

destroyed the trees. Parks were one of the causes of loss of woodland. The Abbot of Bury St Edmunds's park at Long Melford had been made out of a wood called Elmesete. By 1386, though still called Great Wood, it yielded from its 260 acres £2 per annum in grazing rents but only 8s. worth of wood in the form of faggots.¹⁹⁹ It remained a park until the Dissolution but has now become 'Park Farm'.

Deer as the function of parks gradually declined, although even now there are about a hundred active deer-parks left. They were succeeded by the idea of parks as landscape (Fig. 6.4.) This was not an invention of the eighteenth century. Like other fashions it began at the top of the social scale. The prototypes are the parks that surrounded Henry I's palace of Woodstock (Oxfordshire) and Henry III's palace of Clarendon (Wiltshire). Medieval parks, though usually distant from the owner's house, had their aspects of pleasure and



Fig. 6.4. Bottisham Park, Cambridgeshire: an eighteenth-century park made (in stages over half a century) where there had not been a park before. The present Hall was built in 1797 and the road diverted round the edge of the park shortly before. All the woods are derived from plantations; a few trees survive from the previous landscape. Much of the park covers the earthworks of a deserted medieval village, probably called Angerhale, which had eight moats.⁵⁵⁰ Most of the moats are now hidden in groves and were overlooked by the mapmakers, except for the 'Fish Pond', really part of the great moat of the former Bottisham Hall. Ordnance Survey, 1886.

romance. Did not the monks of Butley (Suffolk) in 1528 take the Queen of France for a picnic under the oaks with fun and games (*joco et ludo*) in Staverton Park?²⁰⁰ From the later Middle Ages onwards it became common to re-site a mansion next to a park or *vice versa*.

Some medieval parks were thus given a new lease of life as landscape parks, sometimes in the hands of professional park designers of whom William Kent (1684-1748), Charles Bridgeman (?-1738), Lancelot 'Capability' Brown (1716-1783), and Humphry Repton (1752-1818) are the best known. Writers on these masters often suppose that they 'laid out' landscapes out of nothing and marvel that their patrons were content to plant trees the effect of which would not be seen in their lifetimes. The writings especially of Repton - his famous Red Books with their 'before and after' views - and the evidence of many of the parks themselves tell a different story. Kent and his successors were heirs to an ancient tradition. They did not set out to transform vast tracts of countryside, but to enhance an existing landscape by judicious and often quite small alterations. Part of the tradition was that venerable trees should give an air of dignity and continuity to a gentleman's seat. It was not enough to plant trees and wait for them to grow; an 'instant park' was needed, with an appearance of respectable antiquity from the start, incorporating whatever trees were already there. Hence it comes about that many a Capability Brown park, such as Heveningham (Suffolk), contains pollards that were already old in Brown's time; it is a delight of such places to find their surreal shapes and improbable bulk unexpectedly amid the formality of the eighteenth-century plantings.

Landscape emparking not only preserved and adapted real medieval parks, but also created 'pseudo-medieval' parks by incorporating what had previously been hedgerow and field trees. The two great Suffolk parks of Ickworth (National Trust) and Sotterley (private) each contain mighty pollard oaks and other trees which give, as they were doubtless meant to do, the air of a Plantagenet deer-park. But each park contains a parish church, which no genuine deer-park ever did, and the great trees stand on faint earthworks and around the platforms of vanished cottages. A survey of the parish of Ickworth in 1665 shows no park but hamlets and greens, hedged fields (hence the faint earthworks), groves, and a small open-field.²⁰¹ All these were swallowed up when the park was made in 1701. The researches of John Phibbs show that the park itself has a most complex history and contains many trees planted both before and after the time of Capability Brown, to whom popular belief summarily ascribes the landscaping.²⁰² An earlier pseudo-medieval park is the apparently seventeenth-century one of Earlham Hall, Norwich, which inherits the pollard oaks of the deserted village of Earlham. Even the new park of Long Melford Hall, Suffolk, one of the earliest landscape parks of which much now remains, made between 1580 and 1613,²⁰³ includes pre-existing field trees.

Wooded Forests

The mysterious word *forest* may, in its Germanic origin, have meant a tract of trees. In Western Europe it came to mean land on which deer were protected by special byelaws. The laws and the word were introduced to England from the Continent by William the Conqueror. For many centuries *Forest* meant a place of deer. The Authorized Version of the Bible, published in 1611, doubtless

Appendix AC 10

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The Medieval Parks of England

L. M. CANTOR and J. HATHERLY

ABSTRACT. The hunting park was a very prominent feature of the medieval landscape. Securely enclosed by an earth bank and paling fence, it was stocked with deer to provide hunting and meat. The park, which belonged to the lord of the manor, was an integral part of the farming economy and encompassed a variety of land use. In all there were at least 1900 parks in existence during the Middle Ages and they were to be found in every county of England. Though they had reached their zenith by 1350, they have left many traces on the modern landscape. By means of a wide variety of documentary sources, supplemented by topographical evidence, the boundaries of the medieval parks can, in many instances, be reconstructed in detail.

INTRODUCTION

The park was a common feature of the medieval landscape and was to be found in substantial numbers in every county in England. It was securely enclosed in order to retain the deer, principally fallow deer and red deer, both for the sport of hunting and as a source of fresh meat throughout the year. The enclosure usually consisted of a combination of a substantial earth bank, topped by a wooden paling fence and with an inside ditch, which together made an impassable barrier. In some districts, the wooden fence might be replaced by a quickset hedge or by a stone wall, and where the topography was suitable, for example just below the crest of a steep slope, the paling fence alone might serve. Water seems to have been an effective barrier to the passage of deer and some parks were partly circumscribed by rivers or marshy areas. The park was part of the demesne lands of the lord of the manor and typically consisted of "unimproved land", including some woodland to provide covert for the deer. Medieval hunting parks bore little resemblance, therefore, to the later landscaped ornamental grounds, also called "parks", which were designed to improve the surroundings of the great houses of the eighteenth century.

The medieval park was thus securely enclosed and it was this feature which distinguished it from the other medieval hunting grounds—the *forest*, *chase* and *warren*. The *forest* was a large tract of country, usually though not necessarily wooded, in which hunting rights belonged exclusively to the Crown; it had its own Forest Laws and came under the jurisdiction of forest officials. The *chase* was a private forest which a few great nobles and ecclesiastical lords were allowed to create in their estates. The landowners appointed their own officials and introduced their own laws so that for ordinary people there was often little to choose between living in a forest or a chase. The right of *free warren* was granted to lords of the manor by the Crown, thereby enabling them to hunt the smaller game—the fox and the hare, the rabbit and the wild cat, and the pheasant and partridge—over their estates. By the middle of the fourteenth century, such grants had become so common throughout the country that the great majority of manorial lords seem to have enjoyed them.

During the Middle Ages, which is taken to be the period of 400 years from the Domesday Survey to the accession of Henry VII in 1485, parks became important and common features of the countryside. We have evidence for the existence of at least 1900 of them.¹ There must also have been many more which have gone unrecorded and of which no topographical traces remain.

There is evidence that enclosures, or "deer-folds", were in existence in Saxon times, for example Ongar in Essex, but the park as we have described it, like the Forest Law, was essentially the creation of the Norman kings and barons and a product of their love of hunting.

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By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they had both increased considerably in number and had also become integral parts of the manorial economy, with its overwhelming dependence on agriculture. They also supplied substantial quantities of venison to the tables of the park owners. However, despite the existence of a great deal of material on the nature, economy and land use of the parks, the subject has never been studied systematically on a national basis. This is all the more strange when, even to this day, the medieval park has left many clues on the modern landscape: earth banks, patterns of rights of way, field boundaries, field-, wood- and place-names are all to be found as testimonies to its existence as, for example, Madeley Great Park in Staffordshire clearly illustrates (Fig. 3).

IMPARKMENT

Initial imparkment was usually on a small scale, since few land-owners had the resources to construct a large enclosure in one stage. In the early Middle Ages, for example, small areas of demesne woodlands were converted into parks, as at Oakham, Rutland, in 1252 and Remenham, Berkshire, in 1248.² At the same time, assarting of woodland continued apace, with the object of creating more cultivable land. Subsequently, many such parks were extended in a piecemeal way over the course of several centuries, depending on the fortunes of their owners. Even in the later Middle Ages, however, woodland formed a large and vital part of most parks as it simulated forest conditions for, in the words of the Elizabethan writer on the forest, John Manwood, "it must be stored with great woods or coverts for the secret abode of wild beasts and also with fruitful pastures for their communal feed".³ Deer are mainly grass feeders and whilst they might find young shoots, nuts and fruits in the woods, such a habitat would only support them in quite small numbers. A successful deer enclosure had to include pasture, together with access to a supply of hay for winter feed, which was often grown within the park, as at Devizes, Wiltshire, in the thirteenth century, where a special area was fenced off for the purpose. Rackham suggests that there are two distinct types of parks.⁴ The first type he calls the "wood pasture park", consisting of trees and grassland intermixed. To maximize the timber potential, a second type might be preferred and this he calls the "compartmental park". There, grassland, in the form of "launds", or glades was kept separate from the woodland which took the form of coppices, fenced to keep out deer, and from which both underwood and timber could be extracted on a regular basis. Deer can be as destructive of growing trees as goats or cattle so imparkment on its own should not be seen as a measure to conserve timber. Only coppices and proper management could achieve this.

The most important feature of the park was the pale, consisting of a broad, high earth bank, topped by a fence of cleft oak stakes, made yet more formidable by a deep inside ditch. Many of these banks are still well preserved today, especially in wooded areas, and may be followed in the countryside for some distance. An excellent example is that of Harbin's Park, Tarrant Gunville, Dorset, which can be followed for almost its entire length.⁵ More commonly, short sections of park banks are to be found in every county in England. Unfortunately, however, the impact of modern farming methods is resulting in the rapid disappearance of many of them. In some districts, where freestone was readily available or where the landowner could afford to transport stone, a stone wall on a bank would provide a more effective and durable barrier. Sections of such walls still survive, for example at Moulton (Northamptonshire), Beckley (Oxfordshire) and Newton Blossomville (Buckinghamshire). Park perimeters usually followed a compact course to keep their lengths down to a minimum and an elliptical or roughly circular shape was common as the rather crude representations on the late sixteenth-century county maps of Saxton and the early seventeenth-century maps of Speed well illustrate. Parks were frequently located on the edge of manors, away from the cultivated land; hence their limits often coincided with manorial or parish boundaries. Natural boundaries, such as rivers, often served as reasonably effective barriers at a great reduction in cost: in Berkshire, for example, the northern boundaries of Sonning and Hamstead Marshall parks were formed by the Thames and Kennet respectively.

The construction of the park pale was clearly a major operation which required a great deal of labour. Much time and effort were also expended on maintaining and repairing the pale, a duty which at various times was carried out by the lord's tenants as part of their feudal obligations. This was certainly the case in the earlier part of the Middle Ages; however, with the dramatic decline in population from the mid-fourteenth century onwards and the parallel weakening in feudal ties, peasant labour was no longer easily available. The lord had to pay for services and as a result much neglect and decay of parks ensued. In places, the park pale might be broken by a "deer leap", a device which enabled deer to enter the park, but not leave it; however, for obvious reasons, this was a privilege eagerly sought after but reluctantly granted by the Crown in whose possession wild deer were vested. It normally, therefore, required the purchase of a special licence from the Crown and licences were usually granted only to great nobles such as the Bishop of Lincoln, at Liddington, Rutland, in 1227 and the Bishop of Durham at Craike, Yorkshire, North Riding in 1229.⁶ At Cannock, Staffordshire, by contrast, the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield's creation of deer leaps, without permission, in his parks of Haywood and Brewood in 1286, led to the temporary surrender of his manors, which were only returned on payment of a thousand pounds. When the Bishop finally regained his lands in 1290, he was given the right to impark provided that there were no deer leaps or devices to entrap the deer.⁷

There are numerous examples of grants by the Crown, to landowners, of permission to create the parks themselves. In all, we have found references to more than 290 licences to impark, of which about 200 occur in the "high period" of imparkment, that is between 1200 and 1350. It does not seem likely, however, that licences were necessary unless imparking might interfere with the king's forest rights.⁸ Licences to impark were granted by the Crown either for money or to reward an official for his service.

The creation of a deer park necessarily presumes the intention of stocking it with deer. Many park owners received grants of deer from the royal forests either to stock a park or to supplement an existing herd. Usually these grants were small: in 1228, for example, 6 deer were given from Marlborough Forest for Leckhampstead Park, Berkshire, and, in 1222, 5 deer from Salcey Forest for Hanslope Park, Buckinghamshire; however, in 1202, Richard Montfichet was granted 100 live does and bucks from Windsor Forest for his park at Langley Marish, Buckinghamshire.⁹ It is difficult to estimate the size of the herds contained within the park banks as evidence is sporadic. However, they must have been considerable although, clearly, they fluctuated in size according to the prevailing conditions. At Alvechurch, Worcestershire, for example, in 1299, there were only 20 beasts of the chase although the park contained pasture sufficient to support 127.¹⁰ In 1337, the size of herds in the seven Duchy of Cornwall parks ranged from 15 at Launceston to 300 at Restormel,¹¹ while in 1521 Stafford and Madeley Great Parks contained 400 and 300 deer respectively.¹² There is evidence from Cornwall that in the fourteenth century herds were allowed to recover when the Black Prince was due to hunt there; equally, considerable numbers might be slaughtered from time to time to fulfil the domestic needs of their owners. At the end of their useful lives, numbers of beasts often dwindled to a handful. Live deer were often transported over considerable distances: in the fourteenth century, for example, Windsor Park was stocked from Chute Forest in Wiltshire. Finally, illicit hunting and poaching were very common throughout the Middle Ages and the records of the period are full of examples of trespass, of park pales being broken, and of deer being killed and carried away.

The size of parks varied markedly from place to place and at differing times over the course of the Middle Ages, directly reflecting the resources and aspirations of their owners. Many of those belonging to the Crown or nobility, especially when attached to their principal manors, were very large, some extending to as much as 1000 acres. Royal parks, like Woodstock, which measured 7 miles round in the twelfth century, or Clarendon, Wiltshire, which was 3 miles across, were matched in size by those of the great magnates; for example, the Bishop of Winchester's Hampshire park of Bishop's Waltham was over 1000 acres in extent, and, in 1330, the Earl of Kent's park at Dunhurst, in Sussex, was "7 leagues in circuit".¹³

However, the great majority of parks, certainly those belonging to the lesser landowners, were much smaller: in the thirteenth century, for example, they were commonly between 100 and 200 acres. Some like Cerne Park in Dorset measured only 50 acres in 1356 and undoubtedly many other parks were no bigger than this, at least in their early stages; some indeed might be exceptionally small, like Barking in Suffolk in 1251 which was only 9 acres.¹⁴ This pattern changed in the later Middle Ages, from about 1350 onwards, when the dramatic fall in population resulting from the plagues reduced the amount of land under cultivation and released large tracts for imparkment. Many extensions were made to existing parks and large new parks were created, quite commonly more than 300 acres in size. Many like Eastnor, in Herefordshire, in 1460, and the three Kentish parks of Eythorne, Kingsnorth and Tonge in 1448, were over 1000 acres.¹⁵ Exceptionally, they could be even larger as in the case of Bramshill, Hampshire, which measured 3000 acres in 1347, Ashby de la Zouch, Leicestershire, 3000 acres in 1474, and Eagle, Lincolnshire, 4600 acres in 1446.¹⁶ All the evidence suggests that these latter parks were not enclosed by high earth banks, since the expense would have been prohibitive and the purpose of the park increasingly ornamental, rather than practical. It became a fairly common practice, in the later Middle Ages, for wealthy landowners to create two or three parks in the same manor, often known as "Great" or "Little" parks, as at Stratfield Mortimer, Berkshire, or Enfield, Middlesex.¹⁷

Throughout the Middle Ages, the fortunes and size of parks fluctuated, according to economic, social and political considerations and the fortunes of their owners. Many parks were built up piecemeal over long periods as opportunities occurred to take in new land. Such was the case with Vastern Park, Wootton Bassett, Wiltshire; originating in 1229 when it consisted of a wood together with 3.5 acres of land, it subsequently was enlarged considerably by 50 acres of demesne wood in 1267, by 30 acres of wood in 1293, by 300 acres of wood and 300 acres of waste in 1320, and by 120 acres of "land, meadow, and pasture", in 1365, so that by the fifteenth century it reached its maximum of over 750 acres and extended into the neighbouring parish.¹⁸

DISTRIBUTION

As we have indicated, parks were to be found throughout medieval England. They seem to have been almost entirely an English phenomenon and only very few seem to have existed in Wales or Ireland, and none at all in Scotland: for example, the Mortimer border lords held parks at Radnor and Chirk, Denbighshire, and the Earl of Pembroke in Wexford, Ireland, in the fourteenth century.¹⁹ Within the counties of England, the density of imparkment varied considerably, as Fig. 1 shows. According to our records, the seven most densely parkland counties, which accounted for almost a quarter of the total of 1900 parks in England as a whole, were Staffordshire, Worcestershire and Buckinghamshire in the Midlands and Essex, Hertfordshire, Surrey and Sussex in the southeast. It must be pointed out, however, that only a minority of these parks were in existence at any one time. Moreover, in the case of two of these counties—Staffordshire and Buckinghamshire—we have exhaustively examined all the documentary evidence available, both local and national, in the course of which a substantial number of parks has come to light. A similarly detailed survey of other counties will undoubtedly reveal the existence of a greater density of parks than we are so far aware of. At the other end of the scale, eight English counties possessed less than one park for every 30 000 acres; these were Cumberland, Northumberland, Durham, Devon and Cornwall, in the remoter parts of the country, together with Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Cambridgeshire. This variable distribution pattern cannot be completely explained but, clearly, a number of major influences contributed to it.

Terrain was probably the major determinant, both of the parts of the country and counties where the parks were located and also of their precise sites within the manors. As we have seen, within the manor, woodland or "unimproved waste" was the usual setting and, for that reason, the park was normally on the edge of the manor. Within the county as a whole, woodland was also very significant and there is a close correlation between parkland and

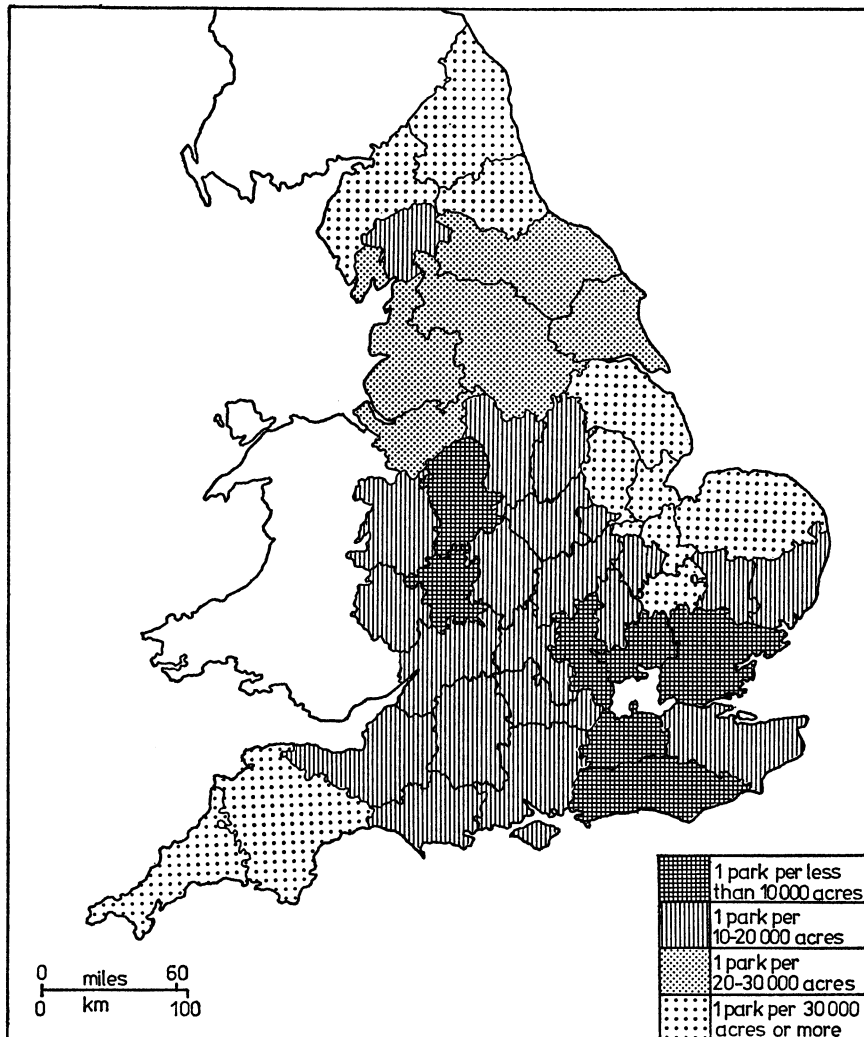


Fig. 1.—Density of medieval parks (based on pre-1974 county boundaries).

wood. More specifically, a high woodland cover in the Domesday Book of 1086 was almost always the scene of much subsequent imparkment. This was certainly true of the seven counties mentioned in the previous paragraph, although it does not allow for individual anomalies. By contrast, certain other more open landscapes—fens, chalk downland and intensively cultivated districts—were generally avoided by imparkers. These areas were likely to prove less suitable for hunting, without considerable disruption of other activities or major changes in the landscape, such as the planting of trees. It would seem likely that both the Crown and landowners avoided imparkment in places where their own economic interests were likely to be impaired.

Within the counties themselves, Staffordshire and Warwickshire clearly demonstrates the influence of terrain, as can be seen in Fig. 2. Staffordshire was one of the most heavily imparked counties in England; it was relatively poor and undeveloped, large parts were unsuited to arable farming and nearly half the county was subject to Forest Law.²⁰ As a consequence, parks were numerous and well distributed, though even here some parts of the county had very few: for example, the royal Forest of Kinver in the extreme southwest; the Forest and

Chase of Cannock north of the town of Cannock; and the bleak moorlands of the northern edge of the county. Warwickshire presents a somewhat different picture, however. West of the River Avon, it closely resembled Staffordshire, being relatively poor, well wooded and infertile; it is not surprising, therefore, that it contained many parks. On the other hand, southeastern or "fielden" Warwickshire was very different; even in 1086 it was relatively wealthy with little woodland and supported more than twice as many plough teams as the richest area further west. As a consequence, of the 52 parks in the county, only three lay east of the River Avon. Other counties provide similar examples; in Norfolk the more intensively cultivated western half contained very few parks and, in Buckinghamshire, the fertile Vale of Aylesbury was similarly placed. It would seem reasonable to conclude, therefore, that landowners responded naturally to economic and geographical circumstances. Thus, large landowners with multiple estates would impark only on certain convenient manors, while smaller landowners, with perhaps only a single manor, rarely held parks if they lived in intensively cultivated districts. Legal and social restraints also undoubtedly held back imparkment. At the time of its greatest extent, shortly before 1200, about one-third of the country was under the jurisdiction of the Forest Laws. These were intended to maintain the King's exclusive right to hunt over his lands. Naturally, any infringements, such as imparkment, were likely to result in punishment of the offender if caught by the Forest Officials. Certainly, many forests, even heavily wooded areas, contained relatively few parks. In Gloucestershire, for example, the Forest of Dean contained very few parks, and in Wiltshire, where the Forest Law was enforced throughout the Middle Ages, the density of imparkment remained low. Indeed, if royal parks are excluded it contained an even lower density. Alternatively, the King sometimes created parks in his forests and occasionally granted the same right to his subjects. In Windsor Forest, for example, there were 15 parks, all but two of which belonged to the King; and in Needwood Forest there were 11 parks belonging to the Duchy of Lancaster.

During the period from 1200 to 1350 as the population of the country grew, so the pressure on land increased and with it demands for disafforestation, that is the removal of the Forest Laws to allow cultivation, and imparkment, to take place. As the Crown was frequently at war and therefore constantly short of money, it acceded to demands for disafforestation in return for payments of money as, for example, in Staffordshire where Brewood Forest was disafforested in 1204 for 100 marks.²¹ The same process occurred on a much larger scale in the early thirteenth century in Cornwall and over much of Devon and Essex. In many cases, disafforestation occurred simply as a recognition of the fact that it could not be properly enforced throughout very extensive areas, especially in the remoter parts of the country. The former forest areas were often ideal terrain for imparkment, containing both woodland and deer, and where disafforestation occurred it was often followed by the creation of many parks. This process can be seen at work in such widely dispersed areas as Essex, Shropshire and Buckinghamshire.

Social restrictions on imparkment are difficult to evaluate, but they were clearly a factor in some areas. The Statute of Merton of 1236 which allowed lords of the manor to assart or impark waste only when other land was available to compensate holders of grazing and other rights may well have inhibited imparkment in some areas. More specifically, in Kent, an area in which the small freeholder held a disproportionate amount of land, parks were relatively few, probably because these landowners were not wealthy enough to impark. By contrast, in the neighbouring county of Sussex, in which great magnates like the Earls of Arundel had huge estates, imparkment was very heavy.²²

OWNERSHIP

As parks were expensive items both to construct and maintain, they were very largely held by four classes of relatively wealthy proprietors: the Crown and the nobility, the Religious Houses, long-established knightly families, and newly enriched landowners or merchants.

The Crown was by far the largest single proprietor throughout the Middle Ages. The most important enclosures were those associated with a particular forest, like Woodstock in

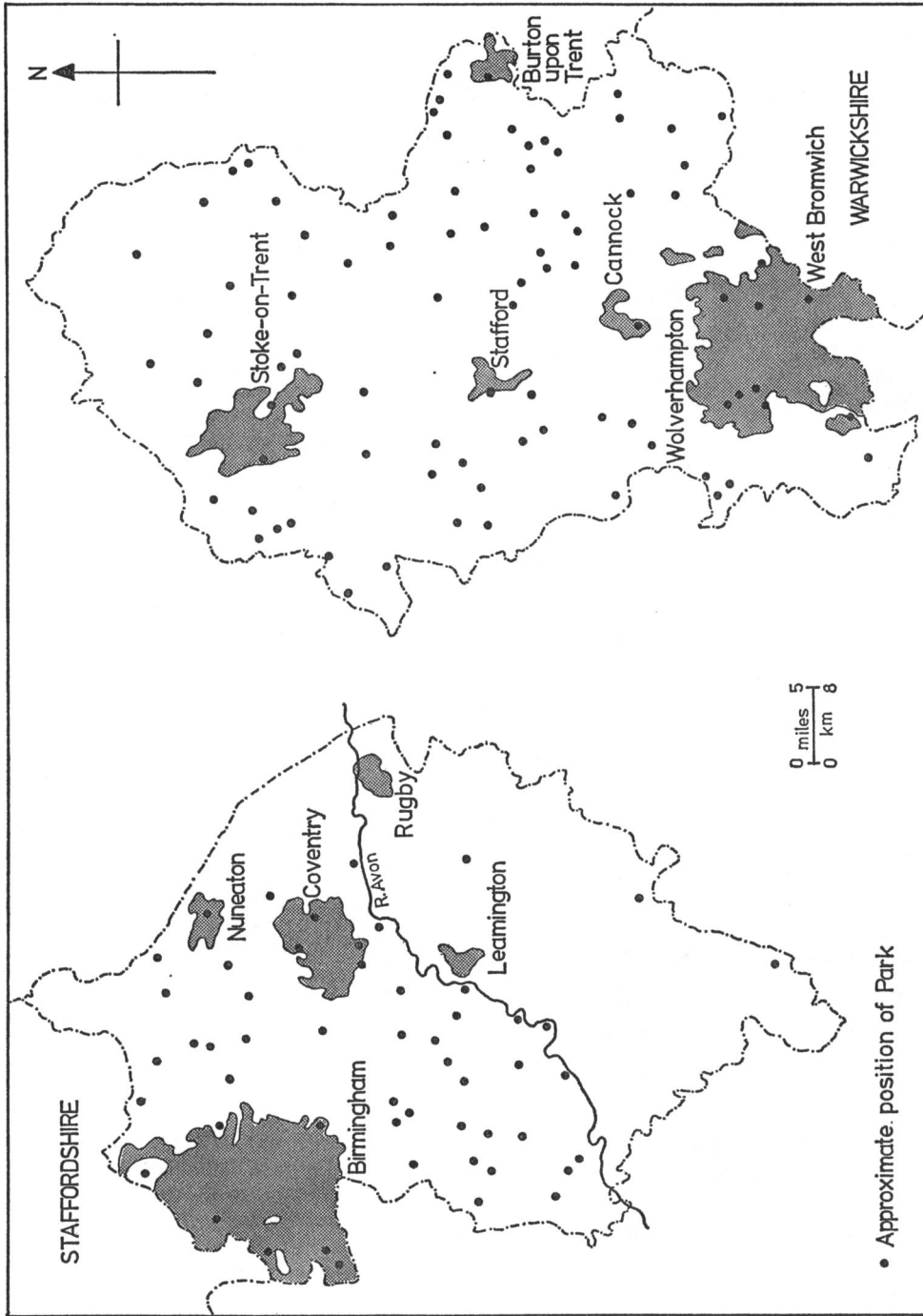


Fig. 2.—Warwickshire and Staffordshire: distribution of medieval parks.

Wychwood Forest, Gillingham, Dorset, or Clarendon, Wiltshire. They were much frequented by monarchs and often included a royal residence, rather than the usual hunting lodge, especially when they were close to the main centres of government. The King also possessed many "lesser" parks on his estates and a very large number which were held for short periods, either during the minority of an heir or as a result of a confiscation of a traitor's estates. The great noble families, with many large estates, were prolific creators of parks, which were generally associated with their leading manors. Among the leading proprietors were the royal Earldoms (later Duchies) of Lancaster, which at various times held 45 parks, and Cornwall, 29; and the Earldoms of Arundel, 21 and Norfolk, 15. The wealthiest bishoprics fell into this category since many of their holders commanded huge incomes and lived on a fully aristocratic scale. For example, there were 23 parks in the Bishop of Winchester's estates, 21 for Canterbury and 20 for Durham. These aristocratic and ecclesiastical owners were generally strongest in certain parts of the country, and their land holdings were reflected in the concentration of their hunting enclosures; for example, the Earls of Arundel held many parks in Sussex and the Dukes of Lancaster were strong in Staffordshire and Leicestershire. It is likely that owners in this category held at least 50 per cent of the total number of parks.

The richest of the Religious Houses, especially old established Benedictine Abbeys like Glastonbury or Westminster, possessed as many estates as most of the noble families. Such Houses were the principal holders of the 120 or so parks under monastic ownership although some quite small monasteries were given parks by a benefactor. Glastonbury held at least nine parks in 1535 and Bury St. Edmunds and Peterborough at least seven each. Hunting would seem incompatible with the monastic calling and it is likely that these parks were intended either for the entertainment of the Abbot's guests, including the King and the nobility, or for mainly economic ends. Nevertheless, Bury St. Edmunds was renowned for its breed of hunting dogs although the famous late twelfth-century Abbot Sampson who created so many parks is said himself not to have hunted. There are many instances of founders donating parks to their foundations; Thame Abbey, Oxfordshire, was actually sited in the Bishop of Lincoln's park and even small houses like Montacute, Somerset, and Notley and Lavendon, both in Buckinghamshire, benefited in this way.²³

Long-established knightly families, benefiting from the agricultural prosperity of the thirteenth century, often obtained the right to impark, although usually on a fairly modest scale. In counties like Leicestershire and Buckinghamshire this type of proprietor was in the majority. In the later Middle Ages, other landowners or merchants who had made their fortune sought to join their rank or at least to aspire to their status. The most notable example were the Poles, who originated as Hull merchants and prospered to become royal favourites and Dukes of Suffolk by the fifteenth century; in 1383, Michael de la Pole created parks at Wingfield and Sternfield in Suffolk²⁴ and in the next century the Suffolks maintained a number of parks on their estates. Landowners might sometimes share ownership of hunting enclosures, usually as a result of a division of the inheritance of the manor, and a number of parks were divided up in this way.

CHRONOLOGY

As we have seen, the Norman Conquest was the effective beginning of imparkment. The Domesday Survey lists 36 parks belonging to the King or his principal followers, together with many more forest enclosures or "hays", some of which were later made into parks. Documentary material relating to the period between 1086 and 1200 is rather limited and the picture of the development of hunting grounds at this time is therefore incomplete. Most of the major royal parks, like Woodstock or Devizes, originated before 1200 and parks were also developed by the leading noble families, although very few licences to enclose have survived from this period. The general insecurity and lack of economic development probably inhibited imparkment, and the power of the Crown in enforcing the Forest Law over large tracts presented a further obstacle to all but the most powerful subjects, like the Bishops of Winchester and Salisbury, both of whom received permission to hunt in Windsor Forest.²⁵

The century and a half between 1200 and 1350 was the great age of the medieval park with conditions ideally suited to the ambitions of the larger landowners. The advance of agriculture stimulated by a growing population produced sufficient surplus wealth to enable many noble and knightly families to devote more attention to hunting. Grants of free warren became common but licences to make a park were more difficult to come by and consequently conferred more status on those who obtained them. As we have seen, the majority of licences were granted in this period with a peak in the 1330s. Many lords could call on the feudal services of their tenants to carry out the formidable task of making and repairing the pale, as on the royal estates of Havering (Essex) and Woodstock.²⁶ Most demesnes were worked directly by their lords who were able also to exercise close control over the activities in the park, through the appointment of keepers or wardens. Despite the growing land hunger which reached a peak around 1300 there was still inferior terrain available in many manors which was ideally suited to imparkment.

The slow decline of the hunting park followed closely on the devastation produced by the Black Death and subsequent plagues. Many deer parks began to fall out of use, deer herds dwindled and pasture was frequently leased out for long periods, a trend which followed the decline of direct demesne farming. There was no longer sufficient labour to keep the pale in good repair and disparkment became quite common. As a consequence, the middle of the fourteenth century may be said to mark the apogee of the park in its classical form. Conversely, in various parts of the country large tracts of arable and pasture land were converted into parks, for example, at Wadenhoe, in Northants, which still shows traces of ridge and furrow.²⁷ These parks were much less numerous than their predecessors and, as we have seen, were also, generally speaking, very much larger. Moreover, it would seem unlikely that they were managed as intensively or enclosed as securely as their thirteenth-century counterparts. Many of them were conceived from the beginning as amenity parks rather than hunting parks and were situated close to the manor house and therefore nearer to the village centre. Notable late examples are Kirby Muxloe (Leicestershire), Chamberhouse (Berkshire) and Great Hampden (Buckinghamshire), all associated with new and grandiose manor houses.²⁸ In a few cases, whole villages were enclosed as at Tusmore (Oxfordshire), which had been wiped out by plague.²⁹

Disparkment accelerated rapidly after 1500, especially in the hundred years up to 1660. Hunting, although still popular with the Crown, had to take second place to economic interests; shortly after 1500 the population of England began to rise again and demand for arable produce expanded. Against this background, the medieval hunting park could only survive by adaptation. Usually this took the form of conversion to a more ornamental purpose, to enclose the great mansions which were built in profusion in the Tudor age, especially within a 100 mile radius of the capital. In Berkshire, for instance, parks like Hungerford and Hamstead Marshall survived into the twentieth century in this way, as did Sherborne in Dorset. In a survey of Kent by Lambarde in 1571, 32 out of 50 pales remained;³⁰ in Staffordshire as late as the mid-seventeenth century, 49 still supported deer.³¹ By the late Middle Ages, perhaps one park in every five belonged to the Church, but in the 1530s the dissolution of the monasteries and Henry VIII's pressure on episcopal estates placed much ecclesiastical land in the hands of laymen, who tended to dispark. The crown rationalized its numbers of parks, disparking some and preserving others; Henry VIII, for example, disparked the seven Cornish Duchy parks.

