

INNER BAILEY, DOVER CASTLE, KENT THE INNER BAILEY 1200-1800

HISTORIC BUILDINGS REPORT

Allan Brodie and Gordon Higgott



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**INNER BAILEY
DOVER CASTLE
KENT**

THE INNER BAILEY 1200-1800

Allan Brodie
and
Gordon Higgott

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SUMMARY

The buildings of the Inner Bailey appear as a group of mid-18th-century barrack blocks with a reasonably homogenous character. In reality, the buildings are more complex and originate from a wide chronology spanning the period from the 13th to the 18th century. They also reflect a reduction in the concentration of buildings occupying this high-status space within the castle. The nature and extent of these buildings has changed repeatedly, leaving vestigial evidence of the earliest buildings. Along the north-east side of the Inner Bailey, in the mid-13th century, were the King's Lodgings, but encapsulated within the centrepiece of this group, Arthur's Hall, are walls that may date back to the early 13th century. Another surviving medieval building is Keep Yard 9, the Palace of the Duke of Suffolk, as it was described in c 1570. In 1625-6 the Duke of Buckingham converted this building into the Lord Chamberlain's lodgings. John Bereblock, in c 1570, also depicted the old armoury, the site of Keep Yard 8, and Arthur's Lesser Hall, now the shop, both of which appear to retain medieval building fabric. It is clear from the documentary record that there were a number of smaller medieval buildings of lower status that have not survived above ground.

CONTRIBUTORS

This report was drafted by Allan Brodie and Gordon Higgott who examined the building with Tom Cromwell and Kevin Booth. Barry Jones has read and commented on the text.

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A version of this report was read by Christopher Phillpotts who was providing documentary research for English Heritage.

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INTRODUCTION

By the early years of Richard I's reign (1189-99) the Inner Bailey had been completed, and although documents are silent about any buildings within it, there would have been structures along its walls. (Fig. 1) King John spent at least £1,000 on the castle between 1208 and 1215, including some expenditure on new domestic buildings. In 1207-8 lead was brought from London for buildings and in March 1214 timber was ordered from Sussex to build a hall for King John (1199-1216), a construction programme that may have been interrupted by the siege of 1216. This was not Arthur's Hall, but another structure within the Inner Bailey that documents suggest was to the north-west of Arthur's Hall. A new hall, Arthur's Hall, and an adjacent chamber were built in 1238/9 and were ready by 1240. However, within this 'new' hall there is evidence of fabric dating from before 1238. The kitchen was added in 1243 and in 1246 a chamber at the end of the hall was being constructed, presumably a second chamber, as the previous one was only a few years old.

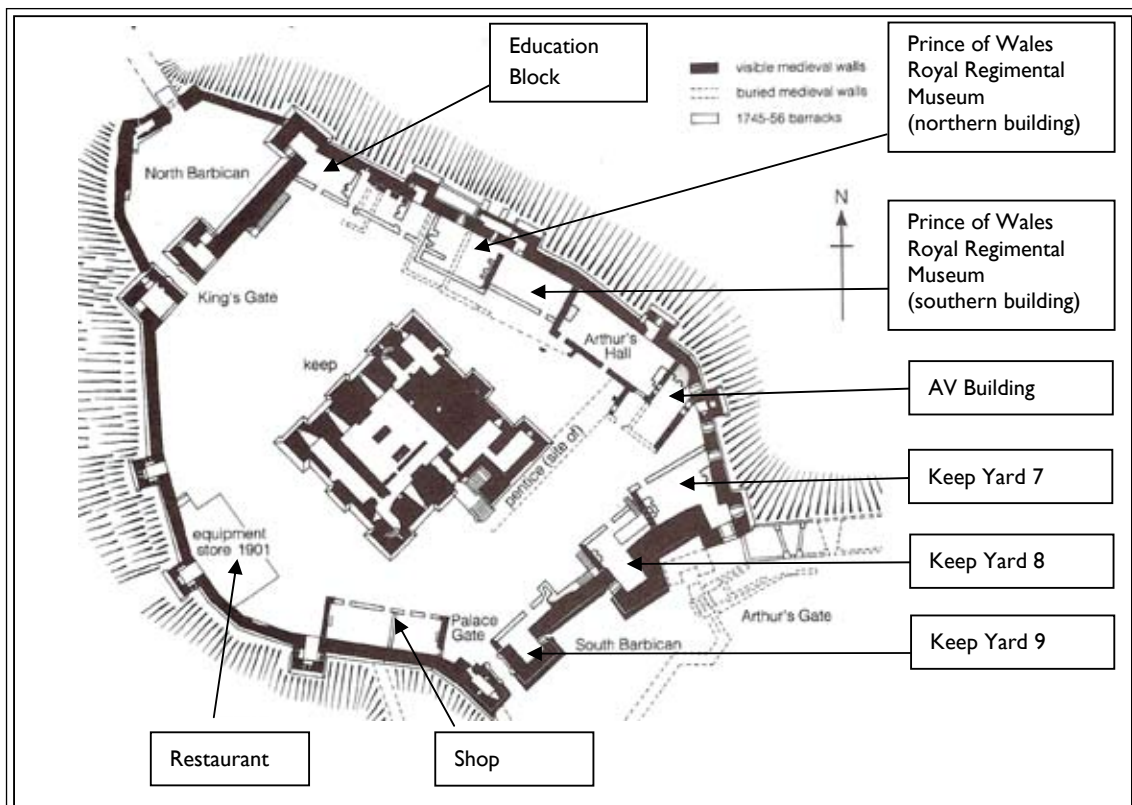


Figure 1. Plan of Inner Bailey from Coad 1995

These developments indicate a shift of emphasis in the way Dover Castle was used. Built as a fortification, with an impregnable exterior, these new 13th century buildings seem to echo the more domestic palace building programmes taking place at less fortified sites, such as at Clarendon Palace or at Westminster. Henry III (1216-72) added new

accommodation at his main residences after his marriage in 1236 to allow the Queen to have her own suite of rooms. Normally this meant building new accommodation for the Queen, but Dover is unusual because the existing facilities of the Great Tower were retained for her use, if she ever visited, and new buildings were erected for the King. A series of 'palace' buildings were being created along the inside of the north-east wall of the Inner Bailey with Arthur's Hall at the centre. (Fig. 2) To the south-east of this hall there were services and a passage through to the kitchen. The hall was entered by a large porch, which had an oratory on its upper floor. To the north-west of the hall were one, or more likely two, chambers and perhaps the remains of the earlier 13th-century hall. It is also possible that the earlier chamber was added at the upper end of the hall, with the later second chamber being at the lower end above the services and convenient for the oratory above the porch, as at Westminster Palace.



