

The Warren House, Kimbolton, Cambridgeshire: a rare & interesting survival

by

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The Ancient Monuments Society has as one of its dual founding purposes campaigning for the conservation of historic buildings. One such, in the 1980s, was a building known as the Warren House in Kimbolton, Cambridgeshire, always assumed to be an 18th-century eye-catcher for Kimbolton Castle. In 2005, the derelict building came into the care of the Landmark Trust, who have restored it as a self-sustaining holiday let. The restoration process and associated research have revealed the Warren House to be possibly a unique survival of a timber-framed warren lodge, placing it within a once well-established but now almost entirely lost building typology. Its original construction probably dating to the 1630s, the later planting of a polite facade to transform the humble timber-framed lodge into an eye-catcher carries its own story, of the tradition of using warrens and their lodges in designed landscapes, moulded at Kimbolton by Joseph Spence; of early 17th-century material salvaged from Kimbolton Castle; and of possible association through masons' marks with Apethorpe and Kirby Halls and the Thorpe workmen at the Kingscliffe quarry.

In 1985, the Ancient Monuments Society lobbied to save from demolition a small, Grade II* listed building perched on hill above the village of Kimbolton in Cambridgeshire (Fig. 1).¹ Though its main structure was timber-framed, the two-storey building presented a polite elevation of brick and well-dressed ashlar to the view, with triangular gable end acting as pediment to a stone parapet above a round-headed central window on the first floor, flanked by two mullioned two-light stone windows. Known as the Warren House, the building had always been assumed to be an 18th-century eye-catcher associated with Kimbolton Castle, with which it is directly aligned (Fig. 2). The roof had caved in and the little building was in danger of collapse. It had twice narrowly escaped demolition already in 1979 and 1983, when its destruction was prevented only by the Secretary of State calling in the application.²

Stranded without a use, the building's decay had continued. By 1985, 'The vandals have virtually destroyed the projecting round-headed entrance porch and half the parapet and the surmounting stone gable have collapsed', wrote Matthew Saunders for the Society. 'Nevertheless, reconstruction is still possible'.³ To their credit, the

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owners, then the Boots Pension Fund, did instigate repairs.⁴ They re-roofed the building, and rebuilt the parapet and its gable. The remnants of the rear outshot were removed and the timber frame was enclosed in (an unsuitably cementitious) pebbledash render. This at least stabilised the building, even though inside it was a floorless, stripped out shell. Left unused, it again became an inevitable temptation to vandals despite the forbidding metal fence erected around it.

In 1997, the Warren House and farmland around it were purchased by a private owner who, in 2005, gave the freehold of the derelict building to the building preservation charity, the Landmark Trust. What follows is based upon research carried out by the Trust in the course of its restoration of the Warren House as one of the Trust's eponymous holiday lets. This research has revealed that the little building is of far greater interest than previously realised, and for reasons rather different from those hitherto assumed.

As stated above, the Warren House's primary role was assumed to be as a folly or eye-catcher for Kimbolton Castle. Accepted local wisdom was that the name referred simply to its position on the edge of Warren Spinney, a known historic rabbit warren (Fig. 3). A Royal Commission report published in 1926, when the lodge was still inhabited as a gamekeeper's cottage, speculated that it might have been built as a 'standing' for hunting, 'largely with re-used 16th- and early 17th-century material probably brought from the old Castle in the 17th century'.⁵

In fact, its name gave the clue as to the building's original character and purpose. The Warren House is a very rare (possibly unique) timber-framed survival of a once common building type – the warren lodge. Excavated house platforms associated with other medieval and post-medieval warrens imply lodges that were little more than simple cottages, indistinguishable in plan or materials from other simple dwellings and similarly easily lost.⁶ The timber-framed core of the Kimbolton Warren House presents the survival of such a building. This one came to play that additional role of eyecatcher, but the starting point for understanding its full significance must return to its original form and purpose, and place its building typology within a sequence dating from the Middle Ages, from the introduction into the British Isles of a certain long-eared, soft-pelted quadruped in the late 12th century.



Fig. 1

The Warren House at its lowest ebb, in 1985. A temptation to vandals, the roof has caved in and its triangular pediment has collapsed.
Photograph, TAMS, 29 (1985), 166

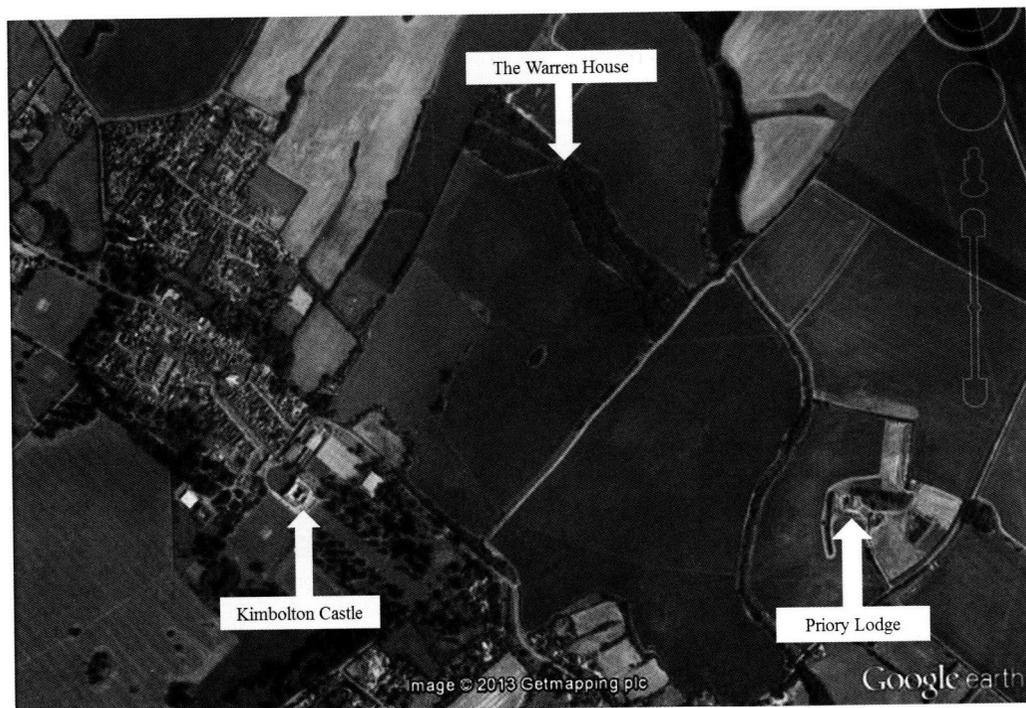


Fig. 2

Aerial view of Kimbolton showing the relationship between the Warren House, Kimbolton Castle to the south, and Priory Lodge to the south-east. The land rises steeply from the Castle towards the Warren House; the field boundaries are ancient, including the band of the 'long hedge' on the western edge of the Warren Hill pasture (see also Fig. 9).

Satellite image, Google earth



Fig. 3

'As melancholy as a lodge in a warren' (Shakespeare). The Warren House soon after it was taken on by the Landmark Trust, isolated in its setting on the edge of a belt of woodland on an escarpment overlooking the village of Kimbolton and Kimbolton Castle in the valley below. The repairs carried out by the Boots Pension Fund in the 1980s hold good, but inside the building is floorless and derelict.

Photograph, the Landmark Trust, 2007

WARREN LODGES AS BUILDING TYPOLOGY

To set the Kimbolton Warren House in its context, a brief review of the warren lodge as a topology is in order. Very few warren houses survive even as ruins, but they were once familiar enough for Shakespeare to assume knowledge of them among his audience, describing an unhappy lover as being ‘as melancholy as a lodge in a warren’.⁷ Warren lodges acted as a stamp of authority on the landscape, providing wide views and often in commanding positions. Indeed, on maps of the largest warrens there might even be two or more lodges at a distance from each other. Warrens and their lodges were a sign of seigneurial status, like dovecotes, orchards and fishponds.⁸ Warren houses tend to share a broad typology: tall, two-storey, single chamber structures built in lonely and commanding spots, often south facing since rabbits prefer warmer slopes. They had one or more fireplaces from a very early date for such features, several windows for surveying surrounding countryside and a well nearby. The ground floor was often strengthened or fortified, since it was here that valuable carcasses and pelts were stored. A spiral stair, often in the south-west corner and with one or more windows overlooking the warren slope, led to the first floor, where the warrener lived.⁹

These characteristics are all found in the primary structure of the Kimbolton Warren House. This was a single timber-framed bay of two storeys under a pitched roof. The ground floor was almost certainly undivided and had only very small windows (if any). The first floor level may have been divided into two chambers. Both floors in their evolved form had hearths off a brick chimney stack, the current form of which belongs to a later phase. It is possible such hearths existed in the primary phase though this could not be confirmed; similarly, the original access arrangement between the two floors is unknown. External stairs on the site of the later spiral staircase in the south-west corner of the building is a possibility and would have been consistent with the typology.¹⁰

The few medieval warren lodges that survive today in recognisable condition are in the East Anglian Breckland. Methwold, Lakenheath, Eriswell, Santon, and Langford Warren in Ickford all had their lodges, but only



Fig. 4

Mildenhall Lodge is a rare survival of a medieval warren lodge. This keep-like structure is built of stone and flint, but shares the basic plan-form and features characteristic of warren lodges as a building typology: secure ground floor, single chambers on two storeys, hearths at both levels, windows providing commanding views of the warren.