During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, improved farming methods made it profitable for the first time to develop many park sites for agriculture, especially those on heavy clay. Conversion of parks into farmland was a major operation requiring extensive timber clearance, hedging and marling, which might take a generation to carry out. However, this process continued apace and, between 1600 and 1660, many parks were divided up and converted into farms. Finally, the ravages of the Civil War dealt a further blow which marked the death knell of the medieval park and ushered in the landscaped grounds of the eighteenth century.

LAND USE

Parks were an integral part of the demesne land of the manor and it is probable that from time to time economic ends outweighed their sporting value. Even though the enclosure of deer remained their main purpose, proprietors would adapt their parks for many other activities. Pasture land was essential for the sustenance of deer but it could accommodate other domestic animals and the sale of "agistment" was a frequent and important item of revenue in manorial accounts. At Vastern Great Park, Wiltshire, in 1334, it was valued at £10 p.a.; at Swallowfield, Berkshire, in 1354, at 29 shillings; and at Groby, Leicestershire, in 1288, with pannage, it was worth 65s. 8d.³² Grassland often commanded a premium over tillage in the Middle Ages and the resources of the park could be rented out when they were not very fully used by the deer. At Woking, Surrey, in 1327, there was a park for 60 head of deer, pasture being worth 6s. 8d. "if not used for deer", and similarly at Crookham, Berkshire, in 1349 it is described as "worth nothing because it is fully needed to sustain deer".³³ At Alvechurch, Worcestershire, the Bishop of Worcester held a park which in 1299 could sustain 127 "wild beasts", but in that year there only seem to have been 20 deer with pasture worth 6s. 8d. The remainder was used as follows: for 3 sows 3/-d., for 36 cows 13/-d., for 30 oxen 15/-d. These made up the major part of the total revenue of 49s. 8d.³⁴ Hay was sometimes grown in the park, as at Postern, Derbyshire, where 182s. 2d. was paid in 1313-4 for haymaking and carrying the hay of 87 acres.³⁵

It is likely that internal divisions were necessary to keep the different types of grazing animals apart and it was a common feature to find parks used in this way, especially in the later Middle Ages. In the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the increasing demand for arable land placed pressure on the remaining pasture and, as a result, grazing within the park pale was increasingly utilized. For example, oxen were kept at Madeley, Staffordshire, in 1272 and Crookham, Berkshire, in 1322-3 and calves and cattle at Postern, Derbyshire, in 1313-4.³⁶ A more specialist use, especially in Crown parks, was the stud farm which may have been the principal activity at such parks as Princes Risborough and Cippenham in Buckinghamshire, and Haywra Park, Knaresborough (West Riding of Yorkshire) in the fourteenth century. This would have been an economy measure, given the pale could also serve to enclose horses. Pasture may not have been managed in a very commercial way at some manors, since sales could not be made when the herds of deer were being allowed to increase, as in the Cornish Duchy parks.

Most parks included a substantial amount of wood within their bounds, and both large timber and underwood were common features in many manorial accounts, the amounts depending on the size of the woods and the intensity of management. At Stoke Bishop, Gloucestershire, for example, in 1302-3, the sale of underwood, for fencing, fuel and implements, amounted to 18s. 10d., compared with 3s. 9d. for pasture sold; at Blockley Gloucestershire, in the same year the sale of underwood in the park and in a wood outside was worth 54s. 8d.³⁷ In many parks, some of the woods were being carefully managed as coppices, primarily to supply underwood. Grazing animals would need to be kept away from these coppices. The sale of large timber usually occurred less regularly but many landowners regarded their parks as a source of timber for major construction works, such as churches, castles and ships. The accounts of the Crown feature such requirements as 60 oaks from Gillingham, Dorset, cut in 1234 to repair Corfe Castle, and in the fifteenth century, the granting of timber from four Essex parks for the roof of King's College Chapel, Cambridge. Wood was used for charcoal, especially in iron smelting areas: at Tewkesbury, (Gloucestershire) in 1232, for the forge at Madeley (Staffordshire) in 1293, and in the Weald parks of Sussex which was the major iron making centre. Other woodland products sold were mast (nuts and twigs) as at Alvechurch (Worcestershire) in 1299, and at Toddenham (Gloucestershire) and Windsor in the thirteenth century. Pannage for pigs was rented out; in Stoke Bishop in 1302-3 for 4 pigs it was worth 3d.

Fishponds were often sited within parks to provide additional protein and also presumably to avoid flooding good land. Mineral quarries could also sometimes be found in parks partly

perhaps because the stone required for the park enclosure provided the original stimulus for its development; and turbarry, or turf for fuel, was commonly dug. Occasionally, parts of the park were ploughed up for tillage; for example, in 1251, half of Pulham park, Norfolk, was under the plough; in 1288, parts of the Earl of Cornwall's Cornish parks were used as demesne arable and at Swallowfield, Berkshire, in the fourteenth century, "Wythcroft within the park was sown with wheat".³⁸

The opposite process occurred when arable, meadow and pasture land was imparked. This was relatively uncommon in the early Middle Ages, though at King's Langley, Hertfordshire, the King had enclosed both arable and meadow as early as the 1290s;³⁹ this also occurred at a similar time at Alvechurch (Worcestershire), Ardeley (Hertfordshire) and Thorpe-le-Soken (Essex). With the major reduction in population from about 1350 onwards, and the consequent lessening of the pressure upon cultivated land, the enclosure of productive land became quite common. Indeed, a landlord was as likely to site his park or its expansion on this type of land as on wasteland.

Imparking by the lord of the manor would sometimes affect rights of way. At Cippenham, Buckinghamshire, for example, the Earl of Cornwall was called to account in the 1270s for blocking up a road when making his park in the 1250s.⁴⁰ In other cases, specific permission was required in order to divert a road round the newly imparked site, as occurred at Hodnet (Salop) in 1275 and at West Bromwich, Staffs., in 1307.⁴¹ Occasionally, even where no documentary evidence survives, the diversion of a road can be seen in the contemporary landscape: at Thame, Oxon., for example, the B4012 still sweeps round the park, following the new course laid out in the twelfth century.

MAPPING THE MEDIEVAL PARK

Evidence of the existence and development of medieval parks come in two forms: documentary material, and physical remains such as earthworks and ancient woods. The major primary documentary source consists of the records of the King's Household and Administration: the Pipe Rolls, Close, Charter and Patent Rolls, and Inquisitiones Post Mortem, most of which have been calendared by the Public Record Office and are available in printed form. The management of the King's parks was naturally much more thoroughly covered than those of his subjects; the Pipe Rolls, for example, give detailed accounts of revenues and expenditures on the parks, showing, for instance, that money was spent on enclosure at Clarendon in 1225–8, on a lodge at King's Langley in 1368–9, and on extensions at Windsor in 1359–63. Volume I of *The History of the Kings Works*⁴² uses some of this material and is available to the general reader. Accounts will also be found of parks which the King controlled for brief periods during the minority of the heir, as at Fulmer, Buckinghamshire, in 1326. When a subject wished to impark he sometimes needed to seek the King's permission and, as we have seen, over 290 of these licences to impark survive in the Rolls and elsewhere, many giving extensive details of the land involved. Poaching, park breaking and other offences requiring the King's justice crop up frequently in the records of the royal administration.

Feudal and tax records frequently record hunting assets. The King required that, upon his death, all his tenants' possessions be recorded in the form of an Inquisition Post Mortem, listing manors, lands and other assets. In their abbreviated form these often omit many important assets but many parks are recorded in this way, usually with the minimum of detail. Occasionally, size, or position, is given or we learn that two parks had come into existence, as at Hanslope, Buckinghamshire, in 1315.⁴³ In the case of a leading landowner, a long list of manors and parks may exist. The Hundred Rolls of the late thirteenth century recorded the holdings of landowners in many English counties and are particularly informative on imparkment in certain counties, notably Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire. In the same way, the Inquisitiones Nonarum of 1341, a tax inquiry on the assessable wealth of each community, sometimes alludes to the activities of imparkers, as well as filling in much of the prevailing agricultural background. In Sussex, for example, imparkment is mentioned as a

reason for a reduction in taxable wealth and occasional references occur in Buckinghamshire, Berkshire and Wiltshire. The accessibility and clarity of these primary sources make them an especially useful source of information.

“Primary” documents, such as manorial surveys and accounts, are generally much less readily available than the class of public records described in the last paragraph. However, a limited number have been translated and printed, occasionally for individual manors, but usually as part of a study of the estates of a great landowner or institution. Prominent examples are the Ely Coucher Book of 1251, dealing with the estates of the Bishop of Ely, The Red Book of Worcester, containing detailed surveys of the Bishop of Worcester’s manors in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the Domesday of St. Paul’s which lists the estates of the Dean of St. Paul’s Cathedral, London, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These often describe the management of parks in great detail. At Ardeley, Hertfordshire, for instance, in 1222 the Dean and Canons of St. Paul’s had a park close to the manor house, consisting of 60 acres together with 8 acres of tenant’s land which had been exchanged with 8 acres of the demesne.⁴⁴ In addition, it is possible to see how parks were distributed among a landowner’s estates; for example, in 1222, the Dean of St. Paul’s held at least three parks on his 22 manors. Ministers’ or baliffs’ accounts, to be found in the Public Record Office and County Record Offices, give details of revenues and expenses on an estate and can be used to understand the life of the park. Expenses might include the stipend of the parker, the cost of repairs to the pale and winter feed for the deer. Revenues might arise from the sale of pasture, timber, and underwood. For instance, there is a complete record of revenues from the sale of pasture for four Duchy of Cornwall parks, over the period 1297–1445, which supplies a great deal of information. Local County Record Offices occasionally have valuable documentary collections, such as those for the medieval estates of the Earls of Stafford, appropriately lodged at Stafford itself, and of the de Vere family, Earls of Oxford, at the Essex County Record Office. From these and other sources, it has been possible to build up a detailed picture of the land use of a park over a substantial period, for example, that of Madeley Great Park between 1372 and 1525.⁴⁵

Unfortunately, estate maps did not become general until the late sixteenth century so we have no direct representation of the appearance of the medieval park. Nevertheless, it is quite likely that some sixteenth- and seventeenth-century estate maps picture parks very much as they existed in the Middle Ages; good examples are at Catton in the East Riding of Yorkshire and Blagdon Park, Dorset, while Norden’s map of Windsor Forest in 1607 shows many parks still in existence. The series of county maps beginning with Saxton in the 1570s still showed many parks which had a medieval origin. Although these maps are not accepted as being strictly accurate, they give a useful insight into how parks had fared after the Middle Ages. The Victorian Tithe Maps of the 1840s are particularly valuable for those parts of the country which they cover and the associated Apportionment Rolls, listing field names, often give clues to the existence of medieval parks.

No complete volume has been devoted to the history of hunting enclosures on a national scale since 1867, when E. P. Shirley published his classic *English Medieval Deer Parks*. This is surprising since, as we have seen, there is such a profusion of primary material available. However, much has been written on a local level, particularly in the volumes of the *Victoria County History*, usually as part of the section on manorial history. Inevitably, perhaps, the coverage is very uneven as some counties like Norfolk and Devon have had only one or two introductory volumes devoted to them, while for others there are only early editions, dating mainly from the early years of the century. An increasing number of detailed articles have been written on individual counties, in county historical and archaeological journals, giving a representative sample of the country as a whole. The Midlands is best covered with works on Staffordshire, Leicestershire, Northants and Buckinghamshire; Dorset has received exhaustive coverage, and the authors of this article are currently working on Berkshire.⁴⁶

Professor W. G. Hoskins’ seminal book, *The Making of the English Landscape* (1955), has stimulated much interest and work on the history of landscape. So far over a dozen counties have been covered in this series, and some of them include useful comments on parks, especially

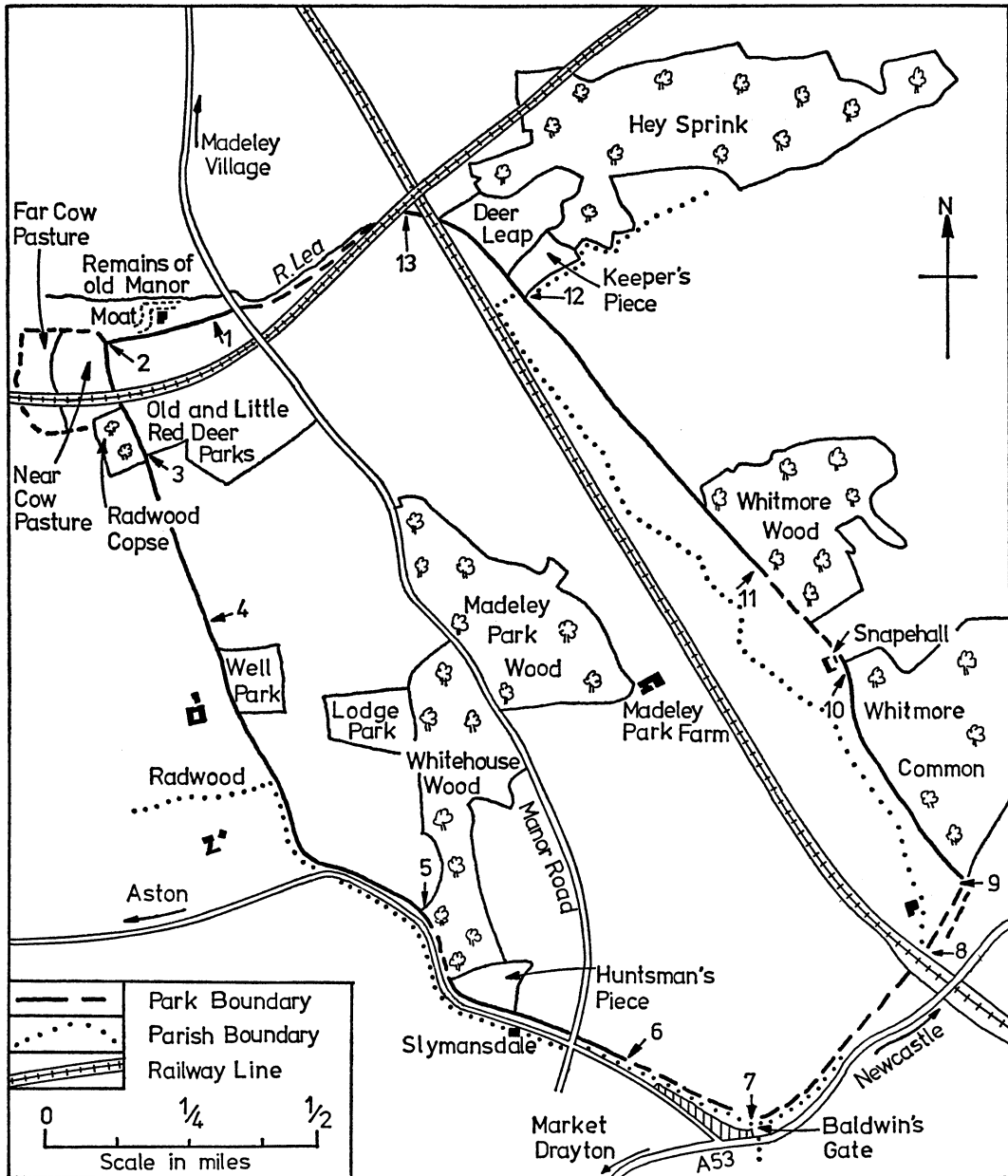


Fig. 3.—Madeley Great Park, Staffordshire (reproduced by permission of the editor, *N. Staffs. Field Journal*). This figure illustrates the use of documentary and topographical evidence to reconstruct the boundaries of a medieval park. Most of the field names such as “Old” and “Little Red Deer Parks” and “Lodge Park” are obtained from the Victorian tithe map of the parish, though one or two names like “Madeley Park Wood” and “Madeley Park Farm” are still in use today. The modern place name “Baldwin’s Gate” at the southern end of the park probably commemorates the name of William Baldwin, described as “parker of Madeley” in a record of 1293. Topographical evidence in the form of an earth bank is represented by the continuous black line.

in counties like Sussex and Hertfordshire where they have been particularly important. Many more counties remain to be covered and, hopefully, these accounts will devote more attention to medieval parks. The relationship between documentary research and fieldwork has been explained both by O. G. S. Crawford in his *Archaeology in the Field* (1953) and by M. W. Beresford in *History on the Ground*, (1971) both of which contain valuable sections on parks, and Christopher Taylor's *Fieldwork in Medieval Archaeology* (1974) has helped to bring the subject up-to-date. Finally, Oliver Rackham has devoted a chapter to the botanical aspect of parks in his *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape* (1976), to add a further aspect to the study. Clearly, there is considerable scope for an up-to-date and systematic book on medieval parks to co-ordinate and relate the growing volume of material that is now available to us.

THE PLACE OF THE PARK IN THE MODERN LANDSCAPE

Many former medieval parks can still be traced in the modern landscape, even after centuries of disuse, so that observers with some knowledge of terrain will have little difficulty in reconstructing at least a part of the park boundary, either on the ground or on large-scale Ordnance Survey maps. For example, the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments volume on Northeast Northants has done this for more than a dozen parks and can be consulted by those who wish to carry out their own fieldwork. As a guide to mapping medieval parks, several clues can be looked for: firstly, there are names on tithe maps or modern maps like "Park Wood" or "Lodge Farm" or field names on estate maps; secondly, curving hedge lines marking the line of former park boundaries often stand out from an otherwise regular pattern of field hedges; thirdly, earth banks, the remnants of former park boundary banks, have often survived, especially in woods. More especially, an almost certain guide is the occurrence of several of these features on a single site. From these, the boundary of the park can be reconstructed and some idea of the area can be obtained. Unfortunately, in recent years, farmers have destroyed many hedges in order to create large fields, but to some extent this problem can be overcome by using the parish tithe maps of the 1840s or pre-war large-scale maps. Fieldwork is likely to be particularly fruitful in rural areas which have suffered least from urban pressure or those in pastoral regions where hedges still serve a practical purpose: parts of Dorset and North Staffordshire provide good examples of such regions. In some cases, documentary evidence and topographical remains exist on a sufficient scale to make possible the detailed reconstruction of a medieval park; Madeley Great Park (Fig. 3) illustrates how such a variety of material can be brought together.

The survival of park features depends very much on the use to which the land has been put since disparkment. Initially, boundary banks were too substantial to be destroyed by the farmer who worked the former park; however, centuries of ploughing and erosion will undoubtedly lower the remaining earthbanks. Inevitably, many parks have had all traces obliterated, especially where urban development has caused them to disappear under bricks and mortar, as at Lambeth and Harringay in London and Handsworth and Harborne in Birmingham. Park boundaries were often adapted for farming purposes since they could effectively prevent cattle from straying and the woodland part of the deer park was often destroyed to provide more room for agriculture. Consequently, after centuries of disuse, names and various physical features survive and the subsequent farm might even be called "Park" or "Park Farm". In this way, the "park" may continue as a place name and appear in documents long after disparkment; a good example is "Cippenham Park" in Buckinghamshire which was so described in a glebe terrier of the late 1630s, long after the medieval park had probably disappeared.

Fieldworkers have increasingly come to recognize the value of botanical evidence, especially in former parks which might retain parts of their very old woodlands. Old hedges, associated with park and other boundaries, will often be found to contain many different scrub species, while old woods contain a large number of plants, of which bluebell and dog's mercury are the best known. The site of Remenham Park, Berkshire, for example, gives some idea of the combination of features to be looked for. The site of the park lies in a loop of the River

Thames, across the river from the town of Henley-on-Thames, and contains over 80 acres of woodland, known as "Remenham Park Wood". Within the woodland, dog's mercury and bluebells, indicators of considerable age, grow in profusion. Nearby, are arable fields called "Park Piece", "Park Several" and "Parkwood" and just outside the park boundary is "Parkplace Farm".

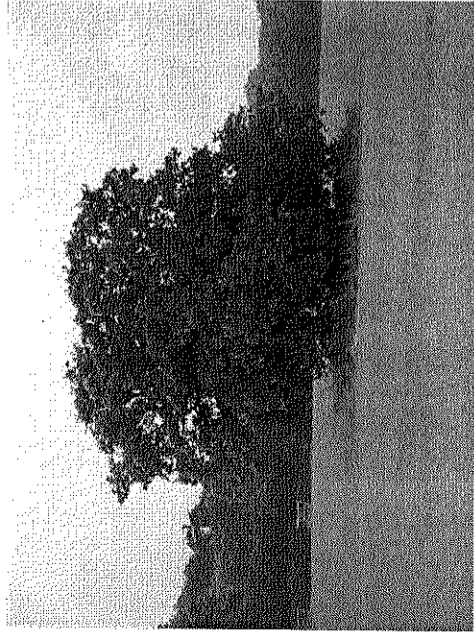
Thus, in Berkshire, in Madeley in Staffordshire, and indeed all over the country, the landscape offers even more potential to the researcher than the documentary material, and local groups, especially in districts which contain many parks, will find this a rich field for investigation.

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Appendix AC 11

Extract from Fletcher, J 'The Rise of British deer parks: their raison d'être in a global and historical perspective' in Rotherham, I.D (ed) 2007 *The History, Ecology and Archaeology of Medieval Parks and Parklands, Landscape, Archaeology and Ecology Volume 6* (Sheffield Hallam University)



Salcey. Veteran tree condition enhanced by arable reversion (© Julian Key, Natural England)

Salcey Lawn, an original open area within the medieval Salcey Forest, has a Countryside Stewardship Scheme agreement which is helping to restore the medieval aspects of the Lawn by grant aiding reversion from arable of the Lawn area and providing fencing and water - necessary for grazing this reverted area.

The medieval bank and ditch surrounding Borringdon Park, once a medieval deer park, has become overgrown with scrub and in places requires restoration of the bank and its stone-facing (which is possibly a later development). Grant aid through Higher Level Stewardship is helping to enhance the condition of this fantastic earthwork to ensure its survival into the future.

Natural England also works with land owners to ensure appropriate management of medieval parks that are Sites of Special Scientific Interest. It also directly manages at least one medieval park - that at Moccas in Herefordshire which is a National Nature Reserve.

The rise of British deer parks: their raison d'être in a global and historical perspective

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Introduction

This paper investigates the origins of medieval deer parks in Britain, and asks whether Britain was unique in possessing deer parks, why they were so numerous, what they were for and how they were used. In order to answer these questions I have tried to place them within an international context and a historical continuum. Finally, I have briefly attempted to compare the Scottish with the English deer parks.

How many parks were there in medieval Britain?

Estimates that between 1,000 and 3,200 English medieval deer parks existed when the human population was only around four million indicate an astonishing figure of one deer park for every one to two thousand people (Bazeley, 1921; Cantor, 1982; Thirsk, 1997; Rackham, 2001). This massive commitment of resources to the construction of parks must reflect medieval priorities.

So why were they built?

Some historians have likened deer parks to the modern deer farm thus implying a utilitarian purpose, (Birrell, 1992; Rackham, 2001) but medieval parks cannot easily be justified solely by the nutritional value of the venison produced.

We can estimate the amount of venison a medieval deer park might have been able to produce. Putman and Langbein (Putman, 2003) found that existing English and Welsh deer parks had a winter stocking density of up to eight fallow deer per hectare. We can estimate the amount of venison a medieval deer park might have been able to produce. Putman and Langbein (Putman, 2003) found that existing English and Welsh deer parks had a winter

stocking density of up to eight fallow deer per hectare. We can take a figure of three adult fallow does per hectare (1.5 per acre) for a park in which venison production is a priority.

Assuming all deer are killed as yearlings and the number of males retained for breeding is only one per twenty females, then with a fawning percentage of 80%, and accounting for replacement breeding females and 3%

mortality, it might be possible to take annually about 200 yearlings from 100 hectares. This theoretical value is almost one yearling per acre. My guess is that if the park were to be hunted in a relatively unselective way with no control of unproductive females and with more males than would be actually required to cover the does then a park would be doing well to achieve even half of that figure. Thus, a park in which the deer had access to 200 acres of reasonable quality grazing might yield around 80 venison carcasses per annum of a weight of 40-50 kilograms which when eviscerated, skinned and jointed might yield 20 kilograms of meat thus providing 1.6 tonnes of meat per 200 acres. If we imagine a household of fifty consuming half a kilogram of meat per head per day the venison from a 200-acre park, this would only last two months. But if the venison was restricted to the high table and reserved for celebrations as Dyer (1983) has suggested from his studies of medieval household accounts it could last the year round. Birrell (2006)

provides valuable indications of the annual consumption of various classes of household from around 200 for the Earls of Lancaster to fifty for a Bishop in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The numbers would be halved if the deer were red though the yield would be similar.

My figures are highly simplified. The herd structure would dramatically alter the venison off-take since males are unproductive but are

likely to be retained in higher numbers than is justified for breeding since the prestige of hunting clearly rated males higher than females. The age at which the deer were killed, the level of winter-feeding, the quality of the grazing, the extent of woodland, the loss of grazing to cattle, sheep, etc, would all have a significant impact on the productivity of a park.

Jean Birrell (2006) has recently tried to quantify the numbers of deer in parks and estimated their yield. The various records she cites indicate around 500 deer per 1,000 acres of parkland that may be broadly in accord with my calculations. We must remember however that a count may or may not include fawns depending on the time of year. Counts may have been made after the hunting season or before it; some counts may have simply recorded adult females. Do the estimates refer to red or fallow? Each one of these factors could independently make a difference of up to 100%.

Like the venison, the ability to yield timber in the parks must have been hugely valued. Rackham (2001) cites a case where, in 1274, timber oaks from one English park were valued at six times that of trees from the neighbouring forest. In the Mediterranean, as wild woodlands became depleted, the parks became preserves in which timber could be husbanded so that for Roman authors like Strabo and Procopius a 'paradeisos' became a synonym for a timber reserve (Allsen, 2006). Nevertheless, it seems impossible that timber could justify the establishment of a deer park in medieval England.

If we cautiously discard the prosaic material production of meat, wood and timber as the chief *raison d'être* then we must look elsewhere. There now seems to be a broad consensus amongst historians that the parks were medieval embellishments to the noble estate existing to enhance prestige by providing ready access to hunting and the provision of a meat of the very highest status as a gift commodity. Like the North American potlatch feasts, conspicuous display of expenditure-enhanced prestige in proportion to the size of

the investment and even, it has been suggested, in inverse proportion to its utility. Clearly if this analysis is correct, the pursuit of hunting, and especially the quarry and even the meat must have had cultural significance to a degree that it is very difficult for us now to comprehend.

Accessible works by Cummins (1988) and Almond (2003) have helped the modern reader to grasp the practice and the ritual of medieval European hunting whilst others (Thiebaux, 1974; Bath, 1992; Makkay, 2006) have described the iconic status of the quarry, deer, and the hunt and their role in myth, and religious and literary symbolism, in courtly love and in iconography. The philosophical importance of hunting has been much discussed, for example: Scruton (1998), Ortega y Gasset (1942). As a veterinarian working with deer I would like to speculate from a biological perspective why hunting has such a very deep-seated place in the human psyche.

In the early part of the last century, Darwinism and its implications finally achieved widespread acceptance, and with this came the proposal that hunting by humans might have an 'instinctive' basis. Notions of the 'killer ape' and 'man the hunter' were aired by Washburn and Lancaster (1968) but soon rebutted because of the central role they gave to man and the subsidiary role of the female (Tanner and Zihlmann, 1976). Subsequent analysis has corrected that simplistic approach and the role of hunting in human evolution has been rehabilitated (Stanford, 1999). The concept still arouses passion. As late as 1993, Cartmill, in a swingeing critique of hunting, dismissed any evolutionary explanation as '*primitivist fantasy*' but the only argument that he could bring to bear was the obscure ground that historically hunting has been formalised and surrounded with ritual but that it is now an '*informal business*' (Cartmill, 1993). Even so the hunting of deer within North America remains colossal: '*one of every three Wisconsin males over the age of 12 hunts deer*' (Nelson, 1997).

With the growing realisation that chimpanzees, our closest non-human relatives, sharing more than 98% of our genetic material,

are not the peace loving vegetarians we once thought but regularly hunt *Colobus* monkeys, the debate has been re-opened (Stanford, 1999). Hunting monkeys consumes more calories than it provides but the flesh of the quarry is so much esteemed, every last morsel being rapidly consumed, that the successful hunter can use it to gain access to oestrous females and socially manipulate its peers using what have been described as Machiavellian strategies (Stanford, 1999). Therefore, it has been suggested quite plausibly, that hunting may have had a key role in the development of social structure and hierarchy in primates and even in early hominids.

The weight of current scientific thinking also seems to favour the theory that the ingestion of animal protein, whether derived from scavenging or from hunting, was essential for the evolution of human cranial capacity. In any case, it is clear that hunting played a crucial part in sustaining our ancestors from the appearance of the first hominids perhaps two million years ago until the advent of domestication and after. '*Over much of the continent human groups exploited deer populations consecutively for 5000 years or more. Indeed over large areas of southern Europe, the relationship lasted more in the region of 50,000 years.*' (Jarman, 1972).

Early human hunting strategies

We know little of how hunting was organised in prehistory although there is an abundance of arrowheads, lance tips, throwing spears etc to indicate the ways animals were killed. To be effective hunting people must attempt to think themselves into the persona of their prey. Our knowledge of modern hunting societies demonstrates the importance of hunting in the evolution of belief systems and religion (Vitebsky, 2005). If royalty was later to espouse successful hunting as a means of impressing its subjects then conversely we may imagine that in less complex societies the successful hunter would, like the chimp, accumulate prestige and acquire leadership.

There is evidence that deer may have been tamed to bring them into easy bowshot, by the feeding of browse (Jarman, 1972; Simmons and Dimbleby, 1974; Tudge, 1998) Such a process would conform to the second of the three stages: predation - protection - domestication, proposed by Harris (1996) as typifying the evolution of human-animal relationships. We know that in the seventeenth century, browse was regularly fed to deer in the New Forest to bring them into enclosures and within easy range for killing (Fiennes, 1696; Fletcher, 2003). A similar strategy could have been used by Neolithic hunters to select animals for slaughter. This would also permit Neolithic societies to maintain contact with groups of deer in the late winter when they are at their most hungry and when they cast their valuable antlers. This could explain how such large numbers of antlers (as for example, were used as picks in the Neolithic flint mines at Grimes Graves), might have been collected in what was a wooded habitat. This has long been a puzzle (Clutton-Brock, 1984; Ramseyer, 2005). By feeding the deer browse on a regular basis as antler casting approached, their foraging movements could be restricted allowing much easier collection of the antlers. One further refinement would have been to contain the deer for those few weeks in a precursor to the park. In the early spring when the stags' aggression is at its nadir such an enclosure would have been eminently feasible.

It may seem over speculative to suggest that deer were managed like this in prehistory but we know that fallow deer were shipped in the early Neolithic to Mediterranean islands (Massetti, 1996, 2002, 2006).

Hunting in the historical era

The earliest accounts from a large variety of cultures indicate the importance of hunting as a means of conferring prestige on royalty. Ashurbanipal King of the Assyrians in about 2650 BP had his hunting exploits depicted on the reliefs of his palace walls (Anderson, 1985). In having game turned out for him to kill in front of his subjects, he was merely repeating history. Some of the parks of the Egyptians

were used in this way, such as that depicted in the Fifth Dynasty (cc 4400 BP) wall painting at Abusir in which the monarch is firing arrows into a corral of animals collected by a ring hunt (Houlihan, 1996).

However, in most of Asia, royal hunts from the earliest accounts entailed the 'ring-hunt'. With local variants dictated by the topography and climate, the ring-hunt or drive involved a very large number of beaters, usually including the army, assisted by a *corvée* of retainers and a number of professional court huntsmen. The size of these forces is often assumed by historians to have been exaggerated for reasons of prestige or literary impact. However, we have enough well documented eyewitness accounts to make it clear that tens of thousands of beaters were regularly employed (Allsen, 2006). The beaters would spend many days and often weeks moving game forward slowly by day and lighting fires and sleeping in lines by night, until the animals were contained within a limited space.

Refinements such as ropes with feathers or pieces of felt attached at intervals were used to extend the distances between beaters. In later hunts that were more sophisticated the game would be finally contained within a portable park of quickly erected canvas. Occasionally these enclosures were even compartmentalised.

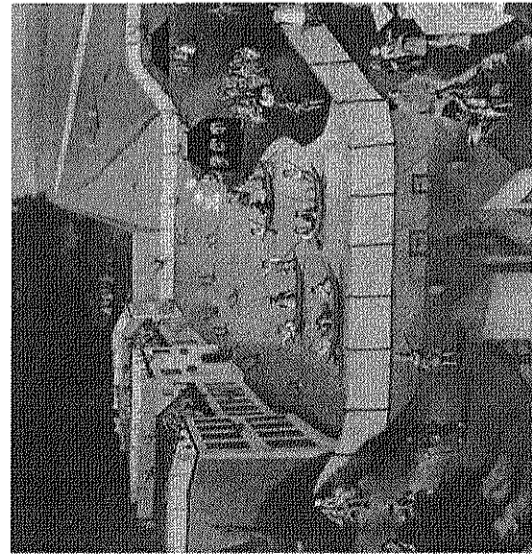


Figure 1: 18th century German set piece hunt

Eventually the ruler and his guests would enter the ring, usually on horseback and with bows and arrows, and start a systematic slaughter of the great variety of game that might last several days.

In the ultimate development of the ring-hunt as practised in seventeenth and eighteenth century German states, the game would be driven into a canvas enclosure containing something like a stage set. The terrified creatures would be made to emerge from a wooden building and plunge into water often from a substantial height. The king and his guests, often comfortably ensconced in a *pastiche* of the Bucentaur of Venice, armed with firearms, whence they could shoot the poor animals to musical accompaniment. Gluck was even commissioned to write pieces for such set piece hunts (Ergert, 1997). (Figure 1)

In medieval Western Europe, less labour intensive yet equally ritualised chases were practised as described in the hunting manual of Gaston Phoebus, Count of Foix and his successors (Cummins, 1988). Two basic forms were practised: the *par force de chiens* hunt involving the sophisticated use of hounds to pursue a single deer till it stood at bay, and the 'bow and stable' hunting in which deer were drifted slowly towards archers (Cummins, 1988; Almond, 2003). Unlike the ring-hunt where the actual killing could only be undertaken at infrequent intervals after a long preliminary, these systems of hunting allowed daily practice of martial arts for the nobility and many monarchs did indeed hunt daily for months at a time (Anderson, 1985; Cummins, 1988). As Phoebus emphasises, following the classical authors, hunting was very good for the young man in getting him out of bed in the morning and preventing his mind turning to lechery. All these hunts served to enhance royal prestige and keep the nobles fit for knightly service but the ring-hunts in Asia also had the purpose of keeping the entire army under active service and entertained together with all the baggage trains and food. They also enforced discipline since beaters allowing game to break back were often severely punished.

The Mongols with their nomadic origins in the Steppes were amongst the most avid ring-hunters and Ogodei, successor to his father, Chinggis Qan, constructed a park in Central Mongolia of clay and wood walls in the early thirteenth century. Described as being 'two days in length' the game was driven into it and hunted by the qaghan who then retired to let his nobles take their turn while he watched from a hill. His brother Chaghadai was so impressed he built a similar park in Turkestan (Allsen, 2006).

It is easy to imagine that the climax of the ring-hunt might be the precursor of the deer park, the temporary structure at the end of the drive evolving into something more permanent into which game could be driven in anticipation of the royal visit. Although that was certainly not the basis for the Persian paradises, I wish to draw on this parallel because it seems to me that some of the Scottish parks which Christopher Dingwall and I have been investigating may have been designed with this in mind. The Gaelic word *elrick* is known to have described a narrow defile or enclosure into which deer could be driven and ambushed. Some remain, including a putative one on the Isle of Rum built of stone (Love, 1987; Ansell, 2006). Deer drives by hundreds of beaters, known in Gaelic as the *tincheil*, into an elrick are common features of early Gaelic poetry and were practised into the modern period (Gilbert, 1979; Whitehead, 1980). Perhaps Scotland was unusual in Western Europe in having deer drives. Elricks or other types of enclosure into which game could be driven are found in many parts of the world. A remarkable feature remaining in the Syrian Desert, are the Neolithic 'kites' into which herds of migrating gazelle were driven for killing (Ergert, 1997).

