LEYBOURNE CASTLE GATEHOUSE, KENT: SURVEY, RECORDING AND RESEARCH, 2024

Prepared by Heneb – Dyfed Archaeology
For: Castle Studies Trust

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LEYBOURNE CASTLE GATEHOUSE, KENT: SURVEY, RECORDING AND RESEARCH, 2024

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LEYBOURNE CASTLE GATEHOUSE, KENT: SURVEY, RECORDING AND RESEARCH, 2025

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LEYBOURNE CASTLE GATEHOUSE, KENT: SURVEY, RECORDING AND RESEARCH, 2024

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SUMMARY

The Castle Studies Trust provided funding for survey and recording of the gatehouse at Leybourne Castle, Kent (NGR TQ 6885 5891), which was undertaken by Philip Poucher of Heneb – Dyfed Archaeology, with Neil Ludlow, during 2024-5. The gatehouse, which is of two storeys, comprises two D-shaped towers either side of a narrow, rib-vaulted gate-passage.

A range of dates and potential patrons have been suggested for the gatehouse. However, architectural detail shows that its construction can be narrowed down to the years between 1305 and 1325. During this period, the castle was in the sole possession of a woman – Alice de Leybourne. She received the castle and manor on the death of her husband in 1307, and all evidence suggests that she held it, in her own right, until her own death in 1324. Under her tenure, Leybourne was the caput of an extensive lordship, and it is likely that the gatehouse represented accommodation, and administrative space, for its officials. The castle also contained further masonry buildings including a great hall, occupying a lightly-fortified enclosure with one other tower; all appear to have been contemporary with the gatehouse. Alice de Leybourne may therefore join the list, currently very short, of women castle-builders.

No structured survey nor detailed study had hitherto been undertaken. Recording was primarily photographic; survey was undertaken using a Leica RTC360 laser scanner, which will be presented separately on the Castle Studies Trust website.

CRYNODEB

Darparodd Ymddiriedolaeth Astudiaethau Castell gyllid ar gyfer arolygu a chofnodi porthdy Castell Leybourne, Caint (NGR TQ 6885 5891), a wnaed gan Philip Poucher o Heneb – Archaeoleg Dyfed, gyda Neil Ludlow, yn ystod 2024-5. Mae'r porthdy, sydd â dau lawr, yn cynnwys dau dŵr siâp D ar y naill ochr a'r llall i gyntedd porth cul, wedi'i fwatio ag asennau.

Awgrymwyd ystod o ddyddiadau a noddwyr posibl ar gyfer y porthdy. Fodd bynnag, mae manylion pensaernïol yn dangos y gellir cyfyngu ei adeiladu i'r blynyddoedd rhwng 1305 a 1325. Yn ystod y cyfnod hwn, roedd y castell ym meddiant unig fenyw – Alice de Leybourne. Derbyniodd y castell a'r faenor ar farwolaeth ei gŵr ym 1307, ac mae'r holl dystiolaeth yn awgrymu iddi ei ddal, yn ei rhinwedd ei hun, hyd at ei marwolaeth ei hun ym 1324. O dan ei chyfnod yn y weinidogaeth, Leybourne oedd capwt arglwyddiaeth helaeth, ac mae'n debygol bod y porthdy yn cynrychioli llety, a lle gweinyddol, i'w swyddogion. Roedd y castell hefyd yn cynnwys adeiladau cerrig pellach gan gynnwys neuadd fawr, a oedd yn meddiannu lloc wedi'i amddiffyn ychydig gydag un tŵr arall; ymddengys bod pob un wedi bod yn gyfoes â'r porthdy. Felly, gall Alice de Leybourne ymuno â'r rhestr, sy'n fyr iawn ar hyn o bryd, o fenywod sy'n adeiladwyr cestyll.

Nid oedd unrhyw arolwg strwythuredig nac astudiaeth fanwl wedi'i chynnal hyd yn hyn. Roedd y cofnodi'n ffotograffig yn bennaf; cynhaliwyd yr arolwg gan ddefnyddio sganiwr laser Leica RTC360, a fydd yn cael ei gyflwyno ar wahân ar wefan Ymddiriedolaeth Astudiaethau Cestyll.

EXTENDED SUMMARY

The Castle Studies Trust provided funding for survey and recording of the gatehouse at Leybourne Castle, Kent (NGR TQ 6885 5891), which was undertaken by Philip Poucher of Heneb – Dyfed Archaeology during late 2024. The accompanying research, interpretation and reporting were undertaken by Neil Ludlow.

Leybourne Castle was first mentioned in 1260, but appears to be an eleventh- or twelfth-century ringwork that was later 'fortified' in masonry, rather lightly, to become a rectangular courtyard house. The masonry work comprised a large gatehouse at the north end of the enclosure, the outer part of which survives and comprises two D-shaped towers either side of a narrow, rib-vaulted gate-passage. The entry, beneath a high outer arch, is deeply set back between the towers, and is overlain by a 'letterbox' chute of the kind best known at Caerphilly Castle (Glam.). A D-shaped latrine turret projects from the western gate-tower. The gatehouse was attached to a large, rectangular storeyed building – now gone – that may have been a chamber-block. The latter appears to have been connected by a passage to a third D-shaped tower at the southeast corner. This tower lies opposite a smaller, rectangular building at the southwest corner, that may represent a service-block with a Great Hall (now gone) lying between them. The western side of the castle was defined by a lowish wall.

The castle has been continually inhabited, in one form or another, since the medieval period and the gatehouse has been incorporated within successive post-medieval residences, undergoing substantial alteration. A sixteenth-century house of some quality had become a farmhouse by c.1600, and the castle consequently saw no involvement in the Civil War (1642-49). The present house was built during the 1930s by W. H. Godfrey, in the Arts-and-Crafts manner, and it is still a privately-owned family residence.

The castle is a Scheduled Ancient Monument (SAM No. 1007461), and is Grade II listed (LB No. 1363097). The gatehouse itself is of national, possibly international significance, with a somewhat unusual design long thought to represent an important transitional stage in gatehouse development. Modern investigation, however, has been limited and no structured survey nor detailed study had hitherto been undertaken. The current project therefore aimed to clarify its design, dating, affinities and patron. Recording was primarily photographic; survey was undertaken using a Leica RTC360 laser scanner, which will be presented separately on the Castle Studies Trust website.*

A range of dates and potential patrons have been suggested for the gatehouse, with a date in the late 1260s receiving general favour. Stylistic evidence however shows that its construction can be narrowed down to the years between 1305 and 1325. During this period, the castle was in the sole possession of a woman – Alice de Leybourne. She received the castle and manor on the death of her husband in 1307, and all evidence suggests that she held it, in her own right, until her own death in 1324. Under her tenure, Leybourne was the caput of an extensive lordship, and it is likely that the gatehouse represented accommodation, and administrative space, for its officials. The work shows influence from the Welsh borderlands, probably via two Marcher families, the Valences and the Cliffords, with whom the Leybourne family had long-standing associations. Alice de Leybourne may therefore join the list, currently very short, of women castle-builders.

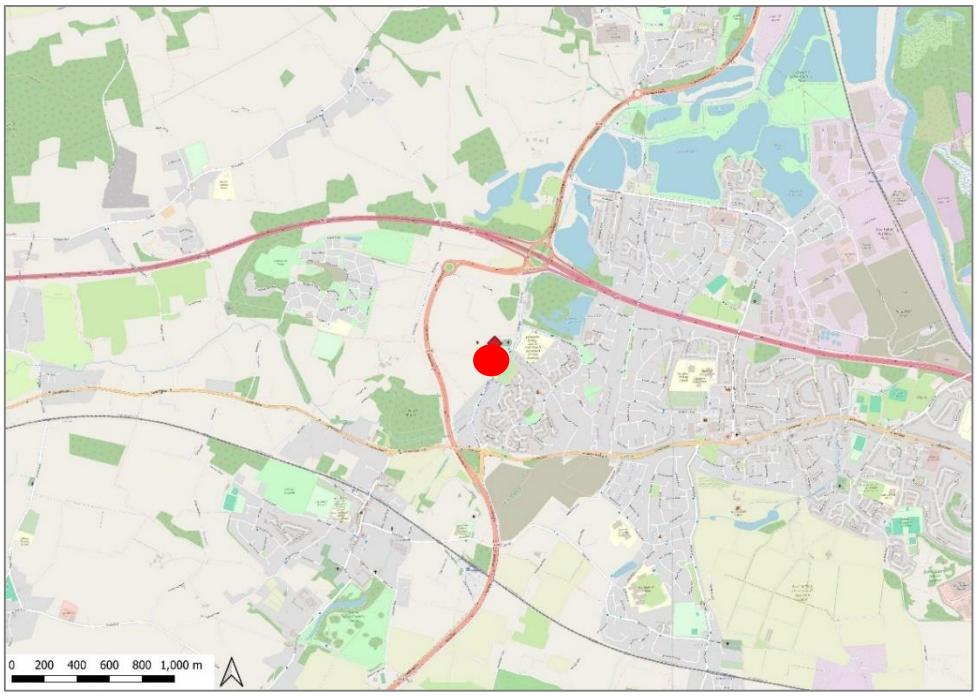
A number of other results have emerged. I suggest that a significant amount of work was undertaken by the Leybournes at Leeds Castle, Kent, before it was acquired by Edward I's queen Eleanor in c.1278, that this work included the creation of the lakes for which the site is celebrated, and that they may have been the inspiration for the lakes at Caerphilly Castle. It is also possible that the extensive work from c.1300 at Brough Castle, Westmorland, was undertaken by another woman – Alice's aunt, Idonea de Leybourne.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This report describes the results of laser-scan survey, recording and research at Leybourne Castle, near Maindstone in Kent (NGR TQ 6885 5891; SAM No. 1007461). Survey and detailed recording was confined to the gatehouse, but has been intergrated within a wider study of the castle as a whole. The work was carried out by Neil Ludlow, and Phil Poucher of Heneb – Dyfed Archaeology (formerly Dyfed Archaeological Trust), during 2024-5. It was wholly-funded by the Castle Studies Trust (CST). This report has been prepared by Neil Ludlow; survey work, and presentation of survey results, is by Philip Poucher.

Leybourne Castle is a privately-owned as a permanent family residence, and no part of it is open to the public. However, visits by interested parties are permitted by prior request.

Fig. 1: Location map of Leybourne Castle
Map data from OpenStreetMap (OSM) https://www.openstreetmap.org/copyright 09/09/24



1.1 Aims and objectives

Leybourne Castle gatehouse is of national, possibly international significance to architectural history and castle studies. It is of unusual design, and has long been thought to represent a transitional stage in gatehouse development, between the simple twin-towered gatehouse of the mid-thirteenth century and the more complex 'keep-gatehouses' (or 'Tonbridge gatehouses') of the late thirteenth century. Of two storeys, it comprises two D-shaped towers either side of a narrow gate-passage that was formerly rib-vaulted. The entry, beneath a high outer arch, is deeply set back between the towers, and is overlain by a 'letterbox' chute of the kind best known at Caerphilly Castle, apparently lead-lined. A latrine turret projects from the western tower. The towers are pierced by a series of arrowloops at ground-floor level, and windows at first-floor level.

No structured recording of the gatehouse has hitherto taken place. The published drawings rely on drawings produced in 1927 by Sidney Toy which are incorrect and misleading, but have nevertheless been used to interpret the building. The latrine turret is depicted as semicircular, projecting from the gate-tower at right angles like the latrine turret in the gatehouse at Llangibby Castle, Monmouthshire: it is in fact D-shaped, with its axis parallel to the gate-tower. In addition, the cruciform arrowloops were subject to considerable alteration during the eighteenth-twentieth centuries. They are shown with four terminal oillets in one version of Toy's drawings, but oillets are absent altogether from another version. The loops are crucial to understanding the date and affinities of the gatehouse.

The project therefore aimed to clarify some of these fundamental issues. Accurate, up-to-date survey drawings of the gatehouse were obtained using a laser scanner. The openings, and all other architectural detail, were subjected to close analysis to establish their original form: this included study of all available antiquarian print and early photographic evidence. A programme of research was undertaken, building on work already undertaken by Neil Ludlow for a paper published in 2022 (Ludlow 2022). The present owner of the castle has a considerable archive of written and pictorial material, which was also consulted and, where permitted, has been reproduced in this report.

The main outcomes are –

- This report, which includes methodologies used, any constraints, the results of the survey and research, and their interpretation. The date, patron and affinities of the gatehouse are discussed, along with its historical context, development and subsequent alteration.
- A detailed record of the gatehouse fabric, internally and externally.
- A full suite of survey drawings. All openings, features, detail and levels are shown.
- Fully-rendered 3D models of the laser-scan survey.

1.2 Report outline

This report describes and discusses the results of the recording and research. The laser-scan survey data will be posted on the Castle Studies Trust website separately from this report.

1.3 Survey methodology (Philip Poucher)

3D laser scanning is a non-intrusive method of capturing the spatial geometry of a structure in the form of a point cloud to develop an accurate multi-dimensional digital representation of the structure. The scanner works by projecting light onto a surface and capturing the reflection. It measures the time taken for the light to return, determining the distance of each point. These points are represented by XYZ coordinates and are collected digitally to reconstruct the building in three dimensions. The resulting images result in millions of 3D measurement points. A built-in camera allows texture and colour to be added to the point cloud data.

1.3.1 Scanning and registration

A full 3D laser scan of the external and internal faces of Leybourne Castle Gatehouse was carried out using a Faro Focus laser scanner. Constant waves of infrared light of varying length are projected outward from the scanner on a 360° by 300° field of view. The light is then reflected back from solid objects with the distance accurately determined by measuring the phase shifts in the waves of infrared light. The single point-measurements are repeated up to 2 million times per second. The result is a point cloud; a three-dimensional data set of the scanner's environment. 13 megapixel cameras capture high dynamic range (HDR) images to produce photo-realistic 3D scans.

A total of 30 scan set-up points were used within and around the gatehouse structure to ensure intervisibility between set-ups and a sufficient overlap in the scan data to allow for a full and accurate survey of the entire structure.

On-site data capture and processing was completed using Faro Stream. Once the survey was complete the point cloud data was registered and processed using Faro Scene. This software allows the scan data to be checked, cleaned, accurately registered, and saved in multiple formats.

1.3.2 Processing, analysis and presentation

Further interrogation of the point cloud data was undertaken using a suite of Autodesk software, including Autodesk Recap and Autodesk Revit. This software was also used to assist in the production of accurate 2D plans, sections and elevations.

The data will be presented to the client as e57 files, which is a common exchange format using by a multitude of 3D CAD software programmes. The data will also be presented in .rcp and .rcs formats for visualisation and use in Autodesk Recap.

1.3.3 Photography

To accompany the 3D laser scan a full photographic record of the gatehouse was undertaken. Photographs were be taken using a high resolution digital camera at 20 megapixels + (Canon EOS 200D). Photographic scales were used.

Photographs included general views of the structure, elevations at oblique and right angles, overall appearance of internal rooms and circulation areas, and internal medieval detail.

1.4 Abbreviations

All sites are located by their National Grid Reference (NGR). Scheduled Ancient Monument (SAM). Listed Building (LB). Altitude is expressed to Ordnance Datum (OD).

1.5 Timeline

The following timeline is used within this report to give date ranges for the various archaeological periods mentioned within the text.

Period	Approximate date	
Palaeolithic –	*c.*450,000 – 10,000 BC	Prehistoric
Mesolithic –	*c.* 10,000 – 4400 BC	
Neolithic –	*c.*4400 – 2300 BC	
Bronze Age –	*c.*2300 – 700 BC	
Iron Age –	*c.*700 BC – AD 43	
Roman (Romano-British) Period –	AD 43 – *c.* AD 410	Historic
Post-Roman / Early Medieval Period –	*c.* AD 410 – AD 1086	
Medieval Period –	1086 – 1536	
Post-Medieval Period –	1536 – 1899	
Modern –	20th century onwards	

1.6 Acknowledgements

Many thanks to the Castle Studies Trust for funding the project. Thanks also to the owner, Alan Albert, for access to the castle and for making available his archive of historic photos. I am also grateful to: Phil Poucher (Heneb – Dyfed Archaeology), for undertaking the survey; Richard Eales and Edward Impey for supporting the application, and to Richard in particular for reading through a draft of this report; John Goodall, for providing further historic photos and plans; Rupert Austin (Canterbury Archaeological Trust) and Dan Swift (Archaeology South-East), for much additional assistance including supplying reports on groundworks at the castle. A very lively visit by CST patrons took place in March 2025 and thanks go to all attendees, in particular Dr Catriona Cooper (Canterbury Christ Church University) for a number of valuable suggestions.

2.0 LEYBOURNE CASTLE: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

Leybourne Castle, near Maidstone in Kent (NGR TQ 6885 5891), has been continually inhabited in one form or another since the medieval period and successive episodes of decay, alteration and landscaping have obscured much of its original form. Held by the Leybourne family from the mid-late twelfth century until 1367, it is still a privately-owned family residence.

It is not known exactly when the castle was established. It is first mentioned in 1260, but almost certainly has earlier origins as an eleventh- or twelfth-century ringwork. A smallish subcircular enclosure, around 45 metres across, is now much eroded and masked by later development; the bank has now disappeared, but the ditch is still reasonably well-defined (Figs. 2 and 38).

At a later date, the ringwork was given a masonry wall. This too has also largely gone, but the remains of the gatehouse, and a further tower, survive to varying degrees, apparently belonging to a lightly-fortified, rectangular courtyard house that was rather awkwardly superimposed upon the earlier ringwork (Fig. 2). All masonry is in local Kentish Ragstone rubble, unsquared and roughly coursed, with limited use of freestone.

The gatehouse lies at the northern apex of the enclosure. Only the outer part still survives, but is more-or-less complete (Figs. 3 and 4). Of two storeys, it comprises two D-shaped towers either side of a narrow gate-passage that was formerly rib-vaulted. The entry, beneath a high outer arch, is deeply set back between the towers, and is overlain by a 'letterbox' chute of the kind best known at Caerphilly Castle (Glam.). A latrine turret projects from the western tower. The towers are pierced by a series of cruciform arrowloops at ground-floor level, and windows at first-floor level. The gatehouse was incorporated within successive post-medieval buildings, when many of its openings were altered while a number of new ones were inserted. Part of another D-shaped tower survives at the southeast corner, and is probably contemporary with the gatehouse.

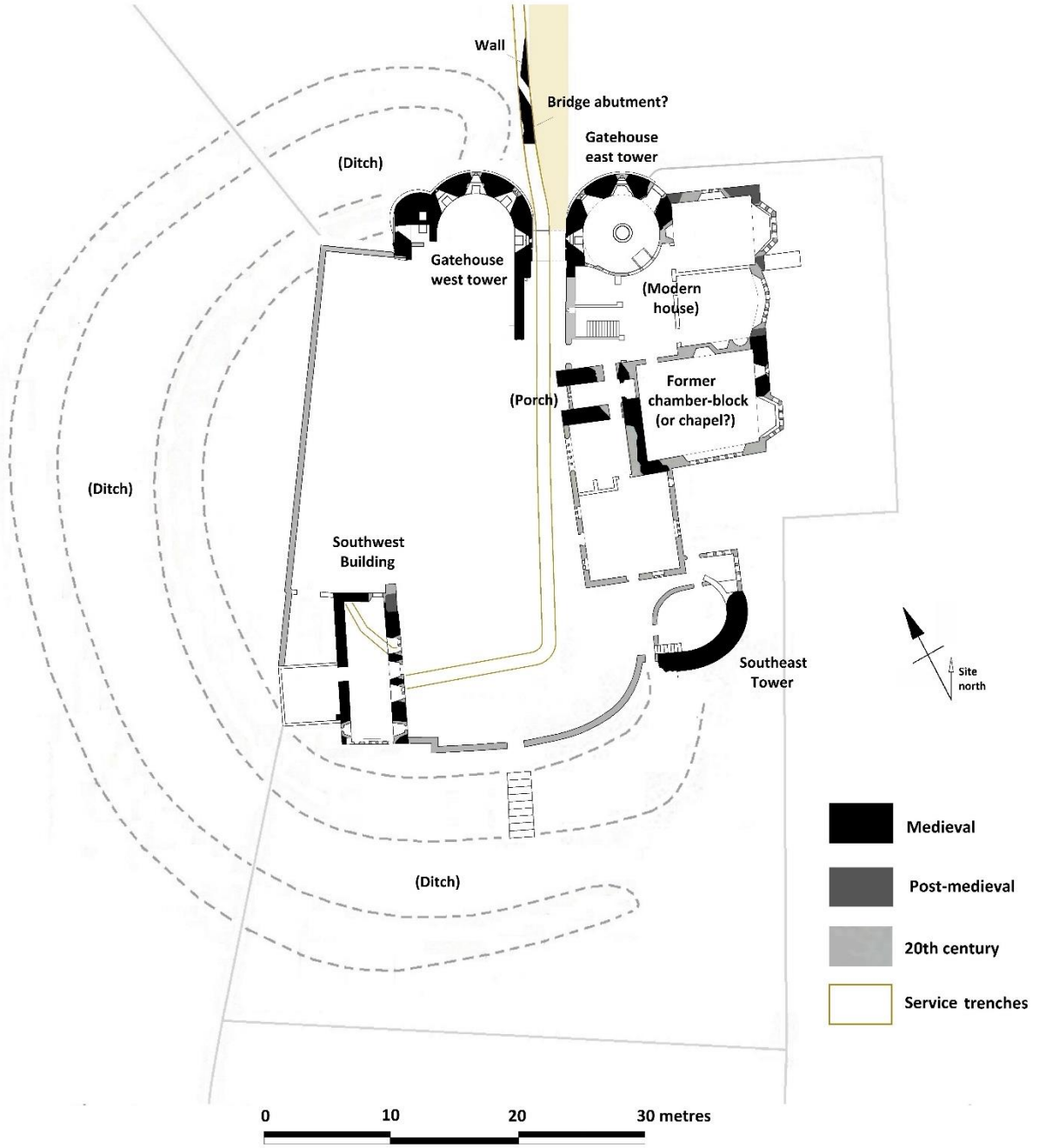
The present dwelling was built during the 1930s by W. H. Godfrey, in the Arts-and-Crafts manner, subsuming a sixteenth-century residence that later became a farmhouse. This had in turn incorporated part of the gatehouse and, to the south, a large, two-storey building that is shown on early prints and photos, possibly representing a chapel but more likely a chamber-block. A further, detached building to the southwest is substantially medieval, but has been considerably rebuilt.[1] I suggest that it may represent the service end of a Great Hall that formerly extended to the Southeast Tower, but has now entirely gone, and that the medieval chapel may in fact have occupied the tower.

The castle is a Scheduled Ancient Monument (SAM No. 1007461; legacy SAM 23023), and the surviving masonry is Grade II* listed (LB No. 1363097). Modern investigation has been limited: non-systematic archaeological work has revealed a probable masonry bridge abutment outside the gatehouse (Fig. 2), but no buried archaeology has so far been recorded within the

[1] It is informally known as the 'chapel'.

enclosure itself (Jarman 1997 and 1998; Swift 2007).[2] Elevation and section drawings of the gatehouse were produced by Sidney Toy in 1927, before rebuilding began (Toy 1963, 240; Figs. 46-7), but no structured recording and analysis of the gatehouse has hitherto taken place, nor any analysis of its fabric in tandem with targeted research.

Fig. 2: Overall plan of Leybourne Castle



[2] Construction of the A228 bypass west of the castle, in 2005, was both preceded and accompanied by extensive archaeological work (Ellis 2009), none of which produced results that directly bear on understanding the castle.

Fig. 3: General view of Leybourne Castle gatehouse from north

Fig. 4: General view of Leybourne Castle gatehouse from south

The gatehouse is of national, possibly international significance to architectural history and castle studies, with a somewhat unusual design long thought to represent a stage in gatehouse development that was transitional between the simple twin-towered gatehouse of the mid-thirteenth century, and the more complex 'keep-gatehouses' (or 'Tonbridge gatehouses') of the late thirteenth century. Most published accounts have however relied on Sidney Toy's drawings, which are misleading and sometimes incorrect, but have nevertheless been used to interpret the building. The latrine turret was depicted as semicircular, projecting from the gate-tower at right angles like the latrine turret in the gatehouse at Llangibby Castle, Monmouthshire: it is in fact D-shaped, with its long axis parallel to the gate-tower. In addition, one of Toy's drawings shows the arrowloops as cruciform, with circular oillets at all four terminals; another shows no oillets at all. The loops are an important diagnostic feature, the correct understanding of which is crucial to the interpretation of the castle.

The current project aimed to clarify some of these fundamental issues, and to establish a firm date for the gatehouse, its affinities and its patron – all of which are of the greatest importance to castle studies. The building, which appears to have been primarily residential and administrative, has played a pivotal role in the analysis of gatehouse development, and has significantly influenced wider interpretation. Its construction has been widely viewed as both contemporary and connected with that of the gatehouse at nearby Tonbridge (Kent). But I have argued elsewhere that the two events were entirely unrelated (Ludlow 2022). Neither was recorded, and a wide range of dates has been suggested. The more recent suggestions focus on the period between 1250 and 1270 at both sites (eg. Coldstream 1994 and 2003; Goodall 2010, 2011 and 2012; Hislop 2010 and 2020; Renn 1997 and 1981), although an alternative date for Leybourne, in the early fourteenth century, has occasionally been suggested (Clark 1884; Listed Building and Scheduling descriptions; Toy 1963). This later dating is followed here, and on grounds of style and affinities can be refined to a period centering on the years 1305-1325 (see Ludlow 2022, 239). This date-range coincides with the tenure of Alice de Leybourne (née de Toeni), who held the castle in her own right between 1307 and 1324, and the present study concludes that she was probably responsible for all the medieval masonry that we see today.

The castle's later history was uneventful. From 1382 until 1538 it was held by a religious house, St Mary Graces Abbey in London, with a brief interlude of secular control in the mid-late 1380s when Richard II's chamberlain Simon Burley made preparations for building work, and may at least have intended to use the castle residentially. Otherwise, the castle was allowed to fall into gradual decay, with the exception of the chamber-block which the abbey's stewards seem to have chosen in preference to the gatehouse. Converted into a dwelling during the later sixteenth century, the castle was leased to tenant farmers from the seventeenth century until the early nineteenth century, when it was abandoned; consequently it has no Civil War history. It appears not to have been reoccupied until the present dwelling was built during the 1930s.

A number of other results have emerged from research undertaken for this study. I suggest that a significant amount of work was undertaken by the Leybournes at Leeds Castle, Kent, before it was acquired by Edward I's queen Eleanor in *c*.1278, that this work included the creation of the lakes for which the site is celebrated, and that they may have been the inspiration for the lakes at Caerphilly Castle. It is also possible that the extensive work from

c.1300 at Brough Castle, Westmorland, was undertaken by another woman – Alice's aunt, Idonea de Leybourne.

A couple of recommendations for future study at Leybourne Castle may be made here. All masonry is thought to have been locally-quarried, but petrological analysis of the freestone used in the gatehouse would confirm this, or if not, might reveal its source. The Southwest Building is of great interest, but lay beyond the scope of the present project: it would benefit greatly from a structured standing building survey to Level 3.

3.0 LOCATION, GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY

Leybourne Castle lies at NGR TQ 6885 5890, about 4 miles northwest of Maidstone. It occupies the gentle northeast slope of a low hill, at around 22 metres OD. The slope leads down to the Leybourne Stream, 100 metres east of the castle, which flows north towards the Medway. The underlying geology comprises Folkestone sand beds (Geological Survey of Great Britain, Sheet 288), which are a relatively yielding marine shallow-water deposit of Cretaceous age, beneath alluvial gravels especially lower down the slope. Past fieldwork on the site has exposed mixed sand and sandy clay, with occasional gravel pockets (Jarman 1997, 1).

Both medieval and modern masonry at the castle is in Kentish Ragstone, a hard Cretaceous limestone which has been extensively quarried since the Roman period. It outcrops locally near Maidstone and at King's Hill, West Malling; the castle's medieval stone may have been sourced from the historic quarry close by the castle at Ditton, near Maidstone. The majority of the freestone appears also to be from softer, finer ragstone beds, but more detailed study is required.

Fig. 5: Coloured version of Johannes Kip's view of Leybourne Castle (right) and 'The Grange', 1719 (nb. the view has been compressed to bring the two buildings together; in reality, they lay 1.5km apart)

Fig. 6: Detail from Kip's 1719 view showing Leybourne Castle from northeast

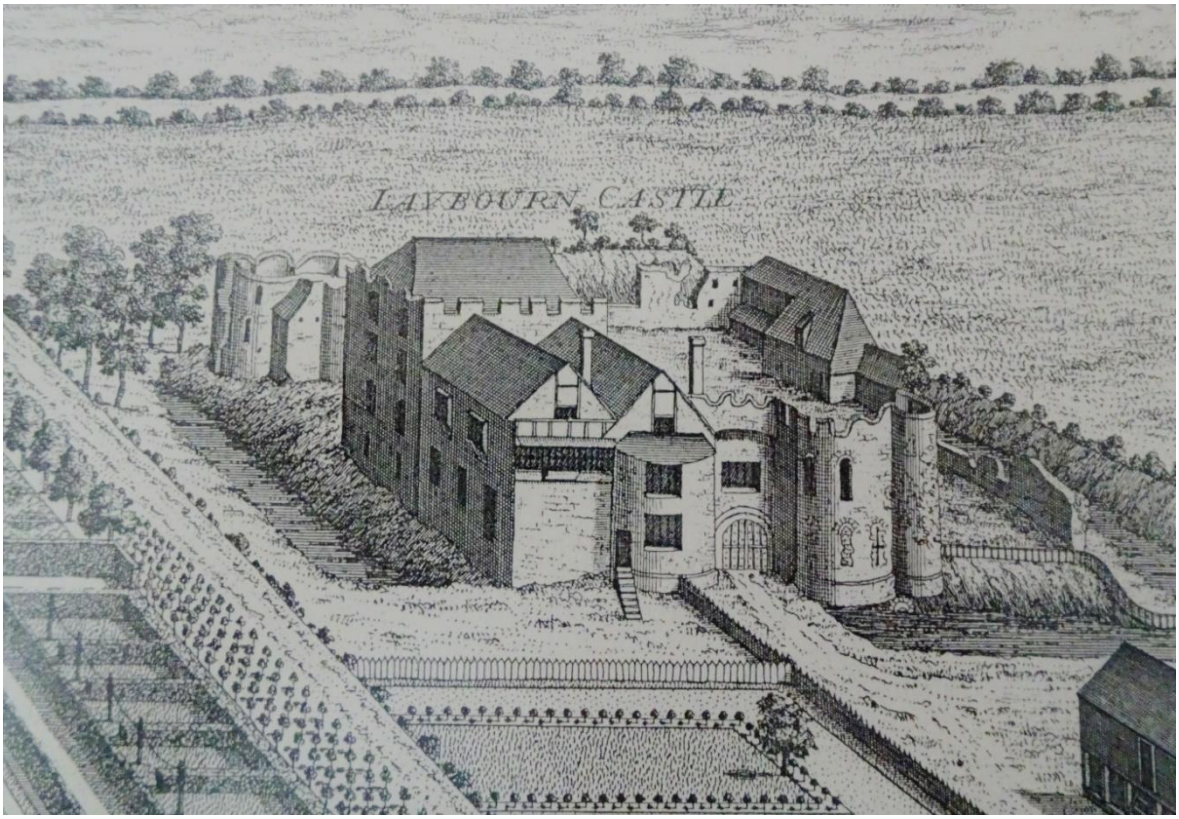


Fig. 7: Leybourne Castle interior from south, by George Lambert, 1737 (cropped)

Fig. 8: Leybourne Castle interior from south, by Godfrey and Hooper, 1750 (published 1784)

Fig. 9: Leybourne Castle gatehouse from north, by Ellis and Hooper, 1759 (published 1784)

Fig. 10: Leybourne Castle gatehouse from north, by Edward Hasted, 1785 (published 1798)

Fig. 11: The castle from east, by Edward Hasted, 1785 (published 1798). Gatehouse to right, chamber-block at centre, and Southeast Tower to left

Fig. 12: Leybourne Castle gatehouse from northeast, by F. W. L. Stockdale, 1810

Fig. 13: Leybourne Castle gatehouse from north, by Dean and Thorpe, 1811

Fig. 14: Undated photo of Leybourne Castle from southeast (gatehouse at right), probably taken during the 1850s and before the church tower was restored. It shows that a considerable amount of masonry still survived, but it is difficult to relate to known structures

Fig. 15: Undated photo of the castle gatehouse from northeast (c.1860s?)

Fig. 16: Undated photo of the gatehouse entrance arch from northeast (c.1860s?)

Fig. 17: Undated photo of Leybourne Castle gatehouse from north, probably taken during the 1870s after ivy clearance. Chamber-block behind gatehouse, to left

Fig. 18: Undated photo of Leybourne Castle gatehouse from north, probably taken during the 1880s after further clearance. Chamber-block behind gatehouse, to left

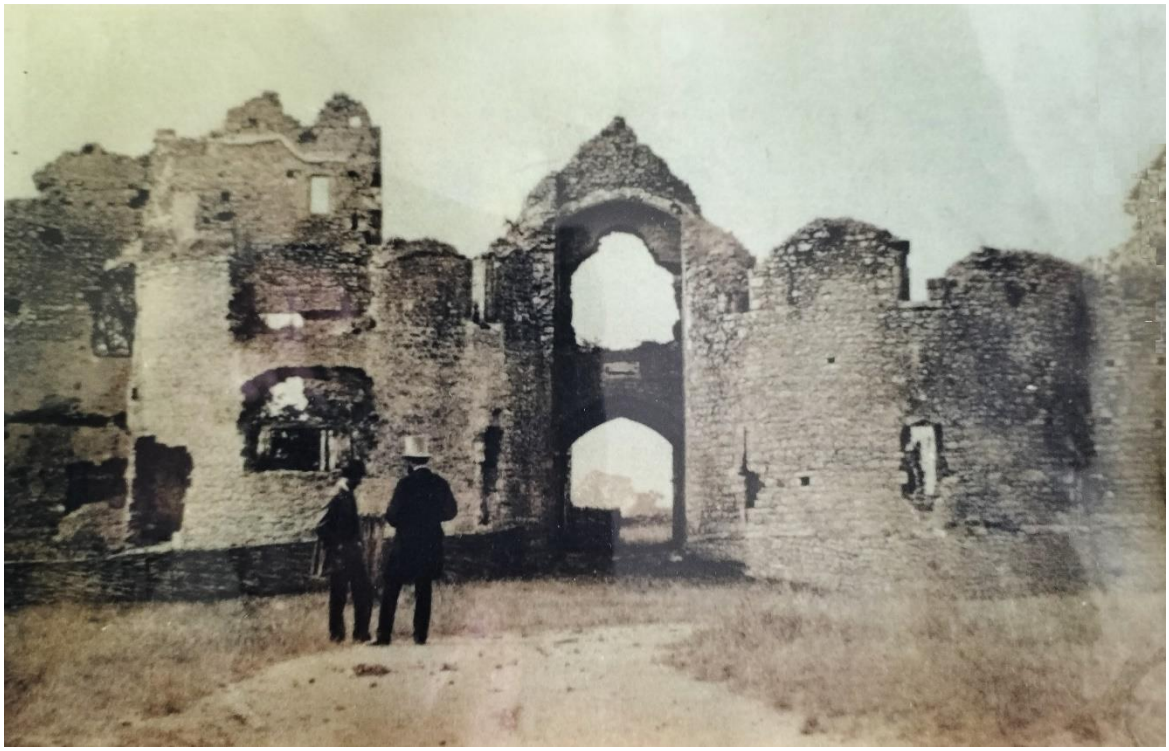


Fig. 19: Undated photo of Leybourne Castle gatehouse from south, probably taken during the 1870s-80s. Chamber-block to right

Fig. 20: Undated photo of Leybourne Castle from northeast, probably taken during the 1870s-80s. Chamber-block to left

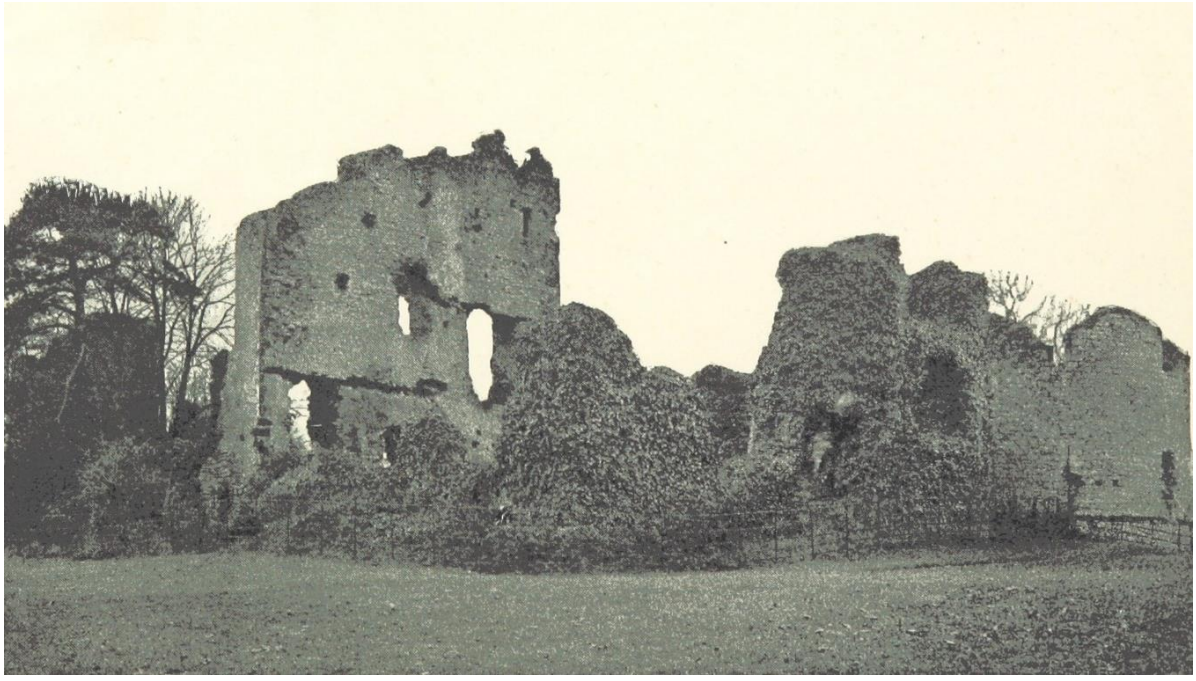


Fig. 21: Undated photo of Leybourne Castle gatehouse east tower, from southeast, probably taken around 1900 after the collapse of the chamber-block (remains in foreground)

Fig. 22: Undated photo of Leybourne Castle gatehouse passage and east tower, from southwest, probably taken around 1900 after the collapse of the chamber-block (remains to right)

Fig. 23: Undated photo of Leybourne Castle gatehouse passage and east tower, from southeast, probably taken around 1900 after the collapse of the chamber-block (remains in foreground)

Fig. 24: Undated photo of Leybourne Castle gatehouse west tower, from southwest, probably taken around 1900 after the collapse of the chamber-block (remains to right)

Fig. 25: Undated photo of Leybourne Castle gatehouse east tower, from northwest, probably taken around 1900 after the collapse of the chamber-block (remains to left)

Fig. 26: Undated photo of Leybourne Castle gatehouse from west, probably taken around 1900 after the collapse of the chamber-block (remains in background)

Fig. 27: Undated photo of Leybourne Castle gatehouse from east (c.1900?)

Fig. 28: Undated photo of Leybourne Castle gatehouse east tower, from southwest, probably taken just before restoration began (late 1920s?)

Fig. 29: Undated photo of Leybourne Castle gatehouse east tower, from southeast, probably taken just before restoration began (late 1920s?)

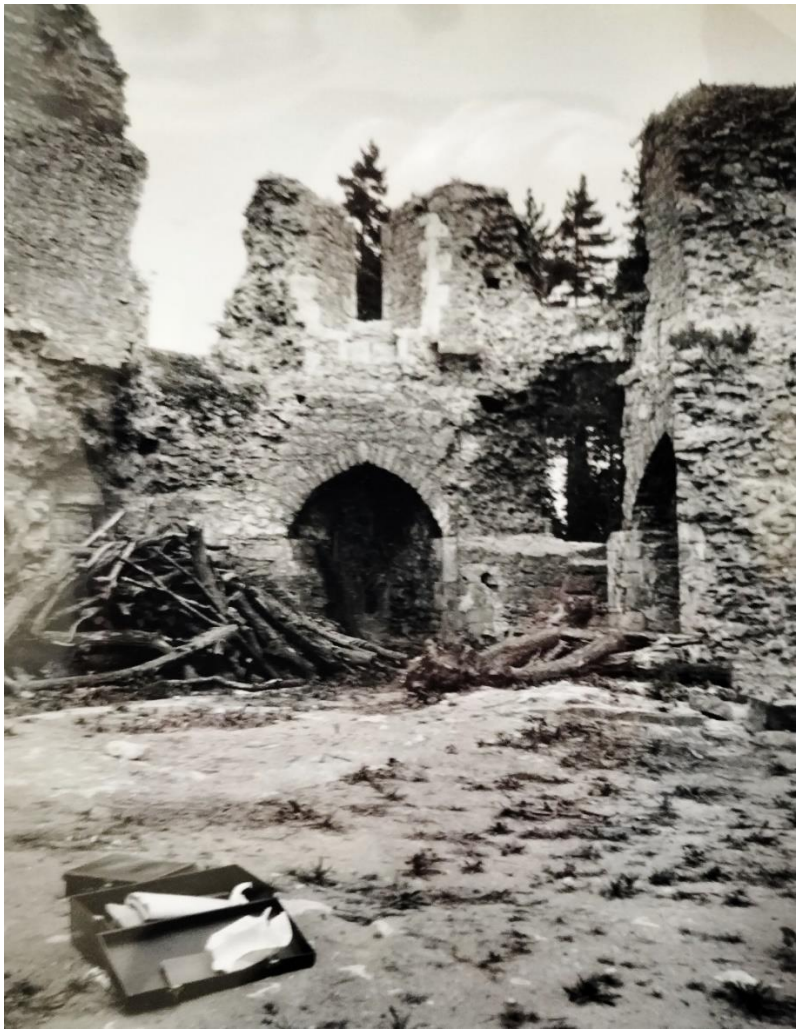


Fig. 30: Undated photo of Leybourne Castle gatehouse east tower and passage, from southeast, taken during restoration (early 1930s)

Fig. 31: Four photos of Leybourne Castle taken during restoration and construction of present house (early 1930s). a) from west; b) from northwest; c) from northeast; d) from southeast

Fig. 32: Undated photo of Leybourne Castle from north, taken after completion of present house (1950s?)

Fig. 33: Undated photo of Leybourne Castle from northwest, taken after completion of present house (1950s?)

