

GARDEN AND OTHER EARTHWORKS,
SOUTH OF WRESSLE CASTLE,
WRESSLE, EAST YORKSHIRE

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY



Ed Dennison Archaeological Services Ltd
18 Springdale Way
Beverley
East Yorkshire
HU17 8NU

GARDEN AND OTHER EARTHWORKS,
SOUTH OF WRESSLE CASTLE,
WRESSLE, EAST YORKSHIRE

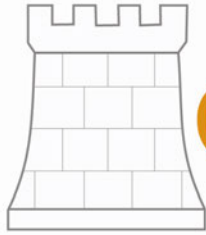
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY

Report no: 2014/479.R01
Version: Final
Date: February 2015
Author: Shaun Richardson & Ed Dennison

Ed Dennison Archaeological Services Ltd
18 Springdale Way
Beverley
East Yorkshire
HU17 8NU

On behalf of

Castle Studies Trust
c/o Flat 3
46 Ferme Park Road
London
N4 4ED



Castle Studies Trust

Advancing the Understanding of Castles

The archaeological survey work described in this report has been funded by the Castle Studies Trust. This charity is entirely reliant on donations from the public.

To help the Trust to continue funding this research, please visit <https://mydonate.bt.com/charities/castlestudiestrust>.

To find out more about the Trust please visit www.castlestudiestrust.org

**ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY,
GARDEN AND OTHER EARTHWORKS,
SOUTH OF WRESSLE CASTLE,
WRESSLE, EAST YORKSHIRE**

CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1	INTRODUCTION.....	1
2	SURVEY METHODOLOGY.....	4
3	ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.....	7
4	THE RESULTS OF THE EARTHWORK SURVEY.....	16
5	THE CASTLE AND THE GARDENS: THE STRUCTURAL EVIDENCE.....	29
6	INTERPRETATIVE DISCUSSION.....	40
7	CONCLUSIONS.....	56
8	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	59
9	ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	64

LIST OF FIGURES

- 1 General location
- 2 EDAS survey area
- 3 Plan of castle and base court c.1600
- 4 Tracing from 1602 plan of Wressle
- 5 Early 17th century plan of Wressle
- 6 1610 plan of Wressle
- 7 1624 plan of Wressle
- 8 1767 plan of Wressle
- 9 Late 18th century engravings - Godfrey (1774) and Savage (1792)
- 10 1770s watercolours by J Brown
- 11 Tracing from 1839 tithe map
- 12 Ordnance Survey 1854 6" map
- 13 19th century illustrations - Sands (1835) and Slater (c.1880)
- 14 Earthwork survey
- 15 Section through earthworks
- 16 South elevation of castle
- 17 Initial Interpretation

LIST OF PLATES

- 1 General view of EDAS survey area, looking SW.
- 2 Location of EDAS survey area in relation to castle and village (Google Earth image).
- 3 View of south moat (Site 2b) from central range wall-walk, with River Derwent in background, looking S.
- 4 View of south moat (Site 2b) from central range wall-walk, with area of village earthworks (Site 4) to left background and Old Garden (Site 3) to right, looking E.
- 5 Area of gardens to east of south-east tower (Site 1c), with east moat to right (Site 2c), looking N.
- 6 Brick structure (Site 2d) at north end of east moat (Site 2c), looking NE.
- 7 Brick structure (Site 2d), south side, at north end of east moat (Site 2c), looking N.
- 8 Brick structure (Site 2d), north side, at north end of east moat (Site 2c), looking S.
- 9 View of the Old Garden earthworks (Site 3) from central range wall-walk, looking S.
- 10 General view across the Old Garden (Site 3) towards ponds (Sites 5b and 5c), looking SE.
- 11 General view across former village earthworks (Sites 4a-4e), looking SE.
- 12 South window in first floor chamber of south-west tower, showing opposed benches, looking S.
- 13 Stair turret opening onto roof leads of south-west tower, showing example of lower (rebuilt?) parapet walls, looking N.
- 14 Parapet and wall-walk of south-west tower, looking S.
- 15 Western window in north wall of the Great Chamber showing stone benches and higher window sill, looking N.
- 16 Central window in north wall of the Great Chamber showing lower window sill (stone benches removed), looking N.
- 17 Parapet and wall-walk on south side of central range, looking W.
- 18 Crenulated parapet wall of south-east tower, showing original form, looking E.
- 19 Uppermost part of south-east stair turret, showing where enclosed stair emerges into open air, looking N.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In February 2014, Ed Dennison Archaeological Services Ltd (EDAS) were awarded a grant by the Castle Studies Trust (CST) to undertake a detailed measured earthwork survey to the south of Wressle Castle, Wressle, East Yorkshire (NGR SE 7079 3146 centred). The survey area covered 5.15 hectares and the earthworks comprised the best surviving part of the gardens associated with the castle, as well as the remains of a shrunken medieval village; the area is included within a Scheduled Monument while the castle ruins are a Grade I Listed Building. The extent of the project was defined by the grant application made to the CST by EDAS, and the project was predominantly funded by the CST.

The interpretations stemming from the survey work have initially centred around the relationship between the chambers, windows and roof/wall-walks of the castle and the various gardens (and the structures within them) which existed around the building between the late 14th and early 17th centuries. This has allowed comparison with relationships previously noted or explored at other late medieval Yorkshire castles and residences. However, Wressle has a number of advantages. Firstly, it is much better documented, which has allowed the detailed reconstruction of the interior, internal fixtures and finishes, and the day-to-day functioning of the household during the early 16th century. Secondly, the castle is set within a flat landscape, not just in terms of its immediate setting but also extending over far greater distances, which makes it easier to be more specific about what may or may not have been visible from a particular place. Nevertheless, profiles constructed across the immediate setting of the castle have shown that, even here, small differences in local topography formed an important part of the ornamental landscape. Thirdly, the archaeological recording work on the surviving structure of the castle is providing the detailed structural information necessary to complement that obtained from documentation and earthwork survey, in order to begin to gain a proper understanding of late medieval and early post-medieval viewing practices.

In the development of Wressle as a settlement, the three most important factors are likely to be a change from a polyfocal settlement to a large nucleated village, the proximity of the river Derwent, and the building of the castle in the late 14th century. The earthwork survey has recorded possible evidence relating to all three of these. The construction of the castle in the late 14th century, and the later additions of the base court and the Little Park, would have had significant impacts on the morphology of the village, although further research is needed before these impacts are fully understood and appreciated. The consideration of the former limits of settlement is of prime importance to the interpretation of the earthworks to the south of the castle, and evidence for former settlement has been identified within the survey area. The morphology of the village continued to change throughout the early post-medieval period.

By the late 15th century, and most probably from the late 14th century onwards, the castle was provided with two gardens, the Moat Garden and the Old Garden. The former was likely to be located between the castle's south range and the south moat, whilst the latter was set to the immediate south of the south moat and seems to have been laid out over part of the earlier village. The Old Garden was surrounded by a brick wall and covered just over one acre; internally, it may have had a discrete, approximately central, garden surrounded by an area of orchard which ran up to the brick wall. It contained an elaborate two storey structure later known as the 'School House'. The siting of the Old Garden contrasts with other recorded examples, but it shares common characteristics with a mere setting previously recognised at what are proposed to be medieval designed or ornamental landscapes around castles.

By the later 16th century, the Old Garden was apparently combined with two large ornamental fishponds to the south to form an 'outer garden'. The structural recording of the castle has demonstrated that there are subtle differences between the windows looking towards or away from the gardens, and some were subsequently altered. In addition, the height and position of features such as window seats, iron grilles and glazing also influenced what could be seen.

There does not appear to have been a direct relationship between the high status female chambers or lodgings within the castle as has been proposed at other sites, but a more complex one involving both male and female viewing.

By the time Henry Percy, 5th Earl of Northumberland, undertook his extensive refurbishment of the castle in two successive phases between 1498-1516 and 1524-1527, any late 14th century gardens would almost certainly have been considered desperately old fashioned. It is a reasonable assumption, therefore, that the gardens were updated on contemporary lines, and it is also reasonable to assume, given the nature of Henry Percy's internal refurbishments and the opulence of his household, that any new garden works would have been at the forefront of contemporary fashion; comparisons with English royal gardens of the period are quite feasible. One of the most potentially interesting structures within the 16th century gardens at Wressle is a banqueting house and/or 'bayne' (bathing house) located at the south-west internal corner of the moat. A similar structure existed at another nearby Percy residence at Leconfield, raising the possibility that an attempt was made to create a common landscape at each different complex. The bayne at Wressle is of particular interest because its location suggests that the bathing facilities were either provided with water from the moat, or even connected to the moat to allow swimming within it. Documentary evidence shows that the moat was subject to regular cleaning using a boat specifically built for the purpose, in line with the contemporary practice at royal moated residences.

The major addition to the garden setting of the castle in the 16th century was the construction of a moated New Garden to the north. Documentary evidence suggests it was created at some point between 1472 and 1517, and it seems likely that it was associated with the 5th Earl. It was c.90m square and surrounded by a wide, water-filled moat. The only indication of any internal layout is from a plan of 1624, showing perhaps a crude indication of cruciform pathways dividing the garden into four equal parts, with a quarter circle to each quadrant. It is curious that the New Garden receives so little attention in the 16th century surveys, and it may have become abandoned or neglected soon after the 5th Earl's death in 1527. It may be significant that in 1541, when Henry VIII stayed at Wressle, money was spent repairing the wall around the Old Garden - if the New Garden had been neglected for some time, it may have been more economical to spruce up the Old Garden for the relatively short duration of the King's visit.

By the early 17th century, all of the gardens, perhaps with the exception of a small part of the former Moat Garden to the immediate south of the castle, had probably been abandoned. There may have been some expenditure on the landscape setting of the castle during the early 17th century, but evidence is as yet scant. It is quite possible that whatever remained of the three gardens in the early 17th century was further damaged by the Civil War events of 1648-1650, although late 18th century drawings of the castle bring into question how comprehensive the demolition of 1650 actually was. The structural survey work has also recorded important evidence for possible slighting activity and post-1650 rebuilding of the battlements which is relevant to an understanding of the castle's landscape setting. This landscape continued to change throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, with boundaries being removed to amalgamate former sub-divisions into larger units. A new road was also constructed between 1767 and 1839 to the east of the castle, perhaps associated with the building of the present Castle Farm in 1810-11, which had the effect of physically separating the castle from the village.

1 INTRODUCTION

Reasons and Circumstances of the Project

- 1.1 In February 2014, Ed Dennison Archaeological Services Ltd (EDAS) were awarded a grant by the Castle Studies Trust (CST) to undertake a detailed measured earthwork survey of a field to the south of Wressle Castle, Wressle, East Yorkshire (NGR SE 7079 3146 centred) (see plates 1 and 2). The survey area covered 5.15 hectares and the earthworks comprised the best surviving part of the gardens associated with the castle, as well as the remains of a shrunken medieval village; the area is included within a Scheduled Monument (National Heritage List for England entry 1005210) while the castle ruins are a Grade 1 Listed Building (National Heritage List for England entry 1083170). The extent of the project was defined by the grant application made to the CST by EDAS, and the project was predominantly funded by the CST.

Site Location and Description

- 1.2 The survey area covered most of the enclosed field to the south of the castle, apart from a small strip of land lying between a modern flood bund and the River Derwent which contains no earthworks (see figures 1 and 2). The survey therefore included the area between the castle and the south moat, the south moat itself and its northward returns at either end, the sites of a bath house and a laundry, the 'Old Garden', and part of the former extent of Wressle village and its associated open field system.
- 1.3 The survey area was bounded to the east by the unclassified north-south aligned road running through this part of Wressle village, to the west by the River Derwent flood bund, to the south-east by modern housing, and to the south by the Selby to Hull railway line. At the time of the survey, the area was used as pasture for grazing cattle. The majority of the boundaries were marked by either hedges or post and wire fencing.

Background Information

- 1.4 Wressle Castle is generally considered to have been constructed towards the end of the 14th century for Thomas Percy, later Earl of Worcester, and comparisons are often drawn with other contemporary castles of a similar form, for example Sheriff Hutton and Bolton castles, both in North Yorkshire. No licence to crenellate survives, but the castle is first documented in 1402.
- 1.5 In its original form, the castle had a quadrangular plan, with ranges running between four corner towers, and with a fifth gate tower in the centre of the east range. The castle was surrounded on all sides by a moat, and at a later date a base court was added to the east side (see figure 3). It is highly likely that the late 14th century building was provided with gardens and pleasure grounds, and there was also an extensive park to the north, with the River Derwent running close by the west. The interior of the castle underwent extensive and very costly refurbishment under Henry Percy, 5th Earl of Northumberland, probably in two successive phases between 1498-1516 and 1524-1527. The two volumes of the contemporary *Northumberland Household Book* (Anon 1770), together with a detailed survey of c.1600 (see below), allow the magnificence and functioning of Percy's household at Wressle to be reconstructed in great detail (Brears 2010).

- 1.6 However, by the third-quarter of the 16th century, Wressle was in decay, like other regional Percy residences such as the nearby Leconfield Castle; in fact, it may have been in decay as early as 1537, when the Duke of Norfolk wrote to Thomas Cromwell that he had heard that the Earl of Northumberland “daily gives away houses and the brick of Wressle and other things, so that unless remedy be applied, it will be greatly decayed when it comes to the King’s hands” (Bilson *et al* 1913, 184). Large sums of money were spent on repairing the building in the early 17th century, and it was found to be the only Yorkshire Percy residence to be in reasonable repair in 1630. It was subsequently garrisoned for Parliament during the Civil War, and in 1646 the garrison were said to have caused over £1000 worth of damage to the castle and its surroundings. Actual demolition of the castle commenced in June 1648, but in 1650 the decision was taken to demolish all but the south range, leaving it to serve as a manor house to administer the Earl of Northumberland’s local estates. By the late 18th century, the lower level of the castle was a residence for a tenant farmer, although it is clear that several of the rooms retained their high-status 16th century woodwork. Unfortunately, a severe fire in February 1796 destroyed all of this material, and the castle has been derelict ever since (Fisher 1954 vol 2, 67; Pevsner & Neave 1995, 766-769; Emery 1996, 414-419).
- 1.7 In terms of published works, the earliest account of the castle was given by Savage in 1805 (Savage 1805). However, given the richness of the surviving 16th century documentation, and the presence of a substantial part of the original building, with a few exceptions (e.g. Bilson *et al* 1913) Wressle remained relatively neglected in academic studies until the mid 20th century. In 1954, the castle featured in an important two volume illustrated PhD thesis by Fisher which studied the Percy family’s Yorkshire estates, and which contains much useful unpublished material on the gardens and setting of the castle (Fisher 1954 vol 2, 1-139). As part of this work, in 1937 Fisher made tracings of the set of plans of the castle drawn by T F Hampe in c.1600, and now kept as part of the Petworth House Archive at the West Sussex Record Office, including the well-known and often reproduced ‘upright’ or perspective view of Wressle (WSA PHA 3538-47). However, of greater relevance to the garden survey, Fisher also copied the seldom-reproduced Hampe plans of the castle’s base court and wider landscape setting, which show elements not depicted on other 17th century maps and plans of the area (WSA PHA 3543) (see figure 3). The tracings made by Fisher in 1937 are kept in a large folder at the Yorkshire Archaeological Society in Leeds, with the two volumes of his PhD thesis.
- 1.8 More recently, Wressle has been described by Pevsner and Neave (1995, 766-769), Emery (1996, 414-419) and Hislop (2007, 45-48 & 71-75). However, the most informative and important recent work is by Brears (2010), who uses the information contained within the Northumberland Household Book and the Hampe c.1600 drawings to reconstruct the appearance and organisation of the interior of the castle in the early 16th century. Finally, and most recently, a Conservation Management Plan has been produced for the castle (Stone 2013).
- 1.9 Other archaeological recording work at Wressle Castle is currently being undertaken by EDAS, as part of a three year phased programme of repairs funded by Natural England and English Heritage. As part of the conservation works, EDAS are producing a detailed record of the surviving ruined castle, including those elements which would or could have provided views over the garden area to the south, namely the windows and wall- or roof-walks. This information would obviously feed into the garden survey, and would also allow further understanding of the relationship between the castle’s base court and the village of Wressle.

Furthermore, this would allow these relationships to be compared with others previously explored at other late medieval Yorkshire castles (e.g. Richardson & Dennison 2007; Richardson 2010; Richardson & Dennison 2014).

2 SURVEY METHODOLOGY

Aims and Objectives

- 2.1 The aim of the project was to produce a detailed analytical archaeological and historical survey of the earthworks within the survey area, in order to help to inform the understanding of late medieval/early post-medieval viewing practices which took place at this site.
- 2.2 In detail, the specific objectives were:
- to provide an archaeological survey and record of the earthworks and related features within the survey area, comprising a metrically accurate hachured plan and descriptive/interpretative report;
 - to provide information to help with the understanding and appreciation of late medieval/early post-medieval viewing practices;
 - to act as a spur for further archaeological survey work in the area;
 - and to generally contribute to the future management and understanding of this landscape.

Survey Methodologies

- 2.3 The detailed topographical survey corresponds to a Level 3 enhanced and integrated survey as defined by English Heritage and elsewhere (English Heritage 2007, 23-24; Bowden 1999, 78-80 & 189-193). Two main elements were required to be undertaken as part of the project, namely the collation of existing documentary material and topographical survey.

Collation of Documentary Material

- 2.4 No new primary documentary research was undertaken as part of the project, the history and development of the castle complex already having been established by others in some detail, particularly for the 16th century (e.g. Stone 2013; Pevsner & Neave 1995, 766-769; Emery 1996, 414-419; Brears 2010).
- 2.5 However, the collation of existing readily-available material to inform the survey work was carried out, and the following archives or repositories of information were consulted:
- Borthwick Institute for Historical Research, University of York;
 - Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Leeds.
- 2.6 In addition, consultation was also undertaken with Peter Brears, John Goodall, David and Susan Neave, and Chris Taylor. Information on drainage and the uses of the field in the second half of the 20th century was also provided by the owner, Mr Robert Falkingham. A full list of primary and secondary sources consulted are given in the Bibliography (Chapter 8) below.

Topographical and Earthwork Survey

- 2.7 A detailed Level 3 survey of the whole of the survey area was carried out to record the position and form of all features considered to be of archaeological and/or historical interest. This survey was undertaken in conjunction with Benchmark

Land Surveys of Leeds at a scale of 1:500 using EDM total station equipment. Sufficient information was gathered to allow the survey area to be readily located through the use of surviving structures, fences, walls, water courses, trackways and other topographical features. The survey recorded the position at ground level of all earthworks, structures, wall remnants and revetments, water courses, leats, paths, stone and rubble scatters, and any other features considered to be of archaeological or historic interest.

- 2.8 The site survey was integrated into the Ordnance Survey national grid by resection to points of known co-ordinates. Heights AOD were obtained by reference to the nearest OS benchmark; given the nature of the remains, contours were not plotted across the survey area, although reduced heights were provided where useful, for example to allow construction of a profile across the 'Old Garden'. Survey points were taken from fixed survey stations on a closed traverse around and through the survey area. On completion of the total station survey, the field data was plotted and re-checked on site in a separate operation; any amendments or additions were surveyed by hand measurement, and the results digitised back into the electronic survey data. The resulting site survey was produced at a scale of 1:500 and presented as an interpretative hand-drawn wet ink hachure plan(s) using conventions analogous to those used by English Heritage (1999; 2002, 14; 2007, 31-35). Due to the timescale over which the CST grant was awarded, it was not possible to start the topographical survey until early March 2014. By this time, the pasture was already growing beyond the ideal conditions for the recognition of denuded or faint earthworks. Therefore, and with the agreement of the CST, the survey area was re-visited in December 2014 to carry out further recording and evaluate the earlier survey results.
- 2.9 Individual features or landscape elements identified by the topographical survey were given a unique identifier number, and detailed written descriptions provided based on notes taken in the field. A photographic record was also made, to illustrate specific well-preserved features, details of specific features and/or areas of erosion etc. More general photographs were also taken showing the landscape context of the survey area and of specific parts. The photographs were produced using a digital camera with 12 mega-pixel resolution, in accordance with English Heritage photographic guidelines (English Heritage 2007, 14). All photographs were clearly numbered and labelled with the subject, orientation, date taken and photographer's name, and were cross-referenced to digital files etc.

Survey Products

Archaeological Survey Report

- 2.10 An EDAS archive archaeological survey report has been produced, based on the results of the documentary collation and the information obtained during the field work. This report assembles and summarises the available evidence for the survey area in an ordered form, synthesises the data, comments on the quality and reliability of the evidence, and how it might need to be supplemented by further field work or desk-based research. The report is illustrated by reduced versions of the survey drawings, various historic maps and plans, and a selection of photographic plates.
- 2.11 One draft copy of the report was made available for discussion with the CST prior to completion. Two copies of the final approved survey report were then provided in hard copy format to the CST. A CD containing an electronic copy of the report

(as pdf files) was also provided to the CST and other interested parties, including the owner.

Archaeological Survey Archive

- 2.12 A properly ordered and indexed project archive (paper, magnetic and plastic media) will be produced at the end of the project, and will be combined with the archive arising from the EDAS recording of the ruined castle, for eventual deposition with the East Riding of Yorkshire Museum Service (EDAS site code WCG 14).

3 ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Introduction

- 3.1 This survey report is primarily concerned with the interpretation and understanding of the area surrounding the castle, rather than the castle itself. Therefore, in the following section, material relating to the castle is restricted to that which is most relevant to this topic.
- 3.2 As has already been noted above in Chapter 1, although the structure and functioning of the castle have been subject to previous description (e.g. Emery 1996; Brears 2010), as have the nearby parks (Neave 1991), the immediate environment including the gardens has escaped any detailed consideration. However, Erik Fisher's 1954 PhD thesis contains much unpublished primary material on the gardens, little of which is referred to in more recent studies.
- 3.3 Finally, as might be expected, the castle's gardens underwent alteration, expansion and contraction during the 300 years that Wressle served as a high status residence for a large household. There were up to three different gardens present at one time. Two of these gardens are named in contemporary documentation; the garden to the south of the south moat was the 'Old Garden' and that to the north of the north moat was the 'New Garden' - these names are used in the following text. For the purposes of description, the third garden, within the moated enclosure on the south side of the castle, is referred to below as the 'Moat Garden'.

