saddle north of Plumtree Hill, to control access to the whole spur. This may have been a response to tensions arising after the imposition of the third poll tax of 1377 that eventually led to the peasants revolt of June 1381, which began in Essex after an incident at Fobbing, only about 10km to the west (Keen 2004, 267). It seems that during this rebellion the peasants targeted specific symbols of seignurial authority such as dovecotes, warrens, mills, fishponds and parks (Liddiard 2005, 118). Hadleigh probably had at least three of these elements and must have been potentially under threat.

In summary:

- *The large natural spur of land to the north-west of the castle appears to have been modified to form a defensive outwork.*

- *This is undated but some evidence suggests that it might be from to the 14th century, perhaps related to the Peasants Revolt of 1381.*

Period 6: Demolition

It appears that the castle was finally abandoned in the mid 16th century when it was sold to Richard Rich (see 'Castle buildings' above). Shortly after this, sometime between about 1560 and 1575, the turning bridge pit in the barbican was filled in (Drewett 1985, 13), presumably to make access easier, perhaps to allow the carting away of demolished stone. The west wall of the barbican was also probably demolished at about this time (ibid), most likely for the same reason.

A low bank (just to the south-west of A on Figure 22 - not coloured) is parallel to, but too far from, the curtain wall to be directly related to the possible stable range identified

by Drewett (1975, 108). It does seem likely though that it is formed of demolition debris as it appears to be shown on his Section G-H (ibid, Fig 14, 110). A second bank to the west, but on a slightly different alignment may also be from the demolition of the structure here.

Period 7: Post-medieval and later

The levelled bailey, retained by the southern curtain wall, survived intact until well into the 19th century. Constable's painting (Figure 10) and sketches based upon a visit made in 1814, show this, and King's commentary on his 1862 plan and report on his son's excavations of 1863 states that the external level adjacent to the South Tower was 12 feet below the bailey (King 1863, 86; King 1889, 72). It is not known exactly when the south curtain failed but it must have been after 1863. The first and second edition Ordnance Survey maps (1876 and 1898) show the apartments along the west end of the southern curtain wall as intact which the third and fourth editions do not. These two later editions (1923 and 1938) also show the line of the curtain wall in this area some way to the south of the former line suggesting that the first significant collapse, along this part of the south curtain wall at least, occurred between 1898 and 1923 (the collapsed area is shaded in green on Figure 22). The RCHME survey of 1923 shows the line of a collapse someway to the south of the current line and records that 'a landslide has carried practically the whole of the S. side of the bailey down the hill for a distance of about 40ft.' (RCHME 1923 64, 65). Several photographs also show the slip which appears to be fresh and still in progress (ibid, plates 64-5). A low level aerial photograph (CPE/ UK/2226 5029 15 August 1947) shows the southern curtain wall as considerably decayed

*Figure 21 – Slumping on the south side of the bailey, from within the south east tower
(© EH - DP068090, photographer Patricia Payne)*

Figure 22 – Recent features (Extract from Figure 27. Letters refer to text, colour coding explained therein) © Crown Copyright and database right 2009. All rights reserved. Ordnance Survey Licence number 100019088

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and a slope can be seen within the bailey dropping away from a line only a few metres south of that visible today; it seems clear that the majority of the collapse seen today had already taken place by 1947.

Within the bailey are several modern features. The outlines of Drewett's excavations (shown in purple on Figure 5) can still be picked out quite easily and it also seems that King's excavations may be visible (A and B respectively on Figure 22 - both shown in purple). Within the north-east quadrant of the depression in the east of the bailey (below) was a low but distinct mound (C - shown in grey). This appears on the results of magnetometry and resistivity surveys as a disturbed area with high resistance, and has been interpreted as a concentration of rubble, probably a recent dump (Clarke 2002, 12, Fig 11-4).

The current entrance to the castle from the north-west is a late breach in the curtain wall. The broad track approaching (D on Figure 22 - shown in orange) it is also likely to be of a similar date though it may have replaced a smaller track to the postern gate on a similar line, or perhaps a ditch similar to the one on the north side of the spur (above). Neither the breach nor the track are shown on King's plan of 1862 (King 1863, plan opp 91) which appears to largely reflect the condition of the castle at the time it was surveyed; as he says of his illustrations 'however deficient in artistic skill, [they] will at least be executed with fidelity' (ibid 83). Nor are they shown on the plan of the Kings' 1863 excavations (King 1889, plan opp 70). The curtain wall is also shown as being intact on all OS mapping up to and including the 4th edition (OS 6" series 1939). The track is however visible on war-time aerial photographs; the earliest being from 1944 (US14/ LOC326 3030 3 May 1944) where it appears as a pale scar suggesting a recent origin. There is no evidence for any other war-time use of the monument so the reason for its construction remains uncertain; perhaps it was simply to improve access.

The southern part of the track to the west of the castle, from the point at which it turns from running south-south-east to running almost due south, immediately to the north-west of the main entrance to the castle enclosure (E on Figure 22 - shown in orange), has for much of its length been constructed on a causeway to even out the gradient which would otherwise be rather steep in places. It is first shown on its present alignment on the second edition OS mapping (OS 6" series 1898) but does not appear on either the first edition or third edition maps (OS 6" series 1876; 1923) so this cannot be taken to indicate the date of its origin, it actually appears to be a change in mapping standards. Castle Lane is shown on all early OS editions running straight down the hill here 10-20m to the west. The most likely context for its modern form would probably be the use of the area to the south by the Salvation Army for brickworks during the late 19th century (OS 1898; Figure 11). It could however, have been improved at the time the marshes to the south were drained and enclosed to allow better access to the improved farmland.

