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**Proceedings at the Spring Meeting at Teddington, Hayles,
Winchcombe, and Sudeley 5 May 1930**

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Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society

PROCEEDINGS *

AT THE SPRING MEETING AT TEDDINGTON, HAYLES,
WINCHCOMBE AND SUDELEY

Monday, 5 May 1930

The Spring Meeting of the Society took place in the Winchcombe district, and was favoured by fine weather. About 140 members attended, and first assembled at Teddington church (just inside the Worcestershire border), where they were met by the vicar of Overbury (to which Teddington is attached), Canon W. Lea, and his curate the Rev. J. H. P. O'Connor, an enthusiastic student of antiquities. The church has various points of interest, but the chief attraction for the Society was that it contains the only surviving architectural feature of the abbey church of Hayles, which was visited later.

Mr W. H. KNOWLES, F.S.A., describing the church said that the chancel arch of about 1100 seemed to be a fragment of an earlier building, the present nave and chancel being those of an enlarged thirteenth century church in which carved and moulded 12th century stones

* The reports of the itineraries of the Spring and Summer meetings were prepared by G. McN. RUSHFORTH, F.S.A., and W. H. KNOWLES, F.S.A.

were re-used on either side of the chancel arch. The tower at the west end is dated 1567 by an inscription near the top of the east face, and exhibits the most extraordinary combination of re-used material. The arch opening into the nave of two finely moulded orders, and the responds with attached shafts are of excellent mid-thirteenth century detail, but do not fit the position nor yet each other, being clumsily inserted and partially embedded as may be seen from the plan (facing p. 94). The west window of two lights with shafted jambs and richly moulded arches is of the same date. Both arch and window being out of scale, and altogether too good to belong to a church possessing only the poorest detail, are evidently imported material. From measurements made at Teddington and afterwards at Hayles abbey Mr Knowles was able to determine the source from which they were obtained, inasmuch as the responds are identical on plan with the piers of the ambulatory round the apse of the abbey church. Thus at Teddington are to be seen portions of the beautiful work of Hayles, exceeding anything that now remains on the abbey site.¹

Mr G. McN. RUSHFORTH, F.S.A., spoke about some of the fittings and decorations. The Elizabethan windows on the north side of the chancel have some 15th century stained glass in the form of quarries (flowers, etc.), and a border or frame displaying at intervals what looks like the letter I, but may be only a crude way of showing the rod or stem round which foliage is twisted, a common border design of the period. The glass presumably came from the medieval windows which preceded the present ones, though the possibility cannot be excluded that, like the tower arch and window, it also came from Hayles, for records recently published by Mr Barnard show that

¹ To demonstrate the facts I have made drawings of the features, and described them in detail in a paper printed in this volume, to which readers are referred.—W.H.K.

after the Dissolution quantities of stained glass quarries from the dismantled abbey buildings were sold to persons in the neighbourhood.² As for the woodwork, the seating is mostly pre-Reformation, while the pulpit and reading desk are of an unusual period for church furniture, viz., the Commonwealth. The former is inscribed with the names of the churchwardens, Michael Tyller and William A. Woode with the date 1655, and the desk with texts, that on the seat attached to it being ' Pray continually ', the Genevan rendering of the ' Pray without ceasing ' of the Authorized Version, as Mr O'Connor had noted. There are traces of the Lord's Prayer and the Creed painted in 16th century lettering on the north wall of the nave, and the Creed seems to have been repeated on the south side. On the south wall is an imposing Royal Arms of William and Mary, framed with columns and drapery, probably the work of some heraldic painter from Worcester or Gloucester.

HAYLES ABBEY

Hayles Abbey has long been of interest to the Society, under whose auspices the first excavations on the site were begun by the late Canon Bazeley and Mr St. Clair Baddeley in 1899.³ The work was suspended when the late Mr Hugh Andrews bought the Toddington estate in 1900, but ultimately he made himself responsible for the continuation of the work, which was brought to an end by Mr Baddeley alone in 1909. His well-known book *A Cotteswold Shrine* (1908) deals exhaustively with the place and its history; and reference must also be made to Mr (now Sir) H. Brakspear's articles on the architecture of the abbey in *Transactions*, 1901, XXIV, 129, and the *Archaeological Journal*, 1901, LVIII, 350, from which the

² *The Last Days of Hailes Abbey and of Gretton Chapel*, by E. A. B. Barnard, F.S.A. (Evesham, 1928).