The 15th and 16th Centuries

- 3.4 Wressle Castle is generally considered to have been constructed towards the end of the 14th century for Thomas Percy, later Earl of Worcester, and comparisons are often drawn with other contemporary castles of similar form, such as Sheriff Hutton and Bolton (both North Yorkshire), and Lumley (County Durham). No licence to crenellate survives, but the castle is first documented in 1403 (Bilson *et al* 1913, 183). In its original form, the castle had a quadrangular plan, with ranges running between four corner towers, and with a fifth gate tower in the centre of the east range. The castle was surrounded on all sides by a moat, and at a later date a base court was created to the east side (see figure 3). It is highly likely that the late 14th century building was provided with gardens and pleasure grounds, and there was also an extensive park to the north, with the River Derwent running close by the west.
- 3.5 In 1403, Sir Thomas Percy was executed for his role in the Battle of Shrewsbury, and Wressle passed into an extended period of intermittent Crown ownership, during which it was successively granted to others but only for limited lengths of time. For example, at some point before 1435 (and presumably before 1425), the castle may have been granted to Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, and his second wife Joan Beaufort, while between 1458 and 1460 the castle, manor and lordship were leased to Sir Thomas Percy for life by Henry VI (Bilson *et al* 1913, 186-187). There was apparently also a period of control by Ralph Lord Cromwell after 1435 (Storey 1986, 143 & 185; reference provided by Erik Matthews). The ownership was restored to Henry Percy, 4th Earl of Northumberland in 1471, and the interior underwent extensive and very costly refurbishment under Henry Percy, the 5th Earl, probably in two successive phases between 1498-1516 and 1524-1527. Following the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536, during which the 6th Earl surrendered the castle to Robert Aske, Wressle again returned to the Crown in

1537. The castle hosted the Privy Council, King Henry VIII and Queen Katherine Howard for at least three nights in September 1541 (Brears 2010; Stone 2013, 12-13).

3.6 Late medieval references to the gardens are less common than those dating to after c.1500, and the only one of the three gardens which is clearly referred during the 15th century is the 'Old Garden'. A building known as the 'School House', located in the Old Garden to the south of the castle's south moat was noted amongst decayed rents in 1472, when its old rent was 1s 6d (Fisher 1954 vol 2, 63). Records made between 1516 and 1523 itemised various verses painted within the chambers of this building. The inner chamber above the house's ground floor had 24 stanzas of proverbs, all of which were of seven lines except for two which were of nine lines; Brears suggests that this may have been because they were composed with regard to the architectural spaces they needed to occupy, some requiring extra lines to fill a larger space. The adjoining outer chamber of the School House had two sequences of verse, the first being 'The Counsell of Aristotill' and the second 30 stanzas of proverbs. Wressle was not alone amongst the Percys' Yorkshire residences in having such a building in its gardens. The items relating to the garden house at nearby Leconfield Castle in the 1512 *Northumberland Household Book* describe it as the 'Tour in the Gardyn' and suggest that it had at least two storeys, both heated by fireplaces that required the provision of fuel, and that there was an inner and outer chamber to the upper floor (Anon 1770, 379-380 & 381). The roof of the highest chamber was painted with couplets reflecting the Percy motto, while the garret above had nine stanzas of the Council of Aristotle, but in a different translation to that in the garden house at Wressle (Brears 2010, 98-99). Another interesting entry in the Household Book details the Groom of the Chamber who was responsible amongst other duties for the keeping of the fire in the "*Houses in the Garden and outhere places where my Lorde shall syt aboute his Books*" (Anon 1770, 365). This infers that the garden houses were places used by the 5th Earl for reading and retirement, and may give some clue as to how the example in the Old Garden at Wressle acquired its name of the 'School House'.

3.7 In addition to the Old Garden, Fisher (1954 vol 2, 66) states that the Moat Garden was also present during the same period, and that the two gardens were kept in good order by one gardener - named as John Smeaton in 1472 - for a yearly wage of £3 8d; the wage had fallen to £3 by 1577. The 1512 *Northumberland Household Book* contains several references to the gardener, again always in the singular. Under the section for workmen ('warkmen') in the household is included "*the Gardynar of the place where my Lord lieth if there be oone*" (Anon 1770, 42), whilst the chequer-roll, under the numbers of servants living in the household daily details the "*Gardynar in House j Viz. The Gardynar of the place where my Lord lyeth for the time to have Meitt and Drynke within*" (Anon 1770, 45, 255). Also of interest is the item relating to Wressle provisions - "*Item that from henseforth that there be no HERBYS bought seinge that the Cookes may have herbes anewe in my Lordys Gardyns*" (Anon 1770, 108 & 206) and the hint of some of the gardener's duties: "*Item. A Gardynner who attendis hourelly in the Garden for setting of Erbis and Clipping of Knottis and Sweping the said Garden clean hourelly*" (Anon 1770, 328). Taken together, these references suggest that knot gardens with paths that needed to be swept clean were present in one of the gardens at Wressle by 1512, and that herbs were an important component of the gardens, not only for pleasurable reasons but also to supply the kitchen. These need not have been in the Old or Moat Gardens. At some point between 1472 and 1517, the New Garden was created to the north of the north moat, enclosing an area formerly within the Little Park. Its special gardener received a fee of 26s 8d per year; the

'keeper of the New Garden' is first mentioned in an account roll for 1517, and payments continued to be made to him in the period between 1518 to 1523 (Fisher 1954 vol 2, 66).

- 3.8 The first known detailed description of the gardens was given by John Leland in 1538, as part of his wider description of the castle complex. Leland also addressed the wider landscape setting of the castle, noting that the most part of the base court was of timber. The castle was described as being moated about on three parts, but the fourth part was dry on the side where the castle was entered (i.e. on the east side). He stated that much of the surrounding ground was very low, with the River Derwent running close to the castle, so that when there had been heavy rain, it overflowed much of the ground "there aboute, beyng low Medowes" (Toulmin Smith 1907, 52-54). Leland specifically referred to at least two gardens, one within the castle's moated enclosure and one or more 'Orchardes' without. His remarks, which have been reproduced many times previously (e.g. Fisher 1954 vol 2, 56; Woodward 1985, 12-13), note: "*And so wer the Gardeins withyn the mote and the Orchardes without. And yn the Orchardes were Mountes Opere topario, writhen about with degrees like Turninges of Cockelshilles, to cum to the Top without payn.*" (Toulmin Smith 1907, 53).
- 3.9 It is a reasonable assumption, given other 16th century descriptions, that one of the 'Orchardes' was the Old Garden. In some respects, the reference to the 'mountes' is confusing, as in no other 16th descriptions of the Old Garden are they mentioned, nor are there any surviving earthworks which resemble mounts, even their truncated bases. Fisher (1954 vol 2, 65) made the interesting suggestion that this lack of documentary and physical evidence was because Leland had confused his descriptions of the Percy residences of Wressle and Topcliffe (North Yorkshire), and that the feature known as Maiden's Bower at the latter fitted Leland's description. Maiden's Bower is actually a motte and bailey castle which was later incorporated into extensive ornamental gardens, perhaps in the second half of the 16th century - this work included the remodelling of the motte to incorporate a spiral path ascending to the flat top, where it is suggested that there may have been an observation tower for viewing water gardens to the east (Moorhouse 2003a, 200-201). An alternative explanation is that Wressle's 'mountes *Opere topario*' were actually tall spirals made of topiary located in the Old Garden (Susan Neave, *pers. comm.*), which would of course have left little or no trace when removed, although it is difficult to marry this with Leland's text which does suggest that the features could be physically climbed. Mounts were a common feature in high status gardens, especially during the 16th century, and the description by Leland is very reminiscent of other illustrated examples where mounts were used to overlook topiary beds, such as at New College in Oxford (Crisp 1924, 84-89, plate CX). Harvey (1981, 136) notes that Leland also referred to walks '*oper topario*' at the prebendal manor at Ulleskelf in North Yorkshire.
- 3.10 At about the same time as Leland made his visit, a Royal Surveyor in 1537 reported (regarding the gardens) that the moat was all around except to the "*fore Frunte wt a fayer Garden verey well kepte and at the end of ye sd garden a propre banketyng howse havyng a bayne therin*" (Fisher 1954 vol 2, 57). Later maps (see below) indicate that the banqueting and/or bathing house was located at the inner south-west corner of the moated area. In 1541, George Brown, a bricklayer, and two labourers working on the brick wall on the west of the Old Garden were paid the cost of four chalders of slaked lime and cartage (Fisher 1954 vol 2, 64). These repairs may have been occasioned by the visit of Henry VIII and his Queen to Wressle in September 1541, and implies that they used the Old Garden during their stay.

- 3.11 In 1570, a survey by Humberston noted that “...*The gardens aboute the Castell very well planted with arbors and open walkes and wellkept and preserved; and wyll soe contynue if the pore man may have his stipend allowed which ys yerely 4 li. 7s. 4d. for 3 large gardeynes*” (Fisher 1954 vol 2, 58). The reference to the three gardens at this date may be a late one as, although two keepers of the three gardens were still mentioned in 1542, by 1575 the New Garden was omitted and only the fee for the two earlier gardens was included. Fisher suggested that by the later 16th century, the New Garden may already have been turned over to other uses, such as growing food to feed the 31 peacocks in the park (Fisher 1954 vol 2, 66-67). It was certainly in decay by 1577, when it was described as a piece of ground ‘ordeyned for a garden and bankettinge houses or houses of plesure’ (Fisher 1954 vol 2, 26).
- 3.12 The New Garden was not alone in being in decay by the later 16th century. The same 1577 survey recorded: “.... *within wkich sd mote ther is a garden an orchard and a bathing house scituate upon the sd moate now in verie great decaye Ther ys an orchard and a garden with certen allies for bowling and walking in the same which lyeth in the south side of the sd Castell and courte and without the sd mote which hath bene compassed and enclosed with a brikke wall nowe utterlie decayed In which sd garden ther standith a house called the Scoole Howse which hath ben verie handsomelie buyldid but nowe in gret decaie And betwixt the garden within the mote and the aforesd garden ther hath ben of late yeres a bridge of tymer over the sd mote verie well placed for conveyance and passage between the sd gardens which ys nowe utterlie decayed and fallen doune into the watter And also within the sd utter garden ther are certen ponds for fishe used for plesure.*” (Fisher 1954 vol 2, 58-59).
- 3.13 However, despite the gardens being in decay, some maintenance was clearly still being undertaken to the area around the castle. Included amongst payments for repair works in 1579 was 21s 6d for a new boat, which was necessary both for easy communication across the moats and for the regular moat-cleaning operations that took place annually; these required 12 days work at the rate of 1s 8d per day, and were apparently normally the duty of the Keeper of the Castle (Fisher 1954 vol 2, 64-65).

The 17th Century

- 3.14 The various plans made by T F Hampe in c.1600 of the area around the castle and the base court (see Fisher 1937; Brears 2010, 62; Stone 2013, 13) provide some limited information on the setting which is useful for the interpretation of earlier surveys and surviving earthworks. For example, on one of the c.1600 plans, the Old Garden is shown as still surrounded by a wall, the east side of which was approximately in line with the centre of the south range. The north side of the wall ran very close to the south moat. A sub-square ‘bayne’ stood at the south-west corner of the moated area, and there was a wall running west from the north-west (Kitchen) tower to the moat. There may also have been a wall along the inner south and west sides of the moat, but this is less certain (Brears 2010, 62). Another of the c.1600 plans shows the relationship between the castle and the base court (see figure 3).
- 3.15 A plan of Wressle village and park made in 1602 (WSA PHA 3547) and reproduced in Fisher’s 1954 PhD thesis appears not to have been previously published. This is an important source for the gardens and the setting of the castle (see figure 4), although there are some reasons to believe that it is in fact less reliable than other of the surviving 17th century plans, and it should be used with

caution. The various features on the plan were assigned a letter code, with a list relating to this code written down one side of the plan. The castle is shown, with the base court approaching to the east side across the moat. The moat itself ('C - The Mote') is sub-square, but curiously there is a small sub-rectangular inlet at the north-west corner. To the north of the castle moat, there is the New Garden ('G - The new Garden environed with a quicksett hedge') surrounded by a square moat ('H - The Mote about the new Garden'); there is also an adjacent rectangular pond ('N - Pondes'). To the south of the castle, within the area enclosed by the moat, at the south-west corner, there is a tower-like structure with a rather pointed roof ('D - The Bayne'), i.e. the banqueting house noted in 16th century surveys. To the south of the south moat, there is a wooded sub-square enclosure ('E - The ould Garden some tyme envyrened with a brick wall but now decayde'), with a north-south aligned building with a pitched roof at the north-west corner ('F - The Laundrie'). To the south and west of the wooded enclosure, there is an open enclosure ('W - The Marshe a meadow comon to the Towne') and to the south of this, a smaller sub-triangular enclosure ('X - A Close called Bonde Close'); a 'Y' marked on the west side of the latter, on the east bank of the River Derwent, indicates 'The Fish Garthes', with six presumably fish weirs or traps indicated in the watercourse. To the east of the wooded enclosure, there were two plots or crofts, each with a house at the north-east corner. There was then a trackway, which communicated both with an east-west street to the north and an angled track to the south. Beyond the trackway, there were three further crofts within the EDAS survey area, extending for increasing distances to the south. On the south side of the crofts, there were two ponds, both sub-rectangular but one (M) approximately twice the length of the other (L).

- 3.16 There are other early 17th century maps, but it is difficult to tell to what extent they are derived from one another (or the 1602 plan), as all contain both contrasting and comparable detail. An undated but early 17th coloured plan of Wressle (reproduced in Stone 2013, 14) shows the moat around the castle, and the approach from the east through the base court (see figure 5). The Old Garden can be seen, but it is not named as such, and neither do the 'bayne' or the 'laundrie' buildings of 1602 appear. However, the two village house plots to the immediate east of the Old Garden are shown. The arrangement of tracks and the main street is also similar, although the two ponds shown in 1602 to the south of the house plots are not shown; this area may be divided from the adjacent area of 'Marsh', and there is also an 'M' next to a Maltese cross, which may signify a meadow although the significance of the cross is as yet uncertain. To the south are a number of open strips, aligned north-west/south-east. To the north of the castle, the New Garden is named 'New garding' and is surrounded by a square moat; the rectangular pond marked in 1602 was still present. A small hill named 'Tute Hill' also appears in the area to the east of the New Garden.
- 3.17 A map of Wressle dating to c.1610 (Falkingham Collection; photographic copy held in WSA Garland N39261 & YAS MS1285/3) is broadly similar (see figure 6). Again, it shows the moat surrounding the castle, although the wide approach from the east through the base court either crosses or interrupts the moat. The Old Garden appears to the south of the moat (but does not border on it) and has gently curving west and south sides. To the south-west, there is an area of marsh, coloured blue; the area to the east shown as ponds in 1602 appears to have been dry and has the appearance of a village green. The two house plots to the immediate east of the Old Garden are shown, and they have a 'Hemp Garth' enclosure to their north; the western house plot is considerably wider than the eastern plot. The arrangement of tracks, main street and house plots is similar to the early 17th century plan noted above. To the south of these, south of the former

pond/marsh area, there are a number of open strips, aligned north-west/south-east, and crossed by a track leading to the church. To the north of the castle, the 'New Garden' is named and is surrounded by a square moat; the rectangular pond marked in 1602 and on the early 17th map is not shown. 'Tute Hill' appears in the area to the east of the New Garden, and is shown as a sparsely wooded area.

- 3.18 A descriptive survey of 1613 broadly followed that of 1577, although with one significant difference: *"Between which mote and the Castle there hath bene an orchard and garden but now both utterly decayed saveing a small parcell reserved by the keeper of the Castle for his use And upon the Mote was scituated a Bathing Howse but nowe likewise utterly ruined There hath beene an orchard and garden on the south side of the Castle without the Mote enclosed with a Brickwall and within the said garden a house called the Schoolhouse but now all decayed There is nowe standing a convenient woodden bridge over the said Mote betwene the places where the orchards and gardens within the Mote and they without were and the said bridge is kept in reasonable good repayre."* (Fisher 1954 vol 2, 60-61).
- 3.19 Fisher (1954 vol 2, 67) opined that by 1613 all the gardens were abandoned, except for that part reserved for the keeper of the castle, which he suggested was probably the small plot to the immediate south of the castle but inside the moat. This view may be supported by a 1624 map of Wressle produced by Robert Norton (Falkingham Collection) which is essentially, a smaller scale, less detailed, version of the three earlier maps, and probably partly derived from them (see figure 7). The main differences are that the Old Garden is not specifically named, and although shown, a house appears in the top north-east corner; is this a confusion with the two house plots shown to the east on the earlier maps? The New Garden is also not named, but it is shown and, for the first time, there is some indication of the internal layout. What appears to be crudely depicted is a quartered arrangement, essentially cruciform pathways dividing the garden into four equal parts, with a quarter circle to each quadrant. If correct, this is the only known cartographic evidence for the internal layout that survives. The documentary evidence suggests that the bridge across the moat had been repaired between 1577 and 1613, perhaps indicating that some of the early 17th century expenditure did indeed encompass the gardens. The castle itself was the only Yorkshire Percy residence found to be still in a reasonable state of repair in 1630 (Fisher 1954 vol 2, 67).
- 3.20 It is quite possible that whatever remained of the three gardens in the early 17th century was further damaged by the events of the mid 17th century. Wressle was garrisoned for Parliament during the Civil War, and in 1646 the garrison were said to have caused over £1000 worth of damage to the castle and its surroundings, including 'their havock of his (the Earl's) woods, Enclosures etc' (Fisher 1954 vol 2, 68-69); they also apparently demolished the church (Bulmer's 1892 Directory). Such damage to the former setting of a castle would not be unique during this period; for example, as has been described at Kenilworth in Leicestershire by Rakoczy (2007, 123-126). In June 1648, a parliamentary committee in York sent a demolition team out to Wressle, and they caused considerable damage before their work was stopped. However, in 1650, the Earl of Northumberland was ordered to demolish all but the south range of the castle, which was to serve as a manor house for his local estates (Anon 1770, 454-458; Brears 2010, 61).

The 18th Century

- 3.21 There is little known evidence for the appearance of the area surrounding the castle during the early 18th century. The Percy estates were divided in the mid 18th century, with Wressle and Leconfield passing to the Wyndham family, the Earls of Egremont. The Northumberland earldom passed to Elizabeth Seymour and her husband Sir Hugh Smithson, and they were created first Duke and Duchess of Northumberland in 1766. The Duchess was particularly interested in her Percy ancestry, and visited Wressle before 1754 (Brears 2010, 61-63). Her letter describing the visit includes much useful detail and shows that the upper parts of the castle remained accessible into the mid 18th century, as she noted "*From the leads there is a fine view over the adjacent country which is well wooded, and the river*"; the tenant appears to have occupied only the rooms on the ground floor (Fisher 1954 vol 2, 70). The Duchess also sent her architect and agent, Mr John Bell, to Wressle in c.1765 to record details of the interior, and the information in his surviving sketchbook has proved invaluable in the light of events which occurred at the end of the 18th century (see below) (YAS MS349; Brears 2010, 63).
- 3.22 On a 1767 map of Wressle (Falkingham Collection; photographic copy in YAS MS1285/17-18) (see figure 8), the water-filled moat is shown around the castle, but significantly it is interrupted in two places. The first is to the east, where the base court formerly led into the moat, and where it is shown as interrupted on the earlier maps. The second break is at the south-west corner, where the moat had presumably been infilled since the 17th century. The Old Garden no longer existed as a separate entity, but had been subsumed into an orchard, which also included the two house plots to the east of the Old Garden shown on the earlier maps; a small building on the east side of the orchard may have been one of the houses from the plots. The orchard also incorporated some of the land marked as 'Hemp Garth' in 1610. To the east of the orchard, some of the village crofts survived, but several had been amalgamated since the early 17th century. To the south of the crofts, the pond area of 1602 is marked as 'Waste', and is separated by a boundary from 'The Marsh' to the west. To the south of these areas, there are two enclosures (names illegible); both have open strips or ridges marked within them, and they are crossed by the trackway leading to the church. To the north of the castle, the New Garden had completely gone, and the area had been redesigned. Trees had been planted along the north edge of the north moat, with an avenue of trees running north-south across the approximate centre of the area named as 'Little Park'. This has the name 'Richardson' (the tenant of the farm at this time) written adjacent to the avenue.
- 3.23 A number of engravings appeared of the castle in the later 18th century, but they are of limited use for the landscape setting and gardens, as they mostly only show the south front and, when compared to other contemporary sources (see below), can be seen to have been 'tidied up' for publication. An engraving of December 1774 by Richard B Godfrey, for Grose's *Antiquities of England and Wales*, depicts the south moat as being water-filled, with a low wall, apparently set on top of a low scarp forming the northern slope of the south moat, and some topiary in front of the south-east tower (<http://gottcollection.hepworthwakefield.org/item/921>) (Grose 1784, 164; ERAO DDX 773/1) (see figure 9 top). Another, very similar, engraving also shows a man rowing a small boat in the moat (ERAO DDX 733/2). Another sketch, dated to 1770, is very similar, although it does show more accurate coursing of the stone work (ERAO PH/2/320).