Fig. 34: Map of Leybourne and district, surveyed 1805-45
(detail from Ordnance Survey 1" map, Old Series)

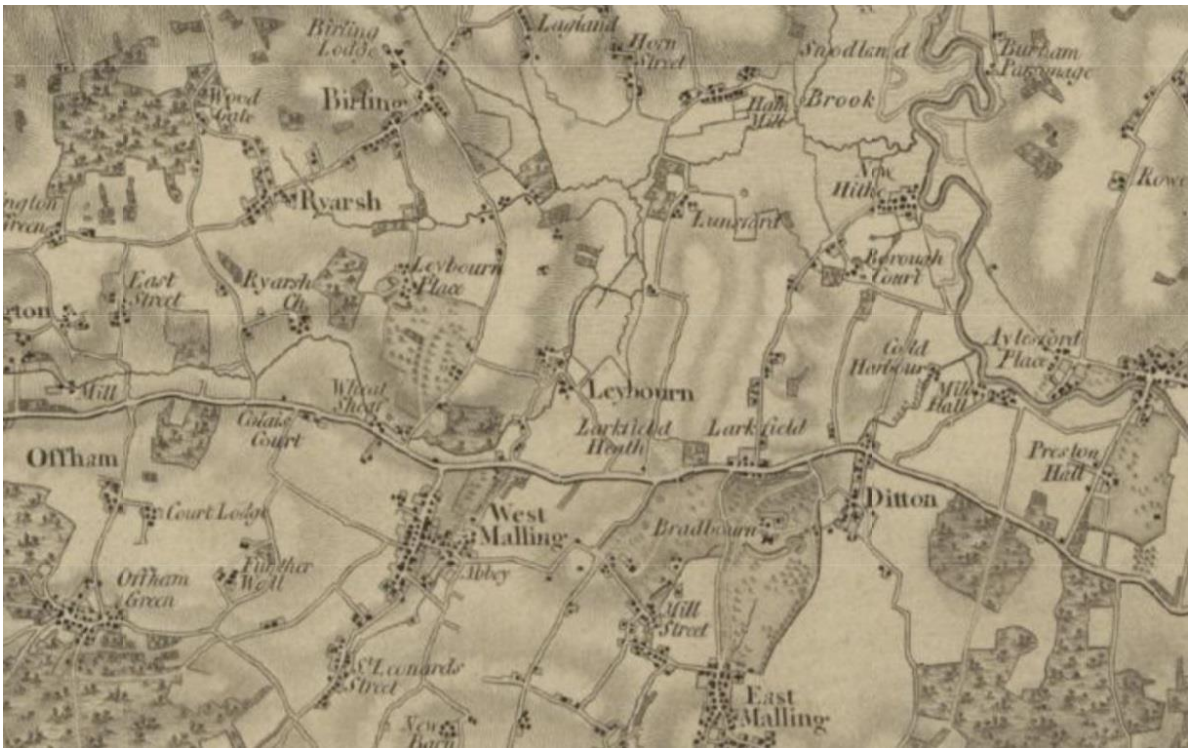


Fig. 35: Map of Leybourne and district, published 1893
(detail from Ordnance Survey 1" map, Sheet 288)

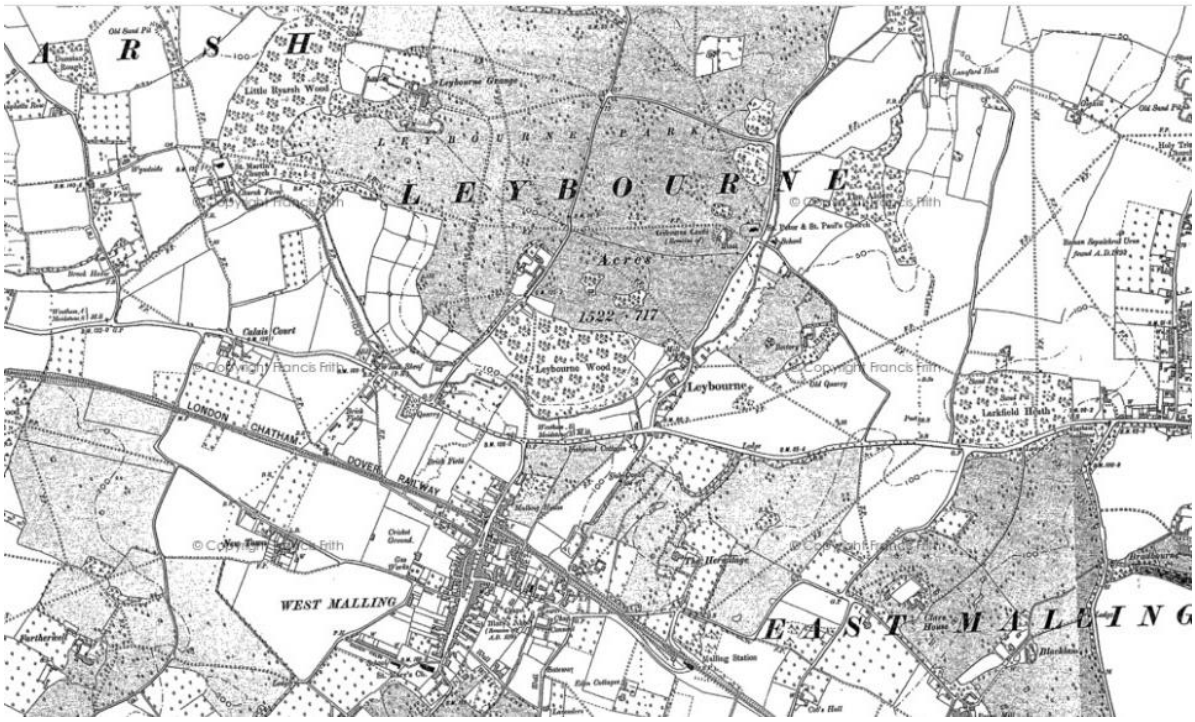


Fig. 36: Map of Leybourne and district, published 1907
(detail from Ordnance Survey 6" map, Sheet XXX.SE)

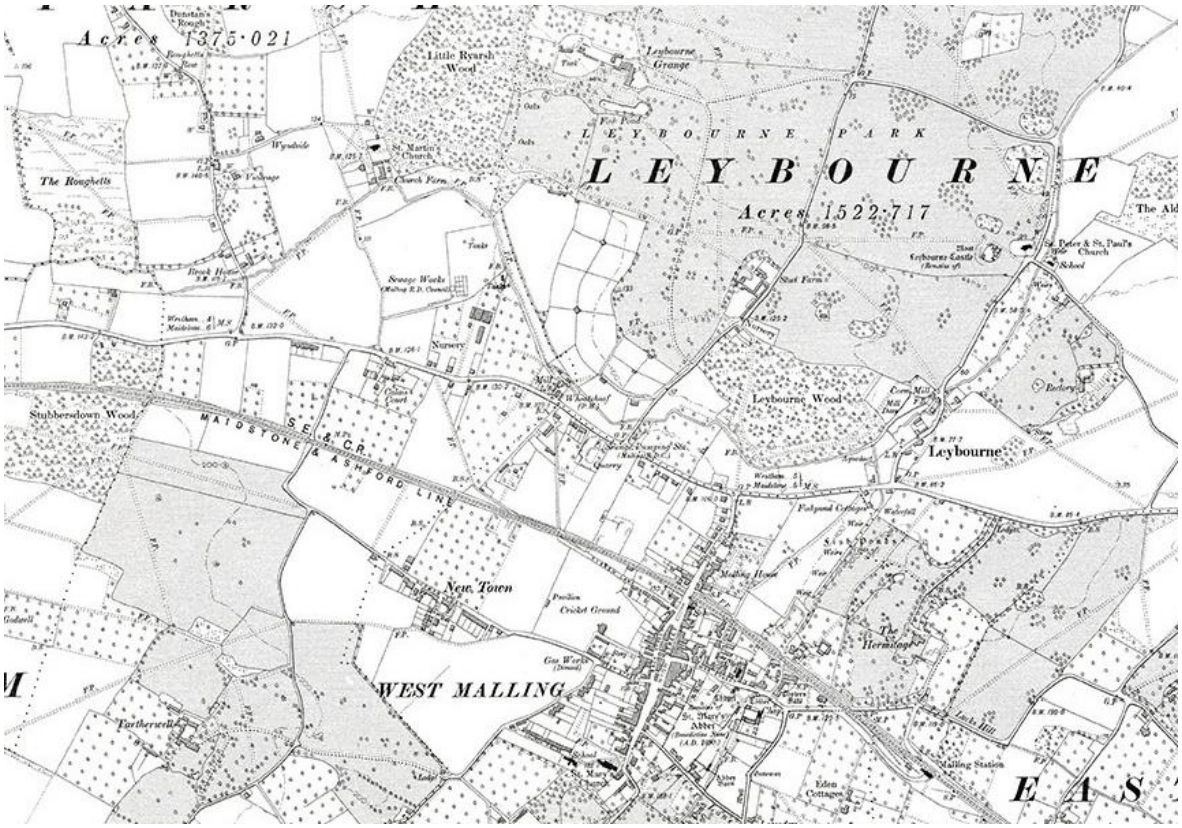


Fig. 37: Large-scale map showing Leybourne Castle, published 1908
(detail from Ordnance Survey 25" map, Sheet XXX.12)

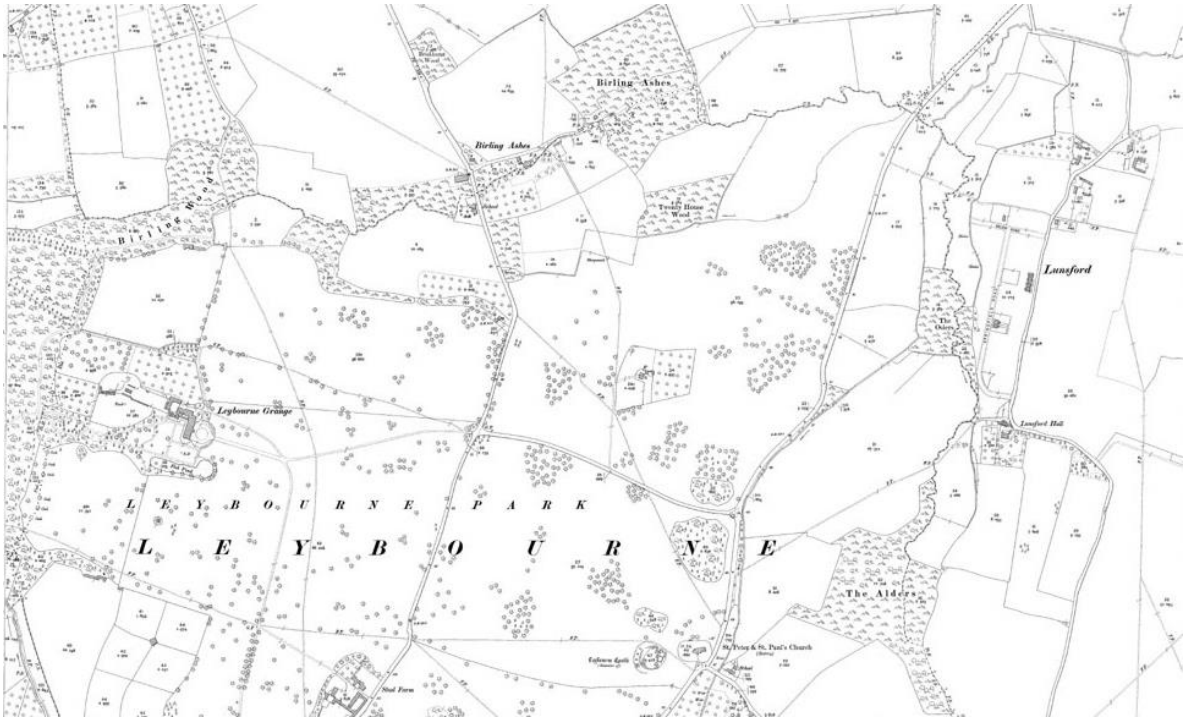


Fig. 38: Overall sketch plan of Leybourne Castle, drawn c.1908 (from Gould 1908, 418).

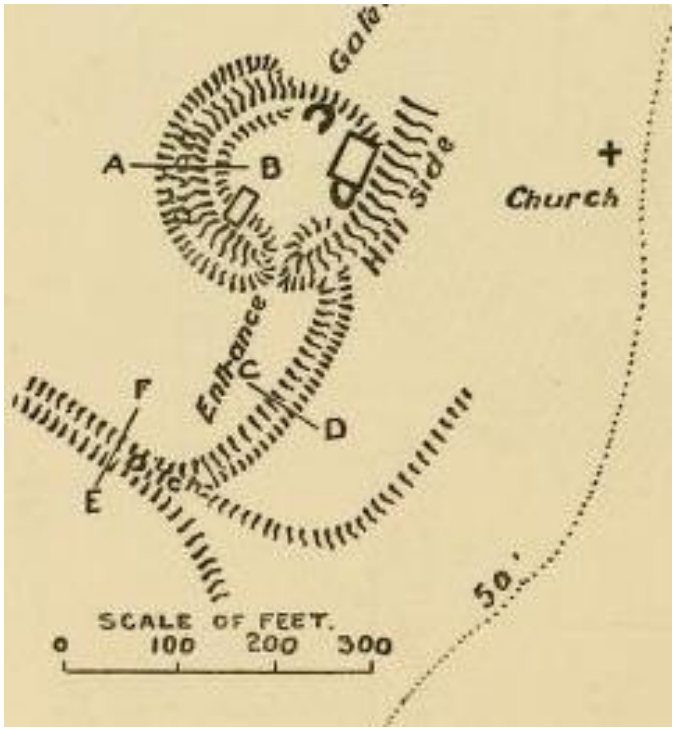


Fig. 39: Overall plan of Leybourne Castle in 1927, by Sidney Toy (Society of Antiquaries of London). It contains some known inaccuracies; more may be present

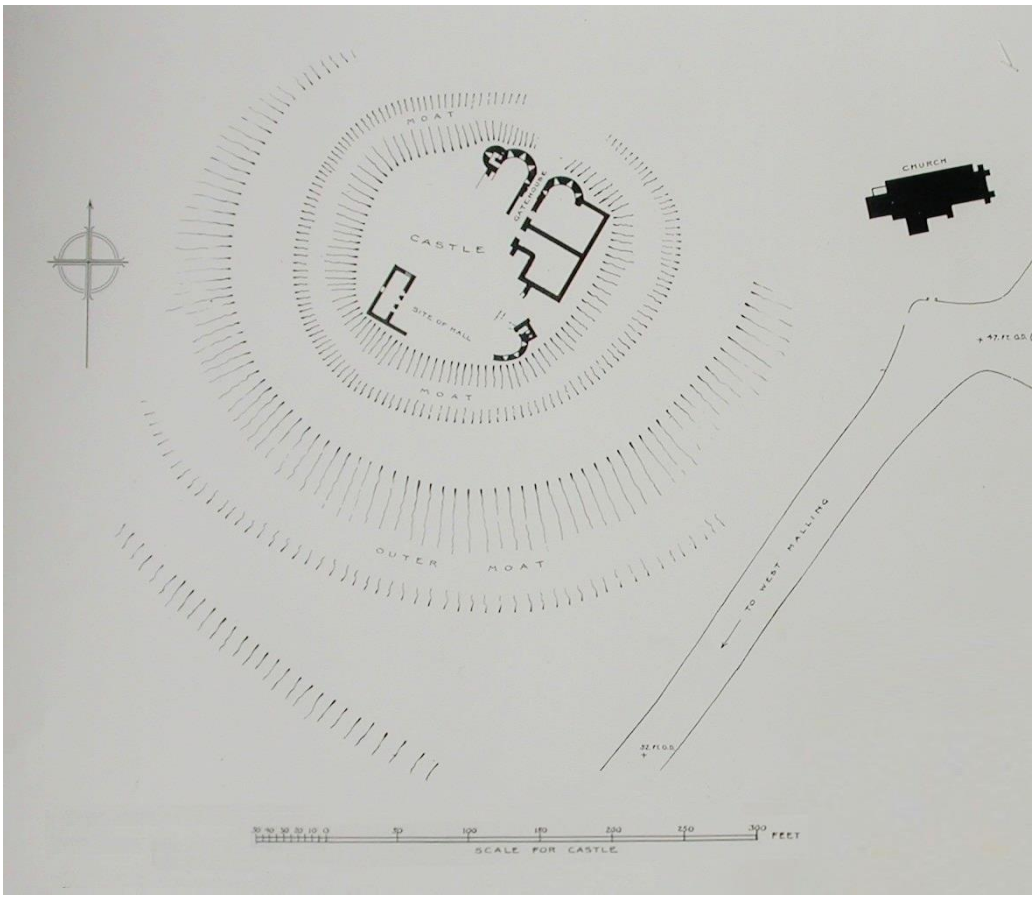


Fig. 40: Ground- and first-floor plans of Leybourne Castle, showing new work as proposed by Walter Godfrey in the 1920s (north at bottom of page)

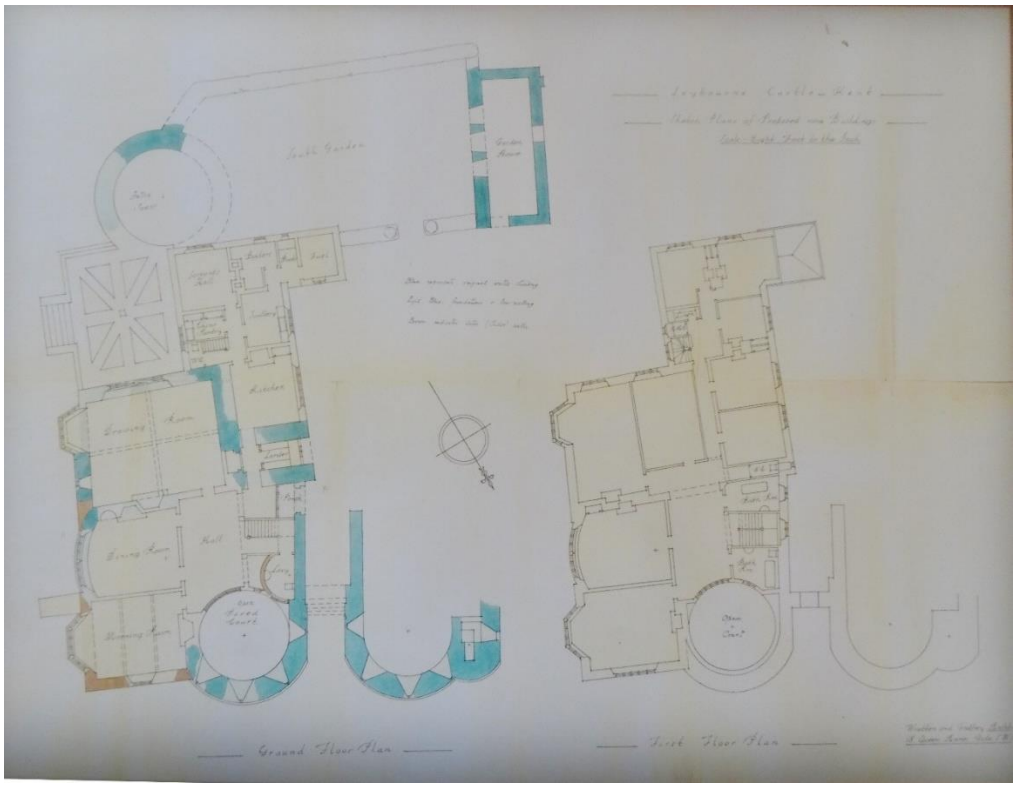


Fig. 41: Elevation drawings of Leybourne Castle, showing new work as proposed by Walter Godfrey in the 1920s

4.0 DESCRIPTION

The masonry castle appears to have been a regular, rectangular courtyard house that was rather awkwardly superimposed upon the earlier circular ringwork (Fig. 2). In form, it is typical of the small courtyard houses and castles that begun to be built in the years after 1300, and became frequent as the fourteenth century progressed (see eg. Thompson 1987, 43-6, and Fig. 114). No licence for its fortification appears to have been issued, but this was not a formal requirement and did not constitute permission. As Charles Coulson pointed out, a licence merely represented 'an extra *cachet* of royal recognition, acknowledgement and compliment' (Coulson 1982, 83).

Though the terms are fluid and elide into one another, Leybourne is probably best described as a fortified manor-house rather than a castle. Walling may have been slight, while antique prints suggest that only one other tower was present, at the southeast corner; taken with the two gatehouse towers, it is clearly the 'third tower' mentioned in 1884 (Clark 1884, 189). A fairly close comparison, in terms of level of fortification, may be furnished by Oystermouth Castle (Glam.), at which the gatehouse is the only convincingly 'military' feature.

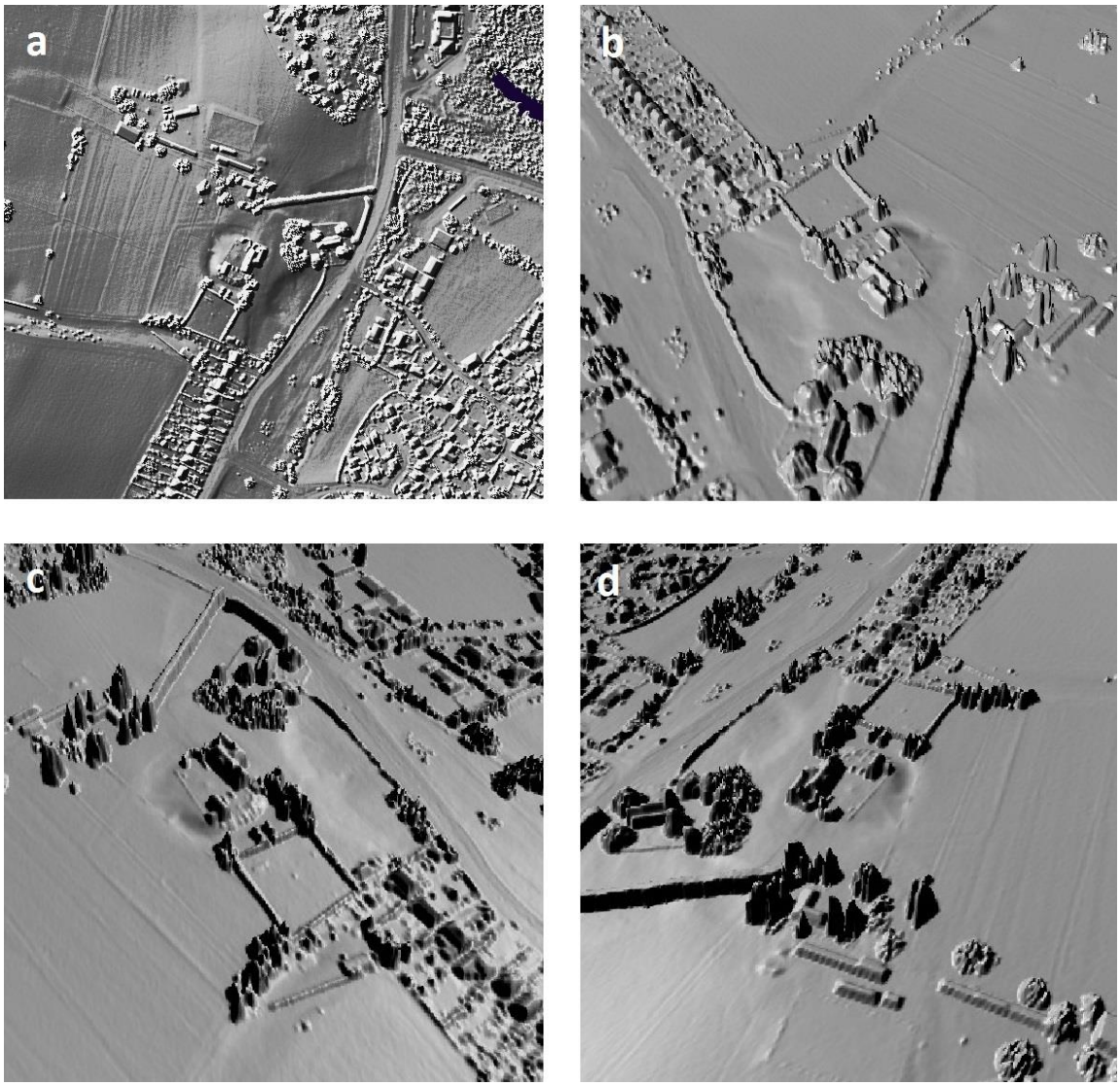
This section describes the results of the gatehouse survey, while structural, topographic, archaeological and pictorial evidence is used to examine its constructional history. The remainder of the castle is also examined. Throughout this report, 'north' refers to site north (which is a little north of NNW). Other compass points reflect site north accordingly.

4.1 The earthworks

We have seen that, in form, Leybourne Castle is essentially a ringwork. A roughly circular enclosure, around 45 metres in diameter, was defined by a rampart, and was ditched around the more vulnerable north, south and west sides. The rampart and ditch are shown in a plan from 1908 (Gould 1908, 418; Fig. 38); the ditch was deliberately backfilled during the twentieth century (Alan Albert, pers. comm.), but is still well-defined, particularly to the southwest. The rampart can no longer be traced. The general outline of the enclosure shows very clearly on LiDAR plots which show that it was around 15 metres wide (Fig. 42). It is depicted as a wet moat in a number of early prints (Figs. 6, 10 and 12); it is also shown continuing around the east side of the enclosure in 1719 (followed by Sidney Toy: Figs. 6 and 39), where there is now no topographical evidence, either in the field or on LiDAR, and indeed the natural slope may have made a ditch unnecessary here. Two apparent radial 'banks' within the ditch, on the west side, may merely be part of the backfill.

The castle is now entered from the north, but the 1908 plan shows a gap in the defences towards the southeast which may represent an earlier entry, where an outer enclosure was apparently discernible (Fig. 38). If authentic, this perhaps indicates an original main line of approach, suggesting the castle was 'turned round' at some point to face north (*cf*. for example White Castle, Mon.: Knight 2009, 37). This outer enclosure is however far from clear on the LiDAR plots, and the apparent boundary shown in Fig. 38 may in fact have been the natural break of slope. Nor is there any surviving physical evidence for the concentric outer ditch shown by Toy (Fig. 39).

Fig. 42: LiDAR plots of Leybourne Castle and its environs – a) vertical; b) from northeast; c) from southwest; d) from northwest

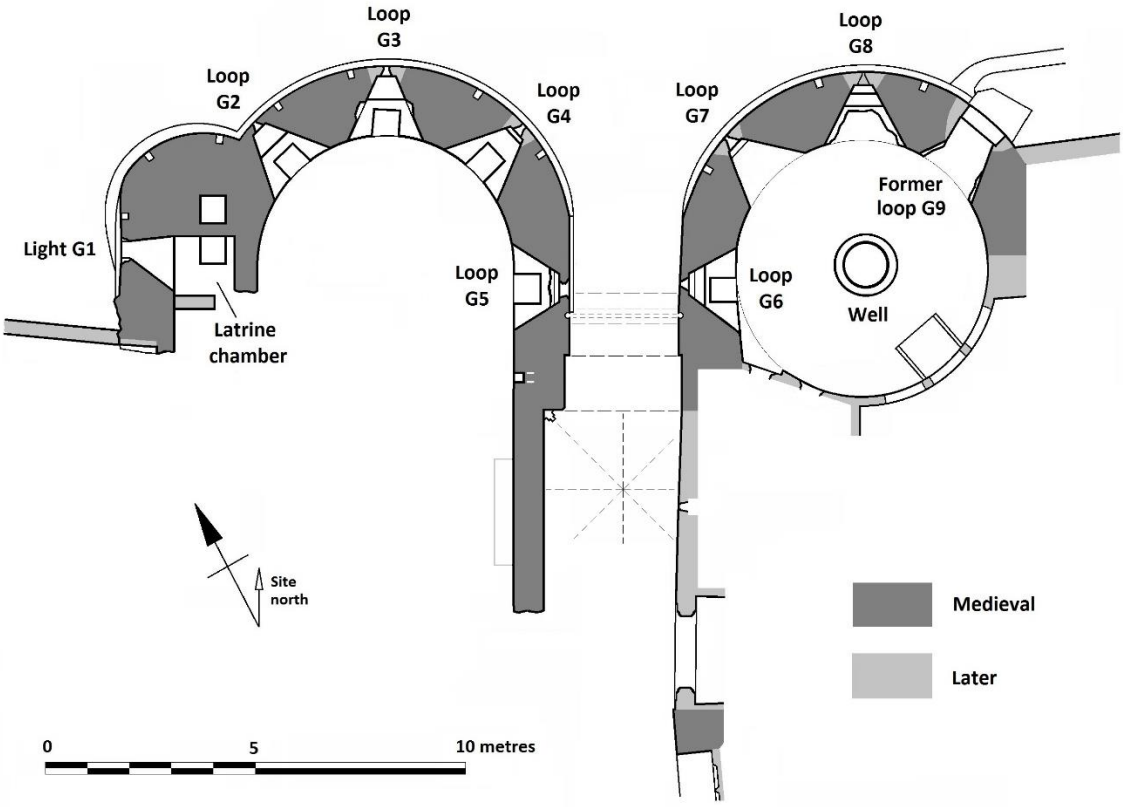


There is no consensus about the date of these earthworks: David King suggested the castle was not begun until 1260 (King 1983, 232), while it does not appear among Derek Renn's Norman castles (Renn 1973). However, while few of them can be closely dated, Kent is a county of early ringworks – King listed seven, three of them with baileys, set against six motte-castles (King 1983, 227). But he excluded Eynsford, and Leybourne itself; there appear in fact to have been nine, six of them with baileys. Of the latter, Caesar's Camp at Folkestone is known to have been in existence by 1095 (ibid., 231), while the ringwork at Eynsford probably pre-dates its masonry curtain, which was built in the 1090s (Rigold 1964, 3, 7). In its dimensions, 60 metres by 40 metres, the Eynsford ringwork closely parallels Leybourne, though it is oval rather than circular in plan. Similar too are the Kentish ringworks at Stockbury (with a bailey) and Brenchley, which like Leybourne form regular circles though both are somewhat larger (Gould 1908, 407, 422; Sands 1907, 194-5, 202-3). So, all things considered, it is likely that a castle existed at Leybourne before *c*.1200, and was perhaps much earlier.

4.2 The gatehouse (Figs. 43-83)

Only the frontage of the medieval gatehouse survives. It comprises two large D-shaped towers flanking a rib-vaulted gate-passage, each with an internal diameter of 6 metres, flanking a narrow, deeply-recessed entry (Figs. 3-4, 43 and 48). Any original rear walling has gone, but it is likely that the gatehouse extended some way further south, with chambers to the rear of the towers. The remains survive to an average height of 7 metres, representing two storeys. Little more is shown in eighteenth-century illustrations, while crenellations appear to be shown in a view by Johannes Kip from 1719 (Fig. 6); G. T. Clark considered that it never rose any higher (Clark 1884, 189), and the present study would suggest this to be true, though any evidence of parapets has been lost.[3] Ground- and first-floor spaces are of roughly equal height. The gatehouse underwent significant alteration for domestic use between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, and was heavily restored by the architect Walter Godfrey, in the early 1930s, when he built the modern house which takes in the east tower and the suggested chamber behind it. Nothing remains of the gatehouse internal walls, and its layout and arrangements are not clear. However, the evidence suggests that it was divided into three spaces at both levels, the passage side-walls continuing into the first floor.

Fig. 43: Leybourne Castle gatehouse – ground-floor plan



[3] Sir James Mackenzie mentions hourding sockets in the upper levels (Mackenzie 1896, 29); these are however no longer visible, while being absent from early views seen by the author. Significantly, too, the gatehouse stood no higher than today in 1896, and Mackenzie may have been looking at the putlog-holes that characterise the gatehouse's construction.

Externally, the facework shows a regular pattern of putlog-holes, which are shown in the earliest views and are considered to be original (Figs. 3 and 44). A plain, simply-chamfered plinth runs around the base of the towers. Internally, the first floors within the towers appear to have been of timber, supported on an offset which has been restored in the west tower, and heightened, with a fillet, in the east tower (Figs. 4 and 45). The tower lights show lowish, segmental-pointed rear-arches, with soffits rebated back from their reveals, all apparently unaltered. The shallow angle between the reveals and the tower interior is picked out in freestone.

The ground floors were well-furnished with loops: there are four in each tower, three facing the field and one the entry (Fig. 43). All have been altered and/or restored, those in the east tower mostly altered, blocked or converted into doorways. The towers are unusually thin-walled (averaging 1.75 metres thick at ground-floor level), and the loops are correspondingly narrow and wedge-shaped in plan, lacking niched embrasures. They have been restored with window-seats, unusual in ground-floor openings but apparently original: the east tower shows vestigial remains of their medieval predecessors.[4] Where complete, they open externally as tall cross-loops, in finely-cut ashlar, beneath pointed relieving arches (Fig. 3). The loops show circular oillets at all four termini and, though most were heavily restored in the 1930s, the west-facing loop G1 is substantially unaltered and shows the arrangement to be original (see Figs. 45, 52 and 66a); it is moreover depicted with four oillets in Kip's view, which somewhat pre-dates 'Gothick' revivalism of this kind (Fig. 6). In addition, the two loops flanking the passage are unaltered (G5 and G6; see below), while the head and foot oillets in a number of other loops appear to be medieval. Their rear-arches, relieving arches and sills show that the loops facing the field were always tall, having deep basal plunges. But the restricted width of their embrasures, and their window-seats, suggest they may have been primarily for observation – and display – rather than archery. The passage loops G5 and G6 moreover face each other, and are not offset as at eg. Harlech Castle gatehouse, again suggesting observation and display.

Many of the cross-arm oillets have been restored, somewhat crudely, which may be one reason for the doubts cast on their authenticity in many accounts. Sidney Toy visited during restoration in 1927, producing a number of measured drawings in which he hedged his bets: while the published versions show four well-defined oillets, they are absent from his original drawings at the Society of Antiquaries (Fig. 47), suggesting uncertainty about their authenticity. It has even been suggested that the loops, at least in their present form, are modern insertions (Newman 1976, 380). Nevertheless, Derek Renn regarded the oilletted design to be original (Renn 2001, 243). Surprisingly, the loops are described by neither Grose (1785), Clark (1884) nor Mackenzie (1896).

[4] Sidney Toy does not show window seats in his reconstruction (Fig. 46), but preparation for restoration work may have commenced by 1927 and he was possibly denied access to the east tower.

Fig. 44: Leybourne Castle gatehouse – north-facing elevation

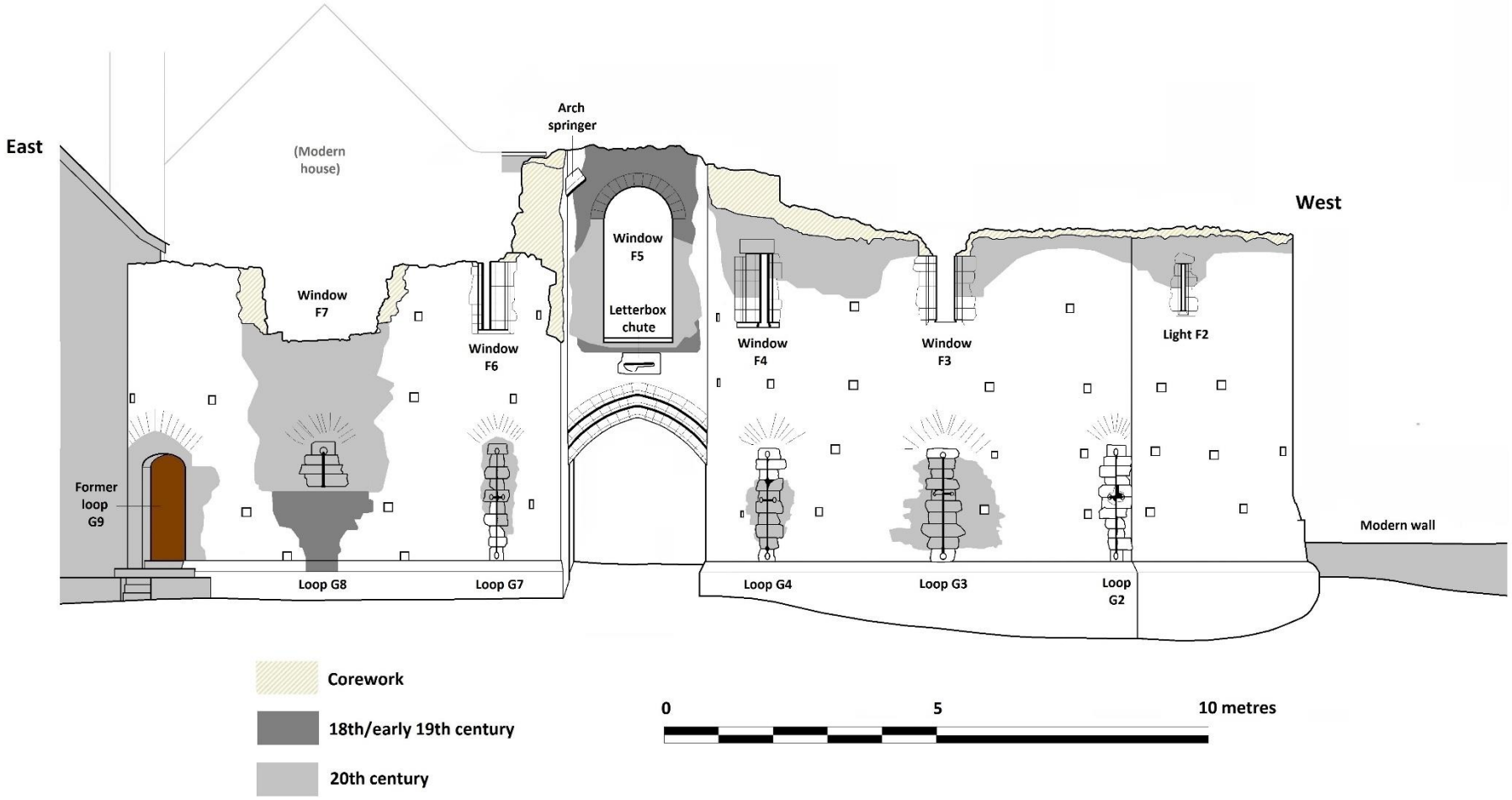


Fig. 45: Leybourne Castle gatehouse – south-facing elevation

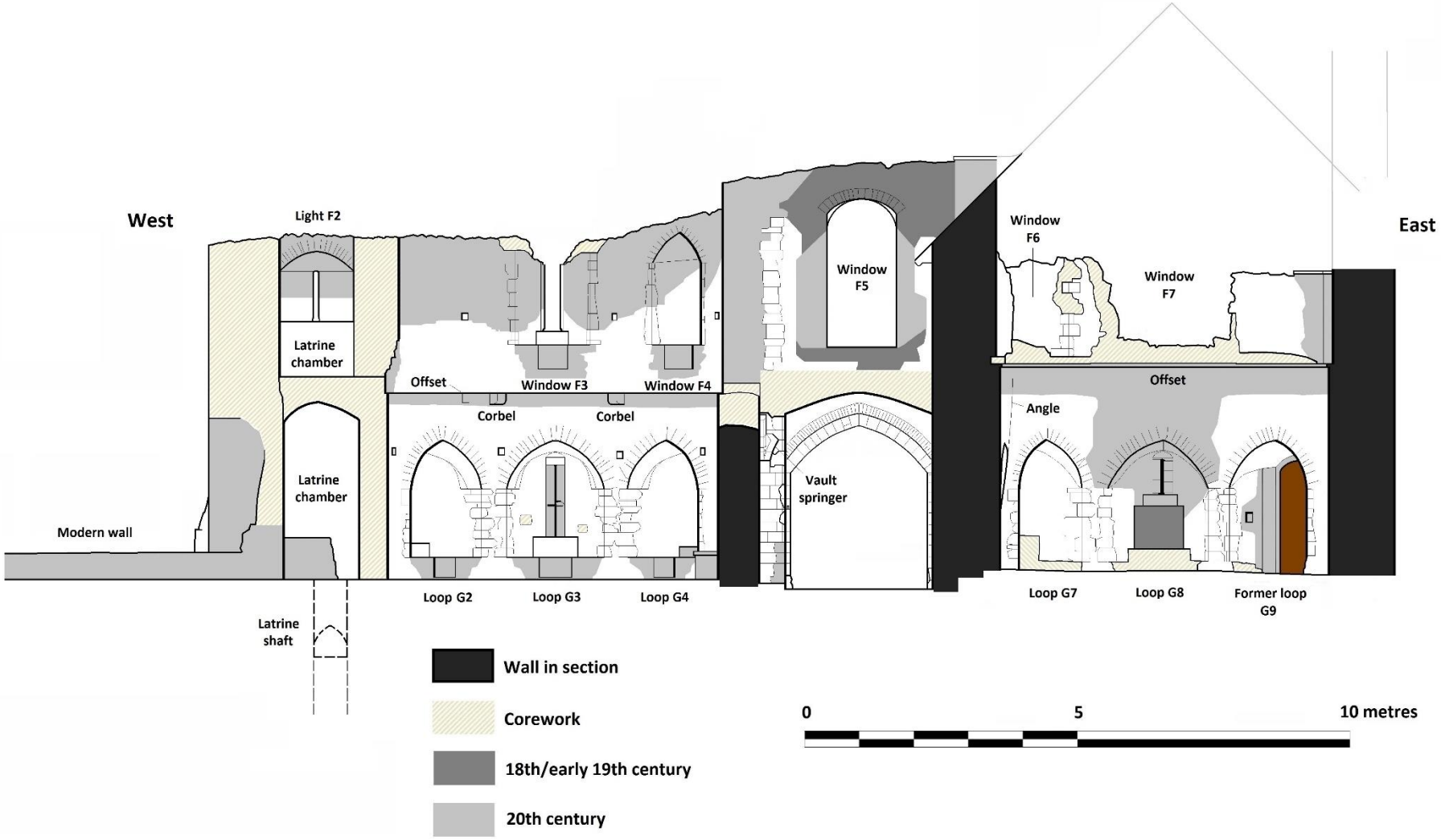


Fig. 46: Drawings of Leybourne Castle by Sidney Toy, 1927 (Society of Antiquaries of London). a) Plan of gatehouse; b) plan, section and elevations of a selected loop. Note the incorrect depiction of the west tower turret. Toy does not show window-seats, but preparation for construction work may have commenced by 1927 and he was possibly denied access to the east tower

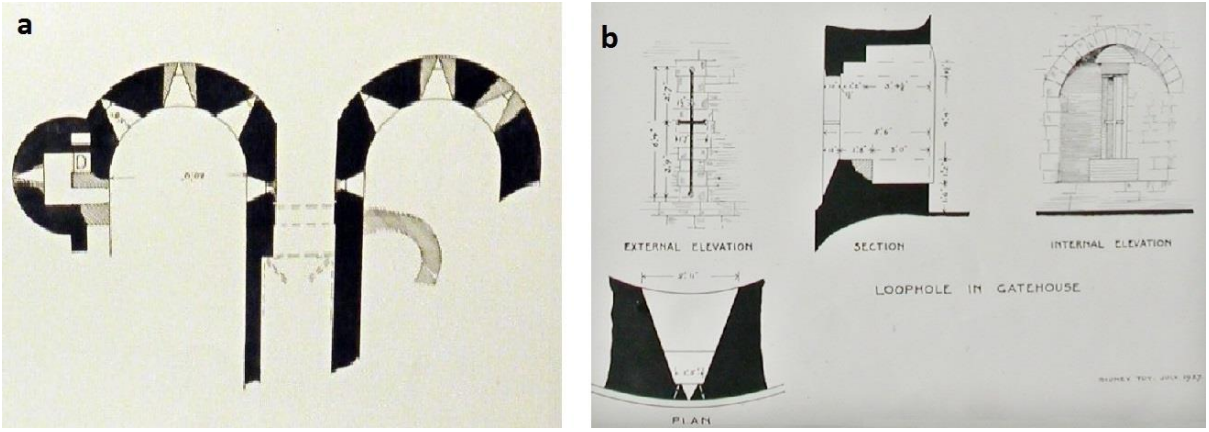
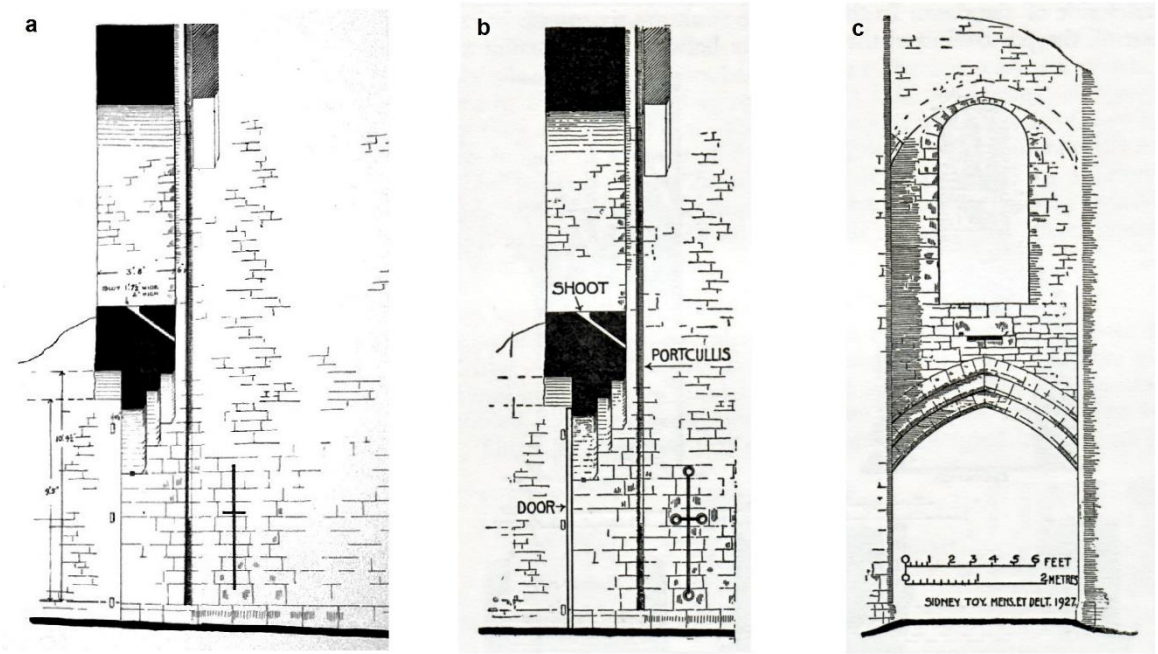


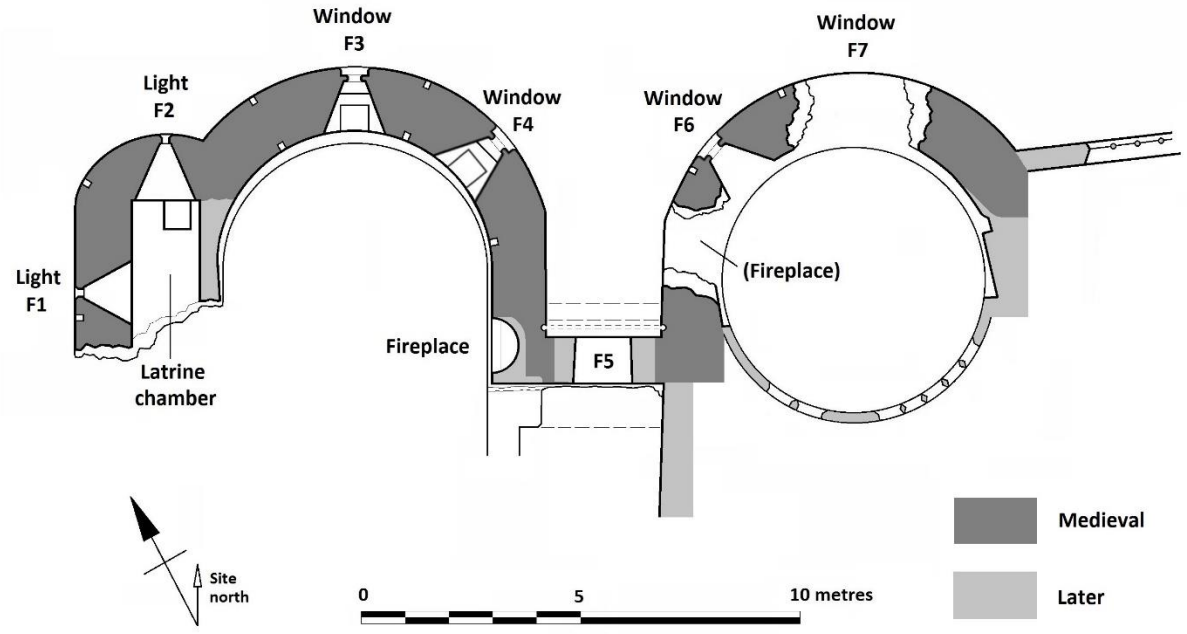
Fig. 47: Drawings of Leybourne Castle gatehouse by Sidney Toy, 1927.
a) passage elevation, in the Society of Antiquaries archive; b) passage elevation, as published (Toy 1963, 240); c) entrance elevation, as published (Toy 1963, 240)



At first-floor level, each tower shows two single-light windows, following the rhythm of the ground-floor openings (Figs. 3-4, 43-45, 48). The window-seats have been restored in the west tower, but early twentieth-century photos show the remains of a seat in east tower window F6 (Figs. 21, 23 and 29), now gone but clearly original. Externally, they show dressed surrounds with rebated double-chamfers. All had lost their heads by the nineteenth century, but are depicted with arched heads in 1719 (Fig. 6), while a sketch from 1785 appears to show

the remains of a double-chamfered, pointed head in west tower window F3 (Fig. 10). Nevertheless, the feature may instead represent something lying further south, while the sketch is not entirely reliable, showing a further window to the west where there was none. Moreover an earlier view from 1759 suggests that all heads had already been lost (Fig. 9), while Kip may have 'conventionalised' his view. It therefore remains possible that the windows were in fact square-headed, in keeping with the form of their surrounds. And although Walter Godfrey's working sketches give the windows arched heads (Fig. 41), he restored west tower window F4 with a square head in the 1930s, perhaps suggesting a change of mind about their original form.

