WOLVESEY CASTLE.

THE S.E. TOWER.

WOLVESEY CASTLE IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

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The remains and evidences of the original plan of this castle, brought to light during the recent investigations promoted by the Hampshire Field Club, having proved, almost without exception, to belong to the time of Bishop Henry de Blois it is fitting to acknowledge the fact in the title of this paper and so simplify the description of the accompanying drawing.

The castle of Bishop Henry de Blois was by no means the first important residence on the site. The Roman pavement found in the adjoining garden east of the castle proves that the spot had some advantages of situation, while many facts recorded of the Great Alfred strengthen the belief that this locality may claim to have been the nursery of English literature. It was at his Winchester residence that Alfred entertained the scholars invited to be his associates, and here the Chronicle was written.

The site of the Nuns' Minster, founded by Alfred seems by its proximity to Wolvesey to point to the latter as the royal palace. So long as England was divided into separate Kingdoms, each one that had adopted Christianity formed a diocese of which the king's spiritual adviser was the bishop. During this period the bishop probably had no episcopal palace. When however the Kingdoms became united under one temporal ruler, the bishops retaining each their original

dioceses required an official residence. It is probable that Wolvesey at first was equally the residence of king and bishop.

Of the style of building here in Saxon times little is known, but probably Æthelwold, who re-built his cathedral of stone would provide for himself and his successors some better building than the rude wooden erections which formed the usual abode even for kings and nobles.

Nothing was met with in making the recent excavations to suggest Saxon origin, and it is possible that the previous buildings were not on exactly the same site. Some "herring-bone" flint work in the surrounding wall by the river might suggest that the Saxon palace stood nearer the river than the Norman one, and enquiries made of the tenant of the market garden to the north and north east, whose family have cultivated this land for several generations, show that although several Roman coins have been found, no foundations or other signs of building have been met with within this area. The present meadow to the south east may therefore be a more probable site of the Saxon building.

Henry de Blois the builder of the 12th century castle was born about 1096. He was for some time a monk of the celebrated community at Cluny, where, as early as the end of the 10th century, the Abbot Odilon, had built a magnificent cloister. He was for a time Abbot of Glastonbury and in 1129 became bishop of Winchester. The first few years of his episcopate were uneventful. On May 4th, 1130 he was present at the consecration of Canterbury Cathedral, and four days later at a similar ceremony at Rochester. On the death of Henry I. the bishop found himself of increased importance as the brother of Stephen a claimant to the throne.

Whether he had forseen the possibility of such a situation when the foundering of the White Ship left his royal uncle without a male heir we cannot tell. If so he may have made preparation by strengthening the residences at the various manors in his possession. Some old authorities mention that the bishop built Wolvesey Castle in the year 1138, which date probably refers to the completion of the re-building of the

castle of which the ruins are still standing and of which the plan, as revealed by the recent excavations, accompanies this paper.

The above date accords with the fact that several castles in the country were built as a result of Stephen's indecision of character which, added to the necessity of defending himself against his rival, made it impossible for him to exercise any control over the lawless owners of these strongholds, who taking advantage of the general anarchy, robbed and cruelly ill treated all within their power, so that "men said openly, that Christ and his saints were asleep."

Before referring to the plan in detail it may be well to glance at a few of its main features. The first point that strikes anyone familiar with such buildings as the Tower of London or Rochester Castle, is the comparative smallness of the keep, which may be explained by the fact that in the examples referred to, the keep was more distinctly the dwelling of its occupant, with the hall provided within its walls on one of the upper floors. At Wolvesey the hall is a separate building, so that the keep is purely a military feature, and when compared with many existing keeps of the same period its dimensions 53 × 50 feet accord with the average size of such buildings.[1]

In thus releasing the hall from the inconveniences connected with its position within the keep we find, as might be expected from the superior intelligence of the clergy, a practice which became general at a later period was already adopted by the greater ecclesiastics.

There was probably a further reason for providing a great hall in connection with the Bishop of Winchester's Castle. Such an apartment would be convenient for large gatherings of clergy, of which several were summoned by de Blois. It is an interesting fact that the remains of Taunton Castle which belonged to the See of Winchester, consist of a keep 50 × 40 ft., with walls 13 ft. thick, thus internally much smaller than Wolvesey;[1] also part of a hall. These are attributed to

1 The following are the measurements of a few square keeps, given in feet:—Dover, 98 × 96; Guildford, 52 × 46; Helmsley, 53 × 53; Portchester, 65 × 52; Scarborough, 56 × 56; Christchurch, 50 × 46; Carlisle, 66 × 61; Bridgenorth, 89 × 45.