Parks stocked with game rather than mere recipients of drives also have a long history. Neo-Babylonian texts mention several parks, the earliest being from the reign of Cyrus the Great (r.549-530) which refer to a *par-de-su* near Sippar, and Diodorus credits Semiramis, Queen of Babylon with constructing hunting parks and suggests that the practice was then taken up by the Syrians and Persians (Allsen,

2006). Famously, Xenophon in about 400 B.C.E. describes at first hand the 'palace and large park (*paradeisos*) full of wild animals' in which Cyrus the Younger 'used to hunt on horseback whenever he wished to give himself and his horses exercise.' (Anderson, 1985; Allsen, 2006). Nor were the parks the prerogative of royalty: Xenophon describes Cyrus the Great, after conquering Mesopotamia, instructing his officials to build parks and stock them with wild animals (Allsen, 2006).

Paradises were also well established in India, where Latin authors described them as grander than those in Iran. The Buddha preached his first sermon in what was reputed to have been a deer park and parks were numerous in the Mughal era (Allsen, 2006). Godfrey Mundy in his description of India in the early nineteenth century describes both Hindu and Muslim deer parks. The history of hunting parks in China is not dissimilar to that of the Middle East. The Chinese historian Mencius writing 2300 years BP recounts that King Wen the father of King Wu who founded the Zhou dynasty around 3122 BP had a hunting park seventy Chinese miles square (Schafer, 1968; Allsen, 2006).

The Persian, Chinese, and Indian parks were broadly similar: they were paradises in which gardens, water, and a great variety of wildlife were somehow integrated. Within them, the rulers were expected to perform rites such as ceremonial ploughing associated with cultivation and domestication, as well as hunting. Moreover, the parks were also repositories of plants and animals collected from the most distant regions; fruit trees and orchards abounded in the parks of both. Thus the Pere David deer (*Elaphurus davidianus*) existed in the parks of China long after its extinction in the wild and with the destruction of the Chinese parks in the nineteenth century its survival became entirely dependant on the Duke of Bedford's park at Woburn. The Roman parks described by Varro and later by Columella seem to have been designed more simply as hunting parks.

In Achaemenid Iran, the *paradeisos* became in Allsen's words 'a key institution' and he describes how the Achaemenid concept of hunting parks was taken up by their Armenian subjects and successive dynasties from at least 200 B.C.E. until about 350 A.D., each ruler constructing a new park to stamp his identity. From the Achaemenids the custom passed to the Sassanids whose parks are described by Theophrastus. The Arabs subsumed the tradition of park building when they occupied Mesopotamia and Iran in the seventh century describing them in Arabic hunting manuals and chronicles (Allsen, 2006). Even as late as the Safavids (1501-1732) hunting parks were still visible in Iran and the 'Park of A Thousand Acres' in Isfahan was described by several European travellers (Allsen, 2006).

As the Arabic culture absorbed the concept of hunting parks so, when the Normans conquered Arabic Sicily, they in turn seem to have adopted deer parks. Norman Sicily and Southern Italy conquered in the 1050s were by 'the middle of the twelfth century, the richest and strongest in Western Europe' and they seem to have retained close communications with their Norman relatives in England as Richard I 'acted as if he was master of Sicily' (Petit-Dutaillis, 1936). In Sicily, the Normans found no red deer but wild roe and, within the parks, fallow, and they carried both the notion of hunting parks and the fallow north to Britain and Ireland.

Venison

So far, we have looked at the development of hunting and I have tentatively proposed that man has evolved a need to hunt. Now I argue, equally tentatively, that prolonged exposure to game meat has made venison a cultural icon. In addition, for the same reasons, I suggest that game with its low fat, high iron content, etc., is the meat to which we are physiologically best adapted.

The consummation of the hunt is the kill and the division of the spoils. As meat-eating chimpanzees value their quarry to what seems a far greater degree than its nutritional content would seem to justify, and award pieces to

and 'a venison pasty which proved a pasty of salted pork' on 17th October 1661 (Fletcher, 2004a).

It is often said that venison could not be legally sold in medieval England and there does seem to have been an unwritten code against selling venison that guided the gentry. However, in her analysis of poaching amongst medieval peasants, Birrell (1996) found very many instances of venison being sold and she suggests that many poachers may have poached with a view to sale. It seems likely the trade was significant.

In the context of parks, it has often been misunderstood how deer, together with rabbits were for many centuries legally quite distinct from game. This is why the laws controlling the meat of deer were also quite different from those concerned with game. The reasoning behind the distinction is that both deer and rabbits were normally deemed to be enclosed, a concept that we today find hard to understand when wild deer and rabbits are so numerous as to threaten many habitats. Deer were, by Forest Law, all royal property unless in a chase or a park when the landowner (who had been permitted to create those chases and parks) possessed them. Likewise rabbits which had been only introduced in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, and had since then been kept in warrens belonged to the landowner who had the license of free warren (Munsche, 1981). From 1603 to 1827, the sale of both game and venison was made illegal and a fine of forty shillings per deer was imposed for selling venison (Munsche, 1981). The effect was merely to force sales underground and create an organised black market. It is interesting that it is still a felony to sell wild venison throughout North America.

European parks and hays

A poem ascribed to Einhard describes Charlemagne as having a park 'Not far from the peerless town are a wood and a pleasant lawn, holding in their midst a verdant glade, its meadows fresh from the streams, and encircled by many walls' in which he went hunting '...as he loved to do, and give chase to the wild

beasts with dogs and whistling arrows, laying low multitudes of antlered stags beneath the black trees' (Allsen, 2006). Therefore, we can see that the emperor had a walled park but the evidence for numerous baronial parks in mainland Europe seems to be missing. Within Europe, with the exception of Britain, parks were never as numerous as in the Near East. Although they were essential royal prerequisites, with the exception of Britain they did not seem to extend to nobles. In Britain, the baronial parks were, together with those belonging to the church, much more numerous than the royal parks even though Elizabeth I is said to have inherited 200 deer parks.

Such early parks as there were seem to have been associated with the word *hage* or *haia* throughout much of Western Europe. In Britain, the 'hays' appear to have been precursors to deer parks (Liddiard, 2003) but that progression from hay to park does not seem to have taken place on mainland Europe to the same extent.

Within northern Europe, much discussion has centred over the *haga* word in its various forms: *haia*, *hay*, *haga*, *derhaga*, etc. Vera (2000) and Rackham (1980) have pointed out that in order for coppices to survive browsing, animals need to be excluded and cite convex banks and hedges as fulfilling this function. It is clear that for wood pasture to survive, coppiced trees required protection for several years: they were normally cut on at least a six-year rotation. This underwood of briars, hawthorn, blackthorn, and other 'scrub' that protected the coppices was known as 'hag' - an impenetrable barrier. We can still see in many parts of central Europe woodlands containing coppice protected from deer by interlaced wooden fences. Trees protected from grazing by 'hag' or mantle and fringe vegetation as it is often known may grow to cast sufficient shade as to kill the 'hag' and produce an area of wood-pasture. Where a number of patches of 'hag' run together they may surround areas of wood-pasture to create a grove. The driving of deer into such a grove is suggested by Vera as a means of hunting.

In its original Anglo-Saxon, 'haga' or 'hege' had a great variety of meanings but common to each seems to have been the sense of an impenetrable barrier. Later, 'haye' or 'hage' is often seen in medieval English literature and much discussion has been directed at interpreting its exact meaning. 'Hedge', like the French 'haie', clearly has the same origin and the word 'hage' also came to have the meaning of a net as might be used for trapping deer etc. It can even mean a line of people as might be used in a drive of deer.

Derhagen was used in mainland Europe to denote a hage or enclosure for deer and Hooke (1998) points out that the words 'wulfhagan' and 'swinhagan' also exist indicating that such systems of hunting, i.e. encouraging animals into the grove surrounded by a hage, were also applied to wolves and wild boar. It is but a short step from the use of a hage, i.e. the impenetrable barrier of the mantle and fringe vegetation around the edges of a grove and the making good of gaps in it by planting thorn, to the eventual excavation of a ditch to create a bank upon which the thorn could be planted. At some point, cleft oak palings supplanted the thorn.

Pre-Norman charters are cited by Rackham as mentioning hage in connexion with the capture of deer. This may have occurred, as Vera suggests, with deer chased by mounted huntsman through the surrounding hage and into the grove. It is also simple to conceive how gaps in hedges could be covered with nets into which deer could be driven. Like us, animals are creatures of habit and will, with confidence, run in the direction in which they have been accustomed to run. When I see deer hesitating as they run through an unfamiliar gate it occurs to me that they have an inbuilt reluctance to run through such a narrow space acquired through thousands of years of being killed or trapped as they do just that. Medieval pictures depicting the netting of deer and other game as they pass through gaps in hedges are common and the extension of the word 'hage' or 'haye' to include a net or cover is easy to understand.

Eventually it is suggested that the word 'haga' became effectively synonymous with the word park but simply pre-dated it. Thus, Vera points out that the Dutch city known as The Hague has a hunting lodge, the Ridderhof, as its oldest building. In the Netherlands, the city is also named s'Gravenhage meaning the 'hage' of the Duke. However, the transition of hays into fully enclosed hunting parks seems much less common on the mainland than in Britain.

It seems now to be generally accepted that, as Robert Liddiard (2003) has stated, 'There can be little doubt that Domesday Book massively under-records the numbers of parks in existence at this time.' The general presumption now seems to be that the many hayes and hage mentioned in Domesday were actually deer parks. Whether they were all in fact fully enclosed parks or were places used for regular catching of deer we do not yet know. It is clear that deer parks proliferated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. An expansion that seems to parallel the introduction of the fallow deer, which, it seems most likely, came to England and Ireland from Sicily (Sykes, 2006).

If the Normans presided over this extraordinary growth in deer parks, why are there not similar developments in Normandy? Why, also, was there not a concomitant pattern of hunting parks elsewhere in Western Europe? I would like to suggest that the reason might have been in the different ways in which the Forests were defined in Norman Britain as compared to the mainland.

In mainland Europe 'forestis' appear from the seventh century when the word is seen in Frankish and Merovingian kings' deeds of donation (Vera, 2000). The *forestis*, a word derived from the Latin 'foris' meaning outside, was what lay outwith the clearly owned and cultivated land. First in Roman law (Codex Justinianus X) and then in Frankish law, any land not clearly owned became royal property. In a *forestis* every tree and every wild animal belonged to the king. William I is considered to have introduced the continental word 'Forest' to England for the first time but his interpretation

of forests in Britain seems to have been subtly different. The Norman forests were tracts of ground with very variable degrees of woodland in which the Forest Law prevailed. Unlike on the mainland, however, the Norman Duke maintained the royal right to all wild animals even on land that did not belong to him. Thus, the crucial difference seems to be that in Britain the king owned all wild animals regardless of on whose property they were. In mainland Europe, outside the 'forestis' the wild animals belonged to the local lord. In addition the English King sometimes declared Forests on someone else's land - thus Rackham (1986): 'The king's habit of keeping deer on other people's land was why Forests were strongly objected to by earls and barons.' Indeed, they were a key part of the complaints against King John in *Magna Carta* and no new Forests were declared after 1215. Although, according to Rackham (1986), William established twenty-one Royal Forests, evidence for Royal hunts by Normans is rare. These Forests were to supply venison and most hunting was done by royal decree to furnish venison (Rackham, 1986).

I have been at pains to explain how powerful was the urge to hunt. It may have been that those lords who had manors on the edge of a forest felt that a park was the only option open to them if they were to be able to continue hunting and have access to venison. For within those baronial parks, in England, forest law was suspended, even if it prevailed in royal parks (Dutaillis Stubbs cited in Gilbert, 1979).

Field historians, from Oliver Rackham in 1980, Leonard Cantor in 1982 and many others, had accepted that the word hage, hege, haia, etc, was related to the managing of deer. Rackham stated in 1986: 'The Anglo-Saxon word *derhage* is ambiguous - it normally means a hedge for keeping deer out or a device for catching them.' Liddiard cites Aelfric's *Colluquy* written in the late tenth century in which deer are described as being driven by dogs into 'hays', which were nets. Della Hooke (1998) has also explained how some hage were several kilometre long banks which could, as she plausibly argues, have been used to direct game. They may have served as traps within

which deer could be captured and presumably usually killed. In Shropshire, Hooke tells us some hays were used specifically for capturing roe deer. This is interesting to me since roe are notoriously difficult to keep within enclosures. They are not socially equipped to form large groups because they are adapted to selectively browsing and not consuming an entirely grass based diet. As a result, they are vulnerable to parasites and can only be kept at very low density in an enclosure. Yet they can be quite easily netted. Those who have worked as biologists with wild roe have often used long nets to catch and mark roe and with good organisation, it is not difficult to catch most of the animals in a section of woodland as no doubt our hunting ancestors knew only too well.

Della Hooke has painstakingly examined pre-Norman Conquest charters and concluded that in England, at the time of Domesday, at least, a hage or haia, plural haiaie, was specifically a deer enclosure. This allowed Liddiard in 2003 to state: 'the status of the hage or haia as a deer enclosure is not in any doubt.' He has gone on to look at the listing of deer parks in the Domesday Book in detail. Noting how those parks that are listed in Domesday are all ones belonging to the highest in the land: nine, possibly eleven, of the thirty-seven belonged to the king, five to bishops or monastic houses. Interestingly, although we often imagine these early parks to have been placed away from the castle, Liddiard lists many that were close by. In addition, many are listed together with neighbouring vineyards, fishponds and mills, and may have constituted medieval ornamental landscapes (Taylor, 2000).

Scottish Parks

Both royal and baronial deer parks are recorded in Scotland from the early twelfth century and Gilbert (1979) compiled an indication of how they were managed. This was largely from the Treasurer's Accounts and the Exchequer Rolls. Gilbert also investigated the legal status of Scottish medieval parks: although baronial parks could be created without royal grant they were, according to Gilbert, not 'supposed to

stock their parks by driving deer into them'. Certainly, the deer within them, then as now, remained the property of the park's owner but once outside the park, they were *res nullius*, i.e. belonged to nobody. The role of the parker was therefore crucial. When Bannatyne, the park keeper at Falkland in 1468-9, failed to do his job his pay was withheld. The park pales were constructed in the same way as in England but in the mid fifteenth century seal of George Douglas, fourth earl of Angus, the pale is represented as of wattle. (Figure 2) According to Gilbert, fallow deer first appear in 1288x1290 when hay was bought for does in Stirling. In 1479-80, two cows were bought to provide milk for deer calves and by 1504, oats were being fed to the deer in the royal park at Falkland.

Gilbert refers to entries in the Treasurers' Accounts between 1502 and 1508 in which John Balfour used hounds to drive deer, presumably red deer, from the adjacent Lomond Hills towards the park where a 'hay yard' had been prepared for their capture by 'wynding' it. Gilbert suggests this was done by making wattle screens as in the Earl of Angus' seal. On another occasion Master Levisay, an Englishman, was responsible for catching deer by using nets to 'draw' them into what Gilbert considers was 'a temporary structure rebuilt from year to year'. Andrew Matheson was charged with building such a structure in 1504 at Falkland and also with supervising the re-



Figure 2: Seal of George Douglas, fourth earl of Angus

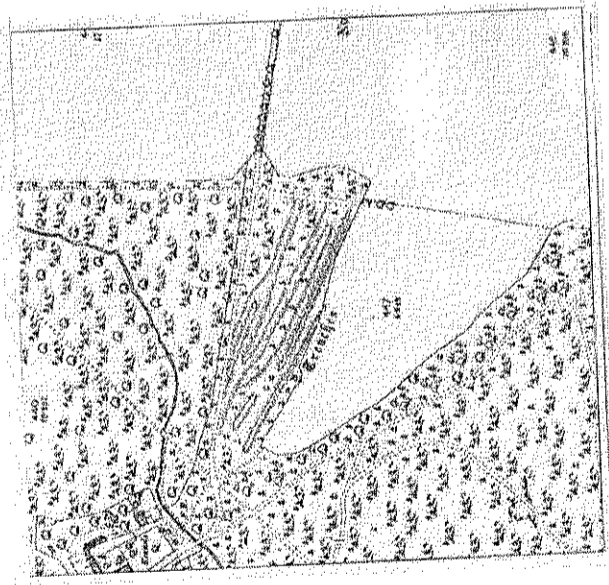


Figure 3: Chancefield trenches

building of Stirling park and this same man was responsible for transporting live deer from Falkland to restock Stirling. We cannot tell whether the deer being caught up in Falkland park were red or fallow as the park held both but the wild deer being caught in the hills were almost certainly red.

There was a regular trade in live deer that were caught in various primary locations such as the island of Little Cumbrac, the Lomond Hills above Falkland, and Torwood near Stirling, and were distributed to other parks by horse drawn litter. Since the journey from Falkland to Stirling took a minimum of three days this was no mean feat. Falkland deer park pale was eventually dismantled by Cromwell's troops as they sought to strengthen the fortifications at Perth: only one small remaining piece of the bank that once carried the pale still exists. However, a series of converging and diverging trenches between the site of the deer park and the Lomond Hills known as the Chancefield Trenches (Figure 3) has for many years puzzled antiquarians. It has now been proposed that perhaps these are the remains of a system by which deer might have been handled. Names of nearby fields, Deer Ends, and Greyhound Den have been noted by Simon Taylor (pers. comm.) and Christopher Dingwall has recently identified a very similar set of trenches adjacent to the site of Parkmill in Ayrshire. This seems to make it probable that

Figure 4: Buzzart Dykes

trenches were used for handling deer and it would be of great interest to know if such systems existed in relation to English deer parks or remain a Scottish idiosyncrasy.

Recent exploration of surviving Scottish deer park pales carried out with Christopher Dingwall at Morton Castle and Buzzart Dykes (Figure 4) together with the description of the Kincardine deer park by Gilbert have identified some features common to each, which may cast light on their use. All three parks are upland parks which is why their pales have not been destroyed by ploughing. As such, they may have been very different from the deer parks that formed a part of the medieval ornamental landscapes described by Taylor (2000). All three incorporate watercourses so that a significant part of each park encloses the catchment area. Although at Morton, the point at which the park pale intersects the incoming stream has been flooded by a reservoir, at the other two the pale vanishes at this point leaving a gap of one hundred metres or so.

Those familiar with wild red deer know that they have a habit of following a watercourse downhill during the evening, or if pursued, and this raises the possibility that these parks were constructed to permit the capture of deer. Scotland almost certainly carried significant populations of wild deer at a later date than in England, making such capture worthwhile. A temporary structure such as a wattle fence could easily be closed behind the deer to

prevent them breaking back. When deer farming first developed in the 1970s and 1980s in Scotland large numbers of wild breeding hinds were encouraged into fenced enclosures and then easily captured in handling systems and transported to farms.

Conclusion

With a certain amount of license, we can perhaps make a connection between the collaborative hunting expeditions of chimpanzees and the high value which they place on the resulting meat, and the esteem with which hunting is regarded by man throughout history. We can associate the techniques of hunter-gatherers with the massive drives, or ring-hunts, of the early historic period in China and Asia as well as in Scotland, and their evolution to involve more elaborate catching systems that became parks. The prestige associated with hunting is linked to the creation of hunting reserves, parks, and paradises. The paradises of the Persians were subsumed by the Arabic cultures and from Sicily, the Normans probably carried these to Britain, along with the fallow deer.

Thus, to answer the questions posed at the beginning of this tale, we can say that, yes, the parks of Britain are unique in being so numerous. This might perhaps have been associated with the Normans introducing more restrictive forest laws to Britain than those of the mainland Franks. What were the parks for and how were they used? We can say, as many

others have already, that the parks were to display power. And that this may be more easily understood if we can grasp the extraordinarily all-pervasive place which hunting occupied in a great variety of cultures as exemplified by the symbolism and mythology associated with hunting, and also especially with the deer, not only in literature and the visual arts but in religion. Connected with this is the importance of venison, which was hunted not only as food, but as something also imbued with symbolism and prestige. In producing venison, the parks could guarantee that when occasion demanded this could always be put on the table of those whose goodwill was valued. When a park was exhausted, then additional deer could always be brought in through an established supply chain. Finally, although the role of British deer parks was less complex than the great Asian hunting parks, and the paradises of Persia, they had a prosaic value. They provided wood and especially timber, or grazing for horses, or many other practical uses, but crucially they still existed as an ornament and provided a private place of recreation in the full meaning of the word. In so doing, the medieval park gradually evolved into the ecological refuge and the designed landscape that we value today.

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Appendix AC 12

**Extract from La Trobe-Bateman (1996) *Avon Extensive Urban Survey*
Archaeological Assessment Report: Thornbury (Unpublished)**

**AVON EXTENSIVE URBAN SURVEY
ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT REPORT**

THORNBURY

PREPARED BY E. LA TROBE-BATEMAN

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AVON EXTENSIVE URBAN SURVEY ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT REPORT

THORNBURY

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The aims of the report

The Extensive Urban Areas Survey was commissioned by English Heritage in October 1995. Thornbury is one of six areas surveyed within South Gloucestershire.

This document is a desk-based study of the archaeological resource surviving in the town and its immediate environs. It includes an assessment of below ground archaeological remains, standing buildings and the historic plan form of the town. It considers the development of the town within a standard chronological framework and where possible, the site areas mentioned in the text are identified on a modern map base of the town. The maps are contained at the end of this report.

The archaeological assessment report provides the basis for new planning guidance for the historic environment of Thornbury, as set out in the strategy document for South Gloucestershire.

1.2 Major sources of evidence

The main sources of archaeological information for Thornbury are a parish survey, conducted in 1973 (Linton 1973), a topographical survey made by Leech in 1975 and more recently work on medieval Thornbury carried out by Wildgoose (1996; unpublished). There has not been any major excavation in the town, although there was a small rescue excavation in St. Mary Street during the 1970s (SMR 4745; Iles 1982; 56). Several evaluations have been carried out in the town, though none of them have revealed any major archaeological remains: Stafford Crescent (SMR 10381), Saw Mill Lane (SMR 10328), Castle Street (SMR 10571) and Thornbury Castle (SMR 1570).

There are a large number of surviving documents for the town, including an excellent series of manorial court rolls from 1328, preserved at the Staffordshire and Gloucestershire Record Offices (Franklin 1986: 187). Other documentary records include 14th century deeds held in the Fletcher Collection at Birmingham University reference library, Thornbury Town Trust deeds from 1245 to 1900 (Gloucestershire Record Office D108 28), rent rolls, charity records and other deeds held at Gloucestershire Record Office. Some of these records have been the subject of academic study: Franklin has made three studies based on surviving documentary evidence for the town, with specific reference to Thornbury manor (Franklin 1982), malaria (Franklin 1983) and peasant widows (Franklin 1986).

A brief survey of local government records was made by Finberg and Beresford in the 1960s (Finberg 1957: 87; Beresford & Finberg 1973), but national fiscal records and ecclesiastical records have yet to be examined for specific references to the town. Thornbury has not been covered by the Victoria County History.

A series of articles about Thornbury written by a local historian, W.A. Caffall, and published between 1949 and 1953, has recently been edited and reissued by Thornbury Society for Archaeology and Local History (Caffall 1989, 1991, 1992a, 1992b). They cover the period from Domesday to 1800 and have provided a useful source of background

knowledge. Caffall was the archivist with the College of Arms and was able to study the Thornbury manorial archive, which at that time (pre-1940s) was housed in Thornbury Castle; Caffall's presence at the Castle and his work on the archive was instrumental in the formation of the Society of Thornbury Folk Bulletins, since until then nobody in the local area could read, understand or have access to the archive (Hallett personal communication).

The map coverage for the town is good. The earliest map of the parish dates to 1716 and shows the northern part of the parish and town. The Tithe map for the town dates to 1840, the 25 inch Ordnance Survey map dates to 1880 and the 6 inch map to 1895. The Ordnance Survey maps were updated throughout the 20th century. A list of all the maps consulted can be found at the end of the report in section 10.0.

1.3 A brief history of Thornbury

Thornbury town lies about 5 kilometres to the east of the River Severn, and 46 metres (150 feet) above sea level on a flat spur of land which stands under the northern slope of the Severn limestone ridge (Ryder 1966: 164). On both the west and east side of the town lie valleys with small streams flowing towards lower land to the north. Both these streams join drainage rhines to the north of the town, flowing east-west to Oldbury Pill.

The underlying bed of Old Red Sandstone in the Thornbury district gives rise to Bromyard soils whose agricultural value depends partly on their depth and partly on site drainage (n.d. anon South Gloucestershire Sites and Monuments Record parish file item 10). The low-lying area to the north, extending towards the River Severn, consists of alluvium (Linton 1973: 222). The medieval town (the south-eastern part of the modern urban area) lies on a deposit of Dolomitic Conglomerate.

There have been very few prehistoric finds found in the immediate vicinity of the town, although two Bronze Age round barrows and two Iron Age hillforts are located in the parish. Romano-British material found in the town area suggests that the area of the medieval town had been occupied in the early centuries of the first millennium.

The earliest record of Thornbury may be a reference in an agreement of 896 AD, between the Bishop of Worcester and Aethelwold. It concerned encroachments into woodland at Woodchester, including land at a place called *Thornbyrig*. Grundy took *Thornbyrig* to be Thornbury (Grundy 1932: 208), but Finberg has thrown doubt on this assertion; the distance of Thornbury from Woodchester is 24 kilometres and there is no evidence to suggest that it ever belonged to the bishop (Finberg 1961: 50). Wildgoose has also indicated that the agreement is unlikely to refer to Thornbury since none of the places mentioned in the boundary perambulation are locally recognisable (personal communication).

The status of Thornbury in the Anglo-Saxon period is not known, but by 1086 it had a market (Moore 1982). It was one of several markets set up by Queen Matilda, who may have been anxious to increase the value of her property (Aston & Iles 1988: 86). Before 1252 references to Thornbury relate to the Manor of Thornbury which covered a much larger area than the medieval town, including Oldbury, Kington, Morton, Falfield, Milbury Heath and other hamlets (Wildgoose 1996: 1). Thornbury, in all likelihood, owed its being to the proximity of a feudal stronghold (Finberg 1957: 63). Certainly at Domesday the record of salt rights, its the size and value suggest a powerful manor:

'In the Langley Hundred. Brictric son of Algar held *Tvrneberie*. Before 1066 there were 11 hides. 4 ploughs in lordship; 42 villagers and 18 riding men with 21 ploughs; 24 smallholders, 15 slaves and 4 freedmen. 2 mills at 6s 4d; woodland at 1 league

long and 1 wide. A market at 20s. Now the reeve has added a mill at 8d. This manor was Queen Maltilda's. Humphrey pays £50 from it at face value. In this manor a meadow at 40s and at Droitwich 40 sesters of salt or 20d; a fishery in Gloucester at 58d.' (Morris 1982)

Place name evidence has also been used to assert a Saxon date for the settlement: 'Tvrneberie' is derived from the Saxon word 'burh', meaning fortified place and 'þorn' meaning thorns (Smith 1965: 14). Thus, according to Smith, the origin of the town meant 'fortified place amongst or overgrown by thorns' (ibid.). St. Arild's well off Kington Lane has also been attributed to the Saxon period; St. Arild was a Saxon martyred at the neighbouring village of Kington (Michell 1975). The well was situated in the tithing of Kington (Hallett personal communication).

No surviving Saxon features have been identified at Thornbury parish church, but the organisational structure suggests that it may have been a 'superior' church, possibly a minster, in the Saxon period: Oldbury-upon-Severn, Falfield and Rangeworthy all looked to Thornbury as their mother church (Rudder 1779: 758).

Thornbury Hundred (Lower Division) was formed in the 12th century chiefly out of the old Domesday hundred of Langley (including the parishes of Falfield, Oldbury-on-Severn, Rangeworthy, Rockhampton and Thornbury), and partly from that of Bagstone (including Iron Acton and Tytherington). The naming of the hundred after Thornbury in the 12th century indicates that by this date the manor was an important one (Smith 1965: xxii).

The town in its present form was a new borough of the mid 13th century, founded by Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, in 1252. He promised the same liberties and free customs as those enjoyed by the burgesses of Tewkesbury (Finberg 1957: 66). These included the right to bequeath burgages to any one they chose, the right to inherit without payment of death duties, and freedom of toll throughout the lord's domain (ibid.: 73).

The town was at the centre of the medieval Honor of Gloucester and lay within the bounds of Kingswood Forest (Bond n.d.), though the forest had been disafforested in 1228 (Aston & Iles 1988: 117). It served as a market centre for the southern part of the Vale of Berkeley and seems to have had a virtual monopoly within a large hinterland, its nearest rival being Wickwar 9 kilometres to the east (ibid.).

Both Leech and Bond state that the town appears to have been fairly prosperous during the Middle Ages: the Lay Subsidy of 1327 records that the town was rated 70s. 7d., compared with Marshfield and Chipping Sodbury which were required to pay 76s. 10d. and 56s. 2d. respectively (Leech 1975: 21; Bond n.d.). However, the town was assessed as a taxable unit of £5 in 1327, less than the £8-15 bracket given by Finberg to indicate a middling market centre of a district (Finberg 1957: 82).

Documentary research has so far only revealed a very fragmentary picture of the town's fortunes and further research is required to chart the changes in more detail. In 1307 there were 60 burgesses holding 100 burgages, but by 1314 the 60 burgesses held 119 burgages (Caffall 1991: 3); the increase in burgages may be due to growth in the town, but more probably indicates the subdivision of plots as a result of inheritance. The borough rents for the town in 1296 were £6 6s, court pleas totalled 13s 4d and tolls 20s (Beresford & Finberg 1973: 116). The revenue for burgages in 1295 earned by the seigneur was £8 (Beresford 1967: 67).

Interpreting these scattered documentary references without adopting a more detailed approach is a precarious business. In spite of these problems, Wildgoose has studied the documentary sources for the town in some detail and concluded that the number of burgages remained fairly constant until the end of the 19th century (personal communication).

Thornbury came under four distinct legal jurisdictions in the medieval period, each entitled to hold court for the settlement of affairs of the king, the lord and the tenants. These courts belonged to the honor, the hundred, the manor and the borough. The manor court was the last survivor and continued until quite recently. The manor of Thornbury is also a remarkable instance of the continuance of an English estate through successive heirs over about 900 years. It is from records relating to their activities that details may be found of the lives of their tenants, (Caffall 1989: 4).

Work on the manorial court rolls of the 14th century led Franklin to argue that the peasants of Thornbury manor suffered an epidemic in the second quarter of the 14th century, which was very probably malaria, and that malaria was probably endemic in the parish over a long period (Franklin 1983: 111). The marshy areas to the north and west of the town would have been breeding grounds for the disease. Away from this marginal land, most land in the parish was used for grain production and larger tenants must have been heavily involved in production for the market (Franklin 1986: 187).

The choice of Thornbury as the principal seat of the Duke of Buckingham at the end of the 15th century must say something about the prosperity of the town; the construction of the castle in the first two decades of the 16th century certainly had an impact on the town, as did its subsequent abandonment. Rudder states that the town had been in a state of gradual decline since the 16th century (Rudder 1779: 749) and Caffall concludes that it may have reached its peak in the 16th century (Caffall 1992: 1).

According to Perry there is no mention of a cloth trade in the medieval records for the town, and he concludes that it must have possessed few advantages for its manufacture (Perry 1945: 98, 99). However, it is clear from Leland's accounts in the mid-16th century that there was a small concentration of the industry in the town, though much decayed. He describes the town as 'a letter Y havinge first one longe strete and two hornes goyne out of it' and says that 'now idelnes much reynithe there'.

A list of men and armour made in 1608 indicates that the cloth trade generated some income in the town (Smith 1608: 224-225): there were several mercers in the town (these were people who dealt in textile fabrics especially silks, velvets and other costly materials) and a similar number of weavers and tailors to that of Chipping Sodbury.

The leather trade also featured prominently in the list and included tanners, curriers, shoemakers and glovers (ibid.). There is documentary evidence for a tan house in the town during the 16th century: Rudder states that 'Katherine Rippe of Thornbury, by her will, proved in 1594, gave a house there for an almshouse and charged her tan-house there with 3s 4d a year for the reparation of the same almshouse' (Rudder 1779: 760). The tan house is also mentioned in the 1695 Terrier for the town. A total of 19 men worked in the leather trade compared to 24 in Chipping Sodbury, 11 in Marshfield and 2 in Wickwar.

Whilst the list drawn up by Smith must be treated with caution - it included only a proportion of men in the town and excluded all women - it does provide a useful comparative guide. Perhaps the most notable feature of the list is the variety of professions identified in Thornbury - over 30 different occupations were listed

compared to 25 for Chipping Sodbury, 22 in Marshfield and 14 in Wickwar. The inclusion of a soapmaker may have some connection to the street name Soaper's Lane.

By the late 18th century the cloth industry had disappeared entirely (Rudder 1779: 750). No industrial buildings have been identified with the industry to date, though Bond states that several industrial premises await investigation - unfortunately he does not state the location of these premises (Bond n.d.). In the 18th century the main route from Bristol to Gloucester, which had previously passed through the town, was diverted to the east of the town. The road which lies on the same route as the present day A38 was turnpiked, allowing speedier and more comfortable travel. In bypassing the town it contributed to the decline of the town.

In the 18th century Rudder describes the town as consisting:

'of one street of a good breadth ... with two other streets, or rather lanes, of very little account' (Rudder 1779: 750).

Despite Rudder's disparaging tone, the borough court of Thornbury still met every 3 weeks at this time and the 3 other courts were still being held (*ibid.*). By 1883 a single court was meeting only once a year (Finberg 1957: 71n). The courts were held in the Boothall, one of three public buildings identified by Rudder in 1779 (*ibid.*); the other two buildings were the corn market house and the Shambles. The location of the public buildings is not known, though it seems probable that the corn market house refers to the market house in the High Street and the Boothall may have been a room above the market house (Wildgoose personal communication).

Rudder writes that the borough was governed by a mayor and 12 aldermen, though the office of the mayor was little more than nominal (*ibid.*). He states that:

'the market, of which there is very little appearance, is held on Saturday, and there are three yearly fairs for the sale of horned cattle and hogs' (*ibid.*).

The town continued as a market centre in the 19th century, serving the needs of the local farming community, though by 1851 the cattle market was held only once a month in the High Street (Morse 1951: 6). The trade directory for the town describes all the usual grocers, drapers, and butchers shops, but also tinsmiths and soapboilers. By 1844 the railway was within walking distance, when the Gloucester to Bristol line opened (*ibid.*). It was not until 1872 that Thornbury gained a station of its own, when a branch line was built from Yate to Thornbury. Of 306 houses in the town 25 were vacant, and in 1883 the town lost its borough status.

Thornbury remained a local market centre until the 1950s and 60s, when it became a dormitory area for Bristol (Leech 1975: 21). The majority of the new houses grew up on the eastern and northern side of the town, and it was not until the early 1970s that the effect of the burgeoning population was felt on the town centre. Large areas of the town were demolished to make way for St. Mary's Way Precinct and car parking facilities for the United Reform Church. Although much of the medieval core does still survive, development in the town continues to threaten its archaeology.