Fig. 48: Leybourne Castle gatehouse – first-floor plan



A D-shaped turret, its long axis parallel to the gatehouse long axis, lies against the west face of the west tower with which it is clearly of one build (Figs. 43 and 48). It houses a barrel-vaulted latrine chamber at ground-floor level, with a second – apparently unvaulted – above (Fig. 4). Both latrine shafts empty into a stone-lined culvert that runs northwards, sloping steeply downhill via a stepped profile to discharge into the former ditch (Figs. 45 and 51). In the public imagination, the culvert has inevitably morphed into a tunnel, which is said to lead to the parish church (Alan Albert. pers. comm.; Fielding 1893, 22; Marlin n.d., 30). A vertical strip of corework at the southern end of the turret's west wall represents the junction with the former medieval enclosure wall, showing that it was only around 2 metres high and a metre thick, and that it was contemporary with the turret and gatehouse (Figs. 52 and 71); there is a matching scar, for its southern end, against the Southwest Building (see Section 4.4.3). The enclosure wall is here depicted as very low in Kip's engraving (Fig. 6).

Fig. 49: Leybourne Castle gatehouse, west tower and passage – east-facing elevation

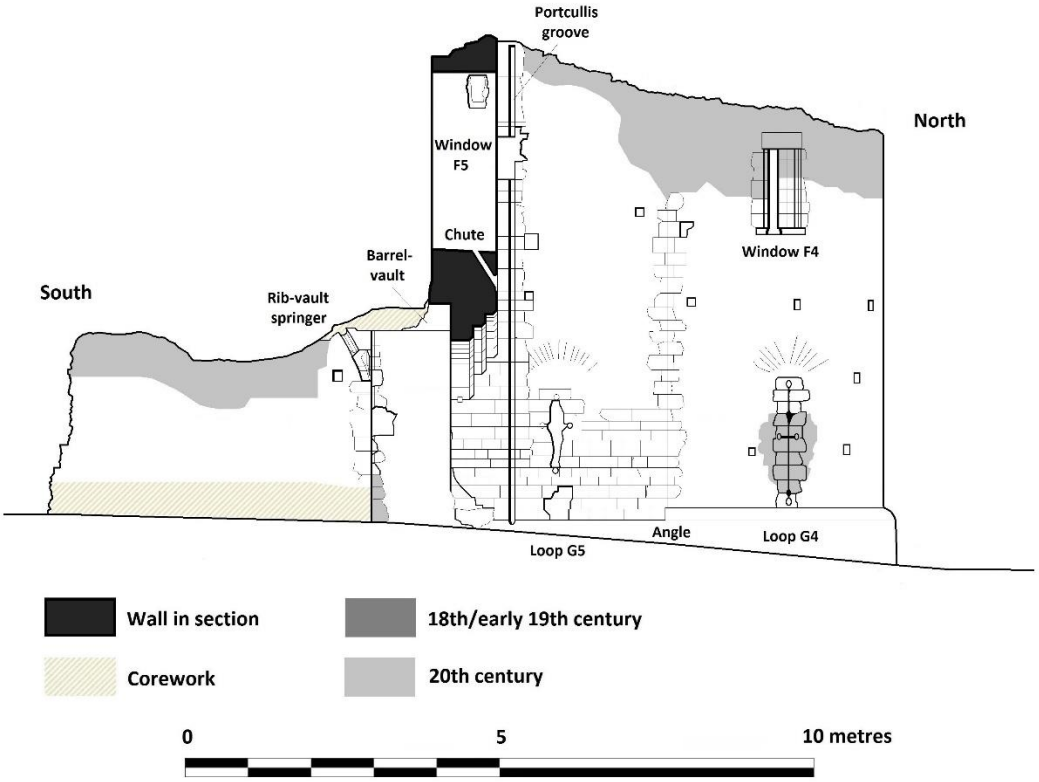


Fig. 50: Leybourne Castle gatehouse, west tower – west-facing section

Fig. 51: Leybourne Castle gatehouse, west tower – east-facing section

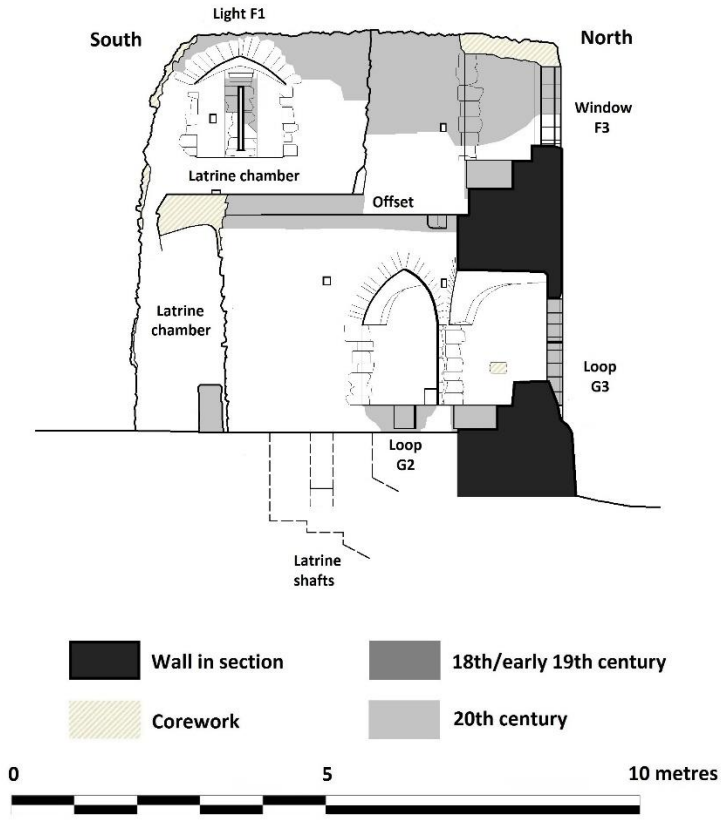


Fig. 52: Leybourne Castle gatehouse – west-facing elevation

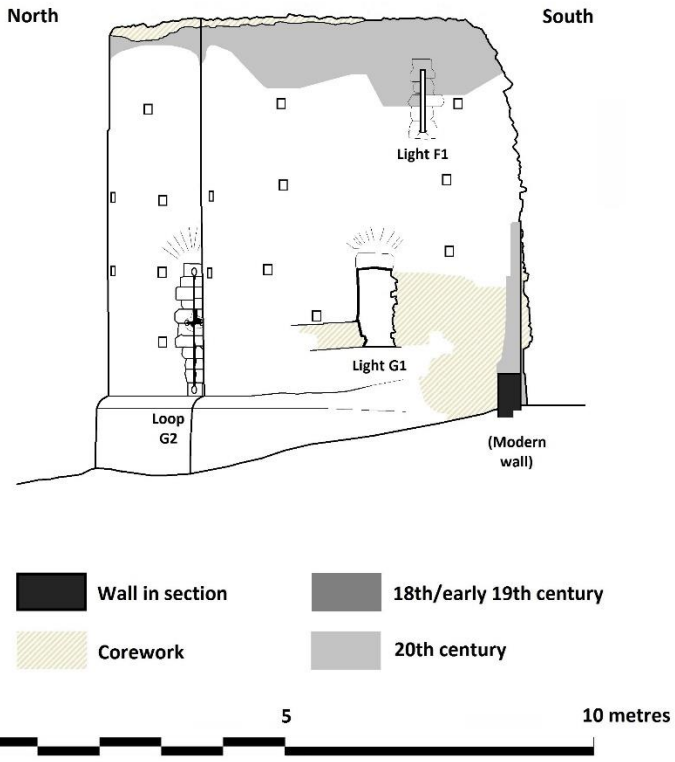


Fig. 53: Leybourne Castle gatehouse, east tower and passage – west-facing elevation

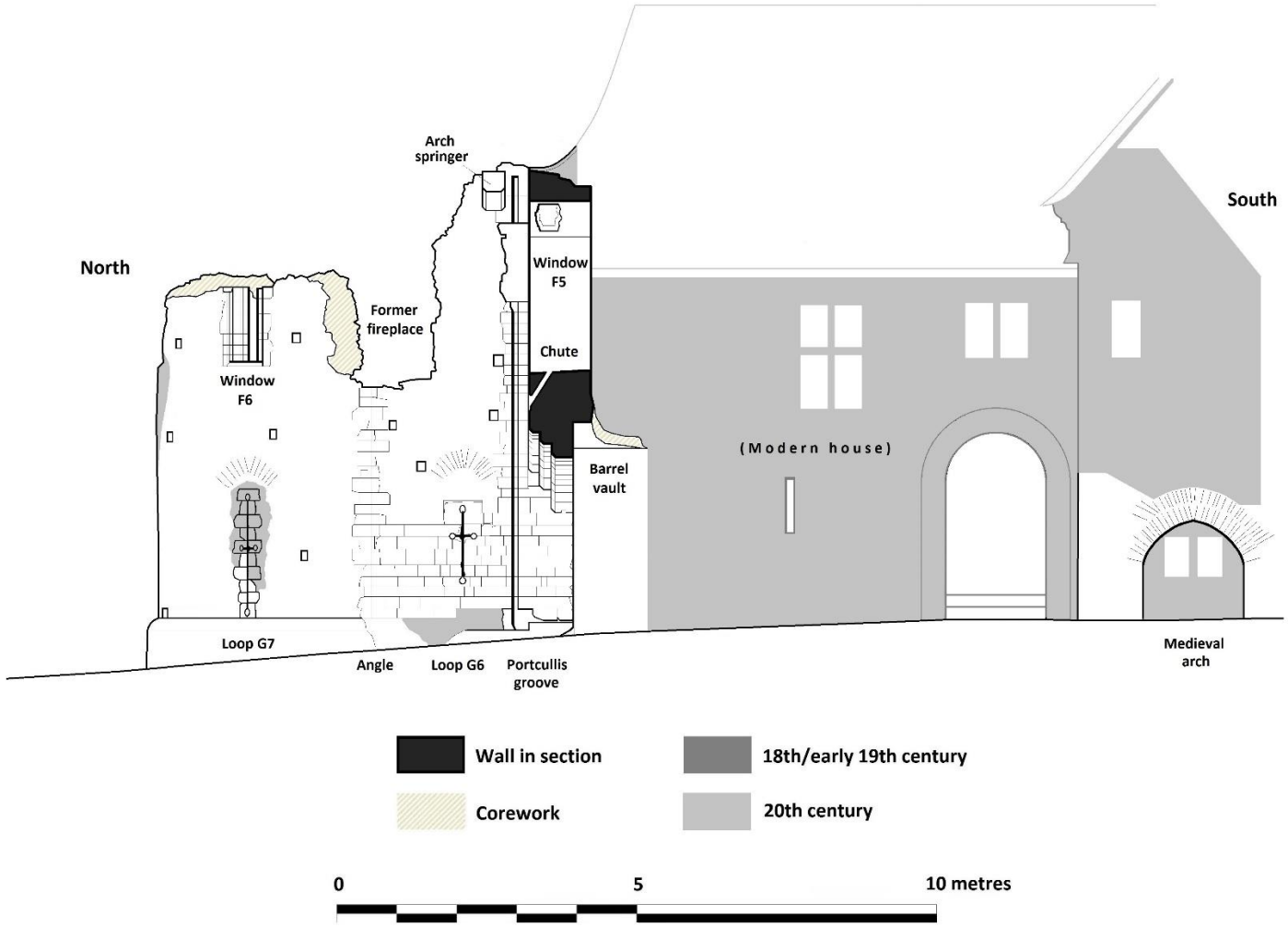
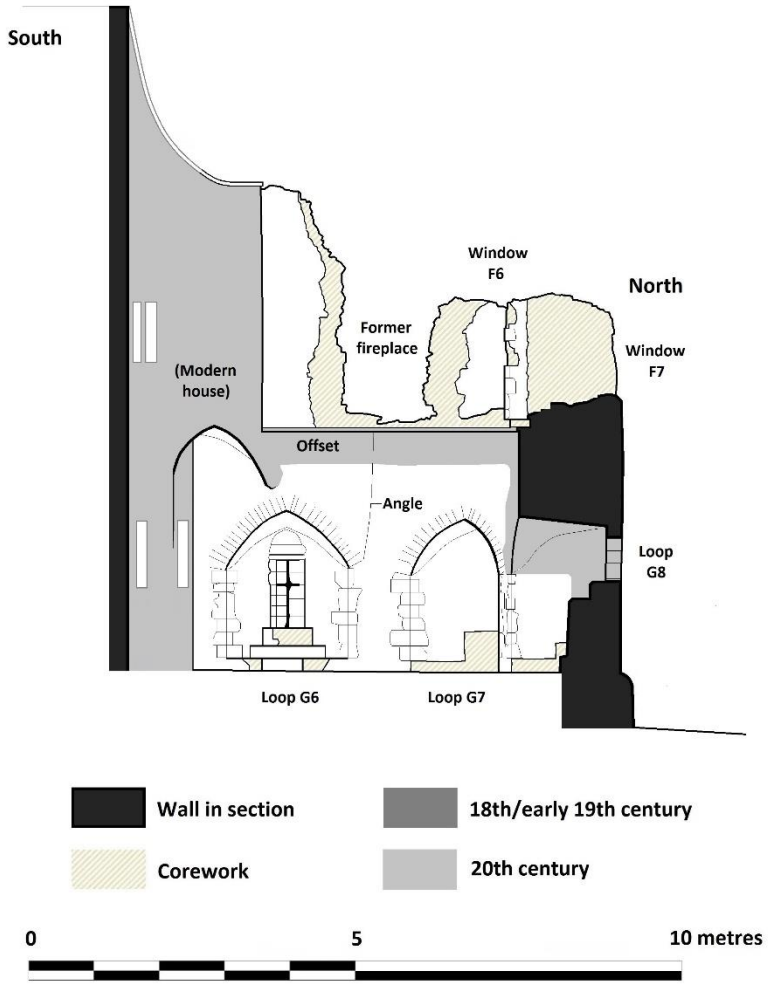


Fig. 54: Leybourne Castle gatehouse, east tower – east-facing section



4.2.1 The gate passage

The entry is deeply-recessed between the flanking towers, to an exceptional degree, being set some 7 metres back from the tower fronts. In addition, both the entrance arch and passage are unusually narrow, the arch being a mere 2.62 metres in width (against an average width of 3.20 metres: Neil Guy, pers. comm.). The curvature of the towers is interrupted 2.75 metres in front of the entry, towards which they turn to run straight and parallel with each other. The point of inflection is embellished by a line of vertical 'stitching' in freestone, presumably for visual effect (Figs. 49, 53, 55, 62 and 75).

From this point southwards to the entrance arch itself, both sides of the entry are lined with finely-jointed ashlar in a soft cream stone, somewhat weathered in places (Figs. 49 and 53, 55-57). This ashlar facework is confined to the lower third of the side walls, rising to a height of 2.2 metres and clearly restricted to the most visible section of the walling. It incorporates the two flanking loops G5 and G6, which appear to be unrestored and the western loop G5, in particular, is in poor condition but has retained all four terminal oillets; those in the eastern loop G6 may have been retooled (Figs. 43, 49, 53, 56-57).

Fig. 55: Leybourne Castle gatehouse entrance: a) external view, from north; b) internal view, from south

Fig. 56: Leybourne Castle gatehouse entrance, west tower loop G5: a) external view, from east; b) internal view, from west

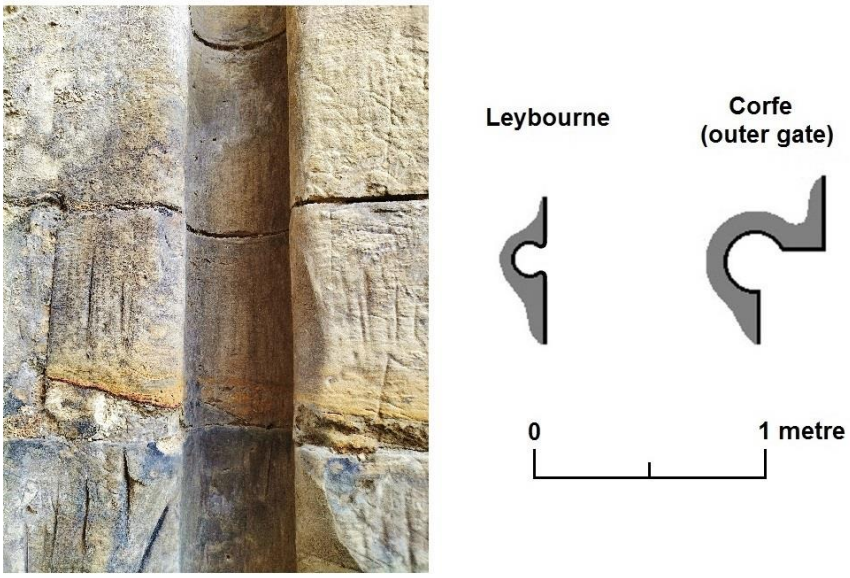
Fig. 57: Leybourne Castle gatehouse entrance, east tower loop G6:
a) external view, from west; b) internal view, from east

These loops are not shown in early drawings, and only the western loop G5 is clear in early photos, when it is shown more-or-less as it exists today (Fig. 16). The loops oppose one another (Fig. 43), as in a number of gatehouses from the years around 1300 including Tonbridge (Kent), Beaumaris (Anglesey), St Briavels (Gloucs.), Chirk (Denbighs) and the outer main gate at Caerphilly (Glam.). Each is 1.25 metres tall, while their bases lie a metre above present ground level – considerably higher than in the loops facing the field. The embrasure for eastern loop G6 shows the remains of a window-seat (Figs. 54 and 57b), apparently original judging from the truncated seating seen in the other ground-floor embrasures in the east tower. There appears to have been a change in design during construction of the embrasure of the western loop G5: its northern reveal has a wider splay than the other loops (total width of embrasure 1.85 metres, against an average of 1.75 metres), with a correspondingly lower rear-arch springer (1.30 metres in height, against 1.45 metres in the southern springer), which moreover springs from a point somewhat north of the reveal (Figs. 53 and 56b).

Visible on the flank of the east tower, just internal to the loops and in front of the portcullis groove, is the remnant of a former arch (Figs. 44, 53 and 55a). Close to summit level, it now comprises a single springer, in simply chamfered ashlar, that formed part of a segmental arch spanning the width of the threshold just in front of the entry. It appears to have been contemporary with the rest of the fabric. Nineteenth-century photos show the arch with a somewhat depressed, elliptical curve, but it had fallen by *c*.1900 (Figs. 17, 18 and 25); Sidney

Toy's drawing restored it with a near-semicircular curve (Fig. 45), probably guided by post-medieval opening F5 above the entrance arch.[5]

Fig. 58: Photo and comparative plans of portcullis groove



The portcullis grooves lie almost immediately behind the outer arch (Figs. 43, 48-49, 53 and 55a). They are external to the first-floor central chamber, from which the portcullis was apparently operated, and rise the entire height of the gatehouse (as it survives), so the portcullis would be entirely visible when raised: it was clearly meant for display. The grooves are lined with the same yellowish ashlar as the side-walls, and show stops at both base and summit. They are an unusual shape: although circular in section, like most grooves from the mid-thirteenth century onwards, they are small in diameter (around 0.18 metres), while their margins close in to form near-¾ circles (Fig. 58);[6] in an extra refinement, these margins carry a rounded chamfer. The chamfers continue in an even, consistent manner all the way to the summit, and clearly do not result from weathering.[7] Both the outer arch and portcullis groove will be discussed further in Section 7.2.

Writing in 1884, G. T. Clark maintained that pivot-sockets for a turning-bridge were visible just in front of the portcullis grooves (Clark 1884, 189). Ground level is, if anything, lower today, but the side-walls show no evidence of any such sockets. However, their ashlar facework is very weathered, and in places has been variously lost and/or patched. This may suggest that sockets were present, but have been lost, though it is possible that Clark mistook missing stones for deliberate features: it will be seen below that there is scant evidence for a drawbridge pit (see Section 4.3).

[5] Described as a 'flat segmental arch' by Clark (1884, 189), it is not mentioned in Grose (1785) or Mackenzie (1896).

[6] Also see Guy 2016, 135. G. T. Clark mistakenly described the grooves as square (Clark 1884, 189; copied by Mackenzie 1896, 29).

[7] Although visiting children apparently cannot resist running their hands up and down the grooves (Alan Albert, pers. comm.).

We have seen that the entrance arch, lying immediately behind the portcullis, is narrow, while its head lies 3 metres above present ground-level; a possible threshold, 0.5 metres lower down, is discussed in Section 4.3 below. The arch has a finely dressed surround, in the same yellowish ashlar as the side walls (Figs. 44-45, 49, 53 and 55). Externally, the door jambs are flush with the side-walls, but internally show very shallow returns (0.20 metres deep). The low, segmental-pointed head comprises three receding chamfers, with intervening rebates, beneath a relieving arch of rubble voussoirs. At its widest, the arch measures 0.80 metres north-south. There is no evidence of drawbar sockets, while the iron pintles either side are modern. The soft ashlar stone shows a considerable amount of graffiti, particularly in the entrance arch, which spans at least 150 years (see Fig. 104).

Lying hard above the exterior of the entrance arch is a narrow, horizontal rectangular slot, 0.60 metres wide by 0.10 metres deep (now weathered), formed from two blocks of dressed stone (Figs. 44, 55a and 59). The slot, which is of consistent width and depth throughout, emerges at its other end in the sill of first-floor opening F5. The latter is post-medieval in its present form (see below), but the slot itself is clearly medieval and an example of the so-called 'letterbox chute' seen at a number of other castles (discussed in in Section 7.2 below). It has been said that it is lined with lead (Kent Historic Environment Record, HER No. TQ 65 NE 202), but this may be a misidentification of the lead brace which holds the two blocks of dressed stone together (clearly visible in Fig 59).

Fig. 59: Leybourne Castle gatehouse: the 'letterbox chute' over the entry, from north

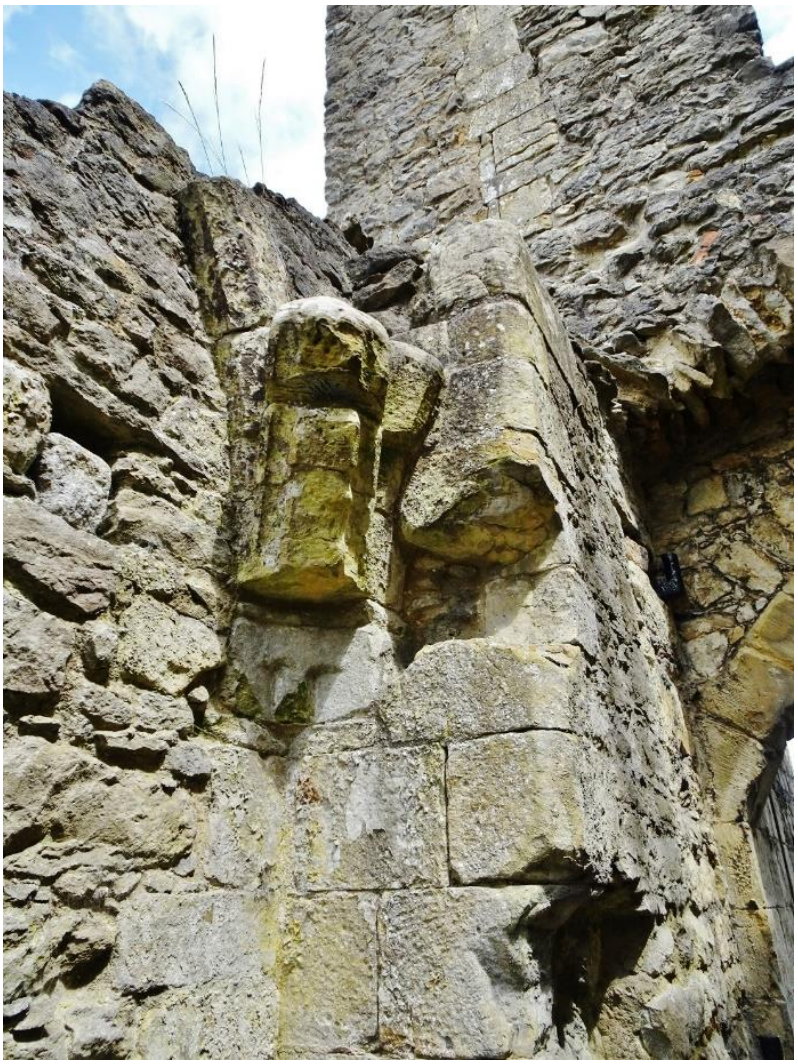
Internally, the entrance arch gives onto a vaulted gate-passage. A short section immediately behind this entry, 1.2 metres long and 2.75 metres wide, is lined in ashlar and lies beneath the remains of a simple segmental barrel vault, 3.5 metres high (Figs. 45, 49, 53, 55b and 60). To the south, the passage becomes wider, the junction being defined by a return in the west wall, 0.5 metres deep, with a chamfered corner (Figs. 45, 49, 55b and 60); the present east wall, which is post-medieval, continues straight and flush, but early twentieth-century photographs clearly show a corresponding return here, which was subsumed when the dwelling was built in the 1930s (Figs. 19, 22 and 23).

Fig. 60: Leybourne Castle entrance passage: a) from southeast; b) from southwest

This wider section of passage continues southward throughout the remains of the gatehouse, although its southern end has been lost so its original length is unknown. It would have been around 3.75 metres wide, but only the west wall is medieval, the eastern side being formed by the 1930s dwelling. There is no ashlar in the west wall, which is of plain rubble (Fig. 60a). It is also featureless, showing no evidence for a doorway from the passage to the flanking tower, which may have been entered solely from the rear, as in the inner west and outer east gatehouses at Caerphilly (1270s), and gatehouses at eg. Denbigh (1295-1300), and Dunstanburgh (Northumberland, 1313-25). It is possible however that a doorway lay further south in this wall, which may have extended for 3 metres or so further south.

While its side-wall is plain, this wider section of passage carried an elaborate rib-vault. Only a fragment remains, at the northwest corner, but is enough to show that it was a quadripartite vault, apparently of two bays (Figs. 45, 49, 60a and 61). Its chamfered ribs sprang directly from the wall-faces, without capitals, while the bays were defined by decorative ribs applied to the side-walls. The different forms of passage vaulting at Leybourne may be connected with function. The gatehouse seems to have comprised only two storeys, meaning the portcullis must have been side-operated from the central first-floor chamber lying above the passage vault: the weight of the various elements of its winding mechanism may have governed the form of the vaulting below. It is however notable how thin the passage side-wall is – a mere 0.80 metres. The choice of rib-vaulting, moreover, was very likely to have been linked, at least in part, with prestige. It will be discussed further in Section 7.2.

Fig. 61: Leybourne Castle entrance passage: the springer for the quadripartite rib vault, from southeast



Of the first-floor chamber over the passage, only the north wall over the entry survives. That the chamber was discrete from the flanking tower chambers – or at least from the west tower chamber – is however demonstrated by the remains of freestone stitching where its north and west walls formerly joined; the joint itself has been refaced (Figs. 45, 55b, 60a and 61). Moreover, the west side of the east flanking tower shows a slight internal curvature, that was presumably carried through further round to the south, sitting uneasily with full communication between the two spaces (Figs. 43, 48, 54 and 78a). Finally, the corework remains of the passage barrel-vault show that the chamber was floored at a higher level than the flanking tower first floors (Figs. 45, 55b, 60a and 61): in the west tower, where levels are unchanged, the first floor is 0.45 metres lower than in the chamber. Higher chambers over the passage are typical of early- to mid-thirteenth century gatehouses, but are also seen in later gatehouses eg. Tonbridge (1290s), the inner east gate at Caerphilly (1270s), perhaps Dunstanburgh (1313-25) and at Picton Castle, Pembs. (*c*.1315-20), at second-floor level (see Ludlow 2022, 222; Ludlow 2024, 95, 125).

The most prominent feature of the surviving walling is a tall, wide opening F5 (Figs. 44-45, 48-49, 53, 55 and 60b). Although very tall, it was almost certainly a window rather than a doorway, with a sill 0.5 metres above (medieval) floor-level. It is most unlike any other opening in the gatehouse, with a full-centred semicircular head, formed from small, regular voussoirs, and shows no evidence for any surround or dressed stone. Instead, it is of 'classic' eighteenth-century character. And any large opening here, during the medieval period, would have been entirely hidden behind the portcullis when raised. The window must however have replaced an earlier opening of some kind, as the letterbox chute originates from within its sill. Unfortunately, however, its insertion has removed all evidence of the mechanism by which the portcullis was operated.

Kip shows a rectangular window here (Fig. 6). But while later prints similarly show a window of this shape, it is apparent that it has been inserted into a taller, arched opening (Figs. 10, 12 and 13).[8] I suggest the present window was inserted soon after 1719, and relates to the timber building that is shown suspended over the gate-passage in prints from 1739 and 1750 (Figs. 7 and 8); at the same time, the walling above the high outer arch was rebuilt as a gable (Figs. 9-10, 12, 17-19). The timber lintel shown over the square window, from 1785 onwards, may be associated with the sockets that have been crudely cut into the soffits of the semicircular arch (Fig. 49, 53, 55 and 60b). The reveals were ruinous by the late nineteenth century and were restored by Walter Godfrey (Figs. 17-18).

4.2.2 The west tower

The west tower was largely unoccupied throughout the post-medieval period, when it was allowed to become ruinous. This however means it underwent relatively slight alteration. Internally, the ground-floor space measures 6 metres in width (east-west), while its surviving north-south dimension is 11.5 metres. Evidence from sills suggests that ground-level is more-or-less unchanged; the first floor was carried on an offset which, although restored in the 1930s, closely reflects the original level (Figs. 45, 63 and 65). Together they give an internal ground-floor height of 3.5 metres.

There are now four openings, all loops, whose overall design was briefly described above (Fig. 43). Three face the field (G2-G4), while the fourth (G5), faces the passage with which it has been described in more detail above. G2, G3 and G4, facing northwest, north and northeast respectively, are of similar design (Figs. 44-45, 49-50, 62-65). We have seen that they show window-seats, which though restored in the 1930s appear to have been original features. Their cut-outs have a low sill, just above floor-level, while the seating either side averages 0.5 metres in height. The splayed reveals, which are quoined in roughly-dressed freestone, average 1.35 metres in height to the springers. The lowish, segmental-pointed heads show plain rubble voussoirs with an average apex height of 2.5 metres. The embrasures average 1.75 metres in width. In their outer halves is a higher sill or ledge, typical of this kind of loop embrasure.[9] The loops themselves, which lie beneath external relieving arches with rubble

[8] Fig. 12 gives it a slightly pointed head, but clearly shows window F6: see Fig. 13 for the round head.
[9] There seems to be no specific term for this feature in English; in France it is called the *allège* (Mesqui 1993, 280-1).

voussoirs, are tall, having steep basal plunges that emerge at the external plinth, giving an average height of 2 metres.

Fig. 62: The gatehouse west tower from the exterior (facing southwest)

Fig. 63: The gatehouse west tower from the interior (facing northeast)

Fig. 64: The gatehouse west tower from the exterior (facing south)

Fig. 65: The gatehouse west tower interior (facing north)

Externally, the northwest loop G2 shows the best survival of medieval fabric of these three loops: the dressings of its surround appear to be unrestored, and are consequently rather weathered (Figs. 44, 52 and 66). Its four terminal oillets are shown by Johannes Kip in 1719 (Fig. 6), and it appears much as today in Stockdale's view of 1810 (Fig. 12).[10] North-facing loop G3, by contrast, has undergone extensive alteration (Figs. 44-45, 50-51 and 67). Blocked before 1719 (Fig. 6), it had been converted into narrowish, rectangular window by the mid-eighteenth century (Figs. 9-10, 12-13), perhaps accounting for the 'gouging' in the reveals; the purpose of this window is however unclear, as all prints show that the tower was unoccupied. At any rate, the window was in a ruinous condition by the mid-nineteenth century (Figs. 15, 17-18), and was extensively restored, with the reinstatement of the loop, in the 1930s (Fig. 32); the head and foot oillets appear however to be original. The 1930s dressings are already weathering, with some already damaged. The northeast loop G4 has had a similar history (Figs. 44-45, 49 and 68). It too was blocked by 1719, but had been reopened by the mid-eighteenth century (Figs. 6, 9-10). By the mid-nineteenth century, much of its lower half had gone (Figs. 15, 17-18), and it too was restored in the 1930s, but the upper part of its surround, and the head and foot oillets, appear to be original.

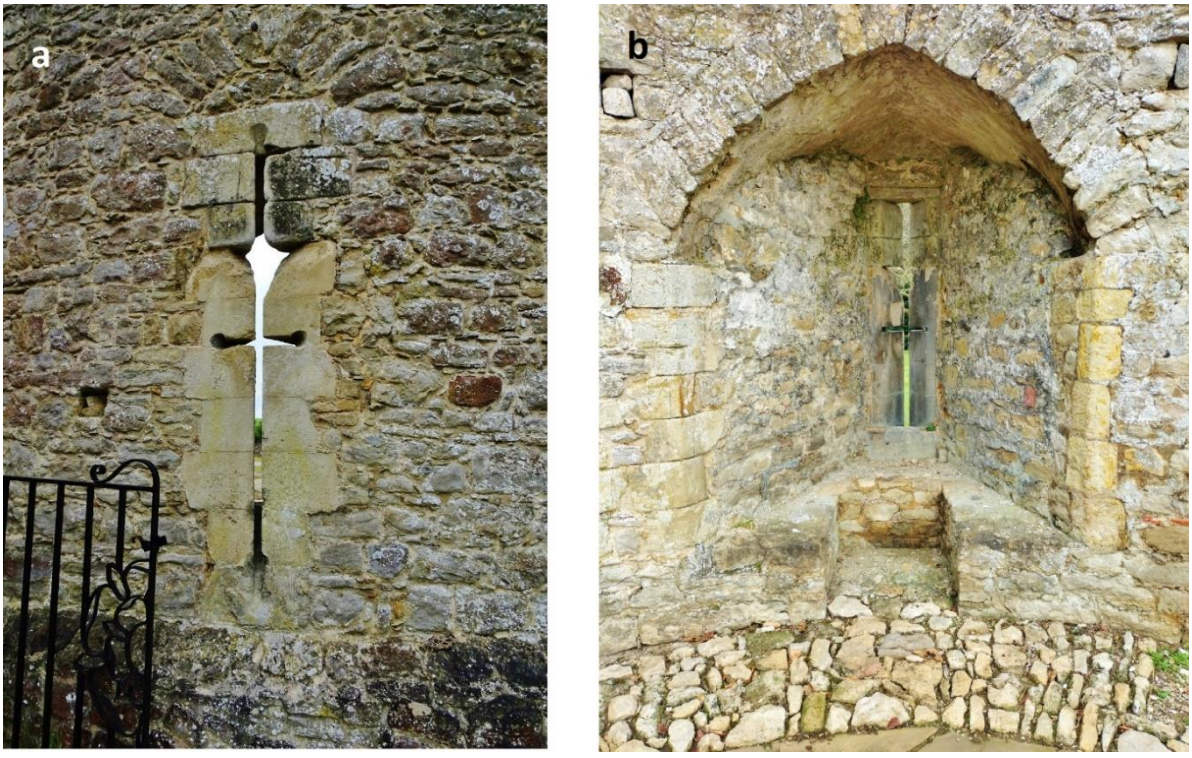
Four sockets between the loop embrasures, at a height of 2.2 metres above ground-level, may be associated with timbers supporting the first floor (Figs. 45, 50-51, 63 and 65). The east wall shows four further sockets, which may be constructional putlog-holes as on the external face. The two large corbels to the northeast and northwest are, like the rebuilt offset, from the 1930s and are absent from early photos (see Figs. 19 and 24). Sockets above this offset may be original and associated with floor timbers.

Fig. 66: Leybourne Castle gatehouse west tower, northwest loop G2:
a) external view, from west; b) internal view, from east

[10] The cross-arms are shown in 1811 (Fig. 13).

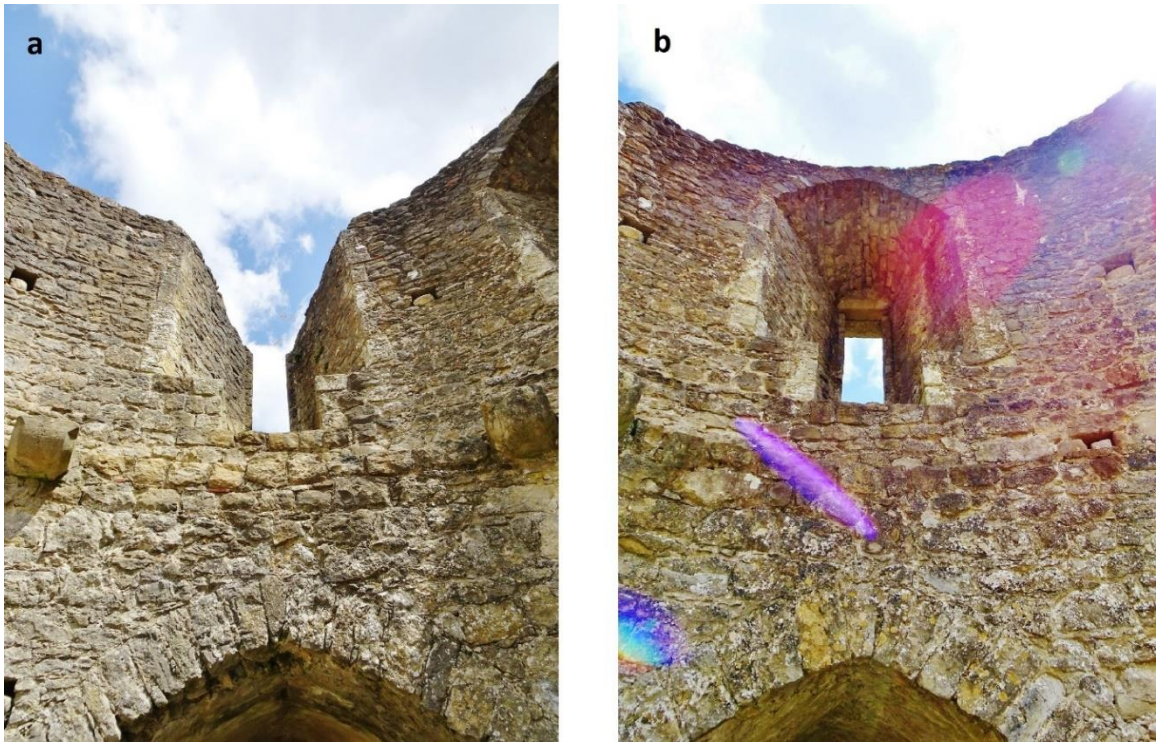
Fig. 67: Leybourne Castle gatehouse west tower, northern loop G3:
a) external view, from north; b) internal view, from south

Fig. 68: Leybourne Castle gatehouse west tower, northeast loop G4:
a) external view, from northeast; b) internal view, from southwest



At first-floor level, the west tower is 0.6 metres wider than the ground-floor (via the offset) and survives to a maximum height of 4 metres. Print evidence suggests it never rose a great deal higher, but the absence of features associated with its roof structure – apart, possibly, from three sockets midway up the wall (as on the ground floor) – shows that another metre or so should probably be added. The upper half of the walling was extensively repaired, and somewhat raised in height, during restoration in the 1930s (see Figs. 17-18, 44-45).

Fig. 69: Leybourne Castle gatehouse west tower, internal views of first-floor windows: a) northern window F3, facing north; b) northeast window F4, facing northeast



Surviving first-floor openings are confined to two windows, facing north F3 and northeast F4 (Figs. 44-45, 48, 50-51, 62-65 and 69). Edward Hasted and Walter Godfrey both show a third window, facing northwest (Figs. 10 and 41), for which there is no physical evidence; moreover no opening appears in this location in nineteenth-century photographs (Figs. 17-18), while there is no corresponding window in the east tower. The windows have been described in outline above. The surviving original fabric shows that the embrasures were splayed, 1.5 metres wide with reveals at least 1.5 metres tall. They appear to have shown window seats, as restored in the 1930s. Externally, the single lights were also at least 1.5 metres tall. The west tower embrasures were already ruinous in the earliest clear depictions (eg. Figs. 7, 8 and 24), but freestone is shown in the angles of the reveals in the east tower, as on the ground floor, and is therefore probably original (Figs. 21 and 29). The rear-arches had also gone by the time the earliest depictions were made (see Figs. 7 and 8), and were of unknown form.