William Giffard (1100-1129), the predecessor of de Blois in the See of Winchester. That this was a useful accessory to an Episcopal residence seems proved by the fact that early in the 12th century a Synodal Hall was added to the palace at Laon. In 1160 the Bishop of Paris built a similar addition on the south side of his cathedral. William of Malmsbury tells how, at the Synod before which Stephen was cited to appear in reference to his action against the bishops, and which met 29th August, 1139, the Bishop produced the papal bull appointing him legate, dated from the preceding March. During Stephen's captivity in 1141, de Blois held the memorable Council at Winchester at which the clergy elected the Empress Matilda "Lady of England." The following year when civil war was raging, another Winchester Synod proclaimed the right of Sanctuary to the plough and those employed in agricultural labours. We are not told whether the Bishop held these legatine councils at his castle, but considering the large number of those attending, and also that the business to be transacted was of wider interest than would attach to mere meetings with the clergy of his diocese, the chapter-house of his cathedral might not be considered convenient or politic, and that there seems a strong probability that the great hall at Wolvesey was the scene of these gatherings. There is less uncertainty about that other assembly, when, anxious to secure adherents for his brother, he invited to a banquet at Wolvesey the men of influence then in Winchester, and having them within his castle endeavoured "by persuasion and gentle force" to obtain their allegiance to Stephen.

The grouping of the castle buildings appears to have been arranged on strictly military lines. The keep forms the centre of the face most likely to be exposed to attack, and is made to project slightly beyond the curtain walls on either side in order that from it the defenders might be able to annoy such of the enemy as attempted to undermine the walls. The gate-house was about the centre of the northern face and furnished the approach to the city by means of Colebrook Street, which then enclosed the Nuns' Minster of St. Mary's Abbey. The western side is composed of several regular shaped apartments which might serve as more private or

residential chambers. These were terminated on the south by the chapel, which appears to have been on the same site as the present one though probably of larger size.[1] The line of the walls of the present chapel if produced westward will be seen to coincide with very perfect foundations, which are only covered by a few inches of garden soil.

The western extremity of the Chapel wing seems to have formed a kind of tower, the wall of its projecting portion appears, at first sight, like two walls placed side by side with a total thickness of about 11 feet. This is probably owing to the fact of a passage being arranged within the thickness of the wall, of which there are other examples in the building. There are signs of a further projection southwards, but unfortunately the point at which the angle probably occurs is in a position which cannot be conveniently explored. From the thickness of the foundations of the small portion which has been uncovered this appears to have been part of an angle tower, which might be expected in such a position. At the eastern end of the south front are the remains of a small angle turret, and between it and the keep stands the massive building shewn in the view.

Having thus briefly summed up the main features of the castle we may proceed, by means of the plan, to study the parts more in detail.

As to the plan itself, a casual observer may notice the almost total absence of any indications of openings in the recently uncovered walls. In a few cases the positions of the doorways are determinable, as the lower part of the "jambs" are still in position above the level of the threshold,

[1] As to the age of the upper portion of the walls of the present chapel there is some uncertainty. They are evidently earlier than the adjacent palace, the walls of which do not "bond in" with them. While engaged on the excavations the writer happened to visit Westbourne just over the Sussex border and was immediately struck by the remarkable similarity of some of the "gargoyles" on the Church tower there to those at Wolvesey. Enquiry elicited the fact that the west tower of Westbourne Church was built about the middle of the Sixteenth Century on the removal of an earlier tower from the south side. May it not be that Bishop Fox, who did so much for the Cathedral as well as for Farnham, carried out some restoration or repairs to the chapel connected with the Palace, at which he spent the later years of his life, keeping up an establishment of over 200 men servants.

but in most cases the walls have been so entirely destroyed as only to leave the actual foundations, which of course ran the whole length without interruption by apertures which might be above. The projection of the "footing" courses varies from 6 to 10 inches and each is generally about 9 inches deep. They were all carefully faced with neatly squared blocks of stone forming a casing to very compact flint and chalk rubble work. The facing stone is principally Binstead stone from Isle of Wight, also some which is probably from Portland, which belonged to the Bishops of Winchester. The green sandstone used is probably from near Eastbourne. It was a favourite stone at that time. Above the squared stone courses a layer of rough slate, nearly half an inch in thickness, was almost invariably met with. It was, of course, in very imperfect condition, so that the purpose it was originally intended to serve could not be decided. It would no doubt prevent a certain amount of dampness from rising, but more probably it was intended to secure a flat bed and interpose something which would tend to distribute the weight of the rubble wall above and so avoid the risk of splitting the facing stones through the angles of the flints coming in direct contact with them.