³ *Trans. B.G.A.S.*, 1900, XXII, 257-71.

annexed plan is taken. Of late years the excavated site had been neglected, and was overgrown and unkempt ; and an important public service has been performed by Sir James K. Fowler, K.C.V.O., now Custodian of Hayles, who with the experience gained as Warden of Beaulieu abbey (the mother house of Hayles) has once more made the site and ruins intelligible, and has built a substantial and admirably arranged Museum to house the relics of the abbey and illustrate the Cistercian Order and its monasteries. By an unfortunate mistake, for which he was not responsible, Sir James was unable to meet the party on the site as he had intended ; and at the last moment Mr Brakspear, who had undertaken to describe the remains, was prevented from being present.

The Cistercian abbey of Hayles was founded in 1246⁴ by Richard Earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III, and the church and principal buildings were dedicated in 1251. Only the ground plan and a few fragments of masonry survive on the spot to indicate the extent of the great church, but the arch and window at Teddington, described above, enable us in a small way to picture its architectural appearance. Its most striking feature, an apse with radiating chapels and ambulatory, was not added till after 1270, when Edmund, son of the founder, gave the abbey a relic of the Blood of Christ (known henceforth as the Holy Blood of Hayles⁵). The new apse was constructed to form a dignified setting for the shrine, which, like that of Edward the Confessor at Westminster, occupied its centre, the whole arrangement being, no doubt, suggested by that of Henry III's great church. The new work may have been partly due to a fire which in 1271 destroyed some of the abbey buildings. If it attacked the church, the damage may have been restricted to the roofs, for no traces of fire were found in the church

⁴ See *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1216-57, pp. 288, 294.

⁵ See Mr Baddeley's paper 'The Holy Blood of Hayles' in *Transactions*, 1900, XXIII, 276.

during the excavations. After the Dissolution (1539) the property passed through various hands, and was acquired by Sir John Tracy about 1600. The Tracys continued to live in a house on the west side of the cloister, where the abbot's lodging had been made out of the western range⁶ till Toddington House was built in 1683.

Mr KNOWLES, who at short notice took Mr Brakspear's place, described the form and arrangements of the church, of which only the lower part of the south wall of the nave remains above ground. The outlines of its plan have been marked by shrubs, and the site of the high altar by a wooden cross. Behind it the foundation of the Shrine exists under the grass.

Mr Knowles then proceeded to explain the buildings. He said the Cistercian Order was the result of an attempt made at the end of the (11th century) to reform that of the Benedictines. It was introduced into England during the second quarter of the 12th century, and was attended with considerable success in Yorkshire where are many examples of the uniform simplicity and beauty of Cistercian architecture.

The reformers were required to observe an unusually austere mode of living, and the regulation regarding their buildings demanded that they should be erected in remote places, and devoid of sculpture, painting or other ornament. It followed that in plan both of the church and of the monastic buildings erected during the 12th century there was a great family likeness.⁷ A distinctive characteristic of the church plan was the presbytery or eastern

⁶ Mr Baddeley quotes (*A Cotteswold Shrine*, p. 124) the order of the Court of Augmentations that 'the late Abbott's lodgyng extending from the church to the Frayter southward with Payntre, buttre, kitchen, larder, sellers, and the lodgynges over the same' were to remain undefaced.

⁷ See comparative set of plans compiled by J. Bilson, D. LITT., *Arch. Jour.*, LXVI, 28.

arm which was singularly short and square-ended, and not as in the Benedictine churches which had a long presbytery, occasionally apsidal, as at Gloucester and Tewkesbury.