Northern window F3 was apparently intact in 1719 (Fig. 6) but is shown in various stages of ruination from 1737 onwards (Figs. 7-9). It is clear from a photo of *c*.1870-80 that, while the east half and base of its external surround are original, the upper part of the west half is restored work from the 1930s (Figs. 17-18 and 44). Neither its head, nor its rear-arch, was

rebuilt. In contrast, both were reinstated in northeast window F4, where the rear-arch was given a lowish, segmental-pointed head like those on the ground floor, while the external surround was restored with a square, lintelled head (Figs. 44 and 62). There is no good evidence for either, although a square-headed surround is possible (see above). Like its partner, the window was apparently intact in 1719 (Fig. 6) but was ruinous by 1737 when both head and rear-arch had gone (Figs. 7-9); it is depicted in this condition through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Figs. 13-15, 17-20, 24-25).

Fig. 70: Leybourne Castle gatehouse west tower: the fireplace in the east wall, from west

The only other surviving feature at first-floor level is a round-backed, segmental-arched fireplace, which lies in the east wall and corresponds to the north wall of the central chamber (Fig. 48). In its present form, the fireplace appears to be entirely from the 1930s: it has been raised, its hearth now lying 0.75 metres above floor level, while a vertical joint is clearly visible above the western springer of its arch (Figs. 50, 63 and 70). However, the freestone quoining of its northern reveal appears original, while photos from *c*.1880s and *c*.1900 clearly show a ruinous, round-backed flue (Figs. 19 and 25). No chimney is shown in 1719 (Fig. 6), but a chimney is shown in all subsequent prints until 1811 (Figs. 7-10, 12-13). But it appears to have served the re-occupied central chamber on the opposite side of the wall (see Section 4.2.1 above), and if so must have occupied a new breach while re-using the flue; there is however no evidence of such a breach. Was it an entirely new fireplace and flue, for which there is no surviving evidence? At any rate, while the early photographs show that the surviving flue was lined with closely-jointed ashlar, the fireplace itself is now lined with tile, which may therefore not be original. And while tile was used to line medieval fireplaces at eg. Orford Castle (Suffolk) and Colchester Castle (Essex), it was usually of Roman origin, but no Roman structures have apparently been identified in the vicinity of Leybourne (Ellis 2009, 9-11, 53).

Nevertheless the fireplace is suggested, on balance, to be medieval in origin. The ashlar lining is significant, while the round-backed form was employed throughout the thirteenth century and well into the fourteenth century (see Section 7.2). And a matching fireplace lay in roughly the same location in the gatehouse east tower (see below). Their situation, on external walls next to the entry, is however unusual and I know of no close comparisons; similarly lateral (ie. side-wall) fireplaces are however seen in the gatehouses at eg. Tonbridge Castle and Llangibby Castle, Mon. (*c*.1307-14), which housed longitudinal first-floor rooms as at Leybourne.

Fig. 71: Leybourne Castle gatehouse west tower: the west turret, from west

The latrine turret against the west face of the tower is also now of two storeys. It is depicted in all published drawings as semicircular, and projecting from the tower at right angles (eg. Goodall 2011a, 204; Ludlow 2022, 231). All follow Sidney Toy's plan (Fig. 46), which is incorrect – the turret is in fact D-shaped, with its long axis parallel to the gate-tower (Figs. 43 and 48). Externally, the chamfered basal plinth continues around the turret, dying back just in front of the junction with the former enclosure wall, while the same pattern of putlog-holes is present (Figs. 52 and 71). Latrine chambers occupy both levels, both with vertical shafts measuring 0.70 metres square and apparently single-seat; they connect via a sharply pointed arch, now much weathered (Figs. 72-73). The ground-floor chamber is 1.4 metres wide and survives for a length of 2.7 metres, though its south wall (including the entry) has gone; the first-floor chamber is the same width, but extends further north to accommodate the second latrine shaft (3.3 metres north-south). Treatment of the turret is significantly plainer than in the main body of the tower.

Fig. 72: Leybourne Castle gatehouse west tower, the west turret interior: a) from south; b) from east

Fig. 73: Leybourne Castle gatehouse west tower, the west turret interior: two views of the ground-floor latrine shaft, from south

The ground-floor chamber carries a segmental barrel-vault running north-south (Figs. 45, 51 and 72). It is lit by a slit-light in the west wall (G1), with a plain, rounded rear arch and asymmetrical splays canted to the north (Figs. 43 and 74). Externally, the light is now very weathered, as it was in *c*.1900 when any surround had already gone (Figs. 26, 52 and 71); the lintel suggests it was square-headed, but unfortunately it does not appear in any earlier

pictures or photographs that I have seen. The first-floor chamber is floored at a slightly higher level as the main body of the tower (0.40m higher); the walling separating it from the tower has gone (including any entry). It is lit by two square-headed lights, both heavily restored. Light F1, facing west, has a very similar embrasure and rear-arch to those in the main body of the tower, apparently unrestored (Figs. 23, 51 and 72b); a socket in the eastern reveal is of unknown function. It opens as a narrow slit with a chamfered surround (Figs. 52 and 71), the upper half of which is clearly from the 1930s, along with the lintel (see Fig. 26). Northern light F2 has been even more extensively restored, including its segmental rear-arch (Figs. 45 and 72a). Its reveals are flush with the side-walls and thus show no quoining. Externally, the light is similar to F1, with the same surround; like the rear-arch, its head had gone by *c*.1870 (Fig. 17), and has been restored with a lintel (Figs. 44 and 64). There is now no evidence for the chamber roofing.

Fig. 74: Leybourne Castle gatehouse west tower, the west turret interior: ground-floor light G1, from southeast

Fig. 75: The gatehouse east tower from the exterior (facing southeast)

Fig. 76: The gatehouse east tower from the exterior (facing south)

Fig. 77: The gatehouse east tower from the exterior (facing southwest)

Fig. 78: The east tower interior:
a) facing west; b) facing north; c) facing northeast

4.2.3 The east tower

The east tower was very similar to its western partner, with the same dimensions, though it is not identical: there is no evidence for a latrine turret, while the internal space may have been organised in a rather different way (Figs. 43 and 48). The west wall shows a slight inturn to the south, as if to meet an east-west division at the rear of the tower. This angle is carried as a diagonal chord over western ground-floor embrasure G6, which accordingly has a 'nodding' rear-arch (ie. not perpendicular), and it continues at first-floor level suggesting the division rose through both storeys (Figs. 45, 54 and 78a). It may therefore have formed the basis for the post-medieval gable wall shown in all prints from 1719 to 1811 (Figs. 6-13), but which appears to have gone by *c*.1880 (Figs. 17 and 18). The tower also contains a well (Figs. 43 and 79), already present before restoration work and quite possibly medieval in origin (Figs. 29-30), though the present superstructure is modern.[11] Taken together, these features may suggest a somewhat different and more specialised kind of usage than in the west tower.

Fig. 79: The east tower well, facing southwest

The east tower also underwent more intensive post-medieval usage than the west tower, and has correspondingly seen more alteration. From the sixteenth century until the late eighteenth century it was incorporated within a dwelling house, as it was again in the 1930s. Its circumference is now carried round through 360° with a thin, highly-fenestrated rear wall from the 1930s, replacing the suggested former division.

At ground-floor level, the interior is now 4 metres high, defined by an offset carrying a moulded fillet (Figs. 45, 54 and 78). This is, however, part of the 1930s restoration work and earlier photographs show the ground floor was formerly the same height as in the west tower (Figs. 21, 23, 28-30). And while floor level is now 0.2 metres higher than in the west tower, surviving sills suggest it was originally floored at the same level. Any wall sockets that may have been present have since been infilled.

[11] The well in the basement of the Tonbridge gatehouse appears, however, to be post-medieval (see Ludlow 2022, 182).

Fig. 80: Leybourne Castle gatehouse east tower, northwest loop G7:
a) external view, from northwest; b) internal view, from southeast

Fig. 81: Leybourne Castle gatehouse east tower, northern loop G8:
a) external view, from north; b) internal view, from south (detail)

Fig. 82: Leybourne Castle gatehouse east tower, altered northeast loop G9, now a doorway: a) external view, from east; b) internal view, from southwest

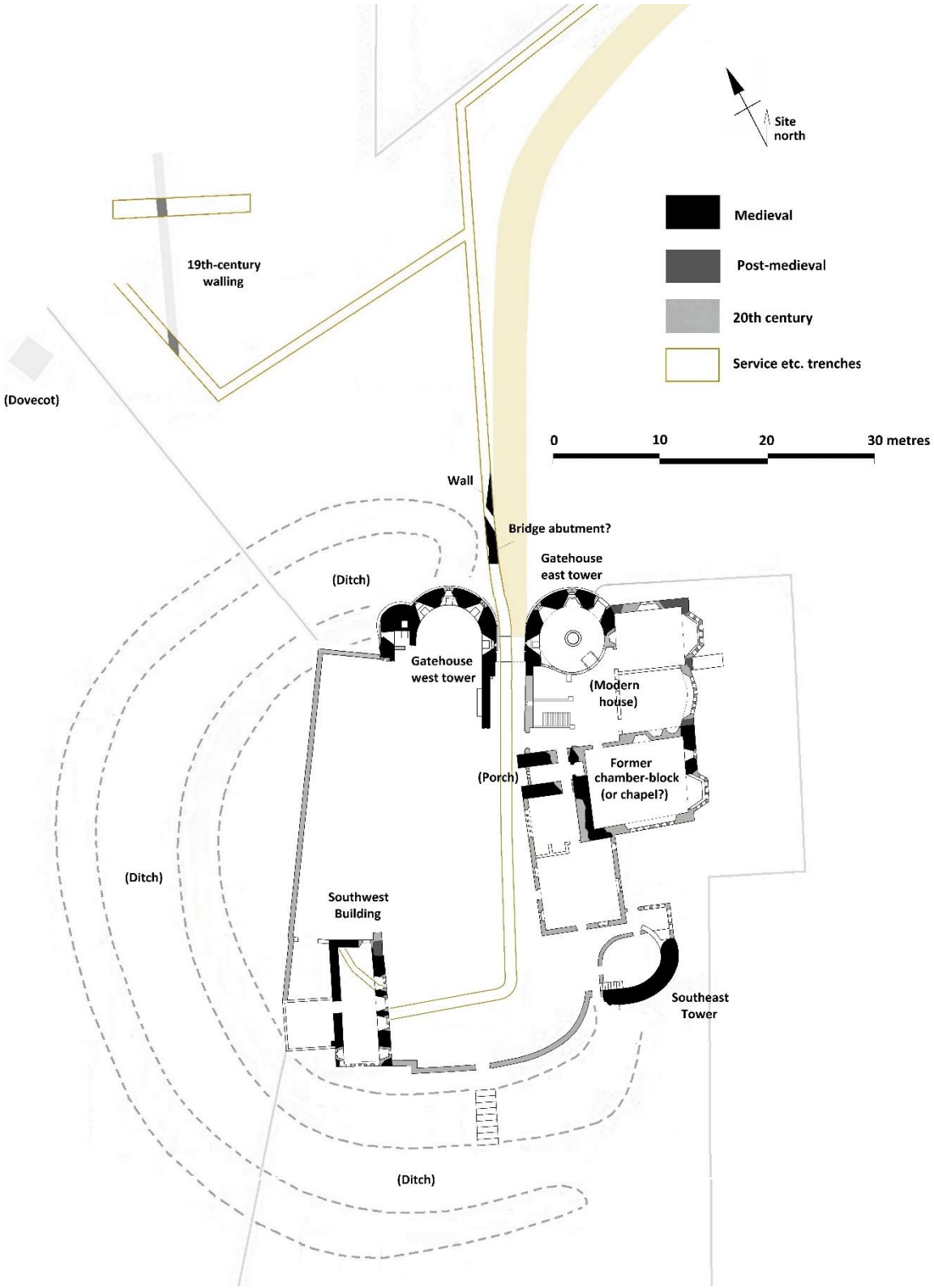
Fenestration, at both levels, was like that in the west tower, with the same rear-arches, window-seats, reveals, and external surrounds (Figs. 44-45, 48 and 78). The openings, however, have undergone more dramatic change. The only ground-floor opening to survive in its original form is west-facing passage loop G6, described in Section 4.2.1 above (see Fig. 57). Northwest loop G7 has lost its window-seating, which has been cut back flush with the reveals (Figs. 54 and 80b). Externally, the loop was largely restored in the 1930s (Figs. 53 and 80a), although the lower half of its surround may be original (see Figs. 17-18 and 25). Northern loop G8 had been opened up as a large square window by 1719 (Fig. 6), with a timber lintel apparently beneath an elliptical relieving arch (Figs. 12 and 17); the window-seating was cut back, and the lower half of the loop infilled (Figs. 45, 54 and 81b). This infill was retained when the window was blocked in the 1930s, with the re-instatement of the rear-arch and a rather truncated loop (Figs. 44 and 81a). Northeast loop G9 was altered out of recognition when converted into a doorway, with a square, lintelled head, again before 1719 (Figs. 6, 10-12), Ruinous by 1900 (Fig. 25, 27-28), it was rebuilt as a segmental-arched doorway in the 1930s (Figs. 44-45 and 82).

The remains at first-floor level are rather fragmentary. It was fenestrated like the west tower, but north-facing window F7 has entirely gone, along with much of the walling either side (Figs. 44-45, 48, 76 and 78b). Northwest window F6 retains the lower half of its external surround, which appears to be unaltered (*cf.* Figs. 17-18, 25, 44, 53 and 75), even though a timber sash had been inserted by the 1750s (Figs. 9 and 10). Internally, however, it was mutilated in the 1930s when the floor-level was raised, removing all evidence for its window-seat (*cf*. Figs. 21, 23, 29-30, 45, 54, 76, 78 and 83), and there has been further loss of freestone from its reveals.

Fig. 83: Leybourne Castle gatehouse east tower:
internal view of first-floor northwest window F6, from southeast

There is a third breach southwest of window F6 (Figs. 48, 53-54, 75 and 78a). No window is suggested here in early prints, and there is no corresponding window in the west tower. Instead, a chimney is shown in drawings from 1759 to 1811 (Figs. 9-10, 13-14), more-or-less opposite that in the west tower. The fireplace that it served may therefore also have been medieval, though all features relating to it have been lost. As in the east tower, there is no evidence for the tower roof structure.

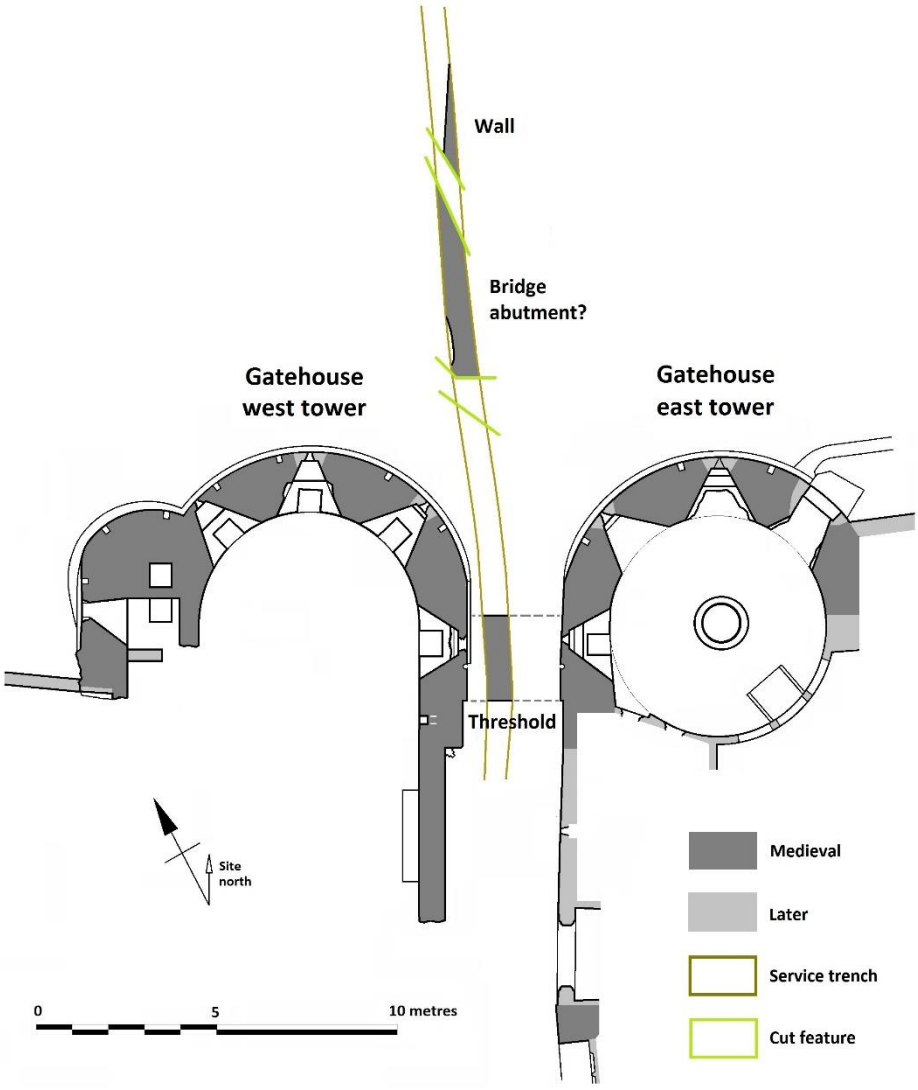
Fig. 84: Overall plan of Leybourne Castle showing service trenches (1997, 1998 and 2007)



4.3 The bridge abutment and threshold (Figs. 84-6)

In 1997, a service trench was excavated from the north-south road east of the castle ('Castle Way'), westwards along the present drive, then turning south to continue through the gatehouse and the castle courtyard (Fig. 84). Masonry structures were revealed immediately in front of the gatehouse, and between the gatehouse towers.

Fig. 85: Leybourne Castle gatehouse – ground-floor plan showing 1997 service trench, with excavated structures



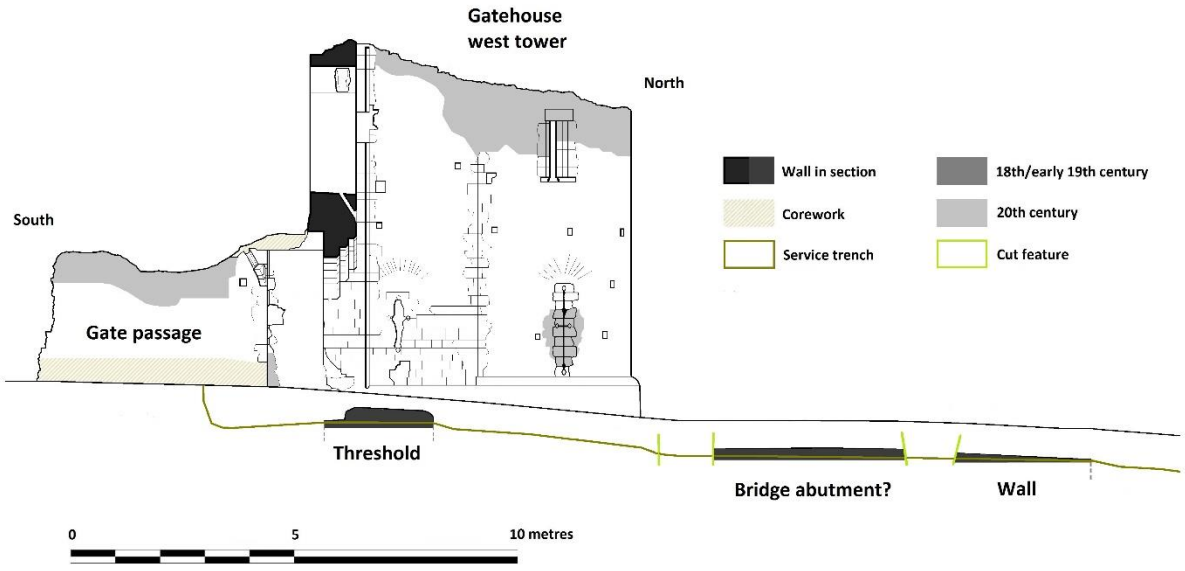
Lying 3 metres north of the gatehouse was a solid mass of masonry (Figs. 84-86), only partially exposed and truncated by later features so that its original form and shape are unknown, but its minimum dimensions were 4 metres north-south by 0.6 metres east-west (Jarman 1997, 3). Only the uppermost course was revealed, and the level from which it was constructed is unknown. It was overlain by half a metre of post-medieval material (ibid.), possibly representing a deliberate deposit as this area had been at least partially infilled by 1719 to form a 'causeway' (Fig. 6). A small area of facework was revealed on the west side, defining a concave area around which the masonry was laid in a curving pattern. Construction was in

ragstone rubble, within which was embedded a sherd of pottery giving a *terminus post quem* in the thirteenth century, so the structure could be from any subsequent period. The facework suggests it was not a footing, while it occupies the projected arc of the castle ditch.

Leading from its north side, but with no direct relationship due to later disturbance, was a thin wall running approximately northeast and exposed for a length of 2.6 metres (Jarman 1997, 3; Figs. 85-6). Of similar construction to the above, it was 0.6m wide, with facework on its exposed west side. It was overlain by a layer of demolition debris or collapse.

The mass of masonry would appear to be the abutment for a bridge – probably of timber, rather than masonry – its projected northern end corresponding with the edge of the ditch here. The thin wall leading northeast may then be one of a pair, flanking the approach to the bridge to define a 'passage'; its narrowness suggests the walls were low, and probably ornamental rather than defensive as any kind of barbican. Whether or not they are medieval, or a later embellishment, is unknown.[12]

Fig. 86: Leybourne Castle gatehouse, west tower and passage – east-facing elevation showing 1997 service trench, with excavated structures



Between the gatehouse towers, in front of the entrance arch, was a third area of masonry lying 0.5 metres beneath the present surface, around 0.75 metres higher than the above-mentioned features (Figs. 85-6). Of slightly different construction (Jarman 1997, 4-5), it was similarly not revealed to any great depth and the surface from which it was constructed was not observed. It spanned the entire width of the entry, with a north-south dimension of 2.4

[12] For a rather different interpretation of this walling, as the site of an earlier castle, see Jarman (1997), 5-6, (1998), 2.

metres. Its southern half appears to have lain beneath the entrance arch.[13] Probably set too far back between the towers, and too high up, to be an inner abutment for the bridge – which may not, in any case, have been necessary this far south of the ditch – the walling may therefore just represent a hard threshold, apparently rising above the original surface to form a raised sill. There is nothing to suggest that it was associated with a drawbridge-pit (see above, Section 4.2.1). The difference in construction suggests the threshold may not be contemporary with the abutment and 'passage' walls, which could then be later additions (though not necessarily separated by any great length of time).

4.4 The remainder of the castle (see Figs. 2 and 84)

Little remains of the rest of the castle, apart from a rounded tower at the southeast corner and the rectangular Southwest Building (the so-called 'chapel') at the opposite corner (Figs. 2, 84). Nor are there any published descriptions, either antique or modern. But there is excellent antique pictorial evidence from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century, beginning with Kip's engraving of 1719 (Figs. 5 and 6). Seen alongside three more views, by George Lambert from 1737 (Fig. 7), by Godfrey and Hooper from 1750 (published 1784, and possibly based on Lambert; Fig. 8), and by Edward Hasted from 1785 (published 1798; Fig. 11) – as well as a number of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century photos (Figs. 14-30) – at least some of the castle's arrangements can be speculated. A very early photo, from around the 1850s (Fig. 14), shows that considerably more masonry survived in the castle than today – much of which had gone by the 1920s – but it is difficult to relate to known structures.

The pictorial evidence will be discussed here in relation to the standing remains, proceeding clockwise from the gatehouse. A rectangular, two-storeyed crenellated block is shown by Kip immediately south of the gatehouse east tower, running east-west and projecting eastwards well beyond the gatehouse east wall (Fig. 6). It is shown on all subsequent prints, but had lost its crenellations by 1737 and had been given an overhanging hipped roof (Fig. 7). It apparently comprised a high first-floor chamber over a lower ground-floor space, much of whose north wall still stood to a considerable height in the mid-late nineteenth century (see Figs. 14, 17-20). A ground-level entry from the courtyard, which still survives (see below), gave onto a large square porch projecting from its west wall (Figs. 2, 40 and 84). This porch was also storeyed, apparently rising to parapet level, beneath which its north wall was pierced by a large first-floor opening presumably representing a doorway between the porch and the gatehouse (Fig. 20), although this may have been a secondary insertion; above this level, the porch clearly oversailed the gatehouse roof as the wall features a small light. A tall, semicircular stair turret is shown in the centre of the south wall, outside the presumed perimeter of the courtyard (Figs. 7 and 8). The building, the date and function of which are discussed below, may represent a chapel, though I argue below that it was more likely a residential chamber-block (see Section 7.1). Its remains are fossilised within the present house, and indicate that it measured around 12 metres east-west by 9 metres north-south (see Figs. 40 and 84).

[13] Although neither the large-scale plan nor the section drawing in the report shows the trench features relative to standing structures (Jarman 1997, Figs. 3-4).

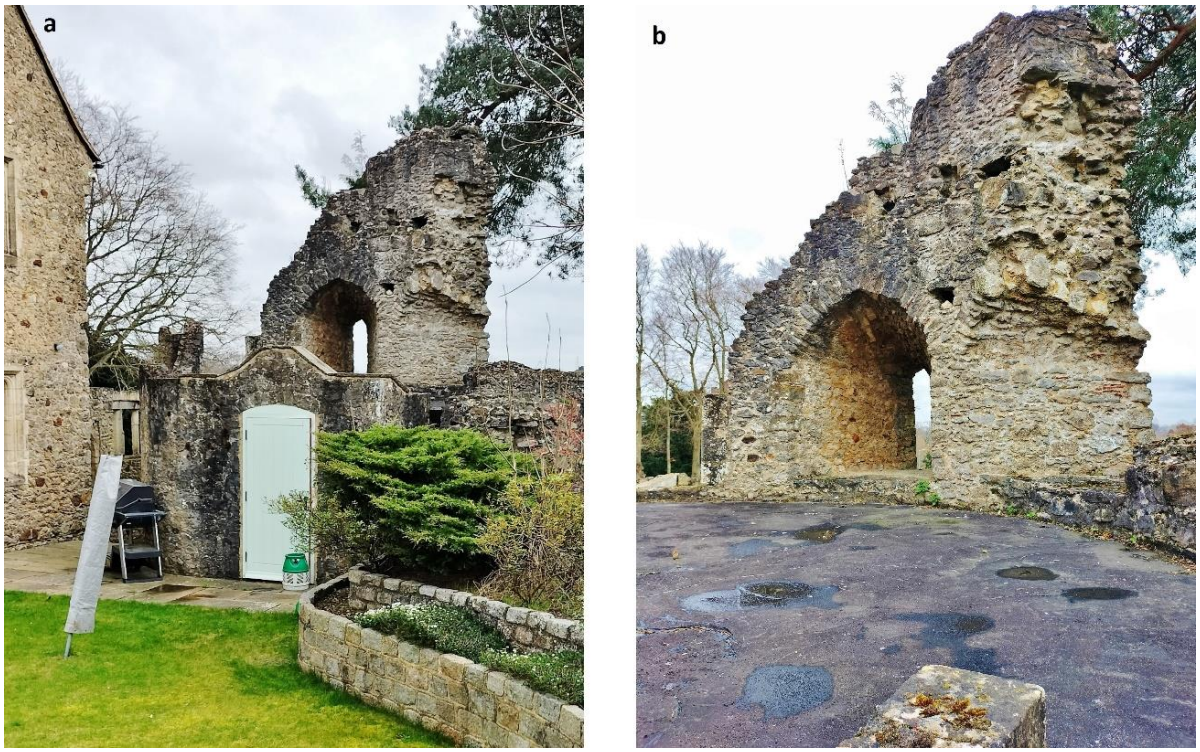
4.4.1 The Southeast Tower (Figs. 87-90)

The Southeast Tower has lost its northeast quadrant, and most of its rear half which has been replaced by modern walling. Enough remains however to show that it was D-shaped along an east-west axis, around 7 or 8 metres north-south internally, with walling 1.5 metres thick towards the field. It comprises two storeys, with a total height of roughly 7 metres like the gatehouse, and similarly may not have risen any higher: Kip's engraving of 1719 suggests the remains of crenellations, while sockets on its inner face, at first-floor level, may have been associated with its roof structure (as in the gatehouse west tower; Fig. 88). It is of plainer construction than the gatehouse. There appears to have been no basal plinth (unless it is buried), while freestone is very restricted and the surviving window has no external surround (Fig. 87). Otherwise however it is stylistically very similar and the arrangement of putlog-holes on its external face closely reflects that in the gatehouse (Fig. 87). There is therefore no reason to assume the two are not contemporary, and this kind of embellishment was probably limited to the gatehouse as a mark of special treatment.

Fig. 87: Two external views of the Southeast Tower: a) from east; b) from northeast

At ground-floor level, the remaining portion is blind towards the field, all openings being in the modern rear wall (Fig. 88a). Internally, it has been lined with breeze-block, with similar internal partitions. All internal structural evidence, including original flooring methods, is therefore concealed. The tower is now roofed at this level, with a flat roof carrying an asphalt surface, which apparently reflects medieval first-floor level (Fig. 88b). A square lean-to against the north side, now roofless, is modern (1930s), but appears to re-use a medieval chamfered door-surround, with a pointed head, of unknown provenance (Fig. 87b).

Fig. 88: Two internal views of the Southeast Tower:
a) from west; b) also from west, at first-floor level



The remains of two lights survive at first-floor level, facing east and southeast (Fig. 88b). As in the gatehouse, the embrasures are triangular in plan and closely-spaced, while the most complete light is a very plain, pointed single lancet, without a surround. Its rear-arch is like those in the gatehouse, but freestone is absent from the angles with the reveals. There are no window-seats. Facing northeast are the remains of a first-floor doorway,[14] with a plain unchamfered surround, the lower part of which survives; it has a raised sill, like a ship's bulkhead door (Figs. 88b and 89). The doorway appears to have led onto a mural passage of which only suggestions remain; it may have been replicated at ground-floor level, but rebuilding has obscured the evidence.

Kip, Lambert and Grose all show the remains of a rounded turret against its south face (Figs. 6-8), where there is the scar from an attached, contemporary wall around 6 metres west of the nose of the tower (Fig. 90). On the basis of its spatial relationship to the rest of the remains, I suggest this turret may have been D-shaped and parallel to the tower, as in the gatehouse, rather than radial to it (see Fig. 130), so that its south wall was in line with the southeast corner of the Southwest Building, and following the alignment of the high wall shown along the southern boundary by Kip.

[14] The doorway appears to be shown in 1737 and 1750 (Figs. 7 and 8).

Fig. 89: The Southeast Tower first-floor doorway: a) external view from northeast; b) internal view from southwest

Fig. 90: The Southeast Tower from south, showing scar from attached ?turret (to left)

4.4.2 The Southeast Tower annexe, and ?passage

Lambert's view of 1837 shows the remains of two parallel north-south walls running between the Southeast Tower and the chamber-block porch (Fig. 7), as if to define a narrow space between them, possibly a passage – a medieval doorway is suggested in the porch south wall on a plan from the 1920s (Fig. 40). The north end of the inner wall formed the west wall of an extension of the sixteenth-century house, while the outer wall probably corresponds with the stump of walling shown by Kip on the north face of the Southeast Tower, where it seems to represent the east wall of the enclosure (Fig. 6). A square, projecting annexe is also depicted in the internal angle between this wall and the Southeast Tower, and appears to represent a chamber that was presumably accessed from the latter via the mural passage(s) mentioned above. Kip shows the annexe with a lean-to roof at first-floor level, which may belong to the original arrangement but would make internal space rather cramped at this level.

Sidney Toy also shows the annexe, but with two latrine shafts (Fig. 39). The evidence for this assumption is however uncertain. The annexe had gone by the nineteenth century and appears in no historic photographs; nor was it shown by Gould in 1908 (Fig. 38) or on Walter Godfrey's plan (Fig. 40). The 1930s lean-to, mentioned above, is further south than the annexe and built against the ruined stump of the Southeast Tower; it therefore does not re-use a medieval footing. So Toy's depiction may merely result from his interpretation of the Kip drawing. As the Southeast Tower appears to have been a high-status building (as discussed next), we might perhaps instead think of the annexe as a strong-room (or rooms) for housing valuables.[15]

4.4.3 The Southwest Building, and ?Great Hall (Figs. 91-94)

The Southwest Building is a two-storey rectangular block aligned north-south, with external dimensions of approximately 12 metres by 5 metres. It was shown by Kip in 1719, and on late nineteenth-century OS maps (Figs. 6, 35-37), but there is a marked absence of good pictorial evidence to trace its development, while aspects of Kip's depiction are puzzling. The building has undergone a great deal of alteration, having been 'medievalised' through refenestration in the 1930s (see Fig. 33), and has been recently refurbished (Swift 2007). But it is fundamentally medieval in character and there is no good reason to doubt its date.[16] On its east face, a line of toothing runs the full height of the building at its northern corner, where it was formerly joined by a contemporary wall (Fig. 91). This corner corresponds exactly with the north wall of the Southeast Tower, suggesting that a large rectangular building lay between the two, its south wall defining the southern side of the enclosure as shown by Kip (Fig. 6); Kip also shows the wall as rising to the same height as the Southwest Building. So, as suggested by Sidney Toy, this intervening building may have been the Great Hall (Figs. 39 and 130), to which the Southwest Building was a service wing – at its low end – with an overlying chamber (see Section 7.1). The suggested hall would have been approximately 12 metres wide, and perhaps 20 metres long.

[15] My thanks to Dr Catriona Cooper, of Canterbury Christ Church University, for this suggestion.

[16] It has been suggested, on no good evidence, that the building may largely relate to the sixteenth-century house and that much of it may have been built new in *c.*1930 (see Swift 2007, 2-3).

Fig. 91: The Southwest Building from east

Fig. 92: The Southwest Building; a) from north; b) from south

Fig. 93: The Southwest Building from northwest

There are three ground-floor openings close together in the east wall of the Southwest Building: a central doorway between a pair of windows, all of which are twentieth-century in their present form (Fig. 91). However, they are shown on pre-restoration plans (Fig. 40), while their external relieving arches may be original. Internally, their embrasures descend to floor-level. It may therefore be suggested that they represent the classic arrangement of three service doors: entries to the buttery and pantry, either side of a doorway leading via a passage to the kitchen. Moreover, the latter doorway lies opposite an entry in the west wall, also shown before restoration (Fig. 40). We can therefore speculate that the kitchen lay immediately to the west of this building.

An internal offset on the west wall defines first-floor level and may be original (Fig. 94). All other ground-floor openings appear to be modern: an opposing pair of single-light windows towards the south end interrupt this floor-level, as does the large five-light window in the south wall (Figs. 92b and 94b). Service rooms would however require a light source, so the latter may replace an earlier light. Similarly, an area of infill at the north end of the east wall may represent the site of a window serving the northern room (Fig. 91), for which any internal evidence is now obscured by modern finishes (this area is now a WC). The doorway in the north wall seems to be entirely modern (Fig. 92a). On the first floor, the central window in the east wall lies beneath an external relieving arch (Fig. 91), while its sill lies at floor level, and it possibly occupies the site of a doorway to the chamber. The north wall window has a segmental rear-arch, which may belong to an earlier light, but the tall south wall window appears entirely modern, like the lights high up in the side walls (Figs. 91-94). Kip shows a hipped roof (Fig. 6), and indeed the facework in the gables appears to be modern (Fig. 92). The present king-post roof, with princess posts, is of unknown provenance but likely taken from another building.

Fig. 94: The Southwest Building interior: a) looking north; b) looking south

Otherwise, the interior is fairly featureless (Fig. 94). It is now open to the roof, with a mezzanine floor in the northern half overlying a bathroom and WC, all fitted in 2007. Archaeological investigation within the building, in advance of service installation in 2007, was inconclusive and revealed no stratified deposits (Fig. 84). The east wall footing was however found to run beneath the embrasure of the northern opening to form a raised sill (Swift 2007, 4-5; see Section 7.4).

By the above interpretation, the Southeast Tower would lie at the high end of the hall. It may then have featured a chapel on the first floor: the tower is correctly oriented, and its lights are consistent with liturgical east windows over the altar, while the absence of window-seats may confirm that this space was not residential (although the sills are rather low for a chapel; Fig. 88). The suggested passage running south from the chamber-block porch would thus lead towards the hall's high end, presumably connecting doorways from both buildings. It is quite possible, given the substantial walling shown on the prints, that it was storeyed like the porch, with passages at both ground- and first-floor levels – the latter conceivably connecting the chamber-block upper floor with the suggested chapel. The separation of hall and chamber may then have been deliberate, and planned, meaning the two buildings might be contemporary with each other.

Moving to the west side, the present boundary wall running southwest from the gatehouse is modern. Johannes Kip shows a wall running northward from the Southwest Building towards the gatehouse ie. on the same axis as the other walls, to define a regular, rectangular courtyard (Fig. 6). It coincides with an area of toothing on the west half of the Southwest Building north wall (Fig. 92a). Kip shows a low wall, as suggested by its scar on the gatehouse

west face (see Section 4.2 above), but the scar on the Southwest Building rises much higher, to eaves level, and is very wide; moreover, it continues round to the west side of the building (where it appears to have been partly refaced: Fig. 93). It is likely then that an additional structure was located here, again as suggested by Kip (perhaps originating as a latrine serving the Southwest Building?).

The remains of these internal buildings, though scant, are sufficient to indicate that the gatehouse is noticeably out of alignment with the other buildings. The implications of this are discussed below in Section 7.1. The service trench excavated through the castle in 1997 did not expose any stratified contexts or structures, revealing only a late nineteenth-century levelling deposit (Fig. 84; Jarman 1997, 4).

Fig. 95: Leybourne Castle: overall view from northwest

Fig. 96: Leybourne Castle: overall view from northeast

4.5 The 1930s house (Figs. 97-101)

Antique prints show that by 1719, the eastern half of the gatehouse was overlain by a double-pile house, with a half-timbered upper floor, of probable sixteenth-century date (Figs. 6-13; see Section 5.10). It was conjoined with the medieval chamber-block, around its north and west sides, with which it forms the footprint of the present house built by Walter Godfrey in the early 1930s.

Fig. 97: The present house from northeast; gatehouse to left

Godfrey's house is of two storeys throughout. It comprises three discrete elements: a northern unit, adapted from the sixteenth-century house; a central unit, occupying the site of the medieval chamber-block which was incorporated within the sixteenth-century residence; and a southern single-pile unit, aligned north-south and built new in the 1930s (Figs. 2, 40-41 and 84). Like the sixteenth-century house, the northern unit is double-piled and appears to straddle the medieval perimeter, which forms its spine-wall: the western half overlies the rear part of the gatehouse east tower, while the eastern half appears to lie outside the medieval enclosure. The chamber-block forms the basis of a gabled cross-wing.

Little medieval masonry is apparent in the fabric, although a recess in the west wall of the cross-wing appears to be medieval. It has a low, segmental-pointed head with 2 rows of voussoirs, but no surround (Figs. 53, 98-100). It appears to be the main entry to the chamber-block porch (see above; Fig. 40).[17] The arch apex is now only 1.7 metres above ground-level, and while the yard surface here appears to have been raised somewhat, it would still be rather low: perhaps steps down may be envisaged, as the natural easterly downhill slope beneath

[17] Probably the feature described as 'an arched porch and a passage 20 feet in length' in 1896 (Mackenzie 1896, 29).

the chamber-block may suggest that internal ground-floor level was somewhat lower than the yard. In addition, a square-headed light in the cross-wing east wall, now restored, was thought by Godfrey to be medieval (Fig. 101). The wide, semicircular bay at ground-floor level in the east wall of the northern unit, with a convincingly 'medieval' basal plinth, appears however to be spurious (Fig. 101): no such feature is shown on any early prints or photos, and while Godfrey's elevation drawing suggests it is a restoration of a medieval feature, his plan shows it as new-build (see Figs. 6, 11, 14, 20, 40-41).

Fig. 98: The present house: west face, from southwest; gatehouse to right

Fig. 99: The present house: west face, from northwest

Fig. 100: The present house: medieval west wall arch, formerly entry to chamber-block porch?

A tall, narrow strip of masonry in the east wall, quoined and with a gablet roof (Fig. 101), appears to represent the eastern end of the chamber-block north wall, now fossilised within the wall fabric. Godfrey considered it to be sixteenth-century finishing of the end of this wall (Figs. 40-41), which still stood to a considerable height in the nineteenth century (Figs. 14 and 20), but the quoining of both corners – shown as today in the mid-nineteenth century (Fig. 20) – is difficult to explain.

Walter Godfrey's intended scheme was not fully implemented as planned. The design of the *de novo* south wing was altered, with a different sequence of openings than that shown in his drawings, and without the proposed extension from its west wall. And the large walled garden that was planned to the east of the house was modified as a low, lean-to building against the stump of the Southeast Tower, now roofless (*cf*. Figs. 40-41, 84, 87b and 99).

Fig. 101: The present house, exterior of east wall. Left to right: square-headed light, possibly medieval in origin; quoined strip (end of chamber-block north wall?); semicircular bay with basal plinth

5.0 HISTORY

A range of dates has been suggested for the gatehouse at Leybourne Castle. Most published accounts have concentrated on the rivalry between its mid-thirteenth-century lord Roger II de Leybourne, and the Clares, lords of Tonbridge and earls of Gloucester. They were usually on opposite sides during the Barons War of the 1260s, and the studies have accordingly been framed within a perceived 'martial' context (eg. Davis 2013; Goodall 2010, 2011 and 2012; Renn 1981; Renn 2018; Simmons 1998; Wadmore 1886). As a result, a date in the late 1250s-60s has frequently been assigned to the gatehouses at both castles. But neither appears to have been primarily military, while both appear to have been built rather later: probably during the 1290s at Tonbridge (Ludlow 2022, 178), and the early fourteenth century at Leybourne.

The early history of Leybourne has been made a little clearer through recent archaeological fieldwork. Although there was significant iron age occupation within the area, there is little evidence for Romano-British activity and it seems that this part of the Medway valley was little used at the time (Ellis 2009, 9-11, 53).[18] This absence of physical evidence continues: even though Leybourne appears as a place-name in a mid-tenth-century charter, there are few indications of an Anglo-Saxon presence in the immediate area (ibid.).

5.1 The lordship and manor of Leybourne

In order to understand its development, we need to examine Leybourne Castle's tenurial history with particular reference to the roles it was expected to play. By the early twelfth century, a pattern of lesser baronial estates, mostly held in chief (ie. directly of the Crown), had developed across Kent. While these estates might be loosely described as 'baronies', they were small or medium-sized groupings of manors, scattered through the county and rarely forming compact *blocs* of land as seen, for example, in the Welsh Marches (Eales 2020, 254). In addition, the county was dominated by ecclesiastical property – most lords held at least some of their land from the Archbishop of Canterbury[19] – while there was no royal demesne (Brindle and Dixon 2020, 151; Eales 2020, 249): Tonbridge was the only Kentish lordship in the hands of a leading baronial family, the remainder being generally held by 'lower-ranking' magnates (Eales 2020, 254; Ward 1962, 221).