Figure 2. North-east side of Inner Bailey, looking southwards

It is clear from documents that in the 13th to 15th centuries the buildings of the Inner Bailey were repaired regularly and remained at the heart of life in the castle. (Fig. 3) However, these buildings would have grown old fashioned by the 15th century and it seems likely that the buildings along the north-east wall of the Inner Bailey may have been subjected to major alterations. During the reign of Edward IV (1461-83) £10,000 is reputed to have been spent on the Castle. There is tangible evidence of this campaign in the Great Tower, but its effect is less obvious in the Inner Bailey. John Bereblock's view of Dover Castle, dating from c 1570, shows Arthur's Hall and associated buildings in a late-medieval style. (Fig. 4) Along the south-east side of the Inner Bailey he depicts the old armoury and the Duke of Suffolk's Palace to the east of the Palace Gate. On the other

side of Palace Gate he shows Arthur's Lesser Hall. Some medieval fabric from each of these buildings survived the conversion into barracks in the mid-18th century. Another change apparent in Bereblock's drawing is that the keep yard seems to have been levelled towards the north-east, leading to the floor being raised in Arthur's Hall, and in other buildings on that side of the Inner Bailey.



Figure 3. South side of Inner Bailey, looking southwards. Keep Yard 7, 8 and 9

In the 1620s a large campaign of work was undertaken to improve the accommodation in the Great Tower. At this time a 'Rusticke dore' was built at the base of the stairs, where Bereblock shows that a medieval, gabled doorway stood. This grandiose arch, perhaps similar to those built in the previous fifteen years by Inigo Jones, survived until the mid-1740s when it was dismantled. Some of its Portland stone was reused as the jambs of barrack windows around the Inner Bailey and to repair the stairs into the Great Tower.

In the mid-1620s the former Duke of Suffolk's Palace, immediately to the east of Palace Gate, was revamped and new windows were created in its main elevation. In the mid-18th century this became officers' quarters and the form of the windows influenced the fenestration used elsewhere in the Inner Bailey, establishing the round-headed window as a symbol to distinguish officers' accommodation from that of ordinary soldiers in the barracks blocks created in reused medieval buildings and new buildings put up around the Inner Bailey.

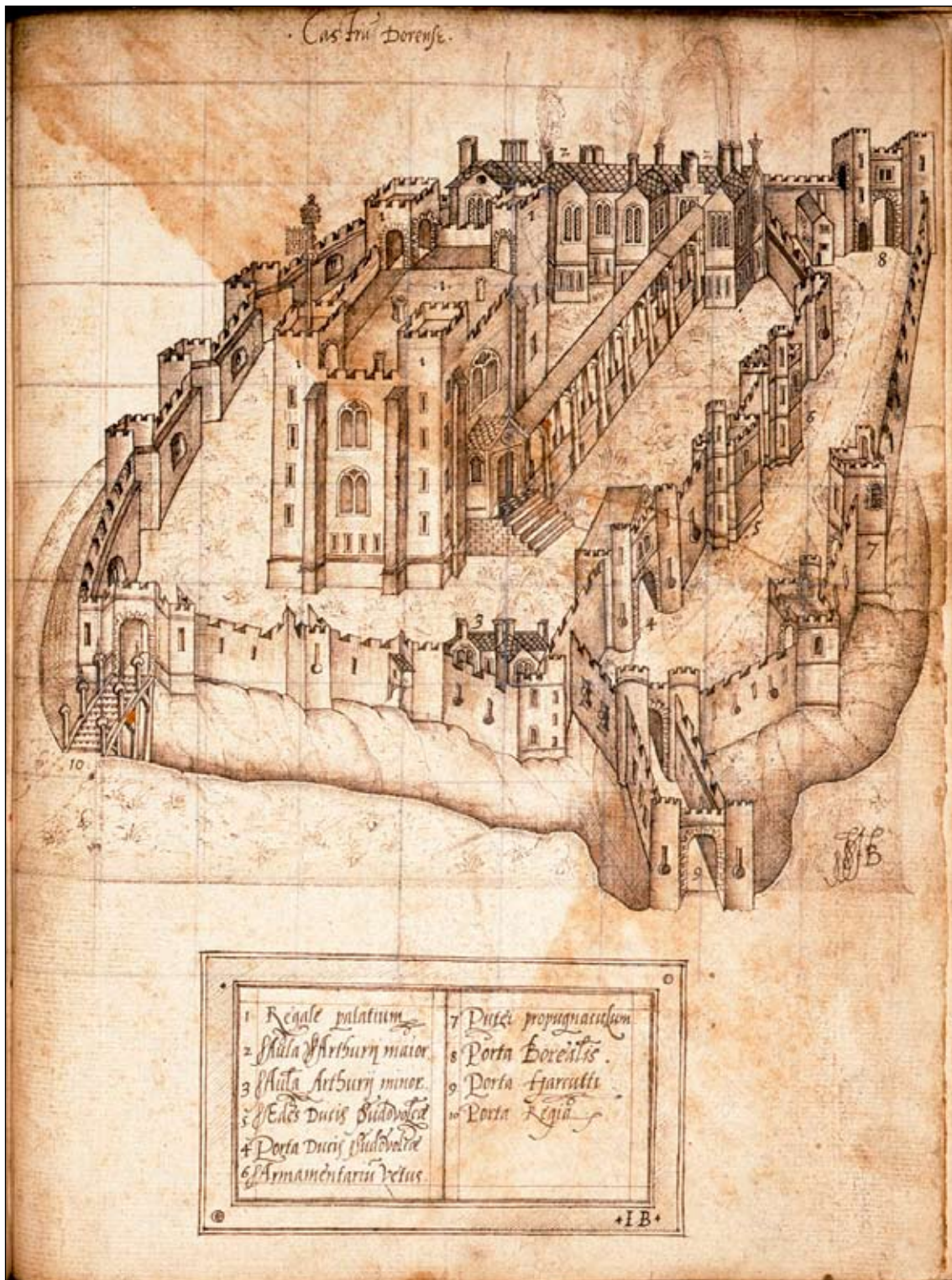


Figure 4. John Bereblock's view c 1570. (Reproduced courtesy of the College of Arms)

Today the visual impact of the Inner Bailey's buildings is one of relative harmony, with an external veneer dating from the mid-18th century. However, close examination reveals that much of the fabric of these buildings dates back to the Middle Ages, much of it as early as the 13th century. Documentary sources support this assertion, but they

also prove that there were many other buildings within the Inner Bailey. Instead of the relative order of the current buildings, the medieval Inner Bailey of Dover Castle would have been a hive of domestic activity, particularly when the King and Queen were in residence.