There was a building on the saddle to the west of the castle (F on Figure 22 - shown in red outline). This is not depicted on the first edition OS maps (OS 6" series 1876) but appears on later editions (OS 1898; 1923; 1939). It also appears on a sketch map of about 1900 of the Salvation Army colony labelled as 'Dining Hall' (Figure 11). Most of

the earthworks visible on this side of the track to the castle are probably related to the colony and from this date.

The section of the causeway approaching the barbican immediately to its north has been cut through (G - shown in grey on Figure 22), probably in order to allow easier access along this side of the castle south of the modern fence. This boundary line goes back to at least 1876 (OS 1st edn) so the cutting could be of 19th century date or earlier though it looks to be much more recent than this. Trees obscure the area in aerial photographs so this cannot be confirmed.

In the early 1950s the north-east tower slumped to its current position. This appears to have disturbed the line of the scarp immediately to the north pushing it out somewhat and probably affecting other scarps immediately below, though less obviously (A on Figure 23 - shown in red). Immediately below this, an attempt was made to stabilise the slope by the insertion of substantial concrete blocks in the 1960s. It is clear though that there has been movement in these blocks since. Further north, on the slope below, there is a very substantial area of what appears to be natural slumping (B on Figure 23
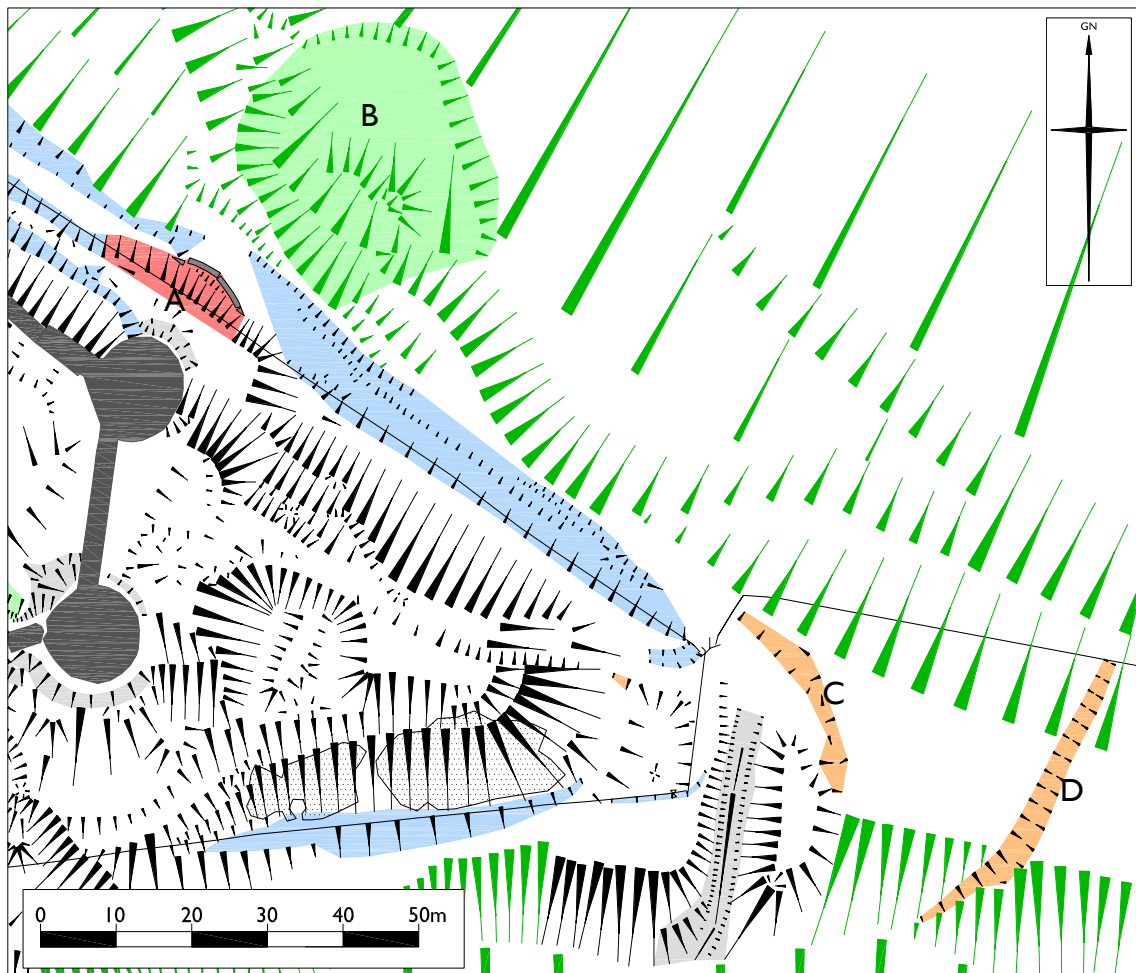

Figure 23 – Recent features to the east of the bailey (Extract from Figure 27. Letters refer to text, colour coding explained therein) © Crown Copyright and database right 2009. All rights reserved. Ordnance Survey Licence number 100019088

- shown in pale green). It seems likely that this was an indirect effect of the movement in the tower above.

Around the base of many of the standing towers and sections of curtain wall, and where paths break through gaps are erosion scars and other path scarps from generations of visitors to the site (shown in grey on Figures 22 and 23). There are numerous minor scarps that parallel the fenced castle enclosure caused by paths following the fence-line (these are all shown in pale blue on Figures 22 and 23). In some cases it is possible that these may be earlier features and in one place a spur has been cut back to allow the fence to be put in (H on Figure 22).