1.4 Population

1551	700 communicants; 1,155 inhabitants	(Percival 1970: 117)
1562	1,200 inhabitants	(Percival 1970: 117)
1563	200 households	(Percival 1970: 117)
1603	1,705 communicants; 2,728 inhabitants	(Percival 1970: 117)
1650	300 families; 1,350 inhabitants	(Percival 1970: 117)
1676	740 communicants and 92 nonconformists	(Percival 1970: 117)
1712	1,100 inhabitants, 270 houses, 100 freeholders	(Percival 1970: 117; Atkyns 1712: 771)
1779	1,971 inhabitants	(Rudder 1779)
1801	855 inhabitants; 2,692 inhabitants	(Civil Census 1801)
1831	1,500 inhabitants	(Kelly's directory 1842)
1851	1,470 inhabitants	(Thornbury folk booklet 1851)
1861	4, 494 inhabitants in the parish; 1,497 inhabitants in the town	(Kelly's directory 1870)
1871	4, 670 inhabitants in the parish; 1,630 inhabitants in the town	(Kelly's directory 1879)
1881	4, 164 inhabitants in the parish; 3,917 inhabitants in the town	(Kelly's directory 1885)
1891	4, 152 inhabitants in the parish; 3,198 inhabitants in the town	(Kelly's directory 1897)
1901	2,603 inhabitants in the parish; 1,323 inhabitants in the town	(Kelly's directory 1906)
1911	2,646 inhabitants in the parish	(Kelly's directory 1914)
1921	2,493 inhabitants in the parish	(Kelly's directory 1927)
1931	2,645 inhabitants in the parish	(Kelly's directory 1935)

2.0 PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY

2.1 Sources of evidence

- **Field survey work:** Thornbury Archaeological Group parish survey (1973).
- **Archaeological/historical research:** The archaeology of Avon (Aston & Iles 1988).

2.2 Local settlement pattern in the Neolithic and Bronze Age

Very little prehistoric material has been found in the immediate vicinity of the town; flint scatters have been identified in fields to the west and north of Thornbury Castle (SMR 2810; SMR 2812). There is a notable concentration of Bronze Age material about 2 kilometres to the south-west of the town, in what is now Alveston: two Bronze Age round barrows are known to be located several hundred metres apart (SMR 1476; SMR 1463), and two arrow-heads were recovered from fields to the north of the barrows in the 1970s (SMR 4530; Solley 1971). As Hallett has pointed out the pattern of prehistoric material recovered in the area is a product of sampling bias, representing the area constantly walked by the Solley (personal communication).

2.3 Local settlement pattern in the Iron Age 550 BC - AD 47

No Iron Age material has been found in the town itself, but there are two probable Iron Age hillforts on the eastern side of Thornbury: Camp Hill hillfort is about 2 kilometres to the north-east (SMR 1576; SAM 181) and Abbey Camp is about 1 kilometre to the south-east (SMR 1487; SAM 59).

No map has been produced for the Prehistoric period

3.0 ROMANO-BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGY

3.1 Sources of evidence

- **Field survey work:** Thornbury Archaeological Group parish survey (1973); topographic survey of Thornbury (Leech 1975).
- **Archaeological/historical research:** The archaeology of Avon (Aston & Iles 1988).

3.2 Local settlement pattern

The medieval town of Thornbury lay about 2 kilometres from the main Roman road connecting Sea Mills to Gloucester, the route of the present A38, (SMR 1462; Margery 1967: 140; Linton 1973: 226) though Hallett has pointed out that the alignment of the road between Almondsbury and Falfield has not been proven (personal communication).

There is evidence that the medieval town may have been preceded by a Roman settlement of some kind. A substantial amount of Romano-British pottery and a number of coins have been found in the town area indicating occupation beneath the later medieval town in the early centuries of the first millennium. The full extent and nature of this settlement is unclear, and there is no evidence as yet that it represents an urban settlement. Leech states that there may have been continuity of occupation from Roman times, but a detailed excavation programme is required to confirm or refute this assertion (Leech 1975: 22).

Several coins were found off Midland Way to the south of the town area (SMR 1473; SMR 10583) and another coin close to Park Lodge on the northern edge of the town (SMR 1574; Parish survey 1973: record 109). A large amount of pottery was found off Rock Street (SMR 2760; SMR 2762). Several more finds have been identified in the area around the town, including sherds to the south of Marlwood Grange (SMR 1474; Parish survey 1973: record 30/2) and to the west of Watch Oak Lodge (Parish survey 1973: record 136).

3.3 Regional context

Large quantities of Romano-British material have been found at Abbey Camp, found by treasure hunters in 1994-5 (reported by V. Hallett to Russett). An evaluation at Marlwood Farm revealed substantial quantities of Romano-British material when 16 trenches were dug in several fields adjacent to the farm (SMR 3366).

No map has been produced for the Romano-British period

4.0 POST ROMAN AND SAXON ARCHAEOLOGY

4.1 Sources of evidence

- **Field survey work:** Thornbury Archaeological Group parish survey (1973); topographic survey of Thornbury (Leech 1975).
- **Documentary evidence:** Domesday Book 1086 (Morris 1982).
- **Archaeological/historical research:** Unpublished assessment report for the Monuments Protection Programme (Bond n.d.).

4.2 Local settlement pattern [*Map A: 1, 2, 3*]

Although there are no surviving features in St. Mary's Church which date to the Saxon period, the present building probably replaced a Saxon church on the same site (Leech 1975: 22). Aston and Iles have noted that the importance of Saxon churches in Avon is shown more by evidence of organisational structure than by the few surviving architectural features. Daughter churches were gradually founded, creating the parochial system which slowly emerged during the Middle Ages (Aston & Iles 1988: 133). Thus, Oldbury-upon-Severn, Falfield and Rangeworthy looked to Thornbury as their mother church (Rudder 1779: 758). This suggests that the church at Thornbury may have been a 'superior' church in the Saxon period. Given the organisational structure of the church in this area, the survival of a Norman font at Oldbury-upon-Severn can be seen as further evidence for an earlier church at Thornbury. The depiction of the church on *Map A* is based on the area shown on the 1840 Tithe map.

Although the mention of a market at Domesday suggests that there was a Saxon settlement at Thornbury, no archaeological evidence has been recovered which sheds light on its location. As with other Saxon villages, the early nucleus may have been located around the church. Leech suggest that the area was gradually abandoned following the foundation of the new borough a short distance to the south (Leech 1975: 22). In the absence of more detailed information the area of Saxon settlement shown on *Map A* is conjectural, encompassing the small field areas shown on the 1840 Tithe map that were close to the church.

Both Wildgoose and Hallett has pointed out that no early medieval pottery has been found in the vicinity of the church, whereas some sherds have been found in the later medieval town (personal communication). The evaluation at the vicarage has not produced any artefacts or features dated to the Saxon period (SMR 10571). Two major problems limit further investigation in this area: very little development has occurred and it is difficult to accurately date Saxon pottery in this area.

If the Saxon road is assumed to have run through the village along what is now Castle Street, it seems very likely that the market was held outside the gates of the church, in the broad street that passed it. The churchyard area shown on the 1840 Tithe map is further back from the road than today, and suggests that the area had been larger in the preceding centuries. This area has been identified on *Map A*.

5.0 MEDIEVAL ARCHAEOLOGY

5.1 Sources of evidence

- **Below ground intervention:** Rescue excavation at 13 St. Mary Street 1981 (Iles 1982: 56); trial excavations at Thornbury Castle (SMR 1570); evaluation at the vicarage (SMR 10571).
- **Field survey work:** Survey by the Ordnance Survey Archaeology Division (1970); Thornbury Archaeological Group parish survey (Linton 1973); topographic survey of Thornbury (Leech 1975); survey of Thornbury Castle garden (Barnard 1984); survey of Thornbury Castle parks and gardens (Harding & Lambert 1991; 1994); geophysical survey carried out at Thornbury Castle (SMR 1570); report on Thornbury Castle (Rodwell 1995).
- **Standings buildings:** Buildings study (Robinson 1916); study of church and principal buildings (Verey 1970); buildings study (Hall 1983); list of buildings of special architectural or historic interest (DoE 1984).
- **Maps:** Plan analysis of the 1716 estate map, 1840 Tithe map and Ordnance Survey map of 1880.
- **Research into documentary evidence:** Domesday Book 1086 (Morris 1982); Leland's itinerary 1541 (Atkyns 1712; Rudder 1779); examination of place-name evidence from surviving medieval documents (Smith 1965); excellent series of manorial court rolls from 1328, preserved at the Staffordshire and Gloucestershire Record Offices (Franklin 1986); 14th century deeds held in the Fletcher Collection at Birmingham University reference library (not consulted); Thornbury town trust deeds from 1245 to 1900 (Gloucestershire Record Office D108 28), rent rolls, charity records and other deeds held at Gloucestershire Record Office (Caffall 1989, 1991, 1992a, 1992b).
- **Additional archaeological/historical research:** Antiquarian accounts (Atkyns 1712, Rudder 1779, Niblett 1871); study of Thornbury Castle (Hawkyard 1977); the archaeology of Avon (Aston & Iles 1988); unpublished assessment report for the Monuments Protection Programme (Bond n.d.).

5.2 Watercourses, roads and routeways

Watercourses [*Map B*]

Thornbury town sits on a slightly higher area of land and on either side of it lie valleys with small streams flowing towards the Severn to the north-west. Both these streams join streams and rhines to the north of the town, flowing east-west to Oldbury Pill. The topography of the area strongly suggests that the watercourses are likely to have followed a similar path since at least the Holocene.

The watercourses shown on *Map B* are copied from the Ordnance Survey map of 1880, which shows virtually the same watercourses as the 1840 Tithe map; in the absence of an earlier map this is the best approximation of the river before the 19th century. The estate map of 1716 shows the lands to the north of Thornbury Castle, and the watercourses shown on the map can easily be identified with those on the more detailed 19th century maps, indicating continuity from at least the early 18th century.

Water supply [*Map B: 1*]

The streams which surrounded the town were all located a short distance from it, and as a result the location of wells and springs in the vicinity were of great importance to the town. One well known example, Coppins Well, still survives on the west side of the town. According to Hallett the well is now overgrown requires clearing to assess the survival of standing remains (personal communication). It is depicted on *Map B* on the basis of the Ordnance Survey map of 1880.

Canal [Map B: 2]

In addition to the natural watercourses in the area, traces of what is thought to be a 16th century canal have been identified in the parish. According to Leland, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Stafford, began an ambitious scheme to build a canal from Thornbury to the Severn in the first quarter of the 16th century (SMR 1572). However, the canal was never completed because work stopped when the Duke was executed by order of Henry VIII in 1521.

The canal was first observed during the 19th century by Niblett, who recognised it in an area of ground to west of Thornbury Castle outer court called the Pithay, and to the north-east of the town, between the gas works and the workhouse. He described the canal as 42 feet wide at the bottom and 60 feet wide at the top, cutting through very hard Magnesium Conglomerate (Niblett 1871: 6, 7-8).

A recent geophysical survey by the Bath Archaeological Trust (1992a) in the area of the outer court called the Pithay, confirmed the presence of a deep linear feature on either side of the present day culvert. It was approximately 18 metres wide (similar to Niblett's estimate of 60 feet), at least 2 metres deep and had been infilled, mostly in the 1970s. The depiction of the canal on *Map B* is based on the survey maps.

Survey work in 1970 by the Ordnance Survey Archaeology Division identified the second stretch of the canal to the north-east of the town: it formed part of the modern water course close to Thornbury Hospital. A further stretch of stream was also identified as part of the canal close to Oldbury-upon-Severn, 2 kilometres to the north-west of the town (SMR 1563). Neither of these sections of the canal are shown on *Map B*.

Wildgoose has shed doubt on the interpretation of these linear features as the 'canal', pointing out that natural channels are easily cut through the Dolomitic Conglomerate by streams (personal communication). Detailed field study is required to check for the natural formation of channels in the area and documentary research is required to check for references to the canal, particularly in relation to payment for work carried out.

Roads [Map B]

In his study of Thornbury Leech identified the plan form of Thornbury as a case for conjecture - since then work by Wildgoose on the bounds of the medieval manor, borough and town of Thornbury (unpublished) has shed new light on the road network. Detailed documentary study of a tithe terrier of 1695 (Gloucester Record Office D3673/2/4) and ground survey work has enabled him to draw the bounds of both the town and borough in the medieval period. Although the pre-medieval and early medieval plan form is still uncertain, its form by at least the 15th century is now known; it is discussed below in more detail.

Place-name evidence compiled by Smith indicates that The High Street, The Plain, St. Mary Street and Chapel Street were the main roads through the town. The High Street and St. Mary Street appear in documents dating to the medieval period; they are first mentioned in 1418 and 1426 respectively. The High Street originally included the stretch of the road now known as Castle Street, which only assumed this name in the 19th century (Wildgoose personal communication). St. Mary Street is also labelled on the 1840 Tithe map as Back Street, and appears in a document of 1474. *Le Raten Rew* or *Raton Rewe*, meaning 'rat-infested row of houses', appears in two documents dating to 1474 and 1497 and it may be that it refers to what later became known as Rotten Row, now Chapel Street. (Smith 1965: 14)

Other former street names include: *Chepyngstrete* (1432) meaning market street; *Coletstretlane*, *Colwestrete* (1497) or *Colstrete* (1533) probably derived from the Middle English personal name Colet; *Lokaerstret* (1497), which is derived from the Middle English word for a locksmith; *le Nelmestrete* (1474) meaning elm street and *Pacchestret* (1497) probably derived from the early modern English for 'plot of ground'. (Smith 1965: 14)

Bridges [Map B: 3, 4, 5, 6, 7]

On the basis of the roads and probable watercourses identified above, the number of possible crossing points in the town can be assessed. There were no major crossing points within the town area. However, there are likely to have been at least 6 crossing points in the immediate vicinity of the town, with all the main roads into the town crossing at least one watercourse.

The main road from Bristol crossed a stream less than half a kilometre to the south of the town [Map B: 3]. The road which led away from Thornbury Castle to the north-east of the town, along what is now known as Park Road, crossed one stream before meeting another crossing point at Morton Mill [Map B: 4, 5]. St. John Street (previously Back Church Lane) led out of the town to the east and crossed two streams within less than a kilometre of the town [Map B: 6, 7].

None of these crossing points have been checked for evidence of medieval structures and most now lie beneath modern housing development. In the absence of more detailed information, the crossing points have been identified using the Tithe map of 1840 and the Ordnance Survey map of 1880. The site areas are depicted on Map B with a 10 metre radius centred on the point where the road and watercourse cross; the crossing point to the south of the town [Map B: 3] is an exception, marked as a slightly larger area.

5.3 Thornbury town: the commercial core

The medieval walls in Thornbury [Map B: 8-11]

A large number of the walls in Thornbury date to the medieval period (Russett personal communication; Wildgoose personal communication), but no detailed study has been published. Wildgoose has made a preliminary study of the walls in the towns and identified a large number of walls surviving as both boundary walls between burgage plots and as outer walls for the town (Wildgoose unpublished). He also studied the quarries present in the area and concluded that a distinctive coursed rubble of Dolomitic Conglomerate was used in the medieval period; it was bonded by pinkish buff mortar with charcoal inclusions (personal communication). Although many of the walls have been rebuilt or repaired several times, a substantial proportion still retain evidence of their medieval construction. Further work is required to accurately map the medieval walls in the town, since they have the potential to define the bounds of the medieval town. In the absence of more detailed work the outer town walls have not been depicted on Map B; they are shown on the post-medieval map for the town, Map C.

In addition to the outer wall, over a hundred boundary walls between burgage plots have been identified in the town, many of which are at least 2 metres high. According to Wildgoose the burgesses of the town were required to maintain the walls to a common standard (1996: 2). Further documentary work is required to locate specific references to the walls in the medieval period and the walls need surveying individually to check for the survival of medieval foundations. This work should allow a better understanding of their relationship to the outer walls.

The only published example of a medieval wall in the town lies to the north of the historic town area. The wall is located on the west side of Castle Street, bordering the 19th century vicarage (SMR 10571; Archaeological evaluation BA/D175: 8). It is the earliest phase of a 50 metre stretch of wall, and has been identified as a coursed rubble construction built of Dolomitic Conglomerate (from the quarry close to the castle), bonded by pinkish buff mortar with charcoal and lime inclusions [*Map B: 8*].

This wall is of particular interest because it lies to the north of the main town area. The relationship between the town and church to the north-east of the town is not properly understood. Leech has suggested that the street between them (now Castle Street) was settled at a later date and represented infilling between the older Saxon village and medieval town (Leech 1975: 22) [*Map B: 9, 10, 11*]. By the 16th century Leland's account of the town implies that this street had houses along it; he describes Thornbury as 'a letter Y havinge first one longe strete and two hornes goyne out of it' which suggests that the High Street, Castle Street and John Street were the main thoroughfares through the town.

Burgage plots [*Map B: 12-22*]

Although the documentary sources indicate that there were burgages in the town of Thornbury from at least the mid 13th century, the pattern of plot boundaries that can be seen on the Tithe map of 1840 and the Ordnance Survey map of 1880 is not regular. Most of the properties fronting the main streets of the town ran back to narrow plots, but their length varies. This is in contrast to other small market towns in the vicinity, such as Chipping Sodbury and Wickwar, which have well preserved regular plot lengths. It seems likely that either the town was not planned at one single point, or that there was considerable change to the original layout during the medieval and early post-medieval period.

The plots in the centre of the town, where properties fronted both the High Street and St. Mary Street, were shortest [*Map B: 12, 13*]. It is interesting to note that Wildgoose's wall study revealed a relatively small number of surviving historic walls in these two areas. He has suggested that this entire area may not have been initially divided into plots, but formed part of an open market or fair site (personal communication). Further survey work is urgently required in this area to check for the sequence of occupation and in particular the walls identified by Wildgoose need to be accurately dated.

The plots fronting St. Mary Street and Outer Back Street, were also narrow in places [*Map B: 14*] and restricted in others due to an irregular shaped piece of land created by the road network [*Map B: 15*]. These areas have suffered considerable destruction in the 20th century and very little walling remains. Some of the walls identified by Wildgoose in this area are unlikely to be medieval in date: for example, the boundary wall around the Congregational Chapel was probably built at the same time as the chapel in the 18th century. However, archaeological evidence was recovered from this area due to rescue excavation at 13 St. Mary Street, where two industrial hearths dating to the 13th century were found on the street frontage (SMR 4745; Iles 1982: 56). Medieval pottery was also found on the site of the town library (SMR 2761).

Identifying the original burgage plots on the periphery of the town is not easy because the exact date of the town walls is not known. The burgages may have originally shared a common plot length, but only a proportion of the probable full plot lengths are preserved by field boundaries on the Tithe map of 1840. In the absence of archaeological work in area beyond the 19th century town, the depiction of the medieval burgage plots on *Map B* is conjectural, based roughly on the full plot length [*Map B: 16-22*]. The archaeological importance of the fields surrounding the town today

should, however, be underlined since fieldwork in this area has the potential to confirm or reject the assertion that the medieval town was defined by the town walls.

The precise development and use of the plot areas will only come to light as a result of further archaeological research. Unfortunately the potential for waterlogged deposits surviving in the burgage plot areas identified on *Map B* is low, since the town is largely a dry site.

Market place [*Map B: 23, 24, 25*]

Three areas have been identified as possible market places in the town. The first of these was the cigar-shaped market place along the High Street [*Map B: 23*]. At its northern end an open triangular area, now called The Plain, also seems a very probable second candidate [*Map B: 24*]. It lay at the junction of the High Street with John Street and Castle Street, and as a result most of the traffic through the town would have passed through it. The areas depicted on *Map B* are based on the digital Ordnance Survey map of 1995. They have remained unchanged since the Tithe map of 1840.

The third and most interesting area for a market place lies in the narrow block of infill between Silver Street and Soaper's Lane [*Map B: 25*]. Both Leech and Bond identified this as a striking feature of the street pattern which appeared to have been subsequently infilled (Leech 1975: 22; Bond n.d.). Due to 20th century demolition in this part of the town, the area depicted on *Map B* is based on the Tithe map of 1840.

It is worth noting that the location of the lost street name *Chepyngstrete*, which first appears in documentary sources in 1432 and means market street (Smith 1965: 14) has been ascribed to Silver Street, though the claim is unsubstantiated (Bruton microfiche parish survey: record 126). Wildgoose has suggested that the High Street or what is now Castle Street is a more likely candidate (personal communication).

Public Houses

A couple of names recorded in medieval documents may have referred to inns: *le Croishowse* (1497) may have been an inn sign for the 'cross house' (Smith 1965: 14), probably located near a market cross from which it derived its name. *Horne howse* (1497) is similar to a reference made in 1580 to *Crookhorne* meaning 'the crooked horn' and doubtless an inn sign (*ibid.*). Although their location is not known it seems probable that they continued in use as public houses into the post-medieval period, and their presence indicates the importance of the route through the town.

5.4 Thornbury borough [*Map B*]

According to Wildgoose 'the borough boundary has been described in the historic record as being bounded by four streams surrounding the town, and more precisely in the tithe terrier of 1695' (Wildgoose 1986): further work is required to accurately identify the 'historic' documents to which he refers. In the absence of detailed information relating to the medieval period, the bounds described in the 17th century terrier are assumed to have remained unchanged since the medieval period and are depicted on *Map B* on the basis of the plan supplied by Wildgoose.

5.5 Religious sites and cemeteries

St. Mary's Church [*Map B: 26*]

St. Mary's Church is situated a short distance to the north of the town, next to the castle, and is a grade I listed building (DoE 1984: 4/23; SMR 1571). The earliest reference to the church dates to 1106 when a royal charter granted the church to

Tewkesbury Abbey (Waters 1883: 80). Atkyns states that the body of the church was built by Fitz Harding (Atkyns 1768: 404). He built Berkeley Castle and held great possessions in Bristol during the reign of Henry II (1154-1189)(Waters 1883: 81), suggesting a 12th century date for the church. None of the Norman church survives today. It must have been partly rebuilt or extended before the end of the 12th century because the north and south doorways are Transitional Norman re-inserted into later walls (Verey 1970: 379). The font with its square bowl and massive clawed pedestal, is also an example of Transitional Norman work (ibid.: 380).

The present chancel was built around 1340 and survived a substantial rebuild of the church which took place at the end of the 15th century (Verey 1970: 379). The chancel was the responsibility of Tewkesbury Abbey, who may have been unwilling to spend money on improvements. The south aisle of the 14th century church was built by Lord Hugh Stafford; he succeeded his title in 1373 and died 1386, placing its construction sometime between these two dates. After standing for about one century it was taken down, but the recessed wall tomb in the south chapel may be a relic re-set in its original position by late restorers (Waters 1883: 81). The latest feature to be completed was the tower, finished in c.1540 (Verey 1970: 379). It was a copy of the mid-15th century tower of Gloucester Cathedral, with pierced battlements and pinnacles (ibid.: 25). The stone pulpit in the church also dates to the medieval period (ibid.: 40).

Rudder reproduces an substantial tract of Leland's' itinerary, dating to the mid 16th century, and in it Leland describes a timber gallery leading from the Castle to the church. A room or ducal pew lay at the end against the north chancel wall, with a window looking onto the church where the Duke could observe the service (Rudder 1779: 751, 752; Robinson 1916: 75).

Surviving chantry certificates for the church show that there were four chantries in the church: one dedicated to the Virgin Mary and erected in 1499, another called Barne's Chantry (last incumbent Thomas Smyth), Bruis Chantry and Slymbridge Chantry, whose patron was the Abbey of St. Austins in Bristol (Atkyns 1712: 770; Maclean 1884: 264). No assessment has been made of other documentary sources surviving for the church, although Atkyns gives details of the tithes and endowment to a vicar dating to 1314 and 1315 respectively (Atkyns 1712: 766, 768). A pamphlet for the parish church also states that tithes were collected and vicars appointed until the dissolution, which implies a surviving record for the period (anon n.d.). The earliest record in the parish register for Thornbury dates to 1559 (Gloucestershire Record Office).

The area of the churchyard depicted on *Map B* is based on the Tithe map of 1840, and is slightly smaller than the area shown on the Ordnance Survey map of 1880. The cemetery is particularly important given the detailed documentary evidence for a dramatic upsurge in deaths during 1333-34; analysis of the skeletal material may confirm Franklin's assertion that it was the result of a particularly bad outbreak of malaria (Franklin 1983: 113).

Other religious sites [*Map B*: 27, 28]

Two buildings are located a short distance from the parish church, both of which have surviving medieval features and are reputed to be religious establishments, probably as a result of their names: The Chantry (SMR 8105) and The Priory (SMR 6591). Further documentary and archaeological work is required to produce evidence to back up these claims.

Recent field reconnaissance by Russett has revealed evidence for a medieval or 16th century wall in the grounds of The Chantry, 52 Castle Street; the wall lies at the south-

eastern edge of the garden has 6 niches at about head height, which may be beeboles (Russett 1992; SMR 8105). Although the listing description states that the building is late 16th or early 17th century in date (DoE 1984: 4/10), a detailed building survey may well reveal evidence for a medieval core. The plot boundaries for the property have remained unchanged since the Tithe map of 1840, and the area depicted on *Map B* is consequently based on the digital Ordnance Survey map of 1995.

Two other houses, no's 15 (Clematis Cottage) and 17 (The Priory), were originally one long property, now divided in two. The property dates to the 15th century, and was altered in the 16th and 17th centuries. It was clearly an important building with traces of wall painting in the Great Chamber on the first floor. The hall below was known as the Chapel Room (DoE 1984: 4/15, 4/16; SMR 6591). The plot boundaries for the property have remained unchanged since the Tithe map of 1840, and the area depicted on *Map B* is consequently based on the digital Ordnance Survey map of 1995.

5.6 Industrial areas and sites

Morton Mill [*Map B*: 29]

Morton Mill, previously known as Woolford Mill, was a water mill to the north of the town (SMR 2817; n.d. parish file item 10 c.1987). References to the mill appear in 13th century manorial court rolls for Thornbury (Wildgoose personal communication) and it was probably the site of the mill mentioned at Domesday. The mill site was probably chosen because the stream flowing past it has the greatest water volume in the area. The stream was diverted to form a large mill pond and the water management system included races, leats and sluices; these features are likely to have been initiated in the medieval period.

According to Wildgoose the mill was rebuilt in the 17th century (personal communication) and standing remains from this structure were observed as recently as 1982, during a site visit. Surviving features included the flooring and machinery. By 1993, however, much of the site of destroyed to allow the construction of housing and according to Russett, only the wheel setting for the mill survived (personal communication). In the early 1990s Wildgoose noted that many of the watercourses were stone-lined (personal communication). These features have all been infilled despite planning conditions requiring their preservation (*ibid.*). Ground survey work is urgently required to assess the extent of destruction at this site.

In the absence of more detailed information about the extent of the medieval mill, it has been depicted on *Map B* on the basis of the Ordnance Survey map of 1880.

5.7 Private estates

Thornbury Castle estate

The most detailed historical assessment of the castle buildings and the estate was made by Hawkyard in 1977 (SMR 1570). Since then there have been a series of small archaeological investigations in the grounds of the castle: in 1982 three trenches were dug on the east side of the Inner Court (Edgar, Iles & Williams 1983); in 1988 Iles, the County Archaeologist for Avon at that time, carried out a watching brief on a new gas-pipe trench which was being dug across the garden, alongside the north-south path (Bath Archaeological Trust 1992a: 5); in 1992 an archaeological assessment was carried out by Bath Archaeological Trust, including a geophysical survey of the grounds and trial excavations in the privy garden (Bath Archaeological Trust 1992a; 1992b); in 1995 an archaeological assessment of the proposed banqueting hall in the Outer Court was carried out by Rodwell and included 15 trenches.

The original reports should be consulted for further details; only a brief synthesis can be made here. In addition to the excavations, a memo in 1987 states that 'it is believed that the Royal Commission have undertaken a record survey this year', but no information relating to a survey is held in the South Gloucestershire Sites and Monuments Record.

To date the castle buildings have largely been considered in isolation: the true archaeological and historical value lies in the remarkable preservation of many other estate features, such as the parks, fishponds and gardens. The neglect of the estate in the later 16th, 17th and 18th centuries presents an extremely valuable opportunity to study a planned early 16th century estate.

Thornbury Castle: the house [Map B: 30]

Thornbury Castle was built 1510-1521 by the Duke of Buckingham and although unfinished, it is one of the finest buildings of the period. Verey writes that it is by far the grandest early 16th century building in the Vale and Forest of Dean, and 'had it been completed ... it would no doubt have been one of the finest houses in England' (Verey 1970: 52).

The castle was built on the site of an earlier manor house, for which there was a 14th license to crenellate (Iles 1982). Rudder has described this building as the first Thornbury castle, for which there are records dating to the reign of Edward II (c.1307-27) (Rudder 1779: 751); however, its description as a fortified manor house is probably more accurate (Aston & Iles 1988: 123). Rudder goes on to suggest that a house built by Lord Stafford in the reign of Edward III (c.1327-77) was on the same site, implying that the earlier building was partly or fully demolished (Rudder 1779: 751).

No mention is made of fortifications in Leland's description of the castle: 'there was of auncient tyme a maner place, of no great estimation, hard by the northe syde of the parochie Churche' (ibid.), and Hawkyard states that the house had evolved gradually with the Stafford estates and was unpretentious (Hawkyard 1977: 51).

The building inherited by the Duke of Buckingham is of significance because the castle designed for him incorporated its principal features; thus the existing timber structure, as well as its site, influenced the castle design (Hawkyard 1977: 52). Today the east side of the inner courtyard is open, but it was formerly occupied by the hall range, which included a porch, the old hall, a chapel and the Duke of Bedford's lodgings (Bath Archaeological Trust 1992a: 2). The hall was built in 1330 and the chapel completed by 1435 (Hawkyard 1977: 52). There is no plan of this range, and it was pulled down shortly before the earliest existing illustration of the house was made by Buck in 1732 (Bath Archaeological Trust 1992a: 4).

Attempts to reconstruct the layout of the earlier medieval manor house have largely been based on a description of the property made in 1583, and should be treated with caution. Archaeological work in this area to the east of the inner court has revealed evidence for some of these structures. Several hundred early 16th century tiles were found in situ, together with many more fragments, as a result of a small excavation carried out in 1982; they have been interpreted as the floor of the Duke of Bedford's Lodgings (Edgar, Iles & Williams 1983: 56). In 1988 a second tiled floor was observed 25m to the south of the first (Bath Archaeological Trust 1992a: 5).

The area to the east of the inner court was one of four examined in a geophysical survey of the castle conducted in 1992. A clear 'L' shaped area of high resistivity was identified as the demolished east range, though the survey did not indicate how far

eastwards it extended (Bath Archaeological Trust 1992a: 9). The most interesting results from this survey were located to the west of the inner court, and included an area of low resistance which could be part of an infilled moat (*ibid.*). Earlier medieval features identified in documentary sources, but as yet not identified on the ground, include a hermitage, a prison and a dovecote (Hawkyard 1977: 52).

The Duke of Buckingham, Edward Stafford, received a licence from Henry VIII to fortify, crenellate and embattle his manor house in 1510, but it clear from the accounts of the estate that he had already began extensive repairs by at least 1507 (*ibid.*: 51). The design of the castle divided into two parts, the outer and inner courts (wards). The first was constructed of coarsely cut, local stone and contained lodgings, stabling and stores. The inner ward was made of ashlar from the Cotswolds and accommodated the peripatetic ducal household as well as the resident one (*ibid.*: 54).

Today, the main house consists of three ranges flanking an inner courtyard. The west range, containing the inner gatehouse and lodgings, was intended to have a very imposing fortified frontage, of which only the south end was finished. The kitchen and service rooms were in the north range, and the south range was occupied by the Duchess' chambers on the ground floor, and the Duke's private rooms on the first floor (*ibid.*: 2). Some medieval tiles survive on the ground floor and a fine Perpendicular fireplace survives on the first floor (Verrey 1970: 381).

One curious feature first observed by Verrey and one apparently without parallel, is the walling of the garden towards west and south (Verrey 1970: 381). To the west it is pierced by windows and to the south by bay windows. These walls formed part of wooden cloister that ran around the privy garden (Hawkyard 1977: 54). A description of the area by Leland in the 16th century indicates that there was a second gallery above the west wall which ran from the castle to the church (Rudder 1779: 752). The extension of the gallery led out of the castle to a pew constructed by the north chancel window of the parish church where Buckingham sat to hear divine service (Hawkyard 1977: 54).

Thornbury Castle is a grade I listed building (DoE 1984: 4/20, 4/21, 4/22), and is of national importance for the following reasons: it provides a crucial architectural link between the palace-castles of the late-medieval period and the grandiose country houses of the 16th century; it can be very closely dated and is unusually well documented, including a detailed survey made in 1583 which describes the use of different parts of the house; the house was never completed, and apart from the demolition of the west range of the inner court in the 1720s, subsequent changes to the building were minimal. (Bath Archaeological Trust 1992a)

The depiction of the castle area on *Map B* is based on the walled area shown on the digital Ordnance Survey map of 1995. It has remained unchanged from the Tithe map of 1840.

Thornbury Castle: the gardens [*Map B*: 31, 32]

The gardens at Thornbury castle have been identified by Harding and Lambert as one of three outstanding examples of early Tudor gardens in Avon (Harding & Lambert 1994: 13). The gardens were part of the Lord Stafford's plans to enlarge and aggrandise his residence at Thornbury, and had already been laid by the time of his death in 1521 (SMR 4214; *ibid.*). Tudor gardens formed a series of enclosures connected by covered walks; the basic design was a quartered square, with knot patterns and a central fountain (*ibid.*).

The 'proper garden' or privy garden was located in the south-west courtyard of the castle, under the great oriel windows of the castle and partly surrounded by the high castellated castle wall. A timber gallery ran around the wall, as noted by Leland in 1540 (Rudder 1779: 751), which would have overlooked a knot garden of some intricacy. A wooden cloister appears to have divided the privy garden from the western garden, which was also ornamented - the 1521 Crown Commissioners' Survey records 'a goodly gardeyn to walk ynne Closed wt high walls imbattled'. (Harding & Lambert 1994: 14)

The privy garden has recently been investigated by the Bath Archaeological Trust, who excavated two trenches in 1992 (Bath Archaeological Trust 1992b). They concluded that there is a strong possibility that the original early 16th century garden survives largely intact, 0.8-1m below the present lawn (*ibid.*: 5). The original garden was probably buried by soil deposited in or shortly after 1727, when the last Earl of Stafford sold the castle to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk (*ibid.*: 9). The present yew hedging dates from the 19th century (Harding & Lambert 1994: 14).

Thornbury Castle: parks

There were three large parks that surrounded Thornbury castle by the early 16th century: Eastwood Park (SMR 3365), Marlwood Park (SMR 3366) and Thornbury Castle Park (SMR 3367). Part of the Duke's scheme for making a palace at Thornbury involved substantially increasing the size of the parks; in 1510 he received a license from Henry VIII to impark 1,000 acres (400 hectares) at Thornbury (Hawkyard 1977: 51). Leland noted some 30 years later that one of the parks 'took in much faire ground very fruitful of corn... the inhabitants cursed the Duke for these lands so enclosed' (Rudder 1779: 751).

The location of these parks are certain to have affected the direction in which the town was able to develop. The boundaries of the parks have not been shown on *Map B*; they need to be accurately defined and a ground survey conducted to assess the survival of ditch and bank features. According to Wildgoose (personal communication) the bounds of the parks were defined by Peter Franklin in his doctorate (Franklin 1982); unfortunately time has not allowed the consultation of this research.