Nomenclature

The buildings around the Inner Bailey have been referred to variously over the past 750 years. This table provides a list of the current names, and how the buildings have been known in the past:

Modern name	1756	Other Names
Education Block	Officers' Barracks	
Prince of Wales Royal Regimental Museum (northern building)	Soldiers' Barracks	Likely to be the site of the 'Old Hall', possibly from King John's reign
Prince of Wales Royal Regimental Museum (southern building)	Soldiers' Barracks	Possibly the site of the King's Chamber
Arthur's Hall	Soldiers' Barracks	'New Hall', possibly also the 'Old Hall' in the late 13th century
Audio-Visual Room and Education Room	Soldiers' Barracks	
Former Building between the former AV Building and Keep Yard 7		Site of former Kitchen
Keep Yard 7	Soldiers' Barracks	
Keep Yard 8	Officers' Barracks	Contains some remains of the Old Armoury of c 1570.
Keep Yard 9	Officers' Barracks	Duke of Suffolk's Palace in Bereblock drawing
Shop	Soldiers' Barracks	Arthur's Lesser Hall in Bereblock drawing
Restaurant	Canteen built in November 1756 was on this site	Equipment Store built in 1901

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INNER BAILEY 1200-1600

By the early years of Richard I's reign the walls around the inner part of the castle was largely complete. (Fig. 1) According to the King's Works, Henry II (1154-89) constructed the wall of the Inner Bailey between 1168 and 1180, and in subsequent years the expenditure shifted to the keep, the Great Tower as it is known at Dover.¹ Phillpotts suggests that the outer curtain wall was built in 1179-81, the Great Tower in 1182-8 and the inner curtain wall from 1185 onwards.²

Between 1208 and 1215 King John spent at least £1,000 on the castle, including completing the outer curtain as well as spending some money on new domestic buildings. In 1207-8 lead was brought from London for buildings and in 1214 Sussex timber was acquired 'to build our new hall'.³ Coad states that this hall was reputed to be in the north-western part of the Outer Bailey, and that Godsfoe Tower could have been a chamber block to this hall.⁴ If it was simply a hall it could have been in the Outer Bailey, but as it is referred to as 'our new hall', it is perhaps more likely to have been in the inner sanctum, i.e. in the Inner Bailey. In 1284/5 there are references to repairs to the King's Garderobe next to the Old Hall and the King's Chamber next to the Old Hall.⁵ When these descriptions of the location are combined with references to the new hall, the most obvious interpretation is that the King's Chamber lay to the north-west of Arthur's Hall, with the Old Hall to the north-west of the chamber. However, in 1284/5 there is also a reference to repairs to the kitchen and Old Hall next to the double door, as if they were adjacent in the south-east corner of the Inner Bailey. There may be an element of confusion in the terminology being used in documents. In 13th century documents there are references to the 'Old Hall', 'New Hall' and the 'Great Hall', and in the detail of the documents they sometimes seem to be referring to what becomes known as Arthur's Hall in the 14th century. Arthur's Hall may have begun to be considered as the Old Hall by the late 13th century following the creation in the mid-13th century of a room designed to look like a hall within the Great Tower, on the east side of the first floor (Great Hall F09). To further complicate discussion of the 'halls' in the Inner Bailey, 14th century documents also refer to 'la Plathalle' and the 'Prynceshalle' while in 1426-37 there are references to a 'Flandrishalle'.⁶ In c 1570 John Bereblock's drawing shows Arthur's Hall and 'Arthur's Lesser Hall', immediately to the west of the Palace Gate. By this date the Inner Bailey may have been able to boast three halls, the third being the 'hall' in the Great Tower.

The siege of 1216-7 led to a programme of significant repairs and measures to strengthen the castle. Between 1217 and 1221 around £1,365 was spent, followed between 1221 and 1225 by £1,290.⁷ Over the next 35 years work on the site was almost continuous. There are regular authorisations for payments through the 1220s as well as instructions to obtain oak trees. In 1224 and 1226 instructions were given to acquire quantities of lead while on 29 May 1229 20 fother of lead were to be acquired 'in order to roof the houses and towers in Dover Castle'.⁸ Most of the work was probably military in character, but some money may also have been spent on new domestic buildings inside the Inner Bailey.

As stated above, some of the fabric within Arthur's Hall seems to predate the principal phase of construction in 1238-40. The south-east wall has a blocked arch that predates the service doors of the mid-13th century. There is also the footprint of what seems to have been a large stair up to the ramparts of the Inner Bailey in the north-east corner of Arthur's Hall, and excavations in 2008 suggest that there may have been a small piece of wall projecting just into the area of Arthur's Hall, 'coincidentally' located where the front of the dais was situated in the 1238-40 hall. Are these the remains of a building built during King John's reign, or does the fragmentary survival of a structure on the site of Arthur's Hall indicate that the building was commenced but not completed? Would a full height wall be so comprehensively removed to allow the creation of a dais and not retain its footings to serve as the base to support the front of the dais?

In 1238/9 reference was made to an oratory over the porch of the New Hall, and the King's Chamber at the end of the New Hall is mentioned.⁹ On 1 July 1240 repairs were to take place to the windows of the chapel and King's Chamber, as a result of storm damage.¹⁰ During the same period the King's New Chamber, the King's Chapel and King's Old Chamber were to be wainscotted.¹¹ In 1240 the New Hall was to be filled with poor people who were to be fed for one day prior to the King's arrival, suggesting that the hall was complete.¹² On 18 April 1242 an instruction was issued to obtain 20 cart loads of lead and 50 bundles of steel from the Tower of London.¹³ No specific building is mentioned, but one within the Inner Bailey is likely as this was the main focus of work in this period. In 1246 a chamber at the end of the great hall was being constructed, presumably a second chamber, as the previous example was only a few years old. The instruction on 19 February 1246 reads that 'Contrabreve to cause the constable of Dover to have as much money as he needs out of the issues of the county to make a chamber at the end of the great hall in Dover castle'.¹⁴ This refers to 'a chamber' whereas previous references used the term 'King's Chamber', suggesting two separate rooms. Both chambers could have been at the upper end of the hall, but an alternative is that the upper end was the location of the earlier chamber, with the later second chamber situated at the low end, above the services and convenient for the oratory above the porch, an arrangement used in Westminster Palace.

The construction of the kitchen began in 1243.¹⁵ The instruction stated that 'Contrabreve to make a kitchen belonging to the King's new hall in Dover castle'; therefore it was presumably located near the services of the new hall. A 1586 memo refers to a passage 80 feet long linking the hall and privy kitchen to the Great Tower and the porch or entrance to the queen's lodgings.¹⁶ Bereblock's view, which was probably created shortly before this, shows the pentice between Arthur's Hall and the Great Tower, again suggesting that the kitchen was probably to the south-east of the hall and its services. In 1814 Lyon stated that: 'The whole space between the old magazine and the eastern angle of the saxon keep, was occupied by a kitchen and offices, for the use of the King, when he visited the castle.'¹⁷ The catalogue entry to an 18th-century plan in the NMR suggests that one magazine was located in the building immediately to the north-west of Arthur's Hall, which now houses the regimental museum.¹⁸ Therefore Lyon's assertion safely locates the kitchen somewhere in the south-east corner of the Inner Bailey, if not with any great precision.

