



**Land to the West
of Park Farm,
Oldbury Lane,
Thornbury**

Proof of Evidence of:
Andrew Crutchley
BA (Hons), PG Dip
(Oxon), MCifA

In respect of:
Heritage Matters

On behalf of:
**Barwood Development
Securities Ltd and the
North West Thornbury
Land Consortium**

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**Volume II:
APPENDIX, IMAGES
AND PLANS**

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Appendix AC 1 Legislative and Planning Policy Context

AC1.1 This appendix to my Proof of Evidence summarises the legislative and planning policy framework of relevance to the case.

Primary Legislation

AC1.2 Section 66(1) of the 1990 Act [**CD 6.6**] sets out the duty of the local planning authority in respect of listed buildings within the planning process. It states that:

'...in considering whether to grant planning permission for development which affects a listed building or its setting, the local planning authority or, as the case may be, the Secretary of State shall have special regard to the desirability of preserving the building or its setting or any features of special architectural or historic interest which it possesses.'

AC1.3 S72(1) of the 1990 Act [**CD 6.7**] deals with development within conservation areas and states that *'in the exercise, with respect to any buildings or other land in a conservation area...special attention shall be paid to the desirability of preserving or enhancing the character or appearance of that area'*.

AC1.4 This *'special regard'* duty has been tested in the Court of Appeal and confirmed to require that *'considerable importance and weight'* should be afforded by the decision maker to the desirability of preserving a listed building along with its setting. The relevant Court judgement is referenced as *Barnwell Manor Wind Energy Ltd v East Northants DC, English Heritage and National Trust [2014] EWCA Civ 137* [**CD 4.3**].

AC1.5 However, it must be recognised that s66(1) and s72(1) of the 1990 Act **do not** identify that the local authority or the Secretary of State *must* preserve a listed building and its setting or the character or appearance of a conservation area. Neither do they illustrate that development which does not *'preserve'* is unacceptable and should therefore be refused. It is a matter for the decision maker to evaluate and then determine.

AC1.6 The judgement in respect of *R (Forge Field Society) v Sevenoaks District Council* [2014] EWHC 1895 (Admin) [CD 4.4] also makes this clear at Paragraph 49 when it states the following:

'This does not mean that an authority's assessment of likely harm to the setting of a listed building or to [the character or appearance of] a conservation area is other than a matter for its own planning judgement. It does not mean that the weight the authority should give to harm which it considers would be limited or less than substantial must be the same as the weight it might give to harm which would be substantial. But it is to recognise, as the Court of Appeal emphasised in Barnwell, that a finding of harm to the setting of a listed building or to [the character or appearance] of a conservation area gives rise to a strong presumption against planning permission being granted. The presumption is a statutory one. It is not irrebuttable. It can be outweighed by material considerations powerful enough to do so. But an authority can only properly strike the balance between harm to a heritage asset on the one hand and planning benefits on the other if it is conscious of the statutory presumption in favour of preservation and if it demonstrably applies that presumption to the proposal it is considering.'

AC1.7 This key point is also made in Paragraph 54 of *Forest of Dean DC v Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government* [2013] EWHC 4052 (Admin) [CD 4.5]; i.e.:

'...Section 66 (1) did not oblige the inspector to reject the proposal because he found it would cause some harm to the setting of the listed buildings. The duty is directed to 'the desirability of preserving' the setting of listed buildings. One sees there the basic purpose of the 'special regard' duty. It does not rule out acceptable change. It gives the decision-maker an extra task to perform, which is to judge whether the change proposed is acceptable. But it does not prescribe the outcome. It does not dictate the refusal of planning permission if the proposed development is found likely to alter or even to harm the setting of a listed building.'

AC1.8 In other words, it is up to the decision maker (such as a local authority) to assess whether the proposal which is before them would result in 'acceptable change'.

National Planning Policy

AC1.9 Relevant national planning guidance for England is outlined in the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF, MHCLG 2021), where *Section 16 Conserving and Enhancing the Historic Environment* sets out national planning guidance.

AC1.10 In terms of planning applications, Paragraph 194 states:

'In determining applications, local planning authorities should require an applicant to describe the significance of any heritage assets affected, including any contribution made by their setting. The level of detail should be proportionate to the assets' importance and no more than is sufficient to understand the potential impact of the proposal on their significance. As a minimum the relevant historic environment record should have been consulted and the heritage assets assessed using appropriate expertise where necessary. Where a site on which development is proposed includes, or has the potential to include, heritage assets with archaeological interest, local planning authorities should require developers to submit an appropriate desk-based assessment and, where necessary, a field evaluation.'

AC1.11 NPPF Paragraph 197 is relevant when it states that:

'In determining applications, local planning authorities should take account of:

- a) *the desirability of sustaining and enhancing the significance of heritage assets and putting them to viable uses consistent with their conservation;*
- b) *the positive contribution that conservation of heritage assets can make to sustainable communities including their economic vitality; and*
- c) *the desirability of new development making a positive contribution to local character and distinctiveness.'*

AC1.12 Paragraph 199 states:

'When considering the impact of a proposed development on the significance of a designated heritage asset, great weight should be given to the asset's conservation (and

the more important the asset, the greater the weight should be). This is irrespective of whether any potential harm amounts to substantial harm, total loss or less than substantial harm to its significance.'

AC1.13 Paragraph 200 then adds that:

'Any harm to, or loss of, the significance of a designated heritage asset (from its alteration or destruction, or from development within its setting), should require clear and convincing justification. Substantial harm to or loss of:

- a) grade II listed buildings, or grade II registered parks or gardens, should be exceptional; and*
- b) assets of the highest significance, notably scheduled monuments, protected wreck sites, registered battlefields, grade I and II* listed buildings, grade I and II* registered parks and gardens, and World Heritage Sites, should be wholly exceptional.'*

AC1.14 Paragraph 202 then states the following in respect of the identification of 'harm' which is assessed to be 'less than substantial' harm: *'Where a development proposal will lead to less than substantial harm to the significance of a designated heritage asset, this harm should be weighed against the public benefits of the proposal including, where appropriate, securing its optimum viable use'.*

AC1.15 Under the specific heading *Conserving and Enhancing the Historic Environment*, the Government's *Planning Practice Guidance [CD 6.8]* sets out the following information in respect of the identification of 'substantial harm' in planning matters:

'Whether a proposal causes substantial harm will be a judgment for the decision taker, having regard to the circumstances of the case and the policy in the National Planning Policy Framework. In general terms, substantial harm is a high test, so it may not arise in many cases. For example, in determining whether works to a listed building constitute substantial harm, an important consideration would be whether the adverse impact seriously affects a key element of its special architectural or historic interest. It is the degree of harm to the asset's significance rather than the scale of the development that is to be assessed. The harm may arise from works to the asset or from development within its setting.

While the impact of total destruction is obvious, partial destruction is likely to have a considerable impact but, depending on the circumstances, it may still be less than substantial harm or conceivably not harmful at all, for example, when removing later inappropriate additions to historic buildings which harm their significance. Similarly, works that are moderate or minor in scale are likely to cause less than substantial harm or no harm at all.'

AC1.16 Paragraphs 24 and 25 of the High Court judgement in respect of *Bedford BC v Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government [2013] EWHC 2847 [CD 4.6]* highlight the high threshold required for a development proposal to constitute substantial harm, and also serve to emphasise the very broad spectrum of 'less than substantial harm' in terms of proposed development:

'What the inspector was saying was that for harm to be substantial, the impact on significance was required to be serious such that very much, if not all, of the significance was drained away. Plainly in the context of physical harm, this would apply in the case of demolition or destruction, being a case of total loss. It would also apply to a case of serious damage to the structure of the building. In the context of non-physical or indirect harm, the yardstick was effectively the same. One was looking for an impact which would have such a serious impact on the significance of the asset that its significance was either vitiated altogether or very much reduced.'

AC1.17 Therefore, for the 'harm' to be 'substantial' – and require consideration against the more stringent requirements of Paragraph 201 of the NPPF compared with Paragraph 202; the proposal being considered would need to result in the heritage asset's significance either being '*vitiated altogether [i.e. destroyed] or very much reduced*'.

AC1.18 As far as this Proposal is concerned, it further highlights that '*less than substantial harm*' must by implication span the full breadth of developmental effects that would not result in an asset's significance being either '*vitiated altogether or very much reduced*'.

AC1.19 There is no suggestion, from Reason for Refusal 01 of the Council's Statement of Case, that the proposed development would give rise to 'substantial' harm in terms of the heritage significance of the listed buildings or conservation area that it believes would be harmed by the appeal proposals' completion.

Local Planning Policy

AC1.20 The following local planning policies are cited in Reason for Refusal 01 of the Council's Statement of Case.

Policy PSP17: Heritage Assets and the Historic Environment (2017)

'Conserving and Enhancing

Development proposals should serve to protect, and where appropriate, enhance or better reveal the significance of heritage assets and their settings. They should be conserved in a manner that is appropriate to their significance.

General Principles

Listed Buildings: Alterations, extensions or changes of use to listed buildings, or development within their setting, will be expected to preserve and, where appropriate, enhance those elements which contribute to their special architectural or historic interest, including their settings. Where development proposals affect listed buildings whose architectural or heritage significance has been degraded or eroded, the Council may seek the implementation of measures and/or management plans to secure the restoration of the heritage assets and/or their setting or contributions towards such works.'

Conservation Areas: Development within or affecting the setting of a conservation area will be expected to:

- preserve or, where appropriate, enhance those elements which contribute to their special character or appearance; and*
- pay particular attention to opportunities to enhance negative parts of conservation areas and to draw on local character and distinctiveness. Proposals should demonstrate that:*

- *size, form, position, scale, materials, design, colour and detailing have proper regard to the distinctive character and appearance of the conservation area;*
- *buildings, groups of buildings, historic street and plot patterns, open spaces, building lines, views, vistas, ground surfaces, boundary walls and other architectural or hard landscape features, which contribute to the character or appearance of the conservation area are retained; and*
- *existing trees, hedges and green spaces, or other natural features, which contribute to the character or appearance of the conservation area, will be retained and protected.*

The Council will seek to retain buildings and structures which contribute positively to a conservation area. The loss of any building that is important or integral to the character or appearance of the conservation area is likely to amount to substantial harm.'

Understanding the Heritage Asset and the Impact of Development

'Development proposals involving or affecting heritage assets should demonstrate:

- *the significance of the heritage asset(s) affected;*
- *the impact of the proposal on the significance of the heritage asset(s) and their setting(s); and*
- *how the development will protect, enhance or better reveal the significance of the heritage asset(s) and their setting(s).*

The level of detail should be proportionate to the significance of the heritage asset(s) affected and the nature of the works.'

Assessment of development which affects the conservation or enhancement of a heritage asset

'The conservation of South Gloucestershire's heritage assets is a priority for the Council and, as a consequence, where development would result in harm to the significance of a heritage asset or its setting, planning permission will only be granted when_it can be clearly demonstrated that all of the following can be met:

- *the proposal results in public benefits that outweigh the harm to the heritage asset, considering the balance between the significance of the asset affected, the degree of harm and the public benefits achieved;*
- *there is no other means of delivering similar public benefits through development of an alternative site;*
- *the harm to the heritage asset is minimised and mitigated through the form and design of the development and the provision of heritage enhancements; and*
- *the heritage asset will be properly recorded to professionally accepted standards.*

Where the loss of the whole or part of a designated or non-designated heritage asset is acceptable under this policy, the Council will ensure, via conditions or legal undertaking that all reasonable steps have been taken to ensure that development will proceed after the loss has occurred. This is to ensure that needless harm to heritage assets does not occur.'

AC1.21 The *Policies Sites and Places Plan* (PSP Plan) was adopted on 08 November 2017 and forms part of South Gloucestershire Council's Development Plan.

Neighbourhood Plan Policy

AC1.22 The *Thornbury Neighbourhood Plan 2019-2036* may possibly be 'made' by the time that this Inquiry opens. This document contains *Policy 11 Preserving Historic Identity* that sets

out the Neighbourhood Plan Group's approach to the conservation and management of the historic environment.

Policy 11 – Preserving Historic Identity

'Any new development or improvements proposed in the town centre should be undertaken with a view to conserving and enhancing the historic market town character and identity of Thornbury.

Within the Conservation Area, development should respect the provisions of the 2004 Thornbury Conservation Area Advice Note, produced by South Gloucestershire Council, the following elements of which are especially pertinent:

- *Respect for the style and form of the town centre buildings and streetscape, enhancing the character and appearance of the historic market town;*
- *The use of materials which are sustainable and fit for purpose, but which blend with the existing colours and styles;*
- *A consistent and appropriate style of street furniture including benches, lighting, signage and bins; and*
- *Maintain the views over the lowland levels and Severn Estuary and the open aspects to the west and north with the old town walls set within open space and the open spaces identified within the town development boundary.'*

AC1.23 The application of this and other national and local policies to the appeal proposals before this Inquiry are detailed in **Section 4** of my Proof of Evidence.

Appendix AC 2

**Extract from Verey, D (2002) *The Buildings of England, Gloucestershire:
The Vale and the Forest of Dean* (Yale University Press)**

stone fireplaces, and a pitch-pine staircase; its window has a central band of stained glass depicting the Last Supper, probably by *George Rogers*.

MITTON MANOR, $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. NE, in Bredon (Worcestershire) until 1965 and now surrounded by late c20 housing, is a good late c17 red brick house; half-H plan, of two storeys, with a big hipped roof on modillion cornices. Three-light casement windows with blank end bays and another above the central c20 porch; moulded brick platbands. The interior has been mostly altered but retains an uncommonly good Jacobean carved stone chimney-piece, with strapwork and supporter figures; fireback dated 1653.

South

In GLOUCESTER ROAD, behind an early c19 painted brick TOLLHOUSE, with overhanging slate roof, the Council Offices (*see* Public Buildings). Opposite, the former workhouse and the cemetery (*see* Public Buildings and Other Churches). To the SE, a large area of council housing. The earliest is along Gloucester Road, brick and roughcast, 1914–20 by *Walter Ridler*, Borough Surveyor.

LINCOLN GREEN FARMHOUSE, Lincoln Green Lane, is early c19, brick, of three bays, with recessed tripartite windows and central pedimented doorway; the former have pretty carved friezes repeated in the main cornice. Nearby was the site of the Battle of Tewkesbury, 1471.

TEWKESBURY PARK, 1 m. SW, stands in a fine elevated position, the site of the late c14 manor house of Edward le Despenser. The present house is late c18, perhaps by *Anthony Keck*, a narrow three-storey building of rendered brick. Its N side was completely altered c. 1980 as an hotel and country club. The S has full-height bow windows flanking a central doorway. Behind this, a nice c18 staircase built on the curve, facing a Roman Doric colonnade.

GUPSHILL (or GUBSHILL) MANOR, $\frac{3}{4}$ m. SSE on Gloucester Road, was converted to a public house in 1955, by *G. H. Ryland*. Timber-framed, in part c16 or even earlier, but mostly c17; square panels, of two storeys plus attics, originally overhanging at first-floor level. Two gables, plus a smaller, renewed, N. Beneath this, the entrance passage, its rear doorway c17, with carved leaf spandrels and Jacobean frieze. Inside, moulded beams, and fragments of Perp stone tracery in the bar. — MARGARET'S CAMP, across the road, is a moated rectangular medieval enclosure, claimed to be the Lancastrian rallying point before the Battle of Tewkesbury.

SOUTHWICK PARK, 1 m. S. Built c. 1820, three storeys, painted brick. Much altered, with a vaguely Italianate rendered façade, with tripartite and bay windows, by *Waller & Son*, 1884–6. Tewkesbury Grammar School was based here from 1952 to 1972; now converted to offices, with large late c20 additions. WHEATPIECES is a large housing development SE of the town, off the eastern bypass. The COMMUNITY CENTRE, Columbine

Road, by *Oldfield King Design* of Southampton, 1999, of pale brick with orange trim, tries hard to convince that it is a church; it has a W tower with glazed top and pyramidal roof, and seeming nave, chancel and cross-gabled S aisle. Further N, amongst the plethora of standard housing forms, is MILLENNIUM CLOSE, by *Cater Day Architects* of Moreton-in-Marsh, 1999–2000, an energy efficient scheme sponsored by the Borough Council. Three short terraces, of brick with much glazing and angled roofs, set round a triangular space; a lively, refreshingly unusual group.

East

In ASHCURCH ROAD, beyond the SAFEWAY SUPERMARKET (1993 by *Mountford Pigott Associates*) an early c19 TOLLHOUSE similar to that in Gloucester Road, but of unpainted brick.

NEWTOWN, further E, was the site of the unsuccessful early c19 WALTON SPA. To the S, in Churchill Grove (off Elmbury Drive), is WALTON HOUSE, a large compact double-pile brick house, built for Nicholas Smithsend c. 1790. E front of three storeys and five bays, the central three projecting slightly, with a tall round-headed relieving arch under a pediment; central pedimented doorway. Much altered for Lt Col. H. G. Webb c. 1880; a S wing was added, moving the entrance to the W side, and the interior remodelled. A LODGE in similar style survives in Ashchurch Road.

WALTON CARDIFF, 1 m. E of Tewkesbury Abbey, is a hamlet of mostly c18–c19 brick cottages, formerly with a small church by *John Middleton*, 1869. The MANOR HOUSE, to the S, c17 timber-framed in origin, is now mostly stuccoed c18–c19, with a mid-c19 S brick porch.

THORNBURY

6090

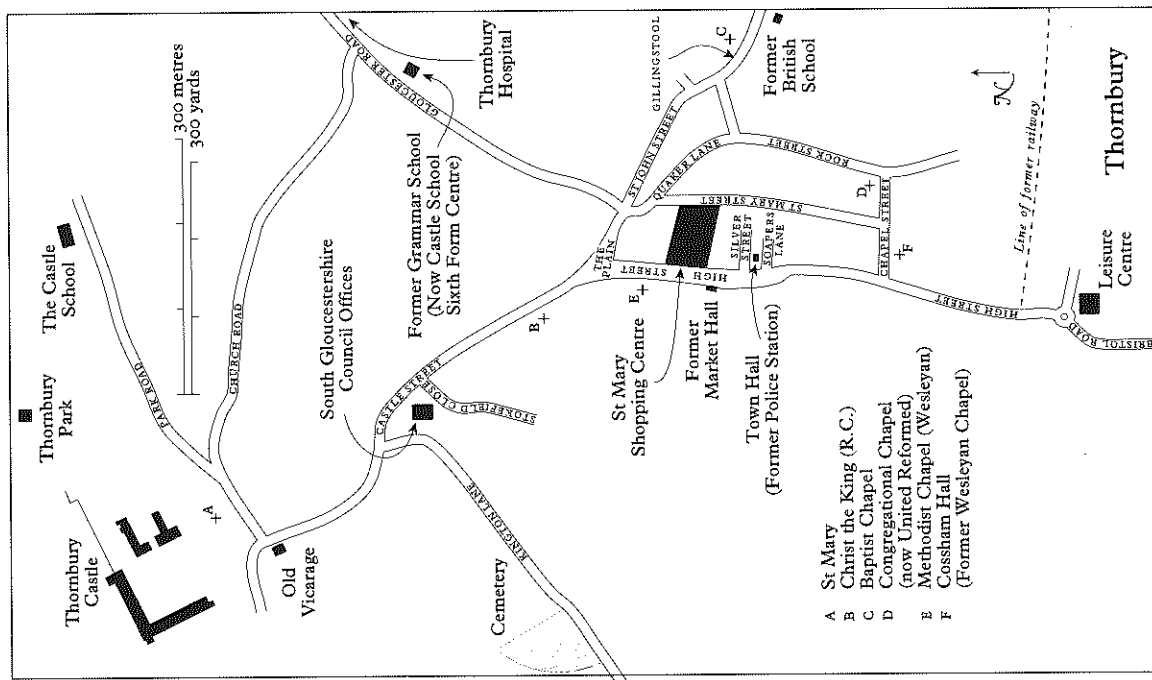
Thornbury is a modest town, whose development shows a number of unusual factors. The two most exciting buildings, the church and Thornbury Castle, lie close together some distance NW of the town, and no doubt represent the original nucleus (which had a market by 1086). Their surroundings are still remarkably rural, the castle in particular looking N straight onto open country. Rudder records the existence of a castle in the reign of Edward II (1307–27), though this seems to have been replaced by a manor house later in the c14, in turn mostly replaced by the Duke of Buckingham's spectacular unfinished palace-castle in the early c16. The church, especially the tall tower with its splendid 65 Somerset-like crown, provides a worthy companion. The borough of Thornbury was founded as a new town by Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, 1243–62. Its layout is conjectural; it seems likely that the area bounded by The Plain, St Mary Street, Chapel Street and High Street reflects the planned town, though there are no clearly defined back lanes; a central island site (between Silver

much reynithe there'. By the late C18 Rudder records 'the clothing business' as 'entirely lost'. The town remained a local market centre (with a branch line from Yate opened in 1872) until it began to expand as a dormitory area for Bristol in the 1930s and 60s. Since 1996, when it became the administrative centre of the new South Gloucestershire unitary authority, suburban development has continued apace, though the town centre has been preserved if not enhanced.

CHURCHES

ST MARY. A possession of Tewkesbury Abbey from at least the early C12. Chancel with chapels, clerestory nave with aisles, s porch, and noble w tower; mainly Perp, but severely restored by *Francis Niblett*, 1848-9. The tower, like most of the church, is probably late C15; of four stages, with diagonal buttresses, image niches, several anthropophagous gargoyles, and a splendid crown of Somerset type comparable to that at St Stephen, Bristol. This crown, which may be later (Parker dates it as late as c. 1540), was rebuilt by *F. W. Waller*, 1889, apparently in facsimile; both battlements and corner pinnacles have open tracery work, the latter with ogee caps. The s aisle and clerestory have battlements and tall thin pinnacles; two-storey s porch with blind trefoil parapet. The aisle windows are arched and very curious, with drop shapes vertically bisected by mullions, a Dec conceit one would say rather than a Perp one. According to Atkyns, the s aisle was built by Hugh, Lord Stafford (†1386); could the tracery be of that date? Several hoodmoulds, and elsewhere, display the Stafford Knot, more usually associated with Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham (see Thornbury Castle, below), who received license to found a college here in 1514. Large dragon-like gargoyles. The two e bays (probably both chapels, see below) are ashlar-faced, though not the e wall. One hoodmould here, with Richard II's badge, the peascod, would support the late C14 date. The n aisle is much plainer, with straight-headed four-light windows, and battlemented rood-stair turret. N chapel and vestry by *Robert Curwen*, 1876-7. Dec chancel, c. 1340, much rebuilt by *Niblett*. Earlier survivals are the round-arched n and s doorways. Transitional work of c. 1200, reset in the aisle walls: N of two continuous roll mouldings, s, much renewed, with keel moulding, dogtooth-enriched hoodmould, and shafts with E. E. stiff-leaf foliage.