Thornbury Castle: fishponds [*Map B*: 33]

A number of interconnecting fishponds have been identified to the north of the town, in an area which was situated in the Marlwood Park (SMR 2813). The estate map of 1716 showed eight rectangular ponds lying very close together. Iles and Dennison identified the ponds as probable stew or store ponds used for breeding and holding small quantities of fish for Thornbury Castle. The flow of water between the individual ponds and the stream supplying them, was controlled by a series of sluices. At the time of their survey in 1985 the position of the sluices and channels between the ponds was clearly identified and some of them were described as being in situ, being formed of wooden planks and hollowed out tree trunks acting as pipes. (Iles & Dennison 1985: 34, 36, 38)

In 1995 the fishponds were cleaned out by the Thornbury Group of the Wildlife Trust. They published a leaflet showing a detailed plan of the ponds and features such as pollarded willow, laid hedges, banked pond and sluices. They state that the ponds themselves gave no clues as to their age and they do not record the recovery of original sluices, as identified by Iles and Dennison. It is not known if a photographic survey was carried out prior to the refurbishment but James Bond visited the site and gave the group advice (Hallett personal communication). The ponds now hold water and are

clearly marked on the digital Ordnance Survey map of 1995. The depiction of the ponds on *Map B* is based on the plot area shown on this map.

Iles and Dennison recommended that the fishponds at Thornbury should be considered for Scheduled Monument status as excellent representatives of a common medieval monument (Iles & Dennison 1985: 49).

5.8 Standing buildings

There are 13 listed buildings in Thornbury that date to the 15th and early 16th centuries, though there are certain to be other as yet unidentified examples (DoE 1984: 4/10, 4/14, 4/15, 4/16, 4/20, 4/21, 4/22, 4/23, 4/26, 4/50, 4/58, 5/60, 5/63). Several of these have been described above, including Thornbury Castle (DoE 1984: 4/20, 4/21, 4/22), the parish church (DoE 1984: 4/23), The Chantry (DoE 1984: 4/10) and no's 15 and 17 Castle Street (DoE 1984: 4/15, 4/16).

In addition to The Chantry and no's 15 and 17, a third building on Castle Street dates to the medieval period: no 11, Porch House. It dates from the 15th century and apparently consisted of an open hall, a screen passage and an unheated service room(s) with a chamber above. The large size of the hall and the presence of the original porch suggest that it may have been an open hall house. The south wing (and possibly north also) was added in the 16th century (DoE 1984: 4/14; SMR 6528).

A second cluster of buildings is located on the west side of the High Street: the house at No 8 The High Street dates to the later 16th century, although it was altered in the 17th and 18th centuries (DoE 1984: 4/50; SMR 6593): No 20 High Street also dates to the late 16th century (DoE 1984: 4/58): the building opposite Soaper's Lane, 24 High Street, is an 18th century remodelling of a 16th century building (DoE 1984: 5/60) and 30 High Street dates to the 16th century, but was altered and extended in the late 18th century or early 19th century (DoE 1984: 5/63).

The Rectory Cottage stands opposite the parish church and dates to the 16th century, though much altered (DoE 1984: 4/26).

5.9 Local context

Thornbury is surrounded by a 'satellite' of small medieval settlements, all about 2 kilometres away from the town. To the west of the town lay the medieval settlement of Kington (SMR 9068), with an area of shrunken settlement (SMR 2808) and a surviving medieval open hall house at Fewsters Farm (SMR 2806). To the south of Kington lay Kyneton, another medieval settlement (SMR 9069). Newton medieval settlement lay to the north of Thornbury (SMR 9065), Buckover to the east (SMR 9066) and Grovesend to the south-east (SMR 9067). There were also two medieval settlements recorded only a kilometre from the town, at Sibland Farm to the south-east (SMR 9070) and Morton to the north-east (n.d. anon parish file).

Two other medieval settlements are known to have existed in the parish, but are now lost: Thatcham and The Crawl (n.d. anon parish file). Medieval farmsteads in the vicinity of the town included Vilner Farm (SMR 9073), Marlwood Farm (SMR 2753) and Morton Grange (SMR 2823).

6.0 POST-MEDIEVAL ARCHAEOLOGY (16th-18th century)

6.1 Sources of evidence

- **Below ground intervention:** Trial excavations at Thornbury Castle (SMR 1570); evaluation at the vicarage (SMR 10571); evaluation at Saw Mill Lane (SMR 10328); evaluation at Stafford Crescent (SMR 10381; Bristol and Region Archaeological Services 1994a).
- **Field survey work:** Thornbury Archaeological Group parish survey (Linton 1973); topographic survey of Thornbury (Leech 1975); survey of Thornbury Castle garden (Barnard 1984); survey of Thornbury Castle parks and gardens (Harding & Lambert 1991; 1994); geophysical survey carried out at Thornbury Castle (Bath Archaeological Trust 1992b); report on Thornbury Castle (Rodwell 1995).
- **Standing buildings:** Buildings study (Robinson 1916); study of church and principal buildings (Verey 1970); buildings study (Hall 1983); list of buildings of special architectural or historic interest (DoE 1984).
- **Maps:** Plan analysis of the 1716 estate map and Tithe map of 1840.
- **Documentary evidence:** Antiquarian account (Atkyns 1712); antiquarian account (Rudder 1779).
- **Archaeological/historical research:** Study of St. Mary's Church (Waters 1883); the archaeology of Avon (Aston & Iles 1988); unpublished assessment report for the Monuments Protection Programme (Bond n.d.).

6.2 Watercourses, roads and routeways

Watercourses [Map C]

The watercourses shown on *Map C* are copied from the Ordnance Survey map of 1880, which shows virtually the same watercourses as the 1840 Tithe map. The rivers are unlikely to have significantly altered their course since the medieval period, and in the absence of an earlier map this is the best approximation of the river before the 19th century.

Roads [Map C]

Place name evidence suggests that the network of roads in the town did not substantially change during the post-medieval period. Back Street (*backstreet*) was mentioned in 1594, *Chipping Street* in 1604 and Castle Street in c.1739 (Smith 1965: 14). The main roads into the town included Castle Street, St. John Street and the High Street. Milestones at Upper Morton and Newton (SMR 2819; SMR 2820) suggest that the road now known as the Gloucester Road probably formed the major route out of the town to Gloucester.

The turnpike road from Bristol to Gloucestershire, built in the 18th century, bypassed the town to the east along what is now the A38. It left Thornbury somewhat isolated and contributed to its comparative stagnation in the 19th century (Bond n.d.).

Bridges [Map C: 1-6]

The main road from Bristol crossed a stream less than half a kilometre to the south of the town [Map C: 1]. The road which led away from Thornbury Castle to the north-east of the town, along what is now Park Road, crossed one stream before meeting another crossing point at Morton Mill [Map C: 2, 3]. The road now known as Gloucester Road also had to cross the stream at Morton Mill, and second crossing point at the Union Workhouse [Map C: 4]. St. John Street ran away from the town to the east and crossed two streams within less than a kilometre of the town [Map C: 5, 6].

No record of post-medieval bridges appear in the Sites and Monuments Record, though this may simply be because no-one has surveyed these areas. In the absence of more detailed information, the crossing points have been identified using the Tithe map of 1840 and the Ordnance Survey map of 1880. Four of the crossing points [Map C: 2, 3, 5, 6] are depicted on Map C with a 10 metre radius centered on the point where the road and watercourse cross. The two remaining crossing points are depicted on Map C by a slightly larger area [Map C: 1, 4].

6.3 Thornbury town: the commercial core

The walled town [Map C: 7]

A preliminary survey of the walls in the town has been carried out by Wildgoose (unpublished). This work needs to be published in detail so that individual wall assessments can be corroborated, nevertheless it remains a good starting point for further work and has been summarised in this report. A large number of walls were identified surviving as boundary walls between burgage plots and as outer walls for the town.

The most important walls form the outer boundary of the town and many are still several metres high. The surviving walls have been depicted on Map C based on a map supplied by Wildgoose and walls shown on the digital Ordnance Survey map of 1995. In addition to the outer wall, over a hundred boundary walls between burgage plots have been identified in the town, many of which are at least 2 metres high. Further study of all the town walls is urgently required to assess their development. Was the outer wall initially built as a single project at one point in time and if so at what date? Was the layout of the town originally more regular in plan? Or alternatively, did the stone walling slowly replace other less permanent boundaries? Were the boundaries contested over the medieval period, solidifying by the 16th century?

Tenement plots [Map C: 8]

The tenement plots shown on Map C are based on the Tithe map of 1840. Large parts of this area still survive, though significant areas have been destroyed as outlined above. An 18th century terrace fronting Gloucester Road was demolished in the 20th century (SMR 10381). The depiction of the terrace on Map C is based on the Ordnance Survey map of 1880.

Market places [Map C: 9, 10, 11]

All three areas identified above (section 5.3) could have been used as market areas during the post-medieval period: the High Street, The Plain and the narrow block of infill between Silver Street and Soaper's Lane. The areas depicted on Map C are based on the digital Ordnance Survey map of 1995. They have remained unchanged since the Tithe map of 1840.

Chipping Street appears again in documents for town in 1604 (Smith 1965: 14), and as indicated above, may have referred to Silver Street, implying the continued association of this area of the town with a market. It is not known when the narrow infill was first constructed. Due to 20th century demolition in this part of the town, the area depicted on Map C is based on the Tithe map of 1840.

Public houses [Map C: 12, 13, 14, 15]

Documentary references in the late 16th century refer to brew-houses in the town: *Hills Bruern* (1591) and *the Bruern* (1594), though their location is not known (Smith 1965: 14). Four existing public houses are in buildings which date to at least the 18th century: The Swan, Exchange Hotel, The White Lion and The Plough (DoE 1984: 4/37, 4/42,

4/51, 4/110). They all appear on the Tithe map of 1840, and are likely to pre-date the 19th century. The areas depicted on *Map C* are based on plot boundaries shown on the digital Ordnance Survey map of 1995. They have remained unchanged since the Tithe map of 1840.

6.4 Thornbury borough

The borough area [*Map C*]

The bounds of the borough in the post-medieval period have been identified by Wildgoose on the basis of a tithe terrier of 1695, as described above (Wildgoose 1986). The area of the borough has been depicted on *Map C* on the basis of the plan supplied by Wildgoose.

Boundary wall and marker stone [*Map C: 16, 17*]

A boundary marker stone for the borough survives in the boundary wall described above (SMR 10571; Archaeological evaluation BA/D175: 8); this medieval wall was partly re-built in the post-medieval period. The later construction phase was characterised by coursed rubble Dolomitic Conglomerate, with a grey-white mortar. It has been dated to the 1660s at the latest, since a presentment of 1670 records its presence *in situ* (Bristol Record Office 35192/F/7). The boundary marker stone and medieval wall have been depicted on *Map C* on the basis of the evaluation report.

Town closes [*Map C: 18-26*]

The borough area included land outside the walled town which appeared in documentary sources as 'closes' (Wildgoose unpublished). These areas of land were used as paddocks, meadows, orchards and market gardens (Wildgoose 1996). They enabled the borough to operate independently of the manor and were thus an integral part of the town plan. Their survival on the west side of the town is of particular importance; nine separate fields have been identified in this area. They are depicted on *Map C* on the basis of the Ordnance Survey map of 1882 and although not all the original walls still stand today, several collapsed walls were observed during a site visit in July 1997 [*Map C: 18-26*].

6.5 Civic buildings

Market hall and gaol [*Map C: 27*]

The former market hall is listed as a probable mid-18th century remodelling of a 17th century building (DoE 1984: 4/54) and Rudder mentions the 'corn market-house' as one of the public buildings in the town (Rudder 1779: 750). An agreement with a clockmaker in 1634 mentions that it should be set up within the town hall (Caffall 1992: 40): hence, it seems certain that there was a market hall on this site from at least the early 17th century. The plot boundaries for the property have remained unchanged since the Tithe map of 1840, and the area depicted on *Map C* is consequently based on the digital Ordnance Survey map of 1995.

A gaol or lockup was located in the market hall and still survives today under the stairs. Access to it can be gained by passing through two doors. The inner door is made of thick planks with strap hinges and an open window with iron bars. The outer door is made of studded planks with strap hinges. The 17th century date for the building is the earliest possible date for the gaol; however, it is likely that it was built when the building was remodelled in the mid-18th century. (DoE 1984: 4/54)

The location given in the Sites and Monuments Record, at 12 High Street, is incorrect (SMR 6586). It was probably attributed to this former drapers shop because a description given in the parish survey of 1973 indicated that access to the gaol could be

gained under the stairs in the shop; however, the former market hall, Nos 12 and 14, had become one property and the shop was using the gaol in the former market hall as a storeroom.

Free Grammar School [Map C: 28]

A free grammar school was established in 1624 by Thomas Jones, a mercer in the town (Perry 1945: 99). One half of the building dates to the 17th century, and has a date stone on the rear porch of 1648; it is a grade II listed building (DoE 1984: 4/17). A late 18th century extension was added to the south, but this part of the building is not listed. The plot boundaries for the property have remained unchanged since the Tithe map of 1840, and the area depicted on *Map C* is consequently based on the digital Ordnance Survey map of 1995.

Percival has included the grammar school at Thornbury as one of small number of first grade 'classical' schools founded in the country: Gloucestershire had a relatively high number of these schools (Percival 1970: 111). The survival of this early school without major 19th century alterations is of importance and further study of the school is urgently required.

Free School [Map C: 29]

There is some confusion over the second free school established in the town on St. Mary Street, since two men are attributed with establishing it and its name has been changed several times. Atkyns states that a free school was built by William Edwards of Alveston, and that Mr. White of Thornbury endowed it with £14 a year (Atkyns 1712: 770). Rudder states that a gentlemen of Thornbury, John Atwells, gave £500 in his will of 1730 for establishing a free school in Thornbury (Rudder 1779: 760).

It later became known as Attwells School, suggesting an authentic link with John Atwells, and was later renamed The Church Institute (SMR 7600; Parish survey 1973: record 103). However, Verey noted that the date '1679' had been carved into a wooden porch on the building (Verey 1970: 382), suggesting an earlier foundation for the school. This assertion must be in serious doubt, though, since notes in the parish survey state 'carved wooden porch not original, but a relatively recent copy of porch on another building in Glous. (location unknown)' (Parish survey 1973: record 103). The building still stands today, but is not listed and it is not known if any evidence of its use as a school survives. A detailed buildings survey and further documentary research is required.

The plot boundaries for the property have remained unchanged since the Tithe map of 1840, and the area depicted on *Map C* is consequently based on the digital Ordnance Survey map of 1995.

Elementary school [Map C: 30]

Kelly's directory states that a public elementary school was built in 1794, and rebuilt in 1898 (Kelly's directory 1897: 333). It appears in the directory as the British School for infants (in addition to the British School for boys and girls founded in the second half of the 19th century). It is possible that the British School for infants was not rebuilt on the same site as the earlier elementary school. In the absence of detailed information the elementary school has been depicted on *Map C* on the basis of the Tithe map of 1840, which showed the British School for infants on Bath Lane. The building has been demolished and it is not known if there are any surviving below ground features.

6.6 Religious sites and cemeteries

St. Mary's Church [*Map C: 31*]

After the dissolution the rights of St. Mary's Church were passed from Tewkesbury Abbey to Henry VIII's (originally Wolsey's) new foundation of Christ Church, Oxford, the present patron (Anon n.d.). By the early 18th century there were three Chapels annexed to the church - Oldbury, Rangeworthy and Falfield (Atkyns 1712: 769).

No major rebuilding of the church occurred in the post-medieval period, although the chancel was altered in the early 18th century when the floor was raised and an Italian oak screen erected (SMR 1571; Waters 1883: 84). There are several surviving features from this period inside the church: a marble slab survives on the chancel floor opposite the vestry door (Caffall 1992: 22) and was once part of a large raised tomb which stood in the chancel dating to 1571 (Atkyns 1712: 769). Other inscriptions in the chancel date to 1609, 1624 and 1704. In the south chapel a monument to a brother and sister who died in their youth dates to the 17th century (Atkyns 1712: 769). A chalice and paten cover dating to 1683, a paten dating to 1711 and 1786 also survive (Verey 1970: 379).

In the south-east corner of the parish churchyard a group of 28 table tombs survive intact, dating from the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. A second group of nine 18th and 19th century table tombs survive in the south-west corner of the churchyard. All the table tombs are grade II listed buildings (DoE 1984: 4/24, 4/25). These burials are recorded in the parish register for Thornbury, which begins in 1550 and contains entries of baptisms, marriages and burials in the church; the registers began in England in 1538 and there may have been an earlier volume which did not survive (Caffall 1992: 19).

The area of the churchyard depicted on *Map C* is based on the Tithe map of 1840, and is slightly smaller than the area shown on the Ordnance Survey map of 1880. The cemetery is particularly important given the survival of both the large number of post-medieval tombs and the parish register from 1550.

Thornbury Meeting House and Burial Ground [*Map C: 32*]

Documentary records in 1870 record the purchase of a meeting house and burial ground in 1674 'On the south east side of John Street, in the Town of Thornbury, acquired by purchase on lease for 1000 years' (Trust & Trust Properties 1870; Stock 1996). It closed in 1847 and the building was used as a builders warehouse (Stanbrook & Powney 1989).

The building and burial ground survived intact until the 1980s, when the whole area was redeveloped. The human remains were exhumed and re-interred in Lower Hazel burial ground in 1981 (planning application number N7206). No watching brief appears to have been carried out, although a brick-walled grave was seen during work (Stock 1996). Such exhumations are notorious for not being complete and human remains may still survive at the site.

The meeting house was included in the historic buildings survey conducted by Iles in 1975, and included a photograph of the building and a brief description. A date stone of 1794 suggests that it was either rebuilt or altered in the late 18th century. The plot area which surrounds the Meeting House is first depicted on the Tithe map of 1840 and this area is marked on *Map C*.

Presbyterian Chapel [Map C: 33]

The Presbyterian Chapel was first built c.1720 on the site of the present Congregational Chapel, which superseded it in 1825 (Stanbrook & Powney 1989). Extracts survive from the register of baptisms and burials of Presbyterian meeting house for 1789 (Gloucestershire Record Office D3567/2/11). This suggests that the graveyard for the chapel, which still survives today, contains burials which date from the 18th century. The area shown on *Map C* is based on the later plot boundaries for the Congregational Chapel, first shown on the Tithe map of 1840.

Methodist Chapel (Wesleyan) on Chapel Street [Map C: 34]

The Methodist Chapel on Chapel Street was built in 1789, and John Wesley is said to preached here several times; it was closed in the 1880s when the congregation moved to a new chapel in the High Street (Wildgoose personal communication). It was subsequently used by the parish council and is today known as Cossham Hall (Iles 1975). There are two date stones on the front of the building, a simple stone of 1835 and above it a stone plaque 'Cossham Hall 1888'. The first date refers to an enlargement of the chapel to house a new gallery (Kelly's directory 1897: 330). The second refers to its purchase by Handel Cossham and donation to the town as a public meeting hall (Wildgoose personal communication).

The area shown on *Map C* is based on the curtilage of the surviving building as shown on the digital Ordnance Survey map of 1995 and first depicted on the Tithe map of 1840. No burial ground is indicated on the Tithe map of 1840 or Ordnance Survey map of 1880 but further work is required to establish if burials were made.

6.7 Defensive structures**Civil War fortifications [Map C: 7]**

During the Civil War Thornbury was fortified for the king by Sir William St. Leger to restrain the garrison at Gloucester (Atkyns 1712: 770). Wildgoose has suggested that the fortification probably related to wall repairs rather than serious defence works (Wildgoose 1996: 2). The survival of earlier foundations certainly indicates the presence of an outer boundary, but their original height is not known.

Questions regarding the civil war fortifications underline the importance of detailed ground survey work. Were the walls substantially rebuilt during the 17th century to increase their height or was the wall simply patched up? Walls require maintenance in order to survive over long periods of time and the remarkable preservation of the wall today may be due to substantial building work in the 17th century. In the absence of more detailed information the fortified boundary wall has been depicted on *Map C*, based on the survey plan supplied by Wildgoose and the digital Ordnance Survey map of 1995.

6.8 Industrial areas and sites**Morton Mill [Map C: 35]**

The medieval Woolford Mill (later known as Morton Mill) was a water mill to the north of the town (SMR 2817; n.d. parish file item 10 c.1987). According to Wildgoose the mill was rebuilt in the 17th century (personal communication) and standing remains from this structure were observed as recently as 1982, during a site visit. Surviving features included the flooring and machinery. By 1993, however, much of the site of destroyed to allow the construction of housing and according to Russett only the wheel setting for the mill survived (personal communication).

The mill site was probably chosen because the stream flowing past it has the greatest water volume in the area. The stream was diverted to form a large mill pond and the water management system included races, leats and sluices. These features have all been infilled despite planning conditions requiring their preservation (Wildgoose personal communication); they are likely to have been re-cut and perhaps extended during the post-medieval period. Any archaeological investigation of the site would have examined its development over the centuries, but sadly this opportunity appears to have been lost.

In the absence of more detailed information about the extent of the post-medieval mill, it has been depicted on *Map C* on the basis of the Ordnance Survey map of 1880. The mill pond has also been depicted on the map on the basis of the 1840 Tithe map and 1880 Ordnance Survey map

Tanneries [*Map C*: 36, 37]

One tannery has been identified at the southern edge of the town, largely on the basis of field name evidence and water channel features (SMR 3220; SMR 2756; Iles & Williams 1979 Parish survey). The fields names recorded in the Tithe apportionments for the fields surrounding the tannery include Tannery Mead, Tan House Mead and Tanners Mead.

During a site visit in 1982 the owner of the house stated that the pond was used for soaking hides (SMR 2756). Several leats, drains and depressions have been noted in this area and a full ground survey is required to make better sense of the water features. The tannery area was later used as a cider house, as shown on the Tithe map of 1840. The plot area associated with the cider house is shown on the Ordnance Survey map of 1880, and this is the area depicted on *Map C*.

Breweries [*Map C*: 38]

A cider house is shown on the 1840 Tithe map and parts of this building still survive today (SMR 3219). The area depicted on *Map C* is based on the Tithe map of 1840.

In 1987 the bottom of a stone cider press was observed inside the buildings among the remains (n.d. parish file item 10 c.1987). There are a large number of water courses to the west of this building which may have powered a mill, but they may be connected with the adjacent tannery. Further field survey work is required to determine the survival of features today.

6.9 Private estates

Thornbury Castle estate [*Map C*: 39]

Edward Stafford, who built Thornbury Castle, was executed in 1521 and the castle was left unfinished. It became a ruin and was not restored until the 19th century. Work appears to have continued on the garden, including an 18th century ha-ha to the north of the castle (SMR 4214; Harding & Lambert 1991: 32). The neglect of the estate in the post-medieval period is responsible for the survival of many important early modern features, which did not survive change on other estates.

The depiction of the castle area on *Map C* is based on the walled area shown on the digital Ordnance Survey map of 1995. It has remained unchanged from the Tithe map of 1840.

6.10 Standing buildings

There are over 30 domestic listed buildings dating to the 17th and 18th centuries. Many more examples are not listed or have not been identified as older cores to 19th century buildings. Only a small number of the listed buildings appear in the Sites and Monuments Record and the basis of their inclusion is haphazard: (SMR 10298, DoE 1984: 5/69; SMR 6529 now demolished; SMR 6527, DoE 1984: 4/8; SMR 7601, DoE 1984: 4/110). The only house where additional material was found was at 24 High Street, where two 17th century brass tokens were found (SMR 10292; DoE 1984: 5/60).

6.11 Local context

There are many post-medieval industrial features in the hinterland surrounding Thornbury, including 6 mills: Morton Mill (SMR 2817); a mill to the west of Pound Farm (SMR 4801); a water mill at Park Mill Farm (SMR 2809); a mill at Yew Tree Farm on the west side of the town (SMR 2805); Old Mill at Kington (SMR 2807) and a mill at Buckover Farm about 3 kilometres to the east of the town (SMR 2826). In addition to the mill sites, an old malthouse and a large clay pit, now filled with water, survive at Upper Morton (SMR 6531, SMR 2824).

Most of the medieval settlements identified above continued in use during the post-medieval period, including Kynetton and Kington. A small number of farmsteads are included in the Sites and Monuments Record, often because the house is a listed building dating to the 17th or 18th centuries. They include: Yew Tree Farm which dates to at least the late 17th century (SMR 6592; DoE 1984: 1/117); Vilner Farm, which has been documented from the late 16th century (SMR 9073; DoE 1984: 3/128); Thornbury Grange, which dates to the 16th century and was altered in the 17th and 19th centuries (SMR 6590; DoE 1984: 5/2); Pound Farmhouse in Lower Morton, which dates to the 17th century (SMR 2816) and two 17th century houses in the south-east part of the modern town, Siband Farm (SMR 2763) and Eastend Farm (SMR 6530). There are likely to be many more surviving examples not yet recorded.

7.0 EARLY MODERN (19th century)

7.1 Sources of evidence

- **Below ground intervention:** Evaluation at Saw Mill Lane (Bristol and Region Archaeological Services 1994a).
- **Field survey work:** Thornbury Archaeological Group parish survey (1973); topographic survey of Thornbury (Leech 1975); survey of Thornbury Castle parks and gardens (Harding & Lambert 1991; 1994).
- **Standing buildings:** Study of church and principal buildings (Verey 1970); list of buildings of special architectural or historic interest (DoE 1984).
- **Maps:** Plan analysis of the Tithe map of 1840 and Ordnance Survey map of 1880.
- **Archaeological/historical research:** Study of St. Mary's Church (Waters 1883); the archaeology of Avon (Aston & Iles 1988); unpublished assessment report for the Monuments Protection Programme (Bond n.d.).

7.2 Watercourses, roads and routeways

Watercourses [*Map D*]

Both the 1840 Tithe map and 1880 Ordnance Survey map show the virtually the same routes for watercourses in Thornbury. The town itself sits on a slightly higher area of land, but to either side of it lie valleys with small streams flowing towards the Severn in the north-west. Both these streams join a stream a short distance to the north of the town, that flows east-west. The watercourses depicted on *Map D* are based on the 1880 Ordnance Survey map.

Roads [*Map D*]

The turnpike road from Bristol to Gloucestershire, constructed in the 18th century, bypassed the town to the east along what is now the A38. It left Thornbury somewhat isolated and contributed to the decline of the town in the 19th century.

The network of roads in the town did not change during the 19th century - both the 1840 Tithe map and the 1880 Ordnance Survey map show the same routes in use, although the names given on the maps differ slightly. Rotten Row changed on the Ordnance Survey map to Chapel Street, and St. Mary Street was no longer known by the name 'The Back Street'. According to Morse, who was writing in the 1950s, Castle Street was narrower in the 1850s since several of the houses had front gardens (Morse 1951: 5); he does not offer any proof for this assertion, and it may be that the breadth of the street along this stretch relates its original use as a market area. Further field survey work is required to accurately date the buildings in this area of the town.

Bridges [*Map D: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8*]

There were no major crossing points within the town area. However, there were 8 crossing points in the immediate vicinity of the town, with all the main roads into the town crossing at least one watercourse. Morton Bridge crosses one of them, but it is not known if the others were crossed by a bridge, culvert or ford.

The main road from Bristol crossed a stream less than half a kilometre to the south of the town. Collister's Lane, now known as the Gloucester Road, crossed two watercourses, one to the west of the workhouse and the other at Morton Mill. The road which led away from Thornbury Castle to the north-east of the town, along what is now known as Park Road, crossed one stream before meeting another crossing point at Morton Mill. St. John Street was located on the east side of the town and crossed two streams within less than a kilometre of the town.

There is no record of 19th century bridges in the Sites and Monuments Record, though this may simply be because no-one has surveyed these areas. In the absence of more detailed information, the crossing points have been identified using the Ordnance Survey map of 1880. Four of the crossing points [*Map D*: 2, 3, 4, 5] are depicted on *Map D* with a 10 metre radius centered on the point where the road and watercourse cross. Two crossing points are depicted on *Map D* by a slightly larger area because the watercourse crosses two roads [*Map D*: 1, 7], and two are depicted on *Map D* with a 5 metre radius centred on the point where the road and watercourse cross.

Railways [*Map D*: 9, 10, 11]

An Act of 1864 authorised the Midland Railway to build a branch line from the main Bristol to Gloucester line at Yate, to Thornbury. The line was opened in 1872, with stations at Tytherington, Iron Acton and Thornbury (SMR 2758; Buchanan & Buchanan 1969: 287). It continued to carry passengers until 1944, and freight until 1966 when it was closed entirely. (Oakley 1986: 17)

The railway station was demolished to make way for a light industrial estate in the late 1960s or early 1970s (it was no longer standing when it was visited in 1972 for the parish survey; Parish survey 1973: record 11). A goods warehouse still survived in 1975 (Iles site visit), but it has since been demolished. The doors from the goods warehouse still survive, having been reused as workshop doors for a workshop at the junction of the Gloucester Road and Knapp Lane East (Hallett personal communication). The station buildings and area of railway lines shown on *Map D* are based on the Ordnance Survey map of 1880.

The only remaining feature of the railway station is a tunnel, which now runs underneath Midland Way and is used as a public footpath. No survey of the tunnel has been conducted and its importance is therefore difficult to assess.

Water supply [*Map D*]

Most of the houses in the town had their own wells and rainwater cisterns (Morse 1951: 6). There are several wells shown on the 1880 Ordnance Survey map, one of which is located in the town at Park House; the majority of the others were located to the east of the town, on the Gillingstool road. Four pumps are shown on the 1880 Ordnance Survey map in the town area, one at the top of the High Street in the Plain, one in the grounds of the Chantry and two close to the Church. These pumps are shown on *Map D*.

Morse writes that the public water supply for the town in 1851 was derived from two pumps, the 'upper pump' opposite the Beaufort Arms and the 'lower pump' on the Plain (Morse 1951: 6); the upper pump was not marked on the 1880 Ordnance Survey map. According to Wildgoose the pumps did not supply drinking water (personal communication).

7.3 Commercial core

Tenement plots [*Map D*]

The bounds of the 19th century town, as shown on *Map D*, are based on the Ordnance Survey map of 1880. They include the immediate plot areas associated with buildings in the town.

Market place [*Map D*: 12, 13, 14]

By the 19th century, only two of the three areas identified above, could be used as a market area: the High Street and The Plain. The third area had been infilled with a

narrow block of buildings, between Silver Street and Soaper's Street. The street name *Chipping Street* was no longer in use by the time the 19th century maps were drawn up. The market areas shown on *Map D* are based on plan analysis of the Tithe map of 1840 and the Ordnance Survey map of 1880; the infilled area has been copied from the Ordnance Survey map of 1880.

Public Houses [*Map D: 15, 16, 17*]

Only three buildings are marked on the Ordnance Survey map of 1880 as public houses or hotels: The Swan Hotel, The Beaufort Hotel and The White Lion (DoE 1984: 4/37, 4/42, 4/51). They all date to at least the 18th century. The White Lion is distinguished by a painted cast lion over the portico, and in a similar vein a cast swan sits over the portico of The Swan (Verrey 1970: 382). The depiction of the public houses on *Map D* is based on the plot areas shown on the Ordnance Survey map of 1880.

7.4 Civic buildings

Town hall and market house [*Map D: 18*]

In the 19th century the market hall doubled as a town hall, and is marked on the 1840 Tithe map as the Town Hall and on the 1880 Ordnance Survey map as the Market House. It was formerly known as the Moot House (Gloucestershire Record Office place name index). The precise role of the hall in the 19th century is not known. It is a listed building dating to the 17th century, though it was remodelled in the 18th century (DoE 1984: 4/54). The plot boundaries for the property have remained unchanged since the Tithe map of 1840, and the area depicted on *Map D* is consequently based on the digital Ordnance Survey map of 1995.

Almshouses [*Map D: 19*]

There has been some confusion over the identification of almshouses in St. Mary Street, but it now seems certain that they were located at 15 and 17 St. Mary Street (SMR 7602), and not at no 19, as identified in the Thornbury parish survey (SMR 6583; Parish survey 1973). Numbers 15 and 17 form one building, dating to the early 19th century (DoE 1984: 4/112). It is likely that this building replaced an earlier almshouse on the same site: Kelly's directory states that Sir John Stafford founded an almshouse on Back Street (also known as St. Mary Street) in the 16th century (Kelly's directory 1897: 330). A detailed buildings survey is required to check for a pre-19th century core.

The depiction of the almshouses on *Map D* is based on the modern plot boundaries for the properties shown on the digital Ordnance Survey map of 1995. They have remained unchanged since the Tithe map of 1840.

In addition to the almshouses identified on St. Mary Street, there were other buildings in the town, not yet identified, which were originally almshouses. There are several references to money given for almshouses in both Atkyns and Rudder, going back to at least 1594 (Rudder 1779: 760): Mr. Slimbridge built an almshouse for 4 poor people, Mr. Hip gave an almshouse for 2 poor people, Mrs. Hip gave an almshouse for 3 poor people, Sir John Stafford built an almshouse for 6 poor people (Atkyns 1712: 770).

Workhouse [*Map D: 20*]

The Union Workhouse is marked on the 1840 Tithe map and 1880 Ordnance Survey map, appearing on the 1921 map as the Poor Law Institution (SMR 4427). The main 19th century buildings still survive intact today, as part of Thornbury Hospital. The area

depicted on *Map D* is based on the plot areas shown on the Ordnance Survey map of 1880.

Town lockup and parish pound [*Map D: 21*]

A pound and town lockup are located to the east of the parish churchyard and therefore some distance from the main town area (SMR 5722; SMR 2454). They are one integral unit (Jones 1982) and the rectangular lockup building is in reasonable condition, with a single slope roof and a low blocked entrance. There are reputedly hooks inside the building for tethering the horses of churchgoers. The pound and lockup building appear on both the Tithe map of 1840 and the 1880 Ordnance Survey map.

The depiction of town lockup and parish pound on *Map D* is based on the plot boundaries shown on the digital Ordnance Survey map of 1995, and they remain unchanged from the 19th century maps.

Bathhouse [*Map D: 22*]

A small complex of buildings and waterways appear on the Ordnance Survey map of 1880 marked as a bath and sluice: the depiction of the bathhouse on *Map D* is based on this map. They were situated on the east side of the town, at the end of Bath Lane, and were probably closed down in the 1950s due to the polio epidemic (Wildgoose & Hallett personal communication). The use of the baths within living memory is of importance and an oral history record should be made.

The baths were knocked down in the early 1970s; they appeared on the 1970 Ordnance Survey map but by 1973 the parish survey states that they no longer survive (Parish survey 1973: record number 12). Their names reflect the former use of the site, 'The Bathings', 'Bathurst House', 'Spring House' and 'Brook House'. It is not known if the 19th century baths were recorded before their demolition.

Register Office [*Map D: 23, 24*]

The Register Office still stands at 6 High Street (DoE 1984: 4/49). It was built in 1839 by S.W. Daukes, and is a small neo-Greek building of ashlar (Verey 1970: 382). It is marked on the 1840 Tithe map as the Register Office. Confusingly a second listed building at No 12 The Plain, was formerly listed as the Registry Office (DoE 1984: 4/100); this building dates to the 18th century, and it may be that it was used as the Register Office before the mid 19th century building was constructed. Further research is required to elucidate the relationship between the buildings.

The depiction of the register office on *Map D* is based on the building shown on the digital Ordnance Survey map of 1995. It has remained unchanged from the 19th century maps.

Free Grammar School [*Map D: 25*]

The free grammar school continued in use during the 19th century and is marked on the Ordnance Survey map of 1880. The building is now known as The Hatch, and is a grade II listed building (DoE 1984: 4/17).

The depiction of the school on *Map D* is based on the plot boundaries shown on the digital Ordnance Survey map of 1995, and they remain unchanged from the 19th century maps.

Free School [*Map D: 26*]

The Free School on St. Mary Street is marked on the Ordnance Survey map of 1880, and presumably continued in use during the 19th century. It later became known as

Attwells School, and then The Church Institute (SMR 7600; Parish survey 1973: record 103). By the late 19th century it had been amalgamated with the Free Grammar School (Kelly's directory 1897: 332). It is not known when the building ceased to be used as a school.