- 3.24 A pair of pen, ink and watercolour drawings made by J Brown, perhaps in the 1770s, are more useful ([http://gottcollection.hepworthwakefield.org/item/610 & 611](http://gottcollection.hepworthwakefield.org/item/610%20&611)). The drawing looking north (see figure 10 bottom) shows that the area to the south of the castle was surrounded by a brick wall. The area enclosed by the wall was apparently rather bare, although a wide gravel or sand path ran around the bottom of the castle's external walls, with another path running towards an inserted doorway in the central part of the south range. The wall can also be seen on the drawing looking south-east (see figure 10 top). This latter view is most significant because it shows that the ground plan of the demolished east range was still discernable, the walls surviving to over five courses high in places. This confirms that the dotted depiction of the castle's east, north and west ranges shown on the 1767 map was marking remains which were still visible, and raises the possibility that the structures within these ranges, shaded on the map, were surviving medieval elements, such as the bakehouse. In turn, one can then question how comprehensive the demolition of 1650 actually was, and whether what remained to be drawn in the 1770s was the result of this demolition or an intervening 120 years of salvage dismantling, stealing and natural decay.
- 3.25 An 1792 engraving of the castle published by William Savage in his 1805 *History of the Castle and Parish of Wressle* also shows the south moat to be water filled, with the low wall to the north (see figure 9 bottom). In this drawing, the wall has small roofed structure with a window in the east side at its western end, close to the area where the moat is shown as being infilled on the 1767 map. Although it could be the remnants of an earlier structure, perhaps associated with the gardens (could it be the stump of the 'bayne' shown in this area on 17th century plans?), it might equally be a privy associated with the tenanted ground floor of the castle. This small structure is slightly better illustrated on a similar but more romantic depiction by J P Neale, published in 1823, which also shows a lady walking along a track towards the south moat (ERAO PH/2/320).
- 3.26 In 1796, the most disastrous event in the castle's history since 1650 occurred. On the 19th February, the tenant farmer who was then occupying the lower floor decided to clean his chimneys by deliberately setting fire to them. The fire subsequently ran out of control, destroying the surviving 16th century interiors (Brears 2010, 63). Estate surveys of 1797 and 1811 note the resulting ruination of the castle's south range, and give a useful description of the buildings of the adjacent farm complex. The existing Castle farmhouse is usually dated to c.1796, although the 1811 survey states that it had only just been erected, so perhaps placing it more accurately to 1810-11. The tenant of the farm in 1797 was William Richardson, and in 1798 it was let to Stephen Marram for 21 years for the sum of £244 per annum (Fisher 1954 vol 2, 76-77).

The 19th Century

- 3.27 The 1839 Wressle tithe map and award (BIHR) marks the moat around the castle, and the same angled approach of the base court as is apparent on early 17th century maps; the south side of the moat is still shown as being in water (see figure 11). To the south of the moat, plot 118 is marked, occupying the whole of the area formed by the Old Garden and the house plots to the east shown during the 17th century, as far as the main north-south route through the settlement. The southern boundary has an angled plan form, and may have comprised a drain. The enclosure is described as 'Garth', used for pasture, and, like the rest of the enclosures around the castle, it was owned by Colonel George Wyndham and occupied by Edward Latham. To the south of this enclosure, an east-west sinuous area (plot 122), occupying the marsh and ponds of the 17th century, was described

as 'Marsh Bank and Foreshore' and used for oats. In the south-west corner of this area, there was a small rectangular brickyard (plot 122a), occupying only three roods in extent (c.0.3ha), on the north side of the land allocated to the Hull to Selby Railway. This appears to be the only occasion when the brickyard appears on a map, and so it must have been short-lived; it may well be the source of the bricks used in the reconstruction of the adjacent parish church, which was built in 1799 on the earlier site (Neave & Pevsner 1995 766). The southern part of the EDAS survey area above the marsh comprised a single enclosure, named as 'Church Field Close', (plot 123) used as pasture, again with a drain defining its northern limit close to the lowest lying ground. To the north of the castle, the 'Little Parks' area of the 1767 map was still formed by a single enclosure (plot 116), with a trackway on the line of the avenue shown in the later 18th century.

- 3.28 Some 15 years later, in 1854, the Ordnance Survey 1st edition 6" to 1 mile map was published (surveyed 1849-51) (see figure 12). The arrangement of fields and enclosures around the castle was very similar to that shown on the 1839 tithe map, although the brickyard was no longer present. The large field (plot 118 on the tithe map) to the south of the moat is now marked as 'The Old Orchard' and is shown with a sparse covering of trees. The 1854 map also shows the Hull to Selby Railway line, which had been constructed between 1834 and 1838, and opened in July 1840, some 500m to the south of the castle (Hoole 1978, 44).
- 3.29 Two further engravings, of 1836 and c.1880, are useful in that they also depict details of features to the south of the castle (see figure 13). The former is engraved by J Sands, and shows cattle drinking in the south moat and with a significant amount of vegetation around the corners of the east tower (ERAO DDX 733/3) (see figure 13 top). The c.1880 engraving shows the corner of the east tower to be totally covered with ivy (Stone 2013, 19; see figure 13 bottom).
- 3.30 In 1957, Castle Farm was sold as part of the larger Egremont Yorkshire Estates to Mr R H Falkingham, who was the sitting tenant, and it has remained with this family until the present day (Stone 2013, 19-21). Decaying trees, probably elements of the 'Old Orchard' shown in 1854, survived between the castle and the south moat as recently as 1996 (Emery 1996, 414-419) but have since fallen or been removed.

4 THE RESULTS OF THE EARTHWORK SURVEY

Introduction

- 4.1 The following chapter provides a detailed description of the earthworks and other remains recorded within the survey area, drawing on the information given in Chapter 3 above where it is directly relevant. The surviving earthworks are complex and likely to belong to several different phases of development, and some have almost certainly been re-used in different periods for different purposes. The following text is therefore restricted to descriptions only, with an analysis given in the Interpretative Discussion (Chapter 6) below.
- 4.2 The identified earthworks are grouped and described in a logical order, starting at the north side for the survey area and moving through the central part to the west side. To aid identification on the accompanying drawings, individual or groups of earthworks have been assigned identifiers (e.g. **Site 12**). These have been kept to a minimum to avoid overcrowding on the plans, and they should not be taken to infer any kind of chronological development or relationship; they are ascribed purely for descriptive purposes. Reference should also be made to the survey plan (figure 14) and plates.
- 4.3 The following text also follows the established convention of referring to the surviving west tower as the south-west tower, and the surviving east tower as the south-east tower, based on their original locations within the quadrangular layout of the castle's inner court. Where possible, specific architectural terms used in the text are as defined by Curl (1977). Finally, in the following text, 'modern' is taken to mean dating to after c.1945.

Earthworks Within the Moat Garden (Sites 1a to 1c)

- 4.4 Within the area enclosed by the moat, the ground to the west of the castle (**Site 1a**) is currently mainly occupied by post and rail cattle pens. On the east side of these pens, there is a right-angled length of wall constructed partly from re-used castle stone (see below), which extends south from the south-west corner of the south-west tower. To the west of this is a trackway, which appears to have been in this position since at least the late 18th century, crossing the gap in the moat shown on the 1767 map (see figure 8) (see plate 3). To the west of the trackway, there is a spread, north-south aligned bank, running for c.20m broadly parallel to the castle's west side.
- 4.5 At the very south-west corner of this area, the east scarp of the west moat is unevenly stepped, with some *ex situ* castle stone visible in the base of the moat to the immediate west. It is at this corner that the banqueting house and/or bayne, shown on the c.1600 and 1602 plans, is located (see figures 3 and 4). There is now little trace of the structure above ground, but the c.1600 plan suggests a building perhaps c.7m square; this could easily have been located on this corner and still have left a substantial gap between it and the castle.
- 4.6 Fisher (1954 vol 2, 66) suggests that a garden within the moated enclosure was also present by the later 15th century. Although, of course, it need not necessarily have been located to the south of the castle, there being sufficient room on all three other sides to accommodate such a feature, there is some evidence to suggest that it might have been here. In 1537, a Royal Surveyor reported that there was "*a fayer Garden verey well kepte and at the end of ye sd garden a propre banketyng howse havyng a bayne therin*" (Fisher 1954 vol 2, 57). If the

banqueting house was located at the end of the garden, then the garden must have been on either the south or west sides of the castle; the arrangement of walls shown on one of the c.1600 plans (Fisher 1937; Brears 2010, 62) could indicate that it encompassed both. However, a later survey of 1577 stated that the Old Garden had once been linked to the garden within the castle's moat by a wooden bridge (Fisher 1954 vol 2, 58-59); given that the Old Garden was sited to the south of the south moat, this is perhaps further evidence that the other garden stood on the south side of the castle. By 1577, the banqueting house was described as being in very great decay.

- 4.7 The above-mentioned right-angled length of wall constructed partly from re-used castle stone runs south from the post and rail pens, and this marks the western boundary of the area between the castle and the south moat (**Site 1b**). At its north end, the wall actually runs east-west for a short distance from the south-west corner of the south-west tower, before returning to the south. This wall stands on average 1.70m high, and has a width at the base of 0.70m, the wall faces tapering inwards slightly towards the upper part. Only the lower 0.50m is built of castle stone, generally two courses of walling stone. The rest, and majority, of the wall comprises deep red handmade brick, laid in no particular bonding pattern and set with a lime mortar. The brick part of the wall may have been raised in two main phases, and it has a modern concrete capping. The north-south aligned part of the wall survives as a tall standing structure for c.10.0m to the south of the castle, and then terminates. However, it can be traced in plan for a further 6.0m, finishing at a piece of chamfered re-used castle stone. This appears to be the same wall that is shown on Brown's c.1770s pen, ink and watercolour drawings (see figure 10), although arguably the wall on the drawing is somewhat further away from the tower. In October/November 2014, this area was badly rutted by a hoist being used for the conservation works on the south external elevation of the castle. The ruts were up to 0.30m deep, and revealed what appeared to be a wall footing set at an approximate right-angle to the south end of the wall described above. The footings were only a single brick wide (i.e. 0.24m), and could be traced extending to the west from the wall for a distance of c.7.0m.
- 4.8 The area between the castle and the south moat measures 14.0m wide in front of the south-west and south-east towers, and some 16.0m wide in front of the south range running between them (see plate 3). It appears that the section in front of the range was defined by shallow scarps at either end. The west scarp is the more prominent, and can be traced as far as the northern edge of the south moat, whereas the fainter east scarp terminates in a small, sub-rectangular depression, open to the south (moat) side. To the east, the area in front of the south-east tower contains a single faint sub-circular depression; old fruit trees are shown in this area as recently as 1996 (Emery 1996, 416) and so the earthwork may be no more than a tree pull. There is no clear trace of the wall shown running along the top of the north side of the moat as depicted on late 18th century engravings and drawings.
- 4.9 The area within the moated enclosure on the east side of the castle (**Site 1c**) is now continuous with that to the south, and it is bounded to the east by the east moat (see plate 5). There is a spread bank, 3.5m wide, running parallel to the top of the east moat's west scarp, as far as the wall which forms the northern boundary of the survey area. A wall is shown here on the c.1600 plan of the base court, with adjacent text that appears to read "*this wall of brick rising V yearde [i.e. c.15 feet] heigh*". However, the existing wall appears to be the same as that shown here on one of Brown's c.1770s drawings (see figure 10 top). At its west end, the wall runs north for a short distance before returning to the east. The wall here is c.2.0m high

and 0.70m wide at the base. The southern end of the north-south section is formed by the stub of the castle's east range but beyond this, the wall resembles that previously described to the south-west of the castle. It is built entirely of re-used castle stone, mostly walling stone but also some moulded pieces. The wall continues east in the same manner for a short distance, and contains one piece of stone with the date '1918' carved on it. A doorway is shown here in c.1600 but this no longer survives. The re-used stonework is then replaced by brickwork, although the stone continues at base level for another c.12.0m. The wall is built from dull red through to orange handmade bricks, including misfired examples, (average dimensions 230mm by 110mm by 80mm) laid in an irregular variation of English Garden Wall bond (averaging five stretcher courses to each header course) and set with a lime mortar. The wall contains a shallowly projecting brick pier, incorporating a stone block set just above the centre. To the east of the pier, the wall has flat, flagstone capping, which continues as far as a farm building which incorporates the wall line into its south side. Here, the wall rises to over 2.50m in height, and interestingly incorporates two stone blocks set at the same height as that in the pier to the west, perhaps marking the site of two former piers now dismantled. Towards the east end of the farm building, the wall's brickwork changes gradually to a browner, more neatly moulded (and apparently earlier) handmade brick (average dimensions 230mm by 110mm by 80mm) laid in a variation of English Garden Wall bond (three stretcher courses to each header course) and set with a lime mortar. This section of the wall has no visible stonework to the base, and incorporates four shallow piers spaced at equal centres, two retaining stone caps. The wall runs east as far as an earlier, brick structure, which it butts, and which is described in detail (Site 2c) below.

The Moat and Related Structures (Sites 2a to 2d)

The South Moat

- 4.10 The survey area includes almost the entire former length of the south moat (**Site 2b**), as well as the former returns to the east and west ends. The south moat is set on a slight north-east/south-west alignment, although for the purposes of description, it is considered to be aligned east-west. Within the survey area, the south moat is 125m long, including the returns at either end (see plate 4); this is slightly shorter than the original measurement would have been, as the western scarp of the west moat has been removed. The south moat decreases in width from east to west; at the east end, measured across the top, it is 20.0m wide, but at the west end this decreases to between 12.0m to 14.0m. The north scarp stands a maximum of 0.8m high and is gently sloping. The south scarp stands up to 1.4m high and is slightly more steeply sloping; for much of its length, it is divided into an upper and lower scarp, with a narrow flattened area between. There may be a small rectangular structure c.7.0m long cut into the west end of the upper slope. The top of the south scarp is set on average 0.7m higher than the top of the north scarp. The flattened base of the south moat is relatively level, and also decreases in width from east to west. A modern drain runs along the base of the moat.
- 4.11 Towards the west end of the south moat, there is a 20.0m long section where the earthwork is both much shallower and more poorly defined. This coincides with the gap shown here in 1767, and is interpreted as a deliberate infilling done at some point between the mid 17th century and the later 18th century, perhaps to link the areas within and without the moat for agricultural purposes (see plate 3). The south moat still held water in 1767, and an engraving of 1792 also shows it with water (see figures 8 and 9). Indeed, if the depiction on the tithe map is to be

believed, then the south moat retained water as late as 1839; a print of 1836 shows cattle drinking from the south moat (see figures 11 and 13). By 1854, a drain is shown running along the base, although the moat was still crossed by a trackway at the west end where the deliberate infilling has taken place (see figure 12).

The West Moat

- 4.12 Beyond the infilling, the south moat resumes, and returns north through a near right-angle to form the west moat (**Site 2a**); this section of the moat can be traced north-west for c.30.0m before it enters an area of dense scrub. The western scarp of the west moat has been removed, and there is now little trace of it beyond the thorn hedge/post and wire fence which forms the western boundary of the survey area. The remaining portion has an average width of 8.0m across the top. The east scarp stands a maximum of 1.3m high and is steeply sloping. The break of slope at the top is rather irregular and this east scarp divides into two smaller scarps at the south end. The flattened base is relatively level, and on average is set 1.0m lower than the infilled portion of the south moat; this may correspond in part to the position of the banqueting/bathing house described above, and there are a number of stones scattered across the south end of the moat here.

The East Moat

- 4.13 At its east end, the south moat returns north through a near right-angle to form the east moat (**Site 2c**). Surveys from 1537 and 1577 both use similar phrases, indicating that the castle was moated on all but the east side (Fisher 1954 vol 2, 57-58). However, an east moat, interrupted by the entrance from the base court, is clearly shown on all the early 17th century maps of Wressle, and so the 16th century phrasing should probably be understood as meaning that the east moat was dry rather than wet; the northern half of the east moat is shown as retaining water in 1767 (see figure 8), but not the southern part which falls within the EDAS survey area.
- 4.14 The east moat now lies completely within the garden of Castle Farm farmhouse, and has evidently been subject to some landscaping, although it is noticeable that the bottom is on average some 0.5m higher than the bottom of the south moat, supporting the idea that it may once have been dry. The east moat is 28.0m long, and has an average width of 18.5m across the top, narrowing to 14.0m at the very north end where it meets a ruined brick structure (Site 2d; see below). Both scarps are steeply sloping; the west scarp stands up to 0.7m high while the east scarp is up to 1.0m high. The flattened base is relatively level, and much wider than that of the south moat, although this may partly result from later infilling.

Brick Structure

- 4.15 At the north end of the east moat, there is a ruined brick structure (**Site 2d**). This structure is shown, with a similar ground plan to that which now exists, on the c.1600 plan of the base court (see figure 3). However, it is not clearly marked on any other maps or plans (for example, that dating to 1602; see figure 4) after this date. On the c.1600 plan, there is an additional sub-rectangular structure on the east side which no longer survives; the plan indicates that it measured '11 foot' east-west by '7 foot' north-south. In addition, the existing structure has the words "*This stare case rising som 7 yerds high of the syz?e [same?] fashion*" written below it. This structure can now be viewed either from within the garden of Castle Farm farmhouse or from the yard to the north, which follows the line of the base

court's approach to the castle's gatehouse; the surface of the yard is substantially higher than that of the garden, and so much less of the structure is visible here. However, the only surviving access to the interior is from the area enclosed by the moat i.e. from between the castle and the east moat.

- 4.16 The brick structure is set on a slight north-east/south-west alignment, less than that of the castle's south range but also different to the wall to the immediate west. The surviving element has maximum external measurements of 6.75m east-west by 3.50m north-south, and is built of red handmade bricks (average dimensions 250mm by 130mm by 50mm) laid generally in English bond (one stretcher to each header course) and set with a lime mortar. Starting with the garden side, there is a doorway towards the south end of the west elevation (see plate 6). A doorway is shown in this position in c.1600, although it is now fitted with a wooden door frame of late 19th or early 20th century date. This doorway would once have been internal, contained within the associated structure shown to the west in c.1600. Above the doorway, the brickwork begins to corbel outwards slightly, the corbelling becoming more pronounced towards the north, so that when the boundary wall is reached there are five courses of corbelled brickwork. Within the latter, adjacent to the boundary wall, there is a socket, with a patch of render to the north; there is also some render to the south of the doorway. The upper part of the elevation has been rebuilt in brickwork of late 19th or early 20th century appearance.
- 4.17 The principal feature of the south elevation, facing the east moat, is a large depressed or four-centred arch, 3.10m wide and standing 2.65m high above the existing ground level (see plate 7). Some of the brickwork to the arch jambs appears to be rubbed, and the sides run back c.1.30m from the front to meet a later brick wall. Although sometimes characterised as a fireplace, the form of the arch and its juxtaposition with the east moat suggests that it is far more likely to have been associated with the moat; it is even possible that the (dry) east moat once narrowed here and passed beneath it. The elevation continues to the east for a short distance beyond the arch and then returns to the east. The return is lost amongst garden vegetation, but a previous study (Stone 2013, 106) has a photograph of a stone doorway lintel set into the boundary wall in this general area, bearing the inscription 'Robert Prickett 1674'. The doorway in the west elevation leads into a sub-circular space, which houses the newel stair shown here in c.1600. This must have risen to the upper part of the structure, although the top is now capped with a later concrete and brickwork dome. In several places to the interior, scarring is visible which may mark the former position of the outer edge of stair treads.
- 4.18 The yard side of the brick structure is less prominent (see plate 8). The west end has a canted plan form; the lower part is built of the same early brickwork as is visible to the garden side, although it has been much repaired during the 20th century. The structure then returns to the south and then to the east, and within the eastern return, the upper part of the blocked arch noted to the garden side is visible. To the immediate east of the arch, the wall was built in two separate phases; the lower, earlier, phase sloped gently downwards from west to east. The exact relationship of this sloping brickwork to the arch cannot currently be ascertained due to stored material here.

The Old Garden (Sites 3a to 3e)

- 4.19 The Old Garden was located to the immediate south of the south moat (Site 2b). It appears to have been in place by 1472, by which date it apparently contained a building known as the 'School House'. Records made between 1516 and 1523

suggest that this building had an inner and outer chamber above a ground floor, and that these chambers were decorated with painted verses. The Old Garden, and apparently also a garden within the castle's moat, were looked after by a single gardener in the later 15th century. The Old Garden appears to have been described as an 'orchard' by Leland in 1538, perhaps containing topiary and/or mounts. The garden was surrounded by a brick wall, repaired in 1541. In 1577 it was said to contain alleys for bowling and walking in, but by this date the surrounding brick wall was completely decayed, as was the School House.

- 4.20 The Old Garden had formerly been linked to the garden within the castle's moat by a bridge; this too had collapsed by 1577, but had been rebuilt by 1613. In 1602, the Old Garden was shown as a wooded sub-square enclosure ('E' on figure 4), with 'The Laundrie' at the north-west corner ('F'); with the exception of the latter, which only appears in 1602, the garden is similarly depicted on the other 17th century maps. By the second half of the 18th century, the Old Garden had been subsumed into a larger orchard to the south of the south moat. By the early to mid 19th century, this area was described as pasture, although it remained sparsely wooded in 1854, when it was named as 'The Old Orchard'. Decaying fruits trees, almost certainly remnants of this orchard, survived adjacent to the castle into the late 20th century.
- 4.21 The earthwork survey found no clear above-ground evidence for the brick wall which formerly surrounded the garden throughout the 16th century although, by using a combination of cartographic and earthwork evidence, it is possible to establish the garden's former extent. Assuming the 1602 plan is correct, the northern boundary of the garden is the south moat, while the western boundary appears to be set slightly beyond the outer side of the west moat, and the eastern boundary is perhaps to the west of the south-east tower (see figure 4). The southern boundary is in line with the rear of the plots or crofts extending back from the village houses to the east of the castle. The early 17th century plan of Wressle shows the overall boundaries in a similar (albeit less detailed manner). However, the 1610 plan depicts a narrow strip of land between the Old Garden and the south moat (see figure 6), apparently an extension of a similar feature shown to the immediate east in 1602, itself perhaps a continuation of the curving east-west village street (see below).
- 4.22 All of these boundaries survive on the ground to varying degrees, although some have been affected by later activity and others almost certainly overlie earlier features. The northern boundary depicted in 1602, with the moat, is represented by a spread flat-topped bank, between 3.0m to 4.0m wide, which is best preserved along the central part of the moat (**Site 3a**). At its east end, this has been disturbed by a tree guard, but east of this, a more prominent sub-rectangular bank is present, 20.0m long, 8.0m wide and up to 0.5m in height. Both of these features may have fallen within the narrow strip of ground, shown as separating the moat and garden in 1610, which may represent a re-aligned village street (see Chapter 6 below). The western boundary of the Old Garden survives as a south-west facing scarp (**Site 3b**), disturbed at the north end but visible further south, close to the modern flood bund. It curves around to the east, and is coincident with a shallow, curvilinear depression, itself almost certainly a later re-cutting of an earlier boundary (see Site 5a below). The eastern boundary of the garden is less certain. There is a spread bank (**Site 3c**) on a north-west/south-east alignment which appears to mirror the angle of the eastern boundary shown in 1602, or alternatively, some 10m to the east, another east-facing scarp which runs towards the prominent sub-rectangular bank on the northern boundary. However, both of these earthworks appear to be placed to the east of the east wall of the garden as

shown in c.1600 (Fisher 1937; Brears 2010, 62), which was apparently in line with the centre of the south range, and there is another flat-topped north-south bank in this approximate position which perhaps looks more convincing. Taken together, these boundaries suggest that the Old Garden (as indicated on early 17th century maps) had approximate dimensions of 90m north-south by somewhat less (perhaps c.50m) east-west (see plate 9); on the 1610 map, it is labelled as covering just over one acre.