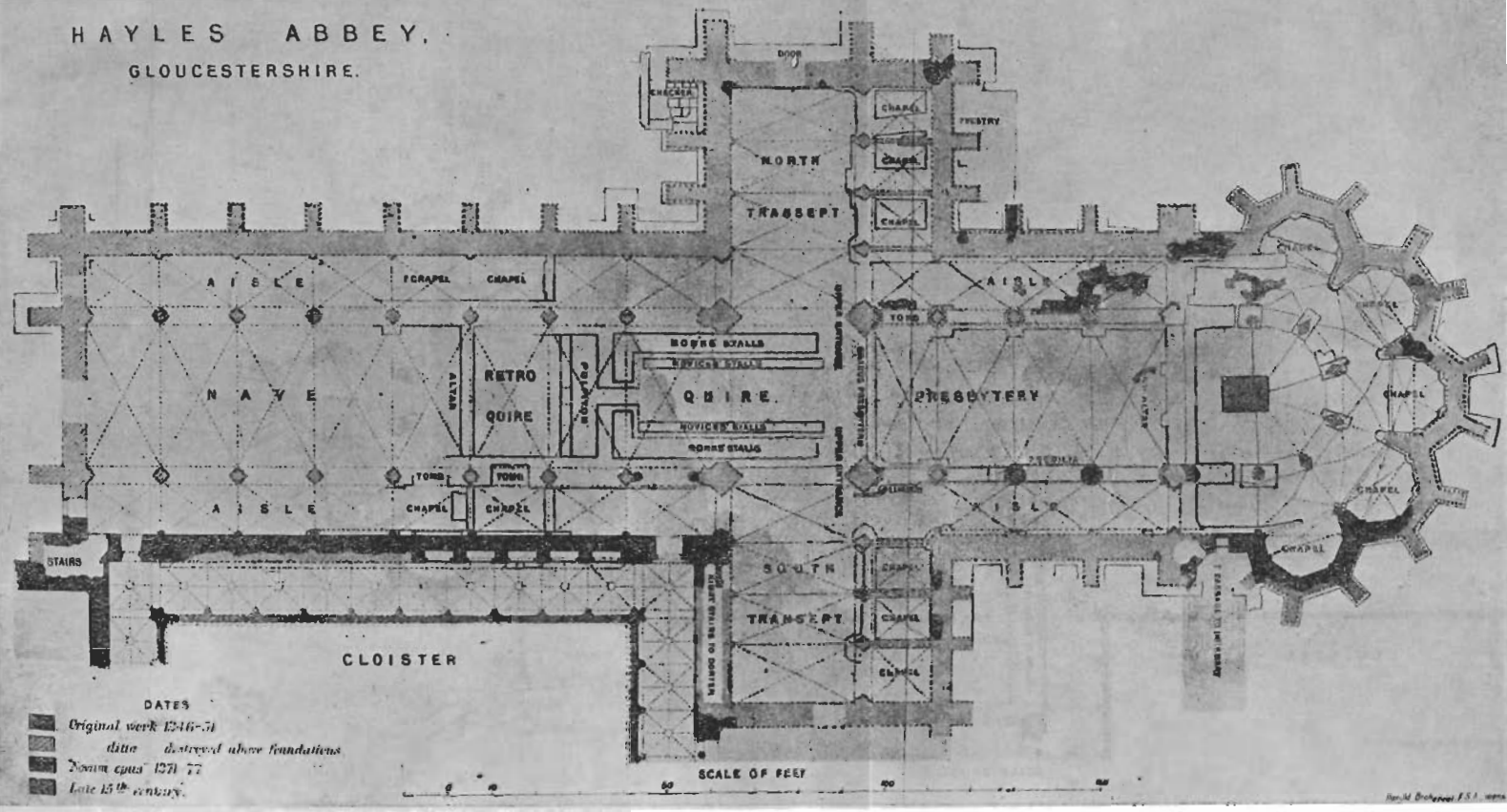
Some of the structural peculiarities are to be observed at Hayles abbey, although it was founded (1246) a century after the introduction of the order into England, when the reformers' strictures had gradually lost their influence.

The cruciform plan of the church, as revealed by the excavations and indicated on the surface of the ground, comprised a nave of eight bays, the crossing, north and south transepts each with three eastern chapels, and originally an aisled presbytery of four bays, and without the great east gable a procession aisle and five chapels. A similar plan may be observed at Byland in Yorkshire, and at Abbey Dore, and without the aisles at Fountains and Kirkstall. The positions of the screens between the monks' quire, pulpitum, retro-quire, and nave are indicated on Sir Harold Brakspear's plan. In Cistercian churches the nave was used by the lay brothers and not, as often in Benedictine churches, for parochial purposes.

In 1272 the square-ended presbytery gave place to the magnificent group of five semi-octagonal radiating chapels, arranged about an apsidal presbytery erected for the reception of the Shrine of the Holy Blood. The main apse was carried on clustered shafts, the extant remains of which are incorporated in the tower arch of Teddington church. (See the paper by Mr Knowles in the present volume).