Commencing our examination with the keep, as a typical feature of the Castle of the period, we must notice the materials of which it is composed and the manner of using them. An examination of the eastern face shews several tiers of cylindrical stones. The same exist in a smaller degree on the other sides, and where the adjoining stones have fallen it is clear that these are the shafts of columns and evidently not originally intended for this building. A better proof is afforded by one of the stones forming the eastern jamb of the arch through the short wall connecting the keep and the hall. This shews a square edge and flat surfaces, but in the interior of the wall is seen the moulded cap of a column, of which the squared portion formed the abacus. This has been considered on good authority to be Roman work. That there was a Roman building near the spot, the pavement already referred to proves, but why there should be such a large number of columns seems to require explanation.

A few points noticed by the writer during the investigations seem to supply this. In the north wall is an opening which seems to have been made when the original arch on the west side was blocked up. Below the later opening is a small aperture about a foot wide. This is constructed of long squared stones laid horizontally to form the sides of the opening, while the weight above is carried by several portions of columns, as before mentioned, laid across from side to side. On removing one of these it was found to have been originally an angle shaft with Norman spiral decoration upon it. This column is about the same size as the others used, not only in this building, but also in some of the old walls between the Cathedral and Colebrook-street. The diameters vary from 5 to 11 inches. Again in the internal stone facing of the south east tower is a stone worked with a portion of a diaper pattern of over-lapping semi-circular scales. A stone having exactly the same pattern, slightly more elaborate, is to be seen in a pier of old masonry, near S. Lawrence's Church, known to be on the site of the palace built by William the Conqueror, on land formerly belonging to S. Grimbald's (New Minster).

About the year 1102 there was a fire at Winchester, in which this palace was destroyed. De Blois is said to have pulled it down as an encroachment on Church property. This probably was a good excuse for carrying off the materials from the ruins during the early part of Stephen's reign. It is not likely that Henry I. would have allowed him to treat a royal residence in such a manner. At any rate, in 1150, the bishop granted a site here for the Church of S. Lawrence. This all appears to support the view that the various fragments of architectural features which so evidently belonged to some other building came from the palace mentioned. The large proportion of columns of the size found also accords with this supposition, since, in the domestic buildings of the 11th and 12th centuries the absence of glass made it common, in the more important buildings, to gain some protection from the weather by forming an open arcade on the external face of the wall with the windows recessed behind it. Such an arrangement is met with in the Romanesque castle of the Wartburg.

But to return to the examination of the keep. The cross wall dividing it into two portions is a usual feature. There was often no permanent means of communication on the lower floors, so that in the event of the besiegers gaining an entrance, the garrison had a chance of defence against them. There is no sign of a stair now apparent. This was often contrived in the thickness of the wall at one of the angles, but the Wolvesey walls are not thick enough for this, so it seems possible that the small compartment at the N.E. angle may have contained a stair of timber, since it is rather uncommon for the smaller keeps to have a second partition wall. Two stone corbels, which have apparently supported timber work at a level which does not coincide with that of the floor, bears out this supposition. The smaller opening in the North wall was an "oillet" or loophole for the use of the archers, and when the position of the original thick "curtain" wall is noted it will be seen what an advantage is gained by the projection of the keep, which enabled its defenders, by means of the opening mentioned, to protect the "curtain" from attempts to mine it. The roof of the keep was probably formed with horizontal timbers, which perhaps were covered with a layer of earth to protect them from the fiery missiles thrown by the engines of the besiegers. The interior of the keep at present is filled up with about 10 feet of *débris*. A shaft was sunk through this, but with the exception of a few pieces of flat stone, about 1½ inches thick, which might have been portions of roof covering and some remains of walling, nothing was found. It is probable that this part of the castle was never very thoroughly repaired after the time of Henry II., who, at a council held at Bermondsey, in 1154, decreed that the defences of the unlicensed fortalices were to be demolished. The castles of Henry of Blois are mentioned, and the charges for carrying out this order at Wolvesey appear in the Pipe Rolls for the year 1155-6. As the four walls of the keep are still standing, and the principal signs of destruction are probably the result of the use of gunpowder in the seventeenth century, it would seem that the removal of the battlements and other distinctly military features was deemed sufficient, as any attempt to "crenellate" without the royal license would be quickly punished.