Photograph, the author, 2011

fragments survive. The 15th-century lodge at Thetford, today ruinous and in the care of English Heritage, is the best preserved medieval warren lodge in England, a massively built, keep-like structure in stone and flint, some 8 x 5 metres (see Figure 23 in the preceding article by John McCann for an illustration). Nearby Mildenhall Lodge (Fig. 4) is similar in shape and form, slightly smaller and slightly later, also built of flint with brick and stone. It is less overtly defensive in character, standing on high ground to survey the heath. It too is ruinous, although accessible to the public.

By the late 16th century, such buildings were being brought into service as conscious embellishments in the landscape. The famous Rushton Triangular Lodge (Northants.) is the most idiosyncratic, built by Sir Thomas Tresham in the 1590s (Fig. 5). A play on the Holy Trinity and a statement of Tresham's Catholic faith, it was also a working base for the warrener, referred to in estate accounts as the 'Warryners Lodge'. It too has the characteristic single chamber on each floor with a spiral staircase in one corner.¹¹

In the early 17th century, rising population levels and the growth of towns increased the demand for the relatively cheap meat provided by rabbits. Perhaps inspired by the Rushton lodge, a fashion emerged for warren lodges as major decorative elements within designed landscapes. Two maps by William Senior in 1617 of Chatsworth House and its park show how the warren (the Cunigre) formed the main element in the view from Chatsworth House.¹² The house and its landscape underwent extensive subsequent modifications, but the warren lodge remained in this prominent position until it was swept away, with its clutter of pillow mounds, in 1758. Similarly, Ascott House near Wing in Buckinghamshire was built in the 1590s looking over formal gardens to a warren beyond, and mid-17th-century Sopwell House near St Albans in Hertfordshire also looked out directly across the warren with formal gardens to one side.¹³ Balls Park, also in Hertfordshire, a substantial and innovative house in the Artisan Mannerist style, was built by John Harrison just before the Civil War. The house had no formal park until the 1750s, but county historian Henry Chauncy described how, as late as 1700, Sir



Fig. 5

Sir Thomas Tresham's Triangular Lodge at Rushton (Northants., 1590s) is both a physical representation of the principles of recusant faith and a working 'Warryner's Lodge'. This eccentric building may have started the fashion for warren lodges to double as picturesque eye-catchers within the landscape.

Photograph, the author, 2010

William Lytton built there 'a fair, stately fabric of brick in the middle of a warren ... It stands towering upon a Hill, from whence is seen a most pleasant prospect'.¹⁴

In the Cotswolds, warrens had existed close to major elite residences and in deer parks since the Middle Ages, but the main period of expansion again seems to have been late 16th and early 17th centuries. It is quite possible that the East Banqueting House of Sir Baptist Hicks' Old Campden House at Chipping Campden fulfilled an additional purpose as warren lodge (Fig. 6). This tall, three-storey building borders the open ground still known today as the Coneygree, of which it provides a fine prospect. The top floor is an elegant banqueting house, the loggia of which opens directly onto a raised parterre. The rear elevation and the lower two storeys set against the bank of the earthwork are plainer. Perhaps, like the Rushton lodge, Hicks had a dual purpose in mind.

In the 18th century, Capability Brown's naturalistic park landscaping and changes in agricultural practice spelled doom for many warrens. Large scale land improvement schemes and enclosure replaced areas of rough pasture with improved grass and arable land. Only in the Brecklands, the sandy heathland harder to convert to arable, did the rabbit continue to reign supreme. The speed with which the importance of warrens – together with the role of the distinctive features employed in rabbit farming – passed from the wider social memory is striking. Within centuries, even decades, the physical traces of a major agrarian industry had been rendered mysterious, and not only to many past archaeologists, fooled into thinking that the remains of artificial mounds associated with rabbit farming were features belonging to the Roman period or even earlier. Curious today to reflect that special measures – pillow mounds, banks, artificial burrows, winter fodder and even protection – were needed to sustain and protect rabbits. Our collective amnesia is perhaps largely the simple consequence of the success of the rabbit itself, developing from semi-domesticated, vulnerable and valuable creature to the rampant and ubiquitous nuisance it is today.¹⁵ Warren lodges, boundary ditches and pillow mounds were once so commonplace that everyone knew them for what they were, and no one thought it necessary to write it down for posterity. How strange it would seem to them that agricultural historians must so painstakingly recover the facts, and that the recovery of a humble timber-framed lodge like that at Kimbolton should be worthy of comment.



Fig. 6

The East Banqueting House on the site of Old Campden House, Chipping Campden (Glos.). The two lower floors of this rear elevation are simply constructed, with windows on one side only. It is not inconceivable that they doubled as a decorative warren lodge. The plainer rear elevation shown here, with its triangular gables and plain parapet, shares something of the tentative classicism of the Kimbolton Warren House.

Photograph, the Landmark Trust

BRIEF HISTORY OF KIMBOLTON CASTLE

There may have been a rabbit warren at Kimbolton from as early as the 14th century. The first reference dates from 19 February 1373, when Edward III's Calendar Rolls record the 'Commitment to the king's esquire, William de Risceby, of the keeping and survey of the king's castle of Kymbalton, together with the park, the hay, and the whole warren there, until further order'.¹⁶ However, the use of 'warren' here is ambiguous, since originally 'warren' could refer to more general hunting rights than its more modern usage as land set aside for the breeding of rabbits.

On 20 November 1522, the Manor of Kimbolton was granted by Henry VIII to Sir Richard Wingfield, and again included 'the park of Kymbalton and warren with liberties of park and warren to the same castle and manor'.¹⁷ Most of the inner court of the current Kimbolton Castle is thought to have been rebuilt in the mid-15th century, but its fabric was neglected by the 1480s.¹⁸ In 1485, the castle was in the hands of Katharine, Duchess of Bedford. Her son, Edward Duke of Buckingham, was, like his father before him, beheaded for treason by Henry VIII in 1521. The following year, Henry granted the castle, manor, market and fair of Kimbolton to Sir Richard Wingfield, a man of considerable power at court at that time. Henry gave Wingfield permission to take stone and lead from the ruined castle of Higham Ferrers to rebuild the castle. Wingfield largely refashioned Kimbolton Castle as a Tudor manor house, so that it became a castle only in name.

The Wingfields proved a profligate and ultimately debt-ridden family through the 16th century, and in 1615 James I granted Kimbolton Castle and its estate to Sir Henry Montagu.¹⁹ Montagu was a hardworking bureaucrat rather than a calculating courtier, but his work placed him at the heart of the Jacobean Court: he served as Lord Treasurer, First Lord President of the Council and Lord Privy Seal. In 1620, he was created Baron Montagu of Kimbolton and Viscount Mandeville, in a nod to the post-Conquest holders of lands in the area. He was created 1st Earl of Manchester in 1626. Through the 1620s and 30s, Montagu carried out his own remodelling of the Tudor house and its grounds, although most of his intervention has been superseded or enclosed by the later, grander alterations. Montagu may, however, be a key player in the history of the Warren House.

In 1683 this rather haphazard medieval castle was inherited by Charles, 4th Earl, who was created 1st Duke of Manchester in 1719.²⁰ In 1690-5, the 4th Earl instructed a comprehensive reworking of the castle, probably undertaken by gentleman architect, Henry Bell of King's Lynn. In 1707, most of the old south wing collapsed into the moat. Her husband abroad as ambassador in Venice, Lady Manchester turned to Sir John Vanbrugh for advice. Vanbrugh ended up rebuilding the south wing between 1707 and 1720, all in limestone, and assisted by Nicholas Hawksmoor (Fig. 7). In about 1717, a large portico was added to the east elevation, recently attributed to Thomas Archer (Fig. 8).²¹ Finally, in around 1766 Robert Adam added a fine stone gateway at south-east entrance to the castle and the impressive gatehouse that still provides the end-stop to the village High Street. This completed the creation of the great house as we see it today. When, then, did it acquire its warren house, and who was responsible for adding its polite facade?