Inside, tall and graceful six-bay Perp nave arcades of the familiar four shafts and four waves section. Above them runs a horizontal course in the form of a roll and up each spandrel vertically runs a roll as well, meeting the other. The large clerestory windows, recessed, with blank panelling beneath, were rebuilt by *Niblett*; his also the roofs, supported on stone corbels, chancel arch, and arches to the s chapel. The strange form of the arch between chapel and s aisle attempts to copy a (medieval?) predecessor. The e bay of the s aisle was probably a Berkeley chapel: the arcade moulding is slightly more ornate, with an angel bust



Street and Soapers Lane) was possibly its market area. The resultant plan is a reversed Y; the stem of the Y, Castle Street, the link to church and castle, may be slightly later infill development. Several C15-C16 houses survive here. The town seems to have prospered in the medieval period, though Leland in the early C16 noted: 'There hathe bene good clothing in Thornebyry, but now Idelines

carrying the Berkeley arms. In the s or Stafford Chapel a C14 tomb recess with four-centred arch, crocketed and pinnacled, and a trefoiled piscina, beneath a moulded arch. In the chancel s wall a Dec piscina with cinquefoiled arch, and triple sedilia under similar arches with narrow lobed trefoils in the spandrels; all now too low for convenient use, as the chancel floor has been raised.

FONT. Transitional. Square bowl scalloped onto a massive clawed pedestal. — **PULPIT.** Stone, Perp, with blind cinquefoiled panels; C19 stem and steps. — **PEWS** and **CHANCEL STALLS** by *Niblett*. — **COMMUNION RAILS.** 1938. — **NAVE ALTAR** by *Laurence King*, c. 1886. — **OAK LECTERN.** 1879, carved by *Harry Hems*. — **S CHAPEL SCREEN.** 1914 by *F. Bligh Bond*; Perp style. — **ORGAN,** filling the N chapel. 1870. — **S DOOR,** with a little medieval iron-work. — **ROYAL ARMS.** Brunswick, 1816–37. — **HATCHMENTS.** Rev. Thomas Willis †1748; Henry Howard †1875. — **STAINED GLASS.** Poor E window by *George Rogers*, 1849. — The N sanctuary window is in contrast splendid heraldic work by *Thomas Willement*, 1846, for Henry Howard, with arms, supporters, crests, mottoes, mantlings and badges. — Tower w window also by *Willement*, 1855, with Evangelists under Gothic canopies. — s chapel E by *Samuel Evans* c. 1873, s 1922 by *W. Blacking & Christopher Webb*, a good early work. — In the s aisle, several tracery lights with C15 fragments, and a window of 1892 by *A. O. Hemmings*, who probably did the contemporary window opposite. — Also in the N aisle, one by *Clayton & Bell*, c. 1880, and two by *Lavers, Barraud & Westlake*; w c. 1875, NE 1890. — **MONUMENTS.** Chancel: indents only survive of the brass to Thomas Tyndall †1571, apart from the figure of his wife. — Sir John Stafford †1624, and Richard Ashfield †1656; stone tablets with strap-work. — Col. Beverley Robinson †1792, by *Lancaster & Walker* of Bristol; Neo-Greek. — s chapel, within the tomb recess: Roger Fowke †1648, quite an ornate tablet. — Many more tablets, C17–C19, in the aisles, mostly by Bristol sculptors. Worth mention, in the s aisle, a good big tablet of coloured marbles to John Attwells †1730. — N aisle: Anne Salmon †1789, by *W. Pety*, with female figure and urn, and Susanna Matthew †1781, by *James Allen*, rather simpler.

In the **CHURCHYARD**, the **WAR MEMORIAL CROSS** of 1919, and many C17–early C19 chest tombs, especially a close-packed group E of the s chapel.

A little SE, set back s of the early C19 **LOCK-UP** and **POUND**, the former **NATIONAL SCHOOL**, plain Tudor Gothic, 1859–62 by *J. Y. Sturge*, a local surveyor.

ST PAUL, The Hackett, 1½ m. ESE. Stone mission church of 1905. Nave, s porch, apsed chancel, and N vestry with bell-turret. Grouped wide lancets; raking buttresses. The stone is exposed inside; Art Nouveau glazing. Large NW vestry added 1994 by *Stratton Davis & Yates*.

CHRIST THE KING (R.C.), Castle Street. 1962–4 by *R. E. Bewick* of Swindon. Gabled E entrance wall with concrete grid of windows. Skippy metal fleche. Simple centralized interior, concrete-

framed. Extended N in 1981, when the sanctuary was moved from the w to the s wall, with some *dalle-de-verre* glass by Brother *Gilbert Taylor* of Prinknash.

BAPTIST CHAPEL, Gillingstool. 1789, enlarged in 1806 and 1834. The latter date probably applies to the three-bay w front, with pointed windows with Y-tracery and pedimental gable. Large church centre added to the NE, 1989 by *John Holmes* of Learnington; brick, mostly rendered, with gabled lights in the pan tiled roof.

Opposite, the former **BRITISH SCHOOL**, 1862; altered and enlarged for the Thornbury School Board in 1898 by the local architect *Samuel Fudge*, who added the large rock-faced Infant School. The sturdy windows and entrances of the original building remain, though blocked. — Further E a new building of 1991 for *Avon County Council*; reconstituted stone, with lively Postmodern detail.

BAPTIST CHAPEL, Lower Morton, 1¼ m. NE. Dated 1834. Rendered, with two windows with Y-tracery to front and rear. Rather spoilt by unsympathetic c20 additions.

CONGREGATIONAL CHAPEL (now U.R.C.), Chapel Street. Dated 1826. Three-bay s façade with large round-arched windows; central flat-pitched gable. Inside, a s gallery with nicely bowed front. — Attached two-storey schools, N, added 1876.

(**WESLEYAN**) **METHODIST CHAPEL**, High Street. 1877. Stone; good gabled E.E. front, flanked by pinnacles. Window of four lancets above the gabled entrance; lattice patterning here and in the main gable. Wide hammerbeam roof inside.

Former **CHAPEL** in Chapel Street, c. 1789, extended towards the road and refronted in 1835; roughcast, gabled, with round-arched windows. Converted to the **COSSHAM HALL**, 1888.

GEMETERY, Kingston Lane. Bleak little E.E.-style chapel, of stone; 1897 by *Samuel Fudge*.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS

SOUTH GLOUCESTERSHIRE COUNCIL OFFICES, Stokefield Close off Castle Street. 1986 by *Hubbard Ford Partnership* for Northavon District Council. Brick, with pan tiled roofs, friendly and domestic. Open courtyard, s, two- or three-storeyed, with discreetly emphasized entrance. Towards Castle Street partly roughcast, partly higher (behind the retained wall of Stokefield House), with continuous bands of glazing beneath the hipped roofs.

LEISURE CENTRE, Bristol Road. 1980 by *Design & Management Module 2 Ltd*. Bulky and graceless; brick, the upper storey with green-grey metallic cladding.

THE CASTLE SCHOOL, Park Road. 1963. Low, spreading *Gloucestershire County Council* secondary school. Three-storey classroom block, patterned with squares of white against pale pink brick; adjoining staircase tower with inverted split-pitched roof. Later additions.

Former **GRAMMAR SCHOOL** (now Castle School Sixth Form

Centre), Gloucester Road. By *R. S. Phillips*, Gloucestershire County Education Architect, 1931-2. Symmetrical, roughcast. Five-bay central hall, single-storey, with large Neo-Georgian round-arched windows, even quoins, and raised centre capped by an urn. Two-storey flanking wings, plainer, with hipped roofs.

Its predecessor lies to the sw, beyond the former master's house of 1891 by *Waller & Son*. Though dated 1906, 1880 and 1909 on its three shaped gables, it is stylistically consistent, though very naive; stone, with wide lancets, mostly paired.

FORMER WORKHOUSE, Gloucester Road. 1837-40 by *Sampson Kemithorne*, who specialized in designing such institutions as cheaply as possible. Stone with brick dressings. Two-storey s front, 2+3+2 bays, with quoins and platband, the centre projecting slightly with pedimental gable formerly inscribed 'Thornbury Union'. Pedimented doorway below. Behind, the whole structure of the workhouse survives, a cross-plan with raised centre for supervision, only slightly obscured by later additions (e.g. 1881 by *J. Y. Sturge*). All converted to housing by *Pearce Group Architects*, 2000. - **LODGE** dated 1888.

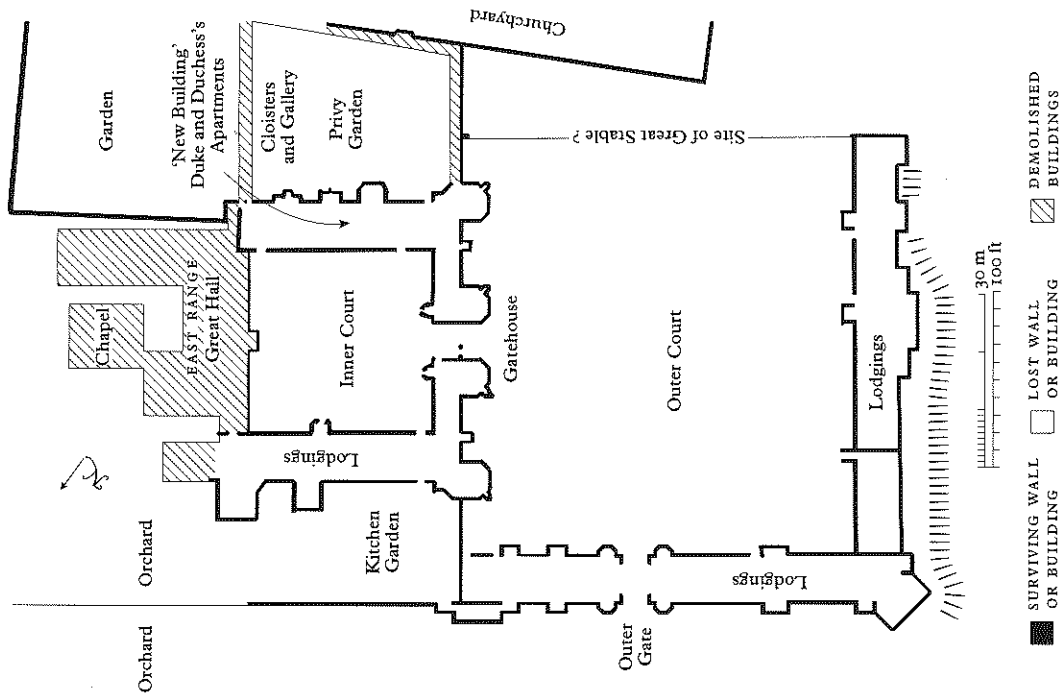
THORNBURY HOSPITAL, further E off Eastland Road, originated as the Workhouse Infirmary. 1901 by *Crisp & Oatley*, of plain bright-red brick; enlarged 1912, etc.

THORNBURY CASTLE

Immediately N of the church. An early C16 building of national importance, transitional between the late medieval tradition of the palace-castle, and the beginning of the late Tudor development towards the country-house tradition. Although traditionally planned, Thornbury Castle was designed for audacious and ambitious display, only surpassed amongst non-Royal buildings by Wolsey's Hampton Court.

The estate passed to the Stafford family by marriage in 1348. Edward Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham, who inherited in 1498, chose to make it his principal seat, and began repairing and rebuilding the existing manor house in 1507. License to crenellate was given in 1510, and work on the new Thornbury Castle was apparently well under way in 1511. In 1521, however, before his plans were completed, Buckingham was arrested for treason and executed by Henry VIII. The s, w and N sides of the inner court, 120 ft (36.6 metres) by 110 ft (33.5 metres), were only partially completed, together with the lower storeys of a vast outer court to its w; much of the earlier house remained as the E range of the inner court. The Duke's son regained the property in 1554, but the castle seems to have been uninhabited until c. 1720, when it was partly roofed. In the C17 it passed to the Howard family, who retained it until 1959; it is now an hotel. The sw tower was restored for Lord Henry Howard in 1809-14, possibly by *Francis Greenway*. The rest was restored, as a hunting box, for Henry Howard by *Anthony Salvin*, 1854-5.

Enough of Buckingham's building remains to reconstruct its



Thornbury Castle. Simplified ground plan

plan, and much of the detail. Its model was probably Henry VII's Richmond Palace. A castle without, a palace within; or even, regarding the exterior only, a castle on the entrance side, w, a palace on the privy garden side, s. The hall and chapel of the earlier house were apparently left intact as the E range of the new, which was built round a courtyard in the C15-C16 manner. The N and w ranges were lodgings, with the gatehouse in the middle of the latter; the s range, containing the Duke's apartments on the first floor, the Duchess's below, was largely completed.

The w FRONT, intended to be exactly symmetrical, remains largely as it was left in 1521. The central gateway bears an inscription giving the date 1511. This was apparently to have been surmounted by an oriel, and flanked by large towers. There were to have been equally large corner towers, with smaller turrets between them and the gateway. Only the broad sw tower, with its machicolated parapet, was completed to full height; the centre and N end were only carried up to first-floor level. Cross-loops only on the ground floor; two-light windows above with cinquefoiled heads. C19 gable s of the gateway; the sash windows below belong to the C18 partial refurbishing. The gateway itself is four-centred, with roll mouldings, and a lower pedestrian gate, with foliage spandrels. It was to have had either a lierne or a fan vault, and is plainer towards the courtyard, with simpler polygonal turrets. A similar turret near the centre of the N RANGE, which has similar two-light windows; its E bay, of primitive ashlar, was added for the hotel by *Niall Phillips Architects* in 1997. The C14-C15 E range was entirely demolished in the early C18. The S RANGE, or 'New Building', was the most important, a fact emphasized by its splendid brick moulded double chimney, dated 1514, with heraldic and other decoration; this early use of brick for chimneys, in a stone building area, indicates its high social status. On the first floor, the Duke's apartments, are two fine oriel windows. Its show side however is S, towards the privy garden and churchyard.

66

This lavish S FRONT shows Tudor or Late Perp architecture at its very best, carefully restored by *Salvin*. The sw tower, with its higher stair-turret, provides a firm punctuation mark; the main block has an embattled parapet, and three full-height bay windows, each different, with mullioned and many-transomed windows with cusped heads to the lights. It is probably the most perfect grouping of its date in existence: the w bay is centred, the central angled in the centre, the easternmost cinquefoil in plan on the upper stage, but coming out to five points on the ground floor; the angled mouldings below form a piquant contrast to the convex mouldings above. This *tour de force* of the late Perp style, comparable to Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster Abbey, became widely appreciated after publication in the elder Pugin's *Examples of Gothic Architecture*, 1831-4; it had a significant influence on later C19 domestic architecture. The interior is almost entirely by *Salvin*, with much Tudor-style panelling and a Jacobethan staircase. The rooms are quite small, the best the former dining room on the ground floor behind the two w bay windows (the area originally of the Duchess's apartments). It is entered by a Tudor-arched doorway, its concave-moulded jambs enriched with carved armorial badges, including the Stafford Knot. Fireplace with quatrefoil frieze and painted heraldic panels; stained-glass roundels by *Willemit*, 1858. Some early C16 tiles survive elsewhere on the ground floor, and, on the first floor, a fine four-centred-arched fireplace.

The S range overlooks the former PRIVY GARDEN which no doubt originally contained an intricate knot garden. Battlemented

walls to w and s: the w pierced by two-light windows, the s, towards the churchyard, with three oriel windows. A wooden gallery (above a cloister) originally ran s from a first-floor doorway in the sw tower, then along the s wall behind the oriels, before returning N to the E end of the S range; a most unusual arrangement, foreshadowing the Elizabethan long gallery. From under the central S gable a doorway gave access to an extension leading to a private pew on the N side of the chancel of the church. The S wall continues E in rather simpler fashion; to its N a further garden, a mid-C19 re-creation of the early Tudor layout, with clipped yew hedges and sheltered walks.

The immense OUTER (OR BASE) COURT, covering nearly three acres, primarily intended as accommodation for retainers, and for stabling and stores, is marked by low ruinous buildings on its N and W sides, with Tudor-arched windows and projecting turrets, stairs, etc. They are built of local stone, in contrast to the fine Cotswold stone used for the inner court. In the centre of the N range a gateway with four-centred arches, the outer retaining its portullis groove. Projecting external towers with cross-loops; the NW corner bastion has in addition gunports. The N range continued E to form the N boundary of the kitchen garden. LODGE, W of the church, by *Salvin*, 1855; Tudor Gothic, with battlemented gatepiers. Simpler lodge a little E.

Church and castle lie NW and somewhat apart from the town. The view S from the church is still largely rural, with GLEBE COTTAGE, late C16 though altered, set back in the middle of a field. To the SW, the OLD VICARAGE, big and irregular, typical of *Waller & Son*, 1894-5; stone with half-timbered gables and porch.

The town is approached along CASTLE STREET, which at first has C17-C19 houses standing in their own grounds. First on the E side, FAIRFIELD HOUSE, roughcast, late C18, enlarged in the C19; on the W, THE HATCH, begun as the Grammar School by William Edwards, 1648. Mid-C17 centre, with gabled dormers and ovoid-moulded mullioned windows; on the garden side, two three-light mullioned and transomed windows, and two-storey porch inscribed '1648 WVE'. Small mid-C19 addition, N, three-bay late C18 addition, S. Then, beyond Kington Lane, the well-concealed COUNCIL OFFICES (*see* Public Buildings), with, opposite, THE CHANTRY, c. 1600, much altered and extended in the C18. In the wall a Tudor-arched doorway, apparently C16, possibly from Thornbury Castle; quatrefoils in the spandrels, hoodmould with a good concave stop. The roof of the main (N) block has collar-beam trusses with two rows of curved wind-braces. Castle Street then becomes rather more urban, with closely packed C17-C19 cottages lining the E side. Larger houses opposite however, late medieval in origin. THE PRIORY was one long C15 building, with the adjoining No. 15 (Clematis Cottage); C16-C17 N wing. Roughcast, with a two-storey bay I. of the porch,

single-storey r, both with moulded sills and cornices. Modest four-light mullioned and transomed window above the latter. Chamfered stone fireplaces, first-floor Great Chamber with arch-braced collar-beam roof with two tiers of wind-braces; fragment of wall painting with Maltese cross. No. 15, externally entirely c18 and a little higher, also preserves a fine roof: five collar-beam trusses, three with curved queenposts and curved wind-braces. The long PORCH HOUSE is also c15 in origin, see the two-storey gabled porch, with moulded two-centred entrance. U-plan, much altered in the c17-c18 and subsequently. The porch led into a cross-passage; roof now open, with three tiers of wind-bracing. The parlour was in the s, late c16 wings; the N was probably the service wing. The building is now a club and presbytery for the adjoining Christ the King (R.C.) (see Churches).

The E side ends with an interesting group of houses, mostly c17-c18. No. 12 has a gabled bargeboarded oriel above its central porch. No. 10 (WIGMORE HOUSE), also symmetrical, but with two-storey canted bay windows flanking the doorway with renewed hood on carved consoles. Good plasterwork inside. No. 8 is mid-c19, of patterned brick; No. 4 similar to No. 10. No. 2 is timber-framed, much altered in the c19; two gables with fretted bargeboards. The W side ends with a Gothic DRINKING FOUNTAIN in memory of Lt Hector Maclane, 1880-1 by *Brewster & Co.* of Bristol.

Castle Street opens out into THE PLAIN, a narrow roughly triangular space, virtually the centre of Thornbury. In the middle a resited iron pump under a wrought-iron canopy, re-created in 1984 (the original was removed in 1925). On its W side the imposing OLD BANK (now National Westminster), built in 1858 for Harwood, Hatcher & Sams. Italianate, of ashlar, three wide bays, with bracketed eaves and hipped slate roof. Outer tripartite windows. Attached wing, r, probably the manager's house, with a reused date-stone 1706 and Stafford Knot. At the end of the garden, a late c18 squarish pyramidal-roofed SUMMER HOUSE. The other sides of The Plain are more modest: the NE with a nicely varied mix of c18-c19 frontages; the S including No. 2, late c16, of rubble, twin-gabled, though much restored.

HIGH STREET continues S, gently ascending. It is quite wide, with modest mostly c18 façades. On the W side, first the METHODIST CHAPEL (see Churches), then, attached to the former FIRE STATION of 1930 (by *F. W. Davies*, RDC surveyor), the small though striking Neo-Greek front of the former REGISTER OFFICE, by *S. W. Dawkes*, 1839. Of ashlar, with pediment and four pilasters; moulded and eared doorway, its edges leaning inwards. To its S, No. 8, long, low, roughcast, probably late c16 in origin. Wooden mullioned or mullioned and transomed windows. At its S end a wooden portico with carved columns and frieze shelters two doorways, both with moulded wooden frames. The hall and parlour must have been to their N. Then the WHITE LION, probably an c18 remodelling of a mid-c17 building, distinguished by a splendid painted cast-iron lion

above its thin Doric porch. The former MARKET HALL, c17, altered in the mid c18, is roughcast, with an originally open ground-floor colonnade of stone Tuscan columns. Canted S end, with a Venetian window; otherwise wide segmental-arched windows, some blind. Hipped slate roof with a diminutive timber lantern with weathervane dated 1664. Attached c17 cottage, N. Between this and the White Lion, a drive to PARK HOUSE, a pink-rendered mid-c19 villa in its own grounds; raised centre with crowsstepped gable above a pseudo-Doric porch *in antis*. Garden wall with Gothic turrets.

On the E side of High Street, THE SWAN, late c18, three bays, three storeys, topped with a c19 cast-iron cresting and pineapple corner finials. Fine big cast swan above the thin wooden Doric porch. Built round a formerly open courtyard, probably mid-c17. Then the ST MARY CENTRE, a shopping development of 1974, excellently refurbished by *Alec French Partnerships*, 1983. The High Street front honours the existing street-line, brick with boxy wooden oriels and pantuled roof. Passageway through to St Mary Street (see below) with partly glazed roof on cast-iron columns. Further S, between two now blocked streets (Silver Street and Soapers Lane), perhaps the site of the medieval market place, the TOWN HALL, inscribed 'Police Station 1860'. Presumably an adapted early c19 house, three bays, with tripartite windows, quoins, modillion cornice, and a renewed central Ionic porch.

The W side, S of the Market Hall, is set back, with a good varied c17-c19 ensemble. No. 20, possibly of c. 1600, is timber-framed and gabled, with jettied first floor, 3+1+3 bays with continuous ovolu-moulded mullioned and transomed windows, the centre recessed. No. 24, mid-c18, has outer Venetian windows. The group is terminated and the view narrowed by No. 30 (Bristol and West House), set at r. angles, also timber-framed, probably c16; L-plan, the l. gable with an elaborate c19 bargeboard. Towards the street the first-floor is jettied out on wooden brackets. High Street continues further S, with modest c18-c19 houses. By No. 40 (THE CLOSE), W, c18 with a heavy moulded cornice, an opening leads to CLOSE HOUSE, mid-c17 with a gabled porch-tower; otherwise mostly altered in the c19. The KNOT OF ROPE, E, is c17-c18, with c19 gables with bargeboards. The W side ends decisively with ROSEMOUNT HOUSE, a neat early c19 villa with decorative bargeboards and cast-iron veranda.

In CHAPEL STREET, leading E, COSSHAM HALL, the former Wesleyan Chapel, and the CONGREGATIONAL CHAPEL (see Churches). Between them the WHEATSHHEAF, 1911 for the Stroud Brewery Co., possibly by *P. R. Morley Horder*, with three gables, roughcast flanking half-timbered. We can return N via ST MARY STREET, though its E side begins with a bare car park. Further on however it is pleasantly pedestrianized as part of the 1983 shopping development (see above), with canopied colonnades and good floorscaping. The W side is all late c20, the E incorporates earlier buildings: Nos. 15-17, former almshouses, early c19; No. 11, from 1796 to 1879 the home of John Attrwells' Free School

(and later the Church Institute), C17, with four gables and a renewed timber porch dated 1679. Further on, past a late C20 free-standing restaurant pretending to be a timber-framed C16-C17 town hall, the street returns to The Plain, opposite the mid-C19 ROYAL GEORGE; three bays, three storeys, Doric porch.