By the 1180s, at least, Leybourne was one of these lesser 'baronies' or lordships, from which its owners took their name. By the mid-late thirteenth century, when we have the first adequate records, it comprised a core group of manors in Kent (Fig. 102), with further holdings scattered through several other counties – including Shropshire, Sussex, Oxfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Buckinghamshire – that were acquired, and disposed of, at various times and by various means. The Kentish core comprised the manors/messuages of Leybourne, Gore, East Stour, Goodnestone, Bicknor, Elham, Eastling, Coldbridge,

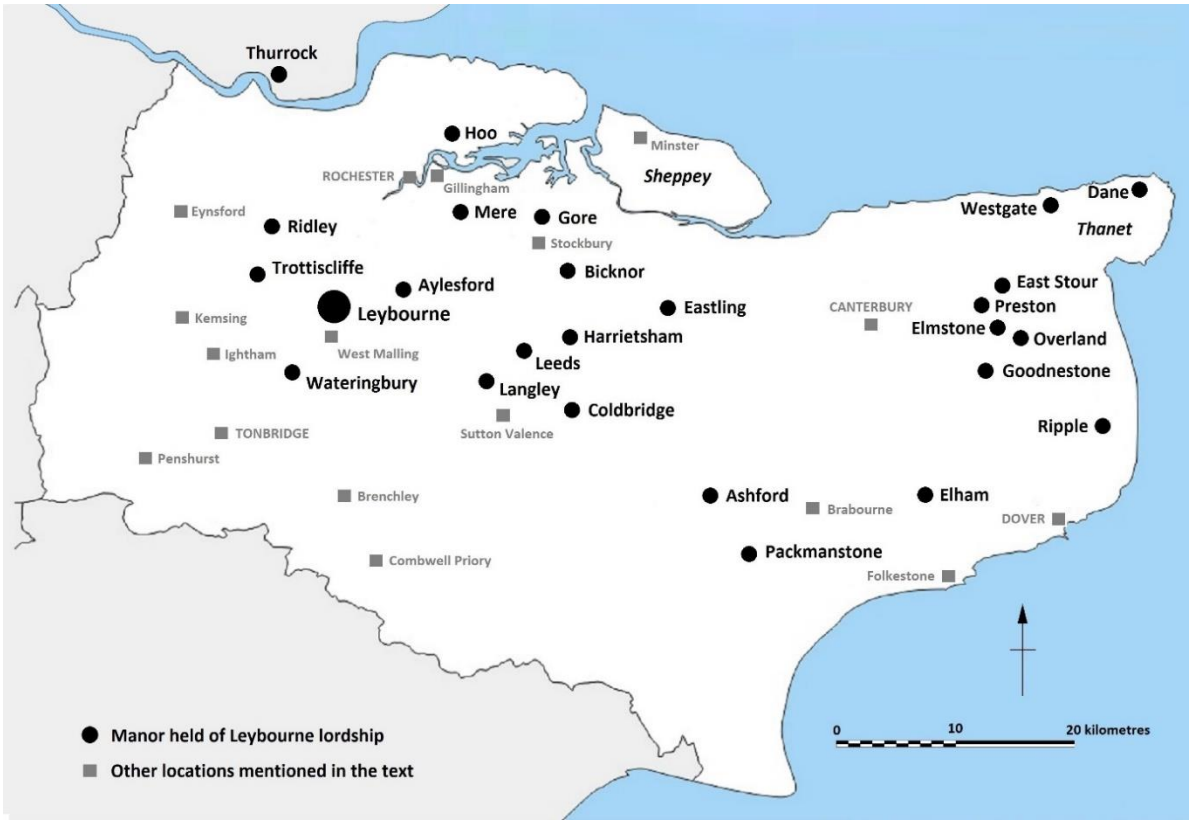
[18] The bridge abutment masonry described above, Section 4.3, has however entered the local imagination as 'Roman', while nineteenth-century walling excavated north of the castle in 1997-98 (see below, Section 5.13) has similarly become 'Saxon' (Alan Albert pers. comm.; Marlin n. d., 5).

[19] Including Leybourne parish, where the Bishop of Rochester also held land (*Cal. Inq. Misc. 2*, 459-60; Hardy 1835**a**, 441).

Wateringbury, Langley, Elmstone, Overland, Ashford, Harrietsham, Packmanstone, Ridley, Ripple, Preston and Mere, held by a variety of tenures and services (see *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1307-16*, 121-2).[20] In addition were other assets such as pasture, meadow, marsh, wood, rents etc. in Rainham, Upchurch, Hartlip and elsewhere (see eg. *Cal. Close Rolls 1307-13*, 465-6).

The feudal courts of the lordship, where tenants performed suit for their lands, were held at Leybourne (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem* 1272-91, 394)[21] – alongside the manorial courts, still being held in 1798 (Hasted 1798a, 505) – and so the castle will always have been used residentially by its stewards. The sources however afford very scant glimpses into the structure of the lordship, or of the administrative role the castle played as its *caput*. The most significant record from Leybourne tenure is an *Inquisition Post Mortem* from 1307 (the earliest surviving IPM: *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1300-07*, 274-5), although this is confined to the manor itself. It is described as being held in chief, as ½ knight's fee, and by performance of suit at the kings's court in Sheppey every three weeks (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1300-07*, 274).

Fig. 102: The Kent possessions of Leybourne lordship



[20] Although Ashford, Ripple, Elham and Preston were late acquisitions of the mid-late thirteenth century.

[21] Certain feudal obligations were also rendered at Gore (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1336-47*, 420; *Cat. Anc. Deeds 3*, 160).

The next glimpse we have is in the 1370s-80s when, for the first time, Leybourne is formally defined as a barony (sometimes as 'lordship' or 'honor' in other sources from this period: *Cal. Close Rolls 1389-92*, 120-1; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1381-85*, 305; *1391-96*, 279).[22] However, it had by this time passed out of Leybourne hands, and had clearly been re-organised as its constitution was markedly different from that of the earlier holding, being confined to the manors of Leybourne, Eastling, Preston, Langley and Wateringbury (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1381-85*, 305). Langley, which was in Leybourne hands by at least 1255 (*Cal. Close Rolls 1254-56*, 100), had probably been held jointly with the castle from an early period, but became detached in 1388. The background to this re-organisation is discussed below.

No valuation of either the manor or lordship of Leybourne is given in medieval sources, but 100 marks was charged annually for the lease of the manors of Leybourne and Wateringbury in 1367 (*Cal. Fine Rolls 1356-68*, 365-6),[23] while the annual rent for the entire lordship, as it existed in 1386, was £100 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1385-89*, 109-10). In 1541, the farm of Leybourne manor and wood ('*firma manerium et boscum*') was valued at £19 13s 4d (Caley et al. 1846, 720); in 1798, the manor still paid an annual fee farm to the Crown of £1 19s 8d (Hasted 1798a, 505). In 1367, the manor contained 143.5 acres of arable land (*Cal. Fine Rolls 1356-68*, 365-6).

Leybourne was a substantial settlement in the Domesday book of 1086 (see below), with 28 households, a watermill,[24] and a church that occupied its present site, immediately northeast of the castle, by the twelfth century (Listed Building website, LB No. 1100628; Figs. 35-37, 39); the dedication to SS Peter and Paul is recorded by the 1270s (Thorpe 1769, 474). Its advowson was held with the manor and castle until the twentieth century (Fielding 1893, 130), while it appears to have been a parish church from an early date. The addition of a north aisle during the fourteenth century attests to a flourishing population, but references to the settlement, and to manorial infrastructure, are sparing during the medieval period. The mill is mentioned again in 1258 (*Cal. Close Rolls 1256-59*, 313), while the properties are referred to as 'burgesses' in 1290 and 1310 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1307-13*, 211; *Rot. Parl*. *1*, 59), and Leybourne is even called a 'town' in 1552 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1550-53*, 240). There does not however seem to be any other evidence that it was ever a borough, with a court and other appurtenances, and no borough charter is known.

It is difficult to reconstruct the landscape that the castle lay within during the medieval period. There were deer-parks at Langley (by 1255: *Cal. Close Rolls 1254-56*, 100), Elham (by 1297: *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301***,** 227), East Stour (by 1305: *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1300-07*, 102-3) and Mere (by 1310: *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1307-16*, 121-3), and royal gifts of deer are recorded from 1256 into the early fourteenth century (eg. *Cal. Close Rolls 1254-56*, 261; *1296-1302*, 265). No park is mentioned at Leybourne, but by 1297 its lords possessed the right of free warren there, along with Elham, Langley, Mere and Preston (*Cal. Fine Rolls 1272-1307*, 314; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301*, 148, 227), a right that need not imply enclosed land. The castle now occupies an extensive area of lightly-wooded, open grassland – a relic of a much later

[22] And also called 'Leyburnlandes' in 1388 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1385-89*, 468).

[23] Some of the lordship's other manors were held at fee farm for various sums (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1307-16*, 121-2).

[24] The present mill building is eighteenth-century. It is uncertain whether it occupies the same site as the medieval mill: its leat has been excavated, but was not closely dateable (Ellis 2009, 15-16).

park, created *c*.1700-10 (Figs. 5-6, 35-37; see Section 5.12). The settlement was, by the nineteenth century, a small village or hamlet, confined to a handful of dwellings clustered around the mill and the junction with the A20 Maidstone-Sevenoaks road, 0.5km south of the castle and church. It had presumably shrunk since the medieval period, while dwellings had possibly been relocated when the park was created.

5.2 The eleventh and twelfth centuries: the early castle

The castle's foundation date is unknown. No castle is mentioned in the Domesday Book of 1086 (Open Domesday), but this is inconclusive – many contemporary castles were omitted, including nearby Eynsford and Dover, both of which are thought to have been in existence soon after the Conquest (Rigold 1964, 3; Brindle 2015, 39).

In 1086, the manor of Leybourne (as '*Leleburne*') was held of the earldom of Kent, which was under forfeiture as the earl, the king's half-brother Bishop Odo of Bayeux, had been imprisoned for rebellion. The Domesday entry reads:

> *'Adam holds of the bishop* [Odo *of Bayeux] Leleburne. It is taxed at two sulings. Arable for* 3 lord's plough teams, 7 men's plough teams*. In demesne there are 3 carucates, and 16 villeins, with 2 borderers having 7 carucates. There is a church and 10 slaves, and a mill of 7 shillings, and 12 acres of meadow. Wood for the pannage of 50 hogs. In the time of King Edward the Confessor, it was worth £8, when he received it £7, now £10 8s. Richard de Tonbridge [son of Gilbert de Clare] holds in his lowy*[25] *what is worth 24 shillings. The King holds of the new gift of the bishop, what is worth 24 shillings and 2d. Turgis held this manor of Earl Godwin'.*

The identity of Adam, Odo's tenant, is unknown. Odo was reinstated in 1087, but again rebelled against King William's successor, William II, and was irrevocably dispossessed in 1088, his lands falling to the Crown.

The history of the manor of Leybourne over the next 100 years is extremely vague. A number of secondary accounts, from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, state that subsequent to its seizure, the manor was granted to William d'Arsic (eg. Grose 1785, 63-4; Hasted 1798**a**, 497; Mackenzie 1896, 29). Neither the origin for this statement (it does not appear, for example, in Harris 1719), nor a supporting primary source, are known to me and a number of factors suggest that it should be viewed with suspicion. The Arsic family possessed a large estate of 18½ fees – the 'barony of Arsic' – scattered across Kent and several other counties, with its *caput* at Cogges, Oxon. (Baggs et al. 1990, 59; Hardman 1938, 103). It represented the estate previously held of Bishop Odo by a knight named Wadard (Open Domesday), who was a close follower of the bishop and was one of only two minor lords depicted on his patron's Bayeux Tapestry. It seems likely therefore that he supported Odo's rebellion and was also made forfeit, as his lands had been granted to the Arsics by *c*.1100 (Baggs et al. 1990, 59).

In Kent, the Arsic barony comprised the manors of Buckwell, Coombe, Farningham, Maplescombe and Nurstead, amounting to 3 knight's fees (Anon. 210, 3; Hall 1896, 616-17,

[25] Lowy - the term given to the honour or lordship of Tonbridge.

720; Hardman 103, 106-7; *cf*. Open Domesday); in *c*.1120, they were held, like the rest of the barony, by Manasser I d'Arsic (Flight 2005, 364). By the mid-twelfth century the barony was in the hands of Manasser II d'Arsic, who died in 1171-2 (Eales 2020, 254), after which the Kent manors – which appear in the Pipe Rolls of the 1160s-70s as 'the land of *wuda*' (ie. Wadard) – were held by his brother William (*Pipe Rolls 1161-2*, 55; *1175-6*, 206; *1176-7*, 203; *1177-8*, 122; *1178-9*, 117; nb. in the entries for Kent the brothers appear as 'Manasser Ros' and 'William de Ros', presumably after Ansgot de Ros, who had shared the manor of Farningham with Wadard: see Hasted 1797, 511-12).

By this time, the barony owed knight-service to Dover Castle (Eales 2020, 254; Hardman 1938, 101; Baggs et al. 1990, 59), and this William is presumably the William d'Arsic who, from 1166, was responsible for undertaking this service (Anon. 2010, 3; Hall 1896, 616-17, 720; Hardman 103, 106-7).[26] In addition, he is the only Arsic of that name who could have been in possession of Leybourne; there was another William, but recorded in early thirteenth-century Lincolnshire (*Pipe Roll 1211-12*, 68). It is uncertain however how he might have come to hold the manor. Can it have been a grant for good service? Nor is it clear how he might have come to lose it – it will have been held in chief, but subject to licence might conceivably have been granted to a follower, or exchanged, or possibly taken back by the king. Set against any such speculation is that William only appears in the Pipe Rolls in association with Wadard's former lands, while the records make no mention of the name Leybourne, post-Domesday, until the 1190s.

Any grant may however have been confined to custody: the manor of Leybourne seems never to have had any formal association with the barony of Arsic, while no obligation for knight-service at Dover Castle is recorded. Several manors that came to be held by its lords paid ward-silver to the castle (ie. Ashford, East Stour and Ripple: *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1307-16*, 121-2), whereby those lords appear on the late thirteenth-century 'Dering Roll' (Brindle 2015, 36), but Ashford, at least, was not acquired until 1271 (*Cal. Charter Rolls 1257-1300*, 175; *Cat. Ancient Deeds 5*, 195). The manor and castle of Leybourne itself owed no such service (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1300-07*, 274-5).

At some point before 1180, Leybourne found its way into the hands of the family who came to bear its name. When this happened, and under what circumstances, are unknown. They first appear in the record in 1181, when a mortgage of land was attested by 'Dame Amicia and Robert de Leybourne, her son' (*Cat. Ancient Deeds 4*, 41-2). The implication is that Robert had yet to reach majority, and that his father was already dead. Amicia was the daughter and coheir of Ralph FitzGerold, from a family of royal officers; she too died in 1195-7 when Robert received part of her FitzGerold inheritance (Flower 1922, 130; Larking 1863, 134 n. 3). The identity of Robert's father is however uncertain. It has been suggested in numerous secondary sources that his name was Philip de Leybourne (all apparently following Larking 1863, 134 and n. 3), but no primary source is given in any that I have seen, while Philip is named by neither Harris, Grose nor Hasted. No such Philip appears in the Pipe Rolls, the name was not used again by the family, and it is associated with a number of questionable myths.

[26] The early authors who placed William d'Arsic at Leybourne had him serving at Dover in 1088, leaving even more room for scepticism.

We saw in Section 4.1 that the earthworks at Leybourne Castle are likely to have existed before *c*.1200, and was perhaps much earlier. However, neither the form of ringwork, nor its known history, give any clear indication of its builder. It presumably carried a timber defence, which may have persisted throughout the following century (see below).

5.3 The early thirteenth century, 1200-1250 (Roger I de Leybourne)

Little is known of Robert de Leybourne; tales of his participation in the Third Crusade, and the siege of Acre, must again be treated with caution as his name is frequently confused with that of his son in these accounts (Harris 1719, 374; Grose 1785, 64; Hasted 1798a, 498). He is mentioned in 1197, when he held the manor of Mere in Kent (Larking 1863, 134 n. 3), which remained a Leybourne possession. He also appears as a benefactor to Boxley Abbey, near Maidstone, in a later confirmation (Hardy 1837, 130). He had come of age between 1181 and 1193, and had married a Margaret (Hardy 1835a, 398, 499; Hardy 1835b, 75) – of unknown parentage – with whom he fathered a son, Roger. Robert died between 1197 and 1198, when Roger's custody and marriage were purchased, for 300 marks, by Stephen de Thurnham who held estates in Kent and Shropshire (Larking 1863, 134 n. 3, 151 n. 42). Roger is not named in any of these accounts, but is identified as Robert de Leybourne's son in an inspeximus from 1257 (*Cal. Charter Rolls 1226-57*, 457).

Roger had clearly come of age, and married Stephen de Thurnhams's daughter Eleanor, by 1214 when Thurnham died (Hardy 1835a, 542). Eleanor died in 1219-20, and by 1229 he had remarried Agnes, widow of Henry de Miners (Faulkner 2008). In 1215 he joined the rebellion against King John, and was taken prisoner during the siege of Rochester (Hardy 1833, 241); he paid 250 marks for his release in 1216, with a promise to stay at peace (Hardy 1835b, 195). Otherwise few details of his life are known. He probably died in early 1250 (Larking 1868, 340-1).

His revenues are similarly unknown. In addition to the Leybourne patrimony, he had inherited seven knight's fees in Kent and Oxfordshire, held by his father from Margaret de Reveres, another FitzGerold heir (*Cal. Close Rolls 1227-31*, 85). He also received the Shropshire manor of Berwick in 1214, as his wife's share of the Thurnham inheritance (Hardy 1835a, 542). But in the absence of an *Inquisition Post Mortem* for either Roger or his son, Roger II, we cannot be sure of the full extent of their lands. Roger I borrowed from moneylenders, and took a loan of £200 from the king in 1246 (*Cal. Lib. Rolls 1245-51*, 29). But while it might be tempting to view this as potential expenditure at Leybourne Castle, such speculation is worthless in the absence of evidence. These loans were never repaid and his son inherited them, but was released from the royal debt in 1254 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1247-58*, 265).

5.4 The mid-thirteenth century, 1250-1271 (Roger II de Leybourne)

This is not the place to recount the various exploits of Leybourne's most famous lord, Roger II de Leybourne (amply summarised by Faulkner 2008): baronial rebel turned ultra-Royalist, he crammed an immense amount of activity into the 21 years he held the lordship. So instead,

we will concentrate on those aspects of his career which bear on his potential for castle-building.

Born between 1214 and 1219, he had received his inheritance by April 1251 (*Cal. Close Rolls 1247-51,* 533), and seems to have joined the outer circle of the king's household before June 1253, when he received the first of his annual money-grants of 60 marks 'until wards and escheats [were] found'; they continued until 1258 (*Cal. Lib. Rolls 1251-60*, 138, 431; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1247-58*, 215). Later in 1253, while serving on the Gascon campaign, he received escheated land in Rainham, Kent (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1247-58*, 71) and 'all the land in Nashenden', near Rochester, while the following year he was granted the escheated lands of Roger Chauvel in Kent (*Cal. Close Rolls 1253-54*, 102, 293).

Roger was beginning to amass a substantial estate. By 1256, he had begun to attach himself to the *mesne* of William de Valence, lord of Pembroke, who was an influential neighbour in Kent where he held the important manors of Kemsing (near Leybourne), Brabourne and Sutton Valence (*Cal. Charter Rolls 1226-57*, 462; *Cal. Close Rolls 1296-1302*, 3). This was not an unusual move: Valence, half-brother of the king, recruited his affinity almost entirely from the royal administration, its members moving from one to the other, and back, over time (Ridgeway 1992, 255; Carpenter 1984, 114). So we find Roger serving Valence during the Welsh war of 1257 (Ridgeway 1992, 248 and n. 51; Ridgeway 2007), but then, in 1258-59, moving over to Prince Edward's affinity (Lloyd 1984, 127-8, 131-2; Prestwich 1985, 42; Ridgeway 1986, 97), a group that included another Marcher lord, Roger de Clifford. Roger de Leybourne forged a close association with Clifford, as he had with Valence; both relationships persisted well beyond his death and we will see that they are crucial to an appreciation of the design of Leybourne Castle's gatehouse (see Sections 7.2 and 7.3).

Edward's affinity had allied with Simon de Montfort against King Henry III. While the king was in France, in April 1260, Roger played a leading role in their attempt enter London under arms (*Cal. Close Rolls 1259-61*, 283; Faulkner 2008). This is the context for Leybourne Castle's first appearance in the historical record. Being informed on his return later in April 1260 that Roger, considered a rebel, was 'strengthening his castle at Leybourne without licence and by his own will', the king instructed that he 'must do homage, and all his lands and tenements shall be forfeit if he does not stop [and] the said castle shall be pulled down' (*Cal. Close Rolls 1259-61*, 283-4).[27] It is clear from the phrasing that the castle was already in existence (*contra* King 1983, 232).

Roger clearly complied with the order as relations had thawed by summer 1260 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1258-66*, 103), but he spent 1262-3 in open rebellion alongside Clifford and his other Marcher associates, and this time his estates, including Leybourne, were forfeited (Faulkner 2008; Larking 1863, 145). But his efforts to secure peace with Henry III in August 1263 earned a full pardon – serially reissued over the next five years (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1258-66*, 278, 382; *1266-72*, 279) – and his loyalty to the Crown was henceforth unwavering. This was no doubt

[27] Huw Ridgeway considered that Roger de Leybourne's intention had been to 'put the castle in readiness for William de Valence's return from exile' (Ridgeway 1986, 97; Ridgeway 1992, 256), but nothing in the sources suggests any direct link between the two events. It may be noted that a formal licence to fortify was not a mandatory requirement during this, or any subsequent period; the phrasing is probably to be read as an indication of the King's anger with Roger.

aided by the many privileges and appointments that followed: king's steward, warden of the Cinque Ports and constable of Rochester Castle, among others (*Cal. Close Rolls 1261-64*, 333, 372; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1258-66*, 276, 300, 646). And an earlier grant of the royal manor of Elham, in Kent, was fully ratified (*Cal. Close Rolls 1261-64*, 117; Larking 1863, 142 n. 22).

Roger de Leybourne thus entered the Baron's War of 1264-66 as a committed royalist. Following the king's defeat at Lewes in April 1264, he campaigned vigorously the Marches with Clifford and others, and in Kent. It is clear that his intent was, at least in part, to increase his Kentish estate; the Montfortian Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, was making a similar attempt from his base at Tonbridge, frequently bringing the two men into direct conflict. Inquisitions show that they both seized a considerable amount of property in the county during the unrest (*Cal. Inq. Misc. 1*, 222-3, 226, 232-3, 247, 274, 310-14), a lot of which was later claimed by both parties, so that a commission was ordered in 1265 to 'enquire which of them had first seisin of these lands' (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1258-66*, 493, 651). This will be discussed further in Section 6.1.

In May 1265, Roger and Clifford assisted Prince Edward's escape from his Montfortian captors, by whom he had been imprisoned since the Battle of Lewes (Faulkner 2008; Larking 1863, 146 n. 35). Augmented by William de Valence's forces, the royalist army was ultimately successful at the Battle of Evesham in August (Lewis 1934, 34; Ridgeway 2007 *et al*.). After the battle Roger, with his associate Clifford, was again the recipient of rich rewards. The first of these was a grant to them both of the wardship and marriage of the two daughters of the Montfortian rebel Robert de Vieuxpont, who had been killed at Lewes (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1258-66*, 435). These centred on the castles of Brough, Brougham, Appleby and Mallerstang ('Pendragon') in Westmorland. By September 1265, Roger's son Roger III de Leybourne had married Idonea de Vieuxpont (*Cal. Close Rolls 1272-9*, 505), receiving Brough and Mallerstang; Appleby and Brougham went to Clifford, who married her sister Isobel (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1272-91*, 290-1, 315-16). The family's association with these Westmorland castles is another important consideration when looking at Leybourne's gatehouse (Sections 6.2, 7.2 and 7.3).

It was during this period that Roger II also married, for the second time; the mother of his two sons, William and Roger III, is unknown. His new wife, Eleanor, was clearly another of his rewards, being the widow of the Montfortian earl of Winchester Roger de Quincy, although her share of his inheritance, as dower, had yet to be settled.[28] Leybourne also received further grants of forfeited lands in Kent and the southeast, 'up to the value of £400', a number of which he had seized in 1264-5 including the manors of Aylesford, Thurrock, Hoo and Fleet (*Cal. Charter Rolls 1257-1300*, 56-7; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1258-66*, 523; Fig. 102); his two sons received similar, but smaller grants showing that they had been campaigning alongside their father. Alongside these territorial gifts came further offices, some of them clearly sinecures, but it is likely that the Roger de Leybourne who was appointed sheriff of Cumberland, keeper

[28] It had still to be agreed when Roger de Leybourne died in 1271 (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1236-72*, 257); in 1267, she had received the manor of Chinnor, Oxon., in lieu (*Cal. Close Rolls 1264-68,* 383-4; Roberts 1836, 553). The inheritance, and the Leybourne share, was finally confirmed in 1274 (Hasted 1798b, 479).

of Carlisle Castle and Chief Forester north of the Trent – usually thought to be Roger II (see Faulkner et al.) – was in fact his son, Roger III, from his centre at Brough.[29]

Roger II also received smaller grants of land in Kent from his patron William de Valence (Ridgeway 1992, 254 n. 93). Most importantly for us, in November 1265 the King granted Roger the barony of Leeds in Kent, with its castle, which had been forfeited by the rebel Robert de Crevequer (Larking 1868, 334, from the Exchequer Rolls). He also received a royal grant of '4000 freestones' in April 1266, to be supplied by Robert of Beverley, master of the king's works at Westminster (*Cal. Close Rolls 1264-68*, 190). The account does not tell us how or where this stone was to be used, but the assumption has been that it went towards work at Leybourne Castle (eg. Goodall 2011a, 205; Renn 1981, 100), and while the terms of the grant indicate that Beverley was merely acting as 'quartermaster', one authority goes a step further with the suggestion that he was responsible for the gatehouse design (Goodall, loc. cit.). However, while freestone is present in the gatehouse at Leybourne, we saw in Section 4.2 that it is very restricted in its use. And while any curtain or boundary wall has gone, it is unlikely that it was faced with anything other than the same rubble seen in the gatehouse and tower remains, which is all locally-quarried Kentish ragstone and shows no imported masonry. It is possible that the freestone went towards domestic buildings that have now gone, particularly if the castle was only lightly-fortified: Roger's 'strengthening' may have hardly begun when he was threatened with forfeiture, leaving it essentially as a ditched manor-house. However, I suggest that the stone may instead have gone towards major works at Leeds Castle, where there is strong evidence that, when in Britain, Roger henceforth used the castle as his main residence until his death in 1271 (as suggested in eg. Faulkner 2008 and Flight 2010, 5). This will be discussed in detail in Section 6.1.[30]

Over the next two years, Roger was Prince Edward's chief lieutenant in the post-Evesham pacification of England. Though he appeared elsewhere, his main responsibilities were in the south-east, and he was frequently resident at Leeds (Larking 1863, 156; Larking 1868, 335; Lewis 1939, 198-205; see Section 6.1). But Robert de Crevequer, having made peace with the king in 1268, attempted to regain the barony of Leeds. And although he was unsuccessful, in return for retaining Leeds Castle Roger was forced to concede half the barony, the patronage of Leeds Priory, and two of his recent acquisitions – the manors of Trottiscliffe and Fleet – as well as an annual payment of £10 (*Cal. Charter Rolls 1257-1300*, 113 (MS defective); Flight 2010, 5). Haggling over the details of this agreement continued throughout William de Leybourne's tenure of Leeds, 1271-78, and into the 1290s (Thorpe 1769, 660-1).

Prince Edward appointed Roger as governor of Gascony in November 1269 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1266-72*, 397), and he must have left soon afterwards. He issued a charter at Bayonne in late May 1270 (Bémont 1900, 131), but was back in England by mid-June (*Cat. Anc. Deeds 6*, 206).

[29] Roger de Clifford had been appointed sheriff of Westmorland after his marriage to Isobel (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1266-72*, 290-2).

[30] The assumption that the stone must have been used at Leybourne is quite understandable. In a highly influential paper from 1863, Rev. Lambert Larking stated that Roger de Leybourne did not receive Leeds until 1268 (Larking 1863, 149 and n. 40), meaning that Leybourne would have been the only castle under his control. Larking corrected this date to 1265 in a subsequent paper (Larking 1868, 334), but 1268 continued to be used in a number of published works, including the *History of the King's Works* (695 n. 2).

Although his stay in Gascony was short, he founded a *bastide* which he named Libourne (Bémont 1900, 118) – probably the only French town to be named after a Kentish village. But work on its defences can only just have commenced before Roger's hasty return, to join Prince Edward's crusading army which set off from Dover in August 1270: a patent from later that year makes it clear that Roger was among them (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1266-72*, 497).[31] It is likely however, that he was already ill, as the same record shows that he had returned before November, and in December 1270 we find him involved in a dispute at Canterbury (Faulkner 2008). He died between August and November 1271 (*Cal. Charter Rolls 1257-1300*, 175; *Cal. Close Rolls 1268-72,* 436-7).

Roger had received a series of pardons for his activities in 1262-3, but was not alone in this: Roger de Clifford made equally sure that his exoneration was complete. William de Leybourne's *IPM* moreover shows that all his property had been placed in the hands of trustees (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1307-16*, 121-2), an unusual move at such an early date that is suggested to indicate a lingering sense of insecurity in his father's mind (Faulkner 2008; Larking 1863, 145 n. 28). However, it is not possible to be entirely sure when this process begun. Leybourne and Langley were in trust to the Honor of Albemarle (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1300-07*, 274; *1307-16*, 121-2), so it must have begun before 1274 when the honor became extinct. But this leaves room for its origination under William, 1271-74. Moreover, the practice continued unfailingly throughout the early and mid-fourteenth century, under William and his successors, and new trustees were regularly appointed, for instance in 1308, 1311, 1328, 1331 and 1362 (*Cal. Inq. Misc*. *2*, 252; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1307-13*, 34, 400, 407; *1330-34*, 171; *1361-64*, 167). It did not, of course, affect their tenurial legitimacy or title.

As with his father, we have no clear idea of Roger II's revenues or his spending power. Nor do we get much insight into the kind of household he could retain, or its numbers, though we are told that he brought two knights to Wales in 1257 (Ridgeway 1992, 248 and n. 51; Ridgeway 2007). But the only member of his *mesne* to be single out in the sources is 'his beloved knight Sir John de Kirkby', to whom he granted Bolton manor, Hunts., in 1270 (*Cat. Anc. Deeds 6*, 206). In Kent, his closest *familiares* were his tenants the Peyforers, whose descendants witnessed deeds for the Leybournes throughout most of their tenure of the lordship (see eg. *Cat. Anc. Deeds 5*, 195; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1313-17*, 675). A Fulk Peyforer was sheriff of Kent in 1259 (Cassidy 2012, 134), and it is highly likely that the family also provided the Leybournes with their stewards.

5.5 The late thirteenth century, 1271-1300 (William de Leybourne)

Roger's eldest son William was born around 1240, and was of age by 1263 when he appeared at an assize (Larking 1863, 154). His younger brother Roger III has been mentioned above, while Simon de Leybourne, who received a substantial grant of land from William (see below; *Cal. Close Rolls 1288-96*, 120), may have been a third brother who was younger still. Like Roger

[31] His early return seems to have angered Cardinal Ottobuono, the papal legate, who had granted him 1000 silver marks towards his crusade. In a complaint of 1272, the legate claimed that Roger 'did not go', but had kept the money (*Cal. Papal Registers 1198-1304*, 444). This may be one reason why Kathryn Faulkner assumed that he had remained in Gascony until his return in late 1270 (Faulkner 2008).

II and Roger III, William de Leybourne had also married shortly before October 1265, and it seems that his marriage was another reward after the Battle of Evesham. His wife, Juliana, was granddaughter and heiress of Simon of Sandwich, a Montfortian whose lands had become forfeit (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1285-66*, 465; Larking 1863, 149 n. 41). They comprised the Kent manors and messuages of Dane in Thanet, Westgate in Thanet, Ripple and Preston-next-Wingham (see *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1307-16*, 121-2; Fig. 102); we will see that William and his successors chose Preston as their favoured residence.

The king had taken homage from William, for his Leybourne inheritance, by November 1271 (Roberts 1836, 553). In view of what we have seen from Roger's tenure it seems that the castle that William inherited, at Leybourne, was still lightly-fortified with a ditch and, perhaps, a low encircling wall, in which Roger's 'strengthening' of 1260 had made little progress. While it is possible that the Great Hall, and perhaps other buildings, may be now have been of stone, there are indications that the hall was rebuilt in the early fourteenth century (discussed in Section 7.1), suggesting that it did not account for the 1266 gift of stone.

Tenure of Leeds Castle, meanwhile, continued to be disputed. In 1272, Robert de Crevequer was distrained for 'molesting' William de Leybourne (Martin 1869, 96 and Appendix 5, v), whose title to Leeds was singled out in a confirmation of his inheritance in 1274 (Hasted 1798b, 479). William's agreement with Crevequer was eventually revised and re-issued in 1276 (Thorpe 1769, 661), but by May 1278 he had released Leeds Castle to King Edward I's queen, Eleanor of Castile (*Cal. Close Rolls 1272-79*, 499). Crevequer also relinquished his half of the barony, though he retained patronage of Leeds Priory until at least 1285 (*Cal. Charter Rolls 1257-1300*, 299; Leach 2019, 53). William's motives may have been threefold. The Queen paid him 500 marks, and more importantly took over his many debts (*Cal. Close Rolls 1279-1288*, 80; Flight 2010, 6 and n. 18). In 1280, he undertook a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1272-81*, 361), and may have wished to put his affairs in order before he left (Faulkner 2008). Finally, the sheer pressure the Queen brought to bear may have been decisive. She may have begun to set her sights on Leeds around 1274, judging from the sudden flurry of charter confirmations from Crevequer to the priory (Flight 2010, 6; *Cal. Charter Rolls 1257-1300*, 296-301), and there is no doubt she pursued her aims with some forcefulness.[32]

The loss of Leeds may be associated with William's grant from the king of 'twelve oaks fit for timber' in 1285 (*Cal. Close Rolls 1279-1288*, 340), a standard quantity in royal grants of building timber. It suggests William was refurbishing one of his other manors to replace Leeds. It is possible that his choice of Preston as his main residence – made before 1300 – was a direct consequence of losing Leeds, and the grant may relate to work there: as he had relinquished all interest in Leybourne by *c*.1300 (see below), any building at the castle under William is unlikely.[33]

[32] She was to exhibit signs of the same acquisitiveness in Pembrokeshire: having visited Haverfordwest Castle in 1284, she persuaded Humphrey de Bohun into an exchange in 1288-89 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1281-92*, 146, 330-1; *Rot. Parl*. 1, 30).

[33] Edward Hasted claimed that King Edward I visited Leybourne on 25 October 1286 (Hasted 1798a, 498). A charter to Leeds Priory was issued at Leybourne on that date (*Cal. Charter Rolls 1341-1417*, 205; notice only), but not by the king, who was in Gascony, nor by his regent Edmund Earl of Cornwall who was at Westminster on that day (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1281-92*, 253). The record is clearly erroneous.

William campaigned in Wales during both wars of independence, in 1277 and 1282-3 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1272-81*, 189, 220; Faulkner 2008). He was back in Wales in April 1284 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1461-67*, 62), and in December that year was appointed constable of Criccieth Castle, a post which he held for ten years (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1281-92*, 267, 293; Johns 1970, 6, 33). His term there was interrupted by service with the King in Gascony, in 1286 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1281-92*, 238; *Cal. Charter Rolls 1427-1516***,** 292), and once it was complete, in 1294, he went overseas again as escort to Edward I's daughter Eleanor (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301*, 69). In June 1294, he was appointed constable of another castle, at Pevensey in Sussex (*Cal. Fine Rolls 1272-1307*, 339; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301*, 71), but had been appointed 'Captain of the King's Mariners' by July of that year, again seeing service in Gascony (Bémont 1906, 302, 306; *Cal. Fine Rolls 1272-1307*, 342),[34] and was still in office in July 1297 (*Cal. Close Rolls 1296-1302*, 33, 99; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301*, 291). Much of his time over the following 10 years was spent on campaign with King Edward I, in Scotland (see Section 7.3).

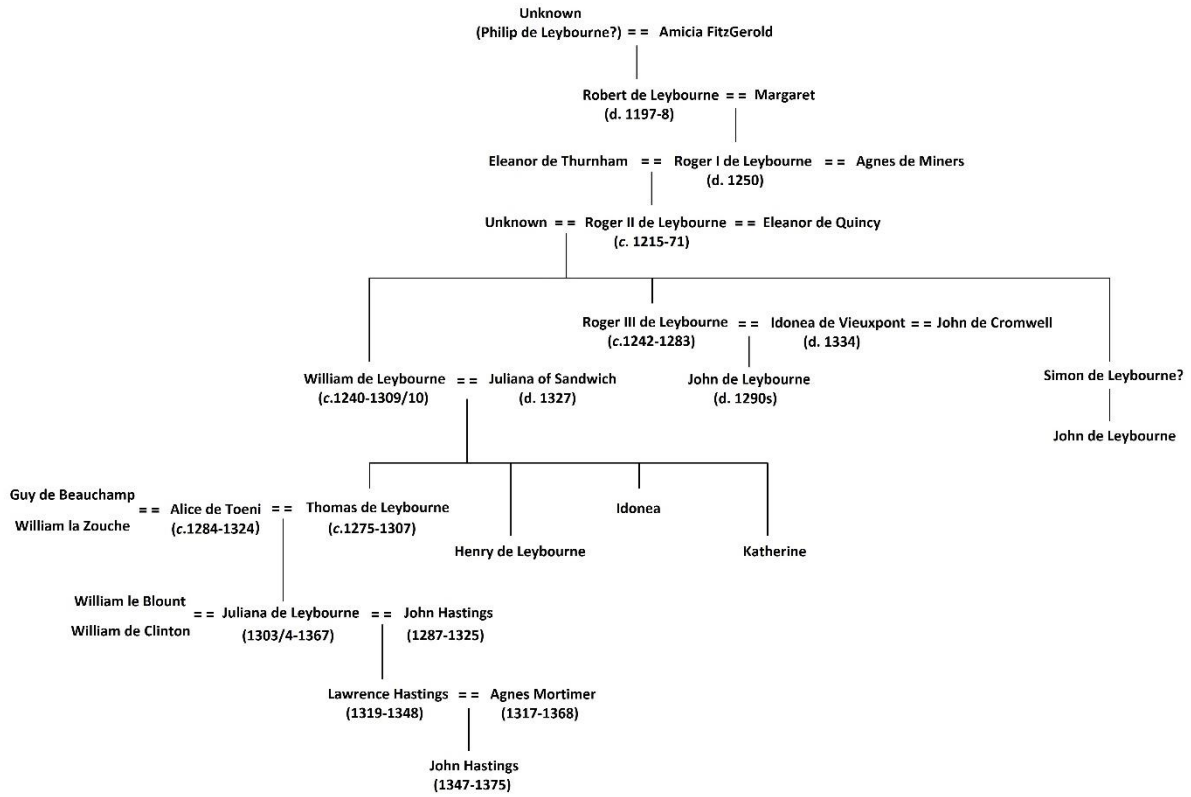
In his final years, Roger II de Leybourne had begun disposing of estates elsewhere in England, sometimes in exchange for lands in Kent, in what has been seen as a strategy of deliberate consolidation in the county (Faulkner 2008). It is tempting therefore to see this as a conscious emulation of his Marcher associates – an attempt to establish a compact lordship in Kent, along Marcher lines. But as we have seen, Kent was a county dominated by ecclesiastical land, with limited opportunities for further power-building, and the Clares' attempts to turn Tonbridge into just such a compact Marcher-style lordship were unsuccessful (Ward 1962, 221). And in Roger's case, it may be significant that the process only began in his final two years, when he may already have been showing signs of illness. We perhaps see its beginnings with his grant of Bolton, Hunts., in June 1270 (see above; *Cat. Anc. Deeds 6*, 206); in August 1271 he exchanged the manor of Stockton, also Hunts., for Ashford and Packmanstone in Kent (*Cal. Charter Rolls 1257-1300*, 175), while he possessed only one of his wife's manors when he died (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1266-72*, 609).

As with the establishment of trusts, moreover, it was a continuing process. It appears, if anything, to have accelerated under William de Leybourne when the Leybourne patrimony diminished markedly through grants of land to family and other associates, and by the time of his death in 1309-10, the only property he possessed was all in Kent (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1307-16*, 121-2; it is listed above in Section 5.1, and see Fig. 102). He had demised Berwick in Shropshire to Simon de Leybourne (his brother?), between 1280 and 1290 (*Cal. Close Rolls 1279-88*, 112; *1288-96*, 120; *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1307-16*, 44). And gone were the Oxfordshire lands still held in 1268 (*Cal. Close Rolls 1264-68*, 472), the lands in Huntingdonshire purchased by his parents (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1272-91*, 331), and the Sussex lands received by his father in the exchange of 1271 (see above), the last possibly granted to William's younger son Henry (*Cal. Close Rolls 1302-07*, 69; *1313-18*, 611). He had even disposed of lands in Kent, including Aylesford and Hoo. And as we will see, for rather different reasons he conferred Leybourne itself upon his eldest son Thomas.

[34] Also called 'Captain of the Fleet' in the Gascon Rolls and, in December 1295, 'Admiral' (Bémont 1906, 322-3) – the first recorded use of the term.

Like his predecessors, William borrowed heavily from moneylenders and ran up substantial debts (*Cal. Close Rolls 1272-9*, 144, 203, 221). We can only speculate where his financial needs lay, but keeping up the trappings of office while at Pevensey and Criccieth will have proved a burden: at Criccieth, for example, he was required to provide for a garrison of 30 men from his annual fee of £100 (Johns 1970, 6). Maintaining a retinue while on campaign will also have taken a toll on his resources: for example, he took six knights and fifteen esquires to Scotland with him in 1297-8 (Honeywell 2006, 248). He made the very generous loan of £1000 to his follower Fulk Peyforer in 1306 (*Cal. Close Rolls 1302-7*, 451), a considerable sum and perhaps in excess of William's average annual income. We do not know, moreover, whether he undertook building works at Leeds, but his manor-house at Preston was clearly desirable enough for his granddaughter, Juliana II de Leybourne, to choose it as her main residence until her death in 1367. At any rate, it is possible that repayment of debts, and giving loans – and, perhaps, financial mismanagement – may lie behind his diminished estate.

Fig. 103: Family tree of the Leybournes



5.6 The early fourteenth century, 1300-1324 (Alice and Thomas de Leybourne)

Stylistic evidence and affinities broadly allow three candidates for the gatehouse and other works at Leybourne: William, during the very last years of his tenure, late 1290s-*c*.1300, his eldest son Thomas, and his wife Alice, *c*.1300-1307 – or Alice alone, who held Leybourne in her own right from 1307 until her death in 1324. Their respective merits will be discussed in detail in Sections 7.3 and 7.4, but a summary of Thomas and Alice's tenure is given here.

William had two sons, Thomas and Henry. The latter had received Wateringbury manor from his father before 1311 (*Cal. Charter Rolls 1300-26*, 160). And upon Thomas's marriage to Alice de Toeni in *c*.1300,[35] William went further, granting the couple the entire manor of Leybourne, with the castle (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1300-07*, 274-5)[36] – essentially detaching the rest of the lordship from its *caput*. The grant, moreover, was made in full, and was inheritable: William had devolved all interests in the manor, and henceforth resided at Preston (Larking 1863, 149 et al.). It also suggests William had transferred administration of the lordship to his son and daughter-in-law, as we have seen that its courts were held at Leybourne. So we are seeing a very different process from William's disposal of his other property.

Alice de Toeni was the daughter of Roger de Toeni (or Tosny), lord of Flamstead in Herts.. By 1304, she had borne Thomas a daughter, named Juliana after her paternal grandmother (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1300-07*, 274-5). Otherwise we know little of their lives together. Thomas served in Scotland, with his father, in 1303 (*Cal. Chancery Rolls*, 85), but met an early death before May 1307. William was duly granted wardship of his granddaughter Juliana II (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1307-1313*, 68), but not of Leybourne: as Alice had been jointly enfeoffed with Thomas (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1300-07*, 275), she held Leybourne in her own right after his death, and in March 1308 she was confirmed in her control of the manor and castle (*Cal. Close Rolls 1307-1313*, 26; *Cal. Fine Rolls 1307-1319*, 17). Consequently Leybourne does not appear in William's IPM (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1307-16*, 121-2), and there is no indication that he was ever interested in regaining it: he appointed a new trustee, his follower Fulk Peyforer, for the remainder of the lordship's manors in January 1308 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1307-1313*, 34). He continued to reside at Preston, where he established a market and fair in 1307 (*Cal. Charter Rolls 1300-1326*, 83) – privileges he had never conferred upon Leybourne – while his widow Juliana I was resident there until her death in 1327 (*Cat. Anc. Deeds 4,* 234-5). Alice meanwhile occupied Leybourne Castle as a widow for two years, and then as the wife of Guy de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, after their marriage in early 1309.

William de Leybourne died in 1309-10 (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1307-16*, 121). The wardship and marriage of the infant Juliana II was subsequently acquired by Aymer de Valence, William's son,[37] in a continuation of the close association between the two families. But there is no evidence that he also received custody of any Leybourne lands: we have seen that Alice held Leybourne in her own right, while William's widow Juliana I retained the remainder of the lordship, in which she was jointly enfeoffed, including Langley which through William's

[35] The exact date is not known, but it was clearly before Juliana II's birth in 1304. And Thomas held some land in Kent by March 1300 (*Cal. Close Rolls 1296*-1302, 387), which may suggest he had already married.

[36] The grant also included the manors of Ashford and Mere (*Cal. Close Rolls 1307-13*, 217), but these had been returned to William by 1307 (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1300-07*, 274-5). William retained the advowson of Leybourne Church (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1307-1313*, 34).