The building is not listed, but still stands today. A detailed buildings survey and further documentary research is required. The plot boundaries for the property have remained unchanged since the Tithe map of 1840, and the area depicted on *Map D* is consequently based on the digital Ordnance Survey map of 1995.

British School (infants) [Map D: 27]

The 18th century infants school was rebuilt in 1898 (Kelly's directory 1897: 333). It appears in Kelly's directory as the British School for infants (in addition to the British School for boys and girls founded in the second half of the 19th century). The British School depicted on the Tithe map of 1840 refers to the infants school. When the school was rebuilt it was presumably built on the same site: the depiction of the school on *Map D* is therefore based on the area shown on the Tithe map of 1840. No standing buildings survive today and the survival of below ground features is not known.

National School [Map D: 28]

The National School is marked on the 1840 Tithe map, and appears on the 1880 Ordnance Survey map as a boys and girls school. The depiction of the school on *Map D* is based on the plot boundaries shown on the Ordnance Survey map of 1880. Today the site is used by St. Mary's Church of England School, and the position of the modern complex suggests that the old school buildings could be incorporated into the 20th century building. Further survey work and documentary research is required, particularly into the early 19th century siting of the school. According to Wildgoose the school was originally built adjacent to the Castle Wall opposite its present site (personal communication).

British School (boys and girls school), Grovesend Road [Map D: 29]

A boys and girls school appears on the Ordnance Survey map of 1880 on the same site as the 20th century Gillingstool Primary School. Kelly's directory mentions a mixed British school built in 1862, and it seems certain that it is this school (Kelly's directory 1897: 332). Handel Cossham was involved in the setting up and financing the school, including the purchase of a school house that stood to the west of the school and was demolished to make way for a car park (Hallett personal communication).

One of the main school buildings overlies the 19th century school house, and further survey work is required to determine if it has been incorporated into the new building. The depiction of the school on *Map D* is based on the Ordnance Survey map of 1880.

7.5 Religious sites and cemeteries

St. Mary's Church [Map D: 30]

The parish church continued in use during the 19th century, and was restored in 1848 by Francis Niblett; the tower was restored in 1889 by F.W. Waller, and the vestry by Robert Curwen in 1876 (Verrey 1970: 379). A colourful picture was drawn in 1847 of the church before the restoration: it was filled with 'enormous pews of every conceivable height and every imaginable shape, unpainted, very dirty and untidy and looking all ways but the right way' (Waters 1883: 87). The present seats were designed from fragments of the old carved ones (ibid.). Other features in the church which date to the 19th century include a north window in the chancel, built in 1846, and west window, built in 1855 (Verrey 1970: 380).

Documentary evidence for the church includes a register of baptisms, marriages and burials which date from 1550 (Waters 1883: 88). There is also documentary evidence relating to the closure of the churchyard and opening of a cemetery (1879-1931; Gloucestershire Record Office P330). The area depicted on *Map D* is based on the churchyard shown on the 1880 Ordnance Survey map.

Thornbury Meeting House and Burial Ground [Map D: 31]

Documentary records in 1870 record the purchase of a meeting house and burial ground in 1674 'On the south east side of John Street, in the Town of Thornbury, acquired by purchase on lease for 1000 years' (Trust & Trust Properties 1870; Stock 1996). It closed in 1847 and the building was used as a builders warehouse (Stanbrook & Powney 1989). The building and burial ground survived intact until they were demolished in c.1985, when the whole area was redeveloped (*ibid.*). The human remains were exhumed and re-interred in Lower Hazel burial ground in 1981 (planning application number N7206). No watching brief appears to have been carried out, although a brick-walled grave was seen during work (Stock 1996).

The meeting house was included in the historic buildings survey conducted by Iles in 1975, and included a photograph of the building and a brief description. A date stone of 1794 suggests that it was either rebuilt or altered in the late 18th century. The plot area which surrounds the Meeting House is first depicted on the Tithe map of 1840 and this area is marked on *Map D*. The plot adjoining the building is marked as a burial ground on the 1880 Ordnance Survey map.

Congregational Chapel / Independent Church [Map D: 32]

The Congregational Chapel was built in 1825 on the site of the earlier Presbyterian chapel (SMR 9478; Bond n.d.); a datestone of 1826 survives on the front of the building (Iles 1975). It is shown on both the 1840 Tithe map and the Ordnance Survey map of 1880, as the Independent Chapel. Comparison between the depictions indicate that an extension to the chapel was added between these two dates. The depiction of the chapel on *Map D* is based on the Ordnance survey map of 1880.

There was a small burial ground to the front of the chapel. The archaeological value of the burials is enhanced by the preservation of extracts from the register of baptisms and burials (Gloucestershire Record Office D3567/2/11).

Methodist Chapel (Wesleyan) on Chapel Street [Map D: 33]

The Methodist Chapel on Chapel Street was subsequently used as the Town Hall and is today known as Cossham Hall (Iles 1975). It was built in 1789 and closed in 1854; between 1878 and 1888 it was used by the Salvation Army, after which it became a public hall. There are two date stones on the front of the building, a simple stone of 1835 and above it a stone plaque 'Cossham Hall 1888'; it seems probable that the first indicates a date of rebuilding or new construction of the Methodist Chapel and the second its use as a Town Hall. No burial ground is indicated on the Ordnance Survey map of 1880 but further work is required to establish where the burials were made.

The area shown on *Map C* is based on the curtilage of the surviving building as shown on the digital Ordnance Survey map of 1995 and first depicted on the Tithe map of 1840.

Methodist Chapel (Wesleyan) in the High Street [Map D: 34]

The second Wesleyan was built in the High Street. It was opened in the second half of the 19th century as a larger chapel for the congregation that had formerly met in the chapel on Chapel Street; according to Stanbrook & Powney it was opened in 1854

(Stanbrook & Powney 1989), but Wildgoose has stated that it was not opened until the 1880s (Wildgoose personal communication). The main building was built of local stone and is neo-Early English in style (Verey 1970: 381). The Ordnance Survey map of 1880 shows a burial ground surrounding the church. It was rebuilt in 1907 and has had several extensions and additions in recent years (Stanbrook & Powney 1989), including construction over part of the burial ground. The area shown on *Map D* is based on the burial ground plot shown on the 1880 Ordnance Survey map.

Baptist Chapel (Particular) [Map D: 35]

The Baptist Chapel on Grovesend Road is a grade II listed building (DoE 1984: 4/113). It was built in 1828 and has a tablet on the front of the building which reads 'Baptist Chapel'. According to Hallett, the date stones on the building were rendered over during refurbishment during the 1980s (personal communication). The chapel and burial ground are shown on both the 1840 Tithe map and Ordnance Survey map of 1880. The area shown on *Map D* is based on the plot area shown on these maps.

7.6 Extractive industrial areas and sites

Old quarry works [Map D: 36, 37, 38]

A gravel quarry was shown on the Ordnance Survey map of 1880, a short distance to the north-east of the town in Morton (SMR 6095). This area is depicted on *Map D*. Today this area lies within the modern town, and the site record states that the area has not been filled in. Further survey work is required.

A second quarry area is shown on the Ordnance Survey map of 1880 along Back Church Lane and is depicted on *Map D*. This area also lies within the modern town, but it is not recorded within the Sites and Monuments Record and no site visit is known to have occurred. According to Wildgoose (personal communication), the area has been backfilled. Further survey work is required to access the area.

7.7 Non-extractive industrial areas and sites

Mills [Map D: 39]

Morton Mill was a water mill to the north of the town, which was destroyed in c.1993 (SMR 2817; n.d. parish file item 10 c.1987). It was previously known as Woolford mill, and had been used by its owners as a storage area; a site visit in 1982 noted that parts of the old mill, including the flooring and machinery, had survived. Today only the wheel setting is known to survive (Russett personal communication). A ground survey is urgently required to check for the survival of other features. The depiction of the mill building on *Map D* is based on the Ordnance Survey map of 1880.

Tanneries [Map D: 40]

One tannery has been identified at the southern edge of the town, largely on the basis of field name evidence and water channel features (SMR 3220; Iles & Williams 1979). The fields names recorded in the Tithe apportionments for the fields surrounding the tannery include Tannery Mead, Tan House Mead and Tanners Mead.

During a site visit in 1982 the owner of the house stated that the pond was used for soaking hides (SMR 2756). Several leats, drains and depressions have been noted in this area and a full ground survey is required to make better sense of the water features. The tannery area was later used as a cider house, as shown on the Tithe map of 1840. The plot area associated with the cider house is shown on the Ordnance Survey map of 1880, and this is the area depicted on *Map D*.

One other tannery has been identified 2 kilometres to the east of the town (SMR 3222), although this is not shown on *Map D*.

Breweries [*Map D: 41*]

A cider house is shown on the 1840 Tithe map and parts of this building still survive today (SMR 3219). In 1987 the bottom of a stone cider press was observed inside the buildings among the remains (n.d. parish file item 10 c.1987). According to Hallett a cider mill stone survives on the verge of a road a few meters to the north of a stone stile, which forms the southernmost boundary of the medieval borough of Thornbury (personal communication).

There are a large number of watercourses to the west of this building which may have powered a mill, but they may be all connected with the adjacent tannery. Further field survey work is required to determine the survival of features today. The area depicted on *Map D* is based on the Tithe map of 1840.

Smithies [*Map D: 42, 43, 44, 45*]

Three smithies were marked on the Ordnance Survey map of 1880 and their depiction on *Map D* is based on the plot area shown on the 1880 map. Two of the smithies lay in the 19th century town area: one at the back of 8 The Plain [*Map D: 42*], and the other at the back of 13 St. John Street [*Map D: 43*]. No site visit has been made, and the survival of archaeological remains is unknown. The third smithy lay at Morton Bridge to the north-east of the 19th century town area (SMR 2818)[*Map D: 44*]. The site was visited in 1978 and no standing remains were observed, although a sunken path from the road and the foundations of a building were still visible. However, by 1982 no features were observed and the road had been widened at that point.

A fourth smithy appears on the 1:2500 Ordnance Survey map of 1921, but does not appear on the 1880 Ordnance Survey map [*Map D: 45*]. It can therefore be assumed that it was built sometime between 1880 and 1921. The depiction of the smithy on *Map D* is based on the plot boundaries shown on the 1921 map. Trial excavation at this site (Stafford Crescent) in 1994 (SMR 10381) revealed the existence of a small gabled building which had been used as a smithy until 1989 (SMR 10479; Boore 1995). The gable ends are built of Pennant Sandstone and may date to the late 19th century. Later extensions were added to this building, including a red-brick side wall with three arched windows along the west wall. The floor is constructed of brick and the building retains other architectural details including contemporary windows, frames and other features.

The smithy was renowned for its manufacture of horse ploughs which were exported as far as Australia. The smithy has remained intact retaining its double-flued furnace and forge and hearth which, at the time of the evaluation, was still covered with ashes from the last firing. Various associated implements such as tongs and remnants of hammers used for smithying were scattered around the building. The evaluation concluded that the surviving structural remains for the smithy encapsulate a unique record of a small-scale rural industry. The importance of the building is enhanced by documentary information, including video film footage of the smithy at work, and living memory descriptions by descendants of the original smithy owners. The site needs to be fully recorded and if possible preserved. (Boore 1995)

Gas works [*Map D: 46*]

A gas works is marked on the Ordnance Survey map of 1880 adjacent to the quarry works on Back Church Lane (SMR 2814). The gasworks were still marked on the 1990 and the plot boundary has remained intact on the digital Ordnance Survey map of 1995. Field survey work is required to check for the survival of 19th century gasometers or

other structures associated with the gas works. The depiction of the gas works on *Map D* is based on the 1995 map.

7.8 Private estates

Thornbury Castle and gardens [*Map D: 47*]

Thornbury Castle was restored by Anthony Salvin in 1854 (Verey 1970: 61); he transformed the largely ruinous buildings into a family home, incorporating the vestiges of the 16th century courts and privy gardens with their bee-boles and geometric beds (Harding & Lambert 1994: 86).

The depiction of the castle area on *Map D* is based on the walled area shown on the digital Ordnance Survey map of 1995. It has remained unchanged from the Tithe map of 1840.

7.9 Standing buildings

There are over 40 listed building entries by the Department of the Environment for Thornbury, which relate to buildings which were built or substantially altered in the 19th century. There are, of course, many other examples of 19th century buildings which are not listed, including Warwick House, an early 19th century house at 19 St. Mary Street (SMR 7604).

8.0 20TH CENTURY MODERN DEVELOPMENT

8.1 Sources of evidence

- **Below ground intervention:** Archaeological evaluations (SMR 2762; SMR 4745; SMR 1570; SMR 10381; SMR 10571; SMR 9498).
- **Field survey work:** Thornbury Archaeological Group parish survey (1973); topographic survey of Thornbury (Leech 1975); survey of Thornbury Castle parks and gardens (Harding & Lambert 1991; 1994).
- **Standings buildings:** Study of church and principal buildings (Verey 1970); list of buildings of special architectural or historic interest (DoE 1984).
- **Maps:** Ordnance Survey maps (1921, 1969, 1970, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1990, 1995).
- **Archaeological/historical research:** Study of St. Mary's Church (Waters 1883); the archaeology of Avon (Aston & Iles 1988); unpublished assessment report for the Monuments Protection Programme (Bond n.d.).

8.2 Watercourses, roads and routeways

Watercourses

The pattern of streams which run northwards towards the Severn River can still be discerned on the modern Ordnance Survey map of the area, although substantial stretches of water have been diverted underground. The stream to the west of the town, where there have not been any major housing developments, is virtually unchanged from the watercourse depicted on the 1840 Tithe map and 1880 Ordnance Survey map. By contrast, the streams to the east of the town, where there have been large 20th century housing developments, have been extensively altered. Two smaller watercourses in the south-eastern part of the town do not appear above ground today. A section of the stream on the eastern edge of the town has also been diverted below ground.

The stream running east-west on the lower land to the north of the town, continues on a similar course to the 19th century. The mill pond at Morton Mill appeared on the 1921 Ordnance Survey map, but had been infilled by 1970 (it did not appear on the Ordnance Survey map of 1970). Housing was subsequently built on this area sometime between 1982 and 1995: no housing appeared on the Ordnance Survey map of 1982, but by 1995 two blocks of housing had been built.

Roads

Substantial alterations have occurred to the road network in the centre of the town as a result of the redevelopment outlined below. Outer Back Street, or what is now known as Rock Street, has been widened and its alignment altered. Horseshoe Lane has been removed altogether and a new Street, Quaker Lane, inserted into the network. St. Mary Street, Soaper's Lane and Silver Street are now pedestrianised. Midland Way was constructed along part of the old railway route.

The major development in the road network occurred as a result of massive expansion in the size of the town to the east, as a result of new housing developments. The road network was designed to provide car access to the estates, and many of the roads are cul-de-sacs. The housing estates were built up around the existing 19th century road network and all most of the old routes remain essentially unaltered today; exceptions include Grovesend road (now Gillingstool road), which has been straightened and widened.

Railways

The railway continued in use into the 20th century, the principal traffic being coal and animal feeding products. There were 3 sidings, a turntable, a goods shed, a cattle loading dock and a water tower. During the Second World War ambulance trains took the wounded to Thornbury hospital, but by 1944 the station was closed to passengers. In 1966 it ceased to carry goods traffic. (Maggs 1957: 868; Oakley 1986: 17)

The railway station was demolished to make way for a light industrial estate in the late 1960s or early 1970s (it was no longer standing when it was visited in 1972 for the parish survey; Linton 1973: record 11). Only one station building survived in 1975: a goods warehouse (Iles 1975). It is not known if this building survives today.

8.3 Redevelopment within the town centre [Map E: 1-18]

The historic town of Thornbury has been subject to major redevelopment in the 20th century, most of which has not been preceded by any archaeological evaluation. Comparison of Ordnance Survey maps only allows a very crude assessment of the dates of these changes, with coverage in 1921, 1984, 1990 and 1995.

The major change to the town core occurred in the early 1970s, when a whole swathe of burgage plots and houses were demolished to make way for St. Mary's Way Precinct. It was opened on 25 March 1974, just days before the old council was abolished by local government reform (Hudson 1987: 19). At least 6 burgage plots and 16 houses were knocked down on the east side of the High Street, adjacent to Silver Street [Map E: 1]. A further 11 burgages and at least 10 houses were demolished on the east side of St. Mary's Street, and 5 burgages partly erased to the west [Map E: 2, 3]. Only a very minor excavation along the frontage of 13 St. Mary Street was undertaken revealing a medieval hearth, although finds reported included medieval pottery (SMR 2761).

To the south of this redevelopment, the United Reformed Church (previously Independent Chapel) increased the size of its grounds to accommodate a car park, and at least 13 plots were eradicated and more than 20 buildings demolished in the process [Map E: 4]. No formal archaeological evaluation was conducted, but finds recorded for this area include Romano-British pottery (SMR 2760).

The northern part of this block of burgages did not escape destruction, and in c.1984 at least 11 properties, including the 17th century Quaker Meeting House, was demolished to make way for Quaker Court homes for the elderly [Map E: 5](Hudson 1987: 28). Again no archaeological evaluation was conducted prior to construction work.

An area on the east side of Rock Street was redeveloped between 1921 and 1984 for the grounds of Gillingstool Primary School [Map E: 6, 7]. No evidence remains of the buildings or the plot boundaries that once stood here. A block of at least 20 buildings and plots adjacent to this area was also demolished when the Police Station was built here between 1921 and 1984 [Map E: 8].

There has also been some redevelopment of properties on the south side of Chapel Street. The Wheatsheaf public house was constructed sometime between 1880 and 1921 (it does not appear on the Ordnance Survey map of 1880, but appears on the 1921 map), and it resulted in the demolition of several buildings and the amalgamation of 3 plots [Map E: 9]. Further redevelopment occurred between 1921 and 1984 adjacent to the pub, when at least 16 buildings and plots were erased to allow the widening of Rock Street and the construction of new houses [Map E: 10]. An extension

onto the back of Cossham Hall was built in the late 1980s [Map E: 11]. This did not involve the demolition of any major buildings, but again no archaeological evaluation was carried out.

In addition to the redevelopment in the central part of the town, demolition also occurred to the north. An 18th century terrace fronting the Gloucester Road was demolished in the 1960s (SMR 10381) [Map E: 12]. Other developments occurred in the back plots of the old town: Stafford Crescent [Map E: 13], Stokesfield Close [Map E: 14], Clare Walk [Map E: 15] and Castle Court house [Map E: 16]. Northavon District Council Offices were built in the early 1990s and even here no archaeological evaluation was carried out [Map E: 17]. A development at the end of Castle Court which took place in the early 1990s was also not subject to any archaeological evaluation [Map E: 18].

8.4 Settlement growth [Map E]

The Ordnance Survey maps of 1921, 1970, those drawn up in the early 1980s, and the maps of 1990 and 1995, give a picture of the settlement growth in Thornbury during the 20th century. However, the town covers a large area and the maps tend to cover those parts of the town where development was greatest. For example a large part of the old town and the area immediately around it, are not mapped between 1921 and 1984. Consequently, only a limited understanding can be gained on the basis of the map evidence. Detailed ground survey is outside the remit of this project.

The vast majority of new houses were built in the 1950s and 1960s (Leech 1975: 21). They are located predominantly to the north and east of the 19th century town. A second eastern fringe of housing was added in the 1970s and 1980s. In recent years the increase in houses has slowed down, and during the 1990s only a small number of houses were infilled to the south-east, and the Northavon Council Offices built to the west of the town.

8.5 Civic buildings [Map E: 19-27]

The majority of new civic buildings have been schools, generally built between 1921 and 1970 at the same time as the bulk of new housing developments were being built. Two existing 19th century schools are still in use today, Gillingstool Primary School and St. Mary's Church of England School. The others were all built on green field sites and there were no archaeological evaluations.

- **Gillingstool Primary School** occupies the site of the 19th century British School for boys and girls. On the Ordnance Survey map of 1990 it is labelled as Leaze Infants School, but by the 1995 edition it appears as Gillingstool Primary School [Map E: 19]. One of the main school buildings overlies the 19th century school house, and further survey work is required to determine if it has been incorporated into the new building.
- **St. Mary's Church of England School** occupies the site of the 19th century National School [Map E: 20]. The position of the modern complex suggests that the old school buildings could be incorporated into the 20th century building. Further survey work and documentary research is required.
- **Manorbrook County Primary School** was constructed between 1921 and 1970 [Map E: 21]
- **The Castle School** was constructed between 1921 and 1984 [Map E: 22]

In addition to the school buildings, the Union Workhouse was converted into **Thornbury Hospital** [Map E: 23], and extensions to the 19th century site constructed between 1921 and 1970.

8.6 Religious sites and cemeteries

St. Mary's Church [Map E: 24]

No major alterations occurred to the church in the 20th century. Minor alterations include the erection of a perpendicular style screen in 1914, the extension of the altar in 1938, and one south and all north windows filled with modern stained glass. Above the altar are panels inscribed in gilt with the names of Thornbury men who fell in the First World War. An oak screen, with the names of 27 Thornbury men who died in the Second World War, was given by the parishioners as a war memorial; an altar table was given in memory of the 6th Regiment of the Maritime Royal Artillery who died in the Second World War and whose Regimental Headquarters was at Thornbury from 1942-45. (Anon n.d. pamphlet on Thornbury Parish Church: 10)

The area depicted on *Map E* is based on the modern churchyard boundaries; documents relating to the closure of the churchyard and opening of the cemetery survive from between 1879 and 1931 (Gloucestershire Record Office P330), and they need to be consulted in order to determine when the cemetery to the west of the town began to be used for burials.

Cemetery [Map E: 25]

A cemetery was constructed sometime between 1921 and 1984, since it does not appear on the Ordnance Survey map of 1921, but appears on the 1984 map. It was located on a green field site adjacent to a stream. Further work is required to access the likelihood of waterlogged preservation at this site.

United Reformed Church [Map E: 26, 4]

The former Independent Chapel appears as the United Reformed Church on the Ordnance Survey maps of the 20th century [Map E: 26]. Although the church building has been retained, at least 13 plots were eradicated and more than 20 buildings demolished to the north of the church for a car park, as described above [Map E: 4]. No formal archaeological evaluation was conducted, but finds recorded for this area include Romano-British pottery (SMR 2760). The demolition occurred between 1921 and 1984.

Methodist Church [Map E: 27]

This Wesleyan chapel was opened in 1854 as a larger chapel for the congregation that had formerly met in the chapel on Chapel Street (Stanbrook & Powney 1989). The main building was built of local stone and is neo-Early English in style (Verey 1970: 381). The Ordnance Survey map of 1880 shows a burial ground surrounding the church. Stanbrook and Powney state that it was rebuilt in 1907 and has had several extensions and additions in recent years, including a building to the back which has covered the majority of the burial ground; it is not known if any 19th century features survive. The area shown on *Map E* is based on the buildings shown on the 1995 Ordnance Survey map.

Baptist Church [Map E: 28]

The Baptist Chapel on Grovesend Road is a grade II listed building (DoE 1984: 4/113). It was built in 1828 and has a tablet on the front of the building which reads 'Baptist Chapel'. It is still used as a church, and an extension was added on the east side of the building on a new plot of land not previously used as a burial ground. The area shown on *Map E* is based on the plot area shown on the 1995 Ordnance Survey map. Further research is required to establish if the burial ground is still in use and what memorial stones survive.

Catholic Church of Christ the King [Map E: 29]

A Catholic Church was constructed sometime between 1921 and 1984. No further information has been obtained for this site and it is not known if there are burials in the plot area surrounding the church.

8.7 Non-extractive industrial areas and sites**Mill [Map E: 30, 31, 32]**

Morton Mill, formerly known as Woolford Mill, was a water mill to the north of the town. In the summer of 1988 planning permission was granted for the demolition of the building, but its appearance on the modern Ordnance Survey of 1995 suggests that it survived the demolition order (SMR 2817; c.1987 Avon Industrial Buildings Trust parish survey item 10). The mill was owned by West Midland Farmers and used for storing and bagging grain.

A site inspection in c.1987 found that the external structure was sound, although disfigured by the utilitarian nature of the building extensions. The internal condition was described as extremely good, with the original shutes and traps still in use. Apart from a grindstone set into the floor, no other machinery was identified in the mill house. Investigation of shed beside it revealed abandoned grindstones and possible machinery among the general debris. An older employee mentioned that the mill had been converted to steam at the turn of the century. (c.1987 Avon Industrial Buildings Trust parish survey item 10)

A large millpond adjacent to the mill survived until at least 1921, when it was still depicted on the Ordnance Survey map. The next map of the area was drawn up in 1970 and by then it had been infilled. However, according to a site visit made in 1978, the leat was still visible. Since then the area has been partially built up, with two groups of houses constructed sometime between 1982 and 1995. According to Russett, only the race survives today (personal communication). Further field survey work is required to check for the visibility of the leat and other features associated with the mill.

Brick and tile works [Map E: 33]

The parish survey identified an area of brick and tile works at Gillingstool (SMR 2815; Linton 1973: 227). No evidence of the works or clay pit survive and a housing estate has now been built on the land.

Gas supply [Map E: 34]

The 19th century gasworks continued to be marked on the Ordnance Survey map of 1990 (SMR 2814). By the 1995 edition of the Ordnance Survey the gasometers were no longer shown, although the plot boundaries remained intact. Field survey work is required to check for the survival of 19th century gasometers or other structures associated with the gas works. The depiction of the gas works on *Map E* is based on the 1995 map.

Thornbury industrial park [Map E: 35]

A large industrial park was constructed sometime after the closure of the railway in 1966. It partly overlies the old railway area, and is integral to the construction of Midland Way along the old route of the railway. The industrial park first appears on the 1984 Ordnance Survey map.

8.8 Listed standing buildings

None of the 20th century buildings in the town have been listed.

9.0 FURTHER RESEARCH

9.1 Research interests

1. The Saxon village and other pre-urban settlement in Thornbury is not well understood; further work is required to understand why this particular site developed into an urban centre. In particular, the role of ancient routeways through the parish and their relationship to feudal strongholds needs to be explored further. Thornbury held salt rights at Droitwich at the time of Domesday and, like Sodbury, it may be that the salt routes were important features of the landscape which influenced the foundation of towns in these places.
2. The organisational structure of the church at Thornbury suggests that there may have been a Saxon minster church on the site of the later medieval church: this also merits further study. In particular, comparisons with better understood settlements such as Keynsham and Chew Magna may shed new light on Thornbury.
3. The role of the waterways needs to be explored more fully. A better understanding of the changing alignments of the streams and siting of public wells would shed valuable light on the development of settlement in the area. This should be part of a more holistic approach to the wider landscape, which would undoubtedly help to provide a better understanding of the role of the town in medieval, post-medieval and 19th century society.
4. The irregular layout of the town and variable plot sizes raises interesting questions about the 'planned' nature of the settlement which need further study. Were the plots originally laid out regularly and at one point, or over a longer period of time?
5. Thornbury Castle estate needs to be studied as a whole; the neglect of the estate in the later 16th, 17th and 18th centuries presents an extremely valuable opportunity to study a planned early 16th century estate. Detailed mapping of the park boundaries is urgently required, as set out in section 5.6; Franklin's doctorate research must be consulted and a survey of the park boundaries carried out. A photographic record and survey of the surviving fishponds is also needed.
6. The preservation of a large number of table tombs in St. Mary's churchyard, spanning several centuries from the 17th century onwards, offers a valuable opportunity to study changing attitudes to death amongst the population of the town. A full photographic survey, including a record of the cemetery plan, is required.
7. Further research is required into the provision of almshouses in the town. A better understanding of their development may shed light on the intentions of their benefactors and the lives of their inmates. Were all the buildings designed in a symmetrical layout? Were the donors commemorated in some way on the building, by a coat of arms or bust, for example? Did the layout of the building reflect a division of the sexes and did each inmate have their own room?
8. More detailed documentary and archaeological research is required to build up a more complete picture of the town in the 18th and 19th century, since very little is understood of industrial development within the town. In addition, a better understanding of 19th century changes to the town would add greater credibility to assertions made about the earlier town.

9.2 Recommendations for further research work

1. Compile a summary of all documentary sources for the town, and a detailed analysis of the medieval source material.
2. Conduct a detailed buildings survey.
3. Conduct a cellar survey.
4. Prepare a detailed contour survey of the town.
5. Build up a detailed deposit model for the town.
6. Complete a comprehensive trawl of Bristol City Museum archives to check for finds and sites which have not been published and are not included in the Sites and Monuments Record.
7. Complete a comprehensive trawl of Gloucester Museum archives to check for finds and sites which have not been published and are not included in the Sites and Monuments Record.

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10.2 Map sources

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- 1840 Tithe map. Gloucestershire Record Office T1/180
- 1880 Ordnance Survey map

1895	6 inch Ordnance Survey map
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1923	Ordnance Survey map 1:2500 sheet 63NE, 63NW
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1978	Ordnance Survey map 1:2500 ST6489
1982	Ordnance Survey map 1:2500 ST6491-6591
1983	Ordnance Survey map 1:2500 ST6489-6589, ST6289-6389
1984	Ordnance Survey map 1:2500 ST6390-6490
1990	Ordnance Survey map 1:2500 ST6389, ST6392, ST6490, ST6489
1995	Ordnance Survey map 1:2500

10.3 Aerial photographs

1946	RAF 106G-UK-1721 2192 ST 788/1
1991	ADAS Run 7 - 104/102

10.4 Archaeological evaluations: unpublished reports held in the South Gloucestershire Sites and Monuments Record

SMR 2762	Anon. Rescue dig on site of Magistrates Court and Police Station 1970s. Thornbury Archaeology Group
SMR 4745	Iles, R. 1981 Rescue excavation close to street frontage 13 St. Mary Street, Thornbury. Bristol City Museum Accession number 1981/19
SMR 1570	Rodwell, K. 1988 Thornbury Castle: structural analysis of part of the outer court. Privately commissioned Rodwell, K. 1991 Thornbury Castle: An analysis of the north range kitchens. Privately commissioned Anon. Report on a geophysical survey carried out at Thornbury Castle. Bath Archaeological Trust 1992a Bell, R. 1992 Thornbury Castle: a report on the trial excavations in the Privy Garden. Bath Archaeological Trust Rodwell, K. 1995 Thornbury Castle:

- SMR 9498 banqueting hall. Privately commissioned
 Russett, V. 1993 Proposed watching brief for
 land at Tweed Close, Thornbury. Did not
 proceed.
- SMR 10328 Boore, E. 1994 (2-6 Castle Street) Saw Mill
 Lane, Thornbury: Archaeological evaluation.
 Job ref.: BA/C113. Bristol and Region
 Archaeological Services
- SMR 10381 Boore, E. 1995 Stafford Crescent, Thornbury:
 Archaeological evaluation. Bristol and Region
 Archaeological Services. Job ref.: BA/D144;
 Accession number: BRSMG 104/199
- SMR 10571 Russett, V. 1995 Watching brief at Castle
 Street, The Vicarage. Proposal to build houses;
 brief issued under 9364
- Brett, J. 1995 Castle Street, Thornbury:
 Archaeological evaluation. Bristol and Region
 Archaeological Services. Job ref.: BA/D175;
 Accession number: BRSMG 30/1995

11.0 ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the following people for their help preparing this report: Vince Russett and Dave Evans for their comments on the draft report; John Brett for his recommendations for relevant material; Vic Hallett for his detailed comments on the draft report; Paul Wildgoose for his detailed comments on the draft report, recommendations for relevant material and for generously supplying me with copies of his unpublished work on Thornbury; Pete Rooney and Tim Twiggs for all their IT support, help with printing and advice setting up the GIS data base.