Early C19 houses continue a little way along GLOUCESTER ROAD. No. 6 (LABURNUM HOUSE) has a two-storey bay window cut into by a nice wooden ogee-arched veranda; Nos. 8-22 are a rendered terrace, stepping gently downhill. Much further on the former GRAMMAR SCHOOL and former WORKHOUSE (see Public Buildings).

THORNBURY PARK, in its own grounds $\frac{1}{4}$ m. NNE of the church. A small, square, classical villa, built 1832-6 for Henry Wenman Newman. E front of three wide bays, with central four-column Ionic porch, and incised full-height corner pilasters. Tripartite ground-floor windows. Hipped slate roof with overhanging bracketed eaves. Cast-iron central rear staircase. Lower s wing. Further s the former STABLES with central skylight. Now the Shielling School, Camphill Community, with many bungalow 'residences' by *Feilden Clegg Design* c. 1990 built in the grounds.

OUTER THORNBURY

In Bristol Road, immediately s of the town, close to the Leisure Centre (see Public Buildings), THORNBURY GRANGE, C16, heightened probably in the C17. Rubble, to an L-plan; two gables, N, octagonal stair-turret, E, now the entrance. C18-C19 alterations; SE service wing 1898. MARLWOOD FARM, $\frac{1}{2}$ m. to its W, a gabled mid-C17 house, mostly remodelled in 1843, and its late C18 barn, were well adapted and expanded as the Thornbury Golf Centre in 1991-2 by *The Architecture & Planning Group Ltd* of Bristol. The golf course partly occupies the former park of MARLWOOD GRANGE, further s, a plain villa of c. 1800, with shallow hipped roof, and infilled Tuscan porch.

At KINGTON, a scattered hamlet $\frac{3}{4}$ m. WSW of the church, several good C17-C18 farmhouses, the best the former FEWSTERS FARM, low, roughcast, with five steep gables. The two W bays were probably a C15 open-hall house (with remains of a roof truss and wind-bracing); remodelled and extended E in the mid C17. The taller WILLOW FARM, further NW, rather later C17, with two gables with ball-finials, almost adjoins the much-altered late C17 ST ARILD'S FARM. ST ARILD'S HOUSE, quite imposing, is c. 1800; symmetrical, three bays, three storeys. KYNETON HOUSE (now Westring School), in Mumbley's Lane a little s, large, of c. 1670-80, was much altered and expanded in the mid C19. Four bays, with ovolo-moulded cross-windows under drip-moulds, and a lower twin-gabled s wing; the latter has a date-stone 1625, formerly external, now above a fireplace. In the C19, the main block received an off-centre porch, an upper storey with three shaped gables (the central of ogee outline), and a huge rear embattled tower, with higher turret.

MORTON is the district immediately N of Thornbury. At LOWER MORTON, YEW TREE FARMHOUSE, mid-C18, rubble, with hipped roof, small pedimental gable with blind lunette, and C20 wooden door-hood; two storeys and three bays. Further NE, the Morton Baptist Chapel (see Churches).

At UPPER MORTON, three neighbouring houses on or close to the Gloucester Road. The OLD MALTHOUSE, mostly C18, has three incongruous late C19 half-timbered gables. MANOR FARM, NE, mid-C19, has a low E wing, late C16, but much altered. MORTON GRANGE, lying back a little SE, is much more interesting, though its roughcast exterior is odd, with a tall N, and much lower long s section; mostly mulioned and transomed windows with hoodmoulds. There were in fact three main building periods. The low centre, of raised cruck construction, was a C15 open-hall house, with cross-passage, N, and parlour, S, the latter unusually with its own outer door, now with trellised porch. The doorways to the cross-passage have the date 1594 (E) and the initials TP (probably for Thomas Patch, W). This must be the date of a major remodelling, when an upper floor was inserted into the hall, and the N service range completely rebuilt, two and a half storeys, with twin gables to the E and a projecting embattled semi-octagonal stair-turret on the W. At the N end of the kitchen a big N chimney-breast with three diagonal stacks; in the room above a four-centred-arched fireplace with TP in the spandrels and a lintel with five linked circular panels, painted with a coat of arms and flowers. Similar but simpler fireplace in the C15 parlour, which was also panelled at this date. Small NW dairy block added in the early C17. The original house was extended s, to the same low height, c. 1815; here a good Regency drawing room, with a rectangular s bay window added in 1918.

LOWER BUCKOVER FARM, 2 m. ENE. Neat symmetrical two-storey brick house, probably of c. 1760-80. Three bays, with paired sash windows, brick quoins, coved eaves cornice. Central door with flat hood on carved consoles.

TIBBERTON

7020

HOLY TRINITY. Nave, chancel, tall W tower with hipped roof, and W porch. Herringbone masonry in the N and S walls of the nave and part of the N wall of the chancel may indicate an C11 date, possibly pre-Conquest. The nave has alternating quoins not far removed from long-and-short work, and in its S wall a primitive blocked doorway and remains of two apparently contemporary windows. The chancel was no doubt lengthened in the C13; see the two S lancets, though the E window triplet is a replacement of 1908. Chancel NE window Dec, as are all the nave windows, the latter variations on cusped Y-tracery. The W tower, with W buttresses and NE stair-turret, plus its attached porch, is probably also C14; Perp W window inserted above the porch. C14 tower arch of two plain chamfered orders; springers

Appendix AC 3

**Extract from A.D.K Hawkyard (1977) 'Thornbury Castle' in *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*,
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Thornbury Castle

by A. D. K. Hawkyard
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Thornbury Castle

By A. D. K. HAWKYARD

ON 9 JULY 1510 Edward Stafford, 3rd Duke of Buckingham, received a licence under the privy seal from Henry VIII to impark 1,000 acres at Thornbury, to fortify, crenellate, and embattle his manor or mansion house there with walls of stone and lime, and to make the building a fortalice or castle.¹ Seven years later on 17 March 1517 he obtained a second licence to impark a further 500 acres.²

It is evident that before Buckingham received his first licence he had begun extensive repairs, and maybe alterations, to the house. The accounts of the ducal cofferer, William Cholmley, for the period between Michaelmas 1507 and Michaelmas 1508 include four payments to Laurence Stubbs, the receiver for Gloucestershire, Hampshire and Wiltshire. Three of these were solely for building and repairs at Thornbury, 20 marks on Tuesday 28 March 1508, £14 on Saturday 16 September, and £50 on the following Monday, while the fourth made on Saturday 17 June for £47 14s. 2½d. was for work at Keynsham abbey as well as Thornbury.³ These sums were in excess of any other known to have been spent on the manor since the duke had obtained seisin of his estates on 7 March 1498⁴ or earlier by his mother, Katherine Wydeville, and his step-father, Jasper Tudor, duke of Bedford, during his minority. The surviving manorial accounts for that time contain no reference to expenditure greater than £6 6s. 11d. all of which went in maintaining buildings which had long been in existence.⁵

The house which Buckingham decided to transform into a castle stood adjacent to the parish church of Thornbury and its churchyard, on a piece of ground which is bounded on its west side by a stream, and which descends gently to the levels along the estuary of the river Severn. Although the house overlooked the vale of Berkeley and the Severn to the rising ground of Monmouthshire, as well as the land to its north, its position was not defensible. Indeed, it is clear that its original owners did not choose its site with defence in mind.

The manor had passed by inheritance to Margaret, the daughter of Hugh de Audley, earl of Gloucester, who had died in 1347, and the niece of Gilbert de Clare, the preceding earl, who had been slain at Bannockburn in 1314. Margaret was taken by Ralph de Stafford, earl of Stafford, as his second wife, and on her death in 1348 he succeeded to her property. The manor was not the prize of Margaret's inheritance, but its importance increased during the 14th and 15th centuries as Stafford's descendants added to the estates in south Wales and the south-west of England.⁶

The house had evolved gradually with the Stafford estates and for the most part its buildings were unpretentious. It was, however, substantial enough to be frequently visited and occupied by Jasper Tudor, who made his will and died there.⁷ The result of this growing administrative importance

1. P[ublic] R[ecord] O[ffice] C66/613, m. 5 (*L[etters and] P[apers Foreign and Domestic of the reign of] Hen[ry] VIII* [ed. Brewer, Gairdner, and Brodie], I, 1157).

2. PRO, C66/628, m. 16 (*LP Hen. VIII*, II, 3022).

3. PRO, SP1/22, ff. 65, 69, 83.

4. PRO, C66/581, m. 25(21) (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1494-1509, p. 131).

5. Staffs. RO, D64.1/1/2/192-203; PRO, S.C. 6, Hen. VII, 1057.

6. R. Ellis, *The Hist. of Thornbury castle* (1839); R.A.G.H., 'Recs. of an Eng. Manor', *Geneal Mag.* IV (1901), 377-83, 425-31; A. C. Fox-Davies, 'Stafford Attainders', *Geneal Mag.* IV (1901), 195-205, 235-41; J. M. Langton, 'Old Catholic Families in Glos.: the Staffords and Howards of Thornbury', *Trans. B.G.A.S.*, LXXII (1953), 79-104; K. B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of later Medieval England* (1973), 202-7.

7. PCC 33 Vox (*Test. Vet.*, 430-1); R. S. Thomas, 'The political career, estates, and connections of Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke and Duke of Bedford' (Swansea University Ph.D. thesis 1971), 265-6, 272, 276, 319.

and of its recent use was that Thornbury was one of the two houses owned by Buckingham in 1498 which were in a reasonable state of repair. The other, Maxstoke castle in Warwickshire, had been maintained and extended by Margaret, countess of Richmond,⁸ who had held the young duke's wardship,⁹ but work there had not been completed. For that reason, amongst others, Buckingham was probably advised by his council to make Thornbury his seat: his first visit as owner was made during May 1498.¹⁰

The building inherited by the duke is of significance because the castle designed for him incorporated its principal features, the hall and chapel together with several lesser parts, although it may have been planned to replace these when the reconstruction of the remainder had been finished. Thus the existing timber structure, as well as its site, influenced the design. The manorial building consisted of the usual parts,¹¹ a hall constructed about 1330,¹² with a buttery, pantry, and kitchen with its various offices to the west of the hall, a set of chambers (known as the earl of Stafford's lodging) situated over the buttery and pantry with access by an external stone staircase,¹³ a chapel which was finished in 1435¹⁴ to the east of the hall, a range of lodgings probably erected by Jasper Tudor,¹⁵ some accommodation for the owner and the more important officials, all of which were placed about an inner court, stables, a barn, and more lodgings about an outer court, or one or more smaller courtyards, a hermitage,¹⁶ a prison,¹⁷ and a dovecote, all enclosed by a stone wall which contained at least two gates and several posterns. Two parks with fish ponds, lodges, and pounds at Marlwood and Eastwood completed the amenities.¹⁸

According to the inscription above the present inner gate:

This gate was begon the yere of oure Lorde God MCCCCXI the ij yere of the reyne of Kynge Henri the viij by me Edw' Duc of Bukkyngha', Erle of Herforde, Stafforde, and Northamto'.¹⁹

Work had started on its reconstruction before 23 April 1511, the second anniversary of Henry VIII's accession. During the following year oaks were felled in Marlwood park for use within the castle.²⁰ In 1514 more men were hired from 'divers places' by the contractors,²¹ the scaffolding took Thomas Golde and others two weeks to erect, some windows were fitted with hooks and catches while others were glazed by William Rede,²² and the floor of the wet larder (332 sq. ft) was laid by John Edwardes and his companions, and those of the kitchen and New Building (3,719 sq. ft) by Walter Salter, his

8. W[estminster] A[bbey] M[uniment Room, mss.] 32348. The condition of Maxstoke in 1498 can be inferred from the royal survey of 1521 (PRO, E36/150, f. 52 (*LP Hen. VIII*, III, p. 509)).

9. PRO, C66/564, m. 5(20) (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1485-94, p. 113).

10. Staffs. RO, D641/1/2/200.

11. The manorial accounts for Thornbury between 1327 and 1503 frequently refer to these (Staffs. RO, D641/1/2/116-56, 162-202; William Salt [Lib., Stafford] mss. M538/1-5; Glos. RO, D108/M118-21).

12. Staffs. RO, D641/1/2/116. This may have been reconstructed before 1360 as the account for 1358-9 includes payments for timber for the roof of the *nove aula*, glass for its windows, tiles, crests, and iron work for its louver, and *tabul' Wallen* for its walls (Glos. RO, D108/M118).

13. This solar block containing the Paradise or great chamber was demolished in 1399 only to be re-erected in a modified form in the same year (Staffs. RO, D641/1/2/155). It is called the Earl of Stafford's lodging in the Elizabethan survey prepared between 6 and 9 March 1583 (Glos. RO, D108/M122, f. 9-9d, a manuscript copy of which is to be found in B[ritish] L[ibrary], Stowe mss. 795, f. 59 *el seq.* and a printed version in J. Leland, *Collectanea* (ed. T. Hearne, 1770), II, 268 ff.

14. Staffs. RO, D641/1/2/162-3.

15. In the survey of 1583 called 'the Earl of Bedford's lodging' (Glos. RO, D108/M122) probably because the royal duchy had ceased to exist by that date and the surveyors confused it with the contemporary Russell earldom.

16. Staffs. RO, D641/1/2/173.

17. Staffs. RO, D641/1/2/176. During 1462-3 the constable of Oldbury was fined £5 for allowing a man to escape from it (Staffs. RO, D641/1/2/182).

18. Staffs. RO, D641/1/2/116 *et passim*.

19. This originally ended with the ducal motto, *Dorene savant* (J. Leland, *Itinerary*, ed. L. T. Smith, IV, 106).

20. Staffs. RO, D641/1/2/205.

21. WAM, 22909, m. 1.

22. *Ibid.*, m. 2.

paviours, and roughmasons.²³ Apparently the New Building was nearing completion because the chimney-stacks above the dining chamber are carved with the date 1514. Between 31 March 1514 and 31 March 1515 Cholmley paid £823 9s. 2½*d.* to the receiver for Somerset, Hampshire, and Wiltshire, Thomas Wotton, in his capacity as master of the works.²⁴

In 1515 a wall 80 perches long was built by John Say in Lord Stafford's garden. During the following year a lock was fitted in the duke's closet door by James Smith. Of the progress made in 1517 and 1518 nothing is known except that work continued.²⁵ In 1519 Buckingham, whose finances had been severely strained by the costs of his daughter's marriage in June and by his entertainment of the king at Penshurst in August,²⁶ examined Wotton's book of accounts to ascertain whether any saving could be made in the expenditure on the castle.²⁷ Evidently the retrenchment was so severe that building came temporarily to a stop: the New Building which was constructed mainly of fine ashlar or brick was finished with poorer freestone, and a false roof of elm covered with slate²⁸ was erected over the western and northern ranges of the inner court. Work, however, had been resumed by 1521 when four carpenters were paid 3*s.* 4*d.* for viewing the timber in the new buildings on 20 January, presumably to establish whether it had suffered any deterioration, and when the new master of works, William Curteys, who was also the duke's treasurer, received £100 on 31 March for 'certain reparacions doon and supplied in and upon' the castle.²⁹ Whatever work was planned, it was interrupted on the arrest, trial, and execution of the duke, and was never re-commenced after 17 May 1521. Later that year the king's surveyors found in the parsonage timber squared for use which they valued at £20, much rough stone in the outer court, a 'goodly sight' of freestone at the east end of the church, and 100,000 Devon slates worth £17 10*s.* within the manor.³⁰

Until the reconstruction undertaken by the Victorian architect, Anthony Salvin, the building received little structural attention.³¹ During the time it was in the crown's possession sufficient money was spent to allow princess Mary to visit it during the 1520s, and Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn to stop there on a royal progress in 1535; general repairs amounting to £347 4*s.* 4½*d.* were made in 1547, possibly to facilitate its use by the council in the marches of Wales. Buckingham's son had Thornbury restored to him by Mary on 10 July 1554,³² but he lacked the resources³³ to maintain the castle so that, with the exception of the steward's chambers, it soon became ruinous. From its remains,³⁴ surveys taken in the 16th century,³⁵ and notes and drawings made in the 18th and early 19th centuries,³⁶ the appearance and nature of the castle as it was in 1521 can be deduced and analysed. This cannot be done with the same certainty for any other contemporary

23. *Ibid.*, m. 3.

24. Marquess of Bath, Longleat mss. 6415, m. 7.

25. WAM, 22909, mm. 4-5.

26. For this information I am indebted to my colleague, Miss Carole Rawcliffe, in the History of Parliament Trust, whose study of the Stafford dukes is shortly to be published.

27. An impression of Wotton's book, had it survived, can be gathered from that for Kirby Muxloe castle, Leicestershire, edited by A. H. Thompson in *Trans. and Procs. Leics. Arch. Soc.*, XI (1915), 213-345. The results of Buckingham's scrutiny were noted down in a small paper book (WAM, 22909).

28. PRO, E36/150, f. 4. Normally when the work for a year was completed, the heads of the unfinished walls were protected with straw (L. F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540* (1967), 215).

29. PRO, E36/220, pp. 16, 27.

30. PRO, E36/150, f. 22.

31. D. Verey, *Gloucestershire: the vale and forest of Dean* (1970), 380-1.

32. PRO, C66/879, m. 26 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1553-4, p. 484).

33. Staffs. RO, D641/1/3/12 *et passim*.

34. The present owner, Mr K. G. Bell, generously allowed the writer to examine these in 1968.

35. PRO, E36/150, f. 4; Glos. RO, D108/M122; the ministers' accounts prepared while the castle was in royal possession add several lacunae (PRO, S.C. 6, Hen. VIII, 1058-77), but the administrative records for the castle kept by the royal office of works are lost except for a summary of expenses in 1547 (PRO, E351/3226).

36. S. and N. Buck, *Antiquities*, coll. VIII (1732), 7; A. and A. W. Pugin, *Examples of Gothic Architecture* (1838), II, 28-38; B.L. Add. Mss. 42003, f. 56; 42018, f. 72; 42020, f. 55; 42023, ff. 106-d., 111-12; 42043, f. 59; 42044, f. 55 (Edward Blore's drawings).

project of equal ambition—the only building which is comparable with Thornbury castle, Thomas Wolsey's Hampton Court, was transformed into a yet grander royal palace and in the process was radically altered.

The design of Thornbury castle divides into two parts (FIG 1), the outer and inner courts (wards). The first was constructed of coarsely cut, local stone and the second of ashlar from the Cotswolds: the use of these different stones points to the function and importance of the two parts. The outer court contained lodgings,³⁷ stabling, and stores while the inner accommodated the peripatetic, ducal household as well as the permanent, resident one.

In no way did the castle deviate from the long-established pattern for a building of its kind.³⁸ It was composed of numerous structural units which could be opened or closed as they were needed. Access to these units was gained directly from the court on which they were situated. Because these units were horizontal rather than vertical, entry to those situated on floors other than the ground was effected by means of newel stairs in turrets protruding into the courts. According to the station of the occupant and his dependents turned the number and proportion of the chambers, the size and glazing of the windows, and the inclusion of a fireplace and garderobe. The chambers within a unit led from one to another so that furthest from the entry was the most private. The principal units of the castle were connected by covered galleries and cloisters.

A diagrammatic breakdown (FIG 2) of the original disposition of the chambers around the inner court can be made, and this enables me to restrict my comment to just two of its ranges, the eastern which has disappeared and the southern which was called the New Building. Probably the great hall dominated the eastern range which followed the standard plan. Its one feature of interest was the situation of the chapel which stood to the east of the great hall, a position approximately the same as that of Cowdray, Sussex, which was built about 1520–30 and which was once considered unique.³⁹ The chapel consisted of two parts, an outer chapel where the household could stand to hear services and where at a higher level the duke and duchess had individual pews, each with its own fireplace, and an inner chapel with 22 settles of wainscot for the priest, clerks, and choristers.

The New Building was almost finished in 1521 (so too was the northern range) and it contained the parallel apartments of the duke and duchess, Buckingham's suite being on the first floor and the more sumptuous, a difference not to be explained by his wife's moodiness and their marital estrangement but by a proper observation of degree.⁴⁰ The ducal suite contained two additional chambers, one for those waiting to be let into Buckingham's great chamber and the other (which was situated in a garderobe extension) to store jewels. The second- and third-floor chambers of the south-west tower, above the two respective closets (bedchambers) were shelved to hold the family and estate papers. The quality and 'curious work' of the New Building impressed the royal surveyors: its erstwhile magnificence is indicated by the complex, geometric oriels and the profusion of carving in stone and brick.

The tower at the end of the New Building was connected with the main part of the castle by means of a cloister and a covered gallery which enclosed the privy garden (itself overlooked by the range's oriel front). An extension of the gallery led out of the castle to a pew constructed by the north chancel window of the parish church⁴¹ where Buckingham sat to hear divine service—on 2 August 1514 he received a licence to found beside the church a college of one dean, a sub-dean, eight secular priests, four clerks, and eight choristers.⁴² The gallery and other parts of the building

37. Some of these are discussed in D. A. Pantin, 'Chantry priests and other medieval lodgings', *Medieval Archaeology*, III (1959), 252–4.

38. P. A. Faulkner, 'Domestic planning from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries', *Archaeological Journal*, cxv (1958), 150–83, 'Castle planning in the 14th century', *ibid.*, cxv (1963), 215–35, and 'Some medieval archiepiscopal palaces', *ibid.*, cxxviii (1970), 130–46.