- 4.23 The construction of profiles through the survey area, including the Old Garden, demonstrates how little vertical variation there is across this part of the castle's setting (see figure 15 top). However, when the vertical scale is exaggerated, the raised plateau that the Old Garden occupies becomes very clear (see figure 15 bottom). On its north boundary, the ground surface has a maximum height of 6.19m AOD, and over the 65m to the south, the ground slowly falls away to 4.82m AOD, i.e. by c.1.40m. Across the following 25m, to the curvilinear depression marking the southern boundary of the Old Garden, the ground surface falls away more steeply to c.4.00m AOD. These relatively small differences in height are important, as in a flat landscape close to the river, they would have ensured that the garden would have remained above water level during times of flood, and that it remained generally drier all year round; in 1538, Leland noted that the river frequently overflowed (Toulmin Smith 1907, 54).
- 4.24 The EDAS survey also recorded some earthworks within this enclosure that might possibly relate to the former internal structure of the gardens. All of these earthworks are discrete, with very few being greater than 0.5m in height or depth. In the north-west corner of the garden area, there are three sub-rectangular depressions, all aligned east-west and c.10.0m long, that probably represent the site of 'The Laundrie' building shown here in 1602 (**Site 3d**). To their immediate north, there is a flattened strip of ground c.5.0m wide. This strip has been ploughed out where it meets the western boundary of the survey area but interestingly, at this point, there are two mature oak trees, each trunk being between 1.0m and 1.2m in diameter, placed the same distance apart as the strip. It is possible that this strip represents a fragment of the narrow strip of ground shown as separating the moat and garden in 1610, and that the oak trees are a remnant of later planting which marked its course. To the immediate east of where 'The Laundrie' is proposed to have been located, there is a north-south aligned west-facing scarp. At its north end, it curves around to meet the south scarp of the south moat, whereas the south end fades at a modern path worn by cattle. This scarp is one of many such features on a similar orientation that cross the garden area. Some of these might represent the bowling and walking alleys mentioned in the later 16th century, but they could also be related to the village earthworks to the east (see Site 4 below), or perhaps even relate to later agricultural practices.
- 4.25 In terms of garden structure, the most convincing earthworks are located in the central part of the area defined as the 'Old Garden' on early 17th century maps. A low but well-defined scarp runs south and then curves around to the east, continuing as far as a modern tree guard; significantly, this east-west section is set at the point where the Old Garden plateau begins to slope down towards the southern boundary. To the north of this scarp, there appears to be a pair of very slightly raised sub-rectangular platforms, each measuring c.20.0m north-south by 15.0m east-west (**Site 3e**). The western of the pair is the more prominent, and there may be a sub-circular feature between them. The eastern platform has a scarp a short distance to the east which is more prominent than many of the others in this area, and which has an angled return at its south end before terminating at

the tree guard; this appears to be on the approximate line of the east wall of the Old Garden as marked in c.1600.

The Former Extent of the Village (Sites 4a to 4e)

- 4.26 It is clear that Wressle village has a complex and long-lived history, which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6 below, but the settlement in the vicinity of the castle, as it then survived, is clearly shown on several of the early 17th century maps. In 1602, there were two plots or crofts, each with a house in the north-east corner, to the immediate east of the Old Garden (see figure 4). The western croft was wider, and apparently shared an angled boundary with the Old Garden. On the eastern side of the east croft, there was a short north-south trackway. This joined with the west end of the main east-west street running through the village, forming one arm of a crossroads. The north arm continued towards the castle gatehouse ('3' on figure 4), while the west arm continued past the house in the aforementioned western plot. Opposite the west arm, there appears to have been a house in approximately the same location as the existing Castle Farm farmhouse. The east arm of the crossroads formed the main east-west street through the village, with a small number of house plots to both north and south sides; the former were considerably shorter than the latter, seemingly respecting the southern boundary of the Little Park ('K'). The south end of the north-south trackway angled to the south-east in 1602, running along the north bank of a pond ('M') and essentially forming a back lane to this side of the village.
- 4.27 That part of the village lying within the EDAS survey area is similarly depicted on the early 17th century plan of Wressle, but by 1610, a 'Hemp Garth' is shown occupying the plot in the north-west angle of the crossroads in 1602, which corresponds to the site of the later Castle Farm farmhouse (see figure 6). The 1624 plan marks one of the two houses shown immediately east of the Old Garden in 1602 as being within the garden, although this may simply be an oversimplified representation (see figure 7). By 1767 the houses and plots on the west side of the crossroads had gone, as had the western continuation of the trackway, although one possible small structure is depicted on the west side; as previously noted, the 'Orchard' now extended over this area (see figure 8). By the time of the 1839 tithe map, there had been a radical re-design of the village, with a new road (labelled as such in 1854) having been constructed on a north-south alignment to the east of the castle, allowing the 'Old Orchard' to be extended further to the east and separating the castle from the village entirely (see figures 11 and 12).
- 4.28 The earthworks representing elements of the former village (see plate 11) are best described from west to east. The house formerly located within the westernmost plot on the south side of the road appears to correspond with a shallow but regularly formed rectangular depression (**Site 4a**), measuring c.15.0m north-south by 12.0m east-west. If aligned north-south, as shown in 1602, it is possible that the building extended further north, but the earthworks here have been confused by a modern drain; however, the building is shown as being east-west in 1610, and so both plans are likely to be diagrammatic rather than accurate. There is little or no trace of the plot to the east shown in 1602/1610, or indeed the house within it, although the area where it was located (**Site 4b**) is crossed by spread north-south aligned banks, resembling denuded ridge and furrow, set at 5.0m centres. However, it is very regular and this area is also located directly in front of Castle Farm farmhouse, built in c.1810-11 (Fisher 1954 vol 2, 76). It might therefore be possible that these earthworks, and the lack of evidence for the early 17th century house and plot, relate to an attempt to create a garden or small ornamental 'park' area associated with the farmhouse in the early 19th century.

- 4.29 The north-south trackway shown in 1602/1610 does survive well, as a linear depression, up to 11.0m wide and 0.7m deep (**Site 4c**). The east side comprises a single, steeply sloping scarp, whereas the west side is formed by two parallel, shallower scarps; this may be due to it being re-cut or altered to act as a boundary in the 18th century (see below). The north end of the trackway fades before it meets the hedge forming the south boundary of Castle Farm farmhouse's existing garden. The south end curves slightly to the south-west, where it is cut by a curvilinear, generally east-west aligned, depression. Although this broadly follows the south-eastern route of the trackway as shown in 1602, it was almost certainly re-cut at a much later date (see Site 5a below).
- 4.30 To the east of the north-south trackway (Site 4c), there is a series of parallel linear earthworks, which seem to represent two of the narrow plots or crofts depicted here in 1602/1610. They are separated by a linear depression, 7.0m wide and up to 0.5m deep; again, the north end fades before it meets a modern post and wire fence, whereas the south end opens out above the later curvilinear depression, but is not cut by it. The first plot (**Site 4d**) has a maximum north-south length of 70.0m and an east-west width of 30.0m within the survey area. Towards the north-west corner of the plot, there is a flattened area or platform, and to the south, a U-shaped depression, 12.0m long, 7.0m wide and 0.5m deep, which has a high proportion of fragments of brick rubble eroding out of its sides; either earthwork could represent the building shown here in 1602/1610. To the south, there is a west-facing scarp, and two earthworks resembling ridges; they are set 5.0m apart, have a measurement of 2.0m across the top and stand 0.5m high. There are two similar features to the east of the scarp. It is not clear whether these are former elements of the village's open field system which became isolated when the crofts were formed, whether they were created within the crofts, or whether they indicate that narrower plots were combined to form wider crofts. However, with regard to the latter, it is significant that these 'sub-divisions' are marked on the 1767 map, either as solid or dotted lines (see figure 8); if earlier, narrower crofts would have had an original width of c.15m. At the very southern end of the first croft, a sub-rectangular earthwork may mark the site of a structure, terraced into the natural slope here.
- 4.31 The second plot (**Site 4e**) has a maximum north-south length of 90.0m and an east-west width of 30.0m (east-west) within the survey area, although the original width is almost certainly truncated by the 'New Road' to the east of the survey area. At the north end of the plot, where a house is shown in 1602/1610, there is an irregularly shaped sub-rectangular depression, 15.0m across and up to 0.5m deep. The plot is effectively bisected by a north-south aligned linear depression (mirroring that seen in the plot to the west), which opens out at the south end of the plot and which is apparently indicated as a dotted line on the 1767 map (see figure 8). As in the plot to the west, there are earthworks on either side of this depression which resemble denuded ridges, and at the south-east corner, again as in the adjacent plot, there may be a sub-rectangular depression, c.7.0m long by c.3.0m wide, perhaps marking the position of a former structure.
- 4.32 As will be noted in Chapter 6 below, it is also possible that some of the north-south aligned earthworks within the 'Old Garden' area (Site 3e) represent the denuded remnants of other village plots which formerly extended into this area, and which were subsequently overlain by the Old Garden which appears to have been established by 1472.

The Marsh and Ponds (Sites 5a to 5d)

- 4.33 In 1577, a survey recorded that within the 'outer garden' there were "*certen ponds for fishe used for plesure*". The preceding text demonstrates that the term 'outer garden' refers either to the Old Garden itself or the area close to it (Fisher 1954 vol 2, 58-59). The 1602 map shows two 'pondes' to the south-east of the Old Garden, at the south end of the village plots extending south from the east-west street ('L' and 'M' on figure 4). Both were sub-rectangular in plan, but that to the east was approximately twice the length of that to the west. On all subsequent maps, the same area appears simply as marsh or waste.
- 4.34 The positions of the ponds are separated from the garden and village earthworks to the north by a long curvilinear depression which has a sinuous east-west alignment (**Site 5a**). Although the southern boundaries of the Old Garden and the two plots to its east, as well as a trackway, followed or respected the line of this depression in 1602/1610, the existing earthwork is a later re-cutting along these earlier features. It has clearly disturbed some of them, and may have been re-cut in two separate phases. By 1767, the Old Garden and the two crofts to the east (Sites 4a and 4b) had been amalgamated into a larger orchard area, with its southern boundary running along the existing earthwork and its eastern boundary along an earlier north-south trackway (see figure 8); both may have been re-cut when the larger orchard was created. By 1839, the area of the orchard had been extended east again (although it was then described as pasture), with the southern boundary depicted as an open drain (see figure 11). Given that there are no clear breaks within the existing earthwork, it was probably re-cut again between 1767 and 1839 along its whole length. The earthwork is also shown in 1854 as an open drain (see figure 12).
- 4.35 The west end of the linear earthwork is overlain by the modern flood bund adjacent to the River Derwent, but it cuts through the former western boundary of the Old Garden (Site 3b above). It is at its most prominent here, being 6.0m-7.0m wide and up to 0.6m deep, but as it moves east it becomes much fainter, and is often less than 0.4m deep. At the south end of the Old Garden, there is a sub-rectangular depression, aligned parallel to the main earthwork, c.13.0m long by c.6.0m wide. This is joined to the linear earthwork by a narrow channel, and they are possibly contemporary. If this is the case, it raises interesting questions about another similar but much fainter earthwork some 40m to the east, and the possible structures previously described at the south end of the crofts (Sites 4d and 4e) adjacent to the main earthwork; rather than being earlier features, are they perhaps associated in some way with the cutting of the main earthwork? Returning to the latter, the linear earthwork has a short spur to the south side, in approximately the same position as a drain shown here in 1854. The earthwork then curves gently to the north and then equally gently back around to the south-east. It very gradually increases in width to the south, and to the south of the easternmost building plot within the survey area it diverges into a narrow southern branch and a wider northern branch. The southern branch has a small mound placed across it, and then the two branches converge again.
- 4.36 Although their remains are quite slight, both of the ponds shown in 1602 remain visible, occupying the lowest lying part of the survey area, which still floods after prolonged heavy rain; at the west end of the survey area, the ground surface lies below 4.0m AOD (see plate 10). The larger eastern pond (**Site 5b**) measures a maximum of 90.0m east-west by 20.0m north-south; originally, it would have been longer but it has been truncated by the 'New Road' to the east of the survey area. In the base of the pond, very denuded ridge and furrow is visible on the same

orientation as that lying further upslope to the south (see Site 6b below). The smaller western pond (**Site 5c**) measures a maximum of 50.0m east-west by 40.0m north-south, and again has slightly more prominent ridge and furrow crossing the base, but on a slightly different orientation; the average ridge to ridge measurement here is 8.0m, and the average ridge width 2.0m-3.0m.

- 4.37 There is a slight fall in the ground surface from east to west across the low-lying part of the survey area, and so water is assumed to have flowed from the eastern pond into the western pond; given that they are described in the late 16th century as fish ponds used for pleasure, a constant flow of water through them, as well as a bypass leat, would have been vital. No clear source or inlet for the eastern pond remains, and there is no obvious link between it and the western pond. Although the ponds are not shown in 1610, the 1602, 1610, 1624 and 1767 plans do depict a boundary marked at their west end between the flooded marsh and the dry ground where the ponds are located; this boundary is shown as containing trees in 1602 and significantly, the higher ground to the east is coloured brown while the marsh to the west is blue on the 1610 plan (see figures 4 and 6). This suggests that there was an artificial barrier preventing water from the marshes entering the ponds when the Derwent was in flood, stopping the ingress of silts and other materials and the egress of valuable fish. There is a very faint raised area at the west end of the western pond, c.7.0m wide, that may represent the remains of this barrier or boundary.
- 4.38 There are traces of a third pond or area of water to the west of this barrier, set on a slight north-east/south-west alignment and with a roughly rectangular plan, measuring at least 65.0m long by 30.0m wide (**Site 5d**). As previously outlined, this area is labelled as 'the marshe, a meadow common to the Towne' in 1602 ('W' on figure 4) and 'Marsh' on the later plans. As will be discussed in Chapter 6 below, this area may represent a former dock or loading wharf, although it could equally represent an area dug out for clay associated with the 19th century brickyard (see Site 7 below).

The Former Village Field System (Site 6)

- 4.39 To the south of the ponds and other low-lying ground in the centre of the survey area, the land begins to rise again, reaching over 7.0m AOD at the southern boundary (see figure 15). In 1602, the western part of this area appears to coincide with a sub-triangular enclosure called 'Bonde Close' ('X' on figure 4). The higher ground is shown as a number of open strips, set on a slight north-west/south-east alignment. These open strips also appear on the 1624 plan, with a north-east/south-west aligned trackway running across them (see figure 7). They still appear on the 1767 map as dotted features, the spacing of which indicates that individual ridges are being shown; the east end of this part of the survey area is named 'Church Close' at this date but the other names are not legible (see figure 8). By 1839, this area formed a large single enclosure named as 'Church Field Close' and in 1854 the northern edge was defined by a drain (see figures 11 and 12).
- 4.40 In terms of surviving earthworks, this part of the survey area is the least well preserved. On the south side of the 19th century brickyard (see Site 7 below), the south-west end of the south side of a c.10.0m wide gully opens out into a natural depression. A boundary is shown following this gully on all maps and plans between the early 17th century and the mid 19th century; on the Ordnance Survey 1854 6" map it is depicted it as a ditch while in 1610 and 1767 it marked the division between agricultural strips to the south and the marsh to the north.

- 4.41 To the south of this gully, a north-west/south-east aligned flat-topped bank, 7.0m wide and up to 0.7m high climbs the gently rising ground. This bank is shown as a boundary with trees on the 1602 plan, but it had apparently ceased to be significant as such by the later 18th century. It is flanked to either side by faint ridge and furrow, all on a similar alignment but with that to the east orientated slightly closer to north-south. The average ridge to ridge measurement is between 8.0m to 10.0m, the average ridge width between 2.0m-3.0m, and all ridges are less than 0.5m high. The ridge and furrow is intermittently visible to the east as far as the eastern boundary of the survey area, but the only part where it is relatively well preserved is in a small fenced coppice, where it has been protected from 20th century agricultural improvements. Here, the better-defined ridge to ridge width is between 6.0m-7.0m, with the ridges surviving over 0.5m in height. To the north of the coppice, a north-facing scarp, up to 0.7m in height, overlooks the site of the eastern pond (Site 5b) marked in 1602.

Former Brickyard (Site 7)

- 4.42 The brickyard shown in 1839 is defined by a spread, right-angled bank, mainly aligned north-east/south-west, enclosing an area measuring c.35.0m long by c.15.0m wide (see figure 11). Within this enclosed area, there is a spread curvilinear mound. The brickyard earthworks appear to be cut by a shallow gully on their southern side, measuring up to c.10.0m wide (see above).

Modern Drainage and Other 20th Century Works

- 4.43 As part of the EDAS survey, Mr Graham Falkingham was consulted as to the known construction and placement of drainage across the area. It was important to establish as fully as possible where such works have taken place in the past, in order to both assess the likely disturbance to earlier earthworks and to make sure that relatively modern features were not misinterpreted. These modern drains are not shown on figure 14.
- 4.44 A drainage cut runs almost the whole length of the eastern boundary of the survey area, punctuated by concrete and brick drain covers, the largest close to the east end of a former fish pond (Site 5b). Three other parallel drainage cuts, set on shallow north-east/south-west alignments and spaced at 20.0m centres, cross two of the village plots (Sites 4d and 4e) in the north-east part of the survey area. There are two further cuts to the west, crossing two more of the house plots (Sites 4a and 4b) and running into the Old Garden. These cuts run into a north-west/south-east aligned buried drain, which itself runs to an inspection chamber with a concrete cover located at the south-west corner of the western fish pond (Site 5c); a right-angled scarp here is probably associated with the construction of the chamber. There is a similar drain running into the inspection chamber from the south-east, draining the slightly higher southern part of the survey area, and an east-west drainage cut is visible to the south of the eastern fish pond (Site 5b), also heading towards the chamber. From the inspection chamber, the main drain runs south-west, towards an outlet located close to the junction of the modern flood bund and the railway embankment. This would take it very close to the earthwork marking the northern side of the 19th century brickyard (Site 7), and it is possible that its construction may have affected the earthworks here. Finally, there is a small stone drain cover in the base of the south moat (Site 2b), suggesting that some drainage has been dug through here as well.
- 4.45 The only eroded trackway crossing the survey area has been worn by cattle. It enters the survey area through the post and rail fence forming part of the northern

boundary, close to the north end of one of the building plots (Site 4d). It runs south-west as a narrow strip, generally less than 1.0m wide, across the Old Garden; where it leaves the western boundary of the Old Garden (Site 3b), there is a small embankment before the trackway rises up the modern flood bund.

- 4.46 A line of telegraph poles also run north-west/south-east across the north-east part of the survey area, and some of the poles have minor disturbance around their bases. A line of electricity poles runs in the opposite direction across the south-eastern part of the survey area. Again, there is some disturbance associated with some of the poles, most markedly around the pole terraced into the slope to the south of the eastern fish pond (Site 5b).

The New Garden and Surroundings

- 4.47 Although it lies beyond the current EDAS survey area, it is necessary to briefly consider the New Garden to the north of the castle, as it is relevant to any discussion of the some of the surveyed elements, particularly the Old Garden.
- 4.48 Documentary evidence suggests that the New Garden was created at some point between 1472 and 1517, and it was a very substantial feature. The 1610 map indicates that it enclosed an area of just over one acre, similar to the Old Garden, but was also surrounded by a large water-filled moat (see figure 6). By comparing the historic plans with modern mapping and aerial photographs (where it is visible as cropmarks) (e.g. Stone 2013, 9), it is possible to estimate that, including the moat, the New Garden must have been c.80m square, with a moat perhaps 10m wide. The interior was presumably reached either by a bridge or using a boat, although there is no indication of a bridge on any of the known plans and maps. Payments were made to the keeper of the New Garden between 1517 and 1523, but apparently no later than 1542. Given the size of the garden and the effort entailed in its creation, it seems curious that it receives little or no specific mention in the 16th century surveys, and it may not have been maintained at all after 1575.
- 4.49 The moated enclosure itself apparently survived into the early 17th century, with the 1624 plan giving the only known indication of the internal layout (see figure 7). The scale of this map is such that is difficult to be certain, but it appears that what was being crudely indicated was a quartered arrangement, essentially cruciform pathways dividing the garden into four equal parts, with a quarter circle to each quadrant. By 1767, the New Garden was no longer shown, and it is assumed that the moat was now either dry or perhaps more likely completely infilled (see figure 8). By this date, the area to the north of the castle had been opened out and is named as 'Little Park'. A line of trees was present along the castle's north moat, together with a north-south aligned avenue of trees to the east; this avenue was broadly aligned on the former entrance to the base court, and also the earlier trackway (Site 4c) shown on early 17th century plans. On some of the latter, the area to the east of where the avenue is shown in 1767 is named at 'Tute Hill', and a hill is actually drawn on the undated early 17th century plan (see figures 5 and 6). It has been suggested that this hill may have been one of the mounts described by Leland in the first half of the 16th century (Stone 2013, 30).
- 4.50 The New Garden now only survives as a very shallow earthwork in a large arable field, although the results of a geophysical survey undertaken in November 2014 suggest that the moat survives below ground as a waterlogged feature, its position matching that depicted by a cropmark quite closely. In addition, evidence was recorded that the northern half of the moated enclosure may preserve compacted features, such as surfaces or structures (Webb 2014).