Fig. 7

Kimbolton Castle, from the south-west. Vanbrugh largely rebuilt the Castle in 1707-1720, and was anxious to retain its 'Castle Air': 'I thought 'twas absolutely best,' he wrote to the 4th Earl of Manchester in July 1707, 'to give it Something of the Castle Air, tho' at the same time to make it regular ... for to have built a Front with Pillasters, and what the Orders require cou'd never have been born with the Rest of the Castle: I'm sure this will make a very Noble and Masculine Shew.'

Photograph, the author, 2011

A CONSTRUCTION DATE FOR THE WARREN HOUSE

To address the question of a construction date first, a lively and detailed map of the castle estate dating from 1582 by Nicholas Bleake does not show the Warren House, suggesting that the lodge is unlikely to have existed at this date (Fig. 9).²² The 'long hedge', a distinctive feature on later maps, is already shown. Cattle graze on Warren Hill in front of the Warren House site, which is here inscribed 'Stonely pasture, all is Castle Lyes [leas or pasture]', referring to the neighbouring Stonely estate, formerly a priory but suggesting that at least what today is known as Warren Hill is already within the castle estate. The land behind the Warren House site is marked 'The property of Mr Tho Maria Winkfield' [Wingfield]; the full Stonely estate was not acquired by the 2nd Earl until 1655. It is possible that Wingfield may have had the plateau behind the Warren House in use as warren in 1582, but the absence of any mention of such use for the castle of the Warren Hill field on such an otherwise detailed estate map suggests that, in 1582 at least, no such use was under way for the castle on the hill.

Archaeologist, Colin Briden, has postulated a late 16th- or early 17th-century construction date, based on the evidence of the side purlins clasped between a high level collar and the principal rafters in the roof of the Warren House.²³ Dendrochronology was commissioned but unfortunately yielded no matches.²⁴ By the end of the 16th century, the estate was very heavily encumbered by debt, which might also argue against much activity at the end of the Wingfield tenure.

The east part of a 1673 estate map by Thomas Stirrup provides the next evidence (Fig. 10).²⁵ By now, the Manchester estates had extended north to include the plateau behind the Warren House site. Again using the long hedge for orientation, by this time we find, in front of 'the castle' at the bottom edge, 'The Worrin [Warren] Ground', 'The Hill

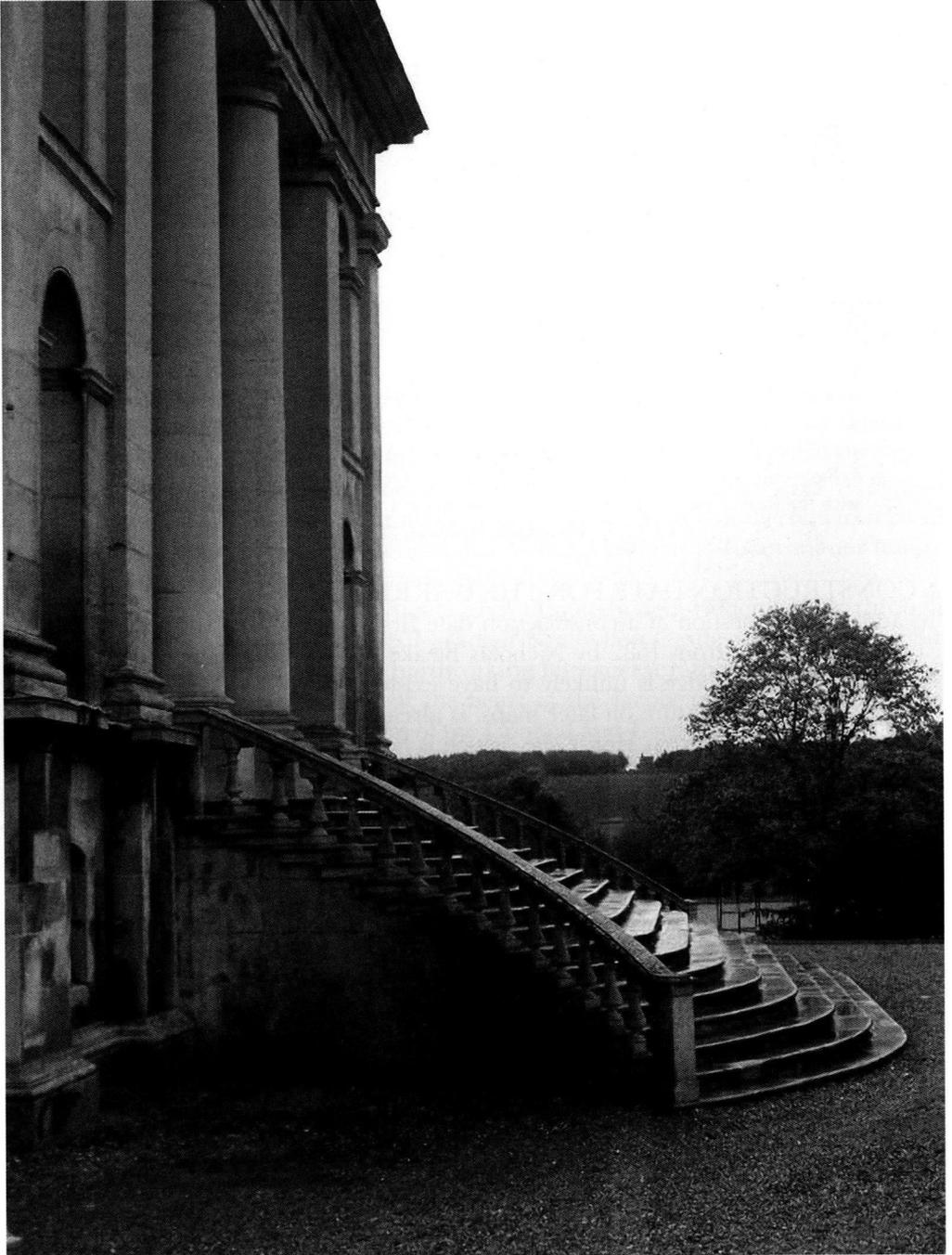


Fig. 8

The view from the east portico of Kimbolton Castle, up Warren Hill to the Warren House, just visible on the skyline. According to the letter of an anonymous 18th-century traveller, the portico was added by Thomas Archer before 1727. The lodge is said to line up directly with the view from the bedroom traditionally held to have been used by the Duchess.

Photograph, the author, 2011

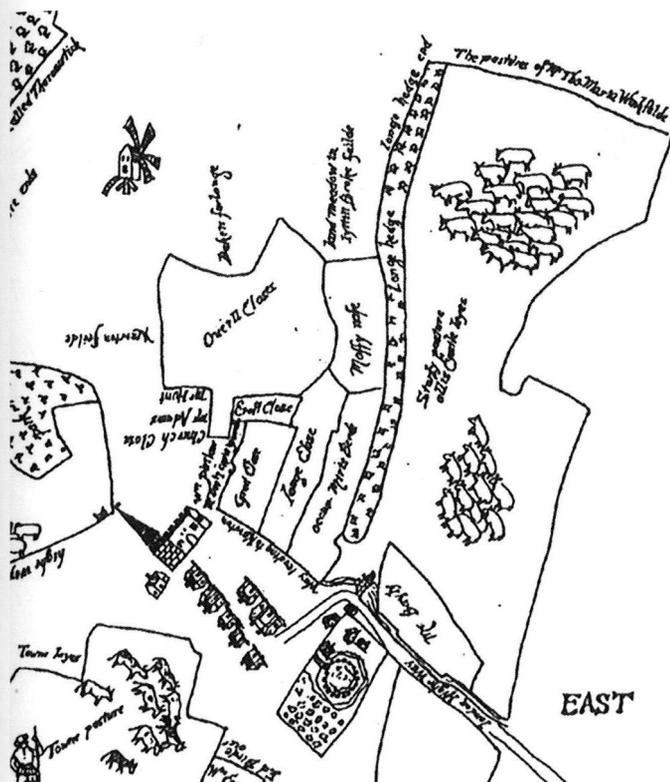


Fig. 9

Kimbolton Castle estate, detail of the eastern edge of a very large 1582 estate map by Nicholas Bleake. The Castle, in its then still moated site, is shown centre bottom, with 'The Bayley' marked across the road.