The walls of the keep are constructed of flint rubble throughout their thickness and are much strengthened by the use of the columns referred to, which are laid in courses across the wall and extend from face to face, thereby bonding the smaller stones well together, The flint work was evidently constructed much in the same way as modern concrete walling, as the impressions of the planks used to support the inner face are distinctly visible. The "curtain" wall to the south of the keep was probably of the nature of a rampart, as the inside is largely composed of chalk, which was used for filling in the centre of some of the walls. At the end of this wall is a massive tower, which is almost a solid piece of masonry. Careful examination shews that although this is distinctly Norman in character, it is rather later than the walls which adjoin it. The wall on the north does not "bond in" with the masonry of the tower, but there is a portion of a wall which has evidently been destroyed before the tower was built. On the south, the wall runs right through the tower, and some of the facing stones can be seen inside. This seems also to account for the somewhat awkward shape of the tower, as the pre-existing wall practically forms its west side, and the neatly squared facing stones of the flat pilaster buttress are cut so as to finish with a straight joint against this wall. This is shown on the left side of the view.

The evidences of this tower having been added to work not very much older than itself, recall the facts mentioned by all the chroniclers. The writer of the "Gesta Stephani" tells us that, on the rupture between the Empress and the Bishop, the latter secured himself in "his palace which he had *converted* into a strong fortress." Another authority says that while with the Empress at Oxford he was annoyed at the manner in which she treated his proposals as to the settlement of Stephen's continental earldoms on his son, and anticipating further differences, sent word for the fortifications at Wolvesey to be strengthened.

After his return to Winchester, the Empress, no doubt suspicious of the Bishop's meeting with Stephen's queen, followed him. It is said that "as she entered the city by one gate the bishop, on a swift horse, escaped by another;"

and, being summoned to attend her, sent the answer "I will prepare myself." May it not be that this tower, evidently added to strengthen a weak point, is one of the features, among others which are lost, by which he made this practical preparation. The Winchester annalist says of Wolvesey, "it was a house like a palace with a very strong tower" ("cum turri fortissima.") This term might, of course, apply to the keep or some part which has been destroyed, but the very solid construction of the S.E. tower certainly entitles it to such a description.

It should be mentioned that the *garderobes* were arranged in this tower. There were two shafts, as shewn on the plan, and a passage in the thickness of the wall that connects the south end of the great hall with the tower, gave access to them. The northern shaft has been opened to the bottom, where a small arched drain was found. On the external face a similar arched opening exists, and it is therefore evident that a watercourse was arranged to flow through the bottom of the shafts and out into the swampy ground which lay between the castle and the river, and which may have been deepened to form a moat under the walls. A broad foundation has been uncovered to the south of the hall which runs east and west and unites with the tower at its acute angle. About 8 feet from it a smaller one was found, and as over a portion, timber planks were laid to carry the earth when the present yard was filled up, it is possible that these may be connected with a water-course.

A reference to the view which accompanies this paper will enable a few further points to be noticed with reference to this tower. Near the top, on the southern face, will be seen two loopholes. These are in connection with a vaulted passage, of which a portion still remains, and which evidently was carried round the upper part of the tower. Below these will be seen a bold projecting moulding. Immediately under this it is noticeable that the masonry between the buttresses, which, up to about half their height is evidently constructed with care, becomes very much more irregular, and in some of the upper courses quite loses its horizontality. May this not be the result of hasty work, either in the original erection of this part of the castle when

hostilities were imminent, or perhaps in repairing damage done during the siege, which, as the author of the "Gesta Stephani" tells us, was of extraordinary character, such as was unheard of in those days.

On the two buttresses to the right of the view may be seen two massive stone corbels, which recall the methods of warfare practised in the 12th century. These were intended to provide supports for the timber struts of a *bretesche*[1] or overhanging work for protecting the base of the wall.

Through openings in its floor arrows or heavy stones could be discharged. In view of the latter being possible the wall between the buttresses is most carefully "battered" or sloped, so that any missile striking it should rebound without damaging the wall. This is done by means of no less than ten courses of masonry, each projecting about two inches beyond the course above, and having its edge worked to a uniform "chamfer."