In the south nave wall (the north wall of the cloister) there yet remains five arched recesses, and in the thickness of the west wall of the south transept are the night stairs from the dormitory by which the brothers entered the church for the night services. Adjoining the south transept is a narrow chamber used as a library and vestry. In a central position, at right angles to the cloister, are the foundations of the chapter house, which

HAYLES ABBEY,
GLOUCESTERSHIRE.



From the 'Archaeological Journal', by permission of Sir Harold Brakspear, F.S.A.

was oblong in shape with three vaulted aisles of three bays. The triple arched openings including the door are yet standing. Adjacent and on the south side is the parlour, a small room where conversation was permitted, and yet again a passage which led to the infirmary. In continuation was a vaulted undercroft allotted to the novices and used by them as a day room. In the south-east angle of the cloister were the day stairs giving access to the dormitory. Opening off the south alley of the cloister stood the frater, not parallel to it as was usual among other Orders, but at right angles, the usual position in Cistercian monasteries. By the side of the door is the lavatory where the monks washed before going into the frater. On the east side of the frater was the warming room where a fire was permitted, and on the west side the kitchens. The western range in Cistercian houses was appropriated to the lay brothers, the ground floor being used as their frater, the upper as their dormitory.⁸

Mr Rushforth added a few remarks about the chief artistic relics of the place, especially the magnificent 13th century carved bosses from the vaulting of the chapter house, probably made after the fire of 1271. They were found on the site of the chapter house having, apparently, been left behind when it was taken down because they were useless as building material. To the latest period of the abbey belong another set of vaulting bosses from the southwest part of the cloister, carved with the arms of benefactors (Sir John Huddleston, Evesham abbey, Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, Sir William Compton). The party then proceeded to inspect these and other relics and illustrations, so well cared for and displayed in the Museum built by Sir James Fowler just outside the site of the north transept.

⁸ For plan of the monastic buildings see Baddeley's *Cotteswold Shrine*, p. 180.

Besides the carved bosses, many of the tiles from the church (a number being heraldic) may be seen, and a few carved fragments, probably from the tomb and effigy of the founder. On the walls hang photographs and other illustrations of Cistercian monasteries ; and at the end of the room in glass cases are life-like figures of a Cistercian monk and lay brother dressed in real Cistercian habits, as used today.

HAYLES CHURCH

Hayles church, older than the abbey, was next visited, and Mr Knowles explained its chief features. Within and without the walls are coated with plaster, which may conceal evidence of alterations, but the chancel arch is of the 12th century, and the nave walls may be of the same period, but hardly those of the chancel, which was probably extended in the 13th century when the church was transferred to the abbey (1246). Hence the uncommon plan of a nave and chancel of the same width, the latter being also of greater length than was usual in small Norman churches. The nave has trefoil-headed windows and pointed arched doors both north and south. The west side of the belfry is of stone with traceried openings, the other three sides being gabled in half-timber. Above the gable of the chancel arch is a small sanctus-bellcote. The chancel has good single-light 14th century ogee-traceried windows in the side walls, and a fine three-light traceried east window. In one of the south windows is evidence of the sedilia, later pierced for a priest's door. The fittings include a 13th century font, an excellent 15th century rood screen, some pre-Reformation seating, and a 17th century pulpit in the nave and seating in the chancel, originally placed round the east end for communicants (as at Winchcombe, Deerhurst and elsewhere), but now arranged as choir seats.⁹

⁹ Daubeny, *Ancient Cotswold Churches*, p. 47.

Mr Rushforth called attention to the 15th century glass in the east window consisting, in addition to fragments in the tracery lights, of nine Apostles, each holding a scroll inscribed with the article which he was supposed to have contributed to the Creed.¹⁰ In the background of some a feather is depicted, perhaps a badge. Their shape shows that they have come from tracery lights, perhaps in the private chapel of the Abbot of Hayles, as they were carried away to Toddington when the old Tracy mansion in the abbey was abandoned, and found there in a box by Mr Baddeley. Mr Andrews gave them to the church in 1903. More important artistically are the mural paintings in the chancel, consisting of the remains of a row of saints at the top of the walls, a diaper framing heraldic shields of the founder of Hayles and his connexions, and in the eastern jambs of the two easternmost windows exquisite figures of St. Catharine and St. Margaret, each with a monk at her feet (13th or early 14th century)¹¹. The scrolls which accompany them are unfortunately illegible. The floor of the sanctuary is laid with tiles from the abbey, many of them heraldic, and connected with the founders and benefactors.