5 THE CASTLE AND THE GARDENS: THE STRUCTURAL EVIDENCE

Introduction

- 5.1 Everson (1998, 37) has previously written about the need to work hard at an integrated understanding of medieval buildings and their gardens, and one of the authors of this report (SR) has argued that the experience of the medieval viewer can only be properly understood when equal weight is given to the evidence furnished by the surviving contemporary structure compared with that from documents and the measured survey of landscapes (Richardson 2010, 49-50); too often, windows or walls are confidently described as having a 'view' without any detailed reference to their form and how they were accessed (Richardson 2010, 14-15). Wressle Castle, with a combination of surviving garden earthworks, the well-preserved south range and the excellent early post-medieval documentation, offers the ideal opportunity to put this approach into practice.
- 5.2 However, a number of caveats must be introduced. Firstly, obviously only approximately one quarter of the castle's structure survives, and so any statements about viewing from the missing parts must be drawn wholly from documentary sources. Secondly, a previous detailed analysis of medieval viewing practices from a much better preserved castle (Harewood Castle, North Yorkshire; Richardson 2010) was written some years after the whole structure had been recorded, and drew on a very comprehensive archive survey report (Richardson & Dennison 2013). The archive report addressed such matters as changes to the original circulation plan and access through the building, some of which were relevant to viewing. At the time of writing this garden survey report, the conservation works at Wressle Castle were just over half complete. The structural record therefore remains incomplete, and there is as yet no detailed archive report to draw upon.
- 5.3 In the light of this, the following chapter gives only a summarised description of the structural evidence relating to viewing at Wressle, principally the form of windows, wall-walks and walks on the roof leads. Only those windows which might feasibly have provided a view are described; for example, the very small or narrow windows lighting staircases or garderobes are not included, unless there is any convincing evidence that viewing was an important part of their function. Furthermore, only those parts of the window accessible to a viewer are described in detail, as there is no need to include details of tracery which lay 3m-4m above their heads. It is likely that this evidence, and any analysis resulting from it, will be substantially revised and expanded upon when the archaeological recording has been completed. Finally, in the following text, all room names and functions relate to the castle after the refurbishment works of the 5th Earl of Northumberland, i.e. at the very end of the 15th century and in the early 16th century, and follow the conventions established by Brears (2010).

The South Range (see figure 16)

The South-West Tower

The Ground Floor

- 5.4 The ground floor of the south-west tower formed the High Buttery. It was one of a series of rooms in this area forming service rooms for the south-western chambers. A newel stair from the High Buttery communicated with all other levels in the tower (including the roof leads) and the central range. To the east, the High Buttery was

linked to the ground floor rooms probably forming the pantry for the chamber suite and its ewery (Brears 2010, 64-65 & 78). The High Buttery was originally lit by two narrow, single-light, trefoil-headed windows in the west wall, each originally fitted with an iron grille, formed by two cross-bars and a vertical standard, socketed into the frame. One of these was replaced, probably during the 16th century, by a wider two-light square-headed window. In the south wall, there were again originally two single-light, trefoil-headed windows, the west one being replaced by a wider two-light square-headed window. Internally, the sills of all of these windows are set at least 1.0m above the existing ground level, and they have deep reveals, affording no easy or expansive views of the adjacent external areas. In addition, there was no access from the room, either originally or subsequently, to these external areas.

The First Floor

- 5.5 The first floor of the south-west tower formed the Lord's/Gentlemen's Chamber, part of the Main Chamber Suite. The Gentlemen of the Household probably slept on pallets in here, as they did not have any delivery of fuel; it may also have served as the knight's dining room. In the early 16th century, the room had a richly decorated ceiling, a deep frieze of carved armorial panels running around all four walls with space left beneath to receive arras wall-hangings whenever the Earl was in residence, and other carved woodwork (Brears 2010, 64-65, 71, 79 & 90-95).
- 5.6 The chamber was originally lit by two tall windows in the south wall, probably both of a very similar form, although only one now survives (see plate 12). It is mullioned and transomed; the lower lights are square-headed and shorter than the trefoil-headed upper lights. Each light was originally fitted with an iron grille, formed by three cross-bars to the lower lights and four to the upper lights, socketed into the frame but apparently without a vertical standard. Internally, the base of the window opening was set slightly above the internal floor level, and was provided with seats in the form of opposed stone benches, set at a right angle to the window itself. Each bench was 0.50m deep and stood 0.50m high, with a slightly projecting chamfered lip. The sill of the window was set at 1.35m above the floor of the window opening. All four lights were provided with an internal shutter, hung on a pair of iron pintles to the outer sides; the shutter closed flush into the internal rebate around each light. At a later date, the original west window was replaced by a large oriel window. This might perhaps have been thought most likely to have been done by the 5th Earl, Henry Percy, perhaps during the very late 15th or earlier 16th century. However, it has also been suggested that the oriel displays significant similarities to work undertaken at Tattershall Castle in Lincolnshire, during the 1440s by Ralph Lord Cromwell. Given that Cromwell enjoyed a period of control of Wressle after 1435, and that this was apparently a major source of antagonism for the Percy family, there is a possibility that he may have inserted the oriel during this period (Erik Matthews, *pers. comm*). The oriel was supported on ribbed fan-vaulting, which rose from a corbel in the form of an angel holding a shield; unfortunately, the head of the angel is now missing, and any heraldry that may once have been present on the shield is no longer visible. The oriel window opening has a total height of 5.00m; the head has been rebuilt in brick at a much later date. External scarring indicates that originally, the enclosed part of the oriel stood c.1.30m high, and projected an unknown distance from the wall face. The window part was 3.70m high, and above the height of the enclosed part, there are half-mullions projecting from the wall face, flanking the window opening. These retain glazing slots and also some evidence for iron cross-bars, and it is assumed that window had fixed glazing and was perhaps capped with a small leaded roof.

Internally, the base of the oriel was set at the internal floor level, and there is no clear evidence to suggest that stone window seats were ever present.

- 5.7 There is a further tall window to the west wall, very similar in form and fittings to the original east window in the south wall described above. Each lower light was originally fitted with an iron grille, formed by three cross-bars socketed into the frame. There are two square sockets cut into the sill but no evidence for a vertical standard socketed into the head; it may therefore have been present, but not met the head. Each upper light was also originally fitted with an iron grille, formed by four cross-bars socketed into the frame; there are again two square sockets cut into the sill, but also clear evidence for a vertical standard socketed into the head. The south jamb of the north light has a glazing slot set behind the grille sockets.

The Second Floor and Roof Leads

- 5.8 The second floor of the south-west tower formed the Lord's Lodging Chamber (Brears 2010, 64-65). This was lit by two windows in the south wall, and one in the west wall, of very similar form externally and internally to those on the first floor, although substantially higher to the interior. The lower lights were originally fitted with an iron grille, formed by three cross-bars to the lower lights and four cross-bars to the upper lights, all socketed into the frame, but apparently without vertical standards. Both lower lights retain evidence for a glazing slot to the sill and south jamb only.
- 5.9 The roof leads over the second floor of the south-west tower were accessible only from the newel stair at the north-east corner of the tower (Brears 2010, 64-65), which also communicated with all internal floors within the tower. The roof leads were in theory, therefore, accessible from anywhere within the tower. Clearly, access would have been needed for maintenance; the 1512 *Northumberland Household Book* records a yearly payment of 6s 8d at Michaelmas to "one that swepith and kepith clyne the Leddis of the Castell of Wresill" (Anon 1770, 353). However, in practice, many of the doorways would have been fitted with lockable doors and so access could have been restricted. At the head of the stairs, a door in the south side of the stair turret opened out onto the roof leads, with a small step, less than 0.30m high, down to the leads themselves (see plate 13). The c.1600 plan of the tower roof states that 'This staircase is 17 foot above the lead' (Fisher 1937). The height given (c.5.18m) is slightly puzzling, as the existing turret, which appears complete and unaltered, measures only c.4.25m high in total.
- 5.10 The sides of the tower were originally equipped with a parapet wall, although this has been subject to much collapse, deliberate damage and probable rebuilding. Around all four sides of the tower, the majority of the parapet wall survives only to an average height of 0.80m (two courses of stone), rising from the much wider tower walls below, which resemble a wall-walk (see plate 14); the exception is around the stair turret, where the wall survives up to 1.10m in height. On the south and north sides of the tower, the upper course of stones is moulded externally, and there is no convincing evidence that the parapet ever rose any higher to form crenellations. This could suggest that the parapet to these two sides is entirely rebuilt, but if this was the case, then it must have been done when a leaded roof was still present, as the scar of the roof can be seen on all the interior faces of the wall. This lower parapet, without crenellations, contradicts the available documentary evidence. The c.1600 bird's eye view of Wressle and the c.1600 plan of the roof of the tower show it to be fully crenellated; furthermore, the latter states that "the battlement 6 foot" (Fisher 1937). At c.1.80m, this is considerably taller than any of the surviving parapet walls around the tower.

- 5.11 The scarring suggests that the roof was set at a shallow pitch, covering the top of the walls at the base of the parapet wall (i.e. there was no wall-walk behind the parapet), with the ridge aligned east-west. It was also more articulated than might have first been thought; the scarring indicates that along the north and south sides of the parapet wall, the roof first sloped down towards a drain, then up towards a central chimney, then down towards another drain and finally back up to the opposite wall. Given that the drains are set at the base of the parapet, there must presumably have been vertical, lead-lined channels in the surface of the roof slopes which fed water into them, assuming that they remained in use. When the roof was in place, there was barely 0.30m between the surface of the roof and the top of the parapet walls. Again, the structural evidence contradicts what is shown in documentation. The c.1600 upright or bird's eye view of the castle depicts the roofs in a manner similar to that which the structural evidence suggests, sloping gently downwards to meet the battlements. However the tower roof plan of the same date seems to show a walkway of the same width as the existing tops of the tower walls around all four sides of the tower, with only the central space indicated as 'the leades' (Fisher 1937); it may, of course, be that the plan was supposed to show the wall widths of the tower, and the actual extent of the leadwork was omitted because it was not of interest.
- 5.12 Along the west side of the tower, the remaining part of the parapet wall does not represent its full height, nor does it have the external moulded upper course seen to the north and south sides. However, it does have internal scarring which matches that to the other three sides, indicating that these differences in height must have been present when the roof leads were in place. Similarly, the walls around the stair turret at the roof's north-east corner are also incomplete, and it seems highly likely that they were once similar to those surviving around the stair turret to the south-east tower (see below). If this was the case, stones with the same external moulding as seen to the north and south sides of the tower represent the base of crenels, with the plain walling stone between the truncated remnants of merlons, approximately twice the width of each crenel. It is possible that only the northern half of the parapet wall to the east side of the tower was crenellated in this way, perhaps stepping down to the south to form a wall similar to the parapet surviving elsewhere around the tower. A similar arrangement appears to be present to the north side of the tower, where only the eastern half of the wall may have been crenellated.

The Central Part of the Range

The Ground Floor

- 5.13 The western third of the central range's ground floor comprised service rooms for the chamber suite housed in the west tower and upper floors of the central range. They probably formed an entry and stair, the Chamber Pantry and the Chamber Ewery (Brears 2010, 64-65). The central part of the central range's ground floor is suggested to have comprised Lord Percy's chamber, the Earl's eldest son, as it lay closest to the Lord's Tower (Brears 2010, 64-65 & 78-79), with the eastern third forming the school house, where the 'Master of Grammar' taught on a salary of £5 per annum (Brears 2010, 64-65 & 79).
- 5.14 These rooms were all originally lit by windows in the south wall comprising a single, trefoil-headed light with a chamfered surround, the windows being widely spaced across the ground floor. During the 16th century, some of these were disturbed by the insertion of four new windows, varying between two and five lights in size, all

lights having depressed or three-centred arched heads and separated by narrow mullions. Unfortunately, as all windows to the south wall are now all blocked, it is not possible to see if, or what kind of, iron grilles they were fitted with. The majority have internal sills set c.1.00m above the internal ground level, although two of the inserted window openings have bases at the same height as the ground level; where evidence survives, all windows appear to have been fitted with internal shutters. There is an inserted doorway towards the east end of the south wall (shown on one of the 1770s drawings), which would have allowed communication between the school house and the external area between the castle's south range and the south moat. The pattern of fenestration to the north wall of the ground floor rooms is similar, with original single-light trefoil-headed windows being supplemented or replaced during the 16th century by windows with multiple lights. Where evidence survives, the original windows were fitted with an iron grille comprising three cross-bars socketed into the frame, but apparently without a vertical standard. Many of the original and inserted windows had an internal sill set c.1.30m above the internal ground level, and many preserve evidence for internal shutters. The principal original external access from the courtyard to the south range lies at the western end of the north wall.

The First Floor

- 5.15 The western end of the central range's first floor formed an anteroom. This linked the Lord's Tower rooms with its service rooms below, the hall and the kitchens beyond, and the great or dining chamber (hereafter referred to as the 'Great Chamber') (Brears 2010, 64-65 & 79). It was lit by an inserted window in the south wall of three tall lights, each with a depressed or three-centred arched head, separated by narrow mullions; each light was fitted with fixed glazing but no iron grille, and there were internal shutters. The base of the window opening was set at the same level as the internal floor level, and there is no surviving evidence to suggest that it was fitted with stone window seats or benches. There was a much smaller window opening, which could also be stood in, to the north wall.
- 5.16 The central part of the first floor (and indeed of the second floor above) formed the Great Chamber, a double-height space. In the early 16th century, this had a highly decorated ceiling, which showed a great similarity to the Prior's Tower ceiling at Carlisle, built c.1500-1520, and possibly executed by the same group of craftsmen. Like the Lord's Chamber, the Great Chamber had a frieze of carved armorial panels, apparently immediately below the ceiling and estimated by early observers to be between two to six feet deep. The western screen (or end wall) had a projecting semi-hexagonal porch at its south end, and to the north of this, a double-spiral stair giving access to the Earl's studies and his lodging chamber. The eastern screen had a similar staircase and semi-octagonal porch, and it is suggested that the eastern end of the chamber represented the higher-status end where the dining table was set (Brears 2010, 64-65, 88-90 & 94-96).
- 5.17 The Great Chamber was lit by three windows in the south wall, two to the west of a fireplace and one to the east. They are all of similar general form, but with some important differences. All three comprise tall mullioned and transomed windows; to the outer windows, the lower lights are square-headed, and shorter than the trefoil-headed upper lights, but to the central window they are significantly deeper. Each light was originally fitted with an iron grille, formed by between three and six cross-bars socketed into the frame but apparently without a vertical standard. Internally, the bases of all three window openings are set just above the internal first floor level, and all three were apparently once fitted with opposed stone benches, set at a right angle to the window itself; each bench was 0.50m deep and stood 0.50m

high, with a slightly projecting chamfered lip. To the west window, there is a curious feature projecting from the base of the east bench. It comprises a raised stone kerb, with a top surface chamfered so that it resembles a flat-nosed mullion. The kerb appears to be contemporary with the bench, and presumably once ran across the base of the window. In both of the outer windows, the sill of the lower lights was set c.1.50m above the base of the window opening, whereas to the central window, because of the deeper lower lights, the same measurement was only 1.10m. All window lights were equipped with internal shutters, closing flush into the rebate around the light, and some preserve latches to the central mullion used to secure the shutters when closed.

- 5.18 There were three further windows to the north wall of the Great Chamber, with the same relative placement as in the south wall, and again, there are subtle and important differences between the three. They are generally of the same form as those to the south wall, including grilles, stone benches and internal shutters, and the pattern of the south wall is repeated in that the central window again has much lower sills to the lower pair of lights (see plates 15 and 16). Although its stone window seats or benches have been removed, scarring suggests that they were of a different form to those seen to the south windows. They appear to have been of a similar height but narrower, and perhaps with an underside which sloped back steeply towards the window jambs, rather than having the slightly projecting chamfered lip. The lower lights were originally fitted with an iron grille formed by four or five cross-bars, socketed into the frame but apparently without a vertical standard. The original sockets are filled with lead, and are 40mm square by 40mm deep. At a later date, these were replaced, and a number of part or whole examples of the replacement cross-bars survive. Each cross-bar is of wrought-iron, and measures 0.45m between the sockets. They are set in lead, but some also have small iron wedges hammered in beneath to keep them in place. Each bar is 22mm wide, with a slightly flattened profile, thickening to a maximum depth of 8mm in the centre. There are slight spikes, 4mm high, to the upper and lower surface of each bar. These are the remains of the vertical standards, which were fixed to the cross-bars. There is no evidence that they were socketed into the frame at the top or bottom, and indeed they apparently formed a different pattern to each light. The west light had two cross-bars, with two vertical standards rising from the lower cross-bar and one vertical standard, centrally positioned, descending from it. The east light had three cross-bars, with three vertical standards running between the lower and central cross-bars. Finally, there is no surviving evidence for the presence of internal shutters to these deeper lower lights. However, they do have a shallow cut-out to either side of the inner face, rising 0.71m from the sill. Each of the lower lights of the east window retains similar, later, replacement cross-bars to those described to the central window.
- 5.19 The eastern part of the first floor formed the Nether Chapel or nave. It had an external porch and stairs rising from the courtyard, with a screen at its east end pierced by a doorway into the chancel, beneath a broad and high chancel arch (Brears 2010, 64-65 & 79). A window opening in the north wall has two low, square-headed lights, again retaining the replacement cross-bars described above to the Great Chamber windows. Internally, the base of the window opening was set just above the internal floor level, and was provided with seats in the form of opposed stone benches, set at a right angle to the window. Each bench was 0.50m high, with a slightly projecting chamfered lip, but the west bench is approximately twice the width of the east bench. The sill of the window is set at 1.20m above the floor of the window opening. Each light was provided with an internal shutter, closing flush into the internal rebate.

The Second Floor and Roof Leads

- 5.20 Due to the double-height nature of the Great Chamber, a second floor existed only at the east and west ends of the central part of the range. The room at the west end formed the Lord's Studies (Brears 2010, 64-65). It was lit by single-light trefoil-headed windows in the north and south walls, both with their internal sills set c.0.75m above the internal floor level. The room at the east end formed the upper part of the nether chapel or nave. It was provided with three galleries, entered from the Great Chamber by a pair of double-spiral staircases against the east screen. Within the same area, although apparently not accessible from it, was the lord's pew, which had its own newel stair descending from the uppermost floor of the east tower. In c.1765, it was noted that the ceiling was 'ornamented with red roses, painted very coarsely, and the motto *Esperaunce en Dieu* on scrolls' (Brears 2010, 64-65, 79-81 & 88). There are two window openings to the north wall, both of the same form. Each comprises a pair of square-headed lights, with some surviving evidence for iron grilles formed by at least two cross-bars socketed into the frame of each light. The base of the internal window openings were set some 0.50m above the internal floor level. Each light was provided with an internal shutter, closing flush into the internal rebate around each light.
- 5.21 There was no access onto the roof leads of the central range from within the central range itself. Instead, they could only be reached from the upper levels of the newel staircases at the north-east and north-west corners of the south-west and south-east towers respectively. The positioning of the doorways leading out onto the leads from the respective staircases suggests that the main route between the two was along the base of the northern slope of the narrowly pitched roof. Unfortunately, the wall top here is severely truncated, leaving little or no evidence for the form of any walk across the roof leads, although scarring to either tower demonstrates that the doorways from the respective newel staircases opened straight out onto the north slope of the shallowly pitched roof covering this part of the castle. The south side is better preserved, with a parapet wall very similar in height and form to that described above along the north and south sides of the south-west tower (see plate 17). Again, the scarring to either tower suggests that the south roof slope met the parapet wall c.0.40m below its existing top, and there is an intermittent scar at this height along the internal face of the parapet. The c.1600 bird's eye view of the castle shows both long sides of the central part of the range to have a crenellated parapet, while another of the c.1600 plans depicts a square feature towards the south-east corner of the roof leads, although the accompanying text is not easy to discern (Fisher 1937).

The South-East Tower

The Ground Floor

- 5.22 The ground floor of the south-east tower is suggested to have formed the Nursery proper, accommodating the Earl's youngest children, being staffed by two 'rockers' and a child (Brears 2010 64-65 & 79). Like the other ground floor areas, it was originally lit by single-light trefoil-headed windows to the south and east walls, but these were replaced or supplemented during the 16th century by much larger windows of between two to five lights. There was no communication between the ground floor of the tower and the external areas to the east and south within the moat.

The First Floor

- 5.23 The first floor of the south-east tower formed the High Chapel. In the later 18th century, it still retained elements of woodwork and painted window glass, the woodwork probably belonging to the very early years of the 16th century. The probable appearance and ordering of the chapel at Wressle (and at Leconfield) can be ascertained from the instructions regarding an Earl's chapel in the second part of the *Northumberland Household Book* (Brears 2010, 64-65, 88 & 112).
- 5.24 The chapel was lit by tall windows in the south and east walls. The two windows to the south wall, each comprising a pair of cinquefoil-headed lights, were originally fitted with an iron grille, formed by six cross-bars socketed into the frame but apparently without a vertical standard; there are also glazing slots to each light set immediately behind the sockets of the iron grille. Above the mullion separating the paired lights, there is tracery, also once all fitted with fixed glazing. There is no surviving evidence for internal shutters to these windows. The two windows to the east wall are of similar form and similarly provisioned with grilles and fixed glazing, but the south window is of three, rather than two, cinquefoil-headed lights.

The Second Floor

- 5.25 The second floor of the south-east tower formed the Lady's Chamber. It was the only room in the entire castle given over to females, with access being only from either the newel stair between the lord's pew and the uppermost floor of the south-east tower, or across the roof leads of the central part of the south range from the lord's lodging chamber in the south-west tower. The ceiling of the Lady's Chamber had a regular pattern of internally cusped squares surrounded by interlocking octagons (Brears 2010, 64-65, 83 & 90-91).
- 5.26 The chamber was lit by centrally-positioned windows in the south and east walls. These were both formed by a pair of trefoil-headed lights, originally fitted with an iron grille formed by four cross-bars, all socketed into the frame, but apparently without vertical standards; both lights of the window to the south wall retain evidence for an eroded glazing slot set immediately behind the bar sockets, best preserved to their heads. The base of the internal window opening to the south wall was set just above the height of the internal floor level. There is a stone bench to the east side of the opening only, but no evidence that one was ever present to the west side. The bench projects a maximum of 0.50m from the side of the window opening and stands 0.50m high, with a chamfered lip. It clearly butts the side of the opening, and so may be a later addition. The sill of each window light is now set c.1.00m above the internal floor level, but it may once have been lower; the stone forming the sills appears to have been inserted, as both glazing slots and rebates for the internal shutters continue below it. Each of the window lights was fitted with an internal shutter, the shutters closing flush into the internal rebate around each light. The window opening in the east wall has been completely blocked with brick internally.