39. T. Trotter, *Cowdray* (1934), 39–41.

40. B.L., Cotton ms. Titus B. I. 171.

41. T. Waters, 'Thornbury church', *Trans. B.G.A.S.*, VIII (1883–4), 79–88.

42. PRO, C53/200, no. 4 (*LP Hen. VIII*, 1, 3226(3)).

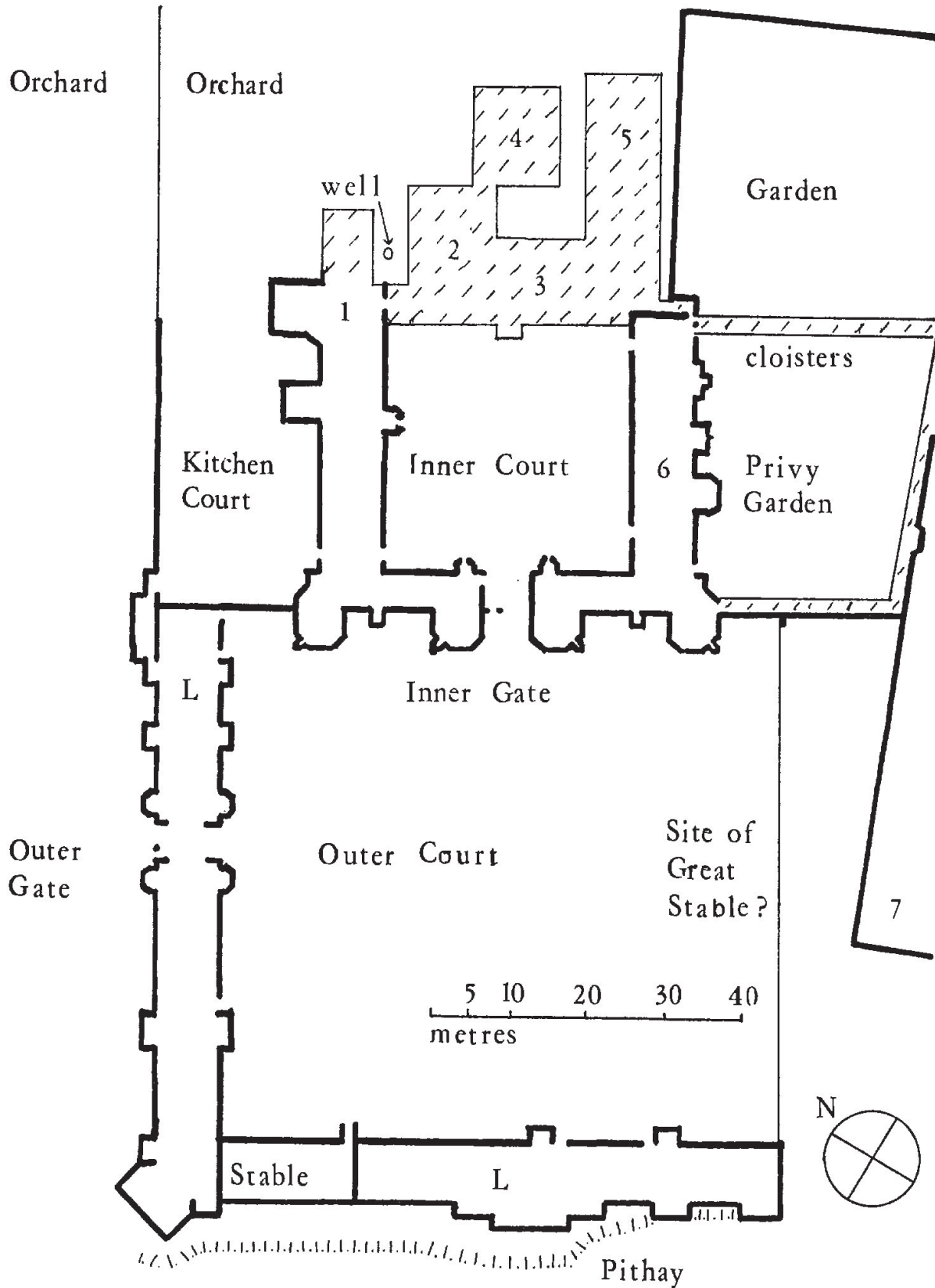


FIG. 1. Thornbury Castle

- | | | | | | |
|-------|--|---|----------------------------|---|---------------------------|
| — | Surviving wall or building | L | Lodgings | 4 | Chapel |
| - - - | Lost wall or building | 1 | Kitchens | 5 | Duke of Bedford's Lodging |
| ▨ | Destroyed buildings known from documents | 2 | Earl of Stafford's Lodging | 6 | The New Building |
| | | 3 | Great Hall | 7 | Parish Churchyard |

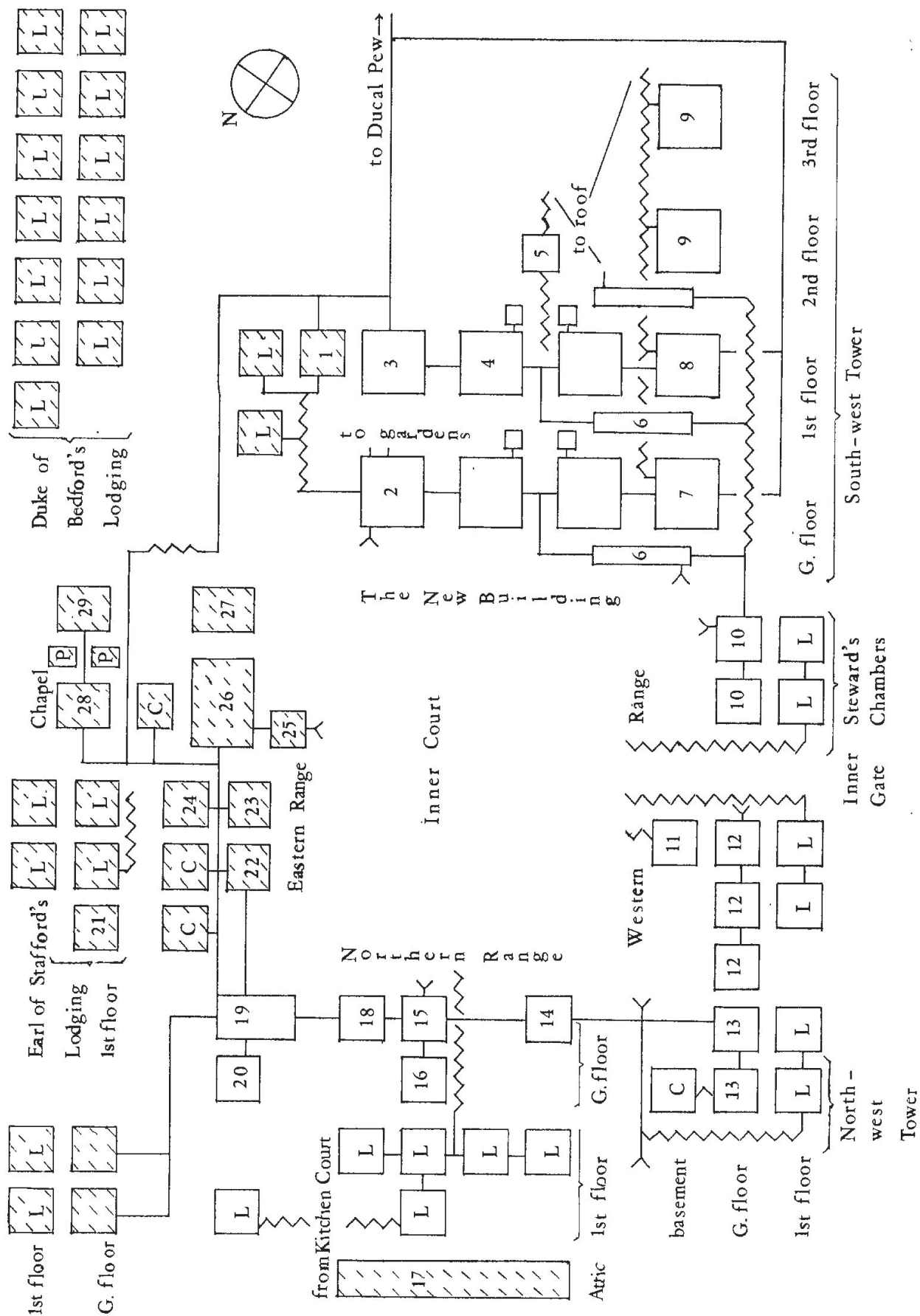


FIG. 2. Thornbury Castle

were tiled with 'bricks', examples of which are still to be seen.⁴³

The privy garden (one-third acre) was not the only one within the castle: to the east of the Duke of Bedford's lodging was another (three-quarter-acre) which was described as 'goodly' in 1583, while besides the chapel lay an orchard (half acre) which was stocked with a variety of trees. The gardens and orchard were set out in alleys and in their walls were roosting places around which grew hazel and whitethorn, a bush much loved by Buckingham.⁴⁴ The gardens were formal, herbs being extensively used and some plants being arranged as Stafford knots.⁴⁵ Vines were also grown within the grounds.⁴⁶

The residential aspect of the castle is the only one to have been considered so far. The building was intended to be fortified, and to that end a licence was obtained. As the work was interrupted before completion, the seriousness with which this prestigious elevation was undertaken cannot be wholly appraised. A number of observations, however, can be made. Its walls and massive towers were to have been battlemented and machicolated. There were, with the exception of the duchess's apartments, few ground-floor windows, light being obtained for the lower chambers by unglazed, crosslet loopholes: there were almost no windows looking out of the building complex. The stream to the west of the building was broadened into a moat, and to this day is called the pithay (ditch). Its extension along the northern side had been started by May 1521 and continues in modified use as a ha-ha. However, by themselves these castellar features cannot be interpreted as evidence of fortification since most buildings until the early 16th century included them.

Proof of the architect's seriousness is to be found in the provision of grooves for portcullis in the outer and inner gateways, the flanking of the gates by towers, the siting of bastions on the outer walls, and the incorporation of gunports in the north-west bastion (6) of the outer court, the outer gate (2), and the inner gate (2). These gunports are at their mouths 8-9 inches across: internally they are splayed. By comparison with those constructed at Dartmouth castle in the 1490s, they are conservative, but too much emphasis ought not to be placed on this as the king's masons were slow to follow the new type. It was intended that in an emergency the ducal residence could be defended, but clearly the building was not planned as a fortress because over the strategically important, inner gate there was to have been an oriel.⁴⁷

The design submitted to Buckingham was one which would have appealed to Henry VII and his court for it emulated Edward III's example at Windsor,⁴⁸ and it should be seen in the context of the

43. In the castle, the Victoria and Albert Museum (A. Lane, *A guide to the collection of tiles in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (1935), 29, pls. 18, 21), and Littleton-on-Severn church (R. Jeffcoat, 'The arms and badges of Edward Stafford, 3rd Duke of Buckingham', *Trans. B.G.A.S.*, LIV (1932), 133-6).

44. PRO, E36/150, f. 26 (*LP Hen. VIII*, III, no. 1288).







45. Staffs. RO, D641/1/2/202.

46. Glos. RO, D108/M121.

47. The base of this can be seen in two of Blore's drawings (B.L., Add. ms. 42023, f. 106-d.).

48. R. A. Brown, H. M. Colvin, and A. J. Taylor, *The King's Works: the Middle Ages* (1963), 870-82.

Diagrammatic breakdown of Chambers around the Inner Court

	Surviving chamber	5 Duke's Jewel (Privy) Chamber	18 Boiling House
	Destroyed chamber	6 Lobby	19 Kitchen
	External doorway	7 Duchess' Closet	20 Privy Kitchen
	Internal doorway or interlinking	8 Duke's Closet	21 Clerk's Treasury
	corridor	9 Muniment Room	22 Scullery
	Stairway	10 Duchess' Wardrobe	23 Buttery
C	Cellar	11 Dungeon	24 Pantry
L	Lodging	12 Porter's Lodge	25 Porch
P	Pew	13 Duke's Wardrobe	26 Great Hall
1	Waiting Room	14 Wet Larder	27 Outer Hall
2	Duchess' Great Chamber	15 Dry Larder	28 Outer Chapel
3	Duke's Great Chamber	16 Privy Bakehouse	29 Inner Chapel
4	Dining Room	17 Cook Loft	

first Tudor's work at Eltham, Richmond, Westminster, and Windsor.⁴⁹ Under Henry VIII a style incorporating incongruous renaissance features became fashionable at court. The advocates of this style were men for whom the duke cared little and with whom he did not move. Thus it was no surprise to find Thornbury castle devoid of such elements.

Of the original furnishings little can now be said as no inventories are known to have survived. The ducal household was an itinerant one and took its furniture with it. Several items, however, were left permanently in the castle; the great hall was fitted with three coarse verdure, and its windows with mantles emblazoned with swans and curtains with antelopes, the waiting room with two tapestries depicting warfare, and the ducal closet with a green sarcenet curtain.⁵⁰

That the rebuilding was costly would have been implied by the extant building had not any liveries been known. The sum received in 1514-15 by Wotton was almost twice the annual expenditure on Tattershall castle, Lincolnshire (c. 1432-c. 1452),⁵¹ and on Kirby Muxloe castle, Leicestershire (1480-4):⁵² as conceived Thornbury was to have surpassed both these buildings. The figure estimated by Buckingham and his council could not have been less than that for them, and Tattershall probably amounted to over £8,000. At the time that the rebuilding was undertaken, the scheme doubtless ranked among the most prestigious, ambitious, and magnificent in the country: it was, as Leland noted, 'a noble piece of work purposed'.⁵³

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49. A proper consideration of these must await the publication of the 16th-century section of *The King's Works*.

50. Staffs. RO, D641/1/3/10.

51. W. D. Simpson, *The building accounts of Tattershall castle*. Publications of the Lincoln Rec. Soc., LV (1960).

52. A. H. Thompson, *op. cit.*

53. J. Leland, *Itinerary*, ed. L. T. Smith, v, 100.

Appendix AC 4

Extract from Emery, A (2006) *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales: Volume III Southern England* (CUP)

facing into a room with original chamfered cross beams. The first-floor room, 17 feet by 16 feet, is the well-known early Tudor chamber with plain-chamfered doorway, fireplace, and a second doorway hidden behind the panelling to a lost garderobe, marked externally by the abruptly cut string course. The room is lit by the five-light oriel and four-light south window. The awkward approach by two steps from the body of the range is again indicative of the tower's late development.

However, the glory of this chamber is the sequence of decoration, beginning with the untouched linenfold panelling which encircles the room, with the newel entry protected by one of the earliest surviving internal porches in England. Above the panelling is a line of oblong panels with roundels enclosing heads, except on the fireplace wall where they are of heraldic form, all surrounded by early Renaissance filigree patterns of arabesques, mermaids, and scrolls. The more narrow frieze above of cherubs and leaves has the initials RK for Robertus King.⁹ The two cross beams spanning the damaged ribbed ceiling are also plaster-embellished. All this decoration, originally coloured and gilded, is now painted white against a sea-blue background. It is workmanship of the highest quality.¹⁰

The broad newel continues to the second-floor chamber which repeats the fenestration and fireplace position of the room below, but with an external cross loop in place of the garderobe. The two cross beams have applied wooden moulding, but this plain plastered room is otherwise bare. The newel rises a stage further above the low-pitched roof.

In sum, the body of the range is of two builds of the second half and close of the fifteenth century, and was almost certainly purposed for residential use. The ornate 5 foot wide doorway could be as late as the early sixteenth century (though I have reservations about this) contemporary with the refenestration of the range after about 1500 when windows with uncusped lights and roll-moulded internal jambs were inserted. Shortly afterwards, the tower was added against the range, at the same time as the resplendent bay windows and central newel were inserted, all lit by windows with concave internal jambs.¹¹ This work is probably of between 1510 and the early 1520s, attributable to abbot John Warren (1509–29), whose expensive and florid lifestyle called down the wrath of bishop Longland of Lincoln who sought to curtail it.¹² These last additions show no sign of any early Renaissance decoration such as embellished abbot Vyntner's oriel window of 1527 at St Osyth Priory. Such work is confined to the first-floor interiors created for the last abbot, Robert King, after his appointment in 1530, and who surrendered the abbey nine years later to his brother's brother-in-law. Subsequent alterations included raising the roof in the late sixteenth century when attics were inserted, mid-eighteenth-century internal remodelling, a major restoration in 1920, and a further one during the last years of the twentieth century.

The original layout of this range is entirely speculative. It might be presumed on the decorative evidence that the abbot's apartments lay entirely at first-floor level, but there is no wall, ceiling, or roof division to suggest the layout at either level outside the single stair. If the abbot's hall was open to the roof, then it can only have been at the upper level and in the eastern part of the range, but there is no kitchen or oratory evidence, nor is the point of entry obvious at either level. The ground floor may have been used for guests, and if the upper floor was limited to the abbot, its approach was possibly from a stair outside the line of the north wall close to

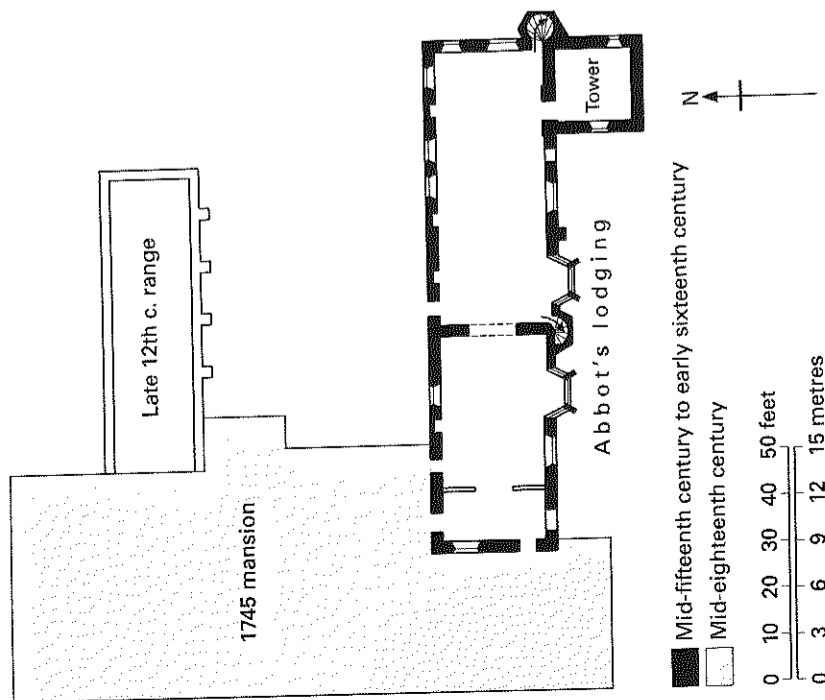


FIGURE 42 Thame Park: abbots' lodgings, ground plan

The first of the upper rooms has been converted into a library with a nineteenth-century fireplace and Jacobean-style panelling, and mid-eighteenth-century bookcases. The boarded ceiling is original, divided into three parts by two cross beams with a central rose and leaf boss. Each part is crossed by narrow ribs to create a repeated diamond pattern with shields at the intersections. The first part by the entry is a Georgian copy, but the other two are early sixteenth-century work added by Robertus King, whose name is spelt out in the middle of the decorative plaster frieze of vine trails and ornament along the north wall.⁷ The west wall of this room stands on the line of the Gothic division below, cutting off the end section which was subsumed into the mansion in the eighteenth century and has recently been converted into a bathroom.

The stone partition of the second chamber retains the line of the original lower-pitched roof below the added gable head which supports the present late sixteenth-century structure. This enabled attic rooms to be created, lit by a contemporary window in the roughly treated end wall, with forced entries from the tower newel into this and the attic floor.⁸ None of the original trusses remains, though some wind braces were reused. The north wall retains evidence of eighteenth-century brick windows, but an original fireplace survives in the end wall with a high mantel and a blank shield at each end of the low four-centred fireplace head. The two- and four-light windows in the south wall have modest roll-moulded jambs.

The tower ground floor is approached from the rear side of the 5 feet wide later fifteenth-century doorway with its decorated front

the revealed ground-floor Tudor doorway. This would open into a private dining room (the Robert King ceiled chamber) with the offices through the entry in the west wall to the area that has been converted into a bathroom. The second chamber was almost certainly divided into the abbot's privy and inner chamber, with the newel and more elaborate bay window with the royal coat of arms serving the first. The inner room benefitted from the end-wall fireplace and three-light window with immediate access to the abbot's study and retiring room above. What is indisputable is that these lodgings point to the highest standards of domestic comfort, with the study displaying as much concern for excluding draughts by an internal porch as for showing off the abbot's personal heraldry alongside that of important local families, as in a leading secular household.

Like Battle Abbey, Forde Abbey, Wenlock Priory, and Whatton Priory, Thame Park retains one of the best-preserved and relatively complete examples of a late lodging of a monastic head, even if we are not clear about its precise internal layout. Developed during Yorkist and early Tudor rule, it follows the pattern of many such houses in adding a tower to the earlier facilities as at Newstead, Hailes Abbey, and Norton Priory. But equally distinctive are the further bays and newel which help to create an enfilade of high-status apartments of considerable architectural presence, irrespective of the two sumptuously decorated early Renaissance interiors. Abbots and priors were leading an increasingly secular life, little different in property ownership, estate management, and domestic lifestyle from that of any lay patron. Such heads were rivaling courtiers and magnates in the magnificence of their apartments, so that the Thame Park frontage parallels the grander contemporary one by the duke of Buckingham at Thornbury Castle. But Thame is also important because while the structural additions were backward-looking – a late fling of Gothic forms – the internal decoration was extremely progressive, as much as in any comparable secular surviving.

NOTES

- 1 VCH, VII (1962) 169.
- 2 *South Midlands Archaeology* 17 (1987) 72–5; *Vern. Arch.* 24 (1993) 41–2.
- 3 Viscount Wenman pulled down several low, straggling buildings, remnants of the abbey, before erecting his new mansion at right angles to the abbot's lodging. The new mansion is very similar to that built at the same time for Sir John Dashwood, Wenman's second cousin, at Kirtlington.
- 4 Not so extensively as shown on the plan in VCH, VII (1962) 168. There is no building line in the middle of its outer face, cleaned and repointed in 1985 when the 1939 corridor against it was removed.
- 5 Uncusped lights were first used at Exon College (1440s) and Ockwells Manor (1450s) and later in the century at Great Chalfeld Manor (1478–85) and Hatfield Palace (1479–86). The form became popular in central England during the early years of the new century, as at Horham Hall (c.1502–20), Pooley Hall (c.1509), and Pawsley Hall (c.1510). The form was used in combination with cusped lights at Thornbury Castle (c.1510–21) and Forde Abbey (c.1521–8).
- 6 Also the marching window near the tower until about 1920.
- 7 The frieze is similar to work formerly at Notley Abbey, 3 miles away, similar lettering in the woodwork. It has been transferred to Weston Manor, Oxfordshire, see page 124 n. 6.
- 8 The roof over the first-floor chamber was raised in the mid-eighteenth century using a brick infill between the two pitches, and heightening part of the north-facing wall.

9 F. G. Lee, *The History . . . of Thame* (1883) and H. A. Tipping, *Country Life* (July 1909), repeated in Tipping (1924) interpreted the damaged K as an R for Robertus Reonensis, titular bishop of Rheon, a very doubtful attribution. For the interpretation of the coat of arms, Godfrey (1929) 64–8.

10 Similar workmanship occurs at Nether Winchendon House, a timber-framed house initially owned by Notley Abbey until 1527 when it was leased to Sir John Daunce (d.1543), who remodelled it. The parlour has linenfold panelling below a plaster frieze of early Renaissance decoration, very similar to that at Thame in style and date. Royal craftsmen have been suggested for the work at Nether Winchendon.

11 The square internal jambs of the windows in both ground-floor rooms and the first of the upper rooms are twentieth-century restorations. For those of 1920, see *The Architectural Review* 51 (Jan. 1922) 17–19.

12 The bishop complained to the head of the Cistercian order in England in 1525 about the laxity, immense debts, and ruined buildings at Thame, while abbot Warren lived in expensive style. The replies to the charges were evasive and insincere. VCH, *Oxfordshire*, II (1907) 84–5.