After luncheon at Winchcombe the members assembled in

WINCHCOMBE CHURCH

a fine specimen of a town church of the 15th century, without transepts or chancel arch, the division being marked only by the rood screen, which has lost its loft. The clearstory of the chancel, which had been destroyed by alterations in 1690, was replaced at the restoration of 1872. Most of our information about the building of the church comes from what Leland was told on his visit,

¹⁰ Described and illustrated in Sydney Pitcher's 'Stained glass in Gloucestershire Churches', *Trans. B.G.A.S.*, 1925, XLVII, 323, and fig. 46.

¹¹ Illustrated in Baddeley's *Cotteswold Shrine*, fig. 25, and in Borenus and Tristram's *Medieval Painting in England*, pl. 55.

shortly before the Dissolution. He says that by the time of Henry v the old parish church of St. Nicholas (on a different site) had been abandoned, and the parishioners used the nave of the abbey church. In the time of Henry vi it was decided to build a new church to the west of the abbey, and the chancel was erected by Abbot William of Winchcombe (1451-74); but the £200 collected by the parish for the nave being insufficient, that part was completed by Ralph Boteler, Lord Sudeley.¹² As Ralph's enforced surrender of Sudeley took place in 1469, and he died in 1473, the church, if Leland's account is correct, will have been built about 1460-70.

Before giving a detailed description of the church Mr THOMAS OVERBURY said that during the 12th century so many churches were built in Gloucestershire that they sufficed, with the ordinary extensions, for the needs of the people until the 15th century. Thus it comes about that the county is extremely rich in Norman work, but has comparatively little of 13th and 14th century architecture. During the 15th century a great impetus was given to church building by reason of the introduction of the Perpendicular style of English architecture in Gloucester cathedral about the middle of the 14th century. In addition, arts and crafts had advanced in proficiency, and that of glass making and glass painting had reached a very high standard. Thus it is natural to assume that the 12th century church with its round arches and small windows appeared gloomy and old-fashioned compared with the loftier, lighter style of architecture developed in Gloucester, with its large windows for the display of painted glass, while the advance in ritual demanded a different type of plan. The rise of the woolmen in the latter half of the 14th century had an important bearing on the architecture of Gloucestershire, because

¹² *Leland's Itinerary* (ed. Toulmin Smith), II, 54.

during the 15th century the wool trade of the Cotswolds and weaving in the valleys resulted in a wealthy population.

Here then are the principal reasons for that great wave of 15th century church building, viz.—

1. Old-fashioned churches.
2. A new style of architecture and large new windows being made in Gloucester.
3. A wealthy population.

Of all the great 15th century churches in Gloucestershire three only, so far as I can remember, were built in one period, viz., Lechlade, Chipping Campden and Winchcombe. The two former are not so large as this church, and they probably occupied the sites of earlier churches, while both received additions in the later period of the style.

All the other great Perpendicular churches are additions to earlier structures and thus their plans are to a more or less extent influenced thereby. In the fine church at Thornbury for instance, some of the late 12th century work remains; Cirencester is obviously a series of additions; Fairford also retains some of its earlier work, and the glorious church at Northleach, although practically rebuilt, incorporates fragments of an earlier structure, and was reconstructed at different periods in the 15th century.

The distinction attaching to Winchcombe church therefore is twofold, viz., it was placed on a new site, and built all at one period. Consequently the plan is of great interest because it alone of the 15th century Gloucestershire churches was designed with a free and unfettered hand, and it shows us the type of church demanded at the period by a prosperous town. It should also be remembered that the period in which the church was built might be termed 'expansive'. The 100 years war with France and the Wars of the Roses

were over, the farmers and free labourers had grown in importance, and printing had just been introduced.