[37] It is not clear precisely when Aymer de Valence obtained custody of Juliana II (the so-called 'Infanta of Kent'). In 1311, he owed Juliana I de Leybourne the sum of £1500 (*Cal. Close Rolls 1307-13*, 444), but this may be unrelated and merely result from the long-standing association between the two families. Aymer had requested a wardship from King Edward II in 1313 (Phillips 1972, 52), but the ward is not specified.

grant had become detached from Leybourne (*Cal. Chancery Rolls*, 123; *Cal. Close Rolls 1307-1313,* 212-3, 465-6).

And all evidence suggests that Alice held on to Leybourne until her death in January 1324. In trust to the Honor of Albemarle in 1307 (see above), by 1325 a different trustee had been appointed for Leybourne in the person of Robert de l'Isle (*Cal. Close Rolls 1323-27,* 297-8) – who, significantly, was an associate of Guy de Beauchamp and a relative by marriage. In January 1325 moreover, a year after her mother's death, we find Juliana II holding Leybourne jointly with her recently-acquired husband, Aymer de Valence's heir John Hastings (*Cal. Close Rolls 1323-27,* 297-8; *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1316-27*, 385-93), meaning they can only have acquired it after their marriage – which had occurred by March 1318, when Hastings received a lifetime grant of Juliana's dower, ie. the rest of the lordship (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1317-21*, 126). We can therefore assume Leybourne had fallen to them when Alice died. Hastings died in 1325 (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1300-07*, 275),[38] when the rest of the lordship reverted to Juliana I, with whom it remained until her own death in 1327, when it went to Juliana II as the inheritance from her grandparents (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1327-1336*, 50-1), entirely separate to that from her mother Alice.

Moreover, as Alice held Leybourne in her own right, it does not appear in the IPM of Guy de Beauchamp, who predeceased her in 1315 (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1307-16*, 397). Finally, no independent claim to Leybourne could be made by Juliana II's Hastings heir – from her only progeny – after her death in 1367 (which has puzzled some authorities, eg. Faulkner 2008): an inquisition in 1370 could not, in fact, find any valid heirs 'either by direct or even collateral alliance' (Hasted 1798a, 501).

5.7 The mid-fourteenth century, 1324-1367 (Juliana de Leybourne II)

It must be assumed that Alice's stewards at Leybourne continued to administrate for the entire lordship: it is likely, in fact, that the gatehouse was built for their accommodation, while the higher-status chamber-block to the south may also have already been built (see Section 7.1). With Alice's death in 1324, and that of Juliana I in 1327 – which released to Juliana II the manors of Langley, Elham, Eastling, Gore, Elmstone and Goodnestone (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1327-36*, 50-1) – the lordship of Leybourne re-assumed its former configuration, which hereafter closely reflects that in William's IPM (see eg. *Cal. Close Rolls 1327-30*, 263-4; *1354-60*, 51-2; *Cal. Inq. Misc*. *2*, 252; Fig. 102).

Six months after the death of John Hastings, in summer 1325, Juliana II married William le Blount, later Baron Blount, steward of the king's household (Ormrod 2004; *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1316-27*, 385-93). He died however in August 1328, and by October that year Juliana had married her third husband, William de Clinton, who was created earl of Huntingdon ten years later (Hasted 1798a, 500-1; Ormrod 2004). A major Midlands landowner, Clinton held Maxstoke Castle in Warwickshire where the couple seem to have spent much of their time (Ormrod 2004). But he also had interests of his own in Kent, as constable of Dover Castle and

[38] When a new trustee had yet to be appointed, suggesting he had not had time to do so (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1300-07*, 275).

admiral of the seas 'from the Thames westward' (Hasted 1798a, 500-1). When in Kent, he may normally have stayed at his wife's manor at Preston as we find the couple issuing deeds there in 1349 (*Cat. Anc. Deeds 5*, 190), and it is possible that occupation of Leybourne Castle was largely confined to stewards and staff. It continued to be the administrative *caput* for the entire lordship: in 1355, the manor of Ridley was under lease for an annual rent of 100 shillings, paid 'to the castle of Leybourne' (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1352-61*, 129).

The marriage brought considerable land and revenues, little of which however went to Juliana when Clinton died in 1354: she received a manor in Gloucestershire, and some rents (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1365-70*, 119-24), but otherwise her dower was confined to property received from John Hastings, while it was specified that she had no claim to Maxstoke Castle (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1352-61*, 171-6), perhaps betraying an attempt by Juliana to obtain it. She did not marry again, and seems to have settled in her favoured Kentish manor at Preston: a series of grants was made to her personal retainers between 1357 and 1361 (*Cat. Anc. Deeds 4*, 191; *Cat. Anc. Deeds 5*, 195-6, 220), all dated at Preston where, in 1367, she is said to have died (Listed building website, LB No. 1031918; Martin 1869, 77).

In 1362, Juliana had granted the reversion of her Kentish estates to King Edward III, retaining her life interest and holding back some property for the Church (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1361-64*, 167, 173, 190, 340; *1367-70*, 174). After her death, the Hastings dower was assigned to her grandson, John II Hastings (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1367-70*, 21), but as we have seen there was no valid claim to her Leybourne inheritance which passed, without complication, to the King (*Cal. Fine Rolls 1356-1368*, 365-6; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1367-70*, 17).

5.8 The late fourteenth century, 1367-1388 (St Mary Graces and Simon Burley)

Edward III appears, initially, to have had no long-term plans for Juliana's estates and by the end of 1367 he had demised the manors of Wateringbury and Leybourne, at farm, to John Manyware and Thomas Kerl, 'with all their rights and appurtenances, except the advowson of the church of Leybourne', for an annual rent of 100 marks (*Cal. Fine Rolls 1356-68*, 365-6).[39] The lease was to run until 1374. The leaseholders were to 'keep the houses of the manors, and the enclosure of the houses, in good condition' and store produce within 'the granges [sic] of the manors', while they were not to fell any heavy timber 'except for repairing the houses of the king's manors, and then only by view and livery of the king's steward of the manors' (ibid.). Manyware and Kerl were, in effect, mere 'caretakers', while the king's steward appears to have been resident – at Leybourne Castle?

King Edward fell ill in autumn 1376, and never fully recovered. Preparing for the future, he appointed executors to deal with the disposal of the 'castle and manor of Leybourne, and all

[39] This record also provides the earliest inventory of Leybourne manor, where the 'stock' comprised: 32 acres of land sown with wheat; 11 acres of rye; 38½ acres of barley; 24 acres of vetch; 18 acres of oats; 20 acres in fallow; 3 cart-horses; 4 'stots'; 12 oxen; 1 bull; 24 cows; 5 calves; 144 wethers, 6 rams, 11 lambing ewes, 30 yearling sheep and ewes, and 9 lambs; 1 boar, 2 sows, 15 hogs, 6 pigs, 21 sucking pigs; 22 cartloads of hay; 1 cart with iron-tyred wheels; 1 cart-saddle, 3 hide collars and 2 pairs of traces; 2 ploughs, 2 harrows, 2 ploughshares and 2 coulters; 1 basket of osiers for bringing in the crops; 1 wooden bushel bound with iron; 1 fork for lifting sheaves and 1 dung-rake.

other manors and lands in Kent . . . acquired from Juliana de Leybourne' (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1374-77*, 347-8). It was intended that these properties, along with other Crown possessions in Kent, should be granted to three religious houses – the Cistercian abbey of St Mary Graces, London, the Dominican friary at King's Langley, Herts., and the royal chapel of St Stephen, Westminster – to endow chantry priests to 'pray and celebrate divine service for the King's soul (ibid.; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1385-89*, 468; Caley et al. 1846, 717).

In the event, the grants were not made until 1382 (Page 1909, 461). Leybourne went to St Mary Graces, for a term of 40 years, together with the manors of Eastling, Preston,[40] Langley and Wateringbury, 'late of the lordship of Leybourne' (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1381-85*, 305; Page 1909, 461-2). The following year, the abbey leased the manors to Richard II's favourite Simon Burley (ibid.), but the lease was converted by King Richard into a full grant, and inheritable, in 1384 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1381-85*, 367-8). In compensation, Burley was required to make an annual payment of £100 to the abbey (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1385-89*, 109-10).

Burley held Leybourne for nearly five years until his downfall in 1388, in which he appears to have at least begun some building works at the castle. An inventory of 1388 states that 'he had in the manor [of Leybourne] . . . timber fashioned for a *tresance* with a '*ferne'*, worth 20 shillings, which never belonged to the abbot or convent' (*Cal. Inq. Misc. 4*, 224; also see *Cal. Close Rolls 1385-89*, 530-1).[41] A *tresance* was a passageway, corridor or covered walkway, so we can perhaps envisage a pentise linking two buildings within the castle;[42] I have been unable to establish what the term '*ferne'* might refer to.[43] Twenty shillings was a considerable sum, so the passage must have been fairly substantial. The nature of this work suggests Burley was intending to be personally resident at the castle, if only occasionally, and implies that Juliana II must have at least maintained the castle during her long tenure, even if she may not have been personally resident.

5.9 The fifteenth century, 1388-1538 (St Mary Graces)

Simon Burley was impeached by the 'Merciless Parliament' of 1388, and executed for alleged treason in May. His Kent manors were released by King Richard to the three religious houses, again to endow 'prayers for him, his father, Edward III and his heirs' (Caley et al. 1846, 717), but in a very different conformation: St Mary Graces received Leybourne, but this time with Bicknor, Wateringbury and Gore; Langley went to St Stephen's Westminster, along with Ashford, Mere, Elham and Coldbridge; while Preston went to King's Langley, with Elmstone, Overland, Harrietsham and Packmanstone (*Cal. Close Rolls 1385-89*, 523; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1385-89*, 539). The lordship of Leybourne, as it existed in the 1370s – let alone in its late thirteenth-century form – was thereby split up, and was never to be reformed.

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[40] 'Prestbury' in the Patent Roll, a place-name absent from Kent and clearly a scribal error for Preston.

[41] The inventory also lists: 2 cart-horses; 6 plough oxen; 2 cows; 40 acres of wheat 'almost destroyed by drought'; 41 acres of barley; 20 acres of peas, vetches and oats 'in very poor condition'; and an iron-bound cart with harness for 2 horses.

[42] It appears not to have been erected. Moreover, being of timber, it cannot relate to the walled passage, linking the chamber-block with the Great Hall, that is shown on historic prints (see Section 4.4.2 above).

[43] The term is not listed in glossaries in Brunskill 1985, 87-186, etc.

We have seen that the main purpose of the Kentish manors was to provide revenues in support of chantry priests; their additional use for 'lodging goods and chattels' appears as a standard clause (*Cal. Close Rolls 1389-92*, 148).[44] Britain during the 1370s-80s had been under episodic, but persistent threat from French invasion, in the light of which Leybourne's inclusion within this grant may at first seem puzzling. It is far from certain however that the concept of Kent as an 'invasion coast' had as much relevance during the Middle Ages as it did in the more recent past (see eg. Eales 2020, 248-9),[45] and defence was usually secondary to more domestic considerations: Leybourne just happened to belong to a *bloc* of manors awarded to the abbey, despite rather than because it was a castle. While Simon Burley had a military background, and the terms of his grant are framed within a military context – Leybourne's possession by the abbey was described as being 'to the great weakening of the defences of Kent' (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1381-85*, 367-8) – this did not prevent it from being returned to St Mary Graces, which seems to have treated the castle merely as a grange.[46]

At any rate, the castle was probably always lightly-fortified. Much of the perimeter wall had been lost before the earliest pictorial depiction (Figs. 5 and 6), but the physical evidence suggests it was low, and of slight construction (see Sections 4.2 and 4.4.3 above). The gatehouse was primarily for display and accommodation, while there appears to have been only one other mural tower, which was similarly related to residential use (see Section 4.4). There is moreover no evidence that Burley attended to its defences: his *tresance* was purely domestic, while a letter patent of *c*.1388 refers to his 'castle *and house* of Leybourne' (*Cal. Rot. Pat*., 210; my italics).

In December 1401, the castle was visited by Edward of York, Duke of Aumale and earl of Rutland and Cork (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1413-16*, 377). Edward was close to King Henry IV, and constable of Dover and Warden of the Cinque Ports; the French Wars had meanwhile entered a new phase, with further invasion threats. But there is no suggestion in the sources that his presence at Leybourne was military in nature: whilst there, Edward issued letters relating to other matters (ibid.), and the castle's defensive potential, or otherwise, may have been irrelevant to the visit.

No cartulary survives for St Mary Graces, and Leybourne Castle's history over the next 130 years is obscure indeed. It presumably remained the administrative *caput* for the manor, with the abbey's steward resident there. And in other respects, its new identity as a monastic grange may have had little impact, either economically or administratively; all personnel will have continued to be laymen, and perhaps the same as those appointed by the abbey's predecessors. However, the Kip engraving of 1719 may provide clues into how the castle was used during this period (Figs. 5 and 6). The rear half of the gatehouse is ruinous, but the putative chamber-block had clearly been maintained, suggesting the abbey's stewards chose it for their accommodation – and perhaps confirming that it was a chamber-block, rather than

[44] St Mary Graces was King Edward III's own foundation, of 1350, but it soon became apparent that it was insufficiently endowed (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1396-99*, 389). Building work had yet to be completed when the king died in 1377, and revenues from Leybourne, initially, also went towards its completion (Page 1909, 461-2).

[45] While very few of its towns were ever walled (King 1983, 227).

[46] The source material is limited, but there is no suggestion that a constable was ever appointed.

a chapel (see Section 7.1). And in the absence of a seignurial household, the Great Hall – wherever it was located – had become disused, and had disappeared by 1719. The Southwest Building however had survived, showing that it had been repurposed (and perhaps altered?). Any military potential having been bypassed, the Southeast Tower and perimeter wall had clearly been neglected and were by-and-large ruinous; the bridge at the entry had been replaced by a solid causeway. The gatehouse façade had however been retained, in keeping with the monastic taste for elaborate entries and display frontages (see eg. Goodall 2012, 6-9).

This period may have seen the genesis of what became a second gentry-house within Leybourne manor, which eventually superseded the castle: 'The Grange', 1.5km west of the castle (see Figs. 5, 35-7). It was apparently first recorded by this name after the Dissolution (*c*.1560s-70s: Hasted 1798a, 506), as a domestic dwelling, and it may have had genuine origins as another monastic centre within the manor.

5.10 The sixteenth century

St Mary Graces was surrendered in 1538, still in possession of 'the manor and castle of Leybourne' along with Bicknor, Wateringbury and Gore (Page 1909, 463); the abbey was demolished five years later (Caley et al. 1846, 717). And Leybourne was again split from the other manors, to form part of a large Kentish grant made by Henry VIII, in 1540, to Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, in exchange for episcopal property (*Letters and Papers 1540*, No. 613/32).

Cranmer was obliged to return the estate to King Henry in 1545 (Hasted 1798a, 503), and in January 1546 it was granted to Sir Edward North, Chancellor of Augmentations and of the privy council, as follows: 'grant, in fee (for Edward's services and for £7,337 6*s* 8*d* paid to the King's own hands, and 500 marks, paid to Thomas archbishop of Canterbury), of the manor and castle of Leybourne, Kent, the advowsons of the rectories of Leybourne and Ridley, Kent, and Halton, Bucks., and woods in Leybourne' (*Letters and Papers 1546*, No. 149/6). *The reversion of this property was, however, conceded to Cranmer in 1547 (Cal. Pat. Rolls 1547-48*, 36-7*).*

Nevertheless in 1552, North was licensed to grant Leybourne castle, manor and advowson to Robert Gosnolde, gent., of Suffolk, and John Gosnolde his son and heir, who was the king's solicitor general (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1550-53*, 240). Gosnolde held Leybourne until 1561, when he 'alienated' it to Sir Robert Godden of West Malling, Kent (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1558-60*, 266; Jones 1795, Leybourne s.d.). In 1575, Godden settled the manor and castle on his son Thomas (Hasted 1798a, 503), who remained there until the 1580s when he sold the estate to Sir John Leveson MP, of Cuxton in Kent (Grose 1785, 64; Hasted 1798a, 503).

It has long been asserted that the residential building shown at the northeast corner of the castle site, in antique prints from 1719 onwards, was erected during the sixteenth century (eg. Mackenzie 1896, 29; Marlin n.d., 18). The prints show a double-pile house, with half-timbered upper floors and windows of convincingly late sixteenth-century form, overlying the remains of the gatehouse east tower and clearly adapted from its rear-section (see Section

4.5; Figs. 6-13). It straddles the gatehouse east wall, which became an internal spine wall. It is not known who built the house, but the Goddens, or perhaps Gosnolde, are plausible candidates.

5.11 The seventeenth century

By 1603, Leveson had been succeeded by his son, Sir Richard Leveson of Trentham, Staffordshire (Hasted 1798a, 503). Before 1625, however, Sir Richard had made over all his lands and possessions in Kent to various individuals, Leybourne going to Henry Clerke, MP for Rochester (ibid.). Clerke's main residence, later known as Restoration House, was at Rochester, and before 1642 he had also acquired the manor of Ulcomb in Kent, which became his main seat (Hasted 1798b, 390). In 1649, he was succeeded in these properties by his son, Sir Francis Clerke (Fielding 1893, 71, 85; Hasted 1798a, 503).

It may have been under the Levesons that the castle was first leased out to tenants to be used as a farmhouse; it certainly was under the Clerkes, and by the 1650s we find it occupied by the Aiherst family (Fielding 1893, 183). The Civil Wars of 1642-49 thus passed the castle by; used solely as a farmhouse, it was neither pressed into service nor confiscated, although Henry Clerke was a prominent Royalist whose Rochester property was seized by Parliament (Aveling 1883, 119-23). In this it may be compared with the nearby castle at Allington, which had similarly become a farmhouse and, despite possessing much stouter defences than Leybourne could ever show, had no Civil War history (Grose 1785, 3; Mackenzie 1896, 5).

Francis Clerke died in 1691, the manor and castle of Leybourne passing to his kinsman, Gilbert Clerke Esq. of Derbyshire (Hasted 1798a, 503; 1798b, 391). Around 10 years later, he sold them to Captain William Saxby, of the Grange in Leybourne parish (ibid.; Grose 1785, 64).

5.12 The eighteenth century

We saw above that the Grange was first recorded early in the reign of Elizabeth I. It was held, under separate ownership from the castle, by the Quintin family.[47] Around the 1680s, it was acquired through marriage by Henry Saxby, who conferred it upon his son William (Harris 1719, 172; Hasted 1798a, 506). It seems to be William who rebuilt the Grange as the fine 'Queen Anne' house that is shown in Kip's engraving of 1719 (Fig. 5), rebuilt again in 1850. It was probably also under William that an extensive park was established, embracing both the Grange and Leybourne Castle (Figs. 5, 35-7).[48] Many if not most of the landscape features that show in the LiDAR plots probably belong to this overall period, and relate to the park (see Fig. 42).

Leybourne Castle had thus became an adjunct of the Grange estate. In 1719, it was described as 'quite decayed, with only a farmhouse in it' (Harris 1719, 375). William Saxby's daughter Frances married Thomas Golding Gent., a former sheriff of Kent (Fielding 1893, 232), giving

[47] The family also went by the name of Oliver.

[48] Johannes Kip compressed his view to show the castle and the Grange together; in reality, they lay 1.5km apart.

rise to the misconception that Golding resided at the castle (Grose 1785, 65); in fact it remained under lease to farming families throughout this period (see Section 5.13 below).

In 1724 the Grange, together with Leybourne Castle and manor, were sold by William Saxby to Francis Whitworth, son of Richard Whitworth Esq. of Staffordshire (Grose 1785, 64-5; Hasted 1798a, 503-4, 506). He was succeeded by his son Charles, Lieutenant Governor of Gravesend and Tilbury, in 1742 (ibid.). In 1776, Charles Whitworth sold the estate to Dr James Hawley, of Somerset, who died two years later and was succeeded by his son Sir Henry Hawley (ibid.), who was created baronet in 1785.

5.13 The nineteenth century

Leybourne Castle was still under lease as a tenant farmhouse in 1759, when it was visited by Francis Grose (Grose 1785, captions to Plates 1-2; Figs. 8 and 9). At some point, however, the farmhouse is said to have been destroyed by fire (Marlin n.d., 19). But it is by no means certain when this might have happened. No fire damage is suggested in Hasted's views from the 1780s (Figs. 10 and 11), nor is it apparent in engravings of the gatehouse from 1810-11, albeit with somewhat restricted views (Figs. 12-13). And James Mackenzie hinted, in 1896, that the farmhouse had still been in active use at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Mackenzie 1896, 29). The castle had, however, become unoccupied by the 1830s (Fielding 1893, 22), and ruinous by the middle of the century when the sixteenth-century house had all but disappeared (Figs. 14-20).

Sir Henry Hawley died in 1826; his son, another Henry, died in 1834 and was in turn succeeded at the Grange by his son Sir Joseph Hawley, third baronet (Fielding 1893, 102, 130). In 1846, Sir Joseph established a racing stud 'at Leybourne Castle', where he bred four Derby winners (Marlin n.d., 21). A length of masonry walling of eighteenth-century, or more likely nineteenth-century date, lying between 30 and 40 metres north of the castle, was revealed by trench excavation in 1997 and 1998 (Jarman 1997, 4; Jarman 1998, 2-3; Fig. 84). Part of a northeast-southwest running wall, it is shown on no historic prints or maps and appears to have gone by the time the first large-scale map, the Ordnance Survey first edition of 1893, was surveyed (Fig. 35). It is conceivable that it relates to Hawley's stud, which clearly did not occupy the castle itself.

By the mid-nineteenth century only the gatehouse, Southeast Tower, Southwest Building and the north wall of the chamber-block still stood to any height (Figs. 14-20), so it is clear that a severe loss of fabric had occurred since 1811. The castle had become a popular picnic area (Marlin n.d., 24; Alan Albert, pers. comm.), as evidenced by the prolific graffiti in the gate-passage (Fig. 104), and Sir Joseph Hawley had the ruins 'enclosed with a fence, to keep them safe' (Fielding 1893, 22). He also restored the church – of which, as lord of the manor, he still held the advowson – and apparently 'cared for' the castle remains (Mackenzie 1896, 30), but there is evidence of a second, major loss of fabric before the end of the century. Photographs suggest a programme of ivy clearance took place around 1870 (*cf.* Figs. 15-18), which may have been a contributing factor. At any rate, the chamber-block north wall had collapsed by the later nineteenth century (*cf.* Figs. 14-21), while the extensive masonry shown at the south end of the castle in Fig. 14 had gone by the 1920s, at least (Fig. 40).

Fig. 104: Leybourne Castle: some of the extensive graffiti in the gate-passage

5.14 The twentieth and twenty-first centuries

Sir Joseph died without issue in 1875, the estate passing to his brother, Henry James Hawley (fourth baronet); he in turn died without a direct heir in 1898, and was succeeded by his nephew Sir Henry Michael Hawley, fifth baronet (Marlin n.d., 23). Sir Henry's tenure embraced World War One, when an army camp was established at Leybourne. Apparently begun in 1915, it extended east from Castle Way to take in the castle surrounds (Mearns 2015, 12). A tented camp, it will have left little physical evidence, although camp activity apparently included digging practice trenches.

Following the death of Henry Michael Hawley in 1920, the Grange estate was broken up and sold off as individual lots (Marlin n.d., 23). The last to be sold, in 1925, were the 'Castle Ruins' (Alan Albert pers. comm.). They were purchased by a Mrs Ogilvy, of nearby Birling, who commissioned the architect Walter Hindes Godfrey to build a 'manor' within the ruins (see Section 4.5; Figs. 40-41, 97-101). Godfrey (1881-1961) had offices in London and then Lewes, from which he worked at a number of other sites in the southeast including Herstmonceux Castle and Michelham Priory, both Sussex. His style at Leybourne was an eclectic mix of Arts and Crafts, Art Deco and other influences, and has been described as 'a sophisticated essay in a free Cotswold vernacular. Godfrey related his house to the old ways in a way both daring and successful' (Newman 1976, 380). The work used the same Kentish Ragstone seen in the medieval remains. Godfrey's design was not, however, carried out fully as planned and the southern wing was altered during execution (*cf.* Figs. 41 and 99).

Mrs Ogilvy died in 1963, but the house continued to be occupied by her granddaughter Miss Foster until its sale in 1972 to Commander A. S. C. Harris, who in turn sold it to a former Millwall footballer, Nigel Short, in the late 1980s (Marlin n.d., 26). A large-scale renovation scheme was begun, but unfortunately was unfinished when he left the property. It was purchased in 1995 by the present owners Mr and Mrs Albert. With English Heritage approval they began a long-term restoration project, beginning with restoration of the roof over the main block. In 1997, the house was connected to mains drainage and new utility services laid under a new driveway, while a major project in 2001 saw the walls consolidated with a new cement cap and repointing. The Southwest Building was refurbished for residential use in 2007.

6.0 THE LEYBOURNES AS BUILDERS

We have seen that Leybourne was not the only castle held by the Leybourne family. They also held Leeds Castle in Kent (1265-*c*.1278), and Brough and Mallerstang in Westmorland (1268-1308), while Roger II de Leybourne was responsible for founding the walled *bastide* of Libourne (Gironde) in 1270. The family also served as constables of a number of Crown castles, sometimes during periods of construction eg. Criccieth in north Wales, though not always with sustained periods of residence.

This section will look at castles and fortifications held by or associated with the family. They were benefactors to a number of religious houses, too, but only Leybourne parish church shows fabric that might directly relate to their patronage; little remains of their other manor-houses. Nevertheless, these other works influence our understanding of the dating, and interpretation, of Leybourne Castle.

On current evidence, only three castles can be suggested to feature any Leybourne work: Leybourne itself, Leeds in Kent, and Brough in Westmorland. The fortifications at Libourne, Roger II de Leybourne's Gascon *bastide*, clearly post-date his tenure there.

6.1 Leeds Castle, Kent (Roger II and William de Leybourne, 1265-*c*.1278)

Roger received Leeds Castle, which had been forfeited by the Montfortian rebel Robert de Crevequer, in November 1265 (Larking 1868, 334, from the Exchequer Rolls). But a pre-existing interest in Leeds may be revealed by his briefing the king against Crevequer in early 1264 (*Cal. Close Rolls 1261-64*, 383), while he may even have briefly seized the castle in the unrest of 1264-65: an inquiry of 1275 found that in the Lathe (ie. division) of Aylesford 'Sir Roger de Leybourne seized the land of Sir Robert de Crevequer, to wit, the manor of . . . [sic – MS defective?], of the yearly value of £30, which Sir William de Leybourne now holds' (*Cal. Inq. Misc. 1*, 314). Leeds lay within the lathe of Aylesford, was held by William de Leybourne in 1275 (see below), and was worth £33 6s 8d per annum (Leach 2019, 57) – is it the unnamed manor? It may moreover be no coincidence that the enquiry into whether Roger or Gilbert de Clare had first seisin of the Kentish lands, seized during the conflict, was ordered during the same month that Roger received Leeds Castle, ie. November 1265 (see Section 5.4). Not all manors that were seized are named in the order (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1258-66*, 493, 651), so it is quite possible that Gilbert had an interest in Leeds, too – an interest that was thwarted by his rival Roger de Leybourne.

Leeds appears essentially to be a motte-and-bailey, the motte encased within a twelfth-century revetment wall to form a shell-keep (Clark 1884, 178; Martin 1869, 68). The bailey was also walled in stone (now gone), possibly during the twelfth century (Martin 1869, 71; Renn 1973, 223). At some point during the thirteenth century the valley of the River Len was flooded to form an extensive lake around the castle. This was associated with the addition of a concentric wall around the earlier curtain (still surviving), the outward extension of the main gatehouse and the construction of an elaborate barbican in front of it, incorporating a 'fortified' mill (Figs. 105-6).

Fig. 105: Plan of Leeds Castle, Kent (from Brown et al. 1963, 696)

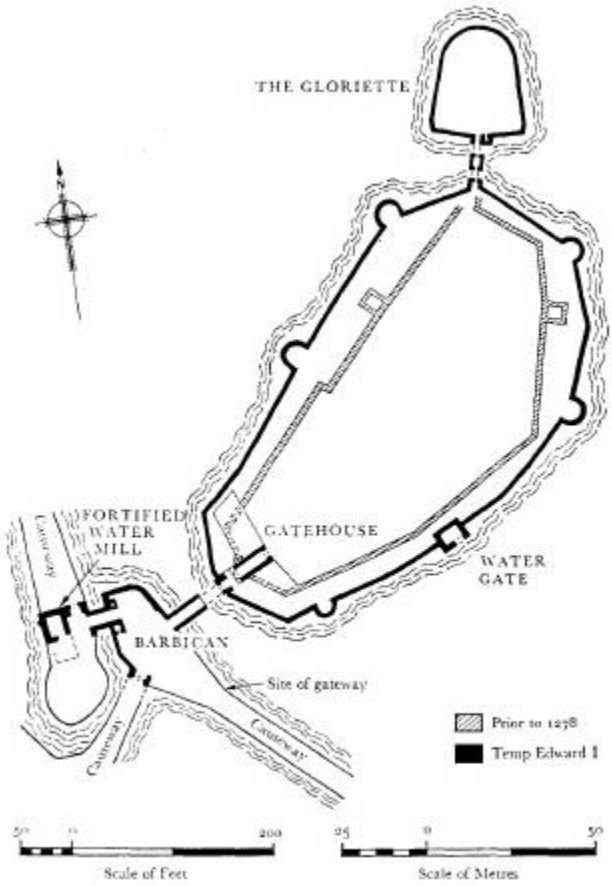


Fig. 59. Leeds Castle, Kent (*after Wykeham Martin*).

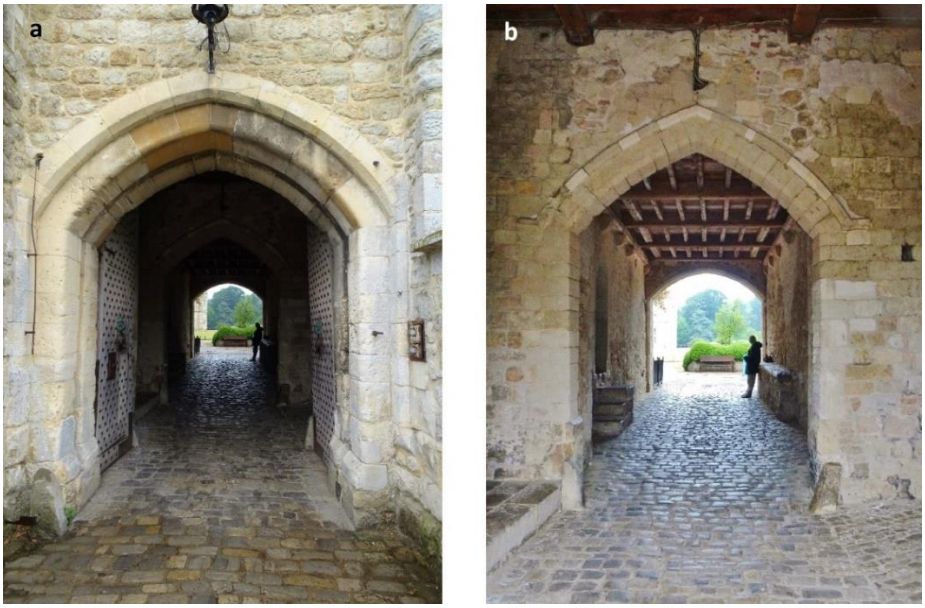
Fig. 106: Aerial photo of Leeds Castle, from east

Fig. 107: Fully-oilletted cross-loop in the barbican at Leeds Castle

The thirteenth-century work is normally assigned to Edward I's queen, Eleanor, who as we have seen acquired the castle from William de Leybourne *c.*1278, and to Edward himself after her death in 1290 (Brown et al. 1963, 695). But we only have enrolled accounts of works there after Eleanor's death (ibid.), when they represent the continuation, and conclusion, of the Queen's work. The conversion of the shell-keep into a planned suite of apartments, or 'Gloriette', is thought to be Eleanor's work (ibid.), followed by the addition of the concentric outer curtain wall (Brown et al. 1963, 696; Martin 1869, 28-9) – which, in practical terms, must have preceded the flooding of the valley. Work on the gatehouse, mill and barbican is recorded in the late 1290s (Brown et al. 1963, 697-8), and stylistic evidence accords with a date in the 1290s: it includes a polygonal tower, with fully-oilletted cross-loops which are replicated in the outer curtain either side of the gatehouse (Fig. 107). The wide, low-pitched segmental-pointed arches, in the barbican and gatehouse extension (Fig. 108a), are also consistent with such a date, along with the balled and barred chamfer-stops in the latter's guardroom (see Martin 1869, 65). However, the gatehouse inner arch, which is earlier (Brown et al. 1963, 697), has a more sharply segmental-pointed head, and might be conceivably be 1260s-70s if not Eleanorian (Fig. 108b). Moreover, we will see that the lake was in existence by late 1266, ie. under Roger II de Leybourne.

Roger visited Kenilworth Castle (Warwicks.) at least twice before receiving Leeds – in December 1264, when along with Roger Clifford and Roger Mortimer he was permitted to confer with Prince Edward, who was imprisoned there, and again in May 1265 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1258-66*, 475; Faulkner 2008; Larking 1863, 146 n. 35). He also attended the siege of Kenilworth later in 1266, where he is recorded alongside his old companions William de Valence and Roger de Clifford (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1258-66*, 610; Morris 2001, 152-3).

Fig. 108: Leeds Castle gatehouse – a) the outer arch, 1290s; b) the inner arch, 1260s-1290



Kenilworth is renowned for the early use of sheets of water to create a dramatic effect: its huge lake or 'mere' was created by King John in *c*.1210 (Morris 2010, 44; Fig. 109). By November 1266, a year after acquiring Leeds, Roger II de Leybourne had renamed it 'La Mote' (*Cal. Charter Rolls 1257-1300*, 61) – a name without any previous recorded use, but which was consistently used in his subsequent accounts to the Exchequer (Larking 1863, 156; Larking 1868, 335; Martin 1869, 71 n.).[49] William de Leybourne's release to the Queen, of 1278, makes it clear that Leeds is meant: '. . . his castle of Leeds, which is called 'la Mote' . . .' (*Cal. Close Rolls 1272-79*, 499). That this is an early use of the term 'mote' to mean a moat, rather than a motte, is clear – the motte at Leeds was already encased within a shell-keep, while the lake at Leeds is termed 'mota' in accounts that are only 30-40 years later (Brown et al. 1963, 696).[50]

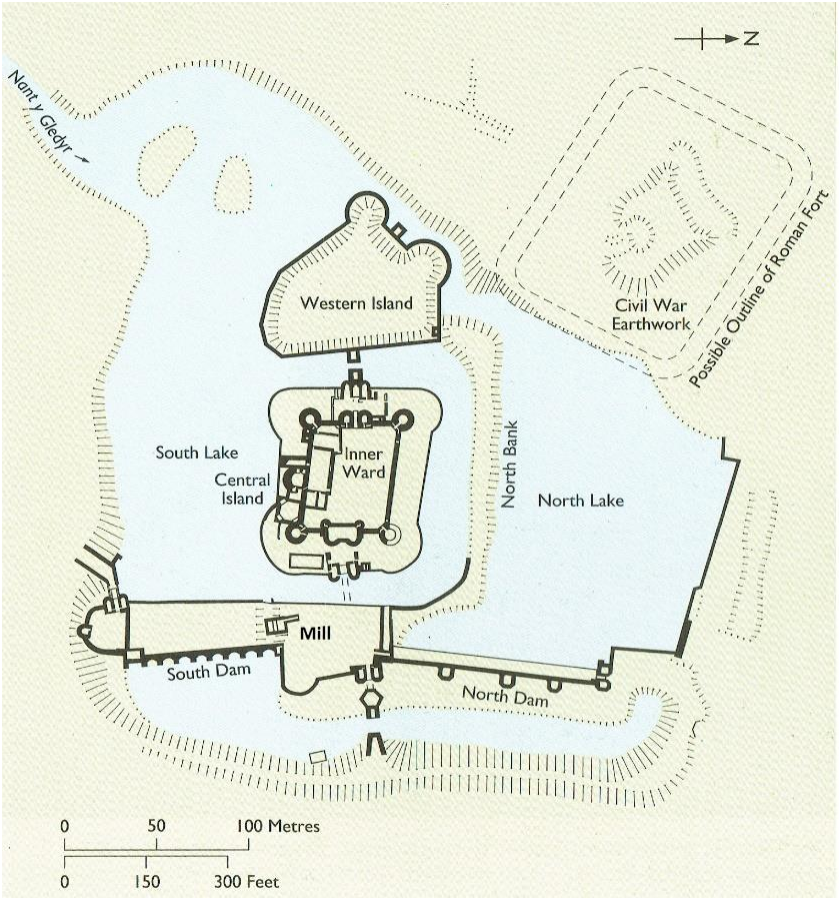
I therefore suggest that, as the name was a new coinage, the lake itself might have been a new creation by Roger II de Leybourne. He had seen Kenilworth, and at Leeds he had an ideal opportunity to create something similar: the causeway between the two arms of the lake is particularly evocative of Kenilworth (*cf*. Figs. 105-6 and 109). Investigation showed that the bank beneath the inner curtain at Leeds was cut away to facilitate construction of the concentric outer wall (Martin 1869, 30-1), which would have been difficult once the valley had been flooded. Documentary and stylistic evidence suggest that the present outer curtain belongs to the 1290s (see Brown et al. 1963, 696-8), but I suggest that it was probably superimposed upon a much lower revetment wall built by Roger. And while work on the lake may not have been complete by November 1266, Roger's renaming of the manor can be read persuasively as a statement of intent.

[49] In which, by contrast, the name 'Leeds' is only sparingly used. A reference to a 'Mote' near Maidstone, in the index of the *Curia Regis Rolls* for 1189-1201, is misleading: the name does not appear in the text (see Flower 1922, 34, 80).

[50] The nearby moated site at Ightam (near Sevenoaks) was called 'La Mote' by the mid-fourteenth century (Woodruff 1900, 195).

Fig. 109: Reconstruction drawing of Kenilworth Castle, Warwicks. (from Morris 2010, 43)

Fig. 110: Plan of Caerphilly Castle, Glam. (from Renn 1997, 27)



Is it possible, then, that Britain's third great water-girt castle, Caerphilly (Glam.), was directly inspired by Leeds? The lakes at Caerphilly were begun shortly afterwards, in 1268-69, by Roger II's great rival Gilbert de Clare (Davis 2013, 207; Renn 2018, 228). Gilbert, as Roger's near-neighbour – and possible competitor for possession of Leeds – will have been all too aware of any work there. The similarities are more than superficial (*cf*. Figs. 109 and 110). The dam at Caerphilly incorporates a mill (Renn 1997, 31-3), and while the fortified mill at Leeds is later, its then owner felt in 1869 that it was built on earlier walling (Martin 1869, 3-4), which raises the possibility that it has origins within Roger's tenure.

Given what we know of their relationship, and their temperaments, it is more than conceivable that Gilbert might want to upstage Roger at his Welsh castle. We have seen that the two were on opposite sides during 1264-65, bringing them into frequent conflict, particularly over their respective seizures in Kent. Gilbert changed sides in spring 1265, and fought for the King at Evesham, but rose up again in 1267 with an attempted coup (Davis 2013, 195-6). This brought renewed conflict with Roger de Leybourne. And there appears to have been real personal animosity between the two, from at least April 1264 when Roger was badly wounded defending Rochester against Gilbert's forces (Faulkner 2008; Larking 1863, 146). In October 1264, Roger and his Marcher companions were ordered to lift their siege of Gilbert's castle at Hanley, Worcs., while Roger was ordered to 'cease machinations' against Gilbert in May 1265 (Larking 1863, 146 n. 35), after the earl had joined the king's cause. Roger's grant of Leeds will doubtless have been unwelcome.

The suggested work at Leeds would have absorbed a considerable amount of expenditure. Nevertheless, Roger's income had been greatly increased by the various grants and offices that he had received from King Henry III throughout autumn 1265 (see Section 5.4), while in December 1265 – a month after acquiring Leeds – we find him borrowing large sums of money (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1258-66*, 515). In November 1266, he was granted a market and fair at 'his manor of La Mote' (*Cal. Charter Rolls 1257-1300*, 61), privileges that were never granted to Leybourne, and which suggest he felt secure in his tenure and was planning for the future. And Leeds appears to have been his main personal residence until his death in 1271. The Exchequer Records show that, while he was Prince Edward's lieutenant in the south-east, Roger was resident either at Leeds (sometimes as 'my house at la Mote': Larking 1863, 156), or at Rochester Castle where he was constable. For instance, he was at both during June 1266 (Lewis 1939, 206-7), at Leeds again in March 1267 (Larking 1868, 335), and at both Rochester and Leeds in June 1267 (ibid.).

This is, I suggest, the background against which to view his royal gift of freestone in April 1266 (see Section 5.4; *Cal. Close Rolls 1264-68*, 190). Like the stone, Leeds was a reward for Roger's loyalty and good service, and the King now offered him the means to embellish it. Leeds, unlike Leybourne, was a new acquisition and the castle that Roger was turning into his main residence; it was, moreover, able to accommodate the King and Queen in an appropriate manner by June 1287 (*Cal. Close Rolls 1272-79*, 532; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1272-81*, 317). And while, as at Leybourne, there is now no evidence for the extensive use of freestone at Leeds, most of the internal buildings – including the domestic ranges – have disappeared; extensive remodelling from the fourteenth century onwards means that, apart perhaps from the inner gatehouse arch, no masonry from the Leybournes' tenure has survived.

6.2 Brough and Mallerstang castles, Westmorland (Idonea and Roger III de Leybourne, 1268-1308)

Published works have tended to neglect the 40-year period during which the castles at Brough and Mallerstang ('Pendragon') were under Leybourne control. We saw in Section 5.4 that Roger III de Leybourne acquired them jointly with his wife Idonea de Vieuxpont in 1267, and the couple were formally confirmed in their share of the Vieuxpont inheritance the following year (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1266-72*, 290-2). Roger de Clifford, who received the other share – Appleby and Brougham castles – died in 1282 leaving an infant son, Robert; he had joint possession of the estates with his wife Isabella de Vieuxpont, who accordingly retained them (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1272-91*, 290-1). Similarly, when Roger III de Leybourne died in 1283, leaving an infant son John, his share remained in the hands of his widow Idonea (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1272-91*, 315-16; *Cal. Close Rolls 1279-88*, 259). Robert de Clifford came into possession in 1291, after his mother's death, but John de Leybourne appears to have predeceased Idonea as he never received Brough and Mallerstang.[51] Idonea married again, between 1301 and March 1307, to John de Cromwell (*Cal. Close Rolls 1302-7*, 491-2; *Cal. Fine Rolls 1272-1307*, 440); in September 1307, they entertained King Edward I and his retinue at Brough (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1307-13*, 2, 35, 37). It is possible that this proved ruinously expensive, for in July 1308 the couple transferred Brough and Mallerstang castles to Robert de Clifford, along with their other Westmorland manors at King's Meaburn and Kirkby Stephen, receiving in return a moiety of the manor of Winterslow, Wilts., and the advowson of the church there (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1307-13*, 134); hardly an equal exchange, although Idonea subsequently received two more manors from Clifford (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1327-36*, 392-3).[52] She held no land in Westmorland when she died, after her husband, in 1334 (ibid.).

Idonea held Brough with Roger III for 14 years, by herself for 18 years, and with Cromwell for at least two years. It is quite possible that masonry building work was undertaken there during this period. A new hall and cylindrical chamber-tower were added at some point during the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, but were much rebuilt over subsequent years (Fig. 111). They are generally attributed to Robert de Clifford, while Leybourne tenure is not mentioned at all (see eg. Goodall 2011a, 244; Simpson 1975, 3; Summerson 2010, 30; Summerson 2023, 20).[53] Sadly, little remains of the original detail, and the work cannot be closely dated. But in overall form it does not directly compare with Clifford's work from *c*.1300-1310 at Brougham Castle, where square mural towers of 'Northern' form were employed (Fig. 111), while the new hall and tower at Brough must arguably have been in place

[51] The Leybournes recorded in the north-west during the fourteenth century may have been descendants of Simon de Leybourne's son John (see *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1307-16*, 44), *contra* Larking who mistakenly assumed that Roger and Idonea's son John had survived to adulthood, along with a younger brother Robert (Larking 1863, 155).