F. G. Lee, *Building News* (1888) 455–7

H. A. Tipping, *English Homes* Period 2, I (1924) 253–60

W. H. Godfrey, *Arch. Jour.* 86 (1929) 59–68

A. Oswald, *Country Life* (Nov. 1957)

VCH, *Oxfordshire*, VII (1962) 168–170

THORNBURY CASTLE, Gloucestershire

The Stafford family rose above their west Midland prosperity during Edward III's reign with their acquisition of Thornbury as part of the extensive Audley inheritance of 1343. The hall and chapel on the site were retained when Edward, 3rd duke of Buckingham began extensive repairs to the earlier buildings in 1507–8 prior to developing a large double-courtyard castle.¹ He obtained a licence to crenellate his new mansion in July 1510:² the principal gateway is dated 1511 and the south range chimneys 1514. Work temporarily ceased in 1519 to meet Buckingham's more pressing financial needs arising from a royal visit to Penshurst, his daughter's wedding, and his display at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The duke spent the next year and a half at Thornbury in a huff from courtier politics³ but building recommenced early in 1521 with the purpose of completing the gatehouse range and the remainder of the outer court.⁴ All activity ceased immediately with the duke's execution in May of that year. A survey was made immediately after the castle's confiscation⁵ but the incomplete castle was capable of occupation by Mary Tudor during the years of her childhood and by Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn in 1535. The property was returned to the Stafford family in 1554 but it became too expensive to maintain, as the survey of 1583 reveals,⁶ and decay set in. Thornbury Castle is a classic example of the palace-fortress concept, spanning the divide between the more military-like castle at Raglan half a century earlier with the open palace style maturing under Henry VIII.

THE BUILDINGS

As at Kirby Muxloe, the castle's development was caught at the stage it had reached by the owner's execution and it was little touched thereafter. Partial destruction of the inner courtyard has since taken place, while the outer court stands in ruined abandonment. One gate-tower and the southern part of the principal entrance range

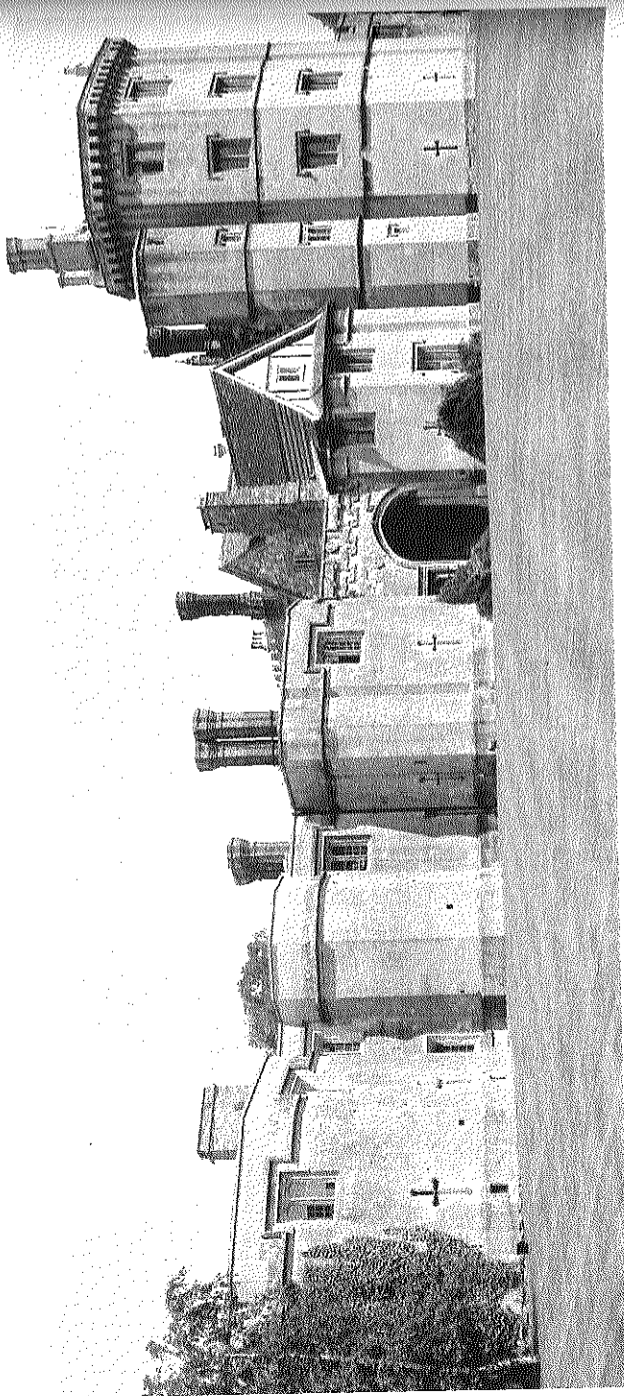


PLATE 78 Thornbury Castle: entrance frontage

were roofed and rehabilitated in the 1770s, the great south-west tower in 1809-11, and the many-windowed south range was sensitively restored by Salvin in 1854-5.⁷ The occupiable portion of the castle has been used as a hotel since 1966.

The outer court, 315 feet by 245 feet, covers nearly 2½ acres. In plan, two-storeyed ranges of lodgings and stables were erected round three sides of the rectangle, with the entrance frontage to the inner court filling the fourth. Two ranges remain in ruin, with projecting stair and garderobe turrets, a portcullis-protected gateway in the middle of the north side, and gun ports in the north-west bastion (pl. 85). The grassed south side on the site of the great stable is currently used as the approach to the castle.

Access to the inner court, 120 feet by 110 feet, was through the west range with its dominating six towers. It was only partly completed. The polygonal south-west tower with machicolated parapet was fully finished together with the intermediate turret. The towered entrance gate and north end of the range did not progress above their present levels. The gateway was left without its proposed entrance vaulting and first-floor oriel, while the north-west end lacks the imposing corner tower planned. There were cross loops at ground level and two-light cinquefoil windows above. The steward occupied the upper rooms immediately south of the gate, with supplementary rooms for the duchess' staff below and porters' rooms north of the passageway.

The north range held the larders, bakehouse, and boiling house with lodgings above, terminating in the great kitchen and privy kitchen. The range had been completed by 1521 but only partially stands, for it has been the most robbed of all the courtyard stone structures.

The east range opposite the entrance contained the great hall and chamber block, 'all of the old building and of an homely fashion', with the chapel to the rear.⁸ The hall and chamber block above the services were certainly timber-framed, and it was presumably intended to replace them with more splendid structures until the plan was aborted by the duke's sudden demise. A range north of the

great hall, linked to Buckingham's private apartments and overlooking its own garden, was probably used as guest chambers, in all likelihood built by Jasper Tudor between 1485 and 1495 when he died at Thornbury.⁹ All the remains on this side of the court had been pulled down by 1732 when the standing stone ruins were engraved by Buck (pl. 8). The hall foundations were recovered by excavation in 1982.

The south range, roofed in 1514, was 'fully finished with curious workes and stately loggings' which so impressed the commissioners in 1521. Tall, but only two storeys high though retaining its original embattled parapet, this 150 foot frontage is dominated by three full-height bay windows to differing plans, made more voluptuous at the upper stage. Each bay was elaborated with strong vertical lines, many cusped lights and a bevy of panes - the cinquefoil bay holding 720 panes of curved glass¹⁰ (pl. 10). This range contained the parallel apartments of the duke and duchess, with those of the duchess on the ground floor and the duke's suite above to a more enriched standard. In both cases, the suites consisted of three large chambers in the body of the range with their bedchambers in the south-west tower. The duke's suite was supplemented by a lobby or ante-chamber before his great chamber at the head of the stair from the hall dais, and a privy or jewel chamber. The 1521 survey shows that the two floors above the bedchambers in the south-west tower were used for private and estate papers rather than accommodation.¹¹

GARDENS AND PARK

The walled privy garden (the 'proper gardeyn' in the 1521 survey) between the south range and the churchyard is a rare early Tudor survival. The enclosure embattled on three sides had a ground-floor loggia and a 'goodly gallery' at first-floor level built of 'tymbre covered with slate'. The gallery could be approached from rooms at either end of the duke's private apartments and had windows in the west wall and oriels in the south wall. A now destroyed extension led to a pew by the north chancel window in the adjacent parish church. It was inspired by the timber loggia and framed upper

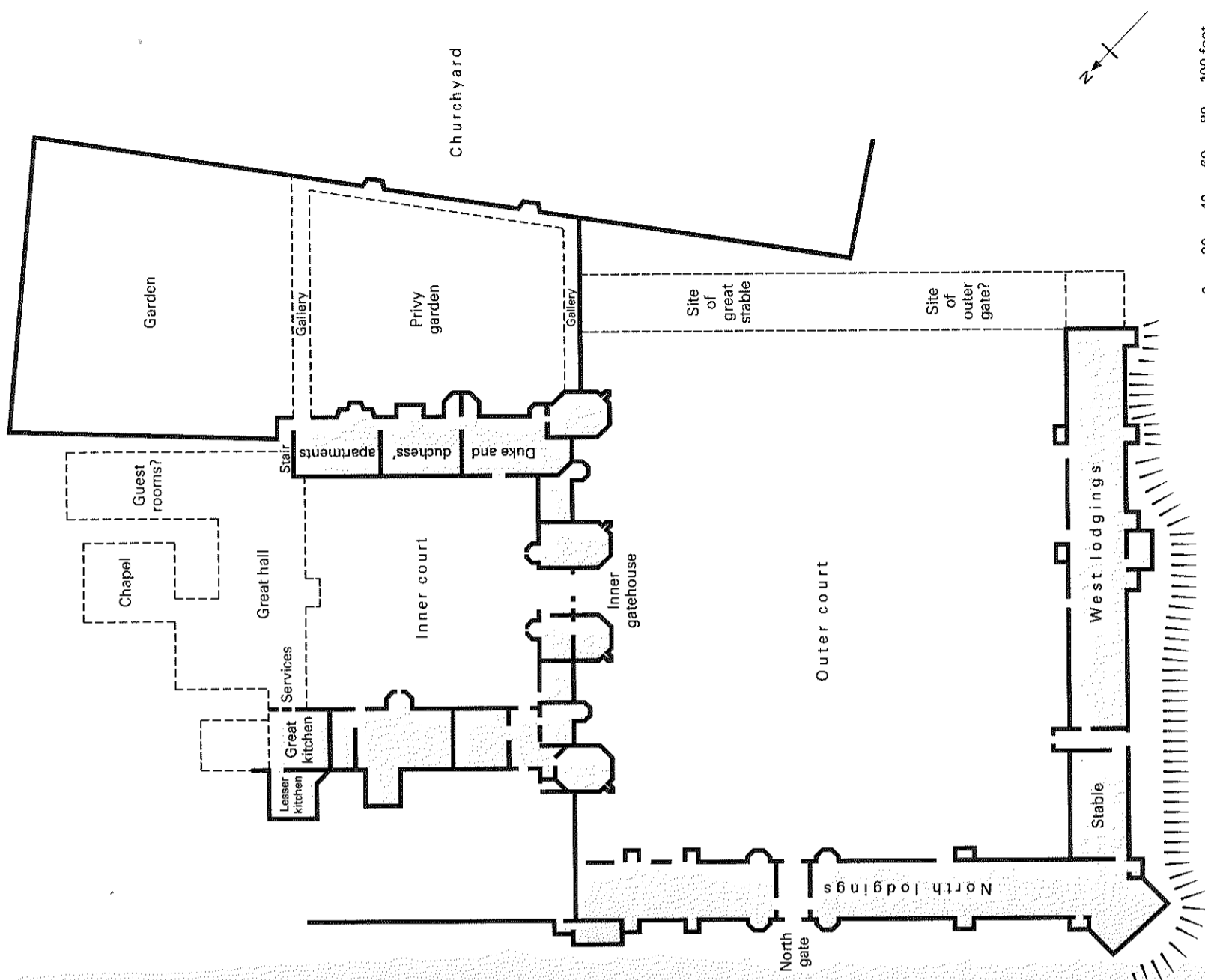


FIGURE 43 Thornbury Castle: site plan

gallery at Richmond Palace built for Henry VII in 1502 (rebuilt 1506) which apparently backed on to the walls round the privy garden with private apartments access. Excavations in 1992 revealed that Tudor garden features still survive 3 feet below the present surface and it is likely that traces of this loggia and gallery would also be found.

There was a much larger 'goodly gardeyn to walke ynn' (1583 survey) east of the privy garden. The orchard north of the hall and chapel had covered alleys to protect people from the sun or the rain, planted with hazel and whitethorn bushes. Attempts in the 1970s to grow vines within the castle grounds, as in early Tudor times, proved a failure.

Buckingham's crenellation licence also permitted him to enclose a park of 1,000 acres, supplemented in 1517 by a second licence for a further 500 acres. To achieve his 'fayre parke hard by the castle', 4 miles in circumference and stocked with 700 deer, he had no compunction in refusing to compensate any dispossessed tenants.¹²

POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Though he had recently been appointed virtual ruler of Wales for life by Richard III, the family's Lancastrian sympathies encouraged Henry, 2nd duke of Buckingham to join a plot in favour of Henry Tudor, prompting swift execution for his disloyalty (1483). Two years later, Henry VII restored the family estates and titles to the duke's seven-year-old son, who subsequently earned high favour with Henry VIII during the first ten years of his reign. However, his high-born descent encouraged an already haughty and wealthy magnate to regard himself as a possible successor to the king, who sought to expunge any such notion.¹³ He was summoned to London to answer trumped-up charges by discontented staff, including his chancellor and confessor, and was summarily executed. In any case, the duke had been declining in the king's favour for the past two years while Wolsey had quietly encouraged his extravagant lifestyle and conspicuous display at the Field of the Cloth of Gold to the dual end of irritating the king and increasing his debts that had brought work to a halt on the castle.¹⁴

Edward had developed Thornbury rather than his castles at Brecon and Newport in south-east Wales, Stafford and Maxstoke in the west Midlands, or Tombridge and his manor houses at Penshurst, or Writtle near London because his Gloucestershire estate was poised midway between two key areas of his patrimony in Wales and the Midlands.¹⁵ The River Severn did not unduly hinder communication. The castle's outer gate faced its broad waters 2 miles away, and a linking canal, possibly using the creek from the Severn to Thornbury mentioned by Leland, seems to have been contemplated and begun.¹⁶ Nor was Thornbury a difficult journey from London, and the manor had become an agriculturally rich one. Thornbury Castle was intended and built to a size which enabled it to be Stafford's prime estate and administrative centre and a potential power-base. It was designed as a visual expression of his patronage, and provided sufficient accommodation for a household which numbered over 500 personal and support staff, retainers, and servants and therefore became the focus of a large social community. It was also the spectacular residence for his family and their guests and a retreat from court factions.

Buckingham's decision at the close of 1520 to seek royal permission to raise an armed bodyguard so that he could visit his Welsh lordships, no matter how realistic and financially necessary, was



THORNBURY CASTLE

PLATE 79 Thornbury Castle: garden frontage

extremely ill-judged and was refused. It had fostered the suspicion at court that he was intent on fomenting rebellious activities as his father had done. That Thornbury Castle could now accommodate such a factious force in lodging ranges greater in extent than almost anywhere else exacerbated the threat that his pride, wealth, and territorial power seemingly posed to the established order, and he paid the penalty.

ARCHITECTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

Had Thornbury Castle been completed, it would have been one of the largest and finest palaces in a period notable for their proliferation. Even in its present state, the remains are of outstanding national importance, for Thornbury is as much an expression of Buckingham's character and aspirations as the palaces of Henry VIII or those of Wolsey. Thornbury is usually compared with the latter before its royal enhancement (1515-26) but it may be more validly compared with a number of earlier residences.

Buckingham's work was much influenced by contemporary royal palaces, particularly Richmond (1497-1501). The towered entrance frontage reflected the river frontages at Richmond and Greenwich (1500-1) which had incorporated massive fifteenth-century tower-houses in the royal work.¹⁷ The siting of the duke's residential range above that of the duchess had similarly been adopted at Richmond (but not Bridewell 1510-23) and by Edward IV at Nottingham Castle (1463-78). The two-tiered galleries enclosing the perimeter of the privy garden also reflected a form initiated at Richmond with direct access at both levels from the private apartments. These aspects suggest that Thornbury was among the most up-to-date residences in the country, but other elements show that it was more backward-looking, for Buckingham was unable to give up a century-old aristocratic tradition of fortress-like residences with an exemplar not far from Gloucestershire. In its conception and development, Thornbury is as much a regularised Raglan Castle (c.1455-69) as an open-windowed Henrician palace.

The surveyors who visited the castle after Buckingham's execution could not decide whether Thornbury was a castle or a manor house and used both terms. Later writers are equally divided over its military significance. Simpson, Stone, Platt, and Hawkyard¹⁸ rate it more highly than McFarlane, Girouard, Thompson, and Cathcart-King.¹⁹ It was fortress-like externally with a low but defensible base court, large enough to be an assembly ground, with bastions, gun ports, and moated protection on the two approach sides. An array of six towers dominated the entry range to the inner court - two corner bastions, two intermediate towers, and twin gateway towers. Rising one storey above the remainder of the range, the four principal towers were crowned with embattled machicolated parapets owing much to those at Raglan Castle. The effect was heightened by a windowless ground floor throughout the range except for crosslet loops, two gun ports by the entrance, and a portcullis.²⁰ Thornbury was not a fortress but it was capable of being a defensible residence.

The domesticated south front which belies this fortress-like statement could not be seen in the approach from the west and was partly concealed by the privy garden wall and church to the east. This many-windowed range is an architectural tour-de-force and a classic of its time, with windows surpassing contemporary work at Windsor Castle and the apsidal bays of Henry VII's chapel at

Westminster Abbey. Yet in its domestic planning, Thornbury was following the long-established pattern of horizontal unitary occupation, directly accessed from the courtyard or from protruding stair turrets, and with the status of the occupant determining chamber size and facilities such as fireplaces and garderobes. Thornbury had not developed far from the accommodation standards at Raglan and Sudeley castles half a century earlier, though it followed the latter's more regularised double courtyard plan.

The castle displays a progressive approach and elevation development from the low outer gate to the taller ranges of the inner court with the hall sited on its far side. Similar practices had been adopted in the mid-fifteenth-century palace-mansions at Wingfield and Sudeley. This effect was heightened at Thornbury by the employment of contrasting building materials. A coarse local stone with ashlar dressings was used for the outer court while Cotswold stone of exceptionally fine quality was chosen for the inner court. The family apartments were distinguished further by contrasting brick chimneys, while the earlier hall, service and chamber block, and chapel were timber-framed. Enlargement or replacement was probably Buckingham's long-term intention, but not necessarily in Cotswold stone. The roofs were covered with Devon slates.

Like the lodgings at Wingfield, those at Thornbury reflected dif-

fering levels of society. The two lodging ranges round the outer court were two-storeyed above a low basement used for storage and cesspit clearance access. Those of the highest standard (and the best preserved) were east of the north gate. The five lodgings, approximately 20 feet square, were well windowed, with individual or paired stair access, fireplace, and garderobe. Those west of the gate were much larger, two rooms on each floor without fireplaces. A stable at the angle separated the north range from the larger communal lodgings on the west front, poorly built and more ruined.

As at Fotheringhay, Tattershall, and Warkworth, Buckingham planned to found a college of priests next to the church at Thornbury. He obtained such a licence in 1514 but though his chapel held the twenty-two stalls numbered in his foundation, it is likely that a separate establishment was intended but never begun.

Buckingham was out of step with the political tune of the time, for he failed to appreciate that the crown was as intent on curbing the power of the aristocracy as it was on preventing it from playing any significant role in affairs of state. Thornbury Castle was surely out of key, a transitional building with private apartments and gardens no less splendid than those of the crown, but the remainder of the castle looked to a past that the duke was neither willing nor able to forego.

A SOCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE CENTRE

Thornbury Castle provided the backdrop to Buckingham's position in society. The scrolled inscription above the inner gate proclaimed his standing; supported by the ducal motto, garter enclosed arms, and his emblems. His own apartments were encrusted with emblematic carvings and reliefs across doorway jambs, chimney pieces, and window plays, as well as spandrels and dripstones. The glazed windows were probably and the floor tiles were certainly embellished with mottoes and badges,²¹ while the range was surmounted by gargoyles and elaborately moulded chimneys. His rooms are known to have been tapestry hung. The castle was meant to be as impressive as his table, his personal display, and his love of ceremony.

Details about the household Buckingham maintained rival those given in the contemporary household books of the 5th earl of Northumberland,²² for historians increasingly appreciate that the household state that such aristocrats kept was not senseless extravagance but an accepted and necessary state of social standing and visual display if they were to maintain the respect and reputation deemed appropriate to their position.

Buckingham kept house on the grandest scale: 519 persons were present at his epiphany feast in January 1508 and 400 sat down to supper on the same day. Leading guests brought their own guests to enjoy the sumptuous feast. Trumpeters, minstrels, waits, and players added to the festivities, when 521 quarts of ale were consumed, and vast amounts of beef as well as fresh poultry and game. Yet this feast day took place in the old manor house at Thornbury and not in the present spectacular edifice. Such extravagance might look to us as baronial excess but as K. B. McFarlane pointed out, the total cost was just over £13 by a host whose net landed income was £4,906 in 1521.²³ Furthermore, Buckingham was fastidious in supervising his accounts, kept a close check on the financial performance of his officials, assiduously practised efficient estate management, and exploited all available sources of revenue.²⁴

Nine household books survive for the 3rd duke of Buckingham recording a wealth of household details.²⁵ In 1508-9, 150 staff were resident at the personal service of the duke, 130 at a point between 1511 and 1514, and 148 in 1521. Eighty-six were assigned to the duchess in the 1511-14 record.²⁶ In 1517 there were forty-six personal attendants, including three gentlemen ushers and five valet ushers who guarded Buckingham's privacy and controlled those admitted to his presence. The duchess had four personal servants, and their son a schoolmaster, master valet, chamberer, and groom responsible for his robes.²⁷

This permanent household was supplemented by Buckingham's travelling household of liveried retainers, though they seem to have been fewer in number than those of the first and second dukes even though Edmund's immediate entourage was larger.²⁸ In addition, there were servants, occasional staff employed for special events, builders, musicians, and other casual labour which enhanced the membership of Buckingham's household to about 500 people.²⁹

Yet Thornbury was also developed because the duke turned away from the peripatetic lifestyle of his father and grandfather in favour of a more settled existence.³⁰ Thornbury was to be the pivot of his broad spread of estates, an administrative and financial centre enabling him to use officials and agents to carry out his business rather than maintain an itinerant diary to do it himself. Consequently, the

developing tendency for a larger household and greater specialisation among officials, developing in the royal and the largest magnate households, culminated at Thornbury in a building which enabled this to be achieved.