The pasture today known as Warren Hill extends beyond the bailey, marked 'Stonely pasture, all is Castle Lyes [leas]'. Two flocks of sheep (or herds of cattle?) graze. The long hedge is a dominant feature.

Drawn detail, Bedford & Luton Archives & Records Office FAC75 (original in private ownership)

since the frame was re-configured at least twice.²⁶ Analysis also suggested that the main, relatively low-grade structure had been built in a single phase and specifically for this site, i.e. not reconstructed from elsewhere, nor incorporating a significant number of reused timbers.

Amongst the Manchester papers at the Huntingdon Library and Archive, there is a badly water damaged, mostly illegible document, with nothing to tie it specifically to Kimbolton other than its inclusion in a bundle of other papers explicitly relating to the estate. It is dated 26 January 1637, placing it within the years that Sir Henry Montagu, from 1626 1st Duke of Manchester, was improving the castle and estate. The document is inscribed on the reverse, 'The generall [accou]nt for the heath', and is indeed a set of accounts. It begins, 'Layed out about your Honour's improvements upon the heath', and

Ground' and 'The Worrin and longhedge groun[d]s [?]'. The fields beyond these are collectively marked as 'The Brech' (breck or heathland), a word typically associated with land used to hold rabbits. In the 'Worrin and longhedge' field a building is shown, albeit in rather stylised fashion, but exactly on the site of the Warren House. The fact that two of the field names include the word 'Worrin' and stand so close to the Breck also make it likely that the building at their heart had an associated and specialised use. It therefore seems reasonable to deduce that the Warren House, in its primary, timber-framed cottage form, was built by 1673.

Building analysis and the subsequent detailed knowledge obtained during the restoration process also confirmed that the timber-framed structure first stood without the stone façade, and probably for some time,

then, as far as can be made out, it refers to surveying, and fencing with posts and rails on the heath, digging and tiling.²⁷

The evidence is therefore circumstantial but plausible that the Warren House was built by Henry Montagu, 1st Earl, in 1637 as part of his 'improvements upon the heath', during years when rabbit husbandry on estates was seeing a revival and the fashion for warrens as part of designed landscapes well-established.

THE WARREN HOUSE AS EYE-CATCHER

So much for a primary construction date for the warren lodge. When, then, was it dressed as an eye-catcher? The next piece of evidence for the development of the Warren House is another, very detailed estate map of 1763, by Cosmo Wallace (Fig. 11A-B).²⁸ A close examination of it reveals that the building's footprint is shown accurately in its embellished form, complete with porch and extensions or outshots to the rear. It is now playing its part in a more aesthetically managed landscape, placed at the centre of an undulating line of estate railing that borders a 'Plantation of Forrest Trees' (still present today and known as Warren Spinney). There is also a poor photocopy in the Huntingdon Library and Archive of a very similar map by Wallace dated 1764 that describes this spinney as 'A Plantation of Young Forest', suggesting that it was only recently planted.

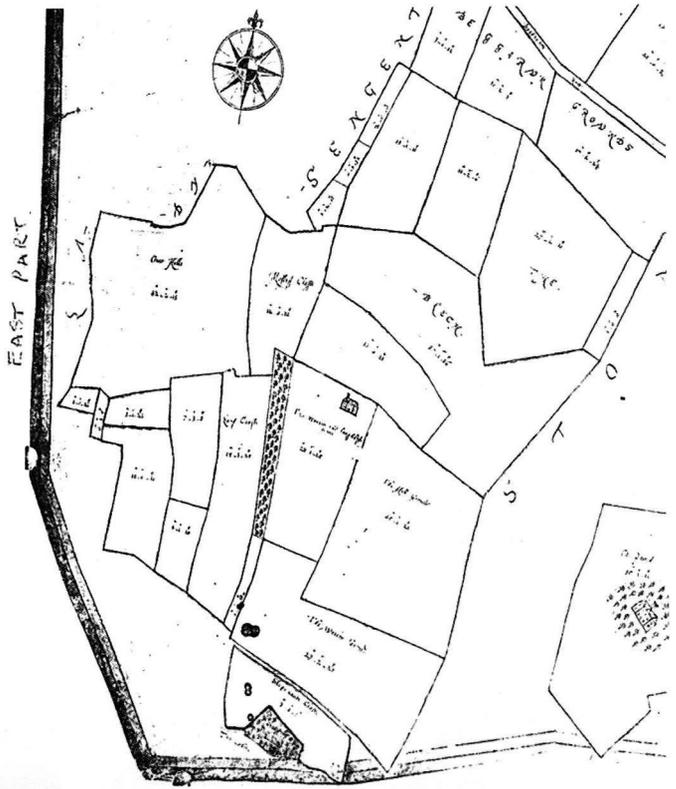


Fig. 10

Kimbolton Castle estate, drawn detail of the 1763 estate map by Thomas Stirrup. The Castle is centre bottom, in the trees. By now, a building, certainly the Warren House, stands in the 'Warrin and longhedge grounds,' with the area described in 1582 as 'the Bayley', now marked as 'The Warrin'. Behind the Warren House, the distinctive circular sweep of the plateau behind, apparent in the modern day field pattern (Fig. 2), begins to appear, and is marked as 'The Breck', the traditional name for land often used for rabbit husbandry. Note too the building at extreme right in woodland, on the site of today's Priory Lodge, labelled 'The P[r]iory?'. [Editor's note: only a photocopy of this map is available at the archive, hence the reduced quality]

Huntingdon Library & Archive Manchester papers, PM 3 /4, photocopy (original held by the Manchester family)



Fig. 11A

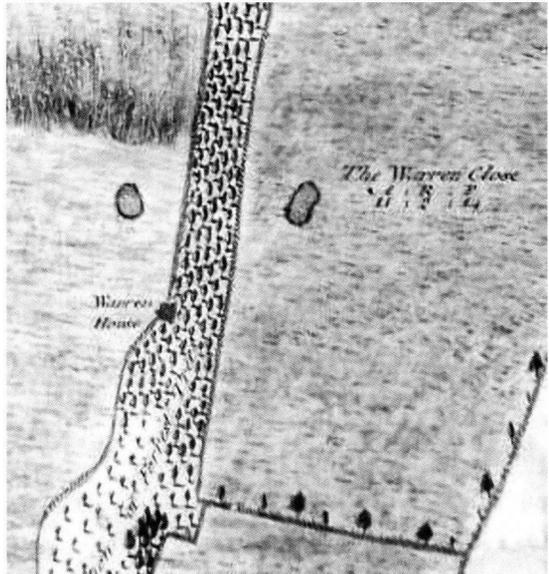
'A Plan of the House, Gardens and Park of Kimbolton Castle the seat of His Grace the Duke of Manchester', Cosmo Wallace, 1763 (oriented with north to the right). Here the Warren House stands in a 'Plantation of Forrest Trees', the band of trees to the right.

The Castle is far left.

Huntingdon Library & Archive Manchester Papers, Map 457; photograph, the author, 2010

Fig. 11B

Detail of the 1763 Wallace map (11A). The land behind the Warren House is marked as 'The Warren Close'. The estate fencing suggests that the warren did not formally extend beyond this northern boundary. The two small mounds shown to the west of the Warren House could be pillow mounds; traces of double ditching also survive in the spinney.



This in turn is consistent with the known development of the castle estate around this date. In 1758, Robert, 3rd Duke of Manchester, solicited the advice of his friend, Joseph Spence, over improvements to his estate. Spence visited Kimbolton in 1758 and wrote a long, hitherto unpublished letter detailing his ideas, which he signed, 'Your Grace's most obedient & most devoted Humble Servant – Spanco' (from which it seems reasonable to infer that they were on informally friendly terms).

Joseph Spence is an interesting figure in 18th-century literature and garden design. At various times he was Professor of Poetry and Regius Professor of History at Oxford University. He was an appreciated companion for several aristocrats on their Grand Tours and a good friend of Alexander Pope and other writers, and published various works of history and commentary of his own. Already a designer of gardens and landscapes for his friends, Spence's success in designing the garden for the house where he lived at Byfleet in Surrey led to other higher profile commissions, of which Kimbolton Castle was one. Today, Spence's lengthy notes about the site are at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University.²⁹ Spence's formal write-up of his ideas to His Grace, the Duke of Manchester, provides a detailed eye-witness description of the park at Kimbolton and its wider setting. Rough notes and jottings also survive, of planting lists, survey measurements and design sketches for the grounds at Kimbolton Castle, forming a valuable source for any garden historian of the castle. Spence also makes passing reference to earlier landscaping at the castle undertaken by 'Burnets' in 1745. Nothing more is known of this intervention.