How the aspirations of the people were expressed in the plan of their new parish church is here for you to see. It is of absorbing interest : here alone of the great 15th century Gloucestershire churches have you an arcade of 8 bays, and here alone is the only example in all these churches of the absence of a chancel arch, a peculiarity which is common enough in the churches of southwest and southeastern England. It must also be noted that the chancel is the same width as the nave. Compared with the churches at Northleach and Chipping Campden, it is much greater in size. For example, the naves of the two former churches are about 58 ft. long and 25 ft. wide, while Winchcombe nave is 86 ft. by 24 ft. Northleach chancel is about 50 ft. by 16 ft., while Winchcombe is 53 ft. by 24 ft. On the other hand, the aisles are a few inches wider at Northleach than here. Compared with Thornbury church, the width of Winchcombe is about 1 ft. less, but in extreme internal length it is 24 ft. longer.

The church as you see consists of a long chancel with side aisles, nave with aisles, western tower and south porch. Formerly a sacristy existed at the eastern end of the chancel. It is unfortunate that the details of the features and mouldings are so coarse, and in this respect it is the poorest of all the 15th century Gloucestershire churches. It is an example of the deterioration in architectural design which proceeded as the Perpendicular style progressed, and it is a fact that as the power of the people increased so did the great Perpendicular style of architecture decay.

Mr Rushforth pointed out that it was the erection of the parish church which ultimately led to the entire destruction of the abbey church at the Dissolution : otherwise at least the nave would have been preserved for the parishioners, or even the whole church, as at

Tewkesbury. But monks never cared to have part of their church used by the public, and Winchcombe in the days of its prosperity demanded, like Cirencester, a handsome church of its own. The painted glass must have been an important feature of the interior with its large window space, but only fragments in some of the tracery lights survived. The restoration of 1872 swept away some objects of interest, for a 15th century stone pulpit in the nave disappeared, together with the Jacobean arrangement of communicants' seats round the chancel.¹³ The canopied sedilia remain on the south side, and beside them, above the piscina, a carved finial or bracket forms a memorial to the builders of the church, having the arms of the abbey¹⁴ and of Boteler flanking those of Gloucester abbey, which must have been a contributor. In the nave are the font dated 1634, a 16th century pillar alms box, and an 18th century brass chandelier. There is a well-carved organ case of about 1700. The only monument of importance is the mural one on the north side of the chancel to Thomas Williams of Corndean (d. 1636).¹⁵

The altar cloth, formerly on the altar table in Winchcombe church, is now placed in an oak frame, and hung on the north wall of the church. From 1872 until 1929 it was preserved at Sudeley castle. The cloth is attributed to Katharine of Aragon, and is embroidered with her badge (pomegranate). The 'fish-bone' border is Tudor work, but the saints and sacred figures are taken from an earlier cope, about 1380-1390, of which the blue linen inner-lining and brown linen outer-lining were used again for the Tudor cloth. It has been carefully repaired by the Royal School of Needlework at South Kensington,

¹³ Both are illustrated in Mrs Dent's *Annals of Winchcombe and Sudeley*.

¹⁴ Not the coat usually assigned to the abbey, which is a variation of Mortimer's arms, but a saltire with a cross at the intersection of the arms, on which see *Transactions*, 1905, xxxviii, 496.

¹⁵ Described by Miss Roper in *Transactions*, 1906, xxxix, 261.

and while it was there the missing group of the Crucifixion in the middle of the cloth was identified as being in an embroidery of the 14th century from Minsterworth, which by an extraordinary coincidence was also at the School for repairs.

The frontal is described in Mrs Bagnall-Oakeley's paper on ancient church embroidery in *Transactions*, 1886-7, XI, 256.

As there is nothing to be seen on the site, Mr Rushforth went on to speak about

WINCHCOMBE ABBEY

founded by King Kenwulf of Mercia in 789. In it he was buried, together with his canonized son, St. Kenelm, whose legend was dissected by the late Mr Sidney Hartland in his presidential address, printed in *Transactions*, 1916, XXXIX, and according to Sir Charles Oman belongs to the realm of ecclesiastical fiction.¹⁶ After falling into the hands of seculars it was refounded for Benedictines by Bishop Oswald of Worcester in 985, and henceforth was of considerable importance. An anecdote related by William of Malmesbury¹⁷ shows that the old church had a central tower, under which was a rood, damaged by lightning in 1091. The church was rebuilt after a fire in 1151, but was not consecrated till 1239. There is no trace of it above ground, and Dr M. R. James remarks that he does not think any monastic church that could be classed with this has so totally disappeared.¹⁸ The foundations were seen in 1815 when the site was searched for antiquities, and in 1892-3 Mr E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., with the support of Mrs Dent, excavated the site so far as possible. Practically all the worked stone had been carried off, and only two bits of wall

¹⁶ *England before the Norman Conquest*, p. 391.