NOTES

- Hawkyard (1977) 51.
- Letters & Papers Henry VIII*, I, 172.
- Rawcliffe (1978) 42 and 137-43 for a financial analysis of this period.
- Ibid.* 137; Hawkyard (1977) 53.
- Letters & Papers Henry VIII*, 3, pt. 1, 506.
- W. A. Caffell, *Society for Thornbury Folk Bulletin* 8 (1990) 63-75; J. J. Burke, *Visitations of Seats and Arms*, II, 1 (1854) 144-7.
- J. Alibone, *Anthony Salvin* (1987) 180.
- The hall with porch and central hearth had been erected by 1360; the chamber block was demolished and re-erected in a modified form in 1399, and the chapel built in 1453. Hawkyard (1977) 52 draws attention, as does W. D. Simpson (*Antiq. Jour.* 26 (1946) 168), to the similarly sited chapel at Cowdray (c.1520-30). For the most detailed analysis of the castle's internal planning, see Hawkyard (1969) 187-235.
- Called the earl of Bedford's lodging in the 1583 survey, the range may be attributed to Jasper, Katherine Woodville's step-father, after his reinstatement as earl of Pembroke in 1485 shortly after he had been created duke of Bedford.
- This frontage was famously engraved by A. and A. W. Pugin, *Examples of Gothic Architecture*, II (1838) 28-38. Also the drawing in A. Garner and T. Stratton, *The Domestic Architecture of England During the Tudor Period*, I (1911) pl. 28.
- Hawkyard (1977) 56. The interiors are almost entirely by Salvin with Tudor-style doorways, dark panelling, heavy ceilings, and Willemet painted glass.
- Rawcliffe (1978) 64.
- He was descended from Edward III's sixth son, Thomas of Woodstock, and his mother, Katherine Woodville, was the sister of Edward IV's queen. He was considered as a possible heir to the throne as early as 1499 when Henry VII was ill, with such gossip continuing in courtier circles well into Henry VIII's reign.
- For Buckingham's finances, Rawcliffe (1978) 126-43; T. B. Pugh, *The Marcher Lordships of South Wales 1415-1536* (1963) 241-61; K. B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (1973) 207-12. The entrenchment he laid on for the king and court at Peshurst in 1519 was particularly lavish, while his attacks on the cardinal's foreign policy exacerbated their mutual dislike.
- Maxstoke had been well maintained during his minority but in due course Buckingham re-roofed the hall at Brecon, and repaired the castles at Newport and Tonbridge and his manor at Peshurst. Writtle and Kimbolton Castle fell into disrepair but he extended Bletchingley Manor at the turn of the century to be a convenient stopping place near London.
- Itinerary*, II, 64; V, 100.
- S. Thurlay, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (1993) 27-36.
- W. D. Simpson, *Antiq. Jour.* 26 (1946) 165-70; L. Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641* (1965) 253-4; C. Platt, *The Castle in Medieval England and Wales* (1982) 179-82; Hawkyard (1977) 57. The 1510 licence to crenellate granted permission to build a fortalice or castle, though the earlier manor was not defensibly sited.
- McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* 209; M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House* (1978) 69; M. W. Thompson, *The Decline of the Castle* (1987) 63. The castle is not listed in D. J. Cathcart-King, *Castellarium Anglicanum* (1983).
- Reconstructions of this frontage in R. Cooke, *West Country Houses* (1977) 48; N. Kingsley, *Country Houses of Gloucestershire*, I (1989) 188. Cooke usefully includes Buck and Lysons' engravings, 46-9. The drawings by Edward Blore are held in Brit. Lib., Add. MS 42023 f.106.

21 Some are retained on site: others are held in the V & A Museum and Gloucester Museum. Also J. Wight, *Medieval Floor Tiles* (1975) 148-50.

22 A. Emery, *Greater Med. Houses*, I (1996) 292-4.

23 Rawcliffe (1978) 133. Also McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* 4. Buckingham's journal is held in the Staffordshire Record Office. Extracts by J. Gage, *Archaeologia* 25 (1834) 311-41.

24 McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* 50-2, 223-7; Rawcliffe (1978) 56-65, 89.

25 K. Mertens, *The English Noble Household 1250-1600* (1988) 210.

26 Rawcliffe (1978) 88.

27 Mertens, *The English Noble Household* 45.

28 Rawcliffe (1978) 101.

29 Mertens, *The English Noble Household* 210.

30 Rawcliffe (1978) 86-7.

R. Ellis, *The History of Thornbury Castle* (1839)

J. M. Langton, *Trans. Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc.* 72 (1953) 79-104

A. D. Hawkyard, 'Some late medieval fortified manor houses', MA thesis, University of Keele (1969) 187-235

A. D. Hawkyard, *Trans. Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc.* 95 (1977) 51-8

C. Rawcliffe, *The Staffords, Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham 1394-1521* (1978)

UPTON COURT, Buckinghamshire

Slough and despond are bedfellows, but the Bunyanesque gloom of Slough has been lifted for architectural historians by the revelatory restoration of an early fourteenth-century house on its outskirts. The Norman church at Upton, hitherto the sole reason for venturing to Slough,¹ has been joined since 1990 by the house immediately south-west of it on the road from Datchet.

Upton Court is a timber-framed open-hall house with colour-washed plaster infill. It consists of a two-storey upper cross wing, and an aisled-hall range encompassing the services at its lower end with the steeply pitched tiled roof sweeping to within 8 feet of the ground. Dendro dated to the early 1320s,² the house seems to have been built as an administrative centre by Merton Priory, the holders of the manor of Upton from the twelfth century to the Dissolution. It is only the form of the roof over the services that differentiated it from several contemporary houses in the region.³ The jettied upper cross wing was altered in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but the substantial insertions made by later generations (floors, dormers, and central stack) were removed between 1986 and 1990 so that the house has virtually regained its original plan, internal character, and function.

The hall range stands on a flint base with its frame built of widely spaced posts. Opposing cross-passage doorways, lightly chamfered with two-centred heads (west original, east restored) open into the hall, 40½ feet by 28½ feet. The east (front) entrance was formerly porch-protected, possibly always so. The 6 feet wide cross passage retains the two centrally positioned doors to the services. The plainer and narrower door at the west end to the stair serving the chamber above has been blocked. On the other side is a sere truss with the posts supporting a deeply braced cambered tie beam with braced crown post and upper collar. Further braces extend from the posts to the arcade plate, and the lower part of the truss has reinstated infill to the outer wall of screen-like character.

With the cross passage filling half a bay, the body of the hall is

divided into two almost equal bays with 6 feet wide aisles, a central truss, and close-set rafters. Replacement windows throughout the body of the hall were among the many post-medieval changes, but mortises and shutter grooves on the underside of the wall plates revealed that there was originally a pair of windows in each bay. Two-light glazed replacements have been inserted. Part of the clay-tiled hearth was found beneath the central truss, now covered by a floor trapdoor. There was no louvre, for the smoke escaped through openings in the apex of the end walls.

The central truss is highly unusual. It is of hammer-beam form, with the beams tenoned into the wall posts instead of continuing through to act as cantilevers supporting the rafters. This suggests that the original aisle posts were taken down within a generation of the house's construction to facilitate freedom of movement and spatial development with a truss that was still in an experimental stage during the mid-fourteenth century. The inserted example in the hall at Tiptofts immediately springs to mind. However, the Upton Court truss is more complex. The hammer beams are very thin, barely capable of supporting the weight of the main truss. Instead, the tie beam was doubled⁴ and the wall posts, found to be truncated at wall plate-level, seem to have continued outside the roof line to support a braced extension of the lower tie beam. This highly unusual structural protrusion was concealed by using it to form one side of a dormer window on each side of the roof. That such dormers existed was revealed by the absence of original rafters at these points and the existence of mortises for the parallel support to the dormer frame.⁵ These two dormers had the benefit of enhancing the light capacity of the upper-end bay, and displaying an ingenious architectural solution, decorated (on the dais side only) with a carved quatrefoil on the solid hammer-beam brace. For structural reasons, this truss is likely to be original to the development of the house.⁶

The two adjacent doors in the north-west corner of the dais opened into the ground floor of the upper cross wing, and an external stair to the chamber above. The stair, almost certainly covered and possibly enclosed, was replaced in the early seventeenth century by one within an octagonal turret added outside the north-east corner of the cross wing. The outside stair was taken down and the original upper entry with two-centred head was sealed so that it now opens into space.

The frame of the upper cross wing is original, contemporary with the hall range, and with an identical crown post to its central truss. Though the outer faces of the curved braces are exposed, their barely weathered condition and slight recess from the wall line suggest they were originally plaster covered and not visible to the outside world. The wing was subject to several changes in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. A brick chimney stack was initially added, with fireplaces at both levels with low four-centred heads.⁷ In a second phase, the ground floor was enhanced with an oriel and side windows in the east-facing wall, now brought forward 2 feet in line with the original jetty above. The stair turret was erected to serve both floors, the upper chamber was lit by two oriels (one reinstated) and a plaster ceiling was inserted at tie-beam level of which half survives.

The buttery and pantry below the cross passage, separated by the original wattle and daub partition, retain some of their ceiling beams, though the two rooms (and the chamber above) had been heavily modified long before the 1990 restoration. The rafters show

Appendix AC 5

Extract from Phillpotts, Dr. C (2010) *Park Farm, Thornbury, South Gloucestershire: Documentary Research Report (Unpublished)*

PARK FARM, THORNBURY, SOUTH GLOUCESTERSHIRE

DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH REPORT

by Dr Christopher Phillpotts BA MA PhD AIFA

for Cotswold Archaeology

October 2010

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ILLUSTRATIONS

- Fig 1 sketch plan of the boundaries of New Park, and the approximate location of the previous fields (approx 1:15,000)
- Fig 2 estate map of Sir Richard Newman bart 1716 (GA D1655/1)
- Fig 3 plan of freehold estates, wastelands and encroachments in manor of Thornbury 1822 (GA D108/P3)
- Fig 4 tithe map of Thornbury parish 1839 (GA P330 SD2/1)
- Fig 5 Thornbury Park (from Kingsley 2001)

1. Introduction

1.1 This documentary research report was commissioned by Cotswold Archaeology in August 2010, and concerns a 26-hectare site at Park Farm, Thornbury, in South Gloucestershire (central grid ref ST 6368 9146). This consists of five pasture fields and has been proposed as the site of a housing development; it is immediately adjacent to the Thornbury Conservation Area to the south-west. The site has previously been the subject of an archaeological desk-based assessment compiled by Cotswold Archaeology in March 2010. It is likely that the interpretation of the site will be considerably enhanced by research into the documentary sources. This research report forms part of an extensive investigation of the heritage content of the site, undertaken before the determination of planning consent, which also includes an archaeological desk-based assessment, a geophysical survey, a Lidar survey and an archaeological field evaluation.

1.2 This report follows on from an initial documentary research assessment completed in July 2010, the purpose of which was to assess the numbers and types of surviving documentary sources for the history of the site, in order to determine their contribution to a full study of the proposed development area. This was compiled in accordance with a Written Scheme of Investigation for documentary research, drawn up by Cotswold Archaeology in June 2010, and approved by David Haigh, the South Gloucestershire Manager, Natural and Built Environment, in July 2010.

1.3 The research is largely based on manuscripts held at the British Library at Euston (BL), the National Archives at Kew (NA), Staffordshire Record Office at Stafford (StRO), and Gloucestershire Archives at Gloucester (GA). There appears to be no relevant material at Bristol Record Office.

1.4 The site is associated with a broad range of surviving documentation of the late medieval and early modern periods. Extensive runs of manorial material from Thornbury dating from the 14th to the 16th century are now divided between London, Stafford and Gloucester. In the initial documentary research assessment, the documents were selected for their research potential, concentrating on surveys of the manor and the accounts of manorial officers. These were chosen because they may include information about the construction and maintenance of the New Park, and the operation of the agricultural fields which preceded it. The assessment did not include the equally extensive runs of manorial court records, and generally not routine rentals, which are both more informative about the tenants of the manor. The selection was therefore appropriate to the requirements of the full study of the proposed development area.

1.5 All the printed material listed in the initial documentary research assessment was consulted, and all the plans and surveys listed were reviewed, where available (one had to be retrieved from the conservation department at GA, and one could not be found). Apart from the very fine estate map of 1716 (already illustrated in the desk-based assessment), there do not appear to be any surviving plans of the park before the 19th century. The figures include a selection of these plans.

1.6 Because of the large volume of relevant potential source material in manuscript a sampling approach to the long runs of medieval and early modern manorial material was adopted. The manuscripts were selected for target periods when the New Park was constructed, or when it is thought to have been refurbished, or for mentions of Park Farm and Thornbury House. There was a danger in these predetermined selections that the research would only amplify and clarify those facts already known about the Park, and would not attend to preceding agricultural landscape and succeeding amenity park. Therefore the remaining documentation was sampled on a random base of every tenth accounting year (or the nearest available) from the 14th century to the 16th century. The selected manuscripts were indicated in the initial documentary research assessment, and the sampling approach was approved by David Haigh.

1.7 Some slight changes were introduced during the research process because some documents proved to be of different dates than in the catalogue (GA M108/M121 dates to 1396/7, not 1480/1; StRO D641/1/2/191 was from 1462/3, not 1474/5), and some documents were substituted for others, but this caused no serious difficulties. It was intended that when this sampling procedure produced notable evidence of activity in the landscape at particular periods, the accounts of the intervening years would also be consulted; in fact no obvious additional target periods were identified.

1.8 All dates are expressed in New Style (post 1751 calendar), with the year beginning on 1st January.

2. Saxo-Norman Thornbury

2.1 The medieval parish of Thornbury was very large and probably represented a late Saxon estate stretching from the marshes of the Severn shore to the high ground and the Roman road to the east. The Severn marshes are known to have been embanked, drained and exploited for agriculture in the Roman period, but the line of sea defences was not always on the same alignment as the medieval sea-walls, and it may be doubted that occupation was continuous throughout the intervening Saxon period (Allen 1992, 87-8). Much of the woodland of Gloucestershire probably regenerated in the post-Roman period; the woods were then progressively cleared again from the lands of the former villa estates in the middle and late Saxon periods.

2.2 Thornbury may be first mentioned in an agreement of 896 between Bishop Wærferth of Worcester and Æthelwold concerning woodlands in Gloucestershire, including one at *Thornbyrig* (Sawyer 1968 no 1441). The early medieval manor house on the site of Thornbury Castle and the parish church of St Mary lay in close association, and formed the original focus of settlement. There was probably already a church by the late Saxon period. This area of early settlement was later abandoned when the borough of Thornbury was formed further to the south (Leech 1974, 22). It is indicated by the pre-Conquest features, and pits and gulleys dated between the 12th and mid-14th centuries found in a trial excavation and watching brief at the Vicarage in Church Street. They were succeeded by a period of cultivation (Cotswold Archaeology 2010a, App A no 3).

2.3 In 1066 the manor was one of those held by Beorhtric son of Ælfgar, who had four ploughs on his demesne land here, while his tenants operated a further 21 ploughs. There were two mills and a market, and there was still woodland measuring 1 league long by 1 league (2.4km) broad. The advance of cultivation had probably already divided it into the separate woodlands of Eastwood in the north-east of the manor, and Marlwood and Vilner Wood on its southern borders. Later the land belonged to Queen Matilda, who died in 1083, and by the time of the *Domesday Book* survey of 1086 it was in the hands of King William. The reeve had built a third mill and there was meadowland producing an annual rent of 40s. The manor had economic connections with Droitwich, from which it derived a rent in salt, and Gloucester, where it held a fishery (Williams and Martin 2002, 450; Franklin 1989, 150-1).

2.4 It is thought that the estuarine alluvial part of the manor was already fully used for arable production by the late 11th century, and was not unreclaimed marshland (Allen 1992, 96). The landscape evidence for this may be open to other interpretations, however.

3. The Earldom of Gloucester Period

3.1 In the 12th and 13th centuries Thornbury manor was part of the earldom of Gloucester. It was held by Robert fitzHamon in the 1090s, followed by his son-in-law and Henry I's son Robert the Consul (d1147), then his son William (d1183), both earls of Gloucester. After a considerable period of detention by the Crown, the earldom descended to the Gilbert de Clare in 1217. Gilbert's widow Isabel married Richard, earl of Cornwall, the brother of Henry III, in 1231, and he held the manor until 1243 when his step-son Richard de Clare came of age. Successive generations of the Clare family, earls of Gloucester and Hertford, held the manor until the death of Gilbert de Clare at the battle of Bannockburn in June 1314 (Atkyns 1712, 400; Caffall 1989, 7).

3.2 Like other large manors in Gloucestershire, Thornbury had several sub-divisions; these were the four tithings of Oldbury, Kington, Morton and Falfield. Tithings originated in groups of ten householders who stood security for each other's conduct; they were each represented by an elected tithingman, and their actions were reviewed at a view of frankpledge which was normally held at the same time as a manorial court. The church and the manor house lay in Kington tithing (Rudder 1779, 755-7). In 1236 the manor buildings at Thornbury were destroyed by fire, and the Constable of St Briavel's was ordered by the king to supply twenty oak trees from the Forest of Dean to the earl of Cornwall to rebuild them (Caffall 1989, 7). The church certainly existed by 1106, when Henry I confirmed its grant to Tewkesbury Abbey, which was licenced to appropriate it in 1314. It was dedicated to St Mary the Virgin and may have been rebuilt in the 12th century (Atkyns 1712, 402; Waters 1884, 80; Cotswold Archaeology 2010a, App 3 no 11).

3.3 In July 1239 the earl of Cornwall obtained a royal grant of an annual fair to be held at Thornbury for three days each August. Thornbury was a planned and walled town of the 13th century, laid out by the Clare earls of Gloucester. A substantial section of the town wall has been discovered by an excavation in Church Road in 1999 (Cotswold Archaeology 2010a, App 3 no 5). The town acquired the status of a borough under Richard de Clare (1243-62), probably in 1252 when he kept his Easter feast at the manor. His undated charter issued an open invitation to newcomers to take the tenancies of burgage plots; these were to be entitled to the same liberties and customs as had been established at Tewkesbury. The new town lay about 600m south of the manor house. They were joined together by Castle Street, whose building plots were infilled later to link up the town with the earlier settlement area around the manor house; the earliest surviving houses in the street date to the 15th century. At Richard's inquisition post mortem of 1262, the borough was valued at £131 9s 4¼d per annum (Leech 1974, 21-2; Franklin 1989, 152-3; Caffall 1989, 8-11).

3.4 The later emparked area to the north-west of Thornbury town, which includes the proposed development site, contained a previous agricultural landscape of arable fields, meadows alongside the streams and pastures in the areas of reclaimed marsh. The large open arable fields were divided into furlongs of long cultivation strips, which were distributed for cultivation among the tenants of the manor. Some strips were also held by

the demesne or home farm of the manor. Each of the four tithings appears to have had its own common field system, based on an infield-outfield layout, with one very large *inland* field and a number of smaller satellite fields. These systems were probably formed at about the same time as nucleated settlement was established in the late Saxon period. There is no evidence of the individual fields surviving from this period, because there are no extant manorial accounts.

3.5 The area of cultivation was expanded from the late 11th century to the early 14th century by a process called assarting, in which woodland was cleared and marshland was drained to form new enclosed fields. However, by 1220 there were still only 26 ploughs at Thornbury, one more than in the *Domesday Book* survey (Caffall 1989, 7). The whole manor lay within the royal Forest of Kingswood, and was therefore subject to forest law. Licences were required to make assarts and fines had to be paid. Advances are known to have been made during this period at Buckover and Falfield, and in the sub-manor of Hope (Franklin 1989, 150, 152). J R L Allen interprets the arable area as expanding eastwards from the alluvial zone into the bedrock landscape, but it seems more likely that the expansion proceeded outwards from the centre of the manor to its peripheries (Allen 1992, 96). Areas of reclamation are indicated by field names such as New Tyneing, immediately to the west of the proposed development site, and *Morlewoderuding*, which lay on the southern perimeter of the manor.

3.6 Kingswood was disafforested in 1228, which released the restrictions on the land for asserting and more particularly for the formation of hunting parks. A concentration of these parks was established in the former forest area (Cantor 1982, 80; Harding and Lambert 1994, 4). There was already a royal deer park in neighbouring Alveston, probably since the late 11th century, and certainly by 1130, when it was enlarged (Franklin 1989, 152; Harding and Lambert 1994, 1). Its boundaries can still be traced between Shellards Lane and Church Road.

3.7 Two deer parks were established in Thornbury in the 13th century, at Eastwood in the north-east of the manor in Morton Tithing, and Marlwood on its southern boundary in Kington Tithing. Neither of these parks included the area of the proposed development site. The park at Eastwood centred on the present, but smaller, Eastwood Park at Falfield. The park at Marlwood centred on Marlwood Grange, between Thornbury and Alveston.

3.8 Marlwood Park was formed and enclosed by Richard, earl of Cornwall in the 1230s or early 1240s (*Rotuli Hundredorum*, i 176; Caffall 1989, 13; not by Gilbert de Clare in the 1270s, as in Franklin 1989, 153). It was a typical medium-sized park of the period, containing 200 acres (81ha) at a survey made in 1322. The manorial tenants appear to have rights of common pasture there in the 13th century, but paid rents for it in the 14th century (Franklin 1989, 154, 158, 164).

3.9 Eastwood Park was created by Gilbert the Red de Clare, earl of Gloucester before 1274, and was much larger; contemporary jurors described it as a 'chase', which generally implies an unenclosed hunting ground, although Gilbert had surrounded it with a hedge and ditch (*Rotuli Hundredorum*, i 169, 181; Franklin 1989, 154). It may have

been as large as 945 acres (382.7ha), bearing comparison to the greatest contemporary parks of lay and ecclesiastical lords (Franklin 1989, 164). The formation of the park blocked the local network and also involved the elimination of tenants' common pasture rights (*Rotuli Hundredorum*, i 169; Franklin 1989, 165). Disputes between the lord and his tenants over these rights continued as late as the 15th and early 16th centuries (Franklin 1989, 158; NA SC6/1117/9; SC6/1117/10; SC6/HENVII/1075; StRO D641/1/2/156).

3.10 There are no royal licences extant for the creation of these two parks, but this was probably not necessary after the land had been disafforested (Franklin 1989, 153-4). Gilbert the Red's inquisition post mortem of 1295 states that Thornbury manor contained two parks, and a wood (Vilner Wood) which contained 280 acres (113.4 ha) (Caffall 1989, 14).

3.11 Most deer parks were established in the period 1200 to 1350, to provide exclusive hunting areas for the lords of manors, and a source of venison for their tables. Parks were status symbols and indicators of wealth, areas removed from the commoning rights of the manorial tenants, who were however obliged to maintain their boundaries as part of the services they owed to the lords. They were often developed from areas of uncultivated woodland on the boundaries of manors where assarting had not reached, but were not normally fully wooded. Parks were surrounded by tall deer-proof fences called pales, with earth banks and interior ditches, interrupted by entrance gates and deer leaps. They enclosed areas generally one or two hundred acres in extent, in a compact shape with characteristic rounded corners. The deer required trees for shelter, and streams as a water supply. Parks frequently contained hay meadows and fishponds, and sometimes rabbit warrens and stud farms; timber and underwood were harvested from their woodlands (Cantor 1982, 73-7).

3.12 Tracing the original boundaries of medieval and early modern parks is often a matter of landscape analysis, based upon the extant medieval and early modern documentation and much later post-medieval maps, in combination with fieldwork. These land units often had rounded corners to save on the length of their enclosing embankments and paling fences. Medieval boundaries ran along sinuous lines, which can be distinguished from the straight lines of the post-medieval landscape; later divisions abut rather than cross them. The names of fields recorded in deeds, surveys and tithe apportionments provide clues to their history, function and form in earlier centuries. Former park interiors are often indicated by such field names as *park* and *launde*, the open pasture areas required by the deer and hunters.

4. The Audley and Stafford Period

4.1 Following the death of the last of the Clares at the battle of Bannockburn in 1314, the manor passed to his brother-in-law Hugh d'Audley, in the right of his wife Margaret, in the great partition of the Clare estates in 1317. The manor was confiscated by the Crown from 1322 to 1327. Audley was followed in 1347 by his son-in-law Ralph Stafford and his descendants, earls of Stafford in the 14th century and dukes of Buckingham in the 15th century (Atkyns 1712, 401). Although none of the Staffords was buried at its church, Thornbury became the administrative centre of their estates in south Wales and south-west England. It was a convenient stopping place for all the Staffords on their journeys between London and their Welsh lordships; there was a good supply of foodstuffs available from its demesne lands and luxury items could be purchased nearby in Bristol (Waters 1884, 79; Rawcliffe 1978, 68; Kingsley 1989, i 186). The recurrence of minorities in the Stafford line and the frequency with which the Staffords met their deaths in battle or on the executioner's block, often brought the manor of Thornbury into royal custody by wardship or forfeiture during this period. Late in the 15th century it was held by Jasper Tudor, duke of Bedford, because of his marriage to the second duke of Buckingham's widow Catherine. Jasper was a frequent visitor to the manor house at Thornbury, and died there in 1495 (Hawkyard 1977, 51).