As to the engines used by the besiegers a word or two may not be out of place. Battering rams, known from the earliest times, were in use long after the invention of gunpowder, and even rendered some service at the siege of Pavia (1525), by Francis I. For undermining walls, however, "the cat" was the favourite device. This consisted of a strongly built shed on wheels which could be propelled by means of those within it or by ropes and pulleys worked by others. If necessary, the moat was gradually filled up and "the cat" advanced towards the wall until its foremost end was in actual contact, when the men within proceeded to form a breach in the masonry. The roof was generally strong enough to protect it from ordinary missiles, and it was often covered with raw hides to prevent the timber being set on fire. Another somewhat similar arrangement, made of about the same height as the wall attacked, was provided with a falling bridge at the top, across which, when the proper time came, the besiegers could rush on to the wall in such numbers as to overpower the defenders.

[1] A reference to Captain Markland's sketch of Carisbrooke Castle, in vol. ii., p. 264, of the Proceedings of the Club, will shew the character of this feature.

The artillery of the period consisted of engines of the catapult class. In some of these the projectile was struck by the sudden re-bound of a moveable arm. In others it was carried on the arm itself, which, on being suddenly checked, left the missile to pursue its flight. By far the most powerful, however, was the *trébuchet*, which consisted of a long beam balanced upon strong supports. At one end a heavy counterpoise was fixed, and at the other a strong leathern sling so arranged that when it reached a certain position, the end of the sling was released, and the missile thrown with far greater force than by those engines in which the sling was not utilized. As this device was very largely used for throwing combustibles, it is interesting to note, in connection with the siege of Wolvesey, that it is expressly stated, the besieged threw fire-brands and set fire to S. Mary's Abbey, and many other churches in the City. With a machine of this kind erected within the castle, or possibly on the "high tower," it would not be difficult to throw fire-balls on to the houses in Colebrooke-street, or even on to the Abbey itself, which would only be about 200 yards from the centre of the castle.

Continuing to follow the course of the outside wall from the S.E. Tower, we find it extends about 60 feet southward, and then changes its direction for an eastward one. At the angle are the remains of a wall turret about 15 feet square. This was built with a stone ashlar face, the intervening wall being of flint. Some of the foundations found adjacent to those of the possible watercourse suggest that a sally port was arranged near this angle.

The south wall of the present Chapel is evidently a portion of the main south wall, and its foundations can be traced from the angle turret before mentioned, and through the present Church House to the garden beyond, where there appears to have been another tower. Whether the portion of thick foundations formed part of a second tower at this angle is not clear, but the projection from the face of the western wall which occurs at the end of the wing, of which the chapel forms a part, seems to indicate that the foundations found are those of a defensive feature. The statement of Leland that "the Castelle or Palace of

Wolvesey is welle tourid and for the most part waterid about," leads us to expect to find some indications of these features.

Between the Chapel and the N.W. angle were evidently arranged a suite of regular shaped apartments. Their situation on the least exposed side and also the fact that remains of floor tiles[1] were found on this part of the site, the only evidences we have of the actual uses of the rooms, seem to suggest that they may have been for residential use. Possibly the centre compartment was an open court.

The north wall projects slightly beyond its junction with the western one, but no further evidence has been found of a tower at this angle. Being a sheltered position it was perhaps not considered necessary, or its remains may have been removed at some previous period.

In the centre of the north wall was placed the Gate-house, and there were apparently apartments arranged along this face. The floor level of these was, however, some four or five feet lower than that of the portion which has been assumed to have formed the residential wing, and one of the doorways seems to have formed a means of access from the higher to the lower level. It is not clear why the northern side forms a somewhat awkward angle with the western buildings. It seems possible, however, that the general outline of the castle may have been fixed by the nature of the site, combined with purely military considerations, when the bishop first planned his fortified palace in troubled times at the commencement of his episcopate. The western wing may have been erected in later years, when, after an absence from England, during which the defences of his castle had been removed, he no doubt found a certain amount of new building necessary.

To the west of the Gate-house the commencement of an arched passage may have led to a postern. The gate itself shews the remains of a Norman arch, the inner arch however is of pointed form. This has led to the idea that this was of a later period of architecture, but that such a

[1] Among the tiles found were the following, which are illustrated in connection with Mr. B. W. Greenfield's paper in Part ii. of Vol. ii. of the Field Club Proceedings, viz.: Plate A., 15 or 18. Plate B., 2. Plate C., 18. Plate D., 6. There were also several with a plain green glaze, probably of much later date.

supposition is unnecessary, a glance at the north wall of the great hall will prove. There may be seen the remains of five distinctly pointed arches with typical Norman decoration, while above them, and therefore of later date, is an arcade of characteristic circular arches. It must be remembered that de Blois, like our more famous Wykeham, lived in a period of transition both political and architectural.