To the north of the substantial track at the east end of the castle are the faint remnants of a path on an alignment indicating that they predate the current fence and kissing gate position (C on Figure 23 - shown in orange). Further to the east the gully of a gas pipeline can be seen cutting across the ridge (D on Figure 23 - also shown in orange). This is clearly visible in the process of construction on an aerial photography of September 1964 (OS.64.172 610 2 Sept 1964).

To summarize:

- *The first collapse of the southern curtain and bailey appears to have occurred between 1898 and 1923.*

- *By 1947 the area of collapse was almost the same as that seen today.*

- *The current entrance appears to have been cut through during the Second World War though the approach track may have utilised an earlier feature.*

- *The north-east tower slumped and partially collapsed in the 1950s. This has apparently had an knock-on effect on the slopes below.*

- *Visitor pressure is (and probably has been for many years) eroding numerous paths on the site, particularly around the bases of structures and along fence-lines.*

- *The outlines of Drewett's and perhaps King's excavations can still be picked out today.*

Undated features

Immediately to the east of the castle fencing is a track breaking up through the steep natural scarp that runs along the south side of the castle and the ridge running away to the east to allow access from the southern slopes through to the valley to the north of the castle (A on Figure 24 - shown in grey). This is very probably relatively modern but is undated. To the east of this is a low spread mound that apparently drops over the edge of the ridge (F on Figure 18). This could be associated with the track, perhaps the spoil from the cutting, but it is probably earlier and related to the earthworks to the west (Period 4 above).

Within the bailey, to the west of the line of the standing east curtain wall is a broad, low spur (B on figure 24 - shown in orange). The presence of building material/rubble in

this area is indicated by the results of a resistivity survey (Clarke 2002, Fig 13). It seems possible that this may be demolition debris from the original east wall here, perhaps deliberately spread out to firm up what must have been a somewhat muddy bailey though it could be imported material used for the same purpose at any time when the castle was in use, or demolition debris from Richard Rich's time or later.

Centrally placed within the eastern half of the bailey is a large circular depression about 17m across (C on Figure 24 - shown in green). This is clearly shown on 1:2500 second edition OS mapping where it appears to be labelled as 'Keep (site of)', though this may refer to the whole castle (OS 1898). It is highly unlikely that this depression does mark the location of a tower keep as there is no mention of one in any documents and no reference to any towers that are not likely to have been on the curtain wall. In any case the castle is clearly of a curtain keep form. Geophysical survey also revealed no structural features (Clarke 2002 Figs 11-14). It seems most likely that this feature was a pond, an undated black and white photograph in the ERO shows this hollow filled with water in recent times (I/Mp 158/1/1).

One feature of note is a single mass of masonry, measuring at least 4m by 4m, partly buried just outside the south-west corner of the fenced castle enclosure, about 35m

Figure 24 – Undated features (Extract from Figure 27. Letters refer to text, colour coding explained therein) © Crown Copyright and database right 2009. All rights reserved. Ordnance Survey Licence number 100019088

south south-west of the collapsed remains of the square south-west tower (X on Figure 25 below). This is clearly not *in situ* as the courses are vertical and it is apparently from the south curtain wall but it is hard to see how it could have got to its current location. Even with the drop in the topography, 40m is a long way for it to have fallen and it is some way to the east of the natural fall line. It seems likely to have been deliberately moved to its current position though for unknown reasons.

Gardens

There is a range of evidence on the site to suggest that there were gardens at Hadleigh Castle, probably dating from its original construction.

It is clear that there was a terraced area on the south side of the castle. Amidst the jumble of slumped material here it is hard to determine any archaeologically significant features. At either end of this area though, there are two quite steep scarps running away from the southern curtain wall to the south-west and south-east (A on Figure 25 - shown in grey). These have both slumped considerably (shown as a darker grey) and it is likely that they were originally steeper and better defined. They appear to mark a distinct change in the nature of the topography; outside these scarps the slopes are moderate with relatively minor areas of creep visible and appear to be largely natural (though this is less clearly so in the vicinity of the south-east tower), within them lies the area of confusion created by the collapse of the southern curtain. As far as it is possible to determine, the earlier ground surface appears to have been fairly level in places and it seems highly likely that there was a terrace, or more likely several terraced areas, here. The steep scarps at each end and the contrast with the natural slopes beyond, strongly suggest that the terrace was deliberately constructed. This topography was apparently still visible in the early 19th century; Constable's finished painting of Hadleigh Castle, based on a visit he made in 1814, shows the eastern scarp dropping down to a level area in the foreground (Figure 10).

It is not known when this terraced area was first constructed. What can be seen today, as far as it is possible to make sense of the remains, are likely to be the remnants of the final phase of their development. However, there is evidence that it originated earlier; in 1274/5 a vineyard at the castle is mentioned. Given the general neglect of the decades following the castle's acquisition by the king in 1239 it seems probable that it was an original, or at least very early, feature of the castle. Vineyards were common features associated with castle gardens from at least as early as the mid 12th century and were typically laid out near the castle but outside the walls (McLean 1981, 92). It is hard to envisage a better location for a vineyard than on a south-facing slope enclosed at each end by steep scarps and with a wall to the north to create a sheltered bowl. Vineyards were frequently more than functional agricultural elements of the landscape intended for the production of verjuice and wine, they were often ornamental and provided shaded walks and arbours (Landsberg nd, 16). They were 'the products of settled domestic life; a castle with a vineyard was much more than an austere fortress' (McLean 1981, 92).