4.2 The manorial complex is known from the 'costs of buildings' sections of the 14th and 15th-century financial accounts of the manor to have been extensive, but not as palatial as the later Thornbury Castle. In the inner court next to the cemetery and entered by the middle gate, were a hall, aligned north-south and built in 1330/1; the buttery, pantry and kitchen lay on its west side, with a set of chambers called the earl of Stafford's lodging over the buttery and pantry, and with the larder, bakehouse and wine cellar probably adjacent; the chapel, begun by 1340/1 and completed in 1435, lay on the east side of the hall; the lord's chamber lay at the north end, with a chimney, a latrine and entry stair; and there were ranges of lodgings around the courtyard, built by Jasper Tudor, and chambers for estate officials. In the outer court or barton lay more lodgings, and agricultural buildings, comprising a barn, a granary built over two cellars in 1340/1, two granges, stables, an ox-house, a pig-house, a waggon house, a dairy, and a dovecote. The whole complex was surrounded by a stone wall and the outer court was entered by a pair of stout wooden gates. There were also a pinfold and a garden with rails for vines immediately adjacent to the outside wall, and several postern gates, one opening onto the lane which gave access to the field called Kingshill (Hawkyard 1977, 52; GA D108/M118; D678/1 M5/1; NA SC6/1117/9; SC6/HENVII/1058; StRO D641/1/2/119, 123, 127, 136, 142, 149, 152, 155, 156, 162, 168). The nearby parish church of St Mary has a chancel of c1340 and a south aisle was added in the reign of Richard II as a Stafford chantry chapel. The church was largely rebuilt by the Staffords in the late 15th century, probably before the death of Edward IV in 1483. The Stafford coats of arms and the badge of the Stafford Knot decorate the structure (Waters 1884, 80-1, 87; Jones 1949, 5-9).

4.3 Marlwood Park was a short ride to the south-west of the manor house by a path which led through Valeslond field (NA SC6/1117/9), and Eastwood Park lay a

considerable distance to the east. In some years they provided pannage for the pigs of the manor and pasture for plough-horses and cattle, which were rented out. By the 1430s these animals were driven into Eastwood Park each 1st August in order to count them for pasture rents. Timber was cut in the parks for the construction and repair of buildings at the manor house, and also for components of the mills of the manor; rods and stakes were sent for the repair of the river embankments (GA D108/M118, M120, M121; D678/1 M5/1; NA SC6/1117/9 and 10; SC6/HENVII/1075; StRO D641/1/2/127, 132, 136, 149, 152, 155, 156, 162, 168). The trees growing in the two parks and used for building work were predominantly oaks, but there were beech and thorn trees in Eastwood in the early 14th century (Franklin 1989, 159); and ash and beech trees in Marlwood in 1401/2, 1456/7 and 1459/60 (NA SC6/1117/9 and 10; StRO D641/1/2/156). Ancient pollards in Eastwood Park suggest that there was some woodland management (Harding and Lambert 1994, 9). There were also fruit trees in Eastwood Park; bees kept there produced small revenues from honey and wax in the 14th century (Franklin 1989, 159). Charcoal was made in Eastwood Park in 1330/1 (StRO D641/1/2/119).

4.4 The parkers of both parks received a fee of 2d per day in the 14th century, but by 1396/7 the rate for keeping Marlwood Park had been reduced to 40s per annum (GA D108/M121; D678/1/ M5/1; StRO D641/1/2/152, 155, 156, 162, 168). Parity had been restored by 1501/2 (NA SC6/HENVII/1058). The parkers had staff, including gate-keepers (Franklin 1989, 155). There was an under-parker in Eastwood in 1378/9 (StRO D641/1/2/149). Huntsmen and falconers were not stationed permanently at Thornbury, but travelled between the lord's manors according to the requirements of his household (Frankline 1989, 157). Hugh d'Audley's huntsmen William and David took 17 dogs from Thornbury to another of his manors at Bletchingly in 1330/1 (StRO D641/1/2/119). There are a few indications of the lords of manor and others hunting in the parks. Estate officials hunted with huntsmen and dogs in both parks in 1334/5 (StRO D641/1/2/123). In 1340/1 the paths in Eastwood Park were cleared of thorns to widen them for the lord and tenants were sent to search for wounded deer in Marlwood Park (StRO D641/1/2/127).

4.5 Both parks contained lodges. A lodge was begun in Eastwood Park in 1333/4 but abandoned before completion (Franklin 1989, 156). A lodge was made in Marlwood Park in 1340/1 for the countess of Stafford while she was hunting. It was a temporary structure made of split logs and roofed with bracken. Another lodge was made in Eastwood Park in the same year (StRO D641/1/2/127). In 1371/2 there was a parker's chamber in Marlwood Park with a tiled roof (StRO D641/1/2/142); and by 1388/9 *La Logge* in Marlwood had a chimney, stone partition walls and a tiled roof. Ironwork at *La Log* in Eastwood was also repaired by the parker in this year (StRO D641/1/2/152). There was a ditch around the Marlwood lodge by 1398/9 (StRO D641/1/2/155). A reference in later account indicates that the Eastwood lodge was rebuilt in timber in 1494/5 (NA SC6/HENVII/1075).

4.6 The deer kept for hunting in the two parks were probably fallow deer (Franklin 1989, 156). In July 1315 the constable of Bristol Castle was ordered to provide Edward II with 16 bucks from the parks at Thornbury, which was then in the hands of the king (Harding

and Lambert 1994, 3). Four deer were brought from Pucklechurch Park by the gift of the bishop of Bath in 1334/5 (StRO D641/1/2/123). The deer required feeding in the winter months with hay mown from the meadows near the River Severn. This was taken by waggon to the parks and made into ricks, which were surrounded by palisades or hedges to control access. By 1388/9 the delivery had often become formalised to one waggonload each year to Marlwood Park and two to Eastwood Park (GA D108/M121; NA SC6/1117/9 and 10; SC6/HENVII/1075; StRO D641/1/2/149, 152, 155, 156, 162, 168).

4.7 The boundaries of Marlwood Park comprised a stone wall, palisades and hedges; Eastwood Park was surrounded by palisades and hedges, which required constant repair. These barriers were almost entirely maintained by the labour obligations of the customary tenants of the manor in the 14th century, performed through what Franklin has called ‘Thornbury’s highly-developed corvée system’ (Franklin 1989, 155). A greater length of perimeter was normally renewed at Eastwood Park than the smaller Marlwood Park; the tenants worked on 961 perches (4,833m) at Eastwood and 381 perches (1,916m) at Marlwood in 1360/1. Carpenters were used for more occasional specialised work on gates and deer-leaps. Eastwood Park contained a pinfold and there were probably other internal enclosures (GA D108/M118, M120, M121; D678/1 M5/1; StRO D641/1/2/119, 123, 127, 132, 136, 142, 149, 152, 155). From the beginning of the 15th century this work was always done with paid labour. By 1441/2 the maintenance at Eastwood Park was done by annual contracts for fixed payments, an arrangement extended to Marlwood Park by 1456/7 (NA SC6/1117/9 and 10; SC6/HENVII/1075; StRO D641/1/2/156, 162, 168).

4.8 A fishpond was made in Marlwood Park in 1334/5, surrounded by a hedge and stocked with eels (StRO D641/1/2/123). Other ponds in the manor occasionally had their heads or dams mended, or their floodgates repaired, or were provided with grates to stop the fish escaping, but these were the ponds serving the mills, a pond in Combe Bottom and another on the south-west side of the manor house (NA SC6/HENVII/1075; StRO D641/1/2/119, 149, 155, 162). Presumably they were all equipped in similar ways.

4.9 The area stretching to the north and west of the manor house which was to become the New Park in the early 16th century, including the proposed development site, was in the preceding period occupied by the field system of Kington Tithing. This had probably been formed initially in the late Saxon period and was later extended, but its details are not traceable in documentary sources before the extant manorial accounts of the 14th and 15th centuries. Unfortunately none of the medieval field names was retained long enough to be used on the estate map of 1716 or the tithe map, but their general locations can be estimated from their known abutments and characteristics (see Fig 1).

4.10 Within these arable fields the demesne lands of the lord of the manor lay in strips intermingled with those of the tenants; in the early to mid 14th century the demesne crops were grown in these strips, the adjacent tenant strips growing the same crops. Increasingly in these two centuries, pieces of demesne land were leased out to the tenants, because it was more economically advantageous than managing them directly from the manor house. In December 1334 the auditor and bailiff of the Audley estate stayed in the

manor for 26 days, measuring the demesne lands and parcelling 140 acres of them up between the tenants (StRO D641/1/2/123). Licences issued to some tenants in 1358/9 to enclose pieces of arable land which they had acquired from the demesne, may indicate that some of the land was being converted to pasture (GA D108/M118).

4.11 The main open field was the *Inlond de Thornbury*, which was immediately adjacent to the manor house precinct, the wall of at least one of the buildings abutting directly onto it (StRO D641/1/2/132). It also abutted the garden of the manor house, the Parsonage lands (where there was a gate and a wall), and *Lichstret* (StRO D641/1/2/149, 152). This was presumably Park Road, which crosses a stream by a bridge (Cotswold Archaeology 2010a, App A no 43). The bridge on *Lichstret* was repaired in 1360/1 (StRO D641/1/2/136), and the ditches on both sides of *Lichstretbrigge* were cleared out in 1456/7 (NA SC6/1117/9). A *watershute* was made in the *Inlond* in 1340/1, although it is not clear what this was (StRO D641/1/2/127); a new gate was hung and breaches in its enclosure mended in 1349/50 (StRO D641/1/2/132).

4.12 The *Inlond* was divided into a number of furlongs, or groups of parallel cultivation strips, three of which were called Netherfurlong, Middelfurlong and the furlong next to *Lychestrete*. Wheat was sown on 84 demesne acres of *Inlond de Thornbury* in 1335, and dung was also spread here and in Kingshill field by customary works this year (StRO D641/1/2/123). Wheat was sown on 43 acres in 1341 (StRO D641/1/2/127). Demesne lands totalling 36.5 acres were leased out in the *Inlond* in 1362/3 (GA D108/M119), with a further 6 leased by 1370/1, although another 23 acres which had been leased in 1358/9 were taken back into the demesne in this year (GA D108/M120). About 50 demesne acres were on lease here in 1378/9 (StRO D641/1/2/149). Another acre of demesne arable land was leased in 1418/19 (NA SC6/1117/9), 18 acres in 1433/4 (StRO D641/1/2/162), and a total of 22 acres in 1441/2 and 1456/7 (NA SC6/1117/9; StRO D641/1/2/168). A customary tenant was admitted to a holding of 2.5 acres in the Middelfurlong in September 1483 (NA E40/867); no doubt there are many more instances on the manorial court rolls which have not been consulted. The proposed development site almost certainly lay within the *Inlond*, and the interlocking patterns of ridge and furrow traced by the aerial photograph analysis, the geophysical survey and the Lidar survey represent several of the furlongs within the field and their headlands (Cotswold Archaeology 2010a, App A no 19; 2010b, 2.2, 3.1, 3.4, 3.11; Pre-Construct Geophysics 2010, 6.1d, 6.2b, 6.3a, 6.4a, 7.0).

4.13 Between the manor house and Marlwood Park lay *Valeslond* field, traversed by the path used by the lord and his men to reach the Park. There were a total of 22 demesne acres in the field, all sown with oats in 1341 (StRO D641/1/2/123, 127); 18.75 acres were sown with oats in 1350 (StRO D641/1/2/132); and 17.5 acres of oats in 1379, when 11 acres of barley were also sown between this field and the two *Buricrofts* (StRO D641/1/2/149). Nearly 19 acres of demesne land was leased out here in 1358/9 (GA D108/M118), and again in September 1440 (NA SC6/1117/9; StRO D641/1/2/168).

4.14 Adjacent to *Valeslond* was the hedged field of *Buricroft*, which was divided into two parts called *Higher* and *Nether Buricroft* in 1340/1, or greater and smaller *Bericroft*

in 1349/50 (GA D108/M120; StRO D641/1/2/127, 132). In 1331 2.25 demesne acres of this field were sown with wheat (StRO D641/1/2/119); in 1341 8.5 acres of barley in both parts of the field (StRO D641/1/2/127); and in 1350 about 7 acres of barley in both parts of the field (StRO D641/1/2/132).

4.15 The field of *Kyngeshill* was reached by a lane from the manor house (StRO D641/1/2/168), but could not have been far away, as the herbage around the pond adjacent to the manor house fallowed with *Kyngeshill* (NA SC6/HENVII/1075). It was enclosed with hedges and ditches, and a stone wall at its entrance was repaired in 1456/7 (NA SC6/1117/9). It contained a furlong called Longfurlong measuring 10 acres, and probably centred on the fields later called Little and Great Hills. Barley was sown on 18 demesne acres of *Kyngeshill* in 1341 (StRO D641/1/2/127), and 17.25 acres in 1350 (StRO D641/1/2/132); oats were grown on 21 acres in 1359 (GA D108/M118); and wheat on 35.5 acres in *Kyngeshill* and Longfurlong in 1378/9 (StRO D641/1/2/149). The enclosure around *Kyngeshill* was repaired with customary works in 1360/1 (StRO D641/1/2/136). Longfurlong and a further 14.5 acres were leased out in 1433/4, 1441/2 and 1456/7 (NA SC6/1117/9; StRO D641/1/2/162, 168).

4.16 Beyond *Kyngeshill* lay two hedged pasture fields called *Calvecroft* and *Horsecroft*, which contained trees, thorns and underwood (StRO D641/1/2/149); they were leased out in 1432/3, 1440/1 and 1452/3 (NA SC6/1117/9; StRO D641/1/2/162, 168).

4.17 Adjacent to *Kyngeshill* and *Calvecroft* was *Crawele*, a large field containing a furlong called Longfurlong, and also timber trees, meadows and pasture land. It had a thorn hedge in 1370/1 (GA D108/M120). In 1331 44 demesne acres of this field were sown with wheat (StRO D641/1/2/119); in 1335 24.75 acres of oats were sown here, and 19 acres of barley both here and in *Kyngeshill* (StRO D641/1/2/123); in 1341 16 acres of oats (StRO D641/1/2/127); and in 1350 about 22.5 acres of oats (StRO D641/1/2/132). Nearly 20 acres of demesne land was leased out here in 1358/9 (GA D108/M118), but drawn back into the demesne by 1371/2 (StRO D641/1/2/142). Pasture land was leased out here in 1433/4, and in 1439/40, with the obligation to maintain the boundary banks with *Kyngeshill* (NA SC6/1117/9; StRO D641/1/2/162, 168).

4.18 The rabbit warren lay in both *Calvecroft* and *Crawele*, which suggests that they lay on the south-western side of the later New Park area. The warren was leased out in 1441/2 and September 1450 with *le Revechamber* within the manor precinct (NA SC6/1117/9; StRO D641/1/2/168). Thorns were cleared from both fields in 1340/1 (StRO D641/1/2/127). In 1383/4 a tenant called William Clyvedon leased a holding of nearly 66 acres of demesne land comprising 18 arable acres in the *Inlond*, nearly 19 acres in *Valeslond*, 29 acres in *Kyngeshill*, together with pastures in the two *Burycrofts*, *Horsecroft* and *Crawele*, and various agricultural buildings of the manor (GA D678/1 M5/1; StRO D641/1/2/152, 155, 156).

4.19 Further north than all these fields Morton Tithing had its own field system with an *Inlond de Morton* containing several component furlongs running down to the Severn,

and fields called *Halihurst* and *Mershmoncross* (Cotswold Archaeology 2010a, App A no 18; GA D108/M118).

4.20 It is clear both from the demesne crops specified above and from other mentions that the field systems operated a basic three-year rotation of crops and fallow, no doubt with a number of variations in an attempt to improve yields. The herbage around the pond next to the manor house lay fallow every third year with *Kyngeshill*, and similarly a small pasture at the corner of the manor house wall lay fallow with *Inlond de Thornbury* each third year (NA SC6/1117/9 and 10; SC6/HENVII/1075). The pasture of the aftermath on *Inlond* was not sold in 1378/9 because the field was in fallow this year (StRO D641/1/2/149). Similarly *Valeslond* lay in fallow in 1433/4 (StRO D641/1/2/162).

4.21 The crops grown on these fields were processed by one or more mills within the manor. Morton Mill dated from before 1296, although the current building dates from 1613 (Cotswold Archaeology 2010a, App 3 no 4). It is not known where these dates have been derived from. It may be identifiable with Wolfford Mill, for which a rent was paid in 1358/9 and 1371/2 (GA D108/M118; StRO D641/1/2/142). There are also references to the mill of Leygarst in 1330/1 (StRO D641/1/2/119) and *Dawesmulle* in 1370/1 and 1378/9 (GA D108/M120; StRO D641/1/2/149); these may relate to the mill on the site of Parkmill Farm. The New Mill, reconstructed in 1456/7, lay in Oldbury and was perhaps a tide mill (NA SC6/1117/9; StRO D641/1/2/209).

5. Edward Stafford and the New Park

5.1 Edward Stafford, the third duke of Buckingham, was granted control of his lands by Henry VII in 1498, when he had almost come of age. He first visited his manor of Thornbury in 1500/1, when the manor house was repaired in advance of his arrival. During his visit two musters of his followers were held there (NA SC6/HENVII/1075). His council also held a session at Thornbury in 1500 to assess the management of the estate (StRO D641/1/5/3 m7). Edward combined a taste for extravagant entertainment with a parsimonious attention to the detail of his accounts, and a harsh line in the exploitation of his tenantry (Rawcliffe 1978, 88, 94). The Epiphany feast he held at Thornbury manor house in January 1508 was attended by 459 persons, of whom 134 were classed as gentry (Gage 1834, 315). The duke was also a man of great ambition and royal lineage, and his construction of Thornbury Castle and the formation of the accompanying New Park were made on a scale of almost royal pretension. He had grand ideas of becoming king should Henry VIII die without an heir, and was unwise enough to say so: 'he was very hot and indiscreet in many of his expressions' (Atkyns 1712, 401). This was sufficient to provoke the hostile attention of the king and Cardinal Wolsey, who had him arrested, tried and executed for treason in May 1521.

5.2 The duke undertook repairs at the medieval manor house in 1507 and began to build Thornbury Castle in a grand manner in 1511, on the site of the manor house and incorporating its principle buildings. The project preoccupied him for most of the next decade, with a pause occasioned by a lack of finance in 1519 (Rawcliffe 1978, 87, 137-8). The hall and chapel of the manor house were left intact by the construction programme of the early 16th century, forming the east range of the courtyard of the new Castle (Kingsley 1989, i 186-7). Oaks were cut down for the building work in both Marlwood Park and Eastwood Park in 1511/12 (StRO D641/1/2/205). The new Castle was built around two courtyards, with the aspects of a fortress on the outer face and a palatial residence within, and an attached privy garden laid out over the site of medieval buildings. The stream on the south-west side was broadened into a moat, which the duke began to extend along the north-west side (Hawkyard 1977, 51, 57; Verey and Brooks 2002, 752-3; Cotswold Archaeology 2010, App A nos 2, 13, 14, 15, 23). A payment was made for the completion of the knot garden in November 1520 (NA E36/220 f7v). There were intended to be sufficient lodgings for up to 400 armed retainers, who could be quickly mustered in the enormous outer courtyard (Rawcliffe 1978, 86). It has been described as 'a tremendously audacious piece of display, a clear and provocative symbol of a haughty Duke's vaunting ambition', but the works programme was cut short at his death (Kingsley 1989, i 189).

5.3 The duke also planned to transform the neighbouring parish church into a college of canons, obtaining a royal licence for the foundation in August 1514. The church was linked to the castle by a gallery, but the foundation of the college never took place (Waters 1884, 84; Rawcliffe 1978, 98).

5.4 Duke Edward created a New Park at Thornbury, designed to articulate with his new Castle. It was described in a survey after his execution:

The Newe Parke: From oute of the said orcharde ar divers posterons in sondery places at pleasur to goe and entre into a goodly parke newly made called the newe parke, having in the same noe great plenty of wood but many hegg rowes of thorne and great Elmes. The same park conteynneth nigh upon iiij myles about and in the same vij^c dere or more.

The herbage there is goodly and plentivous and besides finding of the said vij^c dere by estimation being noon otherwise charged. Woll make ten poundes towardes the kepars wages and fees (NA E36/150 f4).

5.5 The duke also made a new park in his lordship of Newport in south Wales, where a new park building was made in 1503/4 and work was done on the places where the duke's fawns were lodged (NA SC6/HENVII/1665 m12d). The place-name New Park is still to be found to the south-west of Newport.

5.6 There was a pattern of late 14th and 15th-century park development in which tracts of arable and pasture land, which were difficult to farm because of labour shortages after the Black Death, were converted into parks. These parks were generally much larger than their 13th-century predecessors, their boundaries were less clearly defined and they were not as intensively managed (Cantor 1982, 77). Often the boundaries were no longer made with substantial banks and ditches, but with deer-proof paling fences. However, recent commentary has emphasised that these parks were still primarily designed for hunting deer, and included viewing places to watch the progress of the hunt (Mileson 2009, 41-4). This pattern of enclosing under-used agricultural land does not apply to the establishment of the New Park at Thornbury in the early 16th century, which was more an expression of status like its 13th-century predecessors, or a precursor of the huge hunting parks which were soon to be formed by Henry VIII, at the expense of active arable and pasture fields. Similarly Dyrham Park in South Gloucestershire was formed in 1510, its 500 acres enclosing extensive areas of medieval ridge and furrow (Harding and Lambert 1994, 5).

5.7 The duke formed the very large New Park (later called Holm Park), under a royal licence to empark 1000 acres in July 1510, which also permitted him to fortify the manor house (*LPH* i (1) 320 no 546(38); Cotswold Archaeology 2010a, App A no 74). He had already begun to make the Park in 1508 by enclosing 172 acres of demesne land, and 96 acres of arable land and 32 acres of pasture held by his copyhold tenants; this made him very unpopular locally (Leadam 1892, 188-9, 302-3; Rawcliffe 1978, 64). According to Leland:

Edward Duke of Bukkingham made a fayre parke harde by the castle, and tooke much faire grownd in it very fruteful of corne, now fayr launds for coursynge. The inhabytaunts cursyd the duke for ther lands so inclosyd (Smith 1964, v 100).

5.8 The fields taken to make the park are detailed in the reeve's account of 1511/12 (StRO D641/1/2/205). They included demesne and tenant lands in Valeslond, Kingshill and Inlond de Thornbury, in its furlongs of Middelfurlong and Netherfurlong; the pastures of Calvecroft and Horsecroft, a pasture in Crawele, the rabbit warren and the

pond by the manor; tenants' arable lands in Bendley and Legast; demesne lands called Gavellands; and freehold tenants' lands. A later list of 1556 also specifies arable land in Colcroft Furlong, the furlong between Colcroft and Kingshill, Long Furlong, and the Parsonage Land (StRO D641/2F/3/1).