The Third Floor and Roof Leads

- 5.27 The third floor of the south-east tower formed the 'Paradise' or Library. It was described by John Leland in 1538 as follows: "*One thing I liked exceedingly yn one of the Towers, that was a Study, caullid Paradise: wher was a Closet in the middle of 8 squares latised aboute, and at the Toppe of every square was a Desk ledgid to set Bookes on Cofers withyn them, and these semid as joinid hard to the Toppe*

of the Closet: and yet by pulling, one or a wold cum downe briste higthe in rabettes and serve for Deskes to lay Bokes on.” (Toulmin Smith 1907, 53).

- 5.28 It was only accessible by means of the newel stair from the leads and the Lady's Chamber, and therefore formed the most exclusive and high status of all the chambers. There appear to have been similar chambers established in the Northumberland's houses at Leconfield and Petworth (Brears 2010, 64-65, 83 & 97-98).
- 5.29 The room was lit by windows in the east and south walls, very similar externally to those on the second floor, although somewhat shorter. One of the lights to the east window retains an iron grille formed by four cross-bars, all socketed into the frame; the cross-bars are apparently of the same form as described to the windows of the Great Chamber, and so may be later replacements of the originals. Internally, the base of the window opening in the south wall was set at internal floor level. Scarring and exposed rubble core indicate that there may once have been a stone bench running parallel to the external wall within the base of the opening; the front edge of the bench was set back 0.25m from the internal wall face, and it may have been as low as 0.35m, although this height may perhaps represent the stone seating for a wooden bench, now removed. The distribution of surviving pintles appears to indicate that each of the paired window lights was once fitted with a two-leaf internal shutter, one leaf set above the other. The shutters closed flush into the internal rebate around each light. The base of each window light has an unusual form. The west light has a narrow slot to the west side of the base, which appears to be an original feature, and over which the lower leaf of the shutter closed. The east light has a similar slot, but this has been created by mortaring an additional block of stone into the window sill at a later date; i.e. raising the level of the sill to create the slot. The window opening in the east wall has been completely blocked with brick internally.
- 5.30 The roof leads over the third floor of the south-east tower were accessible only from the newel stair at the north-west corner of the tower (Brears 2010, 64-65), which itself rose from the Lady's Chamber on the second floor. Access was therefore immediately restricted, and would have been even more so if the various doorways opening onto the new stair were fitted with lockable doors. At the head of the stair, a door in the south side of a stair turret opened directly out onto the roof leads. However, unlike the south-west stair turret, the newel stair within rises higher, carrying on up through the top of the turret. The underside of the uppermost surviving stone connected to the newel is chamfered, demonstrating that this marked the point where the enclosed stair stopped and the person climbing it emerged into the open air (see plate 18). The evidence suggests that they continued up a little further, and that the turret was open-topped, presumably surmounted by a crenellated parapet. It would have provided wide-ranging views across the castle, the base court and the surrounding landscape. Like the south-west turret, the c.1600 plan of the tower roof states that 'This staircase is 17 foot above the lead' (Fisher 1937). The height given (c.5.18m) is slightly less than a metre taller than the existing turret, although given that the upper part of the turret is now missing, it is quite likely that it once rose to the c.1600 height.
- 5.31 The sides of the south-east tower were originally equipped with a parapet wall, although this too has been subject to much collapse, deliberate damage and probable rebuilding. Around all four sides of the tower, the majority of the parapet wall survives only to an average height of 0.80m, and comprises two courses of stone; the exception is around the stair turret, where the walls survive higher (see plate 19). On the south, east and north sides of the tower, the upper course of

stones is moulded externally, and there is no convincing evidence that the parapet ever rose any higher to form crenellations, as are shown here (and indeed across the whole of the castle's roofscape) on the c.1600 bird's eye view of Wressle. As with the south-west tower, this could suggest that the parapet to these two sides is entirely rebuilt, but if this was the case, then it must have been done when a leaded roof was still present, as the scar of the roof can be seen on all the interior face of the wall. The scarring shows that the roof was set at a shallow pitch, covering the top of the walls at the base of the parapet wall (i.e. there was no wall walk behind the parapet), with the ridge aligned north-south. When the roof was in place, there was barely 0.40m between the surface of the roof and the top of the parapet walls. The same contrast between the roof scarring and the c.1600 plan of the tower roof (Fisher 1937) exists as has already been detailed for the south-west tower above.

- 5.32 As already noted, the walls around the stair turret at the roof's north-west corner are higher and of a different, crenellated, form. The crenels are marked externally with a stone with the same moulding as seen to the other sides of the tower; the top of the crenel would have been placed c.0.80m above the level of the roof lead. The merlons in between, approximately twice the width of the crenels, rise first as plain walling stone but are again capped with moulded stone externally. In addition, at the junction of the two stones forming the surviving merlons, externally there appears to be an integral raised area, perhaps an eroded moulding or decorative feature, suggesting that the crenellations may once have been even more articulated. The top of the merlons would have been placed c.1.60m above the roof lead. This height accords well with the 'the battlement 6 foot' given on the c.1600 roof plan of the south-west tower, although the corresponding plan of the south-east tower does not give a height; however, it does show all four sides of the tower to be crenellated (Fisher 1937). This is in contrast with the surviving walls, which suggests that only the northern half of the west side and western half of the north side were fully crenellated, stepping down half way to form a wall similar to the parapet surviving elsewhere around the tower. The point where the form changes is neatly done.

The Other Ranges

- 5.33 The c.1600 bird's eye view and floor plans of Wressle show that both the north-east (Constable) and north-west (Kitchen) towers were also equipped with stair turrets like those described above, giving access to the roof leads. There was also a doorway to the Kitchen Tower which opened out onto the south roof slope of the castle's north range, and if this was replicated in the Constable Tower, then there could have been communication across the leads between the two as there was to the south range. The third floor of the Constable Tower formed a lodging chamber, with the fourth floor the Constable's Chamber, and with further lodgings to the uppermost level of the adjacent north range (Brears 2010, 64-65). All of these rooms had the possibility of views towards the New Garden to the north after it was built, and also towards the wider park area. The highest part of the castle overall was formed by the gate house or tower to the centre of the east range, with the uppermost floor occupied by the Steward's Chamber (Brears 2010, 64-65). The c.1600 view shows that there was a stair turret giving access to the roof leads of the gate house, but that it was of different form to those to the other four towers, and was capped with a pitched rather than a flat roof. It also seems probable that all the chimneys across the castle were of the same tall decorative form as the single surviving example to the central part of the south range, and one might speculate for whom, if anyone, this decoration was meant, as even from the roof leads it was not closely visible. It is highly likely that detailed studies of the

available sources, when combined with the structural evidenced of the surviving range, would allow a detailed reconstruction of the form and usage of the castle's roofscape.

6 INTERPRETATIVE DISCUSSION

Introduction

- 6.1 As has already been stated in Chapter 2, the primary aim and objective of the current survey was to make a detailed topographical survey of the field to the south of the castle, and to use this survey to attempt to produce an integrated understanding of late medieval/early post-medieval viewing practices with reference to the relationship between the castle's south range and the gardens. This is attempted below.
- 6.2 However, given that this report has been produced before the detailed analysis of the building recording of the south range has been completed, any discussion must necessarily be seen as preliminary. It is the intention of the authors, as stated in the original grant application to the Castle Studies Trust, to produce an academic paper for publication in a journal such as *Medieval Archaeology* or *The Archaeological Journal*. This will combine the information from this report, the forthcoming structural archive report and other sources, and will include the preparation of detailed illustrations reconstructing, for example, the form and differing seating arrangements of various windows and the castle's roofscape.
- 6.3 In view of the above, the following discussion takes the form of a series of questions; at the end of each section, further questions are posed which draw on the material discussed. Figure 17 provides a draft interpretation of the features recorded within the survey area.

Question 1: How did the Construction and Expansion of the Castle and its Landscape affect the Village Morphology?

- 6.4 A detailed study of Wressle village's morphology and documentary history lies beyond the scope of this project, meaning that only general points can be made at this time. Nevertheless, it is important that this study is carried out at some point in the future, as it is of great, perhaps primary, significance to the interpretation of what has been recorded within the current survey area.
- 6.5 The layout of the village as shown on the early 17th century plans indicates that it was, at that date, based around two roads, a route running north to Brighton and an east route running in the general direction of Brind and Spaldington (see figure 4). These routes crossed at the east end of the village, with the majority of the houses and associated plots located to the west and south-west. To the west of this crossroads, there were a number of houses with long crofts on the south side of the east-west street, with much shorter crofts to the north. Towards the west of these, there was another crossroads, the north arm running to the castle's gatehouse and the south arm continuing south between two crofts to a large triangular green, before turning east and north-east to join with the east-west street. On the west side of this green is a large area coloured blue, named as 'Marsh' on the east side of the River Derwent. The southern section of this western crossroads, and the two crofts either side, survive as earthworks within the EDAS survey area (*Site 4*), as does the area of the marsh and green (*Site 5*) and the agricultural fields to the south (*Site 6*) (see figure 14).
- 6.6 An initial analysis of the historic maps, manorial history and place-name evidence suggests that, like many other villages in this area, Wressle lies within a landscape of semi-dispersed settlement, and many villages have several early foci of settlement; one well-known example is Cawood, on the south bank of the River

Ouse to the north-west of Selby (Blood & Taylor 1992). Accordingly, following this and other examples, three main factors can be considered in the development of Wressle - a change from a polyfocal settlement to a large nucleated village, the proximity of the River Derwent, and the building of the castle in the late 14th century. The early settlement pattern may have comprised at least two or possibly three different foci, elements of which can all be seen on the 1610 map (Chris Taylor, *pers. comm.*) (see figure 6). One appears to have been centred around a green at the east end of the village, another in the approximate location of the later castle perhaps associated with a river crossing point, and a probable third around the church to the south. The river would have been a very important transport route in the medieval period, and a possible interpretation of the blue-coloured 'Marsh' shown in 1610 (see figure 6) is that it represents the remains of a dock or loading place which was reached via roads from the various settlement foci. There may well also have been another road following the east side of the Derwent, which was probably associated with one or more of the settlement foci; this road still connects Bubwith, Gunby and Brighton to the north of Wressle, and Loftsome to the south (see figure 1).

- 6.7 The early 17th century layout could be argued to be the remnant of a two- or double-row village plan, with houses and associated crofts extending north and south from an east-west aligned main street. If this is accepted, then it would raise the further question of when it was laid out, how it impacted on earlier settlement, and how (or if) the construction of the castle impacted upon it. Dealing first with date, a number of other examples of two- or double-row villages with back lanes can be found across the Vale of York, for example Barmby-on-the-Marsh and Assleby to the south of Wressle. In Yorkshire as a whole, these often planned settlements are thought to result either from a late 11th-early 12th century phase of regeneration following William I's 'Harrying of the North', or from a deliberate process of intervention by the manorial overlords in the 13th or 14th centuries (Harrison & Roberts 1989, 86; Hey 2005, 125); whether this holds true for the Vale of York currently remains unclear, largely due to a lack of data. However, given that Wressle was a large and prosperous village at the time of the 11th century Domesday Book, any planned elements or extensions might have been created by the de Vesci family or the early generations of the Percy family who held the manor from at least 1316 (Bilson *et al* 1913, 184; Stone 2013, 11).
- 6.8 In terms of impact on an existing polyfocal settlement, the 'new' double-row village would have linked two of the earlier foci in this area, namely that around a green to the east and that further to the west, creating a single planned east-west settlement. A new manor house or administrative centre could have been built at the west end of this settlement, or the existing foci could have assumed a greater significance. The southern row of this settlement block had a better situation than the north row, with long plots extending to the south. Quite how far this south row extended to the west is currently uncertain, but it is quite feasible that it continued almost to the river, across what was to become the later 'Old Garden'. This is obviously important for the interpretation of the earthworks in this area. Some of the north-south banks and ditches, and perhaps even some of the slightly raised sub-rectangular platforms (*Site 3e*), may represent former village earthworks, and there are some similarities with the better preserved more definite plots to the east (*Site 4*) (see figure 17). It is equally possible that any earlier earthworks or the boundaries they represent may have influenced the layout of the Old Garden; at Burton Constable Hall (East Yorkshire) for example, measured earthwork survey has offered new interpretations of the relationship between probable later 16th century gardens and earlier boundaries established within the (by then) decaying adjacent medieval settlement (Dennison & Richardson 2011). The increasing

prosperity of the newly planned east-west settlement may have caused the other earlier settlement focus around the church to dwindle and eventually to be abandoned, leaving the church isolated from the main body of the village as it appears in the early 17th century.

- 6.9 However, there would have been further major changes to the settlement pattern when the castle was built in the late 14th century. There is good evidence that the construction of the second Sheriff Hutton castle (North Yorkshire) after 1382 had a significant effect on the morphology of that village, with existing roads being re-aligned, crofts/plots being shortened, and a new marketplace created to the immediate east of the gatehouse leading to the castle's outer court (Dennison 2005, 10-16; Richardson & Dennison 2007, 173-174). A similar process can be seen at Wressle. On the assumption that there was an earlier manorial or administrative centre here, the castle would not be a 'new build'. Leland noted in the 16th century that the base court of the castle was a later addition, and so the main access would almost certainly originally have been along the main east-west street of the double-row village, essentially creating a formal approach to the castle lined with houses (as can be seen today at for example, Bolton Castle, North Yorkshire). The construction of the castle and the later base court would have impacted on any continuation of this east-west route to the river, and so this might explain a slight divergence in its alignment to the south, meaning that it ran along the south side of the moat, as appears to be indicated in 1610 (see figures 6 and 17). However, the laying out of the 'Old Garden' by 1472 would have stopped up this route completely and led to the truncation of the southern row of the planned village. The abandonment of this route to the river might therefore have resulted in the creation or upgrading of the curving south-western road shown in 1610, leading from the east end of the planned village to a new 'village green' area adjacent to the dock; the west end of the green may have been a landing place. At some point, a new access was also constructed into the south side of the base court from the east-west village street, which was in turn linked to the new green and dock to the south. Finally, the creation of the 'Little Park' to the immediate north of the castle must also have truncated some of the crofts of the north row of the planned village. One might have expected other crofts/plots to be laid out elsewhere to compensate for the loss of those affected by all of these alterations, and it is possible that the southern settlement block extending south-west from the earlier green at the east end of the village could represent a planned addition associated with this activity. This might also be associated with the loss of the southern green adjacent to the dock/marsh, as a number of ponds are depicted here in 1602, and they were included in the 'outer garden' of the castle by 1577 (see figure 17). All these suggested morphological alterations are based on informed opinion and experience of other similar sites, but it should be noted that further detailed morphological analysis, archaeological investigation and/or documentary research will be needed before any or all can be confirmed and any definite phasing attempted - while such research and analysis may provide additional supporting evidence, it could also lead to a complete revision or even abandonment of one or more of the scenarios.
- 6.10 The village's morphology continued to change after the 17th century, meaning that the present layout bears little relation to that shown on the historic plans. For example, at some point between 1770 and 1839, a new north-south road was created through the centre of the village, along the east side of the Little Park. Perhaps this was done when Castle Farm farmhouse was built, around 1811, as part of landscaping works? This had the effect of separating the now ruined castle and Castle Farm from the rest of the village and, as a result, allowed some elements of the former settlement to be preserved in the pasture fields to the south

of the castle. The earthwork survey also recorded evidence for the amalgamation of plots within the southern row of the proposed two-row village. This suggested that, within the survey area, the plots shown to the south of the main east-west street in the early 17th century had an average width of between 30m to 35m. However, within two of the plots (*Sites 4d & 4e*), there is evidence for former subdivision into narrower plots with an original width of c.15m. Although these subdivisions may have lost their relevance in the early 17th century, they survived to be marked on the 1767 map.

6.11 Therefore, within the broad parameters of Question 1 (How did the Construction and Expansion of the Castle and its Landscape affect the Village Morphology?), and using the information detailed above, a number of subsidiary queries can be proposed:

- What was the pattern of settlement prior to the construction of the castle in the later 14th century? Did the castle replace an existing manorial or administrative centre here?
- Did Sir Thomas Percy bring about changes to the village morphology when he built the castle, and was the building of the castle accompanied by changes to the associated landscape, such as the creation or extension of an existing park?
- How did any later changes to the castle complex, such as the construction of the base court, affect the village morphology and the associated landscape?

Question 2: What was the Form of the Late Medieval Gardens and how were they Observed?

The Form and Location of the Late Medieval Gardens

6.12 It is necessary to try to establish what elements of the gardens around the castle are likely to be contemporary with the late 14th century building, and which were modified or added later, most likely between c.1498 and 1527 by the 5th Earl of Northumberland. Research undertaken on medieval landscape and gardens over the preceding 30 years suggests that it is extremely likely that the castle would have originally been provided with gardens. Given that Sir Thomas Percy was executed in 1403, and the castle then passed largely into Crown ownership until 1471, it is possible that these gardens remained unmodified until the later 15th century.

6.13 If Fisher (1954 vol 2, 63 & 66) is correct, then both the Old Garden and the Moat Garden were present by 1472, and they were kept in good order by one gardener for a yearly wage of £3 8d. It is likely that the Moat Garden was located in the area between the castle and the south moat; in 1537, a Royal Surveyor noted that there was "*a fayer Garden verey well kepte and at the end of ye sd garden a propre banketyng howse havyng a bayne therin*" (Fisher 1954 vol 2, 57). The banqueting or bathing house (see below) was located at the inner south-west corner of the moated area, and so for it to be at the end of the garden, the garden must either have been to the south or west of the castle. Either is possible. The area to the west of the castle (*Site 1a*) within the survey area has been disturbed by later activity but that to the south less so. In front of the central part of the castle's south range, there is rectangular area measuring c.16m north-south by 20m east-west, defined by shallow scarps to either end, and with a small, sub-rectangular depression (a former structure?) at the south-east corner, open to the moat side

(*Site 1b*). Although there is no surviving evidence for any internal layout, this area shares many of the characteristics of the 'classic' late medieval castle garden as it appears in medieval illuminations, such as that of the Palais de la Cité in the Duke of Berry's *Très Riches Heures* (Longnon, Cazelles & Meiss 1969, 7 & 176), set close to the building's walls immediately below some of the principal chambers. Several late medieval castles in Yorkshire are argued to preserve a similar relationship between principal chambers and gardens, for example at Bolton and Middleham, both North Yorkshire (Moorhouse 1993, 19; Moorhouse 2003b, 323 & 329-330) but, as will be argued below, these examples differ from Wressle. It would also have been possible for gardens to have been located to the east of the south-east tower (*Site 1c*).

- 6.14 In contrast to the Moat Garden, the Old Garden can be confidently located to the immediate south of the south moat (*Site 3*) (see figure 14). The garden occupied a slightly raised plateau and was surrounded by a brick wall, and in 1610 it was noted to cover just over one acre. However, it is unlikely that the whole of the acre comprised gardens. The construction of a profile across the Old Garden demonstrates that from its north boundary, over the 65m to the south, the ground surface falls away quite slowly but then more steeply over the following 25m (see figure 15). It is suggested that any actual gardens within the Old Garden were set on this flatter area, towards the central part of the area enclosed by the brick wall. In terms of internal features, the very slightly raised sub-rectangular features (*Site 3e*), each measuring c.20m north-south by 15m east-west, could form a pair of raised garden enclosures set within an area defined by the curvilinear scarp to the south and the more prominent scarp to the east. In terms of size, they are too large to represent raised beds, but they have similar proportions to the enclosures making up a probable late 14th century garden at Ravensworth Castle, North Yorkshire (Richardson & Dennison 2014), and the possible hedged sub-divisions excavated within a 14th century garden at the former Augustinian Friary in Hull (Ayers 1993, 58-72). However, as discussed above, the possibility that they are house platforms or other features re-used from the pre-late 14th century layout of the village cannot be dismissed, and some of the north-south banks could well represent the remains of croft divisions. It is interesting to note that many of the 16th century descriptions refer to the Old Garden as an 'orchard', and it could be that the earthworks described above were a discrete, approximately central, garden surrounded by an area of tree planting which ran up to the brick wall. The term 'orchard' was often used in the sense of a pleasure ground during the later medieval period (Harvey 1981, 4; McClean 1981, 109), and the 16th century Wressle surveys may continue this usage.
- 6.15 It has not been possible to definitely locate the 'School House' building which existed within the Old Garden, and it seems curious that it should not be shown at all on the 1602 map (see figure 4), especially as it appears to have been an elaborate two storey structure, with an inner and outer chamber to the upper floor. Given that it was described as completely decayed in 1577, it may simply have collapsed beyond recognition, deemed not to have been important, or have been removed by the time the 1602 plan was drawn. Alternatively, it may be that it is represented by 'The Laundrie' (*Site 3d*) shown at the north-west corner of the Old Garden in 1602, the building perhaps having been put to a more prosaic use by this date. The Laundry was an important supporting department of the Wardrobe at royal residences during the 16th century, with Privy Laundries provided for members of the royal family. A laundry would more commonly have been located within the base or outer court, and was often grouped with a dairy, as both were commonly the domain of women (Thurley 1993, 75; Henderson 2005, 14); presumably the Wressle example was located here because of access to a water

supply from the moat. A third alternative could be that School House was located towards the centre of the Old Garden, on one of the garden enclosures describe above. Given that documentary evidence indicates that the 5th Earl read books in the School House and that the interior was decorated with stanzas of proverbs, one wonders if a Biblical metaphor was being made; the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil and the Tree of Life were both generally held to be located in the middle of the Garden of Eden.