The New Hall, named Arthur's Hall by the 14th century, was linked by a pentice to the Queen's Lodgings in the Great Tower where the main chapel was located in the forebuilding, and Bereblock's depiction of the pentice between the two is a later depiction of a similar structure.¹⁹ (Fig. 5) Documents refer to a passage between the New Hall and the King's Chamber, probably to the north-west of the hall. The two passages are referred to separately in the Liberate Rolls. On 13 July 1240 the instruction read as follows: 'Contrabreve ... to cause the penthouse between the King's Hall and the chapel

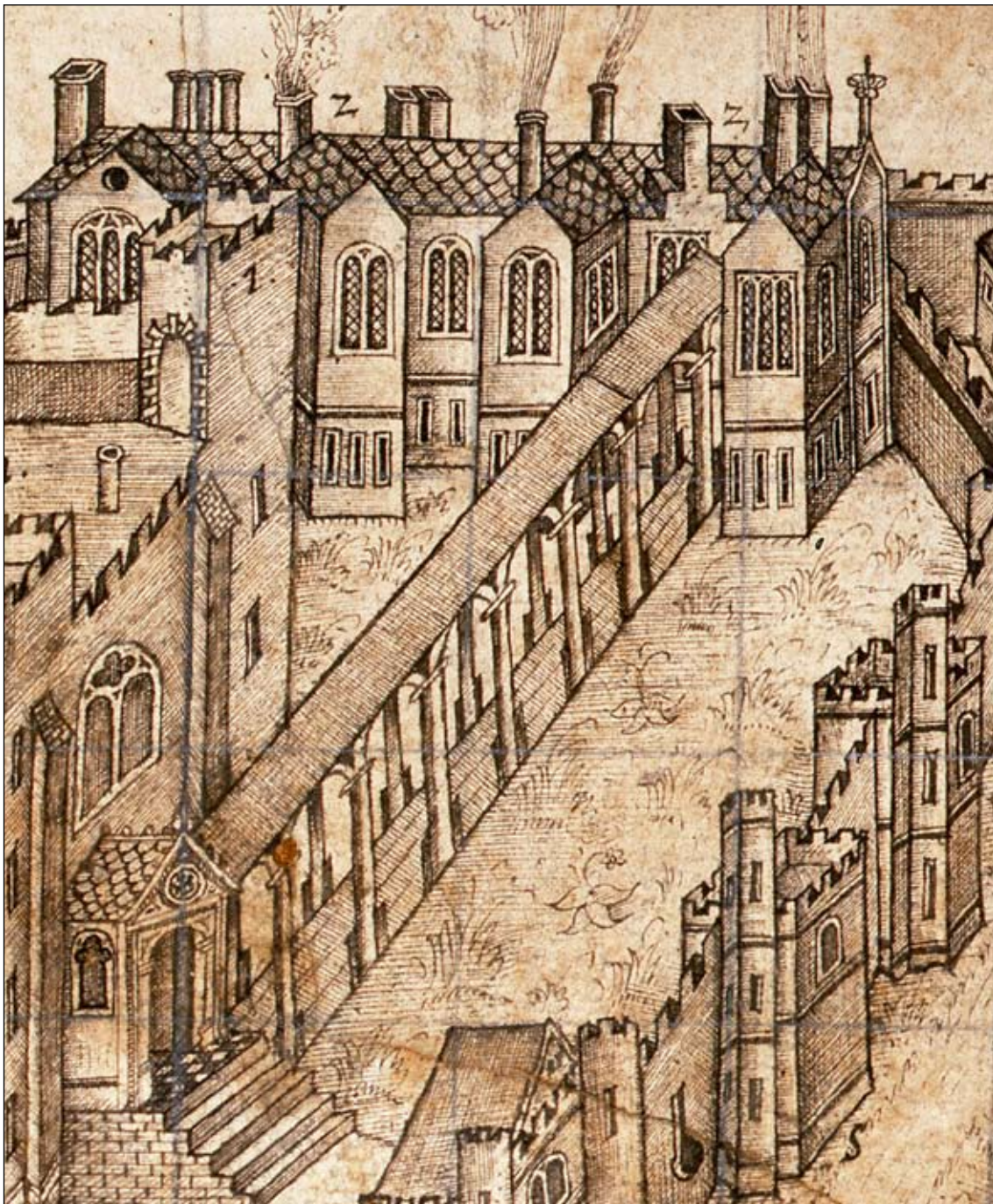


Figure 5. John Bereblock's view c 1570, detail of pentice. (Reproduced courtesy of the College of Arms)

to be repaired and renewed.²⁰ On 29 August 1240 the roll stated that 'Contrabreve ... to cause a passage to be made from the King's new hall of the castle to his chamber.'²¹ Other documentary evidence suggests that the King's chamber was to the north-west of the hall, while the chapel was still the one in the forebuilding of the keep, and therefore two separate passages are being described. Archaeological evidence that supports the existence of two pentries is discussed in the report on Arthur's Hall.²²

During the last third of the 13th century there was an almost continuous programme of repairs, including in 1278 £500 of work to the royal apartments.²³ Master John of Harting was the carpenter from c1250 until at least 1294, during which time he is said to have felled hundreds of oaks.²⁴ An inspection of 1324 identified that most buildings required repair, and estimated the cost at £2,060.²⁵ Some work was undertaken immediately but the programme was not completed. There are other references to repairs in the 14th century, including £222 spent between 1361 and 1364.²⁶ This work included repairs to the hall and other buildings in the inner ward. In 1426-37 repairs were carried out to the windows and roof of the 'Flandrishalle' and two new windows and a door were created in the kitchen.²⁷

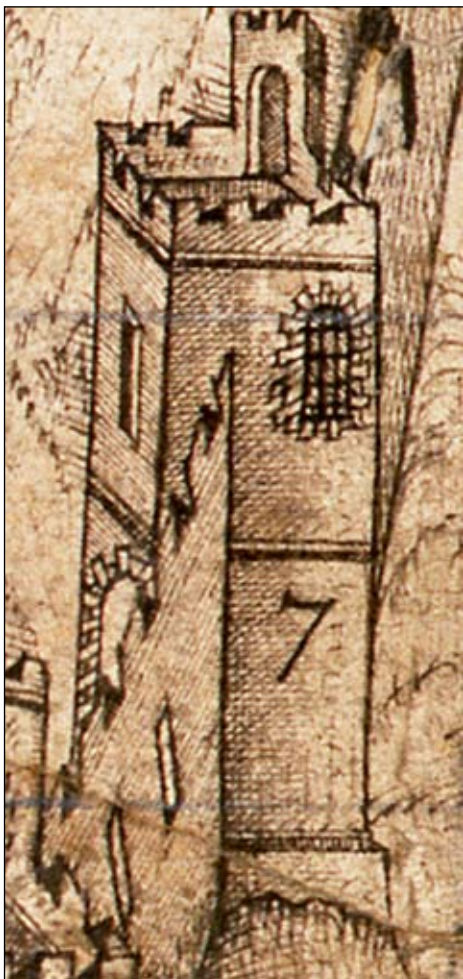


Figure 6. John Bereblock's view c 1570, detail of Old Armoury. (Reproduced courtesy of the College of Arms)

The modern image of the Inner Bailey is of a small number of fairly substantial buildings and the same impression is provided by Bereblock in c 1570. However, in documentary sources, in addition to Arthur's Hall and ancillary buildings, there are references to 'a Larder House', which may have been in the services at the lower end of Arthur's Hall.²⁸ There was the Bakehouse near the Kitchen and Larder House and a Brewhouse may have been beside it.²⁹ There was also a Well-house with a thatched roof and a system of cisterns in the Great Tower and Inner Bailey supplied the castle with water.³⁰ A map of 1756 shows a cistern in the Inner Bailey yard, immediately to the south-east of the Great Tower.³¹

In 1372-5 and 1426-37 there are references to 'The House of Arms or the King's Artillery House'.³² No location is obvious but in c 1570 Bereblock shows the 'Old Armoury' on the southern side of the Inner Bailey, on the site of the current Keep Yard 8 building. (Figs. 6 & 7) The irregular rubble in the western gable and the main façade of this apparently mid-18th century barrack block appears to be medieval in origin.