Edited by David Haigh

*Thornbury Extensive Urban Survey
Maps to Accompany Descriptive Text*

THORNBURY

MAP A: EARLY MEDIEVAL

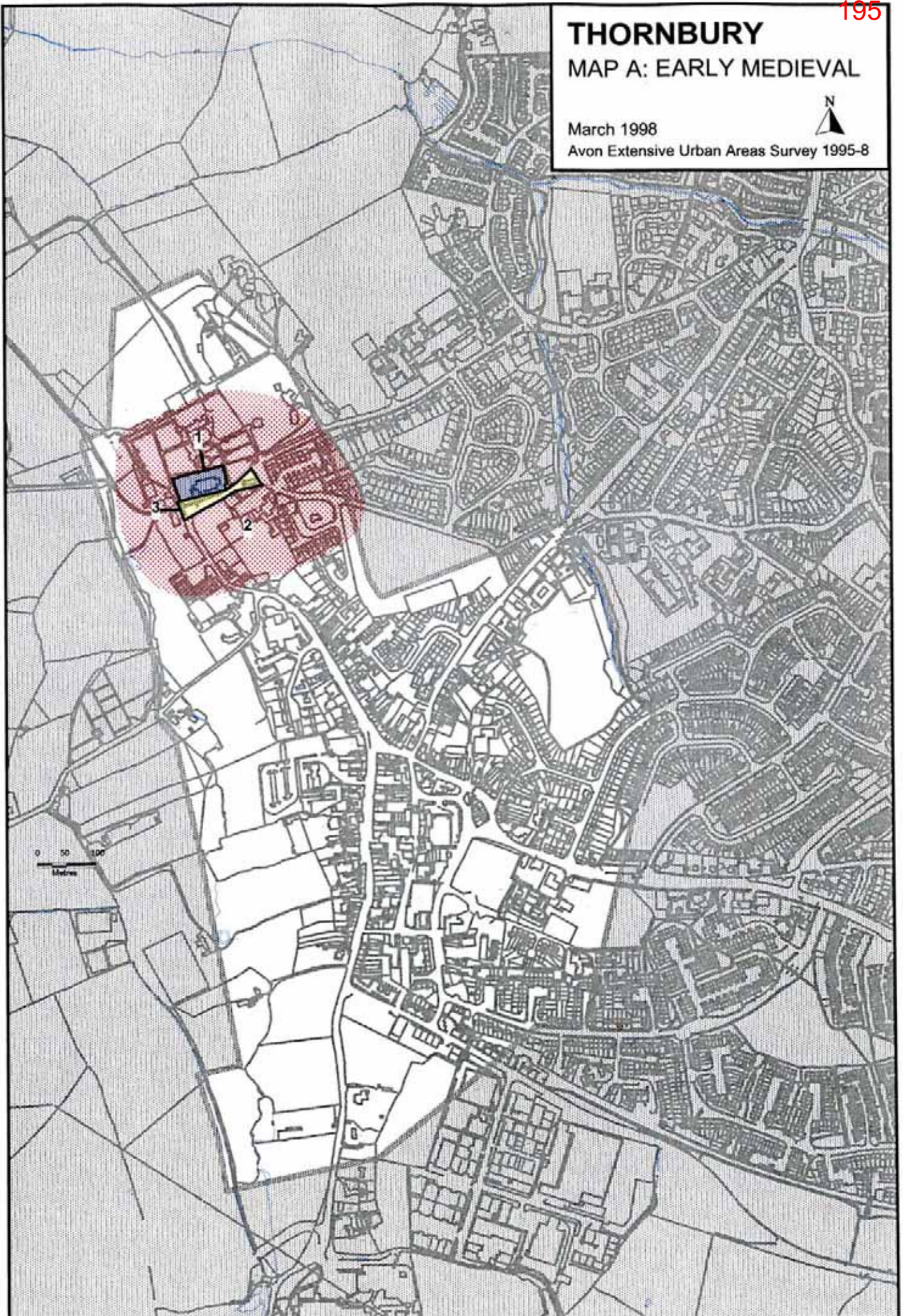
March 1998
Avon Extensive Urban Areas Survey 1995-8

NO	NAME
1	Possible site of early medieval church
2	Possible settlement area
3	Possible market place

THORNBURY

MAP A: EARLY MEDIEVAL

March 1998
Avon Extensive Urban Areas Survey 1995-8



THORNBURY

MAP B: MEDIEVAL

March 1998

Avon Extensive Urban Areas Survey 1995-8

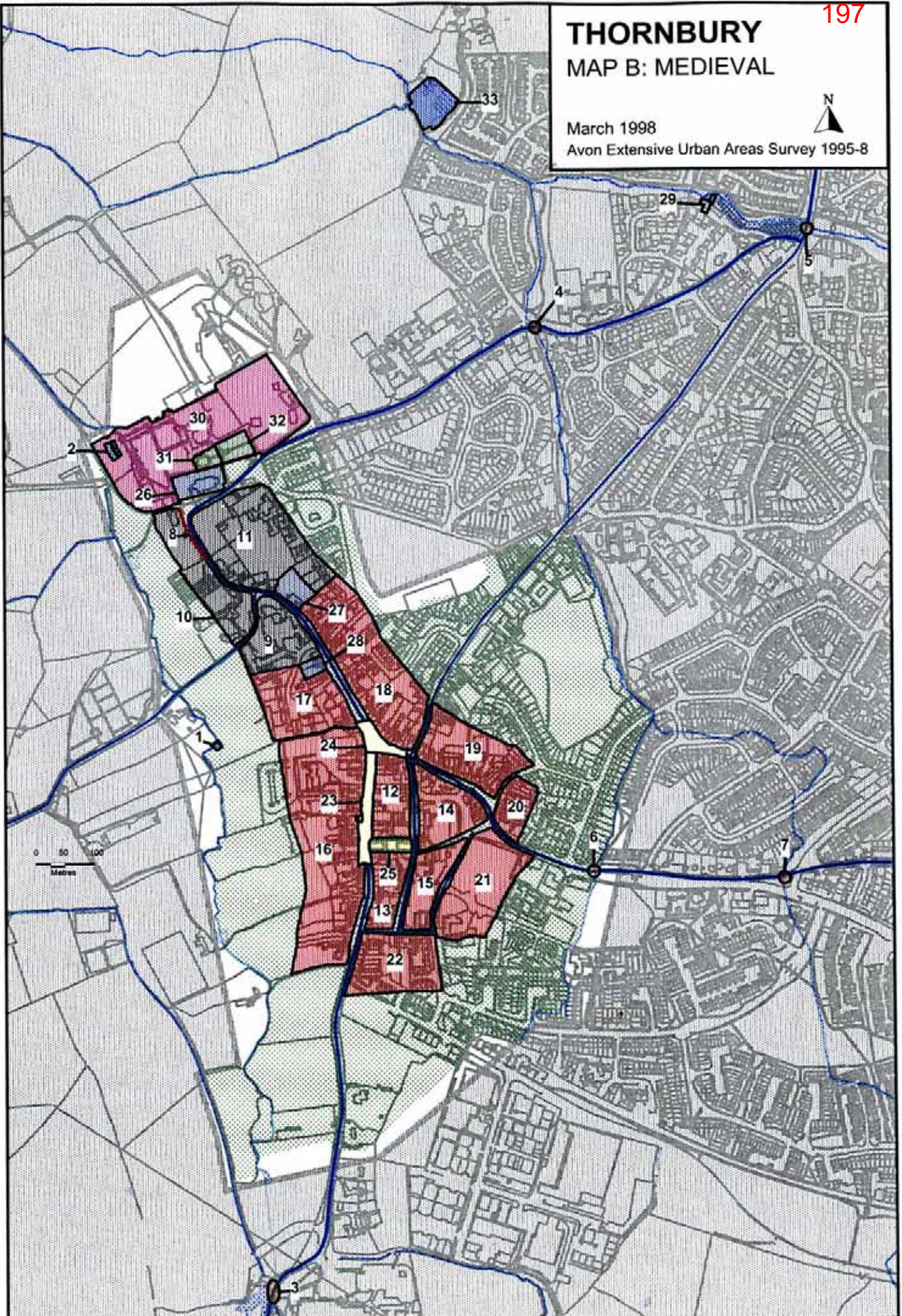
	Burgage plots
	Probable late medieval infill
	Market place
	Religious sites and cemeteries
	Manor
	Borough area
	Road network
	Watercourses

NO	NAME
1	Coppin's Well
2	Canal
3	Crossing point
4	Crossing point
5	Crossing point
6	Crossing point
7	Crossing point
8	Surviving medieval wall
9	Possible town plots
10	Possible town plots
11	Possible town plots
12	Burgage plots
13	Burgage plots
14	Burgage plots
15	Burgage plots
16	Burgage plots
17	Burgage plots
18	Burgage plots
19	Burgage plots
20	Burgage plots
21	Burgage plots
22	Burgage plots
23	Market place
24	Market place
25	Market place
26	St. Mary's Church
27	The Chantry
28	The Priory
29	Morton Mill
30	Thornbury Castle
31	Privy garden
32	Western garden
33	Fishponds

THORNBURY

MAP B: MEDIEVAL

March 1998
Avon Extensive Urban Areas Survey 1995-8















THORNBURY

MAP C: EARLY MODERN

March 1998

Avon Extensive Urban Areas Survey 1995-8

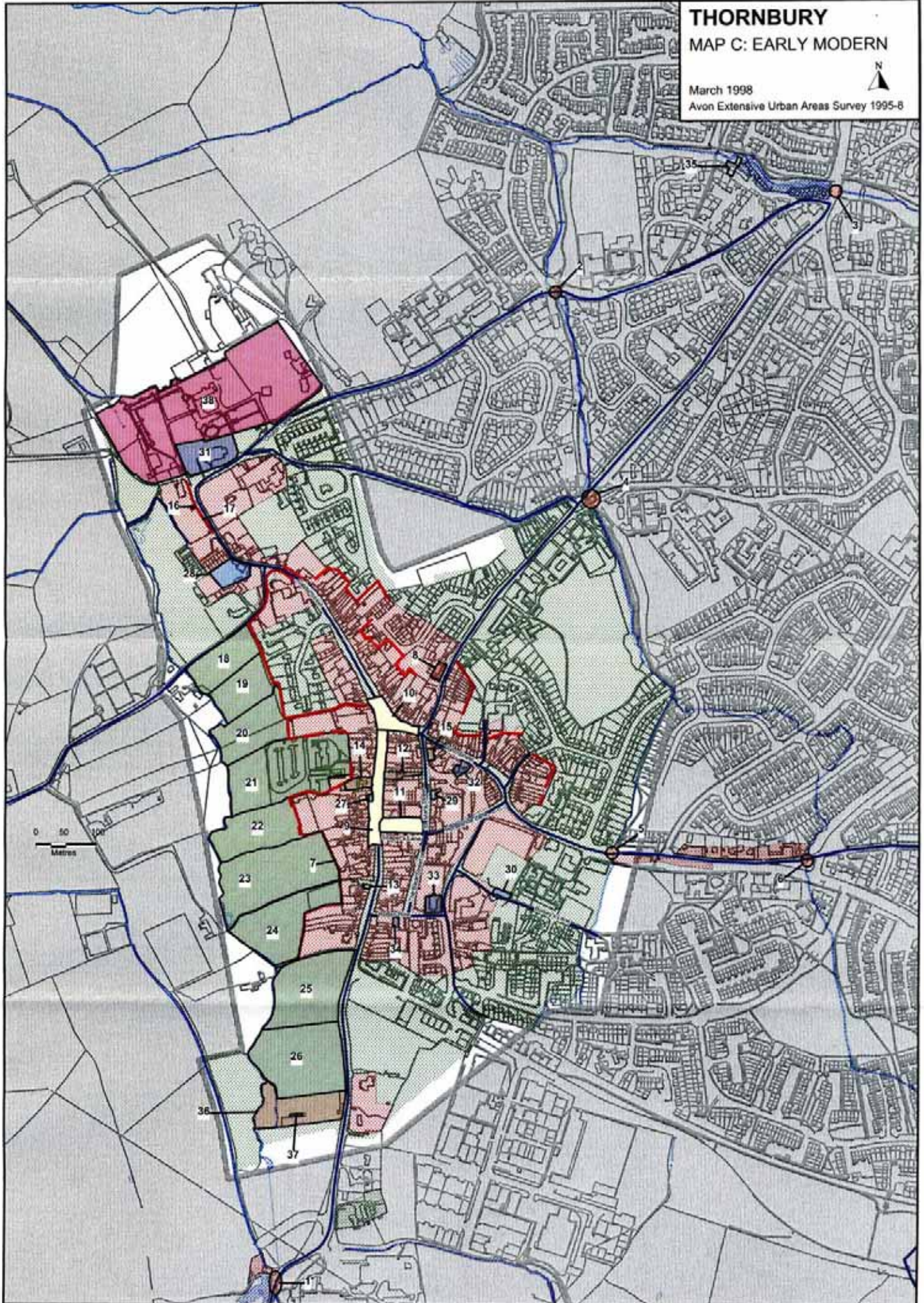
	Bridges and crossing points
	Settlement area
	Town closes
	Market place
	Religious sites and cemeteries
	Private estates
	Borough area
	Public houses and breweries
	Civic sites and buildings
	Probable road network (as shown on the Tithe map of 1843)
	Watercourses
	Town walls

NO	NAME
1	Crossing point
2	Crossing point
3	Morton Bridge
4	Crossing point
5	Crossing point
6	Crossing point
7	Town wall, later fortified in civil war
8	18th century terrace demolished in 1960s
9	Market place
10	Market place
11	Market place
12	The Swan
13	Exchange Hotel
14	The White Lion
15	The Plough, 3 St. Mary Street
16	Boundary wall
17	Boundary stone
18	Town close
19	Town close
20	Town close
21	Town close
22	Town close
23	Town close
24	Town close
25	Town close
26	Town close
27	Market hall and gaol
28	Free Grammar School
29	Free School
30	Elementary School
31	St. Mary's Church
32	Thornbury Meeting House
33	Presbyterian Chapel
34	Methodist Chapel (Wesleyan)
35	Morton Mill
36	Area of tannery and cider house
37	Cider house
38	Thornbury Castle

THORNBURY

MAP C: EARLY MODERN

March 1998
Avon Extensive Urban Areas Survey 1995-8














THORNBURY

MAP D: 19TH CENTURY

March 1998

Avon Extensive Urban Areas Survey 1995-8

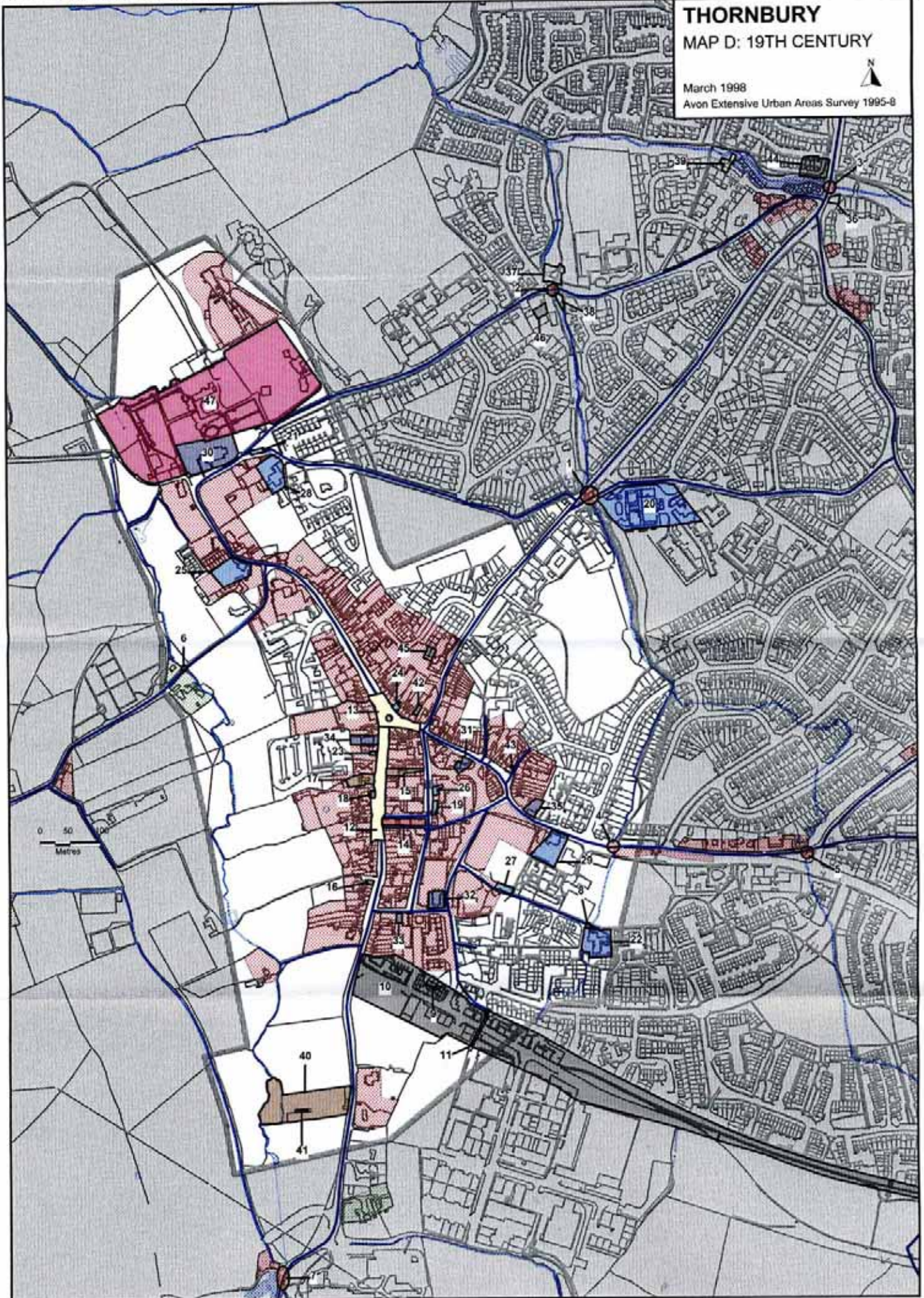
NO	NAME
1	Crossing point
2	Crossing point
3	Morton Bridge
4	Crossing point
5	Crossing point
6	Crossing point
7	Crossing point
8	Crossing point
9	Railway Station
10	Area of railway sidings and track
11	Railway tunnel
12	Market place
13	Market place
14	Block of narrow infill
15	The Swan
16	The Beaufort Hotel
17	The White Lion
18	Town hall and market house
19	Almshouse
20	Union Workhouse
21	Town lockup and pound
22	Public Bathhouse
23	Register Office
24	Registry Office
25	Free Grammar School
26	Free School
27	British School (infants)
28	National School
29	British School (boys and girls)
30	St. Mary's Church
31	Friends Meeting House
32	Independent Chapel
33	Methodist Chapel (Wesleyan)
34	Methodist Chapel (Wesleyan), High Street
35	Baptist Chapel
36	Gravel Pit
37	Quarry
38	Quarry
39	Morton Mill
40	Area of tannery and cider house
41	Cider house
42	Smithy
43	Smithy
44	Smithy
45	Smithy
46	Gas Works
47	Thornbury Castle

	Bridges and crossing points
	Settlement area
	Market place
	Religious sites and cemeteries
	Private estates
	Public houses and breweries
	Civic sites and buildings
	19th century road network (as shown on the OS map of 1880)
	Watercourses
	Water pump (as shown on OS map of 1880)
	Well (as shown on OS map of 1880)

THORNBURY

MAP D: 19TH CENTURY

March 1998
Avon Extensive Urban Areas Survey 1995-8








THORNBURY

MAP E: 20TH CENTURY

March 1998

Avon Extensive Urban Areas Survey 1995-8

	Development shown on the Ordnance Survey map of 1921
	Development shown on the Ordnance Survey map of 1969/70
	Development shown on the Ordnance Survey map of 1982/83/84
	Development shown on the Ordnance Survey map of 1990
	Development shown on the digital Ordnance Survey map of 1995

NO	NAME
1	St. Mary's Way Shopping Precinct
2	St. Mary's Way Shopping Precinct
3	St. Mary's Way Precinct
4	United Reform Church
5	Demolished area of historic town
6	19th century housing demolished
7	19th century housing demolished
8	Police Station
9	Plot amalgamation and demolition of buildings in the late 19th / early 20th century
10	Redevelopment to allow the widening of Rock Street
11	Cossham Hall extension
12	18th century terrace demolished in 1960s
13	Stafford Crescent
14	Stokefield Close
15	Clare Walk
16	Castle Court house
17	Northavon District Council Offices
18	Castle Court redevelopment
19	Gillingstool Primary School
20	Extension to St. Mary's School
21	Manorbrook County Primary School
22	The Castle School
23	Thornbury Hospital
24	St. Mary's Church
25	Cemetery
26	Independent Chapel
27	Methodist Chapel (Wesleyan)
28	Baptist Church
29	Catholic Church of Christ the King
30	Housing built on former mill site
31	Housing built on former mill site
32	Mill pond infilled
33	Brick and tile works
34	Gas Works
35	Thornbury Industrial Park

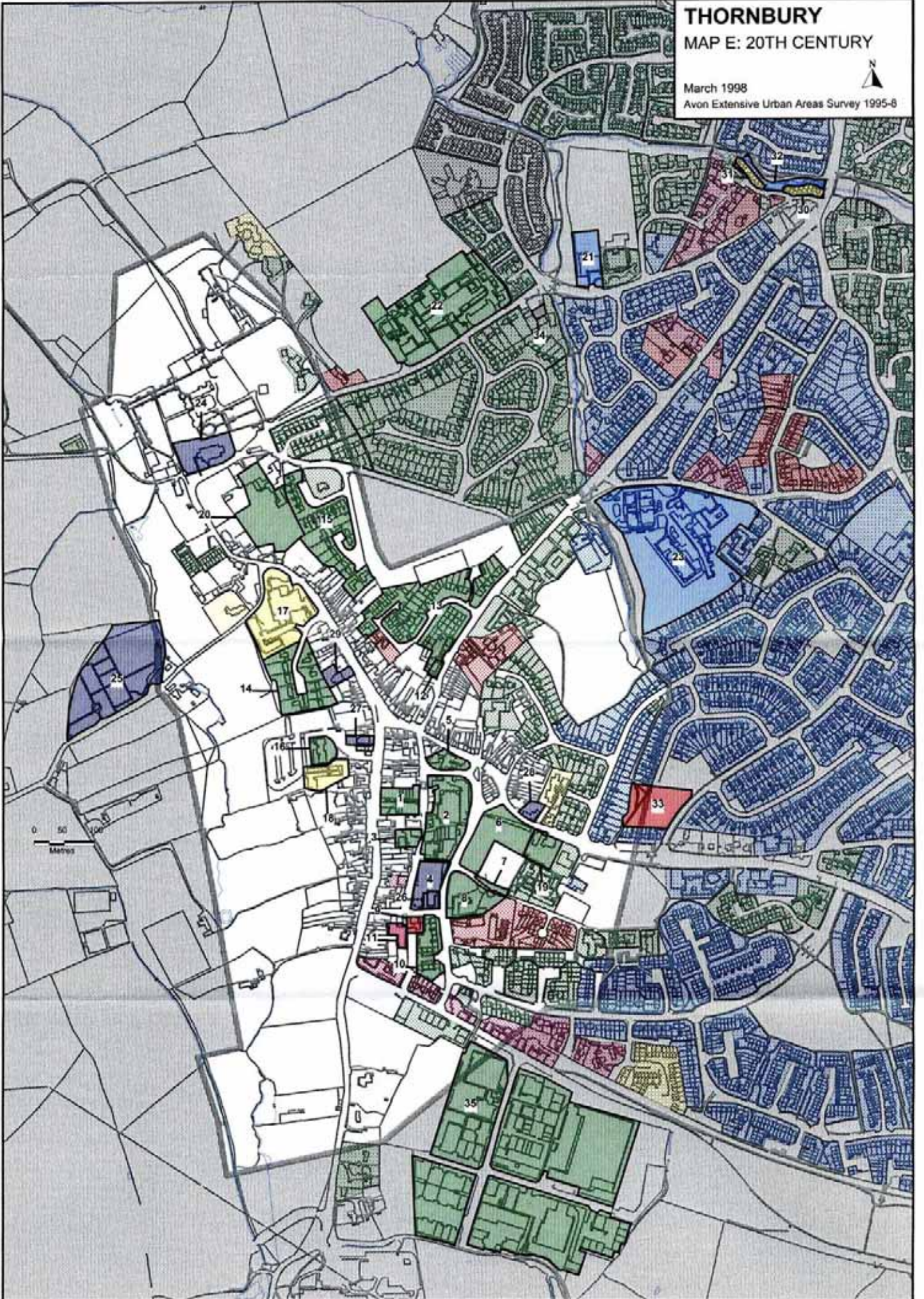
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THORNBURY

MAP E: 20TH CENTURY

March 1998
Avon Extensive Urban Areas Survey 1995-8



Appendix AC 13
Historic England Research Records: Thornbury Park

[< Back to Heritage Gateway](#)

Historic England research records

Historic England Research Records

Thornbury Park

Hob Uid: 201694

Location :

South Gloucestershire

Thornbury, Oldbury-upon-Severn

Grid Ref : ST6316691122

Summary : A licence to first empark Thornbury Park was granted in 1510 to the Duke of Buckingham, with another licence granted in 1517 to impark a further 500 acres. The deer park at Thornbury was bounded on the west by the highway, which separated it from another of the Duke's deerparks at Marlwood (NRHE number 201535). No substantial earthworks survive of the deerpark but there are fishponds (NRHE number 201701) and an unfinished canal (NRHE number 201692). This park was assessed for adding to the Register of Parks and Gardens in 2011 but failed to meet the required criteria.

More information : (ST 633909) Thornbury Park (NAT) (extent of parkland shown). (1)

A licence was granted by Henry VIII to Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham in 1510 to impark 1,000 acres at Thornbury; a second licence was granted in 1517 to impark a further 500 acres. The deer park at Thornbury was bounded on the west by the highway, which separated it from another of the Duke's deerparks at Marlwood (ST 68 NW 19). (2-4)

New Park was first established as a deer park by Edward Stafford, the Third Duke of Buckingham in the early 16th century. King Henry VIII granted a royal license to empark 1000 acres of the land around Thornbury in July 1510 and later granted a license to empark a further 500 acres in 1517. The park was one of three deer parks associated with the castle and earlier manor house at Thornbury (NRHE number 201683), the other two being Eastwood Park (NRHE number 201662) and Marlwood Park (NRHE number 201535), both earlier. The deer park was developed in two stages in 1508-10 and 1515-1517, and it has been suggested that the earlier boundary line from the 1508-10 development can be traced in the existing field boundaries. The works to the deer park occurred at the same time as Stafford was carrying out a scheme to repair and improve Thornbury Castle which took place in 1508 and then again in 1511, with the new park creating a setting for the house. In the early 16th century The Duke began work to add a canal (NRHE number 201692) through the park, sections of which are understood to survive,

however it was not completed as, in 1521, the Duke was executed. It is also understood that The Duke's plans for an extensive woodland in the park were never realised. Following Stafford's execution, Henry VIII confiscated the land formerly in his ownership, although the land was restored to the Stafford family in 1554. Deer were maintained in the park until at least 1541, and by 1550 it was used for pasture, though still enclosed as a park. By 1554/5 records show that cattle and sheep were kept in the deer park, as well as horses. In the 17th and 18th century the area of New Park appears to lie within an amenity park. The most recent aerial images of the site show that some of the fields have been ploughed and are still in under cultivation, while others have continued to be used for pasture.

Archaeological excavation, lidar and geophysical survey have been carried out on the area which is currently subject to the planning application. The geophysical and lidar surveys have not identified any substantial earthworks pertaining to the park pales within the planning proposal area. A documentary survey of New Park was also carried out as part of the planning application. This report provides various historic documents and historic map analysis to identify the likely boundaries of the site. This report suggests that the inner boundary of the park would have run partly through the area. In the Avon Extensive Urban Survey of Thornbury (1996), it is acknowledged that there had not, at that point, been an extensive field survey of the boundaries of the deer park. Field name evidence also identifies the location of a rabbit warren in the south-west area of the park. Documentary evidence suggests that the route of the unfinished canal may have run through the southern edge of the proposed development, however the various surveys carried out in the proposed development area do not show clear evidence of the proposed canal. The documentary and field boundary evidence suggests that the boundary of the park corresponds closely to the current road that creates a loop around the area; this suggests the boundary follows Butts Lane up the west side of the park, cutting across to Kington Lane at the north east corner and continuing down this road on the east side, connecting with Oldland Road in the south and continuing on round to Park Road in the south-west corner.

As stated in `Annex 1: Criteria for assessing the national importance of monuments', incorporated within the DCMS publication on Scheduling published in March 2010, relevant consideration for the selection of archaeological sites for national designation are archaeological potential; degree of rarity; level of documentation; group value; survival and/or condition; fragility and/or vulnerability; and the degree of diversity.

A deer park is an area of land, usually enclosed, which is set aside and equipped for the management and hunting of deer and other wild animals to provide a constant and sustainable supply of food throughout the year. Deer parks are recognised through their distinctive boundaries which take the form of a linear earthwork. A high number of deer parks were created in England, circa. 3500, and are often very similar in design, usually oval shape with a major phase of development between 13th and 14th century. Many deer parks survive either as agricultural areas or as parts of a larger ornamental landscape. Therefore a greater degree of selection is required when assessing national importance. The deer park at Thornbury is a relatively late and short-lived example of this monument type. The level of documentary evidence for this site is good and the likely extent of the park is evident from field boundaries and roads recorded in historic maps. The current road system seems to largely respect these boundaries. However it is not

clear to what extent the surviving boundary is medieval in origin. Most of the evidence for the boundary has been taken from documentary sources, field names and maps, both historic and current. There is some reported evidence of ditches and banks around the periphery of the site; however there has not been sufficient investigation of these features to firmly date them. Boundaries are very susceptible to damage, whether it is through field clearance, road construction and/or widening, or other developments. The survival level of the deer park boundary has not been established and on the available evidence appears poor. Furthermore, a housing development in the south-west corner of the park and other small scale development around the perimeter of the park will have impacted further on the remains of the park boundary. The archaeological potential of the deer park must, therefore, also be considered low.

Based on the available evidence, the deer park does not meet the tests for national importance. The former deer park, New Park, is however of considerable local importance, particularly as part of the wider landscape which developed around the Castle during the medieval and early post-medieval periods. (5)

Sources :

Source Number : 1

Source : Ordnance Survey Map (Scale / Date)

Source details : OS 6" 1889

Page(s) :

Figs. :

Plates :

Vol(s) :

Source Number : 2

Source : Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society

Source details : (A D K Hawkyard)

Page(s) : 51

Figs. :

Plates :

Vol(s) : 95 (1977)

Source Number : 3

Source : Archaeologia : or miscellaneous tracts relating to antiquity

Source details : (J Gage)

Page(s) : 312

Figs. :

Plates :

Vol(s) : 25 (1834)

Source Number : 4

Source : Bristol Archaeological Research Group (B.A.R.G.) bulletin

Source details : (R Iles)

Page(s) : 119

Figs. :

Plates :

Vol(s) : 6 No 5 (1978)

Source Number : 5

Source : UDS Non-Designation case

Source details : Case 467431

Page(s) :

Figs. :
Plates :
Vol(s) :

Monument Types:

Monument Period Name : Medieval
Display Date : Licence granted 1510
Monument End Date : 1510
Monument Start Date : 1508
Monument Type : Deer Park
Evidence : Documentary Evidence

Monument Period Name : Medieval
Display Date : Licence granted 1517
Monument End Date : 1517
Monument Start Date : 1515
Monument Type : Deer Park
Evidence : Documentary Evidence

Components and Objects:**Related Records from other datasets:**

External Cross Reference Source : No List Case
External Cross Reference Number : 467431
External Cross Reference Notes :

External Cross Reference Source : National Monuments Record Number
External Cross Reference Number : ST 69 SW 14
External Cross Reference Notes :

Related Warden Records :

Associated Monuments : [201535](#)
Relationship type : General association

Associated Monuments : [201662](#)
Relationship type : General association

Associated Monuments : [201692](#)
Relationship type : General association

Associated Monuments : [201701](#)
Relationship type : General association

Related Activities :

Appendix AC 14
Extract from Thornbury & District Museum (2016)
Research News No. 147 (March)

RESEARCH NEWS

The History of Thornbury Park: Part Two

The Harringtons/Harringtons

The Abstract of Title continues:

2 April 1596 Licence from Queen Elizabeth to William Glover to convey the Castle & Park of Thornborough & divers other premises to James Harrington Esquire & his heirs

6 May 1596 Bargain & Sale inrolled from the said William Glover to the said James Harrington of the said Castle, Park and divers other premises in Thornbury Parish in fee under the yearly rent of £100

7 May 1596 Letter of attorney from the said William Glover to give possession accordingly

9 May 1596 Feoffment from Thomas Wightman Esquire to the said James Harrington & his heirs of the said park in consideration of £500

10 May 1596 Assignment of the Statute Staple to James Harrington esquire

17 August 1596 Surrender of a lease from Wise and others to the said James Harrington

13 November 1596 Deed to lead the uses of a fine between the said William Glover & wife and James Harrington

29 November 1596 Exemplification of the fine

James Harrington was the third son of Sir James Harrington of Exton, Rutland. His mother was Lucy, daughter of Sir William Sydney of Penshurst Place, Kent. (I'm presuming that Penshurst had also been one of the properties of Edward 3rd Duke of Buckingham and retained by Henry VIII after the Duke's execution in 1521?) In 1552 Edward VI made a gift of Penshurst to Sir William who was his steward and tutor. The Sidney fortunes increased further when Sir William's son, Henry Sidney, married Lady Mary Dudley, whose powerful family included John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland and his sons Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick. In 1578 Harrington married his first wife, Frances (daughter and coheir of Robert Sapcote of Elton, Hunts) and they possibly had 16 children. The manor of Ridlington was owned by the Harringtons of Exton. In 1596, Sir John (afterwards Lord) Harrington of Exton conveyed part of it to his younger brother James Harrington.

It would seem that by the end of 1596 James Harrington had ownership of most of Thornbury Park, except for Fishers Lodge. Harrington also purchased property at Oldbury on Severn. One source (I think at Staffordshire County Record Office) has "Lord Stafford apparently sold two mills on opposite banks of a tributary of the River Severn, the one in Oldbury 1605, together with the tithing of Oldbury, to Sir James Harrington; in 1611 he sold Kington and its tithing to

Sir John Stafford." However a note of another record (Gloucestershire Archives) has the Gloucestershire Commission of Sewers noting complaints against Lady Mary Stafford and Sir James Harrington for not doing repairs [to the sea wall] in Oldbury as ordered, 1587.

16 November 1598 Assignment of the said lease [Fishers Lodge] from Sir John Poyntz & Richard Codrington unto the said Edward Harrington[sic]*

Frances Harrington died in 1599.



On the north wall of the chancel in Ridlington Church is a small alabaster monument with the kneeling figures of Sir James Harrington, Bt. (d. Feb. 1614), and Frances his first wife

A Double Wedding 24th September 1601?*

James and his eldest son Edward made a double match with a widow and daughter of an Oxfordshire landowner John Doyley of Merton. Doyley had married Anne Be[a]rnard(e) of Northamptonshire. He died in 1593, leaving four daughters as coheirs, and reserving a life interest in the manor of Merton to his wife, with reversion to his daughters. He also had property at Shugworth in Berkshire. Anne was a daughter of Francis Bernard of Abington and sister of Baldwin Bernard. (** Sources need to be checked to

see if the couples did actually marry on the same day at Merton. One record on Ancestry online has a James Harrington marrying 'Anna' Doyley at St Margaret's Westminster in December 1600.) James's son Edward married Doyley's eldest daughter Margery. As early as 1604 the two surviving younger daughters of John Doyley seem to have conveyed their reversionary rights to Merton to Sir James Harrington and to his son Sir Edward.

After coming into their Merton estate the Harringtons are thought to have resided partly at Merton and partly at Ridlington. James was knighted by James I in 1603.

Sir James Harrington before his death paid the full £1,095 purchase price for one of the first baronetcies in 1611, and insisted in his will that the coat of arms on his funeral monument, set up for his first wife and himself, be altered to add the date of his death and "my stile with a blouddie hand....." "which though I have not pride therein, so I do not disdain that badge His Majesty hath given me and my heirs male forever." King James established the hereditary Order of Baronets in England on 22 May 1611, partly to raise money from the fees and partly to encourage development in the province of Ulster - "for the plantation and protection of the whole Kingdom of Ireland, but more especially for the defence and security of the Province of Ulster, and therefore for their distinction those of this order and their descendants may bear the Red Hand of Ulster[aka the bloody hand of Ulster] in their coats of arms either in a canton or an escutcheon at their election".

Sir James, 1st Baronet of Ridlington, died 3rd February 1614, a few months after his elder brothers Sir John and Sir Henry. In his will of 16th June 1613, he bequeathed Thornbery Parke aka 'Thornberry Parke and property at Merton to his "profitable and obliging wife" as a jointure estate, but suggested that she exchange these lands with some of his eldest son Sir Edward's property, in order to secure possession of her first husband's estate. He ordered the sale of Oldbury and two of his Midland manors, which he valued at more than £10,000, to pay his creditors and pay for his legacies. However, most of his estates were entailed on his heir Sir Edward, who was to pay annuities to five of his younger brothers (probably to be paid out of Thornbury Park). Sir James also warned that "It is to be remembered by my son and my wife that Thornbery Parke is charged with a hundred pounds a yeare to Mr Glover....." It seems that if the charge was not paid within a certain amount of time each year then the whole park would be forfeit!

**16 November 1598 Assignment of the said lease [Fishers Lodge]from Sir John Poyntz & Richard Codrington unto the said Edward Harrington*

This Edward Harrington could be James's son but another Edward Harrington had an interest in Thornbury Park. Written in 1599 and proved in 1602 the will of James Harrington's uncle, Edward Harrington of Ridlington, says "Item: Whereas I have bought one annuity of three score pounds by the yeere rent of my nephew James Harrington going out of the Parke or inclosed grounds called Holme Parke alias New Parke parcel of the inheritance of the sayd James Harrington for and during the natural lives of me the sayd Edward Harrington John Wisse and Henry Wisse* or the longest liver of them.....". Edward wished his annuity to go to his nephew James on the understanding that the money would go towards the marriage portions of any of James' daughters that were still unmarried at the time of Edward's death.

17 August 1596 Surrender of a lease from Wise and others to the said James Harrington

*Presumably a member of the same Wise or Wisse family involved in another lease or annuity. The Wisses were a gentry family who owned the Manor of Hope (aka Hope Farm) and other property around Thornbury, including a "tenement called Brentmarshe". In 1596 John Stafford of Marlwood wrote a will before his departure on the expedition to Spain in 1596. The will was never proved as he returned safely, and with increased honours, having been knighted by the Earl of Essex, immediately after the successful siege of Cadiz. In it he wrote, "I give to my neighbour Mr, Thomas Wyse and his wife, of Houpe, in the parish of Thornbury, 60s. a peice, to be bestowed on a gold ring with a death's head graved in it. I bequeath to my servant John Wisse all such money as is due to me for rent."

I suspect John Wisse was in a position of responsibility in Stafford's household. A "servant" did not necessarily have a menial job. In March 1596 Edward Wish/Wisse was baptised at St Mary's Church; his godparents were Edward Lord Stafford, Edward Veale and "Dorithy ?Covington gentlewoman".

James's widow Lady Anne in or by 1614 married as her third husband Sir Henry Poole of Oaksey, Wiltshire. His first wife had been a daughter of Edward Neville, 7th Lord Abergavenny. Under James I Poole became a leading figure in Wiltshire affairs He was an MP for Oxfordshire and elsewhere and was knighted in 1603. Quite what the arrangement was between Sir Edward Harrington and his mother concerning the various properties is not certain, but she is the "Lady Ann Poole" mentioned in the abstract on 1 June 1629.