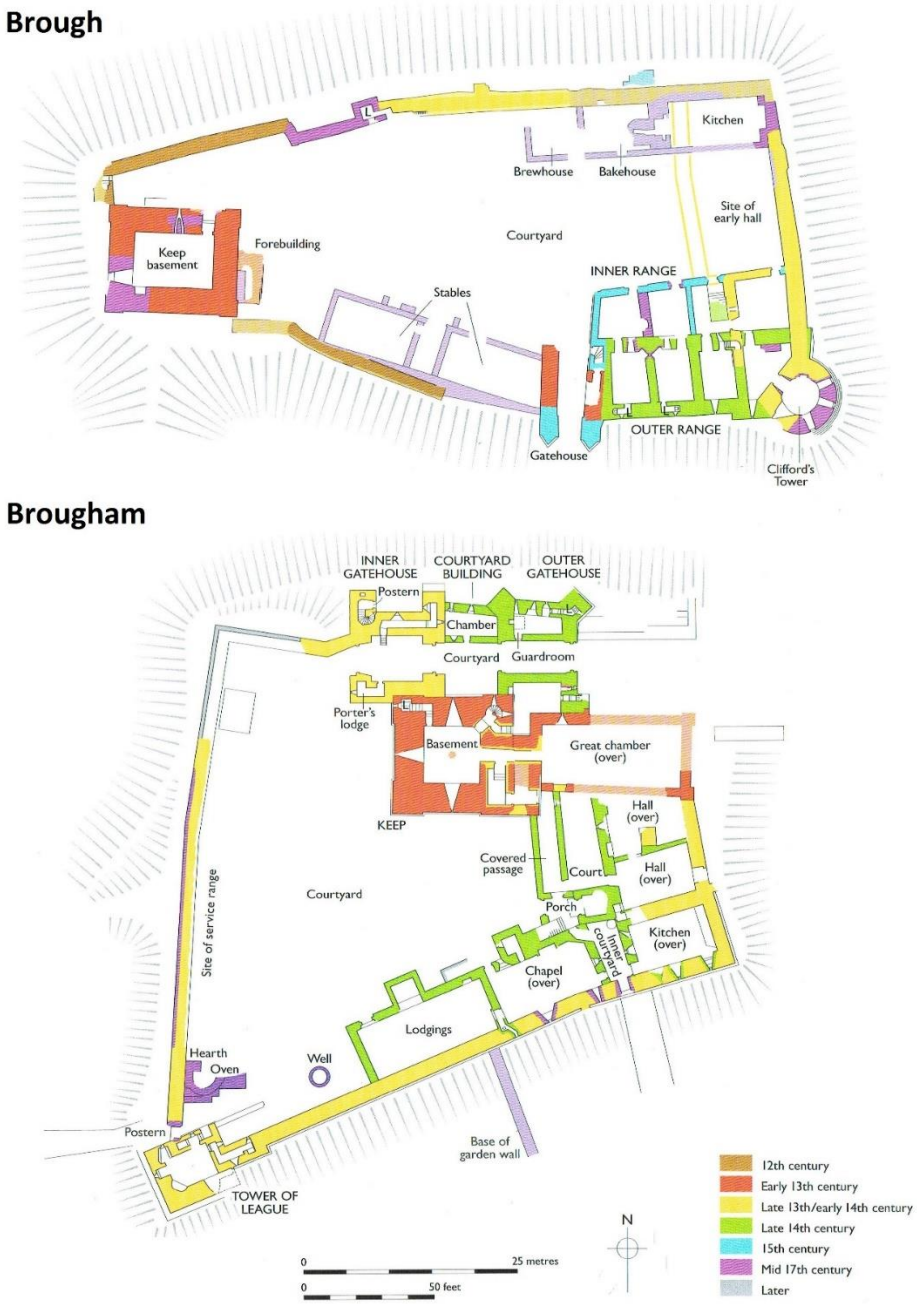
[5252] As the sole surviving Vieuxpont heirs, Robert and Idonea had also been among the beneficiaries on the death of the influential Richard FitzJohn in 1297, receiving estates in Hampshire, Essex, Buckinghamshire, Sussex, Worcestershire and Yorkshire (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1291-1300*, 282, 287); these were divided between them, some ending up being jointly held (*Cal. Close Rolls 1296-1302*, 135, 137, 287-8), continuing the close Clifford-Leybourne association.

[53] And a start-date in 1268 has been erroneously assigned to Clifford tenure at Brough and Mallerstang (Summerson 2010, 30; Summerson 2023, 20).

before King Edward's visit in 1307. It is likely then that they belong to Idonea's tenure as 'the Lady of Brough', 1268-1307.

Idonea's castle at Mallerstang was renamed by Clifford, appearing as the 'castle called Pendragon in the Vale of Mallerstang' in his IPM of 1315 (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1307-16*, 301). Here, a square twelfth-century donjon, occupying a ringwork, was modified *c*.1300 but subject to more extensive later work including the addition of a walled enclosure (RCHME 1936, 162-3; Wood 1993, 20); having renamed it, Clifford is the most likely candidate for the minor works of *c*.1300. He died at Bannockburn in 1314.

Fig. 111: Plans of the castles at Brough and Brougham, Westmorland (modified from Summerson 2023)

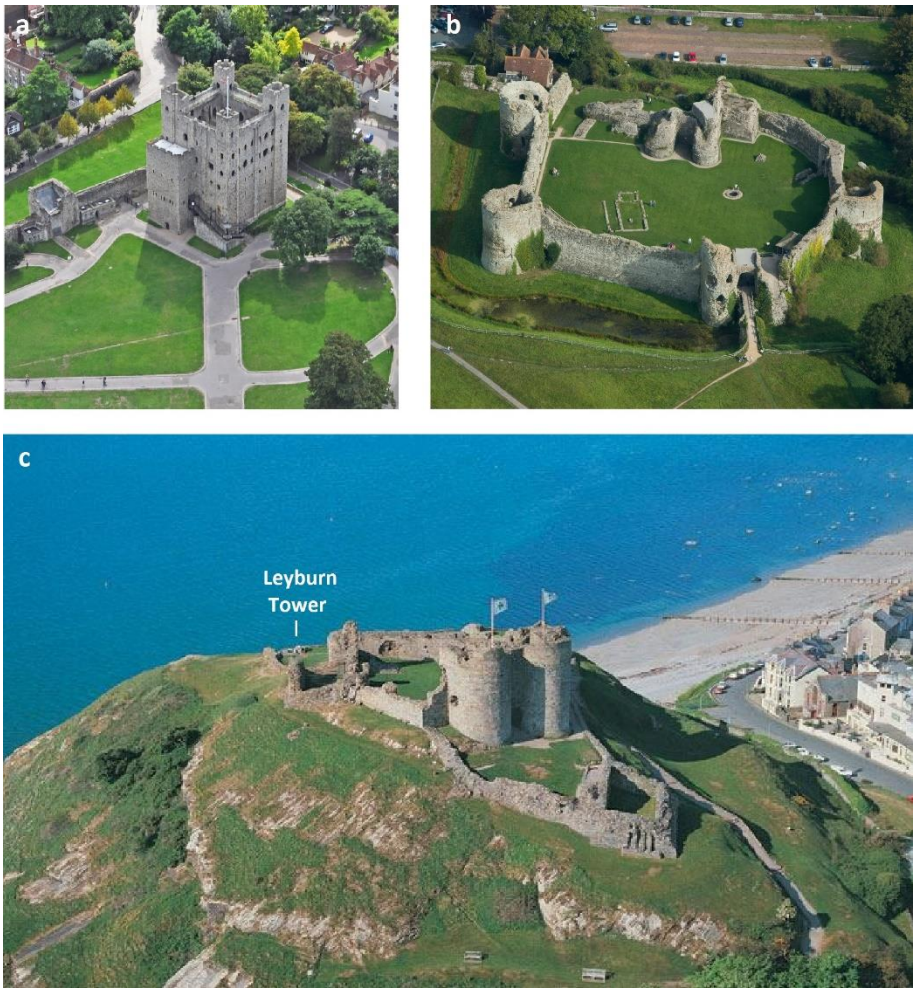


6.3 The Leybournes as constables

Roger II de Leybourne had been appointed constable of Rochester Castle at some point prior to the siege of April 1264 (see above), and was still in office in November 1269, just prior to his departure for Gascony (*Cal. Close Rolls 1268-72*, 160). He was frequently resident there during the pacification of the south-east, 1266-67 (see above). Work at Rochester during his custody seems to have been limited. The castle suffered less damage in 1264 than it had during the siege of 1215, but the gatehouse needed repair in 1265 (Ashbee 2012, 34) – which Roger will have been responsible for overseeing. Nevertheless the domestic buildings in the bailey, which had been burnt down, were not rebuilt and, unusually, the donjon became the main residential building (ibid., 34-5; Fig. 112). It is however possible that the constable's lodgings lay elsewhere, the donjon being reserved for the king should he visit.

Roger was also appointed constable of Nottingham Castle in December 1266, a post which he held until September 1268 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1266-72*, 20, 133, 259). Given the demands he faced elsewhere, the post was probably a sinecure from which he took the issues and appointed a deputy in his place; it is doubtful he visited the castle for any length of time. The same will apply to the custody of Carlisle Castle, granted in 1265, though it was observed in Section 5.4 that the appointment may well refer to Roger III rather than his father.

Fig. 112: The castles at a) Rochester, Kent; b) Pevensey, Sussex; and c) Criccieth, Caerns.



Like his father, William de Leybourne also received custody of a number of castles. He was constable of Edward I's Criccieth Castle in north Wales 1284-94 (see Section 5.5), coinciding with a major campaign of building there. His tenure was interrupted by service with the King in Gascony, in 1286 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1281-92*, 238; *Cal. Charter Rolls 1427-1516*, 292), but otherwise he may have been largely resident at Criccieth while this work progressed. The extent of Edwardian building at the castle continues to be debated (see Hislop 2020, 26-31), but it is indisputable that the rectangular southeast tower that bears his name – called the 'Leyburn Tower' in an account from 1310-11 (Johns 1970, 33; Fig. 112) – belongs to the period 1285-92 (ibid.; Hislop 2020, 27). Its shape may have been dictated by an underlying tower of Welsh build.

More-or-less straight after his term at Criccieth had finished, William was granted custody of King Edward's castle at Pevensey, Sussex, in June 1294 (*Cal. Fine Rolls 1272-1307*, 339; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301*, 71). This office may, in reality, have been held as something of a sinecure, as William held a number of other crown positions which rule out a sustained personal presence (see Section 5.5). The sources suggest moreover that his tenure coincided with a lull in building activity at the castle: it was extensively repaired 1288-91, while the next major works began in 1302 (Porter 2020, 33), dates that accord well with the architectural detail (Fig. 112). In 1300, William acquired a further sinecure – custody of Montgomery Castle – which he still held when he died in 1309-10 (*Cal. Fine Rolls 1307-19*, 240; *Cal. Inq. Misc. 2*, 95-6; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1307-13*, 215; Knight 1993, 114). This coincides with a period of neglect at the castle, the new constable Hugh d'Audley reporting in 1310 that the fabric was in a lamentable state of repair (Knight 1993, 114), which seems to confirm that William was largely absentee.

6.4 Other building

Roger II de Leybourne founded the *bastide* at Libourne (Gironde), after his appointment as governor of Gascony in November 1269, and before his arrival back in England in mid-June 1270 (see Section 5.4). Taking travelling time into account, this would give him around four months in which to establish the site and its basic layout. Work on its defences, if it had commenced at all, will not have progressed far before his return: it was still in progress in 1281 (Bémont 1900, 125), and is not thought to have been complete until around 50 years later (www.libourne.fr). While it is possible that Roger played a part in its planning, the layout at Libourne conforms to a 'standard' *bastide* pattern in the region, while the work is very much in the Gascon regional style.

None of the Leybournes' other Kent manor-houses now shows physical evidence for any form of fortification, nor masonry from the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. At Preston, the present manor-house is early nineteenth century, but is associated with the remains of medieval fish-ponds (Listed building website, LB No. 1031918). Langley is eighteenth-century (LB No. 1344294), while the earliest fabric at Gore Manor is from *c*.1400 (LB No. 1069318). Of their other houses, most of which were held by tenants by the mid-fourteenth century, Harrietsham Manor is now early fifteenth-century (LB No. 1086156), while Eastling and Bicknor Court show sixteenth-century fabric (LB Nos. 105489 and 1086227). None retain any associated landscape features. Both Goodnestone Mansion and Wateringbury Place were

entirely rebuilt *c*.1700 (LB Nos. 1000260 and 1116485),[54] while Elmstone Court is early eighteenth-century (LB No. 1070156). Nothing remains of the manor-houses at Ashford, East Stour, Elham, Mere, Overland, Packmanstone and Ridley. So it cannot be entirely ruled out that that the gift of 4000 freestones in 1266, discussed above, went to another manor.

Of the family's manors elsewhere in Britain, Berwick in Shropshire, granted by William to Simon de Leybourne during the 1280s (see Section 5.5), lay within a large deer park, but was replaced by a major country house in 1731 (LB No. 1055164). In 1331, Simon's son John inherited from John le Strange, through marriage, the Shropshire manor of Cheswardine which included 'a ruined castle' (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1327-36*, 205); by 1333, however, the manor had returned to the le Strange family (Eyton 1860, 34). It features a medieval moated site, as yet undated, while the remains of other earthworks – now gone – possibly represented this 'ruined castle' (Watson 1987, 4).

The Leybournes were benefactors to a number of religious houses, and direct patrons of the Augustinian priory at Leeds, Kent, between 1265 and 1268 (Flight 2010, 5), in which they retained a close interest (see eg. *Cal. Charter Rolls 1257*-1300, 299). It remains possible therefore that the freestone grant of 1266 was intended for works at the priory; unfortunately, nothing remains above ground and although loose ashlar was recovered from excavations in 1846 and 1973 (Midmer 1979, 192), unworked masonry like this cannot be dated. Little is known about the Leybournes as patrons of monastic building works, in general, and their benefactions normally took the form of land and other endowments. For instance, either Roger I or Roger II de Leybourne granted 112 acres of land to the Benedictine nunnery at West Malling, Kent (*Cal. Charter Rolls 1341-1417*, 62). Roger I's wife Eleanor had apparently requested to be buried at Leeds Priory (Larking 1863, 156 and n. 45), implying a donation, and it is very possible that other family members chose the priory as their final resting place. Roger II gave some land to the Cluniac abbey at Bermondsey (now London), and a small endowment towards the Augustinian priory at Combwell, Kent, which was a foundation of his mother's family, the Thurnhams (Hunt 1893, 211; Midmer 1979, 118).

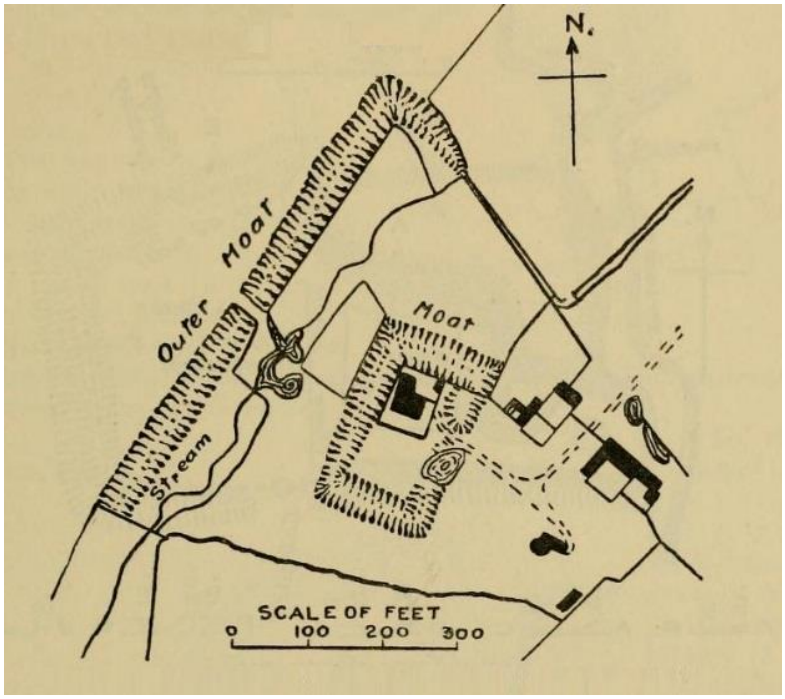
Leybourne parish church was also under their direct patronage, and remained an advowson of the lords of Leybourne (Larking 1868, 330; Grose 1785, 65; Hasted 1798a, 504) – and, consequently, of St Mary Graces 1399-1538 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1399-1401*, 326; Page 1909, 463). It comprises a twelfth-century nave, to which a north aisle and conjoined chapel were added during the later Middle Ages (Listed Building website, LB No. 1100628). Original detail in the chancel is restricted to one impost with an annuletted circular capital and base, which may be early/mid-thirteenth-century, while the south door surround has a ¾-round moulding and may be early/mid-fourteenth-century (*temp*. Juliana II de Leybourne?). The north aisle arcade appears to be late fourteenth-century, with octagonal piers (*tem*p. St Mary Graces?); a south transept, possibly contemporary, has gone. The medieval tower was encased with new facework in the 1870s (Fielding 1893, 130). The church is notable for a twin-light recess in the north aisle, broadly dateable to *c*.1270-1300 (Fig. 113). No longer in its original location, it is thought to have been a shrine: when opened in the mid-nineteenth century it was found to contain a human heart, which has been suggested – on no strong evidence – to have belonged

[54] Although the early manorial centre at Goodnestone may be represented by a moated site, Bayford Court (Sands 1907, 179-80).

to Roger II de Leybourne (see Larking 1863 and 1868). At any rate, the establishment of an obituary chantry in the church, under Roger de Leybourne II, is confirmed in sources from the 1270s (Thorpe 1769, 474), and his son William retained the advowson when the manor was granted to Thomas and Alice (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1307-1313*, 34), possibly reflecting a continuing interest in its patronage. It is worth noting that no ashlar facework is apparent in the present fabric.

Fig. 113: Two views of the 'heart shrine' in Leybourne parish church

Fig. 114: Plan of Coldbridge Castle, Kent (from Gould 1908, 429)



6.5 The Leybournes' *familiares*

While many of the Leybournes' Kentish tenants during the fourteenth century can be identified in the sources, few of their close *mesne* followers are known. We have however seen that the Peyforers were intimately associated with the family, in a number of roles, from the mid-thirteenth century onwards. In 1297, Fulk Peyforer was granted the manor at Coldbridge, by William and Juliana I de Leybourne, for Juliana's lifetime (*Cat. Anc. Deeds 3*, 160). Peyforer appears to have been responsible for the moated site there, comprising a small, rectangular courtyard lying within a much larger, trapezoid enclosure, both with ditches (Gould 1908, 429; Sands 1907, 182). Work at Coldbridge was licenced in 1314 (Sands 1907, 182), but may have already commenced: Peyforer had borrowed the considerable sum of £1000 from William de Leybourne in 1306 (see Section 5.5), but had died by 1317 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1313-17*, 675), when the manor reverted to the lordship in the person of Juliana I. In 1388, it formed part of the group of manors that went to St Stephen's Westminster (see Section 5.8). In plan, the site has been likened to Cooling Castle, Kent (King 1983, 229), although this is much later, from the 1380s, and not closely comparable; the regular, rectangular inner courtyard is, in fact, very like that at Leybourne Castle (Fig. 114) – and probably closely contemporary.

7.0 LEYBOURNE CASTLE GATEHOUSE: WHO, WHEN AND WHY?

In order to answer the question of who built the gatehouse, when, and why, we need to look at Leybourne Castle in the context of the affinities and associations of its lords – and ladies – alongside its architectural features and the purposes for which it might have been intended.

We have seen that the stylistic evidence and its affinities indicate a date between c.1300 and the 1320s, with three possible candidates – William de Leybourne, Thomas de Leybourne and his wife Alice, or Alice alone – but with attributes more characteristic of the latter part of that date-range. This has been discussed by the author in a previous paper (Ludlow 2022, 233-41), but can be refined in the light of further research for this report. So here we will look at the structural evidence more closely, and assess it alongside what we know of the Leybournes' tenure. It is worth emphasising once again that we have no real idea of any of the Leybournes' revenues, nor a valuation of the lordship itself. However, there are one or two clues regarding their individual spending power, which are discussed below.

7.1 Form and function

Although incomplete, enough survives of Leybourne Castle's gatehouse to make some suggestions regarding its planning arrangements and internal disposition. It seems that the gatehouse was divided into three spaces at both levels, the passage side walls continuing into the first floor. At this level, the western half may have been one long room taking in the west tower; the central chamber may also have been undivided, and was floored at a slightly higher level. We will however see that the eastern half may have been divided into two spaces, with a separate room south of the east tower. But with evidence for only two storeys, it is clear that it was not a 'keep-gatehouse' of the so-called Tonbridge type (see eg. Ludlow 2022): it is on a relatively modest scale, while the passage defences appear to have been rather slight.

Nonetheless, its scale and appointments show that it was primarily residential, and intended for occupants of some status: there seems to have been an extensive rear section, and a suite of first-floor apartments served by at least one latrine; there is also a well of possible medieval date in the west tower. It may also have seen administrative use: the west tower first-floor space may have been spacious enough for a hall in which courts could have been held. We have seen that Leybourne Castle was the administrative *caput* for the lordship through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, despite being detached from it *c*.1300-1324, requiring appropriate accommodation for its officers. Whether a middling baronial family will have retained a formal constable is open to question; it may also be asked whether Leybourne was sufficiently 'military' in its identity to warrant such a post. So it may be that the gatehouse was instead built to accommodate the steward of the lordship, and perhaps his courts. Nevertheless, there is evidence that another chamber lay at the end of the Great Hall, in the Southwest Building (see Section 4.4.3), suggesting two high-ranking officers may have been resident at the castle.

It is unlikely that the gatehouse was used by the Leybournes themselves. Their residential needs appear to have been served by the large, storeyed building to the south, which I suggest was a chamber-block. An alternative function, as the castle chapel, has been suggested (see

eg. Mackenzie 1896, 29), and indeed the building is correctly oriented (and moreover is skewed from the gatehouse axis to lie more closely east-west), it is entered from the west, and it is not closely integrated with the Great Hall; in contrast, the suggested chapel in the Southeast Tower occupies space normally reserved for a private chamber, being closely integrated with the Great Hall, while being flanked by two turrets, one of which might conceivably have housed a latrine (see Section 4.4; Figs. 2 and 84).

Nevertheless, the building shows a number of attributes which may be more appropriate for residential use. It had a tall, storeyed porch, while a stair-turret was located midway along its south wall – rather than at the west end – as in a number of domestic buildings elsewhere (see next). No liturgical east window is shown in historic prints, in which the medieval fenestration appears to have survived: instead an asymmetric arrangement of windows, at different heights, is shown at first-floor level, none of them central (Fig. 11). All appear domestic in character. Finally, the building was retained right through into the eighteenth century, when other buildings were not, suggesting continued residential use. However, it is acknowledged that its interpretation as a chamber-block is open to question.

The building is moreover difficult to date from the limited evidence. The possibility that it might be early, from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, cannot be dismissed. Rectangular, crenellated and storeyed hall/chamber-blocks are known at, for example, Monmouth Castle (early-mid twelfth century: Taylor 1951, 14-17), Grosmont Castle, also Mon. (1201-5: Knight 2009, 18-19) and Manorbier Castle, Pembs. (mid-twelfth century: King and Perks 1970, 96-101, 114). However, the long axis of all these buildings lies parallel with the castle defences; at Leybourne, by contrast, the chamber-block lies at right-angles to the earthwork bank – an unusual configuration during this period, and only closely paralleled at Berkhamstead Castle, Herts. (1150s-70s: Renn 1973, 108-9; Green in prep.). So the Leybourne block may have been later, and perhaps more closely comparable with the transverse, storeyed solar block at the high end of the hall at Aydon Castle, Northumberland. from 1295-1315 (Summerson 2004, 4), and the storeyed Great Chamber Block that was added to the high end of the hall at Ludlow Castle, Shrops., during the 1320s (Thompson 2006, 167-74; Fig. 115). An earlier hall at Brougham Castle was repurposed as a similar large chamber-block by Robert de Clifford, *c*.1300-10 (Summerson 2023, 34, 46; Figs. 111 and 116a). More locally, a similar chamber-block was added to the hall at Penshurst Place, Kent, in 1338-41 (Emery 2006, 386, 389; Fig. 116b). All four of these blocks were crenellated as at Leybourne, while Penshurst similarly features a projecting stair turret, albeit in an internal corner; a closer parallel for a semicircular stair turret midway along the wall face may again be furnished by Brougham Castle, in the shape of Robert de Clifford's rectangular 'Tower of League', also *c*.1300-10 (Fig. 117a).[55] An illustration of 1785 shows windows of convincingly early fourteenth-century character at Leybourne (Fig. 11), but they may of course have been secondary insertions. However, nineteenth-century photos appear to show two vertical strips of toothing, midway along the building's north wall and at its northwest corner, which correspond to the gatehouse east tower side walls and suggest the two were contemporary (Fig. 17-18, 20).

[55] And *cf*. a similar disposition at Markenfield Hall, Yorks., licenced in 1310 (Goodall 2011a, 235).

Fig. 115: The early fourteenth-century chamber-blocks at a) Aydon Castle, Northumberland, and b) Ludlow Castle, Shrops.

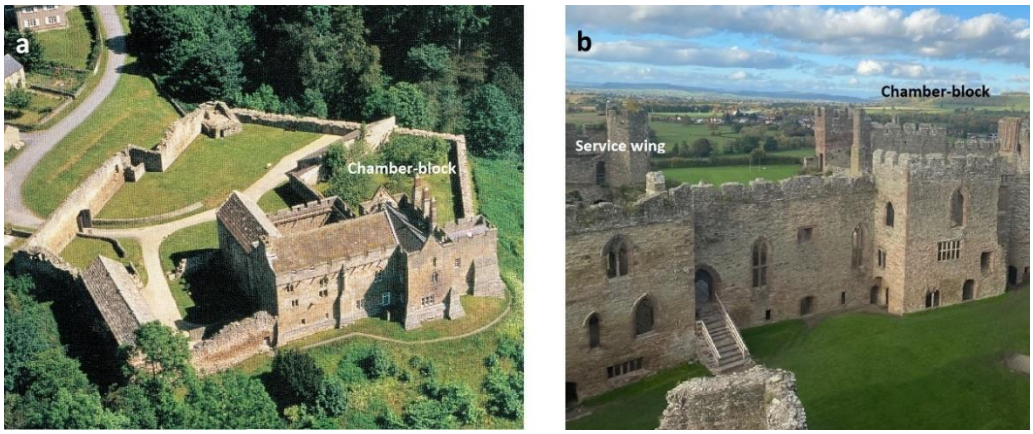


Fig. 116: Reconstruction drawings of the early fourteenth-century chamber-blocks at a) Brougham Castle, Westmorland (from Summerson 2023, 34), and b) Penshurst Place, Kent (from Emery 2006, 389)

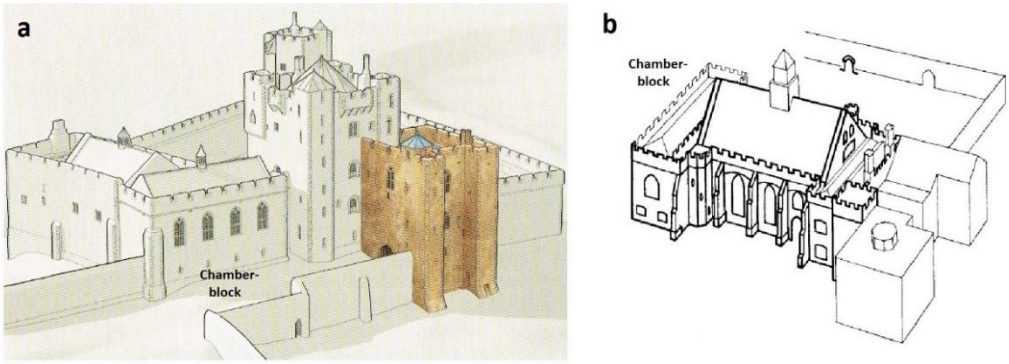
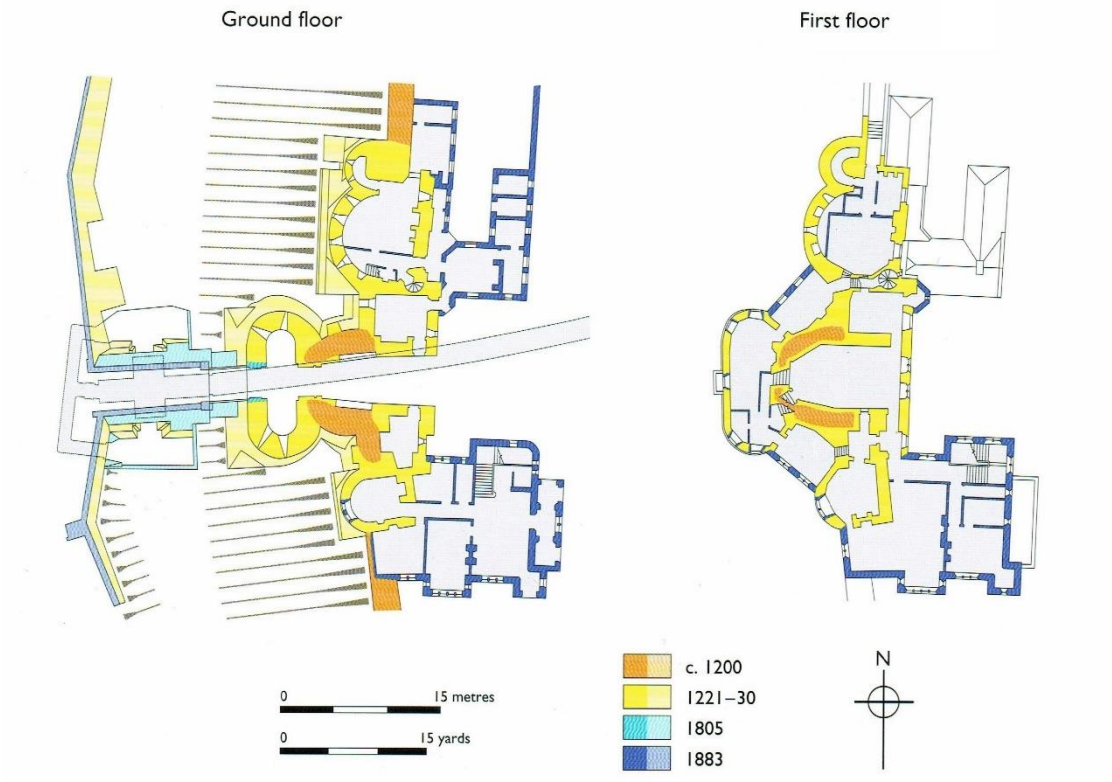


Fig. 117: Semicircular stair turrets at a) Brougham Castle, Tower of League; b) Leybourne Castle chamber-block (in 1737)

The tall, two-storeyed porch would also indicate a later rather than earlier date. While storeyed porches like this are more usually associated with halls, the tall Great Hall porch at Chepstow Castle (Mon.), from the 1280s, also connects with the private chamber (Turner and Johnson 2006, 137-41). From much later, *c*.1480, an elaborate porch at Warkworth Castle, Northumberland, served the Great Chamber (Goodall 2015, 11). But while the Leybourne porch might possibly be a later addition, it is integrated with the gatehouse, while appearing to be of one construction with the chamber-block in a mid-nineteenth century photo (see above and Fig. 20).

The chamber-blocks at Ludlow and Penshurst – as in most arrangements of this kind – are attached to the Great Hall (Fig. 115). At Leybourne, however, the block does not articulate directly with the suggested hall. And, like the other domestic buildings, it follows a different alignment from the gatehouse (Figs. 2 and 84). But neither factor necessarily implies separate building campaigns – it would after all have been a simple matter to build the gatehouse on the same alignment, at any period, and it may be that it was skewed to the northeast to face the main line of approach. In addition, the domestic buildings may just have followed the footprints of earlier buildings. The separation of hall and chamber may meanwhile have been deliberate, and the suggested passage between them part of their design, *cf*. the two-storeyed passage, from the late 1330s, leading from the porch of the Bishop's Hall at St Davids, Pembs. (Turner 2000, 108-14).

Fig. 118: Plans of the Constable's Gate at Dover Castle, Kent (from Coad 2007, 29)



An early fourteenth-century date would suggest the chamber-block was contemporary with the gatehouse – perhaps furnishing further evidence that the masonry castle, as we see it, was the product of a single sustained campaign. We saw in Sections 4.2 and 4.4 that the perimeter walling and Southwest Building appear to be contemporary with the gatehouse, while the Southeast Tower was probably part of the same programme: its fenestration and arrangement of putlog-holes are very similar to those in the gatehouse, while it may have featured a similar flanking turret (Section 4.4.1). If the latter is true, it is possible that work on the Southeast Tower began before the gatehouse, so that its turret served as a model. To my certain knowledge, longitudinal D-shaped flanking turrets like this are only otherwise seen at Dover Castle, in the north tower of the Constable's Gate, built 1221-30 (Brindle 2015, 26; Coad 2007, 29; Fig. 118), but geographically close enough to be a potential influence. But there are also similarities with the eastern arms of the greater Romanesque churches, with their apsidal presbyteries flanked by similar chapels. So, if the identification of the Southeast Tower as the chapel is correct, these eastern arms furnish an alternative template; while many had been rebuilt by the later thirteenth century, numerous examples still survived. Was the turret an annexe to the chapel - a sacristy perhaps, or a chaplain's lodging? The ground floor appears to have been unlit, and may have been used for storage.

The suggested Great Hall is not be contiguous with the chamber-block, but may have shown an integrated, storeyed service-block at its west end, which survives as the Southwest Building (see Section 4.4). Its planning would indicate a date in the late thirteenth century at the earliest, and would again suggest a single overall scheme of design. Early examples of such integrated service wings, with overlying chambers, can be seen at Ludlow Castle, at the opposite end of the hall from the later Great Chamber Block, and at Chepstow Castle, where they are both from the 1280s-90s (Turner and Johnson 2006, 136-7; Morris 2006, 166; Fig. 115b). And although something like this layout may have been pioneered locally, in Henry III's palace at Gillingham, by the 1260s (Wood 1983, 71-2), most Kentish examples are fourteenth century (Emery 2006, 297-437).

7.2 The gatehouse: affinities

Collectively, therefore, the evidence suggests a major building campaign during the early fourteenth century. So we will look at some of the attributes and detail employed in the gatehouse, and their affinities, in an attempt to refine its dating and to perhaps identify its patron.

7.2.1 The entrance arches (Figs. 44 and 55)

The entry to the Leybourne gatehouse shows the distinctive, high outer arch that seems to have originated in Wales, where it had begun to become a feature of gatehouse design during the 1290s (Ludlow 2022, 210-14). Originally intended to increase upper-floor space, its usefulness as a machicolation and/or portcullis slot, along with its sheer visual power, meant that it soon became popular in itself and parapet-level arches, as at Leybourne, were being employed at Beaumaris Castle (Anglesey) and Chirk Castle (Denbighs.) by the late 1290s (Hislop 2020, 151-64; Fig. 119a). The similar arch at Neath Castle, Glam. (Fig. 119b photo), was probably built by Hugh Despenser 1321-24, though is perhaps a little earlier and by

Gilbert III de Clare *c*.1307-14 (RCAHM(W) 2000, 235-6; Priestley and Turner 2003, 38).[56] The façade at Neath is, in other respects, not unlike Leybourne and the arch similarly overlies a window opening, although here it is plain rather than chamfered.

Fig. 119: The gatehouses at a) Chirk Castle, Denbighs., and b) Neath Castle, Glam.

The outer arch at Leybourne is combined with another highly distinctive feature: the entrance arch itself is very deeply recessed, lying some 7 metres back from the fronts of the flanking towers (as noted in Hislop 2020, 57, with a narrow gap between the towers. Both of these attributes are notable features of Edward I's gatehouses from 1277-95, occurring at Rhuddlan, Harlech and Beaumaris, as well as at Tonbridge (Fig. 120); both are developed still further at Leybourne. Nevertheless the outer arch lies high above first-floor level, while no third storey is apparent: the arch was therefore not associated with any increase of upper-floor space and appears to have been solely associated with the portcullis. The possibility remains however that the arrangement related in some way with the tall first-floor opening over the entry.

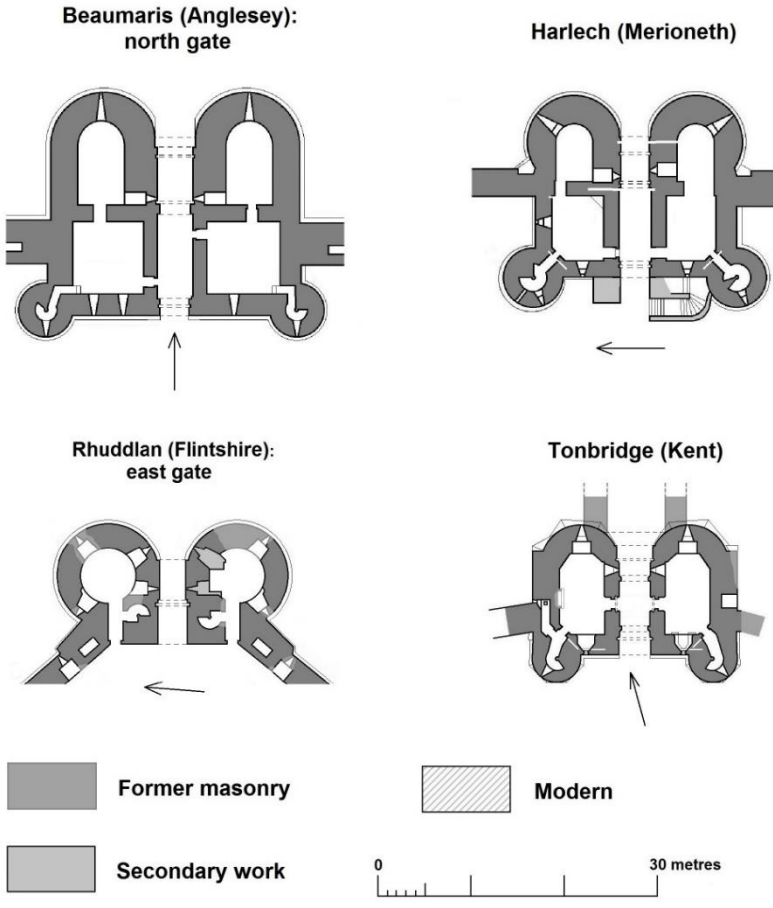
7.2.2 The portcullis (Figs. 49, 53 and 58)

The portcullis would have been fully-visible when raised, as in the gateways at Tonbridge and Chirk where it was similarly associated with display. The portcullis grooves at Leybourne are an unusual shape, forming near-¾ circles, with rounded chamfers at the margins – the kind of detailing that is characteristic of developed Decorated architecture (and of the Welsh borderlands). The overall form of the grooves however appears to be unique in the British Isles, the closest comparison perhaps being in the outer gate at Corfe, from 1285+ (Brown *et al*. 1963, 621), where however the grooves are larger and occupy rebated corners (Fig. 58).

[56] Despenser also seized nearby Tonbridge Castle in 1315, but his tenure was short and it was restored to the Clare inheritance in 1317 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1313-17*, 306-7; Ward 1962, 26).

As at Chirk, the Leybourne grooves lie almost immediately behind the outer arch, leaving very little room in the slot for additional use as a machicolation (*contra* Clark 1884, 189; Grose 1785, 65; *et al*.). Also like Chirk, there is no evidence for a third storey and the outer arch at both appears always to have sat just beneath parapet level;[57] the portcullis at both was probably side-operated from the first floor, as it perhaps was at Tonbridge.

Fig. 120: Ground-floor plans of Edwardian gatehouses, and at Tonbridge, showing deeply-recessed entries



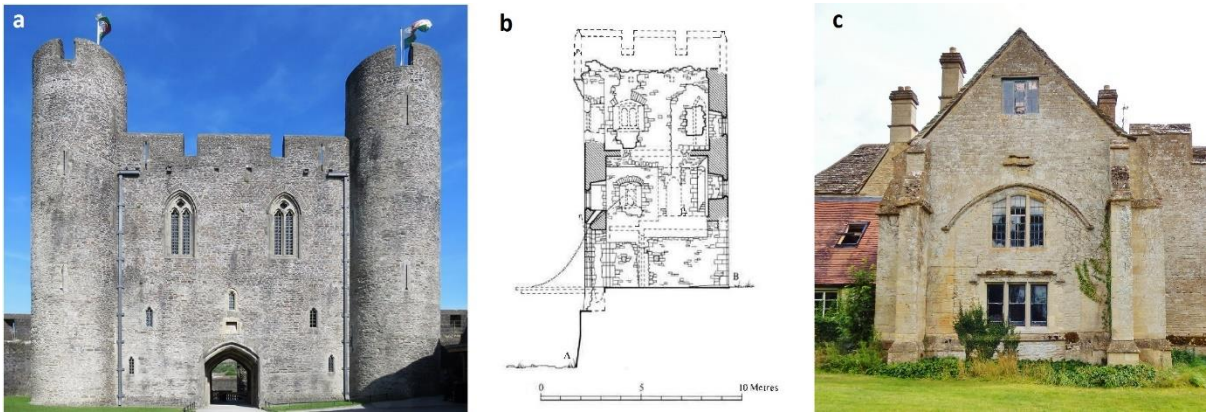
7.2.3 The 'letterbox' chute (Figs. 44, 55a and 59)

The 'letterbox' chute makes an early appearance in St John's Tower at royal Dover Castle, built 1217-21 (Goodall 2011a, 204), but it is best known for its use by Gilbert de Clare at Caerphilly Castle, Glam., during the 1270s. Here, chutes like this overlie the rear face of the inner east gate, and the entries into the two western corner-towers (Renn 1981, 98; Turner 2016, 49; Fig. 121a). A similar chute in the Clare-influenced gatehouse at Llansteffan Castle, Carms., lies in front of the entrance arch, as at Leybourne, and can probably be dated to the 1280s (Humphries 1996, 3; Ludlow 2024, 88). There is however no letterbox opening in the Clares' gatehouse at nearby Tonbridge. The horizontal opening over the entry at Aymer de

[57] As it does at Neath and Beaumaris, but only as a machicolation.

Valence's Bampton Castle (Oxon.), from 1315-24, can best be interpreted as a further letterbox chute (Impey 2022, 267-70; Fig. 121c) while something similar overlies the entry in the fifteenth-century northeast gatehouse at Coity Castle, Glam. (RCAHM(W) 1991, 248-50; Fig. 121b). The so-called 'spy-holes' over the entries in a number of late-medieval Irish tower-houses may have fulfilled a similar function.

Fig. 121: 'Letterbox' chutes and related features at a) Caerphilly Castle, Glam.; b) Coity Castle, Glam. (section drawing from RCAHM(W) 1991, 248); c) Bampton Castle, Oxon.



The longevity – and selective use – of these openings is doubtless related to their function, and their identity as a patron's requirement rather than a mason's motif. Clearly not for observation – they are normally associated with windows – their use in a rear wall and corner towers at Caerphilly may confirm Renn's suggestion that they were also not defensive, as water-chutes or their kin, but were instead an early form of voice-pipe (Renn 2018, 218):[58] they may possibly be comparable with the deep slots in the west front arches at Lincoln Cathedral, which conveyed the sound of the choristers, in the overlying galleries, to the supplicants outside (Taylor 2010, 151, 155-7). Renn regarded them, in addition, to be 'marks of status' (Renn 2018, 221); like loop embellishment, however, they may instead (or additionally) have been marks of affinity.

The chute at Leybourne originates within the tall window F5 over the entry (Figs. 44-45, 49, 53, 55 and 60), which is post-medieval in its present form but must therefore have origins as a medieval opening of some kind. While large windows co-exist with chutes at both Coity and Bampton, any such window at Leybourne would have been entirely blocked by the portcullis when raised, so the form of the opening can only be guessed; it may have been associated with portcullis operation.