The sums mentioned in 13th to 15th century documents seem to have been modest compared to the work reputedly executed during the reign of Edward IV (1461-83). Unfortunately official

documents from his reign have largely disappeared, but William Lambarde writing in 1570 said that: 'Onely I reade in Iohn Rosse, that King Edwarde the Fourth, to his great expence, which others reckon to have been ten thousande poundes, amended it throughout.'³³ The fireplaces in the Great Tower provide some insight into the money Edward IV must have invested, but it is unclear whether he also turned his attention



Figure 7. Keep Yard 8. Building on site of Old Armoury

to buildings in the Inner Bailey though with such a large sum invested, every building of note may have been affected. In 1481, William Leys apparently received £33 6s 'in part payment for two million bricks ... to be used in the works then going on in the Castle'.³⁴ Such a figure suggests a very substantial building programme, but there is no sign of any large brick structures within the Inner Bailey. However, brick walls were added to the first floor of the Great Tower, along with new fireplaces in an effort to modernize the royal accommodation.

Lambarde also referred to work carried out by more recent monarchs: 'The last recited statute telleth us, that King Henrie the Eight was at great charge with it: fresh in the memorie of us all, that our gracious Queene Elizabeth, hath been at great charge in repairing the defects hereof.'³⁵ During the 1530s John Leland visited Dover but only provided the briefest of descriptions: 'The mayne, strong and famose castel of Dovar stondesth on the toppe of a hille almost a quarter of a myle of fro the town on the lyft side, and withyn the castel is a chapel, yn the sides wherof appere sum greate Briton brykes.'³⁶

The 16th century left no obvious marks on the buildings of the Inner Bailey, but it was a century in which Dover was particularly favoured as a subject for artists. A number of maps in the British Library and the Hatfield House Collection depict the harbour and, on the hillside above, more or less distant views of the castle.³⁷ Due to the point of view of the artists, the curtain walls usually obscure the buildings within the Inner Bailey, though the top of the keep appears in a number of drawings. One manuscript provides an aerial view of the castle and while it depicts the Great Tower and the towers around the walls, unfortunately the artist chose to omit any buildings within the Inner or Outer Baileys.³⁸ However a drawing in the Hatfield House Collection shows the Inner Bailey buildings as a line of buildings clustered along the south-east and south-west walls, including a building that could be Arthur's Hall.³⁹

John Bereblock (fl. 1557–1572), who is most famous for his illustrations of Oxford colleges in 1566, drew the castle as it existed around 1570.⁴⁰ (Fig. 4) His drawing does not date from 1626, however, as stated by Coad in 1995.⁴¹ A related question that should be posed, but cannot yet be answered, is why Bereblock left Oxford for the only definitely-known occasion and came to Dover to create this drawing. The commemoration of some type of event is the obvious conclusion, but no suitable candidate has yet been identified. Bereblock's view is a difficult source to use. It contains a wealth of plausible detail but it contains some major errors, including reducing the width of the Great Tower by half. His drawing shows Arthur's Hall, though he seems to omit the buildings that lay to the north-west of it. Alternatively, the buildings along the north-east side of the Inner Bailey may have undergone a similar compression as the Great Tower, with the whole range being reduced into what he labelled as 'Arthur's Hall'. Therefore, a plausible interpretation is that Arthur's Hall is the small area between the two right-hand bay windows, where the pentice reaches the Inner Bailey. Along the south-east side of the Inner Bailey Bereblock depicts the old armoury and the Duke of Suffolk's Palace to the east of the Palace Gate, with Arthur's Lesser Hall on the other side of Palace Gate.



Figure 8. Forebuilding of Great Tower on left, with Arthur's Hall and attached AV building behind



Figure 9. Northern section of Regimental Museum, possibly the remains of the Old Hall

THE FABRIC OF THE INNER BAILEY BEFORE 1600

Bereblock's view is a difficult source to use, but it does offer an insight into the main buildings that existed in the late 16th century and examination of the fabric of the modern Inner Bailey confirms the survival of a number of medieval buildings. By the early years of Richard I's reign (1189-99) the walls of the Inner Bailey and the Great Tower were substantially complete. A large forebuilding to the Great Tower provided a grand stair up to the second floor where the king's hall and chamber were located. (Fig. 8) On the floor below were similar rooms and within the thickness of the Great Tower's walls there were various bedchambers and garderobes. There were also two chapels, one in the Great Tower and a larger one in the forebuilding. All the accommodation needed by the King and Queen existed within the Great Tower, but as at other castles, there would have been secondary accommodation, either timber-framed or built of stone, along the inside face of the walls of the Inner Bailey and by the end of the 13th century there are references to a range of domestic buildings in this location.

Henry III created a new suite of rooms along the north-east side of the Inner Bailey to serve as the King's Lodgings. (Fig. 2) Following his marriage to Queen Eleanor in 1236, the King enthusiastically set about transforming his main residences by adding new accommodation, usually for his wife. However, at Dover the new range of buildings were for his own use, his wife having to retain use of rooms in the late-12th century Great Tower. This move to less fortified, more palatial rooms seems to echo the type of accommodation the King was creating at Westminster or at his hunting lodge at Clarendon (Wiltshire). At the heart of the new complex of buildings was the Great Hall, Arthur's Hall, with its services and kitchen linked to one or two chambers. There was also an oratory above the porch of the New Hall, though it is difficult today to envisage how it was reached. As at Westminster Palace one of the chambers may have been beside the Oratory, and therefore it would have been above the services.⁴² These buildings are described in more detail in a separate report on Arthur's Hall.⁴³

The New Hall and chamber seem to have been specifically for the King and the absence of equivalent facilities for the Queen suggests that she was going to continue to use facilities in the Great Tower. In 1277/8 reference is made to repairs and improvements taking place to the King's chamber and the Queen's chamber, and other references in 1283/4 and 1287/8 to the Queen's side suggest she might have had accommodation outside the Great Tower.⁴⁴ However, the 1586 memo, admittedly 350 years later, implies that the Queen's lodgings were still in the Great Tower and there is no definite documentary or architectural evidence pointing to any of the Queens having accommodation outside the keep during the Middle Ages.

The north block of the Regimental Museum is potentially the site of the 'Old Hall', which dates from King John's reign. (Fig. 9) Its fabric suggests that until the 18th century this building was single-storied. Its front wall has three distinct phases. The ground floor of the main façade is in irregular rubble and on the southern gable end there is some rubble rising to just above ground-floor level, as if it contains the remnant of a gable. Above this the building was raised in the mid-18th century barracks phase and the top part of the façade was added probably around 1900.

The presence of irregular rubble seems to indicate surviving medieval fabric, and most of this seems to date from the 13th century. The main façade of Arthur's Hall, the south-west wall, has a patch of irregular rubble at its north-western end and this corresponds to the surviving 13th century fabric on the inside of the wall. (Fig. 10) The adjacent building containing the education room and the former AV room to the south-east of Arthur's Hall was the site of the porch to the hall and the service rooms. Its main façade, the south-west wall, has regular coursed stone, an indication that its surface dates from the mid-18th century phase of barrack construction. This type of wall wraps round onto its side walls where there are clear joints with the earlier rubble, indicating that it is substantially medieval in date. (Fig. 11) This variation in stonework does not mean that the main façade was entirely rebuilt, but that it was refaced in the 1740s. On the north-west wall of the former AV building the rubble continues up to the height of the buttress, the top part of the wall being finished in the larger, distinctive 18th century stonework.