5.9 In January 1515 the duke expanded the Park with 116 acres of demesne land and 47 acres of pasture held by his tenants, enclosing them with ditches and palisades. The enclosures were investigated by a royal commission in 1517 (Leadam 1892, 188, 302-3; Rawcliffe 1978, 64). Despite later assertions, it appears that the duke did pay compensation to his tenants for the lands emparked at this stage, assessed by the ducal council. John Adams received 6s per annum for his pasture at Kington Leys (NA REQ2/2/19 m2). Some pieces of demesne land may have been granted in exchange (StRO D(W) 1721/1/6 p262).

5.10 A rabbit warren, described as in the outer garden of the manor house, was incorporated into the park by 1511/12 (StRO D641/1/2/205). This is indicated by the field names Conygre in the south-west part of the park, which had been in the fields of Calvecroft and part of Crawele (Cotswold Archaeology 2010a, App A no 21). The New Park warren supplied coneyes and rabbits to the duke's household in the years 1517 to 1521 (BL Royal MS 14.B.xxxxvB mm1-4).

5.11 The duke received a further royal licence for a 500-acre park extension in March 1517 (*LPH* ii(2) 970 no 3022). The additional lands taken in included tenants' arable lands; pasture in Redbrooke, Brokeland and elsewhere; and meadows in Crawele, Westham, Halyhurst, Mayemede and Drypole. The extension was alternatively known as Crawle Park and probably formed the north-western end of New Park (NA SC6/HENVIII/1058). Following the execution of 1521, the tenants protested to the king about the late duke's ruthless evictions, for which compensation had been refused (Rawcliffe 1978, 64; *LPH* iii(1) 512 no 1288(6)). The survey of 1522 states:

The late duke of Bukkingham haith encloosed into the said parke divers mennes landes as well of freehoolde as copyhoolde, and noe recompence as yet is made for the same. And lately he haith also encloosed into the same parke ij fair tenements with barnes and other houses well builded with stoon and slate with v^c acres of lande, and as yet the tenants contynue in the same, wherin of necessite some redresse must be, aither in amoving the said tenants from oute of the parke with convenient recompence, or elles in taking ynne the pale as it stode afore etc (NA E36/150 f4).

5.12 The four-miles circumference of New Park can be traced from a few documentary clues and the field pattern shown on later maps (see Fig 1). It was entered directly from the Castle orchard in 1522; it was so close to Marlwood Park that only the width of Kington Lane lay between them (NA E36/150 ff4). It directly adjoined the north-west and north-east sides of the Castle in 1583 (GA D108/E1 f5). The park boundaries almost certainly corresponded to the whole area shown on the estate map of 1716, which is also edged in yellow on the tithe map of 1839 (see Figs 2 and 4). The field pattern suggests an inner park and an outer park, which may correspond to the two stages of park

development of 1508 and 1515/1517, or may relate to its internal management. The inner park stretched as far north as Parkmill Farm, where its boundary bank appears to align with the dam of the mill pond, a common arrangement on the perimeters of parks. The proposed development site straddles the boundary of this suggested inner park (see Fig 1).

5.13 The duke also extended the medieval parks of Marlwood and Eastwood (Franklin 1989, 162, 164). Some pasture land had been added to Marlwood Park by 1511/12, including some of the Gavellands (StRO D641/1/2/205). In January 1515 he expanded the park with 164 acres of demesne land and 16.5 acres of copyhold pasture land, enclosing the addition with a palisade (Leadam 1892, 188, 302-3). In 1522 it contained at least 300 deer (NA E36/150 f4v). He extended Eastwood Park twice, ‘not without many curses of the poore tenants’ (Smith 1964, v 100-1), although again some compensations were paid and exchanges were made. The newly enclosed land included arable land in the sub-manor of Mars (NA SC6/HENVIII/1058). The expanded park contained 500 fallow deer and 50 red deer in 1522 (NA E36/150 f4v).

5.14 The rent revenue lost by the duke by his enclosure of tenants’ lands into his three parks amounted to £48 19s 3¼d per annum (NA E36/150 f4v). It has been alleged that the creation of New Park involved the demolition of part of Kington hamlet and that this has been demonstrated by archaeological investigation (Harding and Lambert 1994, 5).

5.15 There is no evidence that Duke Edward was able to make much use of his New Park to hunt. In November 1520 he was brought a gerfalcon, which he took into the fields for hawking (NA E36/220 f7v).

5.16 Duke Edward is likely to have established one or more hunting lodges in New Park. A lodge in the park was repaired in 1530/1 and 1534/5, when Eastwood Park had a lodge with a stable attached (NA SC6/HENVIII/5828, 5832). In the following year the great Lodge in Eastwood Park had its tiled roof renewed, while the lodge in New Park was mended with 8d worth of straw, suggesting that it was a modest thatched structure (NA SC6/HENVIII/5833). There were three lodges in the park in 1583 (GA D108/E1 f5); two of them are probably now represented by Park Farm (formerly The Parks Farm) and Parkmill Farm. These may also have been the two stone and slate tenements mentioned in 1522 (NA E36/150 f4). The third was probably the Fisher’s Lodge within the New Park, which had been leased by Lord and Lady Stafford to John Newton in February 1571, and which presumably stood near the fishponds adjacent to the proposed development site. In 1629 there were two messuages and a watermill within the park (GA D1655/8).

5.17 In 1522 there were 13 ponds (*propur poundes*) in the park, supplied with water by a spring and enclosed by a palisade (NA E36/150 f4v). These were functioning by November 1520, when the duke paid John Watts and John Gee to come from Somerset on two occasions with their net, to fish the *stewes and pounds* in the New Park (NA E36/220 f7v). It is therefore possible that these included not only the group of eight ponds shown on the map of 1716 as *fish pans*, but also the two pond-like features shown on either side of the stream nearby (see Fig 2). By the 1583 survey there were 12

fishponds in the park, which were ‘utterly decayed without any fish in any of them’. A pasture called *Lez Fishpooles* was leased out in 1583 to John White, who also held a dovecote, but these may not have been in the park. Three streams ran through the park (GA D108/E1 f5; D108/M122 f2).

5.18 Leland says that a creek ran to the New Park at Thornbury through the marshes from the shore of the River Severn. A canal to link this creek to the Castle was begun by the duke of Buckingham before 1521 (Smith 1964, ii 64, v 100, 101, 159). This would have enabled him to travel directly by barge to his lordships in south Wales, entering them through the water gate at Newport Castle. A new boat was made for the duke in Newport in 1503/4 (NA SC6/HENVII/1665 m12d). The HER identifies several points along the putative route of the canal, which suggest that it ran through the southern part of the proposed development site (Cotswold Archaeology 2010a, App A nos 16, 20, 76). However, the estate map of 1716 shows the stream as canalised from Oldbury only as far as Parkmill Farm; alternatively there is a canalised stream running through the south-west part of the park to Kington Lane (see Fig 2). It is unlikely that the canal was dug through the site, which is not on line for access to the Castle. The Lidar survey and the geophysics report are equally sceptical about the presence of the canal on the site (Cotswold Archaeology 2010b, 3.6; Pre-Construct Geophysics 2010, 6.3a).

6. Henry VIII's Occupation

6.1 Following the execution of Duke Edward in 1521, and his attainder for treason, the manor was confiscated by Henry VIII. A survey was made of the late duke's property in 1522 (NA E36/150). The accounts of the manor were drawn up on the king's behalf until late in the reign and are therefore now at the National Archives. Henry appointed minor members of his court to the manorial offices, which they proceeded to exploit. In February 1523 Thomas Bennett, Yeoman of the Guard, was retrospectively made keeper of New Park alias Home Park from the date of the duke's death; and John Huntley, Groom of the Chamber, became keeper of Marlwood Park, Vilner Wood and the warren on Milborough Heath. Robert Thomas was made keeper of Eastwood Park (*LPH* iii(2) 1204 no 2862; NA E36/150 ff4, 4v, 6). In May 1534 Sir Anthony Kingston was made keeper of New Park, and in May 1545 William Denys was made keeper of Marlwood Park (StRO D641/1/3/12 m1). In 1551 both Huntley's and Thomas's offices were held by William Denys, who derived an annual income of nearly £150 from them, mainly from payments for pasturage (BL Additional MS 36542 ff195v-196v). The manor remained in Crown custody until 1554.

6.2 Under the keeperships of these men the palisades and other perimeters of Marlwood Park, Eastwood Park, and New and Crawle Parks were maintained in the period 1521 to 1541. New locks and keys were bought for the gates of the footpaths in New Park in 1534/5, and a rack was made for the deer there in 1535/6. The deer in the parks continued to be fed in the winters with hay mown from the manorial meadows, some of them within Crawle Park (NA SC6/HENVIII/1058, 1070, 5821, 5828, 5832, 5833, 5837).

6.3 The buildings of Thornbury Castle were also maintained, particularly the roofs, but the duke's construction programme was not resumed. By 1530/1 there was a *Tyltefelde* next to the Castle, where a pond was repaired (NA SC6/HENVIII/5821, 5828, 5837). The king's daughter Princess Mary spent part of her childhood here in the 1520s. King Henry visited the Castle with Queen Anne Boleyn for ten days in late August 1535 (George 1883; Hawkyard 1977, 53). General repairs were carried out in advance of their arrival, especially on the stable (NA SC6/HENVIII/5832). During his visit the king ordered the settlement of outstanding claims resulting from Duke Edward's enclosure of freehold and customary tenant land in his parks. The claims were assessed by the officers of the king's council accompanying him, and paid by the king's warrant of 1st September (NA SC6/HENVIII/1070, 1075, 5832). The receiver of the manor then bought out the annual compensation payments which were still being made to tenants at the rate of 20 years' purchase (NA REQ2/2/19 m2).

6.4 In 1521 the king took over the stud of Duke Edward's horses in Eastwood Park (NA SC6/HENVIII/5828), but when he came to visit Henry sent his own horses to Thornbury. In 1534/5 76 cartloads of wood were brought from Vilner Wood to make rails and posts in New Park for the king's stud. In Newbrech 45 acres of meadow were assigned to make hay to feed the royal stallions and mares (NA SC6/HENVIII/1070, 5832). The rails in the New Park were mended in the following year, and 80 perches (402m) of new rails were

made around *les laundes* in the west part of the park (NA SC6/HENVIII/5833). The stud was removed from Thornbury a few years before 1541/2 (NA SC6/HENVIII/1075).

6.5 Further money was spent on repairs at the Castle after the king and queen's departure, by the order of Sir William Kingston (NA SC6/HENVIII/5833). Extensive repairs, costing nearly £350, were made to the Castle in 1547. This was perhaps to prepare it for use by the Council in the Marches of Wales, but the intention never took effect (Hawkyard 1977, 53).

7. The Later Staffords

7.1 The castle and manor of Thornbury were restored to the Stafford family in July 1554, when Queen Mary granted it back to the duke of Buckingham's son, Lord Henry Stafford and his wife Ursula. The grant specifically included Marlwood Park and Eastwood Park, *le Holme* or New Park, and the demesne lands of which it was composed in Inlond and the other fields. Henry did not have the resources to maintain the castle, and it fell into ruin. He was followed by a series of male heirs in the late 16th and early 17th century, after whom the manor descended to a branch of the Howards in 1637. Both were prominent Catholic gentry families, who were royalists and recusants. In 1673 the manors of Oldbury and Falfield were reunited with the manor of Thornbury by an Act of Parliament. The Stafford-Howard family recovered the title of earl of Stafford from James II in 1688 (Atkyns 1712, 402; Langston 1953, 87-95; Hawkyard 1977, 53; Kingsley 1989, i 187).

7.2 Household accounts of Lord Henry Stafford at Thornbury Castle in 1554/5 indicate that cattle and sheep were kept in New Park, and purchased from the keeper Ralfe Eton to supply the lord's household. Firewood was also brought from the park to use in the household (StRO D641/1/3/12 mm 1, 2, 4, 5). The park was surveyed and measured in December 1555 and January 1556. This survey listed the demesne lands making up the park (StRO D641/2/F/3/1). In 1556/7 the grazing of Holme or New Park was farmed out for £162 12s 2d. The horses of the lord and his servants were also pastured there at various times, and work was done on the park fence (StRO D641/1/2/207B). This suggests that the park was still intact at this time, but it may no longer have contained deer for hunting. A survey was taken of timber trees and firewood trees in the three parks of the manor in January 1557. This found that New Park contained 700 elm trees worth 5s each; and 1,040 oaks, which were usually harvested for branches, but could make short timber, worth 16d per tree. There were also young saplings of oak, ash and elm, and some fruit trees (StRO D(W)1721/1/6 f31). Some of the elms were probably standard trees surviving from before the making of the park in the early 16th century. Lord Edward Stafford had mortgaged New Park for £3000 by 1572; the mortgage was unredeemed in 1583 (GA D108/E1 f5; GA D108/M122 f4v; D1655/8).

7.3 A court of survey was held at Thornbury in March 1583 by an order from the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Treasurer; evidence was received from four juries for the tithings of Oldbury, Kington and Morton, and the borough of Thornbury. In the survey it was stated that New Park consisted of 600 acres of arable, meadow and pasture land, with three lodges and twelve fishponds. It directly adjoined the north and east sides of Thornbury Castle and its gardens. There were no woods in either New Park or the 300-acre Marlwood Park, but only hedgerows (GA D108/E1 f5; D108/M122 ff4v, 9v). Some of these probably represented internal divisions, dividing the parks for grazing.

8. Thornbury Park

8.1 As ‘Papists’ the Stafford-Howards were obliged to suffer outlawry and to register their lands; surveys were conducted of their estates in 1697, 1717 and 1719 (Langston 1953, 96; GA Q/RNc1 p140; Q/RNc 2/1; NA E178/6821). The last earl of Stafford sold the manor and castle of Thornbury to his distant cousin Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, in 1727. The Castle remained in the ownership of a branch of the Howard family until the 1960s (Langston 1953, 96; Kingsley 1989, i 187). The influence of the family remained strong in the area. When William Till of the Parks Farm made his will in 1888, he directed that the farm should be offered for sale to Edward Stafford-Howard, of if he was dead, to the owner or tenant of Thornbury Castle, being a member of the Howard family (GA D654/III/212).

8.2 ‘The ancient ruined castle or site of castle of Thornbury’ with its courtyards, orchards, gardens and other grounds (totalling about 30 acres) was on lease to Edward Webb in 1697 and 1717, for a rent of £25 a year (GA Q/RNc1 p140; NA E178/6821); and to Thomas Lawrence in 1719 and 1720, at the same rent (GA Q/RNc 2/1; StRO D641/3/E/4/4 p141). The castle remained uninhabited until the 1720s, when some rooms to the south of the gatehouse were refurbished as a dwelling for the Staffords’ steward. The medieval manor house buildings in the east range were demolished before 1732. Some rooms in the castle were occupied as a farm house in 1779. The south-west tower was restored and reroofed by Lord Henry Howard, and full restoration began in 1849 when Mr Henry Howard decided to make the castle his residence (Rudder 1779, 752; Kingsley 1989, i 188-9). The adjacent parish church was also thoroughly restored in 1848-9 (Jones 1949, 7).

8.3 In June 1629 Sir Edward Harrington, as mortgagee of Thornbury, sold New, Holme or Thornborough Park to John Dent for £4,550. It contained 1,000 acres of land, a watermill and two other messuages. In May 1679 Dent’s heirs sold the park to Richard Newman for £4,500 (GA D1655/8). Sir Richard Newman had a map drawn of the property by the surveyor Thomas Cole in 1716 (GA D1655/1; see Fig 2). Atkyns states in 1712 that Sir Thomas Nevil had an estate in the parish called the Parks, which formerly belonged to the earls of Stafford and adjoined the Castle (Atkyns 1712, 402). It is not clear how Nevil’s possession related to the ownership of New Park by the Newman family; perhaps he was their tenant. This amenity park of the 17th and 18th centuries was called Thornbury Park by 1679 when it was bought by Richard Newman. It probably had the same boundaries as the early 16th-century New Park (see Fig 3).

8.4 There does not appear to have been a residence of any size in the park until the 19th century, although Rev Ashburnham Toll Newman may have lived there after he succeeded to the property in 1775 (Kingsley 2001, iii 295). The house called Thornbury Park was built for Henry Wenman Newman in 1832-6 as a square two-storey neo-classical villa with an Ionic portico and a large service wing. It was set in a few acres of grounds planted with clumps of conifers and deciduous trees, and low-growing shrubberies. It remained in the possession of the Newman family until 1914 (Kingsley 2001, iii 44, 295; Verey and Brooks 2002, 758; see Fig 5). It was leased in September

1874 by Frances Margaret Newman to Emily Churchill for 14 years; the tenant was already in occupation. The grounds let with the house totalled nearly 24 acres, including a small part of the proposed development site in its south-west corner (GA D1606/1/1). In 1938 the ground floor included a hall, a morning room, a drawing room, a dining room and a study, with extensive arched cellarage and bedrooms on the first floor. There were outbuildings, a kitchen garden, a lawn with flower beds, a tennis lawn and an orchard. The house was reached by a drive 280 yards long with a lodge at the entrance (GA D2299/6362). The house is now part of the Sheiling School (Cotswold Archaeology 2010a, App A nos 37, 38).

8.5 Rudder commented in 1779 that there was very little tillage land in Thornbury parish (Rudder 1779, 749). William Till purchased the 50-acre Parks Estate from the trustees and mortgagees of the Newman family in the mid 19th century, and ran it as the Parks Farm. He was in possession of the land in 1874 (GA D1606/1/1). He made his will in 1888, leaving sums of money to his many nephews and nieces. There were trees standing on the farm at this time, which his trustees were permitted to fell for sale (GA D654/III/212). The farmhouse is of early 18th-century date (Cotswold Archaeology 2010a, App A nos 29, 30). Some of the more straight and narrow sections of ridge and furrow, may result from ploughing, field drainage and pasture improvement on the farm in the 19th and 20th centuries (Allen 1992, 89, 93; Cotswold Archaeology 2010b, 2.4, 3.7).

9. Conclusion

9.1 The proposed development site was part of a typical medieval arable landscape, expanded from the 10th to the early 14th century by the clearance of woodlands. This pattern of land-use led to the interlocking furlongs of ridge and furrow still traceable on and around the site, which lay in the large field called *Inlond de Thornbury*. The pattern is representative of medieval agriculture.

9.2 Across this agricultural landscape, Edward, duke of Buckingham established a hunting park called New Park in two stages in 1508-10 and 1515-17. Its period as a deer park was relatively short-lived, and its intended woodlands were never developed. The deer were maintained in the park until at least 1541; it was used as pasture land by the 1550s, although still enclosed as a park. It appears that the land of the development site was never again used for arable production, although the pasture may have been improved by ploughing in the 19th and 20th century.

9.3 An inner boundary line of the park may run across the proposed development site, marking the boundary between the park of 1508/10 and the park extension of 1515/17. This is traceable in the field pattern.

9.4 The duke of Buckingham began to construct a canal running across the New Park from the River Severn to Thornbury Castle before his execution in 1521. However, this remained incomplete and is unlikely to have run across the proposed development site.

9.5 The New Park contained fishponds, probably those adjacent to the development site, which are currently being considered for scheduling. These ponds had been established by 1520, but by 1583 they were 'utterly decayed'.

9.6 The proposed development site was part of a landscape divided into pasture fields by the 18th century. In the 19th century it was part of the Parks Farm.

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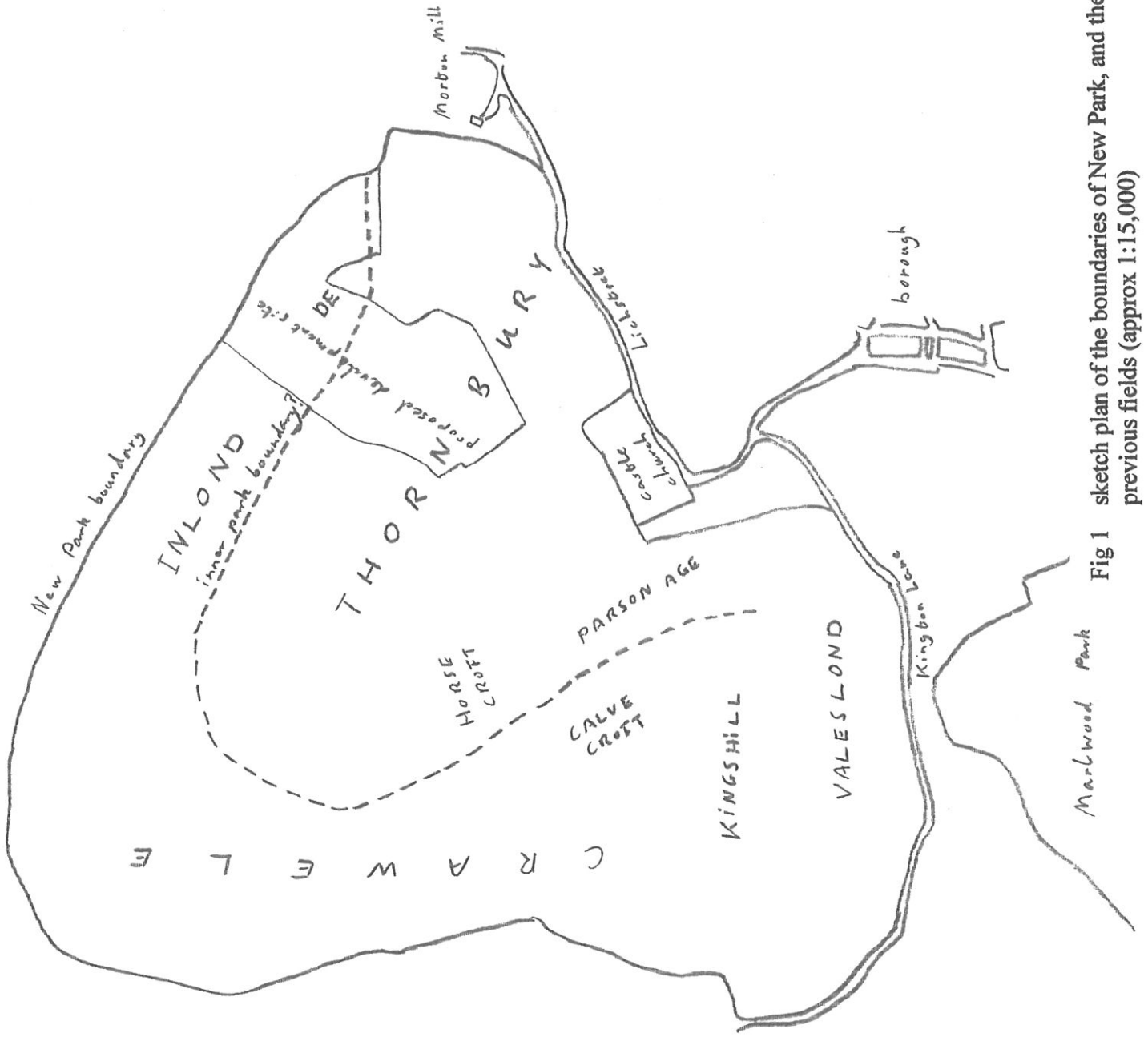


Fig 1 sketch plan of the boundaries of New Park, and the approximate location of the previous fields (approx 1:15,000)

Marlwood Park