- 6.16 The wider setting of the Old Garden is also of importance. In common with other late medieval gardens at Yorkshire castles, although arguments can be made as to how they were observed, it is often less clear how they were actually reached by those visiting them (Richardson & Dennison 2014). Often, there seems to be no direct physical or structural link to provide access between the high status chambers argued to overlook the gardens and the gardens themselves. At Wressle, to get from the castle to the Old Garden, the visitor would first have had to leave the castle itself, probably through the gatehouse in the east range, and then walked around the east, north and west ranges. An alternative (and much shorter) route would have been through the base court to the east of the castle. The c.1600 plan of the base court shows a doorway at the west end of the base court's south wall (see figure 3), very close to the gatehouse and south-east tower, and opening into the moated area to the east of the south-east tower (*Site 1c*). Might this have been a private, locked, doorway for visitors to the garden areas? Once the visitor had reached the north side of the south moat, it is assumed that, as in the 16th century, the Old Garden was reached by a bridge, crossing the moat. The bridge linked the Moat Garden and the Old Garden, and its most likely location was somewhere towards the western end of the south moat, where the latter was infilled before 1767. Having crossed the moat, there would have been a gate or doorway in the wall enclosing the Old Garden itself to negotiate.
- 6.17 Once the visitor was within the garden, the wider setting continued to play a part, for the height of the surrounding wall would have influenced what, if anything, could be seen beyond. The slightly raised bank (*Site 3a*) between the north side of the Old Garden and the south side of the south moat, which might represent an earlier village street (see above), could have been reused as a raised walkway, which seem to occur frequently in medieval gardens in conjunction with large linear water features such as moats, canals and ponds. At c.6.20m AOD, the top of the bank is set some 0.70m higher than the top of the north scarp of the adjacent moat, and so could have given views both into the garden and back towards the castle. However, it is difficult to reconcile the northward view with a fully enclosed garden, and it may be that the bank also marks the course of the brick wall here, rather than being a walkway. It is tempting to see the sub-rectangular mound at the east end of the bank as some sort of structure or raised platform, but the sharpness of definition when compared with most of the other earthworks here unfortunately suggests that it is more likely to relate to 19th or 20th century activity.
- 6.18 Moving further outwards, the placement of the Old Garden to the south of the castle, away from the Little Park to the north, is in contrast to some other recorded examples as it does not sit between the main residential area and the park, although a similar relationship has been noted at Ravensworth, North Yorkshire (Richardson & Dennison 2014). Here, the siting of the gardens may have been dictated by local topography and the re-modelling of an earlier ornamental landscape, but neither of these applies at Wressle. As is demonstrated by the construction of the New Garden in the early 16th century, the Old Garden could have been sited to the north of the castle, but a deliberate decision was taken to place it just beyond the south moat, a significant decision as it may well have led to

the abandonment of the former settlement here. As well as any visual relationship to the principal chambers (see below), there may have been a desire to take advantage of the proximity of the low-lying marshy ground to the immediate south and south-west to create the impression of a mere, a well-recognised element of what are proposed to be medieval designed or ornamental landscapes around castles. This impression would have been enhanced even further if the two fishponds (*Sites 5b and 5c*) to the east were present from a relatively early date. The description of the ponds given in a 1577 survey, that they were “*within the sd utter garden*” (Fisher 1954 vol 2, 58-59) (the ‘outer’ garden being the Old Garden) is interesting for several reasons. Firstly, it links the Old Garden and the ponds together as part of the same landscape of pleasure - was this the original medieval arrangement, or was this landscape expanded in the 16th century; the latter seems more likely if the ponds were dug from an earlier village green (see above). Secondly, it implies routes or walks from the Old Garden along or around the fish ponds. Thirdly, it implies that part of the castle’s ornamental landscape, to which it is assumed access was severely restricted, was sandwiched between house plots extending from the main east-west street to the north and the village’s open fields to the south; indeed, it may well have been visible from both. This brings into question how medieval ideas about privacy within an enclosed landscape may have differed from those of later periods (Richardson 2010, 40-41), and also what kinds of boundaries were maintained between the ornamental landscape of the castle and the manorial landscape of the village.

Observing the Late Medieval Gardens

- 6.19 A simplistic interpretation of viewing at Wressle would be merely to choose the windows opposite the garden areas, especially those in the highest status chambers, and to state that the gardens were placed so as to be visible from them. However, as has been summarised in Chapter 5 above, there are subtle differences between the windows, and some were subsequently altered. In addition, the height and position of features such as window seats, iron grilles and glazing also influenced what could be seen, as has been previously discussed at some length elsewhere (Richardson 2010, 20-26 & 43-44). Wall-walks, roof-walks and roof leads may also be important in the provision of views, and it must not be forgotten that providing a view was only one function of a window that may have been located within a richly furnished room, the interior of which could have equalled anything that could be seen externally (Richardson 2010, 43-44).
- 6.20 Dealing first with the windows, and those facing towards either the likely location of the Moat Garden, or to the Old Garden, those on the ground floor of the South Range can immediately be discounted (see figure 16). In their late 14th century form, they were all narrow, single-light, trefoil-headed windows, almost certainly all equipped with iron grilles. Internally, they had sills raised well above floor level and deep reveals, so that even though they may have looked towards the Moat Garden, they gave no view of it. There was also no direct access between the ground floor of the south range and the area between it and the moat in the medieval period. Moving to the first floor of the south-west tower, the original windows to both the west and south walls of the Lord’s/Gentleman’s Chamber were tall, were provided with window seats (in the form of opposed stone benches) and could also be stood in; those to the south wall were placed directly opposite the Old Garden, and indeed opposite that part suggested above to form garden enclosures surrounded by an orchard. The stone benches are 0.50m high, but the sills of all three windows were set at 1.35m above the floor of the window opening, meaning that even if the benches were provided with wooden covers and cushions, the viewer of average height would have struggled to have seen over the

sill when seated. If standing, they could have looked towards the Old Garden, but would have been looking through the cross-bars of the iron grille. There are no glazing slots to these windows, as there are to all of the chapel windows in the south-east tower, for example, and so if the windows were glazed in the medieval period, the glazing must presumably have been wired to the cross-bars, in the manner sometimes seen surviving in early post-medieval houses (Harrison & Hutton 1984, 195; Dennison, Richardson & Haigh 2001, 17); the c.1600 bird's eye view of the castle (Fisher 1937), and a drawing of the south front of the castle, probably of the 1770s, shows all of the windows to be glazed, although this could of course have been introduced after the medieval period (<http://gottcollection.hepworthwakefield.org/item/611>) (see figure 10 bottom). Alternatively, as has been argued elsewhere (Richardson 2010, 25 & 43), the bars may have been fitted more for security than glazing; viewing through bars, even from high status spaces, seems to have been the norm in late medieval Yorkshire (Richardson & Dennison 2014). A combination of the two functions (security and supporting window glass) is also possible, and perhaps the most plausible. The windows to the west and south walls of the second floor of the tower, the Lord's Lodging Chamber, were very similar to those on the first floor; again, the window sills are placed too high for the seated viewer.

6.21 Moving into the Great Chamber, on the first floor of the central part of the range, all three windows to the south wall were tall, were provided with window seats (in the form of opposed stone benches), iron grilles, and could also be stood in; all were placed directly opposite and above a possible element of the Moat Garden (*Site 1b*). The west window had the addition of a kerb running across the front of the window opening, which perhaps retained a wooden floor or foot rest within the base. Both of the outer windows have the same high sills as described in the south-west tower, but in the central window, because of the deeper lower lights, the measurement to the sill was only 1.10m, allowing a seated viewer of average height to look out comfortably. At the east end of the first floor, the window in the south wall of the Nether Chapel or nave was positioned opposite and above the same possible element of the Moat Garden (*Site 1b*); it too was provided with opposed stone benches, and a sill height set somewhere between those described above. On the second floor, at the west end, the south facing windows of the Lord's Studies were narrow, with raised sills and deep embrasures, and did not provide a good view.

6.22 In the first floor of the south-east tower, the High Chapel has tall windows to both the south and east walls, but these were fitted with fixed glazing (almost certainly including stained glass) and are anyway highly unlikely to have given a view towards anything, as the proper focus of those in attendance would have been on what was taking place within. Above, to the second floor, in the Lady's Chamber, only the window in the south wall is well preserved. It differs from many of the other windows on this side of the castle in several respects. As well as the iron grille socketed into the frame, both lights retain evidence for an eroded glazing slot set immediately behind the bar sockets. There is a stone bench to the east side of the opening only, with little evidence to suggest that there was ever another opposite, and at only c.1.0m high, the sill is low enough for a seated viewer to comfortably look out of the window; it may once have been even lower. The window is placed opposite and above part of the area enclosed by the moat (*Sites 1b and 1c*) and although there is no direct view of the Old Garden, the seat on the east side of the window would mean that a viewer could look towards it. On the third floor above, the 'Paradise' or Library again only has a well-preserved window to the south wall. However, later damage makes it difficult to be certain as to how it was originally fitted out. There may have been a low stone bench within the

window opening, running parallel to the window, with an unusual form to the window sill and two-leaf internal shutters to each light, one mounted above the other.

- 6.23 It is often proposed that there is a direct relationship between the high status female chambers or lodgings within a large medieval residential structure and gardens, with one overlooking the other. The surviving evidence at Wressle suggests a more complex and nuanced relationship. If Brears' (2010, 60) assertion that there is likely to have been a continuity of room purpose between the late 14th century and the 16th century, the best windows from which to look towards the Old Garden were placed on the first and second floors of the south-west tower in the male spaces. Their window sills were too high for a seated viewer to see out of them, and like all of the other windows in the south range, the view of a standing viewer was taken through an iron grille and possibly also glazing. The Great Chamber, another male-dominated space, did have a window where seated viewers could possibly have overlooked the Moat Garden, although those parts closest to the castle walls would have been hidden to them. The sole exclusively female space in the south range, the Lady's Chamber on the second floor of the south-east tower, was apparently the only one with fixed glazing to the windows, and a window seat in the south wall which provided an oblique view of the Old Garden. It could be argued that only two windows (to the Great Chamber and the Lady's Chamber) on the south side of the south range have a visual relationship with the gardens. Others, such as the outer windows in the south wall of the Great Chamber could have served other purposes, providing a space into which one could withdraw and converse with another in greater privacy, a necessary commodity in a room where between 16 and 27 servants were present for most of the day (Brears 2010, 79).
- 6.24 There was, of course, another view from the south range, to the north, into the inner courtyard. Within the Great Chamber, the same pattern is repeated as is present to the south wall, with all windows provided with window seats (opposed stone benches to the outer windows), but only the central window having a low enough sill for the seated viewer to see out of the window; the seats appear to have been of slightly different form. At the east end of the first floor, the north-facing window of the Nether Chapel or nave was equipped with window seats, but the west bench was approximately twice the width of the east bench. The sill of the window was set at 1.20m above the floor of the window opening, perhaps just low enough for a seated viewer of average height to see out of the window. To the second floor, at the west end, the north-facing windows of the Lord's Studies were narrow, with raised sills and deep embrasures, and did not provide a good view. To the east end, the two windows of the upper part of the Nether Chapel or nave were also not suited to viewing. Again, it appears that only in two windows, including that of the Great Chamber, was there the possibility of a seated viewer being able to observe what was taking place outside. Although this report has not dealt with the issue in detail, it is equally as important to understand who was able to observe who within the castle complex (what Creighton (2009, 65) describes as 'the landscape of the castle') as it is to understand the outward view.
- 6.25 Finally, there are the walks across the roof leads. Wilson (2002, 46-47 & 64-65) suggests that the virtually flat tower roofs at Windsor built during the 1357-1368 renewal of the Upper Ward may have had an amenity value, affording a panoramic view of a surrounding wooded hunting landscape. Windsor is proposed to have disseminated a taste for roof-top views, and Wilson cites Bolton, Sheriff Hutton and Vincennes castles as fashionably imitating the Upper Ward towers. However, detailed analysis at Harewood Castle, West Yorkshire, has demonstrated that

reaching the areas offering roof-top views necessitated some effort, requiring the negotiation of smoking chimneys, narrow gaps and precipitous ascents, and was not something to be undertaken in bad weather (Richardson 2010, 25-33). Until the analysis of the archaeological recording work at Wressle is complete, such discussions are not yet possible, and the situation is complicated by the possibility that rebuilding or alterations to the parapets and battlements could have taken place in the 16th century, the early 17th century or even later; in October 1648, the deliberate destruction undertaken was described thus: *“They fell upon the Constable’s Tower, and hath with much violence pursued the work on Thursday and Friday. Their agents would show no care in preserving any of the materials, but pitched off the stones from the battlements to the ground; and the chimneys that stood upon the Lead downe to the Leades, which made breaches through the roof where they fell. All the Battlements to the roofe, on the front of the Castle (excepting the high Tower over the Gate) are belt downe. What materials could be sav’d Mr. Plaxton did sett on some Tenants to take awaye, and laye in the bame. Believee it, Sir, his Lordship hath sustain’d very deepe losses in his house...”* (quoted in Rakoczy 2007, 101).

- 6.26 The account implies that it was the east range of the castle that was targeted, and so the extent of any damage to the south range at the same time remains unknown. Nevertheless, if its upper parts were targeted in the same way, given that the south range of the castle remained occupied until the very end of the 18th century, it is feasible that damaged battlements or parapets were rebuilt after the mid 17th century.
- 6.27 The roof apparently remained covered with lead until the fire of 1796 (Fisher 1954 vol 2, 76). There was clearly access to the roof-leads of both the south-east and the south-west towers, via the newel stairs within the towers (see plates 13 and 18). Access to the leads of the south-east tower was very restricted, due to the nature of the spaces that this newel stair linked, and the staircase itself rose to the top of the stair turret, also thus allowing a view from the top. Access to the leads of the south-west tower was less restricted in terms of the number of spaces with which the newel stairs communicated, but in practice could have been made more so by the use of lockable doors. Once on the leads, the roofs of both surviving towers display a similar pattern of survival to that of the parapet walls (see plates 13 and 18). At the corners around each stair turret, the walls were higher and formed full battlements. These stepped down away from the turret, to become much lower and without crenellations (see plates 17 and 19); the only exception was the west parapet of the south-west tower, which was slightly higher, although it is not currently known if it was surmounted by crenellations or not. The lower surviving form of the parapet walls is in contrast to the form shown on the c.1600 plans.
- 6.28 The structural evidence (principally the roof scars) demonstrates that this arrangement of parapets was in place when the roof was still covered with lead, and furthermore, at least to the south-west tower, the lead sheeting was articulated in relation to both the drains and the chimneys. However, this again contrasts partly with the evidence of the c.1600 plans. At the time of writing, on balance, the combined structural and documentary evidence appears to indicate that the tops of the towers were once fully crenellated on all sides, with the loops set c.0.80m above the leads and the merlons c.1.80m above; there may have been a walkway around the inside of the parapet. At some point, almost certainly after c.1650 and as a result of slighting activity, the parapet was very carefully rebuilt to a lower height and the roofs re-leaded. If this was the case, then it would be important for a number of reasons. A previous analysis of the wall walks at Harewood Castle

(Richardson 2010, 25-32) assumed, perhaps incorrectly, that the battlements were all of the same height and form, although a more recent discussion of the same features at Ravensworth (Richardson & Dennison 2014) highlights evidence for differences in height around the castle's perimeter. The evidence from Wressle might support that seen at Harewood. At Wressle, the battlements around the stair turrets would have provided shelter to those coming on and off the roof through the turret's doorway, while the loops were low enough to look out between. The parapet wall along the north side of the central part of the range was presumably of the same height; if the Lord or Lady were using this as a route to reach one another's chambers, then one would have expected some degree of shelter and perhaps also a wooden walkway over the leads. Furthermore, the evidence for deliberate demolition of the battlements on the towers can be related to what is known of slighting activity between 1646 and 1650, while the subsequent deliberate and careful rebuilding of the lower parapet and re-leading of the roof sheds an interesting light on post-1650 attitudes to the south range as a residence. Following the rebuilding, the very low parapets to the towers' south sides (less than 0.40m in height when the leaded roof was present) would have provided a superb, if somewhat dangerous, view of the garden areas and beyond. They cannot have been an attractive prospect in wet or windy weather, and this also raises the question of how often the roof leads were visited in the post c.1650 period.

6.29 Within the broad parameters of Question 2 (What was the form of the late medieval gardens and how were they observed?), and using the information detailed above, a number of subsidiary queries can be proposed:

- What was the extent of the gardens to the south of the castle, and was there a wider ornamental landscape incorporating ponds and a mere?
- Was there a visual relationship between the gardens and predominantly male, rather than female, spaces?
- How far away and above the gardens was the viewer stood or seated in a window? How does this compare to other gardens where the same calculations have been undertaken (for example, see Richardson & Dennison 2014)?
- Do the surviving parapet and battlement structures to the south range represent the original late 14th century form, or are they a much later reconstruction?

Question 3: What Changes were Undertaken to the Landscape Setting of the Castle in the 16th Century, and were there Changes in how it was Observed?

What Changes were Undertaken to the Landscape Setting of the Castle?

6.30 By the time that Henry Percy (1477-1527), 5th Earl of Northumberland, undertook his extensive refurbishment of the castle in two successive phases between 1498-1516 and 1524-1527, any late 14th century gardens would almost certainly have been considered desperately old fashioned. It is a reasonable assumption, therefore, that the gardens were updated on contemporary lines, and it is also reasonable to assume, given the nature of Henry Percy's internal refurbishment works and the opulence of his household, that any new garden works would have been at the forefront of contemporary fashion; comparisons with English royal gardens of the period are quite feasible. It is of course quite possible that the

landscape setting was embellished later in the 16th century, after the 5th Earl's death, during the period of Crown ownership, for example, so not all alterations should be immediately ascribed to Henry Percy.

- 6.31 It is probable that the banqueting house and/or bayne at the south-west internal corner of the moat ('D' on figure 4) belongs to the 16th century, rather than before. Banqueting houses are known within medieval parks from the late 14th century (Moorhouse 2003b, 329 & 353), and are a common feature of 16th century gardens, although the structure at Wressle was not a banqueting house in the sense that would normally be understood in a garden of this period, as it was associated with bathing. Bathing suites were commonly installed in medieval noble and royal households (Matthews 2009, 99-106). Henry VIII was installing new bathrooms in his various houses from 1529 onwards, and in that year, he built a new 'bayne tower' at Hampton Court, which comprised his own private luxury suite over three levels, with a bathroom to the first floor (Thurley 1993, 170). These bathrooms are all internal structures (in that they were part of a larger residential complex), but there are also contemporary references to outdoor bathing structures. In the garden at Theobalds, Hertfordshire, created by William Cecil in the third quarter of the 16th century, there was 'a summerhouse' which had lead cisterns to the upper part; water was piped into them, and in the summer 'they are very convenient for bathing' (Henderson 2005, 85). The 16th century structure known as Queen Mary's Bath House at Holyrood in Scotland once adjoined the Privy Garden of the royal residence, although some doubt has been cast on its supposed bathing function (Cooper 1999, 826-830). There are other examples, and also fountains which may have acted something like outdoor plunge pools in hot weather (Henderson 2005, 191-193) - indeed, something very like this appears in numerous late 15th and early 16th century Books of Hours illustrating the story of David and Bathsheba (Vadillo 2008).
- 6.32 It is difficult to find exact parallels for the structure at Wressle, although significantly, the closest comes from within the moated area at the nearby Percy residence of Leconfield. In 1539, a survey noted that: "*at the Northsyde of the Halle there ys a fayer gardyn well kepte and at the 1 ende thereof plesaute banketyng howses and in one of them a fayre bayne and stewe ...*" (Fisher 1954 vol 1, 59). The bayne at Leconfield had a garret set above it, where 16 pairs of verses appear to have been written to accompany drawn depictions, perhaps allegorical figures illustrating the positive physical aspects of life, including music, gardens, wisdom, friends, good council and good manners (Brears 2010, 99-100).
- 6.33 Unfortunately, the banqueting house or bayne at Wressle has left only a very few traces above ground in the form of earthworks (*Site 1a*). The plans made in c.1600 and 1602 suggest a building perhaps c.7m square, tower-like in form and with a painted roof; earlier surveys show that it was located at one end of a garden within the castle's moat, as was the bayne at Leconfield. It seems most likely that the banqueting space was located on the upper floor, with the baths set on the ground floor. At Wressle, the location of the bayne right on the south-west angle of the moat raises the possibility that the bathing facilities within were either provided with water from the moat, or even connected to the moat and allowed swimming within it. The moat was clearly kept clean, in line with the contemporary practice at royal moated residences (Thurley 1993, 172), as in 1579 a new boat was built for the purpose, 12 days a year being spent on the task (Fisher 1954 vol 2, 64-65); the same task is detailed at Leconfield in 1538, when 1s 8d was paid to Peter Crake of Beverley "*for ropes to construct a contrivance for cleaning the weeds out of the moat*" (Fisher 1954 vol 1, 66). One wonders if the Wressle boat was kept in the inlet or dock shown at the north-west corner of the moat in c.1600 and 1602.

Brears (2010, 72) suggests this inlet was for barges to carry barrels of beer from the adjacent brewhouse down the River Derwent and beyond as far as the wharfs of the Percy residential complex at Topcliffe, and one of the c.1600 plans it is indeed labelled "The Indraught from the mote to Serve the brewhouse" (Fisher 1937). While it is certain that the Derwent formed an important transport route to and from Wressle, and there appears to have been a dock or landing place associated with the village, the proximity of the moat to the river would seem to make a watercourse connecting the two unnecessary, and indeed, no connection is shown on the historic maps. Furthermore, there seems to be little documentary or physical evidence for such a watercourse, and the survey work that would establish the difference in height between the castle's moat and the Derwent has yet to be undertaken; the difference would have a very great influence on the route of any watercourse, its necessary depth and form.