Disappointingly, Spence did not mention the Warren House in his letter or his notes. He did, however, describe the wider views around the castle. After discussing View 1 ('from the Colonnade [sic]' to the east), View 2 ('from State Apartments' towards the south) and (View 3 ('toward the Town' to the west), Spence comes to View No. 4, north 'to the Road', and the one that today includes the Warren House in full gaze. He writes (see Fig. 12):

Some of the little trees on the banks of the [River] Kim, to be taken away; Great Tree, in the middle, to be clear'd of branches; (one Tire [tier] higher than usual:) & the Hedges between the two Woods to the left, to be kept low.

Might not the Kim itself be enlarged (to a Flood-View in that part) without doing any harm?

The Pales [palings], taken away, or hid as a Sunk-fence.

The Wood on the top of the Hill, shou'd come much farther down it, in a loose, bold & large, semicircular sort of sweep.³⁰

From the references to the road and the River Kym, Spence is surely looking up Warren Hill, for the Warren House must be in 'the Wood on the top of the Hill'. It is puzzling that he does not mention it directly. Perhaps at this date it was not visible from the castle but enclosed within the wood, and Spence, gazing out comfortably from inside the castle, was unaware of it as he wrote. Perhaps, if still unembellished with the stone facade, the little structure was considered insufficiently picturesque to mention.

We do not know for sure how many of Spence's suggestions were acted upon by

it would ~~add~~ a great deal of Enlargement, & Beauty, to the Vale; that Leads the eye to that Wood.

(C.) The pretty View off Windmill-Hill is already hurt, (& must be more & more so;) by the Skreen of Trees, that goes down toward the Stable. (A Grove of Evergreens, on the naked picay, of Common-Field to y^e left of Kimbolton Steeple; & another, on that between Honey-Hill Wood & Covington, would be of very good use, to distinguish the different Parts of this View; & to give a cheerfulness to the Whole; in Winter.)

No. 4.
(View, to the Road.)

Some of the little trees on the Banks of the Kim, to be taken away; Great Tree, in the middle, to be cleared of branches; (one Tire higher than usual;) & the Hedges between the two Woods to the left, kept low.

Might not the Kim itself be enlarged, (to a Flood-view, in that part;) without doing any harm?

The Pales, taken away, or hid by a Sunk-fence?

The Wood on the top of the Hill, should come much farther down it; in a loose, bold, & large, semicircular sweep.

After all, the greatest & noblest work of all remains almost unmentioned: which is the management of the Park, & the Woods adjoining to it. These I should think capable, (as far as Wood & Hills can go,) of making one of the finest things in England. But as I have mention'd full enough already, for some years, one may have ~~of his consideration of this~~ ^{of his consideration of this} the rest, till Lord Mar-deville comes home. I heartily wish his Lordship a happy return; & am,

Your Grace's
most Obedient,
&
most Devoted
and Humble Servant,
Temple in Great Circle
in Groves, 1750. ~~was written on~~ ^{was written on} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~manuscript~~ ^{manuscript} ~~of the~~ ^{of the} ~~Warren~~ ^{Warren} ~~Spence~~ ^{Spence}.

Fig. 12

Joseph Spence's description of View No. 4, 'to the Road', from Kimbolton Castle, in his notes for the re-landscaping of the estate for the 3rd Duke in 1758. He suggests 'The Wood on the top of the Hill, should come much farther down it, in a loose, bold & large, semicircular sort of sweep.' The 3rd Duke (or perhaps the 4th Duke, who inherited in 1762) acted in part on this suggestion by planting the Warren Spinney, shown in the Wallace map (Fig. 11).

Digital image of letter, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Osborn Collection, Joseph Spence Papers, OSB MSS 4, Box 6, folder 184, 'Kimbolton Castle in Huntingdonshire: Duke of Manchester'

the 3rd Duke of Manchester, or indeed by Robert, 4th Duke, who inherited in 1762. However, the Cosmo Wallace map depicts a now carefully landscaped park, with the fully developed Warren House at its heart. The 'Plantation of Young Forest' marked on the 1764 map could well be an execution of Spence's instruction for a 'loose, bold & large, semicircular sort of sweep' of woodland. That the Warren House lies at its centre suggests that the spotlight did indeed turn on the building, and brings us back to the question of when and by whom the stone facade with its brick porch was added, at some time between 1637 and 1763.

The involvement of so many iconic 18th-century architects with Kimbolton Castle – from where the Warren House so clearly stands in view – raised the enticing possibility that one of them might have been involved with the transformation of a humble timber-framed warren lodge into polite eye-catcher. This possibility was further reinforced by the existence of a drawing among the Manchester papers at the Huntingdon Library and Archive, known to local historians for some time as *Options for a Lodge or Folly* (Fig. 13).³¹ On the basis of this drawing, the previously accepted hypothesis was that the stone facade was added to the Warren House in the early 18th century during the second stage of Vanburgh and Hawksmoor's works to the castle for the 4th Earl's building campaign. The drawing shows the front, display elevation of a small building, with two alternative treatments for the parapet, one castellated and one as a sort of Dutch gable. It has a chimney to the left, a porch with an arched doorway and an arched window at first-floor level, flanked by two pairs of rectangular windows. In short, up to parapet height it looks remarkably like the Warren House. A later note has been added in pencil, thought to be in the hand of S. Inskip Ladd, local historian and contributor to the *Victoria County History* for Huntingdonshire in the 1920s. This note reads: 'Design for the Warren House constructed of materials from the earlier structure of the Castle. Early 18th century'. The early 18th century is certainly possible as a date for the addition of the facade. However, Inskip Ladd offered no further substantiation for the attribution of the drawing to the Warren House, for the early 18th-century date for its construction or for the drawing, nor for the fact of the re-use of materials from the castle.

In fact, a mid-1770s date for the *Options* drawing (if not for the Warren House's embellishment) seems more likely. When the 4th Duke inherited in 1762, he commissioned designs from Robert Adam to aggrandise the castle. Within the Manchester papers at the Huntingdon Library and Archives, the *Options for a Lodge or Folly* is in a folder of mixed sets of drawings dating from the early 1760s to the late 1770s, most of which relate to Robert Adam's involvement with the castle.³² *Options for a Lodge or Folly* is a large drawing (the sheet measures 540 x 380mm). The sheet size, paper colour and texture are exactly the same as two other sheets in the folder.

These two drawings are a large-scale detail of pillars, etc., annotated, 'For his Grace the Duke of Manchester at Kimbolton 1775' (M1A/3/18), and a plan for a saloon with curved end walls (MA1/3/17, undated). The ink and penmanship are comparable across these three drawings, although as the script on the *Options for a Lodge or Folly* is not joined, it is not possible to identify whether this is by the same hand. Indeed, the *Options* is quite a crude drawing – perhaps an exercise set for an apprentice architect, let loose on building possibilities remote from the main castle. As the options shown for