¹⁷ *Gesta Regum*, IV, 323 (Rolls Series, II, p. 374).

¹⁸ *Abbeys*, (G.W.R.), p. 54.

above ground (both now covered up) were found ; but the foundations of the nave, transepts, central tower, and the beginning of the presbytery were discovered.¹⁹ Of the east end no traces were found. It appears to have been a Norman church, resembling others in the district, with arcades on large cylindrical piers. Mr Knowles has noted the interesting fact that the width of the nave (28 ft.) was almost identical with those of Pershore and Great Malvern. At the west end were two large pinnacles or small towers, recalling those at Tewkesbury. Various architectural fragments indicated alterations of later date. Leland, who may have seen the church before its destruction, mentions the shrine of St. Kenelm and the tomb of his father at the east end, where also was a chapel of St. Nicholas with Boteler monuments.²⁰ Some tiles and other relics of the abbey, including a wooden door with the initials of Abbot Richard Kyderminster, are to be seen in the vestry of the church.

Afterwards some of the party inspected the Museum of local antiquities and relics which Miss Adlard has diligently collected and housed in the room over the porch. Others looked at the exterior of the only surviving part of the abbey buildings, now incorporated in a house to the north of the church. Adjoining it on the east are two other houses, not much more than a century old, on the site of the abbot's residence. The gardens of Mr Adlard's house at Postlip were also open to members, and here they could inspect the ancient frontal which has been recovered for the church.

Later in the afternoon a visit was paid to

SUDELEY CASTLE

the residence of Major J. H. Dent Brocklehurst, D.S.O., D.L. In the latter part of the 14th century it passed by the

¹⁹ *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1893, XLIX, 163-72, plan 163.

²⁰ *Itinerary* (Toulmin Smith), II, 54.

marriage of the heiress of the old lords of Sudeley to the family of Boteler, and in the middle of the 15th century, Ralph Boteler, created Baron Sudeley in 1441, enriched by spoils and ransoms in the French wars, and Lord High Treasurer to Henry VI (1444-7), rebuilt part of the castle in a splendid style, so that, in Leland's quaint phrase 'it had the price (prize) of all the buyldings in those days'. As a Lancastrian he had to save his head by surrendering the castle to relations and followers of Edward IV, and from this time, with short intervals, it belonged to the Crown till Edward VI gave it to his uncle, Sir Thomas Seymour, created Lord Seymour of Sudeley, who had married the widowed Queen Katherine Parr, in 1547. She made the castle her residence, bringing with her her husband's ward, Lady Jane Grey. It must have required some repair, for when Leland saw it some ten years earlier 'it goeth to ruine, more pitie'. She died the next year, and was buried in the adjacent church of St. Mary, part of Ralph Boteler's work. In 1549 Seymour's attainder and execution brought his short-lived tenure of the castle to an end, and in 1554 Queen Mary granted it to Sir John Brydges, created Lord Chandos of Sudeley, who had been constable of the castle under Henry VIII. With his descendants it remained till it was bought by John and William Dent in 1837. The buildings suffered in the Civil War (Parliament ordered the castle to be 'slighted' in 1649), the church was desecrated, and the place became a ruin. From this condition it was rescued by the Dents, who restored the northern or Elizabethan court as a residence. The work of embellishment was continued by Mr J. C. Dent and his wife (d. 1900), in whose handsome and well illustrated volume, *Annals of Winchcombe and Sudeley* (London, 1877), the facts about the place and its history are fully set out. Owing to alterations in the east wing now being carried out under the direction of Mr Walter H. Godfrey, F.S.A., it was impossible to see the interior with the

remarkable artistic and antiquarian collections illustrative of its history.

Mr Knowles conducted the party along the western range into the south quadrangle, when he remarked that the existing buildings at Sudeley have the appearance of a fortified dwelling, but nowhere is there indication of a great Norman stronghold, whether of donjon, towers or curtain walls.