7.2.4 Loops (Figs. 44, 49, 52-53, 56-57, 66-68, 80-82, 122)

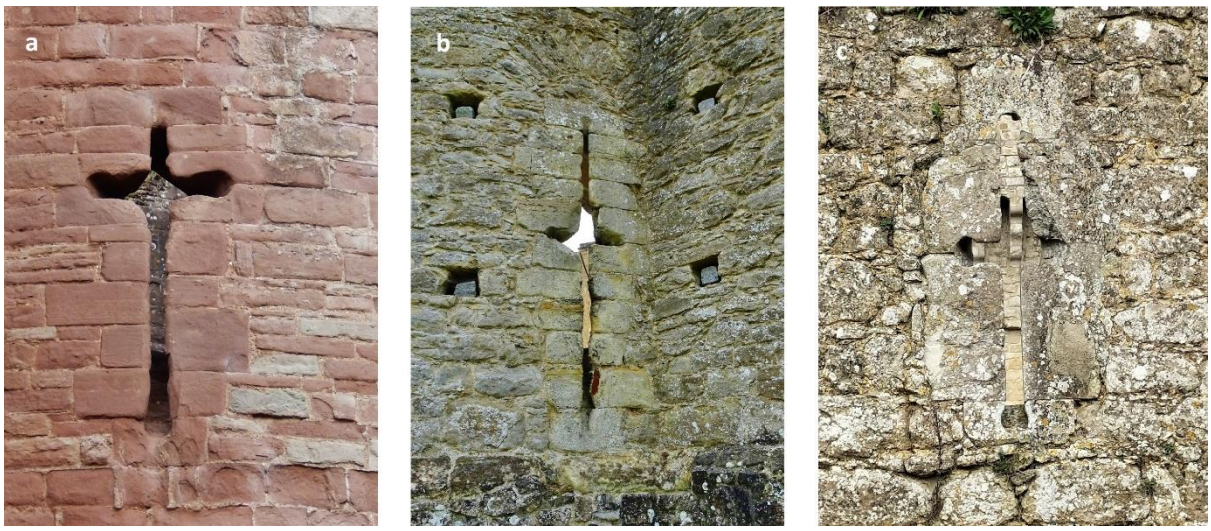
We have seen that the loops, though subject to a great deal of alteration, appear always to have been cruciform and fully-oilletted. The execution is rather crude, and the oillets are somewhat small, but all four oillets in passage loops G5 and G6, and western loop G1, are

[58] The doors in the Caerphilly gatehouse are set well back from the chute outlet, ruling out its use for quenching fire.

convincingly original (Figs. 56-7, 66), while the same may be true of most of the basal oillets, and some upper ones. Moreover, the Kip engraving of 1719 shows a fully-oilletted loop in the western gate-tower (Fig. 6), a decade or two ahead of their adoption by the Gothic revivalists eg. at Blaise Castle, Bristol, from 1766 (Listed Building website, LB No. 1208115). In 1719, moreover, the rest of the loops are shown as blocked, perhaps confirming that they were not being treated as ornamental features.

The fully-oilletted cross-loop appears to have developed during the 1270s-80s in the Welsh borderlands where, by *c*.1290, the Clare lords of Glamorgan had adopted it as something of a personal motif (see Ludlow 2022, 204). At Leybourne, as elsewhere, the oillets are superficial and not functional: they do not run through to the interior (Fig. 122). Such decidedly non-military treatment of loops and slits, in which defensive capability was subordinated to ornamentation, was a favoured means of displaying peer affinities (Goepp and Mesqui 2023, 255-78), and loops of this form were also adopted by the Clares' contemporaries: a cruciform loop in the Southwest Tower at William de Valence's Goodrich Castle, from the 1280s-90s, is now very weathered but was clearly fully-oilletted as at Leybourne, and similarly rather crudely-cut (Fig. 122a). But they were highly unusual in the south-east during this period, and are absent from Clare work at Tonbridge Castle (see Ludlow 2022, 202; Renn 2001, 243-5); those employed by King Edward I at Leeds Castle, during the late 1290s (Fig. 122c; see Section 6.1), are a rare Kentish example.

Fig. 122: Fully-oilletted cross-loops at a) William de Valence's Goodrich Castle, Herefs. (top oillet weathered), 1280s-90s; b) at Leybourne Castle gatehouse; c) in Edward I's work at Leeds Castle, Kent, late 1290s



The loops at Leybourne have narrow-splayed embrasures, which are also a defining feature of William de Valence's work at Pembroke Castle, and of mid-thirteenth-century Pevensey Castle where William de Leybourne later served as constable, it is unlikely that their use at Leybourne denotes any affinities, and is instead almost certainly a product of their very close spacing in unusually thin walling.

7.2.5 The quadripartite passage vault (Figs. 45, 49, 55b, 60a and 61)

Leybourne also furnishes a very early example of a gate-passage with a quadripartite vault. Ten years ago, Neil Guy published an important paper pointing out that passages with this treatment are overwhelmingly from the mid-fourteenth century onwards (Guy 2014, 155-60). However, the gatehouse at Bampton Castle features a quadripartite vault that is almost certainly part of Aymer de Valence's work, from 1315-24 (Impey 2022, 267; Fig. 123a), ie. close in date with, and quite possibly influential at Leybourne, where the choice of rib-vaulting was very likely to have been linked with peer-group affinity as well as prestige.

The presence at this early date of such vaulted passages, neither of which appear to be secondary, may mean that the similar passage vault in Robert de Clifford's inner gatehouse at Brougham Castle – suggested by Guy to be an insertion of the later fourteenth century, and followed by the latest guidebook (Guy 2014, 160; Summerson 2023, 33-5) – may in fact be Robert's work from c.1300-10, particularly given other affinities between the three castles and the relationship between their patrons (Fig. 123b).

Fig. 123: The quadripartite passage vaults in a) the gatehouse at Bampton Castle, Oxon. (Aymer de Valence, 1315-24), and b) the inner gatehouse at Brougham Castle, Westmorland (possibly Robert de Clifford, c.1300-10)

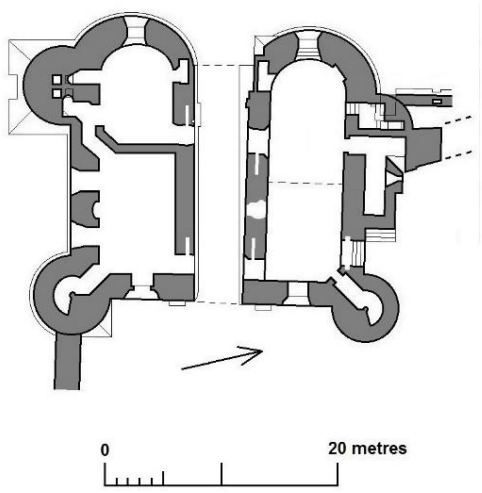
7.2.6 Latrine turret (Figs. 43, 44-45, 48, 51-52, 71-74)

We have seen that all published plans of Leybourne gatehouse – including the author's, made before a site visit was possible – have followed Sidney Toy's depiction of the west tower latrine turret as a semicircular lobe, projecting at right angles from the flank (see Section 4.2.2 and Fig. 46). The latrine turret in the gatehouse at Llangibby Castle, Mon., built by Gilbert III de Clare *c*.1307-14, is this shape (Goodall 2011a, 204-5; Priestley and Turner 2003, 27; Fig. 124), and may consciously or otherwise have been an influence on Toy.[59] We saw above that

[59] The comparison between Leybourne and the latrines at Barnwell Castle, from the 1260s-70s, which form a component of unusual triple corner towers, is predicated on the same error (see eg. Goodall 2011a, 205).

the Southeast Tower possibly featured a turret of similar shape, and while the Constable's Gate at Dover – and possibly even ecclesiastical eastern arms – were possibly direct local models at Leybourne, the turret at Dover contains a helical stair rather than a latrine (Fig. 118); influence from Llangibby on function at Leybourne, if not precise form, therefore remains plausible.

Fig. 124: Plan of the gatehouse at Llangibby Castle, Mon., showing the latrine turret (c.1307-14)



7.3 Patterns of influence

It will be clear from the above that many of the Leybourne gatehouse's attributes are shared with castles in the southeast Wales and the border, where a distinct tradition developed during the last quarter of the thirteenth century (discussed in Ludlow 2024, 80-88). It is primarily characterised by openings showing triangular or near-triangular heads, and surrounds with deep, broad chamfers that can be double – or multiple – with intervening rebates (Fig. 125). Surrounds and jambs can also show quarter-round chamfers that are equally robust. And we have seen that both the high outer arch and the fully-oilletted cross-loop emerged from the region during the 1290s.

7.3.1 Marches influence

Among the leading patrons of this 'Marches' style were Gilbert de Clare, in his Glamorganshire castles, and both William de Valence and his son Aymer, most notably in their castle at Goodrich. They also promoted the style elsewhere – Gilbert adopted it in his gatehouse at Tonbridge, in the 1290s (Ludlow 2022, 200-10), while Aymer de Valence employed it at Bothwell Castle, Lanarkshire in Scotland, *c*.1301-10 (Ludlow 2018, 254-67). Certain Marches attributes can also be seen at Aymer's Bampton Castle, Oxon. (Ludlow 2024, 103-4). Aymer's close associate Robert de Clifford built in the Marches manner in his castle at Hawarden (Flints.), and employed significant elements of the style at Brougham Castle, Westmorland, *c*.1296-1314 (Ludlow 2018, 262, 265-6). Through such promotion, and patterns of peer affinity and emulation, the Marches style was to prove highly influential during the first two decades of the fourteenth century.

Fig. 125: Characteristic features of the Marches tradition seen at a) the entry to Marten's Tower, Chepstow, c.1290; b) the service end of the Great Hall at Goodrich, c.1280s; c) the main gateway at Goodrich (c.1280s); d) the inner west gate entrance arch at Caerphilly, 1270s

So there are a number of channels through which Marches influence might have reached Leybourne Castle. The Leybourne family were borderlands lords in their own right, holding the manor of Berwick in Shropshire (see Section 5.0). We have also seen that their long-standing association with William de Valence, which began under Roger II and persisted under William de Leybourne (*Cal. Close Rolls 1288-96*, 152; *Cal. Docs. Ireland 1285-92*, 304), continued under Valence's son Aymer. And Roger II campaigned with Marcher lords during the 1260s, particularly the Cliffords with whom he built a close association that continued under his son Roger III de Leybourne and daughter-in law Idonea (see Section 6.2). In addition to these connections, the Clares will have always exerted a strong influence over west Kent from their power-base at Tonbridge, while their antipathy towards the Leybournes appears to have diminished after Roger II's death in 1271.

Evidence for direct Clare influence at Leybourne Castle is however limited: while the portcullis arrangements are similar to those at Tonbridge, they are also seen at Marches Chirk. But despite their differing form, an association between Leybourne's latrine turret and that at Clare Llangibby cannot, perhaps, be entirely ruled out. Nevertheless, the loops at Leybourne may be a further indication of Valence associations rather than direct Clare influence, while their use at nearby Leeds Castle may also be significant. And other Marches attributes, for instance the double-chamfered, rebated window surrounds and the high outer arch, may like the passage vault and letterbox chute have been influenced by Valence work. It is also possible that some of this overall Marches influence came via the Cliffords, as we will see below.

7.3.2 Personal experience

Personal experience must, however, also be considered. William de Leybourne was more-or-less resident as constable of Criccieth Castle during major works there (see Section 6.3), and subsequently had custody of Pevensey and Montgomery castles, where his presence – if he visited at all – was more episodic (see Fig. 112). With the possible exception of the embrasures at Pevensey, however, none of these castles shows work with any close affinities to Leybourne, although William's presence in Wales will have doubtless given him the opportunity to witness building at a number of Marcher castles.

William was however largely absent from Leybourne during the crucial years either side of 1300. In August 1297, he headed north for service in the Scots war of independence (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301*, 307). He returned to Scotland in 1299 (ibid., 409), and was present at the siege of Caerlaverock Castle in July 1300 (Wright 1864, 19 and ns. 2-3). He was now aged around 60, but was again in Scotland in 1303 with Prince Edward's army, remaining there throughout 1304 (*Cal. Chancery Rolls*, 73, 85; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1301-1307*, 266), and was in Carlisle for the Parliament of January-March 1307 (*Rot. Parl*. 1, 188).

This in itself would be no barrier to construction at Leybourne, while it is likely that William was with King Edward I when he visited Brougham Castle, on his way to Caerlaverock in July 1300 (see *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301*, 551-2), to witness Robert de Clifford's building works there. And given his status, it would not be unusual if he wished to embellish his administrative *caput*. Nevertheless, we have seen strong indications that William was, at best, somewhat cash-strapped. And by this time he appears to have already demised Leybourne – a castle for which he seems never to have shown any great interest – to his son and daughter-in-law, along with the lordship's administration (see Section 5.6). On his return from Scotland, he appears to have settled at his manor of Preston in Kent.

Preston was also the favoured Kentish residence of his granddaughter Juliana II de Leybourne *c*.1318-1367 (Section 5.7). We saw that the manor and castle of Leybourne was tenurially reunited with the lordship in 1324, having remained as its administrative centre under Alice de Leybourne, and retained that status under Juliana (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1352-61*, 129). And Juliana must at least have maintained the castle, as it appears to have been fit for habitation when Simon Burley acquired it in 1383 (see Section 5.8). But all her surviving personal correspondence was issued from Preston. And while, architecturally, the gatehouse

could belong to the early years of her tenure, 1324-*c*.1330 – and indeed was assigned to Edward III's reign, ie. 1327+, by G. T. Clark (Clark 1884, 189) – Juliana's first husband John Hastings had by now died, and her remarriage to Thomas le Blount may have brought neither sufficient resources nor interest. And it is apparent from the above analysis that the surviving detail leans toward a slightly earlier construction period.

7.4 Alice de Leybourne: means, motive and opportunity?

Which brings us to Thomas and Alice de Leybourne. Having received the manor when they married *c*.1300, and its administration, it is possible that the couple might wish to embellish their new residence. They would have anticipated inheriting the entire lordship when William died, while Thomas could not of course have foreseen his own early death in 1307; a long period of residence would have seemed likely. And, perhaps significantly, Thomas is not recorded in Scotland until 1303, when he accompanied William on campaign with Prince Edward's army (*Cal. Chancery Rolls*, 85), meaning that he might have been in Kent throughout 1300-3. But Thomas and Alice will have been restricted to the revenues from a single manor,[60] and the issues from the courts of the lordship – which, on the face of it, would not appear to be equal to the construction of sophisticated masonry structure like the gatehouse.

7.4.1 Alice and Leybourne

Alice held Leybourne jointly with Thomas, and after he died held it in her own right until her own death in 1324 (see Section 5.6). She resided at Leybourne, as a widow, until her second marriage to Guy de Beauchamp in 1309. Unlike Thomas, Guy was wealthy and influential; more importantly, Alice became wealthy herself when her brother Robert died in 1310, leaving her as his sole heir to an extensive estate including the manors of Flamstead (Herts.), Painscastle (Radnor), Kirtling (Cambs.), and four more manors in Wiltshire, Worcestershire and Norfolk (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1307-16*, 101-2).

Ample resources were suddenly available for building at Leybourne, a castle she held in her own right, to which she made sure that her title was fully recognised (*Cal. Close Rolls 1307-1313*, 26; *Cal. Fine Rolls 1307-1319*, 17), and where she might at first have anticipated a longer widowhood like her aunt, Idonea de Leybourne (see Section 6.2). Can we even speculate that, as her own property rather than her family's, or her new husband's, she might have developed an attachment to Leybourne? More importantly, the period of her tenure from 1310 to 1324 fits the architectural evidence perfectly.

This attribution is however not without problems. It has been suggested that, as a residence, Alice favoured the main family seat at Flamstead (Page 1908, 194). But even so, like any great lady during the medieval period she will have travelled more-or-less continually – often without her husband – requiring suitable accommodation for her household at all her manors (*cf*. the evidence from Joan de Valence's Household Account Roll: TNA, E101/505/26). Moreover, Alice was responsible for the lordship's administration – but was reliant on her

[60] Athough the grant to Thomas and Alice included the manors of Ashford and Mere (*Cal. Close Rolls 1307-13*, 217), they had been returned to William by 1307 (*Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1300-07*, 274-5).

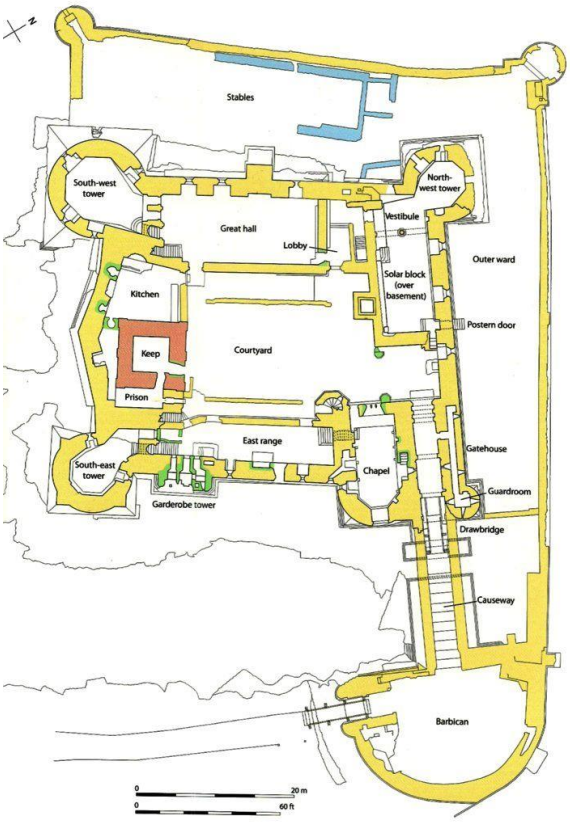
stewards and other officers at Leybourne, providing a context for the extensive officials' accommodation that the gatehouse provided. A 'showpiece' building like the gatehouse, with its powerful symbolism, would also be a way for her to assert her authority in the lordship – particularly *in absentia* – a consideration that might have been even more important given her gender.

Fig. 126: Built by women – a) the remains of Warblington Castle (Hants.), begun by Margaret Pole in 1517; b) the Gloriette at Leeds Castle (Kent), built by Queen Eleanor, 1280s

Warblington in Hampshire, begun in 1517 by Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, has been described as 'the only castle of the English Middle Ages that was unambiguously created in its entirety by a woman' (Goodall 2011a, 411; Fig. 126a). But it is certainly not the only castle that shows work by a female patron, work that can sometimes be substantial. After acquiring Leeds Castle in *c*.1278, Queen Eleanor of Castile for example embarked upon an extensive building campaign in which the shell-keep was remodelled as a suite of apartments known as the 'Gloriette' (Brown et al. 1933, 695; Fig. 126b).[61] Work at Goodrich Castle continued under Joan de Valence, widow of the close Leybourne associate William de Valence, in 1296-97 (Ashbee 2009, 33), while there are strong indications that she may have been influential in its planning from the first: the integrated apartments, linked by covered passageways or 'pentises', cater primarily to the needs of a female household (Fig. 127). It was a castle she clearly felt a strong attachment towards, and was frequently resident there before her death in 1307 (Ashbee 2009, 33, 35-7; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1330-34,* 67-8; *Cat. Anc. Deeds 5*, 155-74). And we saw above in Section 6.2 that Idonea de Leybourne may have been responsible for building at Brough Castle in Westmorland. If so, the two women – both connected with Alice – might have served as role models.

[61] I have however suggested elsewhere that the work at Haverfordwest Castle (Pembs.), traditionally attributed to Queen Eleanor 1288-90, was in fact undertaken by Aymer de Valence after 1308 (Ludlow 2004, 99-100; Ludlow et al. 2021, 40-4).

Fig. 127: Plan of Goodrich Castle, Herefs. (from Ashbee 2009)



7.4.2 Alice's influences

At any rate, we can envisage Marches influence arriving at Leybourne via Joan de Valence's son Aymer, who had custody of Alice's daughter Juliana II after William de Leybourne died in 1309-10 (see Section 5.6), perpetuating the long-standing relationship between the two families.[62] Further influence from the family's other compatriots, the Cliffords, is possible via both Aymer, and Idonea de Leybourne who was associated with Robert de Clifford in Westmorland.

Aymer de Valence and Robert de Clifford built in a very similar Marches style in their castles at Bothwell and Brougham, *c*.1300-10, almost certainly employing the same team of masons (Ludlow 2018, 254-67): work at both shows a number of signature motifs, rarely seen elsewhere during this period. They include doorway thresholds with raised sills, like ship's bulkhead doorways, and chamfered on both sides for ease of access (Fig. 128). Sills like this may also be a feature of the East Range at the Valences' Goodrich (*c*.1290s) – the surviving evidence is uncertain – and can be clearly seen in second-floor doorways of the Eagle Tower at Edward I's Caernarfon Castle (from 1304-17: Hislop 2020, 222-3). I know of no other examples elsewhere. So it may be significant that the only threshold to survive above ground

[62] An effigy in Minster-in-Sheppey Church (Kent), believed to represent William de Leybourne, has been compared stylistically with Aymer de Valence's effigy in Westminster Abbey, 'borrowing freely' and similarly executed in the 1320s (Honeywell 2006, 212-3). No connection between the Leybournes and Minster is otherwise known.

at Leybourne, in the Southeast Tower, has a raised sill (albeit unchamfered; see Section 4.4.1 and Figs. 89b, 128c). Meanwhile, trenching between the gatehouse towers in 1997 revealed a further raised threshold (see Section 4.3 and Fig. 86), which was possibly chamfered to facilitate passage; a third raised sill may have existed in the Southwest Building (see Section 4.4.3). We have also seen the close similarities between Leybourne's chamber-block and Clifford work at Brougham. The first-floor windows in Leybourne's gatehouse, moreover, show double-chamfered, rebated surrounds very like those at the Valences' Goodrich and Bothwell, and Clifford's Brougham and Brough (Fig. 129), and we have seen that they may similarly have been square-headed (Section 4.2). It can at least be suggested, then, that Alice may have used masons that had worked under Aymer de Valence and/or Robert de Clifford *c.*1300-10.

Fig. 128: Thresholds with raised sills at a) Bothwell Castle, Lanarks.; b) Brougham Castle, Westmorland: both c.1300-10. And at c) Leybourne Castle, Southeast Tower

Fig. 129: Double-chamfered, rebated window surrounds at a) Leybourne Castle; b) Goodrich Castle, Herefs. (Valence, 1280-90s); c) Brough Castle, Westmorland (Leybourne or Clifford, c.1280-1314)

The rebuilt fireplace in the gatehouse west tower shows a round back, which is suggested, by the round-backed flue formerly to be seen above it, to follow the original shape (see Section 4.2.2 and Figs. 19 and 25). The round-backed form proved persistent, being employed well into the fourteenth century, being used for example in the apartment block at Caerphilly Castle (probably *c*.1285-1300), and in the great hall at St Davids Bishops Palace, Pembs. (1342-50). Perhaps more significantly, it is seen in William de Valence's great hall at Pembroke Castle (*c*.1270), and the great hall at Haverfordwest Castle, Pembs., which was probably built by his son Aymer de Valence, *c*.1308-15 (Ludlow et al. 2021, 42).

No direct influence can be detected from the castles of the Toeni family. Masonry no longer survives at Painscastle in Wales, but its destruction was ordered in 1265 and no building is known from the years around 1300 (King 1983, 411), while Kirtling in Cambridgeshire seems to have been a fortified manor house, primarily of timber until the late fourteenth century (Wareham and Wright 2002, 64-5). Nor is any influence apparent via Alice's husband Guy de Beauchamp. He held a considerable number of castles, including those at Barnard Castle (Co. Durham), Elmley (Worcs.), Lydney (Gloucs.), Tamworth (Staffs.) and Worcester, and at Warwick itself, which had to wait until *c*.1340 before its major reconstruction began (Goodall 2011a, 273-4; King 1983, 484). None of the others show any work like that at Leybourne.[63]

Alice took a third husband after Guy's death, marrying the Midlands baron William la Zouche in 1316 (Hunt 1893, 211). While few links with his works are apparent, his *caput* at Ashby-de-la-Zouch (Leics.) shows a transverse domestic block, from 1300+, although here the chamber overlay services (Goodall 2011b, 5-6). The Leybournes, collectively, were of course potentially subject to influences from other directions: for instance, they were related through the marriage of William's daughters Katherine and another Idonea, after 1284 and 1295 respectively, to two leading baronial houses – the Lucys and the Says (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1281-92*, 147; *1292-1301*, 179; also see *Cal. Inq. Post Mortem 1316-27*, 191-2) – though neither family was associated with any significant masonry building during this period. However, the regular, rectangular inner courtyard at Coldbridge, built by the Leybourne tenants and *familiares* the Peyforers, *c*.1310-17, is very like that at Leybourne Castle (see Section 6.5; Fig. 114) – and probably closely contemporary.

[63] Work is recorded 1300-15 at Elmley Castle, including the establishment of a college or chantry, but little survives at the site (Page and Willis-Bund 1913, 338, 343-4).

8.0 CONCLUSION

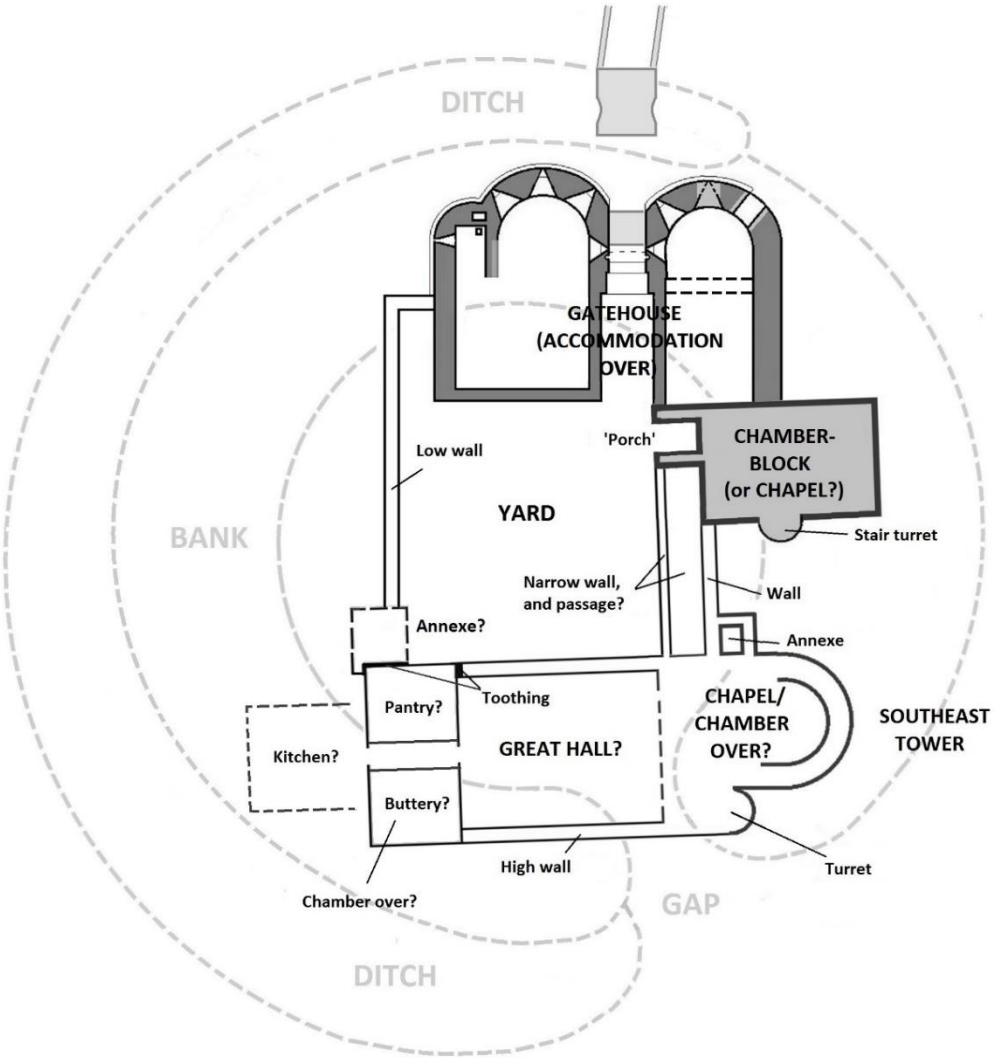
Leybourne Castle was first mentioned in 1260, but appears to be an eleventh- or twelfth-century ringwork that was later 'fortified' in masonry, rather lightly, to become a rectangular courtyard house somewhat awkwardly superimposed upon the earlier earthwork. The masonry comprises a large, twin-towered gatehouse at the north end of the enclosure, attached to a large, rectangular storeyed building – now gone – that may have been a chamber-block. The latter appears to have been connected by a passage to a third D-shaped tower at the southeast corner. This tower lies opposite a smaller, rectangular building at the southwest corner, that may represent a service-block and overlying chamber, with a Great Hall formerly lying east-west between them. The remaining side of the castle, to the west, was defined by a lowish wall (Fig. 130).

The gatehouse has traditionally been assigned to the late 1260s. Stylistic evidence however suggests all the masonry at the castle belongs to one overall campaign, centering on the years 1305-25 and showing influence from the Welsh borderlands – probably via associations between the Leybournes and two Marcher families, the Valences and the Cliffords. The evidence for its dating and affinities is fairly precise, and can be summarised as follows –

- The gatehouse shows a high outer arch, a feature with origins in the Welsh Marches 1280-1300.
- It also shows fully-oilletted cruciform loops, which were similarly developed in the Welsh Marches 1280-1300.
- The gate-passage lies beneath a quadripartite rib-vault, normally confined to the 1330s onwards but also seen in the gatehouse built by the Marcher lord Aymer de Valence (earl of Pembroke) at Bampton Castle, Oxon., in 1315-24.
- A 'letterbox chute' overlies the entry, as at Caerphilly Castle, Glam. (1270s) and Bampton Castle (1315-24).
- The entry is deeply recessed between flanking towers, as in Edward I's Welsh Castles at Rhuddlan, Harlech and Beaumaris (1270s-1300).
- The windows have double-chamfered rebated surrounds, in a Marches style and similar to windows built by the Valences (1280s-90s) and another Marcher lord, Robert de Clifford (1300-1314).
- The Southeast Tower shows a doorway with a raised threshold (like a ship's bulkhead door), as in work by Aymer de Valence and Robert de Clifford from 1300-1310. Two more possible raised thresholds have been revealed through excavation.
- The portcullis would have been fully-visible when raised, as at Chirk Castle, Denbighs., and Tonbridge Castle in Kent, which itself shows considerable Marches influence; both are probably from the 1290s.
- The portcullis grooves have ¾ round profiles as in the outer gate at at Corfe Castle (1280s), but with chamfered margins.
- The gatehouse is flanked by a D-shaped latrine turret that may be influenced by a similar turret at Llangibby Castle, Mon. (1307-14), in function, if not in its precise form.
- It houses a fireplace with a rounded back, normally characteristic of earlier work but also seen in the Great Hall fireplaces at Pembroke Castle (William de Valence, 1270s) and Haverfordwest Castle, Pembs. (probably Aymer de Valence, 1308-15).

During the period 1305-25 the castle appears to have been in the sole possession of a woman – Alice de Leybourne. She received the castle and manor on the death of her husband in 1307, and all evidence suggests that she held it, in her own right, until her own death in 1324. She was the only beneficiary when her brother died in 1310, providing the necessary resources. Under her tenure, Leybourne appears to have retained its status as the caput of an extensive Kentish lordship, and it is likely that the gatehouse represented accommodation, and administrative space, for its officials. Alice may therefore join the list, currently very short, of women castle-builders.

Fig. 130: Conjectured sketch plan of Leybourne Castle c.1325.



A number of other results have emerged from the present study. I suggest that a significant amount of work was undertaken by the Leybournes at Leeds Castle, Kent, before it was acquired by Edward I's queen Eleanor in *c*.1278, that this work included the creation of the lakes for which the site is celebrated, and that they may have been the inspiration for the lakes at Caerphilly Castle. It is also possible that the extensive work from *c*.1300 at Brough Castle, Westmorland, was undertaken by another woman – Alice's aunt, Idonea de Leybourne.

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APPENDIX

LEYBOURNE CASTLE, KENT. CASTLE STUDIES TRUST GRANT-FUNDED PROJECT: WRITTEN SCHEME OF INVESTIGATION FOR SURVEY AND RECORDING

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 This Written Scheme of Investigation (WSI) has been prepared by Philip Poucher, Project Manager with Dyfed Archaeological Services (DAS), a contracting arm of Heneb – The Trust for Welsh Archaeology, to undertake survey and recording at Leybourne Castle, Castle Way, Leybourne, Kent ME19 5HE (centred on TQ 68868 58924). The project is being undertaken by Philip Poucher of DAS and by Neil Ludlow, funded by a grant from the Castle Studies Trust.

1.2 The castle is privately-owned as a permanent family residence, and no part of it is open to the public. However, visits by interested parties are permitted by prior request. Permission for the proposed project has been obtained.

Figure 1: Location map of Leybourne Castle.
Map data from OpenStreetMap (OSM) https://www.openstreetmap.org/copyright 09/09/24

1.3 The castle has been continually inhabited in one form or another since the medieval period. Successive alteration has masked much of the original structure, but the present dwelling – much-restored during the 1930s by W. H. Godfrey, in the Arts-and-Crafts manner – was built around the core of the medieval domestic block. A second medieval building is thought to have been a chapel. Of greatest interest, however, is the twin-towered gatehouse. Though incorporated into the present dwelling, and having undergone some alteration through time, it is substantially as built during the 13th or early 14th centuries, although its rear half has gone.

1.4 The gatehouse is of national, possibly international significance to architectural history and castle studies, with an unusual or even idiosyncratic design. Long thought to represent a transitional stage in gatehouse development, between the simple twin-towered gatehouse of the mid-13th century and the more complex 'keep-gatehouses' (or 'Tonbridge gatehouses') of the late 13th century, it may instead post-date the latter, and is possibly a purely personal choice of design by its patron and his masons. Of two storeys, it comprises two D-shaped towers either side of a narrow gate-passage that was formerly rib-vaulted. The entry, beneath a high outer arch, is deeply set back between the towers, and is overlain by a 'letterbox' chute of the kind best known at Caerphilly Castle, apparently lead-lined. A latrine turret projects from the western tower. The towers are pierced by a series of arrowloops at ground-floor level, and windows at first-floor level.

1.5 No structured recording of the gatehouse has hitherto taken place. The published drawings rely on drawings produced in 1927 by Sidney Toy which are incorrect and misleading, but have nevertheless been used to interpret the building. They show a symmetrical structure, but the gatehouse towers are instead of unequal size and projection. The latrine turret as depicted as semicircular, projecting from the gate-tower at right angles like the latrine turret in the gatehouse at Llangibby Castle, Monmouthshire: it is in fact D-shaped, with its axis parallel to the gate-tower. In addition, the arrowloops are shown as cruciform, with circular oillets at all four terminals. This too is incorrect: the openings were subject to considerable alteration during the 18th and 19th centuries, which has masked their original form, but the current evidence for any oillets is debateable. The loops are crucial to the date and affinities of the gatehouse.

1.6 The proposed project therefore aims to clarify some of these fundamental issues. Accurate, up-to-date survey drawings of the gatehouse will be obtained using a laser scanner, and a 3D model will be produced. The openings will be subjected to close analysis to establish their original form: this will include study of all available antiquarian print and early photographic evidence. A programme of research will build on work already undertaken by Neil Ludlow for a paper published in 2022 (Ludlow 2022). The present owner of the castle has a considerable archive of written and pictorial material, which will also be consulted and, where permitted, reproduced.

1.7 This Written Scheme of Investigation provides a method statement for the survey, documentary study and analysis of Leybourne Castle. It is produced in accordance with the Chartered Institute for Archaeologists Standard and Guidance for the archaeological investigation and recording of standing buildings or structures (Chartered Institute for Archaeologists (CIfA 2014, updated 2020).

1.8 Heneb – The Trust for Welsh Archaeology is a CIfA Registered Archaeological Organisation. Dyfed Archaeological Services, a contracting arm of Heneb, always operates to best professional practice. Dyfed Archaeological Services has its own Health and Safety Policy, and all works are covered by appropriate Employer's Liability and Public Liability Insurances. Copies of all are available on request.

2. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

2.1 This document provides a scheme of works for:
The implementation of a scheme of non-intrusive survey and building recording of the medieval castle gatehouse at Leybourne Castle, and accompanying research. A report on the results will be prepared and an archive of the results will be compiled.

2.2 The aim of the project is to achieve a full understanding of the form and affinities of the gatehouse. In summary:

- A priority will be to obtain accurate and fully-analytical plans, elevations and sections of the castle, which currently do not exist.
- A structured photographic record will also be obtained, along with detailed drawings of medieval features.
- The survey work will also be made digitally available as a rendered 3D model.
- An understanding the nature of the openings, particularly the arrowloops, and the degree of alteration they have undergone.
- There is considerable scope for further research into the date and affinities of the gatehouse, which are currently not fully-understood. A systematic programme of research will improve our understanding.
- A fully-interpretative report and comparative analysis will be produced. It will include all survey drawings, and a photographic appendix, to form a comprehensive audit of all medieval features at the castle.

2.3 The following tasks will be completed:

- Provision of a written scheme of investigation to outline the methodology for the survey, recording and research work (this document), which will be undertaken by Dyfed Archaeological Services with Neil Ludlow;
- To produce accurate measured plans, elevations and sections of Leybourne Castle Gatehouse, and to produce a detailed drawn and photographic record of the standing fabric showing all medieval features, openings and detail, and evidence for the former existence of features, internally and externally;
- To undertake further research and documentary study;
- Production of a report and an archive of the results.

Figure 2: Aerial photograph of Leybourne Castle from the northeast. The castle gatehouse can be seen as the semi-circular towers to the right of the later house.

Figure 3: The castle gatehouse from the north.

Figure 4: The castle gatehouse from the WSW.

3. PROPOSED SURVEY AND RECORDING SCHEME

3.1 The historic building recording scheme will be based on Level 4, as defined by Historic England 'Understanding Historic Buildings: A Guide to Good Recording Practice' (Lane 2016, 26-7), described as:

> *A **comprehensive analytical record**, appropriate for buildings of special importance… Level 4 will draw on the full range of sources of information about the building and discuss its significance in terms of architectural, social, regional or economic history. It will also include all drawn and photographic records that may be required to illustrate the building's appearance and structure and to support an historical analysis.*

3.2 This historic building recording will be fully analytical, and will look for –

- All evidence, entire or fragmentary, for medieval features including (but not limited to) openings and recesses; stairs; latrines; fireplaces and ovens; wells, cisterns and channels; corbels, sockets and chases; screens and partitions; vaulting, roofing and flooring; liturgical features including stoups, piscinae and bellrope shafts; defensive features including portcullis grooves, chutes and machicolation; evidence for former components.
- All evidence for architectural detail; dressings and mouldings, including surrounds and chamfer-stops; any other carved detail; vault-rib profiles; form of squinches and offsets; form of spiral stairs ie. cut-slab/'crows-foot' treads, size and height of treads.
- All evidence for medieval levels, and access arrangements between them.
- Any evidence for different builds will be noted eg. joints, and changes in stonework or coursing.

Drawn Record

3.3 A detailed 3-dimensional survey of the medieval gatehouse will be undertaken, using a precision imaging laser scanner (Faro Focus). This will produce a highly accurate survey (to between 6-8mm) of point cloud data. All features will be recorded where accessible. Overall plans and both internal and external elevations will be recorded and produced. Plans will be georeferenced to the OS national grid.

3.4 CAD software will be used to produce fully rendered 3D models of the gatehouse as well as 2D plans and elevations. The model can then be made accessible online via 'Sketchfab'. Point cloud data will be stored in multiple formats for future analysis.

3.5 The laser survey will be backed by plans and elevations measured and drawn to a scale of 1:50, noting all medieval features and architectural detail which will also be drawn at a larger scale where appropriate. All openings, other features, detail and levels will be shown relative to each other.

3.6 Copies of earlier drawings throwing light on the building's history will be included, where permissions allow.

Photographic Record

3.7 A full photographic record of the medieval castle gatehouse will be undertaken, internally and externally, with medieval features highlighted and defined at high resolution. Photographs will be taken using a high resolution digital camera (20 megapixels +), with tripod used where necessary. Photographic scales will be used.

3.8 The 3D laser survey also uses continuous digital photography to render the 3D model, able to produce rectified elevations and plans of the structure.

3.9 Where timing allows, the structure will also be captured on a hand-held device using multiple photographs at a reduced resolution (12 megapixels), augmented by short-range LiDAR scanning (maximum range of 5m) and processed using appropriate LiDAR and 3D Scanner software to produce a rendered 3-dimensional model of the interior spaces of the castle. Internal models will be at a reduced resolution and spatial accuracy (greater than +/-10cm, generally within +/-1cm), but they will provide an additional visual record of the castle.

3.10 The photographic record will include:

- A general view or views of the building (in its wider setting or landscape).
- The building's external appearance. Both oblique views and views at rights angles to the elevations will show all external and internal elevations of the building, and give an overall impression of its size and shape.
- Views reflecting any original design intentions where these can be established.
- The overall appearance of the principal rooms and circulation areas of the building.
- Any external or internal detail, relevant to the building's design, development and use.
- Any dates or other inscriptions, any signage or graffiti.
- Any building contents or ephemera which have a significant bearing on the building's history.

Written Record

3.11 The programme of survey and recording will be supported by research and documentary study, including primary source material both published and manuscript, historic maps, plans and pictures, and comparative analysis.

3.12 The written report will include:

- The building's National Grid reference and address. The date of the record, the names of the recorders and archive location. A note of the building's statutory designations.
- Summary of the building's form, function, date and sequence of development. The names of architects, builders, patrons and owners if known.

- An introduction, setting out the circumstances in which the record was made, its objectives, methods, scope and limitations, and any constraints which limited the achievement of objectives.
- Acknowledgements and permission for copyright of any items reproduced.
- A discussion of published sources relating to the building.
- An account of the building's overall form and its successive phases of development, together with the evidence supporting this analysis.
- An account of the past and present uses of the building and its parts, with the evidence for these interpretations. An account of any fixtures or fittings associated with the building, and their purposes.
- Any evidence for the former existence of demolished structures or removed plant associated with the building.
- All references and sources consulted.

3.13 Fieldwork will be carried out by Philip Poucher MCIfA, Project Manager for Dyfed Archaeological Services. Research and comparative analysis will largely be undertaken by Neil Ludlow. All will contribute to the report. Correspondence will be maintained with architectural authorities with experience of Leybourne Castle such as Richard Eales, Medieval Historian at the University of Kent.

4 POST-FIELDWORK REPORTING AND ARCHIVING

4.1 All data recovered during the evaluation will be collated into a site archive structured in accordance with the specifications in *Archaeological Archives: a guide to best practice* (Brown 2011). Any additional guidance offered in the *Archaeological Archives Forum* will also be utilised, as will guidance in the The Archaeological Digital Archiving Protocol Toolkit (Historic England online resource)

4.2 A full report will be completed. The results of the fieldwork will be assessed, and interpreted within their local, regional, national and international contexts by Neil Ludlow.

4.3 The report will include all survey plans, elevations, sections and detail drawings, and a photographic appendix, to form a comprehensive audit of all medieval features at the castle.

4.4 Photographs and videos from the survey will be made available to the owner of Leybourne Castle and the Castle Studies Trust. Where possible 3D models will be published online at www.sketchfab.com.

4.5 The project archive will be deposited with an appropriate body following agreement with the landowner and Castle Studies Trust.

4.6 A summary of the project results, excluding any confidential information, will be prepared for wider dissemination (e.g. the regional Council for British Archaeology

journal, and special interest and period-specific journals like *Medieval Archaeology* and the *Castle Studies Group Bulletin*).

4.7 The report will be prepared to follow the *Standard and Guidance for Archaeological Building Recording* (CIfA 2014).

4.8 A digital copy and bound copies of the reports (if needed) will be produced for Castle Studies Trust, the landowner and Historic England. Digital copies of the report will be deposited via OASIS and subsequently supplied to the Kent Historic Environment Record. The report will be posted on the Castle Studies Trust website.

4.9 The results will form part of continuing work on medieval castles by Neil Ludlow, incorporating over 25 years of research and field study. A previous study (Ludlow, 2022) discusses Leybourne Castle in the light of our current level of knowledge. The proposed project will inform this ongoing research, which will in turn feed back into the project.

5 STAFF

5.1 The project will be led by Neil Ludlow FSA. Fieldwork, and collation of the results, will be managed by Philip Poucher (BA MCIfA) of DAS. Both will be responsible for the report.

5.2 Other staff will be recruited from DAS's experienced team of professional archaeologists.

6 MONITORING

6.1 Following commencement to the recording work, it may need to be monitored by the regional Historic England Inspector. This will be arranged before work is carried out in order to coordinate visits.

7 HEALTH AND SAFETY

7.1 Dyfed Archaeological Services will carry out a health and safety risk assessment to ensure that all potential risks are minimised.

7.2 All relevant health and safety regulations must be followed.

7.3 All site inductions, H&S procedures, H&S constraints and site rules of the client will be made known to Dyfed Archaeological Services staff at the start of the works.

7.4 Access into all parts of the structure is possible.

7.5 Dyfed Archaeological Services staff must ensure that their presence on site is communicated to all relevant site staff/occupiers and that any site rules, access restrictions etc are adhered.

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