The easiest approach to this terraced area during the early periods of the castle's life would probably have been to leave bailey by the barbican gate following the main
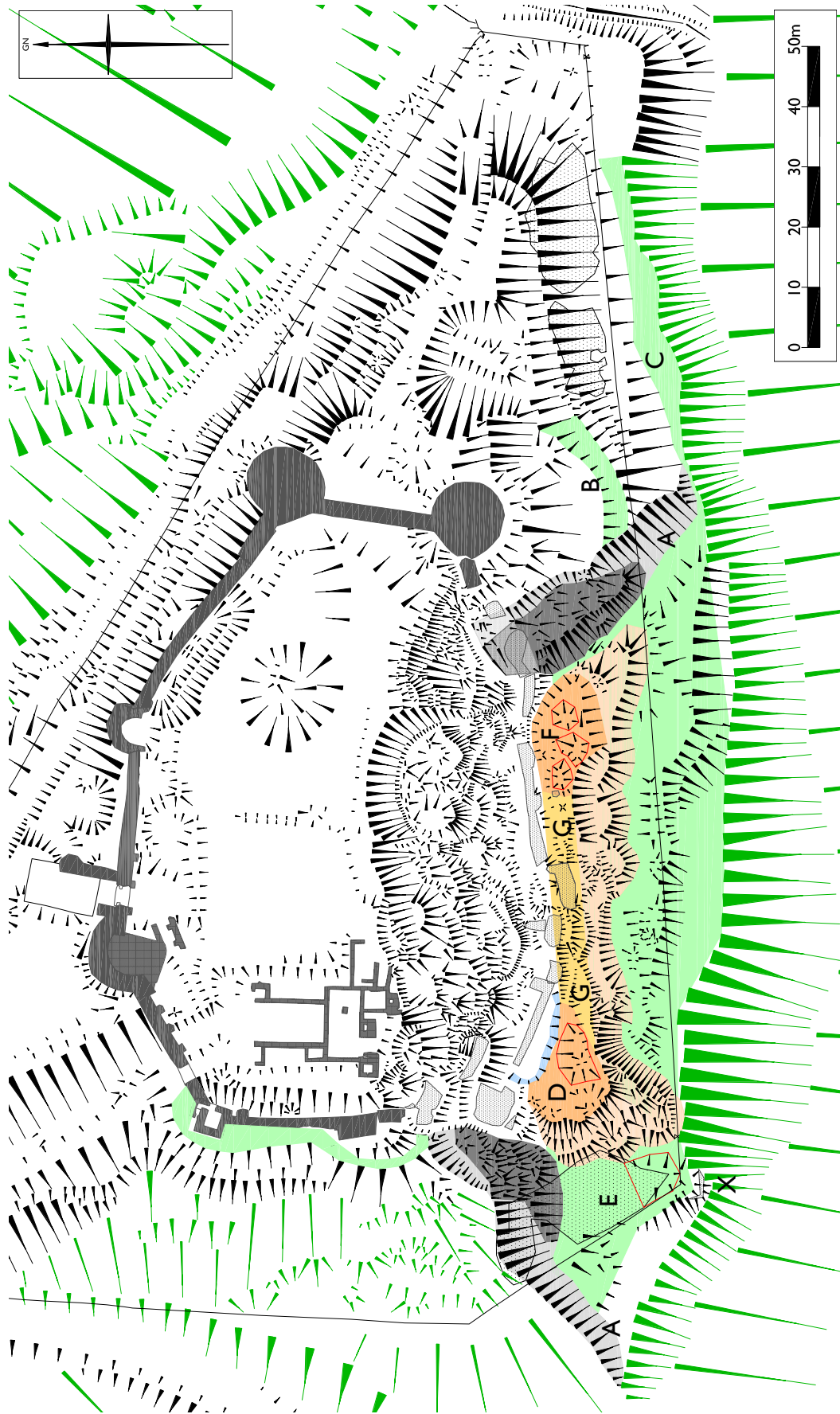
Figure 25 – Garden earthworks south of the bailey (Extract from Figure 27. Letters refer to text, colour coding explained therein) © Crown Copyright and database right 2009. All rights reserved. Ordnance Survey Licence number 100019088

entrance way down until a point was reached when it was possible to head back to the west, either via a path that contoured around from the platform east of the bridge or perhaps from lower down from the top of the ridge before the ground began to rise towards the barbican. A narrow terrace with a scarp above (B on Figure 25 - shown in green) may be the remains of an upper access route that apparently lead to the top of the slope down to the garden, which implies that access would have required a stairway. Several breaks of slope lower down (C - also shown in green) might be the remains of a lower pathway, though the later development of the eastern earthworks, probably during Edward III's rebuilding (above), suggests a later date.

Amidst the collapsed material it is possible to pick out a raised platform at the western end of the terraced area, directly below Edward III's royal apartments (D on Figure 25 - shown in orange) which was defined by steep slopes to the south-west and south-east (shown as a pale orange). Both these slopes showed signs of slumping, that on the east being particularly marked, but this simply means that the platform was probably originally better defined and slightly larger. On this platform was a low mound (outlined in red) that might have been a garden feature or the remains of an insubstantial structure, such as an arbour. Below the platform, to the west, was a level area partly defined by the spur running south from the platform above, that could have been a small garden compartment (E on Figure 25 - shown in green), though most details here were obscured by a mass of scrub. There did however appear to be a low mound towards the southern edge of this area (again outlined in red), slightly larger and higher than that on the platform above, that may also have been the remains of a garden feature or building. There seemed to be a second platform of a similar size at the eastern end of the terraced area (F - shown in orange), with several mounds upon it (outlined in red), though the platform was less well defined, and the mounds seemed more likely to be formed of collapse debris. There may have been a narrow terrace connecting the eastern platform to the western one (G - shown in a yellow orange), though this had been confused by the collapsed south curtain wall.