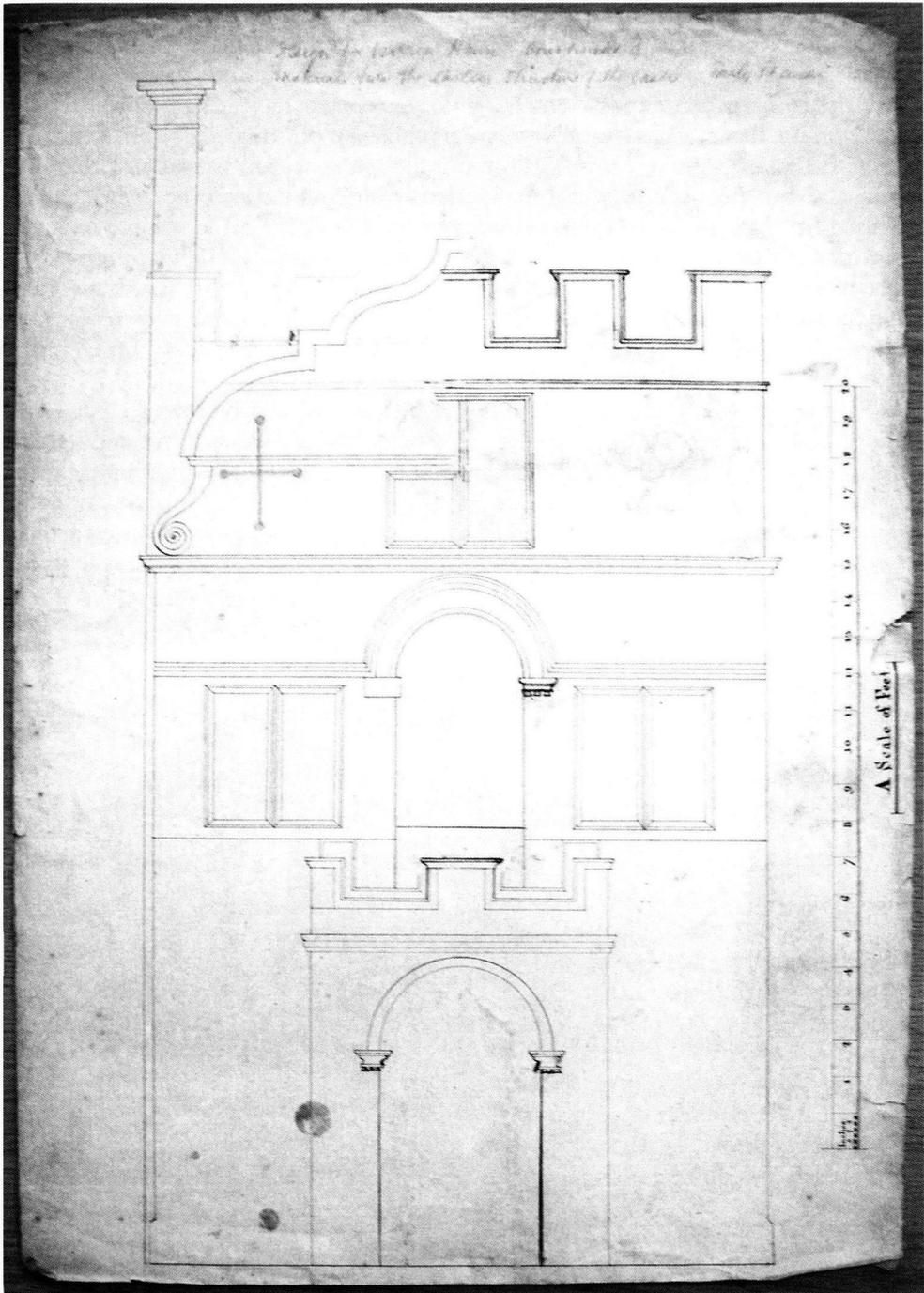


Fig. 13

'Options for a Lodge or Folly', drawing (580 x 380mm), apparently suggesting a reworking of the gable and parapet of the Warren House. This drawing provides a possible connection for the building with the office of Robert Adam, who was active at Kimbolton Castle from 1764 into the 1770s.

Huntingdon Library & Archive M1A/3/8; photograph, the author, 2010

the parapet do not include the parapet and triangular gable end as 'pediment' as they exist, it is indeed possible that the drawing is a proposal for a replacement of this parapet and gable, which perhaps had become inadequate to a mid-18th-century sensibility. It is certainly true that while the Warren House facade ashlar and stone windows are of the highest quality, the gable and pediment are much less sophisticated.

The collation of these drawings in the same folder within the catalogue may be coincidental, but this circumstantial evidence at least points towards the *Options* drawing as coming from the office of Robert Adam, in or around 1775, and so post-dating the map evidence that the Warren House already had its porch by 1763. It is not proven, but seems very likely, that the facade was also in place by 1763. On this basis, rather than a design for the whole facade, the drawing seems rather a repairs or replacement proposal for a pre-existing gable and parapet at the Warren House, to make it more fashionably Gothick.

Also relevant to the *Options* design, however, could be nearby Priory Lodge, since this does have a castellated parapet (Fig. 14). Priory Lodge has been referred to above in passing (see Figs 2, 10) and is a second eyecatcher on the Kimbolton estate, on land formerly part of the Stonely estate to the east, bought from a branch of the Wingfield family by Edward, 2nd Earl of Manchester, in 1655. The Lodge sits along the escarpment to the south-east of the Warren House, within the formerly moated site of Stonely Priory, founded in 1180 by William de Mandeville. This was never a large foundation and by the time of its dissolution in 1536, it is described as 'ruynous and in decaye'. Local anecdote has it that the cottage incorporates an original wall of the priory, though it seems more likely that it contains, or is entirely built of, salvaged material.³³

Priory Cottage is also thought to date from the early 17th century.³⁴ Like the Warren House, it is tall for its footprint, although apparently built of coursed rubble stone with dressed stone quoins rather than timber-frames, under a steep tiled roof. The western elevation has been embellished with a castellated parapet in finely jointed brick. The cottage has a central blocked rectangular opening at first floor level,



Fig. 14

Priory Lodge, Kimbolton, stands on or near the site of the former Stonely Priory. Just visible from the Castle and the Warren House, it seems likely that Priory Lodge also acted as an eye-catcher on the estate.

Photograph, the author, 2010

that implies an access onto a porch roof or viewing point, much like the round-headed window at the Warren House; there is a utilitarian modern porch in place today. This crenellated elevation faces west towards Kimbolton Castle and village. Modern barns and scrubby hedges block the view today but Priory Cottage could well have been visible from the castle and is just visible from the Warren House. As described, larger warrens often had two or more lodges set apart from each other to command as wide a view as possible under surveillance. It seems possible, even likely, that the history and purpose of the two lodges are linked. Perhaps it was Priory Lodge that received the castellated design proposed in the *Options* drawing.

PROVENANCE OF THE PLANTED FACADE OF THE WARREN HOUSE

If we accept that the Warren House was built *c.*1637, and embellished by 1763, what are we to make of the provenance of the high quality material used in the planted facade? Nicholas Cooper has commented that the facade has ‘that tantalising, slightly uncertain yet delicate classicism of some of the best building of *c.*1630-40 (cf. the 17th-century wing at Scotney)’.³⁵ From their size and shape, the bricks in the facade of the Warren House also look earlier than 18th-century, as does the use of English bond – though dating brickwork from size and bond alone has its limitations. On-site inspection made clear that the stone features were reused from elsewhere, not least because the internal faces of the stone mullions had been hacked back to make them fit the timber frame. On this



Fig. 15

Kimbolton Castle, south elevation of the inner courtyard refaced by Henry Bell, 1690s. The high level windows are now the only fabric of the works to the Castle in the 1620s and 30s left visible by Bell's and later alterations.

Photograph, Alison Ainsworth, 2013

basis, early 17th-century material could plausibly have been recycled from one of the later reworkings of the castle's fabric, and added at that time.

Very little early 17th-century fabric remains visible at Kimbolton Castle, most of it having been swept away or concealed by the 4th Earl's later building campaigns. One range of three high level windows does survive, as a kind of parapet backdrop to the south elevation of Henry Bell's elegant 1690s refacing of the medieval great hall and inner courtyard with very fine brickwork and stone dressings (Fig. 15). The two-light, mullioned form of the windows is the same as the pair of windows that flank the round-headed window on the Warren House facade, and the ovolo mouldings on both sets of windows look very similar (Fig. 16A-B).³⁶ It looks highly likely that the elements of the Warren House stone windows date from Sir Henry Montagu's works on the castle in the 1620s, whether as spare materials at the time or, more probably, as fabric salvaged in the 1690s or early 18th century.

Moreover, further physical evidence has come to light that could help date the fabric, if not the planting, of the facade elements. Scattered across the stone blocks on the Warren House facade are distinctive mason's marks, visible only under close scrutiny and in raking light (Fig. 17). At least two of these mason's marks (codified as '5t6' and '5ht1') have also been recorded on the east and south ranges at Apethorpe Hall in Northamptonshire, twenty or so miles north of Kimbolton.³⁷ These ranges at Apethorpe were constructed by Sir Francis Fane in 1622-4 of pale oolitic Lincolnshire Limestone. While stone analysis has yet to be carried out on the Warren House or Kimbolton Castle, the ashlar of both is also of a pale oolitic limestone. Sir Henry Montagu was reworking Kimbolton Castle in the same years as Fane was refashioning Sir Walter Mildmay's 1560s state apartments at Apethorpe. The quarry at Kingscliffe was owned in the late 16th century by the Mildmays, who indeed had connections with Kimbolton Castle: in the 1580s, Sir Walter Mildmay took joint custody of the Kimbolton Estate, during the troubled and debt-ridden years of Mildmay's nephew, Thomas Wingfield. Sir Francis Fane is believed to have inherited Kingscliffe from Thomas Mildmay, Sir Walter's son.