The Church of S. Cross was built by de Blois and the arches of the nave arcade are distinctly pointed. In the south transept of his cathedral the bishop also blocked up one of the Norman arches to form a treasury. This has a couple of curiously shaped arches, almost elliptical, which may be taken as a intermediate step.

In the walls of the Gate-house are several loopholes, and, extending from the gate to the opening in the surrounding wall, giving access to Colebrook-street, is a line of large stones and chalk, probably the remains of a causeway across the marshy ground now occupied by the market garden.

To the east of the gatehouse and immediately adjoining the end of the Great Hall, is a room, which may have been the Guard chamber. In excavating to find its western wall, the remains of an earthen hearth were found with a layer of charcoal above it, the adjacent wall bearing evidence of the fire. We hear of the Bishop of Winchester's armed retainers in the following century, who, feeling aggrieved by the arrogance of the foreign Archbishop, attacked Lambeth Palace, and even broke down the doors of the Chapel.

At the east end of the north wall are the remains of what was most likely an angle tower. The portion still standing shews it to have been internally of a curved shape, possibly a round tower as suggested by the dotted lines.

This point also exhibits some rough masonry of large unsquared stones, differing from the greater part of the small dressed stonework used in other parts of the building. If any remains of the earlier Palace exist on the present site these may be fragments of Saxon masonry, but they do not appear to be in their original position.

The great Hall has next to be noticed. Its length of 135 feet seems at first to be out of proportion to its width, which is only slightly over 29 feet.

Probably, however, this length was sub-divided by means of wooden screens or other temporary divisions. Such an arrangement is found at Castle Acre Priory, where the Refectory building consists of a hall 111 feet long and only 25 feet wide. Of this only about 60 feet seems to have been devoted to the actual dining hall of the monks, the remaining portion being utilised for the buttery and pantry, while the central part constituted a kind of lobby known as "the screens," such as we find in the College halls at Oxford and Cambridge.

In one of the views of Wolvesey, given in "Grose's Antiquities," there is shewn what might be taken for a projection from the east wall, about 70 feet from its northern end, but the drawing is not clear enough to be certain on this point.

The north wall, which is standing in fair preservation, shews that a projecting string course ran round the walls, and above this, at the sides, were apparently windows, which were lighted from two open courts at the sides. At the north end, where an adjoining room made this impossible, an ornamental feature, consisting of an arcade of five arches, which are pointed, but have distinctly Norman decoration, is introduced. Above this were round arched openings admitting light at a high level. In the thickness of the wall at this height a passage was also constructed, which appears to have been continued on all sides of the hall. Remains of it at the south end of the east wall shew that it was connected with the passage to the S.E. tower.

In the N.E. angle of the Hall is a corbel supporting the end arch of the arcade already referred to. The lower part consists of a female head carved with a much greater degree of refinement than is usual at that period.

Probably a plain corbel stone has been re-carved at a subsequent period.

The decoration of the north end of the hall may be taken to indicate that it was the place of honour where would be placed the "dais." If the Council held at mid Lent, 1141, met at Wolvesey, it would probably have been here that Bishop Henry claimed to preside over the large

assembly of bishops and abbots, by virtue of his position as papal legate, notwithstanding the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The possibility of the western block of buildings having been erected during the later years of the bishop's life has already been suggested. If so, it seems likely that he might have added to the adornment of his Hall at the same time. This may account for the rather later style of work to be noticed in the decoration, although not later than much that is to be seen at S. Cross.

Of the bishop himself, some notice must be taken. He was evidently a man of taste and a collector of treasures both of natural history and art. He wrote an account of the finding of King Arthur's tomb at Glastonbury. In the British Museum is a circular enamel representing a bishop, generally supposed to be Henry of Blois, The following inscription in Latin is upon it: "+Art is above gold and gems: the Creator is above all things. Henry, while living, gives gifts of brass to God; whom (equal to the Muses in intellect and superior to Marcus in oratory) his renown makes acceptable to men; his morals to the Gods above. +The servant sent before fashions gifts acceptable to God: may an angel carry up to Heaven the giver after his gifts. Let not England, however, hasten this event, or excite grief: England, to whom peace or war, movement or quiet, come through him." This is supposed to have been made during the period that he was papal legate, and possibly alludes to the part he played during the contest between his brother and the Empress. The bishop seems to have remained on the Continent for two or three years after his brother's death, but had returned in 1159, and on Trinity Sunday, 1162, assisted by thirteen bishops of the province, he consecrated Thomas á Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. Henry of Blois lived for nearly another decade, his death taking place on 8th August, 1171.