Whilst these features could be of many periods, some perhaps original to the castle, the remains still visible are likely to be from the last phase of development of the garden. Henry VIII granted Hadleigh to several of his queens. Whilst it is not certain if the castle was ever a royal residence, it was held by Catherine of Aragon for over 20 years and Katherine Parr apparently drew a map of the castle fishery herself so clearly had an interest in the area (above). The last period when the garden was likely to have been in use, possibly even being developed, would appear to be the first half of the 16th century; the castle was sold by Edward VI in 1551 to the first Lord Rich and since he allowed its stone to be used in various building projects it was clearly not in use by this date. Alternatively, the gardens might have been remodelled by Edward III and left relatively unaltered. The southern side of the castle was where Edward III built his new range of apartments. These had a wall walk that would have looked across the Thames Estuary to his new town and castle of Queenborough but also down onto the gardens on the terrace below. New buildings were often paralleled by developments in their associated gardens (McLean 1981, 89-113). It is also likely that the area to the east of the new drum towers could have been developed during Edward III's time, perhaps to incorporate a mount to view jousting on the ridge with a garden compartment below, possibly linked

to the main gardens by a terrace (see Period 4 above). These developments also suggest that the main gardens might have been remodelled at this time.

Typically the late medieval garden consisted of: 'enclosures in proximity to the castle or palace with an idealized, controlled representation of nature. Their ingredients were mounts, walks, grass, roses, banks for sitting upon, alleys, wooden arbours and pavilions and simple fountains. All these constituent parts of the medieval garden […] were destined to linger on, relabelled or transmuted, as part of the renaissance garden' (Strong 1998, 14). Some of these features probably existed at Hadleigh; earthworks suggestive of a terrace linking two platforms were recorded and this is suggestive of a raised walkway connecting two structures such as arbours sitting upon mounts. Many of the others probably existed but have left no earthwork evidence.

In summary:

- *There were extensive gardens on the south side of the castle, probably from its initial construction.*

- *They may have consisted of a main terrace with larger terraces at each end, perhaps with garden buildings on. Below these were probably other terraces, perhaps also with buildings.*

- *The gardens appear to have been originally approached from the east.*

- *They may have been linked to the possible viewing mount and garden at the east end of the castle when this area was redeveloped in the 1360s.*

- *A new access way may also have been laid out to the west end of the gardens from the existing postern which could have been inserted when the new barbican was built, also in the 1360s.*

The northern dam

In the valley to the north of the castle are the remains of a substantial dam, visible in both the field to the south of the stream which is under pasture and in the ploughed field to the north, though here little remains other than a large ploughed out bank with a level area on the upstream side (shown on reference plan at the back of this report). In the field to the south of the stream the dam is better defined. The centre of the dam has been cut through to allow the stream to flow directly down the valley once more and is shown doing so on the first edition OS maps (OS 1876). Upstream there are some areas of collapse indicating the soft nature of the bank deposits here where they have been eroded by the stream suggesting silting of a large pond retained by the dam. This pond may once have been up to 40m long and a similar width. A west-facing scarp on the upstream side of the dam was only visible on the north side of the stream, although an upstream counterscarp and small pond to the south of the stream appear on aerial photographs as late as 1953 (540 RAF 1016 0038 5 Feb 1953) which suggests considerable hill wash into this area, perhaps following an undocumented ploughing episode. On its south side the dam has a noticeable mound on top of the main bank.

By comparing the levels on either side of the stream it was clear that rather than being a mound this represented or reflected the original height of the dam north of this point and that the lower section of the dam to the south may, therefore, have been the site of a sluice of some sort. Below this are traces of a slight platform, possibly for a small building, and a faint terrace, perhaps a track approaching the platform. There was also a shallow gully between these two features that may mark the location of an overflow channel.

There are no stratigraphic relationships between these earthworks and the main castle and the date is uncertain, though it has generally been dated to the medieval period. Various functions for this dam have been suggested including a mill site (as it is described in the Scheduled Monument description), a fishpond or a causeway leading into the park. It was probably not a medieval mill site; though the pond would have been large enough to power a mill in occasional use, no references to a second mill at Hadleigh Castle are known from the medieval period, whereas the mill adjacent to the wharf on the other side of the castle (above) is very well documented. Given that the dam clearly retained a pond it seems unlikely that it acted solely as a causeway across the stream and on into the park. It therefore seems most likely that this was a fishpond, in which case the association with the castle seems very reasonable; fish ponds were 'almost as integral to the grounds as a well' (McLean 1981, 98) and examples associated with castles are known from the 12th century onwards (ibid, 92, 96, 98-9). There seems to have been a fishpond at the castle by the early 14th century; in 1314 Queen Margaret complained that people had entered her land at Hadleigh and fished in her 'stew' taking the fish away (ERO T/P128/8/3). This clearly doesn't rule out the use of the dam to gain access to the park and the pond might even have formed a feature of the approach. The building suggested by the platform below the dam might therefore have been the site of the parker's residence, or associated with the fish pond, perhaps a smoke house or similar. Alternatively, the platform may in fact be illusory being created by the overflow channel.