Figure 10. Joint between medieval rubble and regular 18th-century walling, to the left of the right-hand sashes

There were also medieval buildings along the south wall of the Inner Bailey. Bereblock shows two buildings and there are two buildings that clearly correspond with his drawing. In the middle of this range of the Inner Bailey was the Old Armoury and today in the same location is Keep Yard 8 with a substantial amount of rubble surviving in its main façade and its western gable. (Fig. 7) Further to the west, on the east side of the Palace Gate, is the former Duke of Suffolk's lodgings, modified in the 1620s by the Duke of Buckingham. (Fig. 12) Again this building appears to be substantially medieval with irregular rubble throughout. On the other side of Palace Gate, the current shop building was Arthur's Lesser Hall. (Fig. 13) The eastern gable and the lower storey of the main elevation contains significant amounts of irregular rubble.



Figure 11. North-west wall of AV Building showing joint (at right side of end wall) between medieval rubble and regular 18th-century walling

A rapid survey of the fabric of the buildings around the Inner Bailey demonstrates that Bereblock, despite his wayward depiction of some buildings, was broadly accurate in recording the buildings that survived from the Middle Ages. (Fig. 4) But his drawing does not explain one puzzling wall in the Inner Bailey. The front wall of Keep Yard 7 (the north-west wall of the building) is finished in rubble at its eastern end, where the wall was internal and is finished in neat stone to the west where the wall was external. (Fig. 14) The character of the rubble is different to the obviously early fabric seen in other buildings and features on its surface representing the location of internal floors and the roofs suggest it dates from the 18th century. The inconsistency in the wall is that it is 1m thick, whereas the standard thickness of major medieval or 18th-century walls of buildings in the Inner Bailey is between 0.7m and 0.8m. There is no obvious indication that the wall was thickened by refacing and the consistency of the external fabric does not indicate that the wall was rebuilt on earlier, wide footings. Therefore, sadly, the origin and function of this wall remain obscure.



Figure 12. Keep Yard 9, the former lodgings of the Duke of Suffolk and later Duke of Buckingham



Figure 13. Arthur's Lesser Hall, now the shop. Rubble in the gable end and the lower walling of the façade contrasts with regular stonework at higher levels



Figure 14. Keep Yard 7. External walling to right, with former internal fabric to the left



Figure 15. John Bereblock's view c 1570: detail of door that would be replaced by the 'Rusticke Door'. (Reproduced courtesy of the College of Arms)

THE INNER BAILEY 1600 - 1800

Bereblock showed the Inner Bailey as it must have looked at the end of the 16th century but in the 1620s there were significant alterations to its buildings and the Great Tower. This work has been associated with a campaign of works designed to make the castle fit for the reception at Dover of Charles I's bride, Henrietta Maria of France.⁴⁵ The marriage treaty had been signed in November 1624 and formal betrothal took place in December. However, their marriage by proxy was delayed by the death of James I on 25 March 1625 and his funeral on 7 May.⁴⁶ The other driver for the alterations seems to have been to provide suitable accommodation for the Duke of Buckingham, Sir George Villiers, who became Constable at Dover and Warden of the Cinque Ports in November 1624.

On 10 February 1625 a warrant was issued for the payment of £300 and such other sums as would be required, not exceeding £2,600, 'towards repairs of Dover Castle, and addition of new buildings there'.⁴⁷ Most of the works were focused on the Great Tower, but some of the Inner Bailey buildings were repaired and altered. A summary of the expenditure that took place between October 1625 and September 1626, prepared by Henry Weekes, Clerk of Works, includes 'mending divers decayed places in the ffront of the portche entring into Arthurs Halle'.⁴⁸ During the same period another account by John de Critz, Sergeant Painter mentions repairs to 'the timbers that runeth under the Caves of Arthurs Hall and the Gable endes of the Pastery, and greate Kittchin'.⁴⁹ He also undertook some work on the 'the dore of Arthurs Hall, the Pastery dore, and the Gaurde chamber dore cont in all 85 square yardes at 4d the yarde 3s 4d.'. The plasterer's account for the same period also mentions work on 'the Ceelings of the pastery and the roomes over them and the p[ar]ticons there with the ceelings over the portch going into Arthurs Hall'.⁵⁰ The sum of these references points to Arthur's Hall and the attached services still being important buildings in the castle, buildings worthy of being refurbished.

The other building in the Inner Bailey that was subjected to some refurbishment was that on the east side of the Palace Gate, the building Bereblock described as the Duke of Suffolk's Palace. (Fig. 12) Henry Weekes included the following specification in his summary of the works: 'working and setting of old, and new ffreestone 8 archte wyndowes in the Lodgings over agaynst the kinges lodgings and woorking, and setting a new compasse dorecase there of Portland Stone with mouldinges about it'.⁵¹ This is clearly a specification for the new fenestration of the existing building.

One of the works to the Great Tower in the mid-1620s would later have an impact on the buildings of the Inner Bailey. Included in the works carried out was the following item: 'making, squaring, and setting upp of Portland Stone, for making the great Rusticke dore of the Portche leading into the kinges lodgings being 23 foote highe, and 14 foote broad wroughte with Rusticke pillausters, and sondry mouldings, and cornishes, working and setting of Portland stone for the steppes of the greate Stayres'.⁵² Documentary evidence combined with an examination of the fabric at the base of the stair demonstrates that the arch was located there. This was where Bereblock shows a large gabled entrance, and it seems as if the new arch was a more modern replacement of the earlier form. It is likely that the creation of the arch also marked the demise of the long, tall pentice running from the Great Tower to Arthur's Hall. (Fig. 15)

The form of the new gateway is unrecorded, but it may have been similar to designs carried out by Inigo Jones in the previous fifteen years. This grandiose arch certainly made a fitting entrance to a Royal Palace, but by the end of the 17th century it must have seemed bizarre to the French prisoners of war being incarcerated in the Great Tower. Hence in the middle of the 18th century, as part of the phase to create barrack blocks, the arch was dismantled and its stonework was reused. This stone can be identified in the barrack blocks because it is Portland stone and because of its shape. Many of the sash windows inserted into the buildings used by ordinary soldiers around the Inner Bailey have triangular stones employed to create their jambs. They seem to be reused stones, possibly parts of decorative voussoirs that may have surrounded the arch of the 'Rusticke dore'.