The Warren House masons' marks came to light late in the restoration process, and a more rigorous survey of its surfaces has yet to be conducted. However, 5t6 has also been found at Kirby Hall and Deene Park, both late 16th- and early 17th-century great houses in Northamptonshire.³⁸ A particular consistency of marks is noted between Kirby and the 1622-4 range at Apethorpe, and at Deene Park, 5t6 has been found on a fireplace dated 1605.³⁹ While there is some debate about the extent to which masons' marks were ever unique to a specific individual, matched chronology and shared masons' marks raises the strong possibility that the stone used in the façade at the Warren House came from the Kingscliffe quarry and was cut by the Thorpe workforce, since from the late 16th century until the 1630s, the quarry was controlled by one of the pre-eminent early modern architectural dynasties, the Thorpes, a family of quarrymen, masons and surveyors.⁴⁰ The quarry-master, Thomas Thorpe, brother of the renowned surveyor, John Thorpe, was a free mason of some distinction and active during these first decades of the 17th century. Whether we can go as far as to postulate that the incidence of 5t6 suggests that one specific Thorpe mason was active at Apethorpe, Deene Park and Kimbolton must depend on whether the thesis of individual specificity for the marks is accepted.



Fig. 16A
Kimbolton Castle,
early 17th-century
window, top storey
of south elevation of
the inner courtyard.
*Photograph, Alison
Ainsworth, 2013*



Fig. 16B
The Warren House,
first-floor east
window before
restoration.
*Photograph, Colin
Briden, 2007*

The size of the two-light windows and their ovolo mouldings appear similar, strongly suggesting that the stone elements of the Warren House date from the 1620s-30s works to the Castle, and were probably salvaged and added to the Warren House in the 1690s or early 18th century.

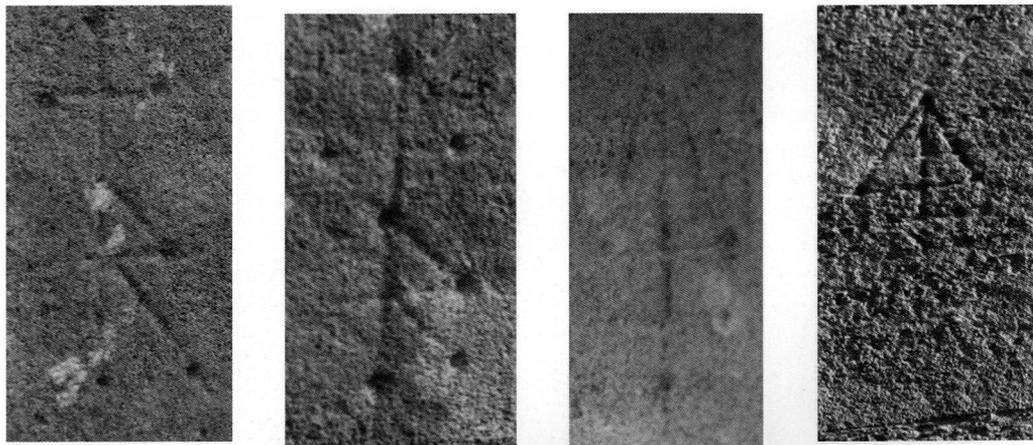


Fig. 17

Examples of masons' marks found on the stonework of the facade at the Warren House. The two left-hand examples were codified by the English Heritage team who worked at Apethorpe Hall as 5t6. This mark has been found on the 1622-4 range at Apethorpe, on the east gateway at Kirby Hall and on a fireplace dated 1605 at Deene Park.

Photographs, the Landmark Trust, 2012



Fig. 18

The Warren House, first floor, detail of the left-hand spandrel of the round-headed window. These distinctive geometric markings, matched asymmetrically in the opposing spandrel, appear to represent the laying out of an illusionistic oculus similar to those surviving on the east gateway at Kirby Hall. The unusually large mason's mark below, 5ht1, has also been found at Apethorpe.

Photograph with drawn detail, the author, 2012

The Thorpe quarry and Kirby Hall connections also throw possible light on other, quite different marks at the Warren House, on the spandrels of its central round-headed window on the first floor (Fig. 18). These much larger, geometrical incisions are about 300mm tall, asymmetrically carved in each of the spandrels. Each is a circle, containing another circle displaced to the right. Below each is a mason's mark, of a cross rising from a triangle – an unusually large version of mark 5ht1, also found at Apethorpe. The carvings were clearly carefully and deliberately placed in the spandrels, for an unknown purpose. Similar features appear in the east gateway at Kirby Hall, in more finished form as decorative oculi in the spandrels of both the archway and two flanking hollow niches (Figs 19, 20).⁴¹ Here, the inner circle has been deeply carved as a hemisphere and the larger circle indented in low relief, creating an interesting depth of decoration. The date of the Kirby gateways is uncertain, but one suggestion, that they date from the early 17th century, is based on the incidence upon them of a 'very distinctive mark' – 5t6, the second one shared by Apethorpe,⁴² Kirby and now the Kimbolton Warren House. It is hard to resist the suggestion that these geometrical markings on the Warren House spandrels were the setting out marks for intended decorative features like the oculi on the Kirby gateways, left 'signed' but unfinished by mason 5ht1, working alongside a familiar



Fig. 19

Kirby Hall, east gateway. Note the small oculi in the spandrels of the archway, deeply and asymmetrically carved to heighten the perspectival impression.

Photograph, Jenny Alexander

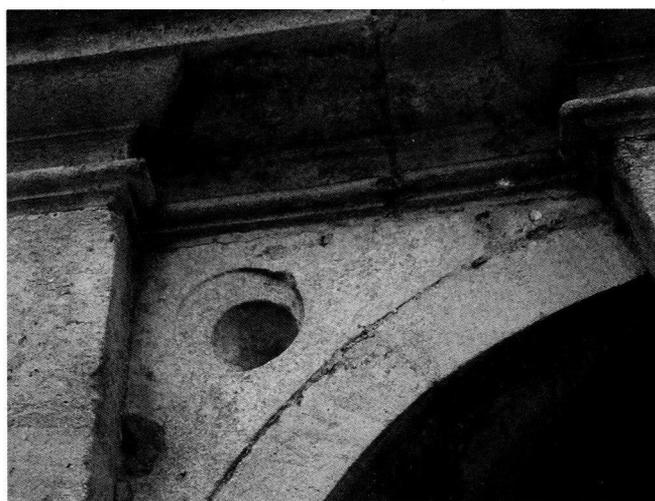


Fig. 20

Kirby Hall, east gateway, detail. The markings in the spandrels of the first-floor window at the Warren House may well be the setting out marks for just such a feature.

Photograph, Jenny Alexander

colleague, mason 5t6. No such masons' marks have yet been discovered at Kimbolton Castle, although such things are hard to make out without full scaffolding and meticulous scrutiny of the kind received by Apethorpe Hall from the English Heritage team.

To summarise, the evidence suggests that the Warren House did not exist in 1582 (Bleake map), but was present in its primary form by 1673 (Stirrup map); stood for some time without the facade (weathering to the timber frame), and had reached its final form by 1763 (Wallace map). Thus, the final hypothesis emerges that the Warren House was built in 1637 for its original purpose; that its facade is formed of material worked by the Thorpes' men for the 1620s campaign at the castle, later salvaged, and planted as a reconstituted facade with a more *artisanal* parapet and gable onto the timber frame in the late 17th or early 18th century; and that the facade was planted before the 1770s when the office of Robert Adam produced some *Options*, never executed, to recast the facade with something more fashionably Gothick.