To summarize

- *The scheduled dam to the north of the castle is not that of the medieval mill, it is most likely that this was the site of a fishpond.*

- *It may also have formed an element in a designed landscape giving access from the castle to the deer park beyond.*

Later remains: the eastern dam and building

Further down the valley from this dam was a second larger dam of more modern appearance. This is not shown on any pre-Second World War maps or on aerial photographs as late as 1947, though a building at the upstream end of the later pond can be seen by this date (CPE/UK/2226 15 August 1947 5027). By 1953 the pond and dam are clearly visible, the former apparently having been excavated to create the latter (V540RAF1016 5 February 1953 0037). This dam is therefore of modern origin and not directly related to the castle.

Almost due south of this dam and pond, on the south side of the ridge, was the site of a building. This first appears on mapping in 1923 where it is shown as 'Saddleback Cottage' (OS 1923), Saddleback being the local name for the ridge here. On this and the fourth edition mapping (OS 1938), it is shown as a roofed building but appears to have been in the process of demolition in the summer of 1947 (CPE/UK/2226 15 August 1947 5027) and little trace remained by 1953 (V540RAF1016 5 February 1953 0037). Ground inspection revealed a few concrete and brick remnants consistent with an early 20th century date. The location of this cottage is somewhat unusual within well developed farmland and it may be that the building was originally constructed as a watch post to protect against Zeppelin raids during the First World War (Paul Pattison pers comm) and it perhaps remained in military use through the Second World War, perhaps as a forward observation post for the batteries at Sandpit Hill, 1.5 km to the west north-west.

In summary:

- *The dam to the east of the castle was constructed in about 1950 but has been breached today.*

- *The building to the east of the castle is probably that of 'Saddleback Cottage' which was constructed in the early 20th century and abandoned immediately after the Second World War.*

- *These sites were surveyed as part of this project but since they are both modern, no plan is reproduced here.*

CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this project was to improve the understanding of the development of Hadleigh Castle and place it in its medieval landscape context in order to enhance its interpretation and management. From this the following objectives were identified:

- Define the extent of the castle earthworks and associated features such as the two dams, and the possible building to the east.

- Describe their chronological and functional development.

- Identify the extent and survival of significant elements of the castle's medieval landscape.

Taking each in turn:

Extent of the castle

The castle earthworks extend beyond the fenced guardianship area.

The currently scheduled area does not cover all the earthworks of the castle, particularly to the east, where they extend almost 20m further along the ridge, and on the south side, where the remains of gardens extend over 10m further south and at least 30m further west.

It is also clear that the site of the mill associated with the castle lay on a tidal creek to the south and is not currently scheduled. It has a high archaeological potential.

The dam to the north of the castle cannot be the site of the medieval mill and was probably a fishpond associated with the castle. This feature is also only partially covered by the scheduled area, that in the field to the north is currently excluded.

It is also apparent that the site of the building and the dam to the west of the castle are of 20th century origin and do not relate to the medieval castle.

Chronological and functional development of the castle

The chronological development of the castle can be divided into several periods:

Period 1: its construction and early use by Hubert de Burgh.

- There is no evidence that there was any immediate precursor to Hadleigh Castle on the site: it appears to have been constructed on a new site as a direct replacement to Rayleigh Castle which was in decline.

- Hadleigh was probably originally an enclosure castle with square towers built by Hubert de Burgh.

- This was probably sometime between 1215 and 1239 as there is some evidence that the license to crenellate of 1230 may have been retrospective.

- Rayleigh Castle seems to have gone into decline as Hadleigh Castle was being built.

- The site appears to have been chosen to make an impressive statement as it could be viewed from much of the Thames Estuary and the natural ridge to the east was utilised to create a formal approach also suggesting that the castle was typically reached by boat.

- It must have been a luxurious residence with a large hall and solar from the outset and had gardens and hunting park from an early date.

- There are hints that there may have been developments during this early period; comparison with other works by de Burgh suggests that the semi-circular north and south towers may have been built by him, perhaps modernising the slightly outdated square towers constructed before he finally fell out of favour with the king.

Period 2: a long period of neglect, followed by some refurbishment and occasional use of the castle by Edward I.

Period 3: substantial investment in the castle buildings during the reign of Edward II, and his frequent use of the castle and its associated hunting lodges as a favourite residence

- The currently accepted historical balance of the castle's development needs to be redressed.

- The major building works carried out by Edward III during the period 1360-70 have overshadowed the story of the earlier works at the castle principally carried out by Edward II, the king who probably made Hadleigh an official royal residence.

- Comparing the itineraries of Edward II and his son Edward III, it seems that both kings visited the castle a similar number of times, but looking at the duration of these visits, it is apparent that the Edward II spent a large amount of time at Hadleigh, roughly 77 days compared with Edward III's estimated 23 days in residence. It would not be advisable to rely too heavily on these figures, due to the inherent problems with reconstructing royal itineraries, but it does show that in general Edward II stayed at Hadleigh considerably more his son, who only started to visit Hadleigh towards the end of his reign.

- The records of repairs carried out at Hadleigh between 1311 and 1322 have not been fully transcribed (eg TNA:PRO SC6/843/2-9) and so it is difficult to assess the extent of building works during Edward II's reign. However, it is likely that substantial works were carried out and the frequent visits of the king throughout his reign attest to the fact that the castle was kept in good repair.

- It is likely that Edward III's works have obliterated much earlier evidence, and this may have contributed to the imbalance in the published histories.

Period 4: after another period of neglect, in his later years Edward III repaired and made major additions to the castle largely between 1360 and 1370. This including rebuilding the entire eastern front, moving the entrance and re-orientating the approach to the castle, and adding new royal apartments.

- Edward III's rebuilding was clearly an important phase in the castle's development.