Of the subsequent history of Wolvesey very little need be said, as it has been dealt with by Canon Collier, and also in "The Story of Wolvesey" by Miss Leroy and Miss Bramston.

In 1216 Louis of France was at Winchester, and destroyed some part of the walls at Wolvesey. This probably refers to the outer wall, the outline of which is shewn on the small key plan. At Wolvesey, in 1393 (28 March), William of Wykeham received the Warden and Scholars of S. Mary's College previous to the opening ceremony, and Cardinal Beaufort entertained Henry V. when on his way to France just before the Battle of Agincourt. From hence Bishop Fox dated the foundation Charter of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. (Cal: March, 1516.)

During the Civil War in the XVIIth century Wolvesey was considered sufficiently strong, notwithstanding the use of gunpowder, to be a possible danger to the Parliamentary cause, and orders were given for it to be "sleighted," *i.e.*, thrown down and demolished.[1] They appear to have used gunpowder to cause the destruction of the walls of the keep, which would hardly have presented their existing appearance if ruined by natural causes.

The new Palace, a portion of which exists, was built for Bishop Morley (1662-1684) by Sir Christopher Wren, and was probably largely constructed of materials from the Castle. In addition to the building now used as the "Church House," there was originally a large block, now demolished, which faced College Street. The part next the Chapel was not completed at the Bishop's death, as appears from his will.

Bishop Mews succeeded (1684), but the completion of Morley's work was left to Trelawney (1707-1721). Subsequent bishops did not make their home at Wolvesey, and at the end of the last century its venerable walls, according to Milner, served as a stone quarry for the repair of the

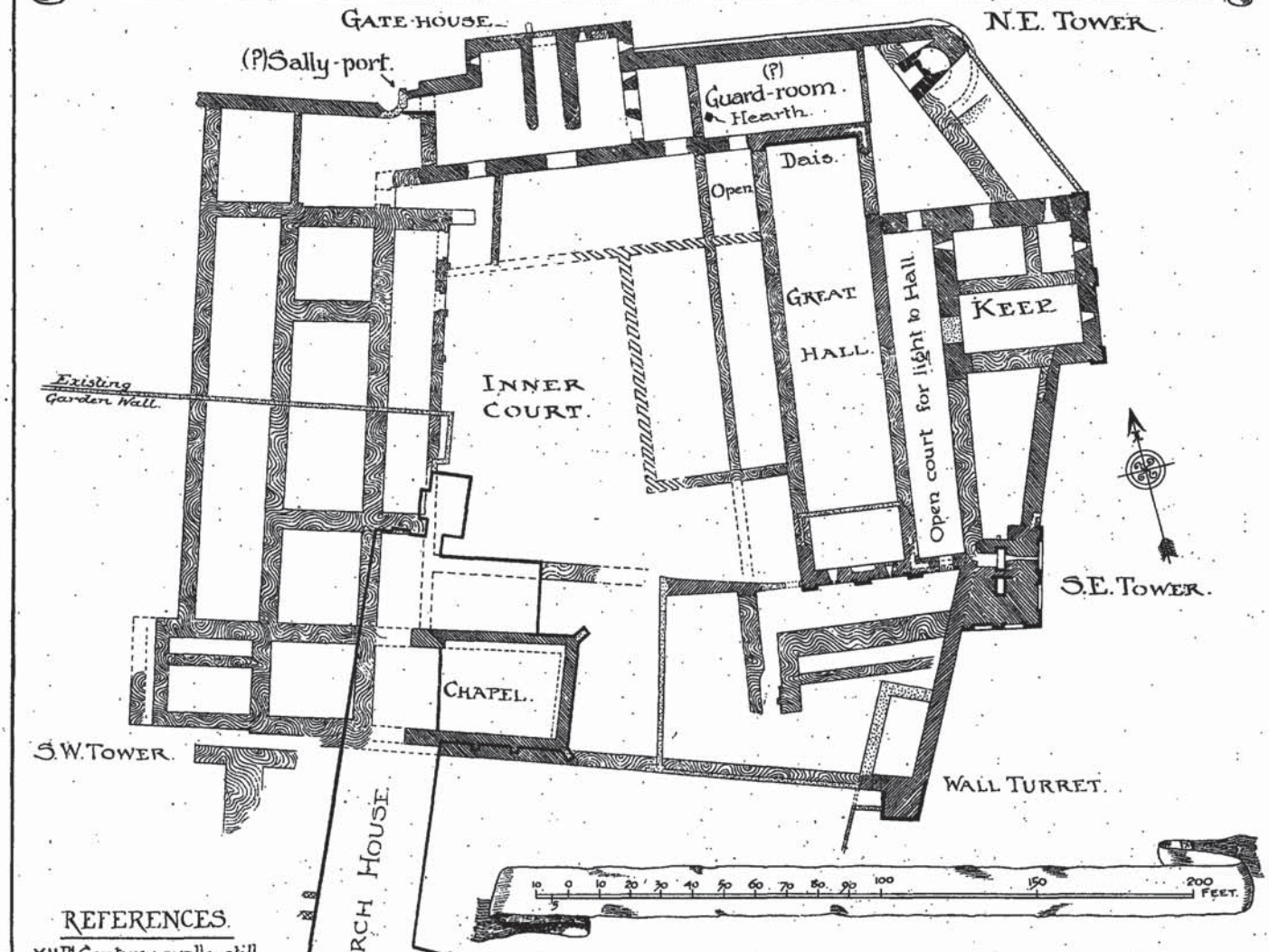
[1] The following extract from a Border ballad of the period illustrates the meaning of the word:

"Oh, were there war between the lands,
As well I wot that there is none,
I would *slight* Carlisle castell high
Though it was builded of marble stone.
I would set that castell in a low,
And slaken it with English blood;
There's never a man in Cumberland
Should ken where Carlisle castell stood."

roads. In more recent times it has been used as a private residence, for a Diocesan Training College and other purposes until 1894, when, through the exertions of Bishop Thorold and Dean Kitchin, a fund was started, and the remains of Bishop Morley's palace was opened October 16, 1895, as a "Church House for the Diocese," the necessary alterations having been made under the direction of Sir Arthur Blomfield, to whom the writer is indebted for having placed at his disposal drawings of the present buildings. His thanks are also due to the Trustees of the Church House for permitting the explorations here described; to Mr. G. H. Kitchin for the loan of Canon Collier's sketches; also to Mr. W. Pink for the photograph taken especially to illustrate this paper; and last, but not least, to the Ven. Archdeacon Haigh for allowing excavations to be made in his garden.

WOLVESEY CASTLE.

PLAN OF XII^TH CENTURY CASTLE RESTORED FROM RECENT EXPLORATIONS.



REFERENCES.

XII^TH Century walls still standing with additions of same period.

Ditto with ashlar stone facing.

Original walls or foundations ascertained by recent investigations.

Portions of masonry possibly of earlier date but not in its original position.

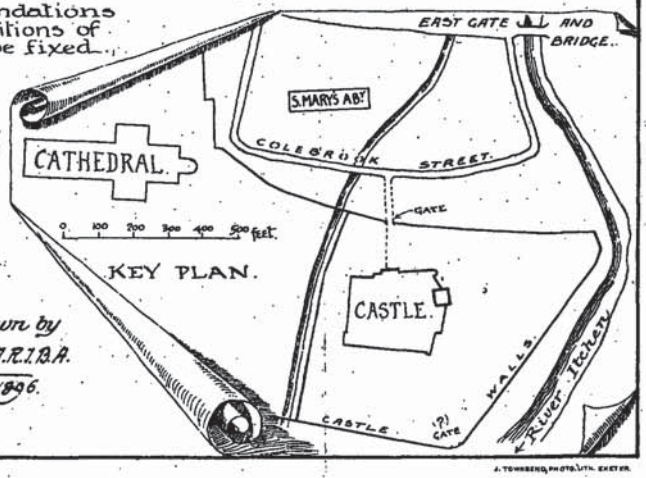
Approximate position of walls which existed about 1860.

Subsequent work.

Probable continuation of walls

Foundations found during alterations to Church House. Perhaps part of Front Wing of Morley's Palace.

N.B Where foundations only remain the positions of doors &c cannot be fixed.



Measured & drawn by
N. C. H. Nisbett. A.R.I.B.A.
Jan: 1896.

N. C. H. NISBETT, DELT.

J. TOWNSEND, PHOTO-LITH. EXETER.