During the Civil War the castle declared for Charles I, though the town backed Parliament, but soon the castle was taken by a handful of men led by a merchant named Drake.⁵³ Its rapid capture, as well as its strategic location may be the reason that the castle remained largely undamaged after the conflict. After the Restoration a small garrison was maintained but the castle seems to have served no obvious military purpose and it seems to have entered a prolonged period of neglect. Wenceslas Hollar included an illustration of the castle in a panel within a map of Kent in 1666.⁵⁴ As with earlier illustrations, the curtain walls obscure any views of the buildings within. G Bodenehr, in his compilation of plans and views of towns and fortifications in Europe, included Dover Castle as it was in c 1700.⁵⁵ His depiction is very schematic with the Inner Bailey only containing the Great Tower and one other, obviously schematic building. Celia Fiennes visited Dover in 1697 and described the ruinous state of many of the buildings:

'... the Castle is left much to decay and ruinated, only a small apartment for the Governour of three or four roomes, else the whole is spoyl' d, the floores taken up and wanscoate pulled down; I was in the roome Queen Elizabeth was kept prisoner in till the Death of Queen Mary, the balcony just by in which she saw the Messenger coming which she supposed was of Death to take off her head, but proved the Messenger that brought the news of the Crown and Kingdoms falling to her by the death of her sister.'⁵⁶

William Stukeley, who visited the castle in the early 18th century recorded the contrast between its impressive past and its sorry modern state:

"The castl is the strongest place in the world, of old fortifications; it takes up thirty acres of ground. 'tis an amazing congeries of walls, ditches, arches, embattlements, mounts, and all imaginabl contrivances to render it impregnabl after the old mode, but with highest regret I beheld this most nobl and memorabl fortress, once thought the key of Britain, and that had divers times had the honor to save the kingdom from conquest and slavery, now become a common prey to the people that belong to it. in the late wars with France they kept 1500 prisoners in the great castl, but within this twelvemonth, they have carry'd away the timbers and floors, disabling it even for that use.'⁵⁷

A national reluctance to maintain a large standing army came under scrutiny in the early 18th century and in the aftermath of the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion, the army had grown to 20,000. Dover, with the shortest sea crossing from the continent, was the obvious place for an increased garrison.⁵⁸ The cost of a programme to create new barracks was estimated at £2,647 in 1745, implying a major campaign including buildings all around the Inner Bailey. A number of the buildings bear the date 1745 on rainwater heads, and Keep Yard 8 has a plaque on its façade. (GEORG. II REST. MDCCXLV) (Figs. 16 & 17)



Figure 16. Rainwater head on Arthur's Hall

A series of documents in the Centre for Kentish Studies in Maidstone describe the campaign to create the barracks in the 1740s.⁵⁹ A document dated 'Dover 4 July 1744' outlines the intended building programme. In 1744 work was to be concentrated on the governor's lodging, while in 1745 the works included fitting up several of the old buildings to be used as barracks and this accords with the datestone and rainwater goods on the buildings. The document also specifies that there would be no sashes in the barracks, with windows with stone transoms being preferred.

Another document in the same set demonstrates that the ambitious programme for 1745 was not completed. This 'Description and Estimate for Works', signed by [Captain] J. Armstrong, London 3 March 1745/46, describes works already in hand and works proposed on the Keep and 'at the Barracks' within the Inner Bailey:

'At the Barracks

The Old Buildings I was Order'd to fit up last year to serve as Barracks I set about with the Utmost Diligence; and though the Walls when we came to meddle with [the]m proved every where very bad, yet we have secured them so as (with some additional Expençe) to make the whole very solid and substantial; I shall lay before your Honours what remains to be done, which will make them very commodious for an entire Battalion of men, for the Reception of whom (the Officers included) they may be got ready in a few Weekes.

Partitions in the Barracks and Stairs	50. 0. 0
Rendering and Plaistering	130. 0. 0
Fitting up an old Building for a Cook-room	350. 0. 0
Securing the Top of the Walls with Clay and a proper Coping	80. 0. 0
Galleting the old walls behind the Barracks To keep out the wett	70. 0. 0
A Pair of great Gates to each of the Entrances to the Enclosure where the Barracks and Keep are	100. 0. 0
Fitting up Necessary Houses for ye Officers &c	40. 0. 0
Building a Cistern in the Area between the Keep and the Barracks to hold 120 Tons of Rain-water, which these Buildings will amply Supply, & laying Pipes, Conducting the Water, a Pump &c.a	450. 0. 0
Laying the Ground to a Currant & Paving before the Barracks and making a firm Causey for Carriages from one Gate to ye other	120. 0. 0
Making Drains & Carrying off the Water	40. 0. 0
Building a Guard house at the Verge of the Ditch facing the Entrance of the Castle	250. 0. 0'

This amounted to a total of £1,680, and although it appears that the bodies of the barrack blocks were largely complete, the detailed fitting out had not taken place.

Captain Armstrong also included a description of the works he would have to carry out on the Keep, a total of £1,014 16s 8d, and included in them was the following item:

Pulling down the present Porch at the Entrance & the old Stairs, and making a new Stair-case as far as the old Stones will not do again 180. 0. 0.

This is a reference to the demolition of the 'Rusticke dore' at the base of the stairs. Perhaps the sudden availability of ready cut Portland stone persuaded the builders of the still incomplete barrack block to reuse the stones as the jambs for sash windows, rather than the transomed windows mentioned in the 1744 specification.



Figure 17. Plaque on the façade of Keep Yard 8

A third document dated 28 September 1747 suggests that the major works to the barracks were complete and a phase of furnishing and fitting out was taking place:

'In the Barracks

Some of the Conveniences have been made in ye officers Barracks, as Cupboards partition'd off w[i]th doors to ye same and proper fastnings, and Locks fixed to their Chamber doors.

The private Men's Barracks have likewise been partitioned where necessary, and Racks set up in proper places, for their Arms; and each Barrack is furnished w[i]th Tables, Forms, Pokers, Shovels, Tongues and Fenders.

Bedsteads and bedding are placed in most of ye Barracks for ye use of 360 Private men, and Fires are constantly burning in them to prevent dampness.

The Cook-room and wash-house w[i]th a Barrack over ye latter, built last year, have been plastered and white washed, and ye Purbeck paving to the ground floor is now laying.

The foot way fronting all ye Barracks is paved about 10 ft in width from ye Wall, partly w[i]th Purbeck Squares, and partly w[i]th Pebble.'

It is clear that by 1747 the barracks were almost ready for use. A map prepared in 1756 describes the function of the buildings around the Inner Bailey and this reveals that there was a code in the fenestration of the buildings.⁶⁰ (Figs. 18 & 19) The building to the east of Palace Gate was a medieval building, refurbished in the 1620s at which date it was provided with round-headed windows and a door. (Fig. 12) The architect of the 1740s phase seems to have used this as his cue to provide the officer's quarters with round headed windows, whereas the ordinary soldiers had rectangular or pointed arched windows. The only place where this does not work is the south-eastern end of the northernmost building of the eastern range of the Inner Bailey, where the toilets are now located. (Fig. 20) There is another visual code that distinguishes the officer's accommodation from other ranks. The triangular, reused elements from the 'Rusticke dore' of the keep only appear in the jambs of windows or doors in ordinary soldiers' barracks. (Figs. 21 & 22)