Whenever the facade was added, it might have been expected that the lodge took on a more polite function thereafter, as a folly or destination for picnics from the castle. It does, certainly, align precisely (if coincidentally) with the room in the castle traditionally known as the Duchess's bedroom. However, during restoration no evidence was found, either physical or documentary, that the building behind the facade ever had more polite use – no sign of ornamental plasterwork, or decorative features. Whatever its public face, it seems that the Warren House continued to function behind as a relatively humble estate worker's dwelling. Census returns between 1841 and 1891 all record a gamekeeper living in 'Warren Spinney'. One such, the redoubtable Nathaniel Dale, left a lively, self-published account of his life on the estate.⁴³

Under George, 6th Duke, the shooting on the estate was developed in line with the fashionable enthusiasms of the country house set. There were several visits to the castle by Edward, Prince of Wales, and his wife, Princess Alexandra, in the time of the 7th Duke. In February 1868 they stayed at Kimbolton for a week's hunting and a ball, in March 1870 for another week's hunting, and in January 1877 for more hunting and festivities. It was perhaps the publicity of such visits that led to articles about the castle and its setting in the *London Illustrated News*; one of 29 June 1889 includes an illustration, but mistakenly captions it 'The Old Priory'. Another late 19th-century magazine illustration exists of the Warren House, which Landmark received as a photocopy from Huntingdonshire District Council: the photocopy is annotated '1884' but it has so far not been possible to trace the publication from which it came (Fig. 21). It combines a view of the Warren House with views of two groups of men shooting rooks, suggesting that the Warren House perhaps served as a rendezvous or destination for shooters during these years. An account in 1908 records:

The shooting of Kimbolton Castle is periodically let and the bag depends largely on the number of pheasants reared. Nothing very great is done with partridges, the land being for the most part heavy, but a good rabbit shoot is usually obtained in the extensive woods surrounding the park.⁴⁴

So it continued until World War II. In 1942, the plateau behind the Warren House became a USAF base for B17 Flying Fortress aircraft, obliterating any artificial earthworks that may have been associated with the warren.⁴⁵ The rabbits provided an



Fig. 21

The Warren House, in a magazine illustration thought to date from 1884. A shooting party approaches the building, by now used as a gamekeeper's cottage.

Photocopy, Huntingdonshire District Council



Fig. 22

The Warren House in 2012, after restoration by the Landmark Trust. The building is now let for holidays.

Photograph, David Kirkham © The Landmark Trust, 2012

important supplement to villagers' diets during the rationing, and days and nights were taken up with netting and killing them, as many as 1,000 at a time. After the war, still with no running water or mains electricity, the Warren House fell into disuse, and the tale comes full circle. In 2012, the restored Warren House started a new life as a Landmark Trust holiday let, perhaps finally attaining that polite use so misleadingly hinted at for so long by the jaunty facade (Fig. 22). For all its apparently grand provenance, that facade concealed arguably the far greater significance of the vernacular timber-framed warrener's lodge behind it – possibly the only known surviving example of its type.

Interior pictures and details of the restoration can be found on the Trust's website www.landmarktrust.org.uk

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The analysis of the fabric of the Warren House has been an entirely collaborative effort, with invaluable contributions from Colin Briden, Oliver Caroe and colleagues as restoration architects, Alastair Dick-Cleland as project surveyor for the Landmark Trust and the craftsmen of Modplan of Shefford who undertook the restoration. I am grateful to Jenny Alexander and Kathryn Morrison for their enthusiastic input on masons' marks, and to Nora Butler and Alison Ainsworth from Kimbolton for their local knowledge and help.

NOTES

- 1 Formerly in Huntingdonshire.
- 2 Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings archive file.
- 3 *TAMS* 29 (1985), 165-6.
- 4 The Boots Pension Fund & Trustees acquired the lodge on 1 December 1975, according to a deed in the Landmark Trust's possession.
- 5 Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Huntingdonshire*, (1926), 176.
- 6 T. Williamson, *Rabbits, Warrens & Archaeology* (Stroud, 2007), 85.
- 7 *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act 2 Scene i.
- 8 R. Liddiard, *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives* (Macclesfield, 2007), 14.
- 9 Williamson, *Rabbits, Warrens* (2007), 82ff. See also T. Williamson, *The Archaeology of Rabbit Warrens* (Princes Risborough, 2006).
- 10 C. Briden, 'Warren House', unpublished interim report for the Landmark Trust (November, 2010).
- 11 See further, G. Isham, *Rushton Triangular Lodge*, Northamptonshire, English Heritage guidebook (1986).
- 12 J. Barnatt and T. Williamson, *Chatsworth: a landscape history* (Macclesfield, 2005), 32-4, has a redrawing of two maps by William Senior in 1617, held the Chatsworth Archives at Chatsworth House in Derbyshire.
- 13 Williamson, *Rabbits, Warrens* (2007), 169. There will be many other such examples.
- 14 Sir H. Chauncy, *The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire* (Bishops Stortford, 1826), 520-1.
- 15 See J. Thirsk, *Alternative Agriculture from the Black Death to the Present Day* (Oxford, 1997), 52ff, for a good account of the history of warrening. E. Veale, *The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2003), describes the value and extent of the trade in coney fur.
- 16 Cal. Fine R. 1369-77, 206, Edward III, cit. C.G. Boxall, *Early Manorial Records of the Duke of Manchester's English Estates* (London, 1892), 206.
- 17 Pat Roll, 14 Hen. VIII, Part 2. m. 22, cit. Boxall, *Manorial Records* (1892), 206.
- 18 Kimbolton Castle has been an independent boarding school since it was sold by the 10th Duke of Manchester in 1950.
- 19 H. Doubleday (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of Bedford* (Folkestone, 1904-14), III, 9.
- 20 See S. Thurley, 'Kimbolton Castle, Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire,' *Country Life*, 30 March 2006, 69, for a reconstructed drawing of the castle at this date.
- 21 *Ibid*, 70.
- 22 Bedford Record Office FAC75 is a photocopy of the original map, which is in private ownership. A modern redrawing is used for the purposes of legibility in this article.
- 23 Briden, 'Warren House', 3.
- 24 M. Bridge, *Warren House, Warren Spinney, Kimbolton, Cambridgeshire: Tree-ring analysis of oak timbers*, English Heritage Report Series no. 34 (2011).
- 25 Huntingdon Library and Archive (HLA), PM 3/4.
- 26 Briden, 'Warren House', and on-site observations by restoration architect Oliver Caroe and the Landmark team.

- 27 HLA, M/48a/3
- 28 HLA, SF 457
- 29 Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale, Osborn Collection, Joseph Spence Papers, OSB MSS 4, Box 6, folder 184, 'Kimbolton Castle in Huntingdonshire: Duke of Manchester'.
- 30 Beinecke, OSB MSS 4, Box 6, folder 184.
- 31 HLA, M1A/3/8
- 32 The Manchester papers were withdrawn by the family from the Public Record Office in 1967 and sold. They are now on loan only to the HLA and individual documents are still being catalogued. Various key maps and documents are held only as photocopies or transcribed versions.
- 33 No internal access has been possible to date.
- 34 The cottage is in private ownership, so no detailed analysis of its fabric has proved possible to date.
- 35 Pers. comm., 24 February 2012.
- 36 These high level windows are normally inaccessible, can be photographed only from a distance and measurement of the external stonework has not been possible to date.
- 37 J. Alexander & K. Morrison, 'Apethorpe Hall and the Workshop of Thomas Thorpe, Mason of Kingscliffe: A Study in Masons' Marks', *Architectural History*, 50 (2007), 59-94. Despite its name, Lincolnshire Limestone is not only found in Lincolnshire. The individual masons' marks are codified according to the number and form of strokes required to create them.
- 38 J. Alexander, 'Kirby Hall, Northants: The Evidence of the Masons' Marks' (unpublished report for English Heritage, 2012): online at http://www.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/arthistory/staff/ja/jaresearch/kirby_hall_masons_marks_report.pdf
- 39 Ibid. It seems such conspicuous marks were not thought to detract from finished work in these years, and they formed part of a long tradition dating back to medieval masons. Their visibility diminishes through the later 17th century, by when, it seems, there was a change in taste.
- 40 See J. Summerson, 'John Thorpe and the Thorpes of Kingscliffe', *Architectural Review*, 106 (1949), 291-300; also J. Summerson, *The Unromantic Castle & other essays* (London, 1990), 19-40.
- 41 I am grateful to Jenny Alexander for first suggesting a masonry connection with the Kirby gateways, and to Kathryn Morrison for suggesting a possible association between the Warren House markings and the Kirby oculi.
- 42 Alexander, 'Kirby Hall', 14.
- 43 N. Dale, *The Eventful Life of Nathaniel Dale* (1871).
- 44 VCH *Bedfordshire* (1908), II, 197.
- 45 Sadly, the National Monuments Record at Swindon holds no pre-WW2 aerial photos of the plateau. It is possible, but not certain, that a few mounds in the belt of woodland on either side of the Warren House represent vestigial pillow mounds.