We cannot say what occurred at Sudeley between the 12th and the 14th centuries, about which it is difficult to speak with precision as to the sequence of its building operations, much obscured by repeated alterations. A little excavation and a good plan would add to our knowledge, and assist to elucidate its architectural history. When the castle passed at the end of the 14th century to the family of Boteler, the south quadrangle was no doubt enclosed by buildings on all four sides. To the earliest of the Botelers may possibly be attributed the building of the western range, which a century ago had been destroyed except a tower at either end, and a wall connecting them in which was a high chimney stack now pierced by a door opening into stables. Either on this or on the south side of the quadrangle, no doubt a medieval hall existed, comprising the hall, solar, kitchen and buttery, and continued in use until the erection of the beautiful buildings erected in the 15th century on the east side by Ralph Boteler, Lord Sudeley, and now a ruin.

The ruins indicate the grand scale on which the buildings were conceived. They are of excellent proportions, enriched with appropriate detail, and include the fine upper and lower hall with elaborate apartments at either end. The portion of the upper hall yet standing indicates the beauty and refinement of the building, with its delicate traceried windows, including an oriel with vaulted soffit reaching from floor to ceiling. The fireplace of the upper hall is under a mullioned window, and is corbelled out, so that the chimney is carried up on the

outside, clear of the window. The apartment in the adjacent tower, known as Katherine Parr's lodging, was probably put in order for her by Lord Seymour. Below it, Sir Gilbert Scott in 1854 thought there were indications of the Norman castle of the time of Stephen, but there is no evidence now *in situ*, though there are several sculptured stones of the period with zig-zag ornament lying loose in the quadrangle. The north quadrangle, at first no doubt an outer bailey surrounded by subsidiary structures, has been enclosed on three sides by residential buildings, combining a greater degree of comfort and privacy than obtained in medieval structures, and lighted by large square-headed windows with mullions, transoms, and classical cornices, all symmetrically designed in Elizabethan fashion. This work may with great probability be ascribed to Edmund, 2nd Lord Chandos (1557-72), whose initials E C, with the date 1572, are carved on a stone chimney piece in the interior. The gate house, however, may perhaps be earlier.

Before leaving the quadrangle Mr Rushforth recalled Leland's admiration for Ralph Boteler's building, and his remarking as 'one thinge muche to be notyd in this castle, that parte of the wyndows were glasyd with berall (beryl)'.²¹ Elsewhere he mentions that it was the hall that was glazed with 'rownd beralls',²² *i.e.*, rounds of white glass looking like jewels. He also records the anecdote that when Lord Sudeley was 'attached' and was starting for London, he looked back from the hill above the castle and said 'Sudeley castelle thou art a traytor, not I'.

SUDELEY CHURCH

The church of St. Mary is not a castle chapel but a parish church, rebuilt by Ralph Boteler, probably on the

²¹ *Itinerary* (Toulmin Smith), II, 56.

²² *Ibid.*, v, 155.

old site. In the 18th century it was roofless, and service was held in a small chapel on the south side, now destroyed, but originally perhaps the private pew of Lord Sudeley, who could see the altar through a squint in the form of a small mullioned window, which still survives. On the north side is a low and narrow structure, now used as vestry and organ chamber, which perhaps has been removed from the east end where there is a blocked door and traces of a building which has disappeared. The whole church was drastically restored or rebuilt by Sir Gilbert Scott (1858), and the interior contains little of interest, except the sumptuous canopied tomb with marble effigy, in which are the ill-treated remains of Katherine Parr. A copy of the inscription on her coffin is exhibited close by. In the south wall are three ogee-canopied and carved sedilia, very much restored, if not altogether modern.

On the exterior the buttresses which mark the five bays are carried through the embattled parapet and crowned with pinnacles. The base and string courses, and the cornice below the parapet are well moulded, and excellent gargoyles occur at the intersection of cornice and buttress. Over the west door is a diminutive tower carried on corbels, and on either side are canopied niches, with modern statues. The hood-mould over the west door is stopped by good heads of a king and queen, no doubt intended for Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou. Other carvings represent St. George and the Dragon, and a bird or griffin seizing a man in armour.

Attention was also called to the 15th century barn ('The Grange') to the northwest of the castle, about 180 ft. in length, including an extension at the south end, added a century later. It is lighted by small square-headed loops, and has two wide arched openings on the east side. The bays are marked externally by projecting buttresses. The building is roofless, but the lofty high-pitched gables remain.