- Over 10 years about £2200 was spent on the castle and whilst this is much less than the king's other projects such as Queenborough, in terms of expenditure on Hadleigh itself the investment was probably only equalled by that of its original construction.

- It appears that Edward did not choose to develop Hadleigh purely in response to the threat from the French, but because of its proximity to London and Queenborough and his ambition to create a statement of power and a luxurious residence on the Thames estuary.

- The main entrance to the castle was moved to the north side from the east end, completely changing the castle's approaches.

- From being part of the formal approach the eastern ridge appears to have become part of the private space around the castle and was apparently tied in with the gardens to the south of the castle, below the new apartments.

- The new approach was most likely to have been along the valley to the north of the castle which would have allowed for the display of the park and fishponds and taken visitors away from the south side of the castle enhancing its privacy.

Period 5: the castle may have fallen out of use as a residence and instead became an asset bestowed on various members of the royal family for their maintenance.

Period 6: the castle was sold in the mid-16th century and most of the internal buildings broken up for materials, although many of the main elements of the castle remained intact and parts of the castle estate, such as the mill, remained in use into the 17th century.

Period 7: the modern history of the castle.

- The curtain wall appears to have first given way in the early 20th century

- Rather than being a long drawn out process, it has probably taken the form of a series of large collapse episodes over a relatively short period of time, the most recent of which was in 2002.

- Comparing the slopes outside the bailey with the area of slumping within the bailey it seems probable that the slumping has so far been confined to the ground which was built up when the castle was first constructed.

- Whilst the whole area is still clearly unstable, small scarps and cracks set back a metre or two from the current edge of the collapse show that there is more movement to come; it is possible that there is a limit to the amount of slumping to be expected.

- Once the slope returns to something more like its original form it is likely to stabilise considerably.

- If this is correct then it seems that the east end of the collapsed area is close to this original profile, the centre, where most of the evidence for future collapse can be seen, and the west end, which is protected by the reconstructed hall, probably both have considerable potential for further collapse.

Significant elements of the castle's medieval landscape

Hadleigh Castle was surrounded by its immediate estate. This probably included a farm and associated buildings including a curtilage (yard) and barns, arable, meadow and pasture land (including the salt marshes to the south), a park, a water-mill, a vineyard (probably a garden) and the fishery of Hadleigh Ray. There was also a market and fair held at the nearby village.

- The income generated from the market and fair, mill, marshland, fishery, park and other aspects of the estate should be seen as an important part of the castle's history. Not only did they provide considerable income and resources, but the parks and fishpond in particular would have contributed to the impression of power and wealth of the owner, highlighting his access to luxury goods and a luxury lifestyle.

- Long after it ceased to be a favoured royal residence, the castle and its estate were providing income for a succession of members of the royal family and later nobles.

- Most, if not all, of the buildings associated with the castle have been demolished or obscured by recent development.

- The location of the castle's home farm is unknown.

- The arable, meadow and pasture land has also been absorbed by later developments.

- The boundary of the park can be identified although its southern boundary in the medieval period remains uncertain. Its lodge was on the site of lodge farm and there appears to have been a second lodge on its north side.

- The site of the water-mill (and wharf) have been identified to the south-east of the castle.

- The supposed mill site to the north of the castle is probably a fishpond.

One aspect of the castle worth emphasising at this point is the presence of gardens from an early date.

- Field evidence, although confused, strongly suggests that there was a terraced area to the south of the castle.

- It seems likely that these were the site of gardens, at least from the time the royal apartments were constructed above them, and the presence of a vineyard in 1276 implies that there were gardens here from very early in the castle's history, if not from its construction.

- Typically the late medieval garden included mounts, walks, banks for sitting upon, alleys, arbours, pavilions and simple fountains. Some of these features probably existed at Hadleigh in particular a terrace linking two platforms suggestive of a raised walkway connecting two structures such as arbours sitting upon mounts.

Clearly Hadleigh Castle embodied important statements of power, made first by the ambitious Hubert de Burgh, probably by Edward II and later by Edward III.

The castle lay within the honour of Rayleigh, and had an extensive and complex estate that had origins before the construction of the castle. Hubert de Burgh selected a dramatic and dominating position for his new castle, building a fashionable curtain wall castle with imposing towers. It is likely that from the outset the castle had gardens and carefully landscaped surroundings.

Edward II improved the accommodation within the castle and regularly used it as a royal residence, keeping it in good repair. The parks at Rayleigh and Thundersley were both favoured royal retreats at this time.

Edward III made perhaps the most dramatic statement of all by building two enormous eastern towers facing out towards the open estuary, creating large apartments along the south curtain wall, and erecting an enormous High Tower. By re-routing the entrance approach to the castle so that visitors were able to see the full effect of his rebuilt castle and its nearby park, the king clearly set out to impress his subjects and dominate the landscape of the Thames Estuary.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The earthwork plan was produced within Ordnance Survey National Grid coordinates using a combination of Global Positioning System (GPS) equipment and total-station theodolite (TST).

The majority of the survey was undertaken using a Trimble R8 survey grade GPS system using satellites from both the American GPS system and the Russian GLONASS system. A base was established over a temporary control point and an observed control point was recorded using real time differential data provided by the Ordnance Survey via VRS. This base station was then used to provide local differential information and the survey was conducted using two rovers in RTK mode.

The absolute accuracy of a survey using this methodology is typically 10-20mm in plan and 15-30mm vertically (TSA 2009).

GPS survey requires a reasonably clear view of the sky and trees and undergrowth meant that this was not possible in some places. These areas were surveyed using a Trimble 5600 series TST.