1 June 1629 Bargain & Sale inrolled from Sir Edward Harrington Knight & Baronet to John Dent esquire of all that park aforesaid called New Park or Holme Park otherwise Thornborough Park with all Libertys etc thereto belonging and all those parcels of ground lying in the Parish of Thornborough containing 1000 acres and all that Water Mill within the park & 2 messuages or tenements in the said Park to hold to the said John Dent esquire his heirs and assigns for ever subject to the Estate of Lady Ann Poole and to a rent charge of £100 per annum to the said William Glover & his heirs. Purchase money £4550.

Lady Anne Poole died in 1629 (presumably after 1st June, can anyone find a date?). Sir Henry Poole's interest in the Merton estate came to an end with his wife's death, and the manor reverted to the husband of John Doyley's eldest daughter Margery, Sir Edward Harrington. Although the other Doyley daughters had conveyed their reversionary rights to Sir James and Sir Edward Harrington, Poole, as his late wife's executor, began a suit in Chancery for the recovery of rents, debts, and tithes owed by Sir Edward (outcome unknown).

Poole died in 1632. The sole executor and residuary legatee was his eldest son Sir Neville, who, Sir Henry hoped, would not be "carried away with idle sports and vain delights of the world", but would chiefly apply himself to the service of God, and next to the good of his country.

Can anyone find out where Lady /Dame Anne Poole was actually buried?



A connection with Shakespeare!

Anne Bernard, later Lady Harrington, then Lady Poole was the sister of Baldwin Bernard and aunt of his son John Bernard. This John, later Sir John Bernard, married as his second wife Elizabeth, the widow of Thomas Nash (nee Hall) of Stratford upon Avon. She was the granddaughter and, as she had no surviving children, last direct descendant of the poet and playwright William Shakespeare.



Elizabeth and her first husband Thomas Nash



Monument to John Doyley, set up by his wife Anne nee Bernard in St Swithin's Church, Merton, with detail showing Anne (right).



Thought to be Elizabeth Bernard (formerly Nash)

Sir Edward Harington and his wife Margery are said to have had 14 children. Perhaps in 1629 around the time of the death of his mother, or of the sale of Thornbury Park, there seems to have been some sort of legal case involving "Stafford" (possibly Henry 5th Baron Stafford who still owned the castle or his advisers) against Sir Edward Harington. It concerned an earlier conveyance by Edward, Lord Stafford of land called "the Coppies, Pitties, Milbourne Heath" to William Glover [date not stated] with some legal papers, including case for opinion and interrogatories. These documents are held at Staffordshire County Record Office.

Edward's son James seems to have acquired, from his wife's family, property known as Swakeleys in Ickenham, London. There is a memorial in Ickenham Parish Church.

"Within this arch is immured the bodie of Sr Edward Harington Knight and Baronet eldest sonne to Sr James Harington of Ridlington Knight and Baronet third brother to John Lord Harington of Exton in the County of Rutland who married with Margery Doyley daughter and coheire of Robert Doyley[sic*] of Merton in the County of Oxon Esq, by whom he had fourteene children James Harington his eldest sonne of Swakely in the County of Midlesex Knight and Baronet He was translated hence in October 1652"

*She was definitely the coheir of her father JOHN (but her grandfather was a Robert Doyley).

Margery survived her husband, but died in 1658.

THE DENTS

So in June 1629 Sir Edward Harington sold Thornbury Park to John Dent.

[*Trinity 1629 Exemplification of fine from the said Sir Edward Harington & Mary his wife to the said John Dent.* However Edward's wife was actually Margery].

John Dent "of New Windsor"

John Dent, Gentleman, came from New Windsor, Berks. He died only a few years after his marriage to Katherine Huxley. An Inquisition Post Mortem was held. This is in a book online which has been produced using optical recognition so a few words/numbers are uncertain. "Inquisition taken at the Castle of Gloucester, 9th April 1636 before Henry Holford, esq., escheator, after the death of John Dent, Esq., by the oath of William Baldwyn, John Harding, John Osborne, John Patchy Henry Nicholson, John Clutterbooke, Richard Cowledge, Amos Dauncye, William Custos, William Cossons, John Playdwell, Walter Crew, Richard Kempe, and John Hume, who say that John Dent was seised of all that park and enclosed land called Holme Parke alias the New Parke alias Thorneborough Parke, situate in the parish of Thornbery alias Thorneborough ; all those several pastures, etc., situate in the parish of Thornbery, containing together about 1000 acres, in the several tenures of Benedict Webb, gent., — Cullymore, gent ,

John Peaseley, and John Speck ; one water mill in the said park in the tenure of the said Benedict Webb ; all that messuage in the said park in the tenure of the said Benedict Webb, and all that messuage there in the tenure of the said John Peaseley. So seised, the said John Dent, by indenture dated 8th December, 1630, made between himself of the one part, and John Huxley, of Eaton, in the county of Bedford, Esq., Katherine Huxley, sister of the said John, and Thomas Huxley, brother of the said John, of the other part, in consideration of a marriage to be had (which afterwards was solemnized) between the said John Dent and the said Katherine Huxley, and for a competent jointure to be made for the said Katherine, agreed that he and his heirs should be seised of the said premises to the following uses : to wit, as to the grounds (parcel of the premises) called the Church lane, the middle ground or Popeleyes lodge grownde or Popeleyes Parke, Wachoke ?basowe, the Mill growndes, the Littlemore, the great Purlledge, the lesser Purlledge, and the 3 grounds called the Paddocks lying near the Lodge there, containing about 505 acres; the tenement called the Lodge in which John West lately lived, and the tenement called Popeleys lodge wherein Giles Randall lately dwelt ; which said premises were in the occupation of Henry Bridges and Benedict Webb, to the use of the said John Dent for his life; and after his decease, to the use of the said Katherine Huxley for her life for her jointure; after her decease to the use of the heirs of the body of the said John by the said Katherine and for default of such issue, then to the use of the right heirs of the said John Dent for ever. As to the residue of all the premises, to the sole use of the said John Dent and his heirs by the said Katherine Huxley; and for default of such issue to the use of the right heirs of the said John Dent for ever. The said John and Katherine had issue one son John and 2 daughters Katherine and Elizabeth Dent.

All the said premises are held of the King in chief by knight's service, but by what part of a knight's fee the jurors know not. The premises limited as aforesaid to the said Katherine are worth per annum, clear £? beyond a certain yearly rent of £100, issuing out of the said premises and granted to William Glover, Esq., and his heirs for ever . . . The residue of the premises is worth per annum, clear £?

John Dent died 12th February last past; John Dent, Gent., is his son and next heir, and was aged 3 years on the 30th January last past. The said Katherine Dent still survives at Windsor in the county of Berks."

It is thought that John Dent married Katherine Huxley at Edmonton, Middlesex, on 14th December 1630. When he wrote his will on 9th February 1634 the couple already had three children and Katherine was

possibly pregnant again! The will was proved on the last day of February that year. John's will does not specifically mention any land or premises, but just that all his goods etc are bequeathed to his wife. £1200 is to be given to his son and heir John when he reaches twenty one, £800 to his eldest daughter Katherine ditto, £600 to his next daughter Elizabeth ditto and £600 to "that child I suppose begotten which if God send safely delivered". His brother in law John Huxley Esq and his brother Giles Dent, Citizen and Salter of London, are to be overseers of the will.

John's widow Katherine Dent died in 1638, when her son John was still only about 6 or 7 years old. Her will leaves her son John as her main heir (again no specific mention of land etc) with her brother John Huxley to look after him in his minority. She wills that her daughter Katherine Dent should have all her jewels but that her sister Anne Huxley should look after them until Katherine "be fitt to weare them". There is no mention of Elizabeth or any other child; presumably Elizabeth had died.

John Dent The Younger "of Thornbury Parke"*

20 & 21 July 1658 Settlement of the said premises at Thornbury on the marriage of the said John Dent with Sarah Rochdale spinster, viz, to the husband for life to the wife for life remainder to the heirs of their two bodies.

It is presumed that their uncle, John Huxley, looked after the young Dent orphans and their inheritance until John Dent reached the age of 21. Huxley lived in Edmonton, Middlesex. John Dent the Younger's aunt Anne Huxley left him £100 in her will proved in 1654. His sister Katherine inherited £300.

On 7th December 1658 John Dent married Sarah Rochdale, who was one of the daughters of a wealthy brewer and Citizen of London, Richard Rochdale. Rochdale's will, proved in February 1658, left half of his personal estate to his then only living daughter, Sarah. Sadly John did not live long. A memorial inscription in Edmonton reads "Neare to this Place Lyeth interred ye body of JOHN DENT of Thornebery in the County of Gloucester, Esq sonne of John Dent and Katherine ye 5th Daugh^r. of George Huxley, of Edmonton, Esq deceased. He married Sarah ye daughter of Richard Rochdale, Citizen Brewer of London, Esq by whom hee had one only daughter Sarah. He died ye 14 day of May, 1659, in ye 28th year of his age."

In his will John Dent "of Thornbury Parke" asked to be buried in Edmonton Church "neere the seat where my loving uncle John Huxley Esq sitteth". (* Although he describes himself as "of Thornbury Parke" I don't believe he ever lived in Thornbury.) He willed, " I do ratify and confirm the settlement by me lately made of my Gloucestershire lands upon marriage with my

now dear and loving wife" and left other lands in Essex and elsewhere, variously entailed to his wife and any male heir of himself John Dent, to his uncle Giles Dent and to his sister Katherine. It seems his daughter Sarah, mentioned on the memorial, was born probably born after her father's death and so is not mentioned in her father's will? Presumably she died at a young age?

John Dent also bequeathed "to my most worthy friend the now Lord Capill my pack of doggs if he be pleased to accept them". Lord Capill was possibly Arthur Capell, 1st Earl of Essex (1631 to 1683), a statesman who was a Privy Counsellor, becoming Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1672. (Picture below)



However it may have been Sir Henry Capell, 1st Baron Capell of Tewkesbury (Arthur's brother) who was one of the commissioners for the Gloucestershire Court of Sewers in 1661. (Picture below)



John Dent's widow Sarah "of St Martins in the Feilds" went on to marry Sir Thomas Nevill "of ye Savoy in the Strand" on 24th Jan 1660/61. The graves of Sir Thomas Nevill and his wife Sarah are in the north transept of Westminster Abbey. The inscriptions are now apparently illegible but were recorded in an early 19th century book. "Here lieth the body of Sr Thomas Nevill, Baronett, who was Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to King Charles the 2d and King James the 2d. He dyed on the 25 of Feb. 1711 in the 87 year of his age. Here lieth the body of Dame Sarah Nevill, the wife of Sr Thomas Nevill, Baronett, who departed this life the 17th day of Oct. in the year of Our Lord 1710 in ye 60th year of her age. Here lies also interr'd the body of Mrs Anne Elford, wife of Jonathan Elford, Esqr. and only daughter and heir of Sr Thomas Nevill, Bart. by the above mentioned Sarah. Obiit the 4th of May 1728".

Nevill is not mentioned in the abstract of title but an entry in the 1696 Thornbury Tithe Terrier (Modus Decamandi) reads: The Lands called Thornbury Home Parkes now belonging to Sir Thomas Nevill and being of the vallue of Five Hundred pounds per annum and upwards have not in the memory of Man paid any Tythe hay nor anything in Liew thereof to the Parson or Viccar.

Sir Robert Atkyns in his book "The Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire", published in 1712, stated that Sir Thomas Nevill had an estate in the parish of Thornbury called the Parks, which formerly belonged to the Earls of Stafford and adjoined the Castle

Sir Thomas Nevill may also have had some interest in Morton Grange estate as there is a document in Glos Archives about a dispute circa 1700. In addition John Tayer of Thornbury, Gent, a lawyer who was recorded as being Steward of Thornbury Castle about 1694 to 1697, in his will proved in 1703, mentions his friend Sir Thomas Nevill, Bart.

1 June 1664 Deed of covenant from John Carey esquire, Katherine his wife, sister and heir of John Dent esquire decease, to levy a fine of the said premises to Thomas & James Huxley esquire to the use of the said Katherine & her heirs until she make an appointment under her hand and seal & then as she should appoint indentures of fine levied accordingly

1 August 1673 Deed of appointment from the said Katherine Cary of the said premises to the use of Gyles Dent & his heirs in trust to sell the same in two years after her decease and to apply the money as therein mentioned

11 April 1678 Release of the several sums of money directed by the past deed to be raised unto the said

Gyles Dent & his heirs & also the premises charged with the same

16 & 17 May 1679 Lease and release of all the said premises from the said Gyles Dent & John Cary to Richard Newman esquire (created a baronet in 1699) his heirs and assign for ever. Purchase money £4500

So although the Nevills were apparently in possession of Thornbury Park, Katherine Dent, John's sister, must still have been party to the inheritance. She married (as his second wife; I think his first wife Mary nee Baesh may have died in 1657) John Cary Esq of Stanwell Middlesex, possibly in about 1661 [online there is a record of a 1661 release by John Cary, Esq., of Stanwell to John Huxley, Esq., of Edmonton, Thomas Huxley, esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Giles Dent, Esq., of Newport (Essex), and James Huxley of Gray's Inn of a moiety of the manor of Minster in the Isle of Thanet (Kent) etc to the use of the grantor and Katherine his present wife for their lives etc......] As John Dent's heir (after his wife) his sister Katherine also seems to have been an "owner" of Thornbury Park, and it was perhaps entailed or in trust to her uncle Giles Dent and his heirs.

26 December 1679 Deed to settle an annuity of £6 per annum issuing out of the Katherine Wheel Inn in Colnbrooke upon 6 poor widows in New Windsor in lieu of £100 given to them by the deed of appointment of the said Katherine Cary.

A record found online says "Katherine Carey, late wife of John Carey, Esquire, of Stanwell, in the county of Middlesex, by a deed dated 1st August 1673, gave one hundred pounds, to be distributed to six poor widows (of Windsor), at the discretion of John Cary and Giles Dent, Esquires." Does this imply that Katherine was still alive in 1673 (but may have then died?) and the £100 was to be paid out of Thornbury Park? Can anyone find a date of death for Katherine Cary? It seems it was her husband, John Cary, and Giles Dent who sold the park to Richard Newman in May 1679, according to the abstract.

The 1679 "deed to settle an annuity" seems to relate to another record found online. "In 1679 John Carey, by deed in satisfaction of a gift of £100 by his then late wife, Mrs. Catherine Carey, settled a yearly rent-charge of £6 issuing out of his inn and premises called the 'Catherine Wheel' at Colnbrook in Stanwell, Middlesex, to be payable yearly on St. Thomas's Day, for distribution amongst six of the poorest widows in New Windsor." This presumably meant the gift was no longer to be paid out of Thornbury Park but in lieu out of the inn at Colnbrook? (John Cary was related, [possibly a nephew or great nephew?], to Thomas Kynvet who gained favour with King James I and was knighted in 1603/4. In his capacity of Justice of the

Peace for Westminster, and as a gentleman of the privy chamber, Knyvet made a search of the cellars of the House of Lords on the evening of 4th November 1605, and discovered Guy Fawkes guarding 36 barrels of gunpowder.



Sir Thomas Knyvet (on the left with sword and breastplate) apprehending Guy Fawkes

Richard Newman of Fifehead Magdalen wrote his will on 30th January 1693 and it was proved 2nd January 1696. It included "Item: Whereas I stand seized in fee simple of and in the **reversion expectant after the death of the Lady Nevill** of and in Thornbury Park and several Lands and Farms therewithal enjoyed situate in the Parish of Thornbury in the County of Gloucester which I lately purchased of John Cary and Giles Dent Esquires I do give and devise the said Park farms and lands unto William Honeywood my son in law Bart and Peter Walter my servant.....in trust and confidence that they shall after the death of the said Lady Nevill by lease or leases, sale or otherwise, out of the issues and profits of the premises or any part thereof pay the sum of three thousand pounds unto my grandchild Anne Newman when she obtain the age of one and twenty or the day of her marriage which shall first happen" etc, etc".

So it would seem that Newman purchased Thornbury Park in 1679 but the property was not actually to be in the Newman family's "occupation" until after Lady Nevill's death, which did not happen until 1710? Is this the correct interpretation of "reversion expectant"? How did this work – did Newman get any return on his investment during the 31 year wait? Why are the Nevills not mentioned in the abstract of title?

I will be describing the Newman family in detail in another newsletter but Thornbury Park was inherited by Richard Newman's grandson, also called Richard Newman.

Benedict Webb

The inquisition post mortem held in 1636 gives us the names of some of the tenants who may have been actually working the land and living in the messuages (some may still have had sub-tenants). Benedict Webb was an important character. He was a clothier at Taunton and then at Kingswood, Wilts and a relation by marriage of John Smith of Nibley (who was steward of the Berkeley estate). The Webbs owned some land at Alveston; does anyone know where?. Webb was involved in making improvements in the making and dyeing of cloth. He introduced new types of woollen cloth from France and Spain, woven from different coloured yarns; these became highly fashionable in England and it is suggested that his discoveries revolutionised the West Country wool cloth trade, helping its survival after a period of decline. Oils were imported from the continent, especially from Spain and the Low Countries, and were used in the cloth making process (to scour or clean wool). Webb spent a huge amount of money (at least £2000 in trial experiments) developing a method to extract oil from rapeseed grown in England. It seems he built a mill near Bristol (where?) to extract the oil. In 1624 he took out a patent for the " Makinge of oyle of rapeseed and other like seeds sowed, or to be sowed within England or Wales, for the use of clothinge, or for anie other use whatsoever; being an art and invention found out by the patentee, which hath byn found to be farre better for the use of clothinge than that which hath byn yearly brought out of the Lowe Countries, and as useful as the Spanish oyle yearly imported into this kingdome." Cloth manufacturers bought this oil at a much lower price than the imported oils. The clothiers of Wilts Gloucester and Somerset agreed "that the oyle nowe made by Benedict Webbe of rape seeds and other small round seeds, is as good and usefull...as the Spanish oyle, and more usefull for the makinge of fine clothes than the oyle brouhgt yearly out of the Lowe countries". One account suggests that Webb was mainly raising stock at Thornbury (not unusual for clothiers). Webb had access to a number of mills but, of course, mills were needed for agricultural purposes and in the manufacture of cloth, so it is not known which ones he may have used to extract oil. However it is known that in 1625 Webb leased from Sir William Throckmorton several hundred acres of land at Clearwell in the Forest of Dean "including parts of the park and Broadfields" for growing rape. Is it possible he was growing rape at Thornbury Park and/or using the mill (now Park Mill Farm) to produce oil? More research required!

More research is required on the other names mentioned in the inquisition. There were certainly

Cullimores in and around Thornbury and some had a later connection with Thornbury Park.

A Thomas Peaseley, gentleman of Thornbury, left in his will of 1693 a number of houses in Thornbury and land "in the parish" to his children John, Margaret, Alice, Christian and Thomas. Two John Peaslies are recorded in a Lay Subsidy Roll of 1625 at Tockington and Compton (Almondsbury).

A George Speck yeoman died in Thornbury in 1533 but his property seems to have been in Wiltshire and he did not mention anyone called John Speck in his will.

As yet I haven't traced Giles Randall or John West.

William Glover's Rent Charge

This £100 rent charge is not mentioned in the abstract of title after 1629 but is referred to in the 1636 inquisition post mortem of John Dent.

I have come across (but not seen the details) a record in Gloucestershire Archives ref.D18/317-320- date: 1807-1814. From Scope and Content "Act for vesting several Fee Farm Rents and Annual Sums, settled by Edward Colston, deceased, on the Master, Wardens, and Commonalty of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol, for the Maintenance of a Hospital and Alms House in the said City in Trustees, to be sold", 1807. With Abstract of Title of the Merchant Venturers to a ground rent of £15 out of the Rectory of Arlingham, release of this to Eliz. Hodges, the purchaser, 1814, and certificate of payment. Other rent charges: **£100 from Thornbury Park**, £60 from City of Gloucester, and sums from properties in above counties, specified in schedules to the Act.

Could this be Glover's rent charge? I believe such rent charges could be purchased.

Could it have been Katherine Cary's annuity from 1673, and the 1679 settlement by John Cary had not cancelled her gift?

If it isn't either of these then what is it and who set it up? Is it still being paid by the current owners? Many of these rent charges were brought to an end in the late 20th century.

Mortgagee?

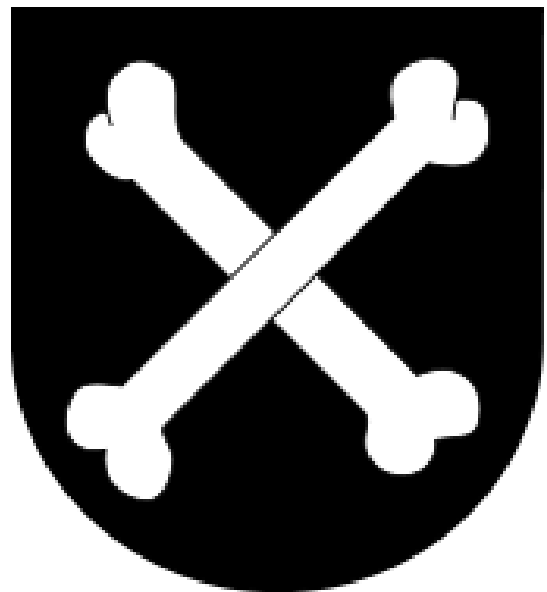
Philpott in his documentary study says Harrington sold Thornbury Park "as a mortgagee" but I'm not sure how he has come to this conclusion; he gives the same abstract of title as his source. Does anyone know a solicitor who might be interested and who could help us with the technicalities of these indentures and other legal terms?

Another source, Historic England, has "In 1679 part of the park immediately to the north of the castle was sold to form a separate estate known by 1775 as Thornbury Park". The abstract of title and the wills of the Harringtons and Dents make no mention of mortgage but without seeing the original documents it is hard to be certain of the details. However we have seen that this separated part of the former deer park was already known as Thornbury Park as early as the writing of the will of Sir James Harrington in 1613. The 1679 date refers to the sale to the Newman family.

Update on Sir Isaac Newton

Before he was knighted in 1705, Isaac Newton submitted a genealogy to the College of Arms in which he claimed he shared a common male ancestor with Sir John Newton, 3rd Baronet of Barrs Court, Gloucestershire. This claim was supported by Sir John himself. However one source says "Sir John was happy to support this claim by a man who was then one of the most famous savants in the world, but in reality Isaac Newton's ancestry is obscure and the male line cannot be documented beyond his grandfather".

The heraldic device of the Newton baronets was adopted by Sir Isaac Newton. Apparently in 1798 it was added to the entrance to Woolsthorpe Manor in Lincolnshire where he was born.



Coat of arms of the Newton baronets of Barrs Court

Remember the information recorded here needs checking etc. Please feel free to comment or to do more research!

Appendix AC 15
Page from the Sheiling School Website



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Sheiling School at Thornbury Park Estate

Sheiling School came into being in 1952 to add to and extend the pioneering and innovative provision for the care and education of children with learning disabilities already being developed at the Camphill school estate in Aberdeen, Scotland. Initially it served the care and educational needs of children with cerebral palsy, who benefitted from the peaceful, nurturing location, the warmer climate (in comparison to Aberdeen) and the dedicated team of co-workers who were motivated to provide an alternative to institutional care. These pioneer co-workers freely chose to create a rich cultural life, a mutually supportive social life and an extended family atmosphere in which the children found a deep affirmation of their right to develop to their full potential.

Over time the school gradually developed to meet the growing need for the care and education of children with multiple learning disabilities, to whom it brought its pioneering, innovative and holistic approach to care, education and therapies.

The time through the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s heralded a remarkable time of expansion of the Camphill approach to holistic education throughout the world. This was accompanied by a similar development in specialist training centres for young adults with learning disabilities and a wide range of rural and urban intentional communities allowing adults with learning disabilities to find deeply meaningful shared life and work with others with and without learning disabilities.

Sheiling School added its own unique contribution to the rich diversity of provision within Camphill Communities throughout this period. Indeed throughout this time there were many entrepreneurial, pioneering co-workers who, after many years service to the school, went on to create other remarkable places devoted to developing the full potential of many children and adults.

Sheiling School's rich history of development is evident everywhere throughout the Thornbury Park Estate in which it has grown. Indeed, the estate today would not be the beautiful, loved and peaceful environment about which so many visitors comment, without all this past, formative history. It has been transformed by the lives of all the children, carers, teachers, and therapists who have shared in the mutually life enhancing creation of everyone involved in the school over more than 60 years.

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There would be no grade 2 locally listed Thorn Hall, still after so many years a unique piece of architecture, a worthy school house and a wonderful cultural venue. There would be none of the other distinctive buildings on the estate, all of which were created specifically to serve the care and the educational needs of so many children throughout this time. Amongst these are the houses which provided for the extended family home life for the children in the past and which have now been converted for the present residential needs for a new generation of children.

The therapy building, Chalice, the craft workshops at Cinnabar and the purpose built swimming pool were all built during a creative phase of building over 25 years ago, and continue to be much loved and well used spaces.

Thornbury Park House, the original late Georgian house on the school estate which provided the main home life for the first intake of children and for many others over a period of 50 years, took on a new lease of life in recent years by becoming the main administrative centre of Sheiling School.

When anyone now walks around the school estate it may be difficult to imagine that many of the trees which add to the beauty of the estate and most of its gardens have come about through the combined contribution of children and staff throughout its 60 year history.

A 38 year old Turkey Oak growing on one side of Sheiling School drive was grown from a seed collected by a pupil from the Turkey Oak behind Halliers House, where he lived for 2 years. He cared for it in a pot for those 2 years, before planting it in its present position.

The wonderful 55 year old Balsam Poplar between Thorn Hall and Avalon was taken as a cutting from the original one in the Camphill Schools in Aberdeen by a teacher when the ground around Thorn Hall was landscaped. There are other trees planted in memory of former pupils, teachers and carers and others planted for special festivals or cultural occasions, or planted on the what was a regular Friday afternoon gardening time for all children and staff. A small school farm, together with organically grown vegetables and fruit from the walled garden and orchards were always available from the early years of the school's history and much of the educational, cultural and social life of children and staff was embedded in relating all learning to the world around.

Creating a relationship to the natural world, involving learning through "head, heart and hands" was already a principal foundation of the Holistic Education pioneered in Sheiling School and other Camphill schools. It underpins all the new developments in becoming an Eco School and in all the wonderful work done through the outdoor curriculum.

Nearer to the present time the present Sensory Garden and Flower Meadow in front of Thorn Hall was created for the 60th anniversary of the school. But it came about through the enthusiasm of some pupils who enjoyed digging and creating a new pond and bog garden as part to their gardening main lesson. This then led to the whole school community becoming engaged in its making, involving the use of many skills from doing dry stone walling, willow fence weaving and in making clay mobiles to hang in the garden, to name a few of the outcomes from the initial development. This newer creation becomes itself part of the new landscape shaped by another generation of pupils, teachers and carers.

These few examples among so many from the history of Sheiling School can serve to show something of the particular quality of the Holistic education that has always been the basis of all that pupils and staff can achieve together through interaction with this unique school environment.

Written by Tom Burns

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Appendix AC 16

Email to Sam Hembury regarding access to Sheiling School

From:
To:
Subject:
Date:
Attachments:



Andrew Crutchley
Director

m [redacted]
w www.edp-uk.co.uk

From: Andrew Crutchley
Sent: 04 February 2022 19:50
To: Sam Hembury <[redacted]>
Subject: RE: Access to school grounds

Sam

Thank you for your time this afternoon – it was very much appreciated. I understand the School's position in respect of the proposed development, so it is very much appreciated that you have granted me access in the same way that you granted access to Tim Murphy back before Christmas. It is useful to understand that he had access to the school grounds in forming his view on the planning proposals and advising the Council.

I believe I have everything I need now, but I'll drop you a line if it would be helpful to come back over again (perhaps during the H/T break).

Kind regards

Andrew

Andrew Crutchley
Director

m [redacted]
w www.edp-uk.co.uk

From: Sam Hembury <[redacted]>
Sent: 31 January 2022 14:42
To: Andrew Crutchley <[redacted]>
Subject: RE: Access to school grounds

Hi Andrew,

Not a problem, see you Friday at around 3.30pm.

Kind Regards,

Sam Hembury

Head of Resource

Sheiling School Thornbury

Thornbury Park, Park Road, Thornbury
South Gloucestershire, BS35 1HP

Mobile: [REDACTED] | Main Office Tel: [REDACTED]
| Email: [REDACTED]

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From: Andrew Crutchley <[REDACTED]>
Sent: 31 January 2022 14:20
To: Sam Hembury <[REDACTED]>
Subject: RE: Access to school grounds

Sam

Could we say Friday pm then in that case?

AC

Andrew Crutchley

Director

m [REDACTED]
w www.edp-uk.co.uk

From: Sam Hembury <[REDACTED]>
Sent: 31 January 2022 09:46
To: Andrew Crutchley <[REDACTED]>
Subject: RE: Access to school grounds

Hi Andrew,

Thursday or Friday his week work well for me if either fits in with you?

Kind Regards,

Sam Hembury

Head of Resource

Sheiling School Thornbury

Thornbury Park, Park Road, Thornbury
South Gloucestershire, BS35 1HP

Mobile: [REDACTED] | Main Office Tel: [REDACTED]
| Email: [REDACTED]

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prohibited and may be unlawful.

From: Andrew Crutchley <[REDACTED]>
Sent: 28 January 2022 20:11
To: Sam Hembury <[REDACTED]>
Subject: RE: Access to school grounds

Sam

Thank you for the email – sorry to hear you’re unwell. It may be best for you to drop me a line when you’re feeling better and we can then arrange something from there. I should be ok towards the back end of next week.

AC

Andrew Crutchley
Director

m [REDACTED]
w www.edp-uk.co.uk

From: Sam Hembury <[REDACTED]>
Sent: 28 January 2022 09:34
To: Andrew Crutchley <[REDACTED]>
Subject: Re: Access to school grounds

Hi Andrew,

Unfortunately, we will need to reschedule the site visit today as I am unwell and not in today. Apologies for this but if you could let me know when you are next available and I will do my best to accommodate.

Kind Regards,

Sam Hembury

Head of Resource

Sheiling School Thornbury

Thornbury Park, Park Road, Thornbury

South Gloucestershire, BS35 1HP

Mobile: [REDACTED] | Main Office Tel: [REDACTED] | Email: [REDACTED]

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From: Sam Hembury
Sent: 21 January 2022 13:43
To: Andrew Crutchley <[REDACTED]>
Subject: RE: Access to school grounds

Hi Andrew,

Yes, Please come to reception.

Kind Regards,

Sam Hembury

Head of Resource

Sheiling School Thornbury

Thornbury Park, Park Road, Thornbury
South Gloucestershire, BS35 1HP

Mobile: [REDACTED] | Main Office Tel: [REDACTED]
| Email: [REDACTED]

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From: Andrew Crutchley <[REDACTED]>
Sent: 21 January 2022 13:43
To: Sam Hembury <[REDACTED]>
Subject: RE: Access to school grounds

Brilliant – thank you so much. See you – should I just meet you at reception?

Andrew

Andrew Crutchley
Director

m [REDACTED]
w www.edp-uk.co.uk

From: Sam Hembury <[REDACTED]>
Sent: 21 January 2022 13:42

To: Andrew Crutchley <[REDACTED]>

Subject: RE: Access to school grounds

Hi Andrew,

Yes, I can make next Friday at 3.30pm.

Kind Regards,

Sam Hembury

Head of Resource

Sheiling School Thornbury

Thornbury Park, Park Road, Thornbury
South Gloucestershire, BS35 1HP

Mobile: [REDACTED] | Main Office Tel: [REDACTED]

| Email: [REDACTED]

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From: Andrew Crutchley <[REDACTED]>

Sent: 21 January 2022 13:41

To: Sam Hembury <[REDACTED]>

Subject: RE: Access to school grounds

Sam

Apologies – that’s me being stupid! As you can’t make Tuesday, would you be available next Friday (28 January) instead?

AC

Andrew Crutchley
Director

m [REDACTED]
w www.edp-uk.co.uk

From: Sam Hembury <[REDACTED]>
Sent: 21 January 2022 13:38
To: Andrew Crutchley [REDACTED] >
Subject: RE: Access to school grounds

Hi Andrew,

Could you please confirm the date, as the 2nd Feb is a Wednesday. I am available to do Wednesday 2nd, but would not be available to do Tuesday 1st.

Kind Regards,

Sam Hembury

Head of Resource

Sheiling School Thornbury

Thornbury Park, Park Road, Thornbury
South Gloucestershire, BS35 1HP

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| Email: [REDACTED]

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From: Andrew Crutchley <[REDACTED]>
Sent: 21 January 2022 11:03
To: Sam Hembury <[REDACTED]>
Cc: Jo Moody <[REDACTED]>
Subject: RE: Access to school grounds

Sam

Would it be possible for me to come over at 3.30 on Tuesday 2 February please?

Kind regards

Andrew

Andrew Crutchley
Director

m [REDACTED]
w www.edp-uk.co.uk

From: Sam Hembury <[REDACTED]>
Sent: 20 January 2022 11:45
To: Andrew Crutchley <[REDACTED]>
Cc: Jo Moody <[REDACTED]>
Subject: RE: Access to school grounds

Hi Andrew,

School hours are, 9am-3.30pm. Weekends aren't an option as we have 2 children's homes on site that are 52 week provisions. Our February half term is 21st- 25th February if that is better for you?

Kind Regards,

Sam Hembury

Head of Resource**Sheiling School Thornbury**

Thornbury Park, Park Road, Thornbury
South Gloucestershire, BS35 1HP

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| Email: [REDACTED]

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From: Andrew Crutchley <[REDACTED]>
Sent: 20 January 2022 10:15
To: Sam Hembury <[REDACTED]>
Cc: Jo Moody <[REDACTED]>
Subject: Re: Access to school grounds

Sam

That's really helpful - thank you! I'm up in Northamptonshire today so I'll need to check my diary when I get back and drop you a line to confirm dates.

Are you able to tell me what the school hours are and if a weekend visit would be preferable for that reason?

Kind regards

Andrew

Andrew Crutchley

Director

m [REDACTED]

w www.edp-uk.co.uk

On 20 Jan 2022, at 10:12, Sam Hembury <[REDACTED]> wrote:

Hi Jo/ Andrew,

Thank you for the emails you have sent through and apologies for the delay in coming back to you. Any visit will need to be done outside of school hours. When is convenient for you.

Kind Regards,

Sam Hembury

Head of Resource

Sheiling School Thornbury

Thornbury Park, Park Road, Thornbury
South Gloucestershire, BS35 1HP

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From: Jo Moody <[REDACTED]>
Sent: 17 January 2022 10:07
To: Sheiling School <[REDACTED]>
Subject: Access to school grounds

Good morning

I hope you can help me.

A colleague of mine has me to see if it would be possible for him to have access into the school's grounds for a short time in the next couple of weeks so that he can learn more about the historic visual links between the school and the surrounding area. Access into the building itself would be ideal, to see what can be seen out of its windows, but if that's not possible, around the grounds would be really helpful.

Should you be able to help us, please let me know a time/day that suits you.

If you could let me know either way as soon as possible, that would be greatly appreciated.

Many thanks

Jo Moody
Heritage Technician



The Environmental Dimension Partnership Ltd
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Barnsley, Cirencester,
Gloucestershire GL7 5EG

m [REDACTED]
w www.edp-uk.co.uk



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Proof Images AC 1 – 39

Image AC 1: View of the west front of the Inner Court of Thornbury Castle, looking east from the west side of the Outer Court.



Image AC 2: View of the South Range of the Inner Court at Thornbury Castle, looking south-west from beside the east end of the North Range.