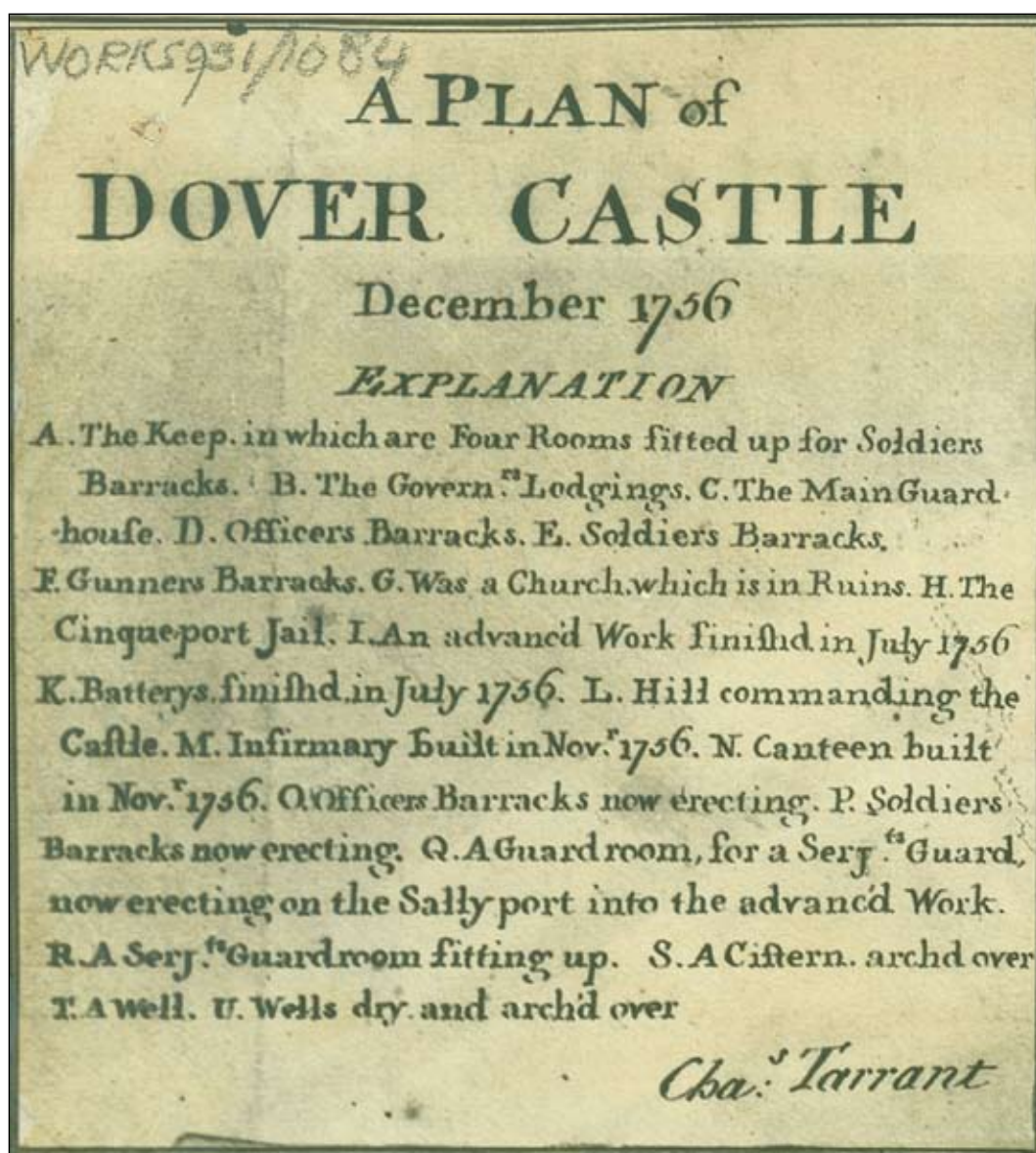


Figure 18. Legend from 1756 Plan of Castle. [NMR MP/DOV0030]



Figure 19. Inner Bailey from 1756 Plan of Castle [NMR MP/DOV0030]

The creation of the barracks in the mid-18th century involved reusing some of the medieval buildings as well as some new building at the north-western end of the north-east side of the Inner Bailey. Statham writing at the end of the 19th century concluded, erroneously, that: 'These buildings were converted into barracks in 1745, and the alterations then made were so extensive as to amount to an entirely new construction.'⁶¹ In contrast, Lyon writing in 1814 stated that: 'In the year 1745, barracks were built upon the scite of these offices; and if the fronts of them were not carried up new from the ground, they were cased over, for they have a modern appearance, when compared with the ancient masonry.' (Lyon 1814, vol II, 68)



Figure 20. The Education Block with 18th-century officers' barracks at the far end, and barracks for other ranks in the foreground

To cover the haphazard assortment of structures, a uniform external finish was employed in which the joints in the fabric were treated with galetting. Where the external face of a wall was new, coursed stone was employed, but where older fabric was being employed without being refaced, the existing rubble was tidied up. The south-west façade of Arthur's Hall exemplifies this twin-track approach, with the north-western end, dating from the 13th century, being of irregular rubble while the 18th-century, refaced section of the wall was coursed. (Fig. 10) Similar differences can be seen in the walls of the former AV building, where the main façade has neatly coursed stone and the same finish wraps round on to the side walls that are both finished in irregular rubble. Arthur's Lesser Hall has a similar dichotomy between the neat upper parts of its façade and the rubble in its eastern gable and on the ground floor of the northern elevation. (Fig. 13)



Figure 21. Window in Keep Yard 7



Figure 22. Door into Arthur's Hall, with reused stones in the jambs

CONCLUSION

The buildings of the Inner Bailey appear superficially similar and few in number, but they represent only a small part of the structures that existed during the Middle Ages and far from being homogenous, these apparently mid-18th century barrack blocks date from the 13th century to the 18th century.

Along the north-east side of the Inner Bailey in the mid-13th century were the King's Lodgings, but within Arthur's Hall, the centrepiece of this group, there are walls that may date back to the early 13th century. These may be vestiges of buildings built during the reign of King John, though it is difficult to create a consistent story from the fragments that remain. The King's lodgings consisted of a hall, named Arthur's Hall from the 14th century, with accompanying services, a kitchen, one or two chambers and a small oratory. The surviving buildings can be matched, in broad terms, with these documentary references, though apart from Arthur's Hall little of their medieval detailing has survived.

The other surviving buildings with medieval origins include Keep Yard 9, the Palace of the Duke of Suffolk, as it was described in c 1570. In 1625-6 the Duke of Buckingham converted this building into the Lord Chamberlain's lodgings for his use while staying at the castle. John Bereblock in c 1570 also depicted the old armoury, and some of the fabric of Keep Yard 8 on its site seems to be medieval. His drawing also shows Arthur's Lesser Hall, the current shop and part of this building appears to be medieval. It is also clear from documents that there were a number of smaller buildings of lower status that have not survived above ground.

In the mid-18th century the buildings of the Inner Bailey must have been in fairly poor condition, but a major restoration programme took place to create barracks in them. Some stone from the 17th century ceremonial door into the Great Tower seems to have been used to finish off doors and windows in these restored buildings.

The Inner Bailey is today dominated by the Great Tower and visitors devote most of their time to exploring its rooms and passages. However, during the Middle Ages the various buildings around the Inner Bailey were central to the life of Dover Castle, providing facilities for the everyday functions of the castle as well as catering for the large royal retinue when it visited.

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