GPS observations were imported into Trimble GeoSite V software where the raw data was checked for errors. The infill TST data was then imported and added to the TST derived data.

The survey was then transferred into AutoCAD 2007 3D Map software where some editing was undertaken to clean the survey data. A plan was then digitally hachured before being printed out, and checked in the field. This was then edited to produce the final earthwork plan.

The area within the fenced guardianship area was surveyed at a nominal scale of 1:500 in order to provide an accurate record for management of the site. The area beyond was surveyed at 1:1000 and features considered to be natural (those shown in green on the reference plan at the back of the report) surveyed at 1:2500. All features were plotted at 1:1000.

All aerial photographs of the area available from the National Monuments Record were examined and all relevant readily available secondary sources were consulted.

The majority of the historical research was undertaken by Susan Westlake of the English Heritage's Properties Presentation Properties Research team

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TNA:PRO SC6/843/9: Hadleigh: [Essex] Description of Officer: Keeper of the Castle, 14 to 15 Edw II (1320-2)

TNA:PRO SC8/117/5805: Petition from tenants of Hadleigh to the King, c.1320-c.1324

TNA:PRO SC8/255/12749: Petition from Edmund [of Langley], Duke of York to the King, c.1400

TNA:PRO SC8/313/E68: Petition from [Margaret of France] Queen [of England] to the King and council, c.1302

TNA:PRO SC8/68/3379: Petition from Henry, parson of the church of Rayleigh to the King and council, c.1322

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
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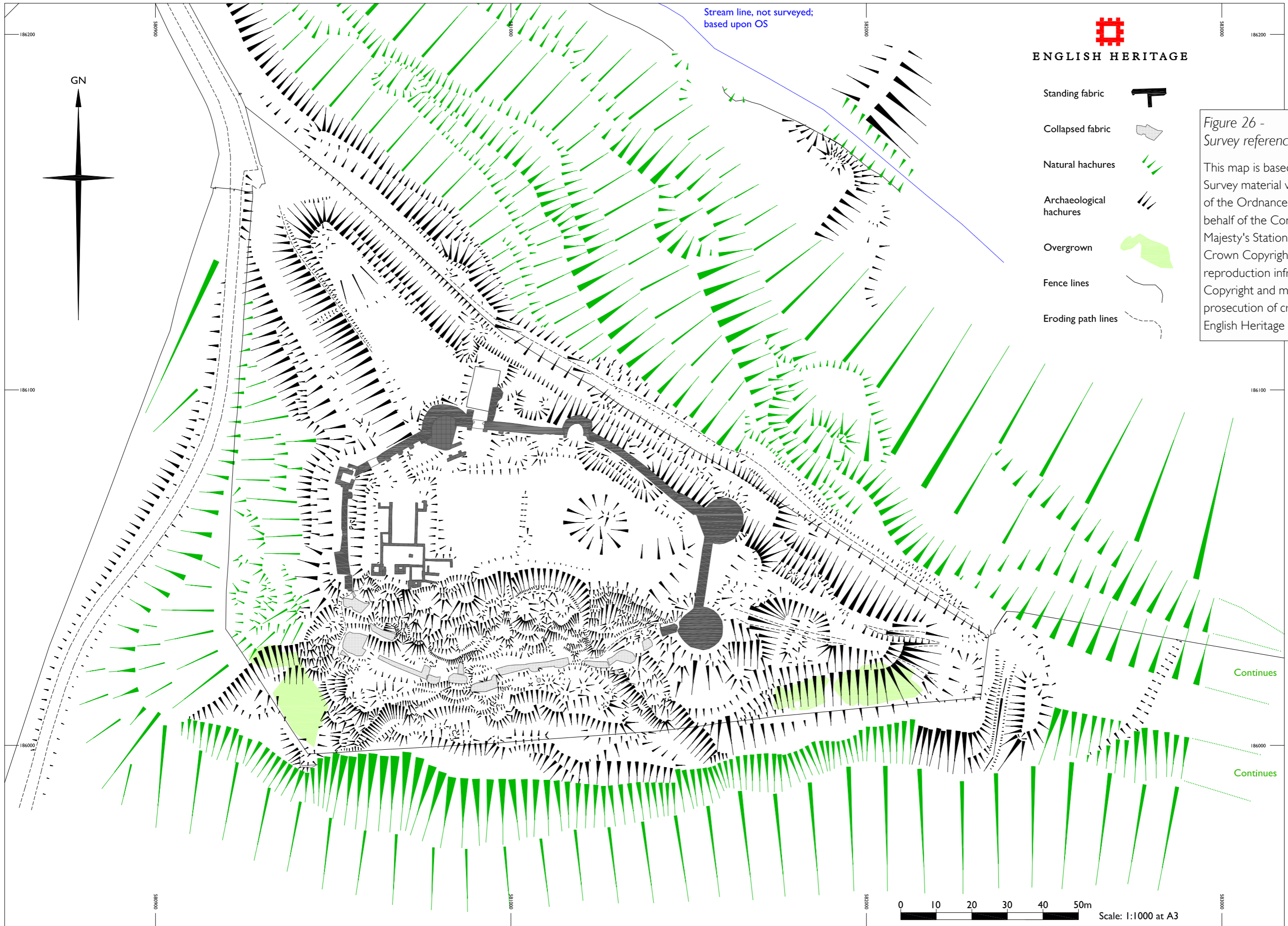
Figure 26 - Survey reference plan

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* *Archaeological Science*
* *Archaeological Survey and Investigation (landscape analysis)*
* *Architectural Investigation*
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