- 6.34 There is another possible 16th century garden building within the EDAS survey area, and in contrast to the bayne, this survives (*Site 2d*) (see plate 7). The structure is shown on the c.1600 plan of the base court in more or less its current form, and the earliest brickwork used is also indicative of a 16th century date. Its position, and especially the angled form of the south side, might suggest that it is the only surviving element of some sort of intermediate gatehouse or gate structure, set between the gatehouse to the base court and that in the castle's east range; the partly legible text on the c.1600 base court plan may also support this interpretation. In this case, it is likely that the brick structure would have been mirrored to the north, these brick bases forming the support for a brick or timber-framed first floor over. Given that the (dry) east moat appears to have continued through the arch of the structure into the base court area, it might even have incorporated a drawbridge. Alternatively, there could have been a paired arrangement of lodges, like the forecourt lodges sometimes present in the most lavish of later 16th century houses (Henderson 2005, 56-59). However, a third possibility is that it is some sort of garden building, principally because the only access to the interior appears to have been from the area (*Site 1c*) within the moated area east of the south-east tower, very likely to have been adjacent to part of the Moat Garden. Could there have been some kind of small banqueting house, pavilion, belvedere or other observation point on the upper level, looking south down the east moat? Its location next to the base court would not have been ideal but, as Leland commented, the base court was a later addition to the castle, and its chronology and construction has not received detailed study; the brick structure might feasibly pre-date it.
- 6.35 The alleys for bowling and walks noted in 16th century surveys within the Old Garden were a common feature of noble and royal gardens from the early 16th century onwards. They could be either covered or open, and one built for Henry VIII at Grafton in 1536-37 was attached to the north side of an orchard - great care was taken in their preparation, and they could be substantial structures; they were generally 20ft wide but examples at Whitehall and Hampton Court were between 160ft and 230ft long (Thurley 1993, 188-190). None of the earthworks recorded within the Old Garden area could be positively identified as an alley, but the most likely location would probably have been along the east or west sides. The painted verses recorded within the School House indicate that, if it was a late medieval building pre-dating the works of the 5th Earl, then it may well have been refurbished as part of these works.
- 6.36 The major addition to the garden setting of the castle in the 16th century was the moated New Garden to the north. Documentary evidence suggests that it was created at some point between 1472 and 1517, and it seems likely that it belongs

to the works of the 5th Earl. It was a very substantial feature, c.80m square, surrounded by a water-filled moat perhaps 10m wide. The interior may have been reached by a bridge, although there is no indication of a bridge on any of the known plans and maps showing the New Garden. Alternatively, it is possible that a boat was used; in 1598, at Theobalds, Hertfordshire, one of the pleasures of the garden was being able to row a boat around the encompassing moat, between the shrubs (Henderson 2005, 85), although a garden without any bridged access at Wressle must surely have been difficult for gardeners to maintain if all materials had to be moved across water. In terms of the internal layout, the only known indication is given on the 1624 plan of Wressle (see figure 7). The scale of the map is such that it is difficult to be certain, but it appears that what was being crudely indicated was a quartered arrangement, essentially cruciform pathways dividing the garden into four equal parts, with a quarter circle to each quadrant. This design might broadly be thought to be mid 16th century or after and influenced by French pattern books, rather than earlier, although it could be a crudely drawn representation of some of the intricate geometric garden designs present in Italian pattern books of the earlier 16th century (Henderson 2005, 96). One would also have expected the garden to contain knots, topiary and other planting designs, pathways, statuary and ornaments, and perhaps even birds and animals. The mention of 'knots' in relation to the gardener's duties in the 1512 *Northumberland Household Book* is interesting and, as it must relate to either Wressle or Leconfield, appears to be an early one for the north of England; 'knots' appears to have been a commonly understood garden term by the late 15th century (Crisp 1924, 59; Harvey 1981, 112-113), although many of the early references given relate to royal residences. It therefore seems curious that the New Garden receives so little notice in the 16th century surveys. Perhaps it became abandoned or neglected soon after the 5th Earl's death. It may be significant that in 1541, when Henry VIII stayed at Wressle, money was spent repairing the wall around the Old Garden. If the New Garden had been neglected for some time, it may have been more economical to spruce up the Old Garden for the relatively short duration of the King's visit, and perhaps his accommodation was in the south-west tower, thus overlooking the Old Garden.

Observing the 16th Century Gardens

- 6.37 As has been noted above, the suggestion has been made that the oriel window on the first floor of the south-west tower might have been inserted in the mid 15th century during the period of control by Ralph Lord Cromwell (Erik Matthews, *pers. comm.*), or that it belongs to the late 15th/early 16th century works of the 5th Earl. At present, it is not possible to definitely confirm either date. The oriel was a tall structure, apparently glazed, and projecting from the wall face. It would have given a view over any part of the Moat Garden that was located to the immediate south of the castle, with the decoration to its base suggesting that it too was designed to be seen from within the garden. It might also have had a visual relationship with the bayne to the south-west. Henderson proposes that at the Little Castle at Bolsover Castle (completed after 1617), an arrangement was deliberately created using an enclosed garden, a fountain with a statue of a woman and very restricted viewing points, which referred to David and Bathsheba, and which was part of the theme of temptation, fall and redemption contained within the building (Henderson 2005, 208-210). Could something similar have been in place at Wressle, with the oriel window in the Lord's chamber giving a restricted and privileged view towards the bathing area?
- 6.38 Other than the oriel window, all the new windows inserted into the south range of the castle during the 16th century were restricted to the ground floor (see figure

16). The exception was the mullioned window of three lights with fixed glazing in the north wall of the anteroom at the west end of the first floor of the range's central part. This would have provided a good view towards the Old Garden to the south, but importantly, because of its location, the south-west tower blocked any view further west towards the bayne. There is evidence however that the form of window barring and glazing was changed, although it is not certain that this was done in the 16th century. The lower lights of the central and east windows in the north wall of the Great Chamber, the window in the north wall of the first floor Nether Chapel to the east of the Great Chamber, and the south-facing window in the Paradise on the south-east tower's third floor all preserve replacement window bars, which are flatter and less substantial than the late 14th century originals. They would be more suitable to either hold glazing or have glazing attached to them; the 1567 survey of Alnwick Castle (Northumberland) recommended that window glass should be removed and stored when the Lord was not present to avoid damage by strong winds (Brears 2010, 100-101). In his c.1765 sketchbook, Mr Bell shows what looks like *in situ* glazing in one of the Great Chamber windows (Stone 2013, 17). However, if the flatter bars do relate to changes in glazing, it is unclear why there should only be evidence for them in a limited number of windows. The shallow cut-outs to the lower lights of the north-facing central window of the Great Chamber are also of interest. Their form and placement is reminiscent of the wooden lattices held within a frame and placed within unglazed windows, often depicted in late medieval and early post-medieval illustrations in conjunction with window seats (for example, see Bussagli 1967, plate 7). These would have shaded the person seated at the window, but would also have served to obscure them from the outside while allowing them to observe what was taking place through the window.

6.39 Within the broad parameters of Question 3 (What changes were undertaken to the landscape setting of the castle in the 16th century, and were there changes in how it was observed?), and using the information detailed above, a number of subsidiary queries can be proposed:

- Do the apparent parallels between garden structures, the use of painted verses, and library rooms at Wressle, Leconfield and other Percy residences demonstrate that an attempt was made to create a common landscape at each different complex?
- When was the base court established and how did it develop? Although the existing farm buildings of the base court are generally ascribed to the 18th century, their plan form and overall layout is very similar to the plan of the base court shown in c.1600, and therefore although they may not preserve built structures of the 16th century, they may well perpetuate the 16th century arrangements. The whole base court area at Wressle has been neglected academically, and needs further detailed survey and investigation.
- What was the internal layout of the New Garden, and why was it seemingly abandoned relatively quickly after it had been established?
- Further comparisons need to be made between the evidence for window barring and glazing at Wressle and other contemporary buildings, to try to better establish their original form and how they may have been changed subsequently.

Question 4: What Happened to the Landscape Setting of the Castle after c.1600?

- 6.40 Fisher (1954 vol 2, 67) was of the opinion that by 1613 all the castle gardens were abandoned, except for the part reserved for the Keeper of the Castle, which he suggested was probably the small plot to the immediate south of the castle but inside the moat. This view is both supported and undermined by the documentary information. In support, the probably more accurate 1610 plan shows a narrow strip of land in line with the east-west main street through the village running along the south side of the south moat, which then turned through 90 degrees to the north to run along the outside of the west moat (see figure 6); earthwork evidence for this strip, and associated planting, was recorded on the western boundary of the EDAS survey area. It has been previously suggested that this narrow strip of land represents the former continuation of the main village street. In addition, the presence of a laundry at the north-west corner of the Old Garden in 1602, a structure more commonly found in the base or outer court, indicates that the status of the garden area had been downgraded. Nevertheless, the wooden bridge which linked the moat garden and the Old Garden was apparently rebuilt between 1577 and 1613, perhaps indicating that some of the early 17th century expenditure on the castle did indeed encompass these areas, although admittedly by then access could have been for functional rather than pleasurable reasons. It is quite possible that whatever remained of the three gardens in the early 17th century was further damaged by the events of 1648-1650, although late 18th century drawings of the castle bring into question how comprehensive the demolition of 1650 actually was, and whether what remained to be drawn in the 1770s was the result of this demolition or an intervening 120 years of salvage dismantling, stealing and natural decay.
- 6.41 By the second half of the 18th century, the south-west corner of the moat had been infilled, and a brick wall erected around the area between the castle and the south moat. The New Garden had also disappeared, with changes undertaken to the Little Park immediately to the north of the castle. The former Old Garden and house plots to the south of the south moat were gradually amalgamated into a single enclosure during the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century. The area to the south of Castle Farm farmhouse within the survey area may have been deliberately levelled in the early 19th century to create a garden or small parkland setting associated with the farmhouse. There was a short-lived brickyard in the south-west part of the survey area, which had become disused by the mid 19th century. The earthworks within the survey area were affected by drainage works throughout the 20th century, and the major boundaries shown in the 19th century were gradually removed, resulting in a single open field.
- 6.42 Within the broad parameters of Question 4 (What happened to the landscape setting of the castle after c.1600?), and using the information detailed above, a number of subsidiary queries can be proposed:
- What works took place at the castle in the early 17th century and did these affect its landscape setting, and is there any evidence for the continued usage of the former garden areas for other purposes?
 - What effect did major 19th and 20th century landscaping works, principally the construction of the railway embankment and the flood bund, have on the survey area? Was all material used to build these features brought into the survey area, or was some obtained from within it?

7 CONCLUSIONS

- 7.1 The interpretations stemming from the survey work undertaken on the gardens at Wressle Castle have initially centred around the relationship between the chambers, windows and roof-walks of the castle and the various gardens (and the structures within them) which existed around the building between the late 14th and early 17th centuries. This has allowed comparison with those relationships previously noted or explored at other late medieval Yorkshire castles and residences.
- 7.2 Arguably, Wressle has a number of advantages over many of these other residences. Firstly, it is much better documented, which has allowed the detailed reconstruction of the interior, internal fixtures and finishes, and the day-to-day functioning of the household during the early 16th century. Secondly, the castle is set within a flat landscape, not just in terms of its immediate setting but also extending over far greater distances. Not only does this make it easier to be more specific about what may (or may not) have been visible from a particular place, as opposed to a castle on a hill or valley slope where one can make an argument for almost anything being visible, but it offers a contrast to those late 14th century castles, such as Harewood in West Yorkshire, which made deliberate use of a slope setting. Nevertheless, profiles constructed across the immediate setting of Wressle Castle have demonstrated that even here, small differences in the height of the local ground level formed an important part of the ornamental features laid out around the structure. Thirdly, the ongoing wider archaeological recording of the castle is providing the detailed structural information necessary to complement that obtained from documentation and earthwork survey, in order to begin to gain a proper understanding of late medieval and early post-medieval viewing practices.
- 7.3 At Wressle, the construction of the castle in the late 14th century, followed by the base court and the Little Park, may successively have had different impacts on the morphology of the village. The late 14th century works, to be properly understood, must themselves be seen in the context of the earlier development of the settlement and its proximity to the river Derwent. The morphology of the village continued to change throughout the medieval and early post-medieval period, with the survey also recording evidence for both the amalgamation and sub-division of plots which is also illustrated in the documentary record.
- 7.4 In terms of the medieval gardens, by the late 15th century, and most probably from the late 14th century onwards, the castle was provided with two gardens, the Moat Garden and the Old Garden. The former was likely to be located between the castle's south range and the south moat, whilst the latter was set to the immediate south of the south moat. The Old Garden was surrounded by a brick wall and covered just over one acre; internally, it may have had a discrete, approximately central, garden surrounded by an area of orchard which ran up to the brick wall. It contained a building later known as the 'School House', an elaborate two storey structure within which painted verses were noted during the early 16th century. The siting of the Old Garden contrasts with other recorded examples, but shares common characteristics with a mere setting previously recognised at what are proposed to be medieval designed or ornamental landscapes around castles. By the later 16th century, the Old Garden was apparently combined with two large ornamental fishponds to the south to form an 'outer garden'. The ongoing structural recording work at the castle has demonstrated that there are subtle differences between the windows looking towards or away from the gardens, and some were subsequently altered. In addition, the height and position of features such as window seats, iron grilles and glazing also influenced what could be seen.

There does not appear to have been a direct relationship between the high status female chambers or lodgings within the castle as has been proposed at other sites, but a more complex one involving both male and female viewing.

- 7.5 By the time that Henry Percy, 5th Earl of Northumberland, undertook his extensive refurbishment of the castle in two successive phases between 1498-1516 and 1524-1527, any late 14th century gardens would almost certainly have been considered desperately old fashioned. It is a reasonable assumption, therefore, that the gardens were updated on contemporary lines, and it also reasonable to assume, given the nature of Henry Percy's refurbishments and the opulence of his household, that any new garden works would have been at the forefront of contemporary fashion; comparisons with English royal gardens of the period are quite feasible. One of the most potentially interesting structures within the 16th century gardens at Wressle was the banqueting house or 'bayne' located at the south-west internal corner of the moat. Although examples of bathing suites or external baths are known from other residences, it is difficult to find exact parallels for the structure at Wressle, although significantly, one of the closest comes from the nearby Percy residence of Leconfield, raising the possibility that an attempt was made to create a common landscape at each different complex. The Wressle bayne is of particular interest because its location suggests that the bathing facilities within were either provided with water from the moat, or even connected to the moat and allowed swimming within it. Documentary evidence demonstrates that the moat was subject to regular cleaning using a boat specially built for the purpose, in line with the contemporary practice at royal moated residences.
- 7.6 The major addition to the garden setting of the castle in the 16th century was the moated New Garden to the north. Documentary evidence suggests that it was created at some point between 1472 and 1517, and it seems likely that it too belongs to the works of the 5th Earl. It was a very substantial feature, surrounded by a wide, water-filled moat. In terms of the internal layout, the only known indication is given on a plan of 1624, perhaps a crude indication of a quartered arrangement, essentially cruciform pathways dividing the garden into four equal parts, with a quarter circle to each quadrant. One would also have expected the garden to contain knots, topiary and other planting designs, pathways, statuary and ornaments, and perhaps even birds and animals. The mention of 'knots' in relation to the gardener's duties in the 1512 *Northumberland Household Book* is interesting and, as it must relate to either Wressle or Leconfield, appears to be an early one for the north of England. It therefore seems curious that the New Garden receives so little notice in the 16th century surveys. Perhaps it became abandoned or neglected soon after the 5th Earl's death. It may be significant that in 1541, when Henry VIII stayed at Wressle, money was spent repairing the wall around the Old Garden. If the New Garden had been neglected for some time, it may have been more economical to spruce up the Old Garden for the relatively short duration of the King's visit.
- 7.7 By the early 17th century, all of the gardens, perhaps with the exception of a small part of the former Moat Garden to the immediate south of the castle's south range, had probably been abandoned. There may have been some expenditure on the landscape setting of the castle during the early 17th century, but evidence is as yet scant. It is quite possible that whatever remained of the three gardens in the early 17th century was further damaged by the events of 1648-1650, although late 18th century drawings of the castle bring into question how comprehensive the demolition of 1650 actually was, and whether what remained to be drawn in the 1770s was the result of this demolition or an intervening 120 years of salvage dismantling, stealing and natural decay. The structural survey work has also

recorded important evidence for possible slighting activity and post-1650 rebuilding of the battlements which is relevant to an understanding of the castle's landscape setting. This landscape continued to change throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, with boundaries being removed to amalgamate former sub-divisions into larger units.

8 BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIHR = Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York Library
ERAO = East Riding Archive Office, Beverley
WSA = West Sussex Archives (Petworth Collection), Chichester
YAS = Yorkshire Archaeological Society Archives, Leeds

Primary Sources

- c.1600 Plan of Wressle Castle and Base Court (WSA PHA 3543)
- 1602 Untitled plan of Wressle Castle and Environs (WSA PHA 3547)
- early C17th "The West Part of the plan of Wressell in the County of York containing the Towne, Scites of Wressell and Loftsom and the great Parke with the grounds to them adioyning" (Falkingham Collection)
- c.1610 "A survey of the Manors and Parishes of Wressle, Newsham, Loftsome and Brend belonging to the Earl of Northumberland by Ralph Treswell" (Falkingham Collection; photographic copy held in WSA Garland N39261 and YAS MS1285/3)
- 1624 "The contracted Plan of the Mannor of Wressell in ye County of York, being the inheritance of the right ho^{ble} The Earle of Northumberland; made and renewed by Robert Norton 1624" (Falkingham Collection)
- c.1765 *Ornament of Wressel Castle in Yorkshire given me by Mr Bell the architect employ'd in restoring Alnwick Castle 1765* (YAS MS349)
- 1767 "A Plan of the Manors and Parishes of Wressle, Newsham, Loftsome and Brend in the County of York belonging to the Right Honourable George Earl of Egremont Revised from an Old Plan taken about the Year 1610 by Thomas Brown and James Crow 1767" (Falkingham Collection; photographic copy in YAS MS1285/17-18)
- 1770 "A south view of the remains of Wressil Castle, the property of the Earl of Egremont. Taken in 1770" (ERAO PH/2/320)
- 1774 Unnamed engraving of south front of Wressle Castle (ERAO DDX 773/1)
- 1823 "Wressle Castle, Yorkshire, as it appeared before the Fire in 1796" (ERAO PH/2/320)
- 1836 "Wressle Castle, near Howden, York. From an original drawing by W Nesfield, engraved by J Sands" (ERAO DDX 733/3)
- 1839 Tithe Commutation. The Parish of Wressle in the East Riding of the County of York (BIHR)
- 1854 Ordnance Survey 6" to 1 mile map Yorkshire sheet 222 (surveyed 1849-1851)
- 1937 Collection of tracings from c.1600 plans and birds-eye views of Wressle Castle made by Fisher from originals in WSA (YAS)

Secondary Sources

- Anon 1770 *The Regulations and Establishment of the Household of Henry Algeron Percy, the Fifth Earl of Northumberland, at his Castles of Wresill and Leginfield in Yorkshire began Anno Domini MDXII*
- Ayers, B 1993 'Excavations in the Augustinian Friary Garden (Sites MG 76A and BF 76)'. In Evans, D (ed) *Excavations in Hull 1975-76 (East Riding Archaeologist (4) (Hull Old Town Report Series No. 2), 57-73*
- Bilson, J *et al* 1913 'Wressle Castle'. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* vol 22, 182-193
- Blood, N K & Taylor, C C 1992 'Cawood: an Archiepiscopal Landscape'. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* vol 64, 83-102
- Bowden, M (ed) 1999 *Unravelling the Landscape: an Inquisitive Approach to Archaeology*
- Brears, P 2010 'Wressle Castle: Functions, Fixtures and Furnishings for Henry Percy 'The Magnificent' fifth Earl of Northumberland, 1498-1527'. *The Archaeological Journal*, 167, 55-114
- Bulmer's 1892 Directory for Wressle (available at <http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/YKS/ERY/Wressle/Wressle92.html>)
- Bussagli, M 1967 *Bosch: The Life and Work of the Artist Illustrated with 80 Colour Plates*
- Cooper, S 1999 'Ornamental Structures in the Medieval Gardens of Scotland'. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* vol 129, 817-841
- Creighton, O 2009 *Designs Upon the Land: Elite Landscapes of the Middle Ages*
- Crisp, F 1924 *Mediaeval Gardens, 'Flowery Medes' and other Arrangements of Herbs, Flowers and Shrubs grown in the Middle Ages, with some account of Tudor, Elizabethan and Stuart Gardens*, 2 vols
- Curl, J 1977 *English Architecture: An Illustrated Glossary*
- Dennison, E 2005 'The Plan Form of the Village'. In Dennison, E (ed) *Within the Pale: The Story of Sheriff Hutton Park*, 10-16
- Dennison, E & Richardson, S 2011 *Burton Constable Deserted Medieval Village, Burton Constable Hall, East Yorkshire: Level 3 Archaeological and Historical Survey* (unpublished EDAS archive report 2009/366.R01 for the Burton Constable Foundation)
- Dennison, E, Richardson, S, & Haigh, S 2001 *Headley Hall Farm, Thornton, West Yorkshire: Architectural Recording* (unpublished interim EDAS archive report 2000/115.R01 for English Heritage and the Drake family)
- Emery, A 1996 *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales: Volume 1 Northern England*
- English Heritage 2007 *Understanding the Archaeology of Landscapes: A Guide to Good Recording Practice*

English Heritage 2002 *With Alidade and Tape: Graphical and Plane Table Survey of Archaeological Earthworks*

English Heritage 1999 *Recording Archaeological Field Monuments: A Descriptive Specification*

Everson, P 1998 "'Delightfully Surrounded with Woods and Ponds": Field Evidence for Medieval Gardens in England'. In Pattison, P (ed) *There by Design: Field Archaeology in Parks and Gardens - Papers Presented at a Conference Organised by the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England and the Garden History Society*, 32-38

Fisher, E 1954 (vol 1) 'The Lordship of Leconfield'. *Some Yorkshire Estates of the Percies 1450-1650 [Leconfield, Spofforth, Topcliffe and Wressel]*, 2 vols (vol 1, 1-129) (unpublished PhD thesis, Department of History, University of Leeds; copy deposited with the Yorkshire Archaeological Society)

Fisher, E 1954 (vol 2) 'The Lordship of Wressel'. *Some Yorkshire Estates of the Percies 1450-1650 [Leconfield, Spofforth, Topcliffe and Wressel]*, 2 vols (vol 2, 1-139) (unpublished PhD thesis, Department of History, University of Leeds; copy deposited with the Yorkshire Archaeological Society)

Grose, F 1784 *The Antiquities of England and Wales vol 6* (new edition)

Harrison, B & Hutton, B 1984 *Vernacular Houses in North Yorkshire and Cleveland*

Harrison, B J B & Roberts, B K 1989 'The Medieval Landscape'. In Spratt, D A & Harrison, B J D (eds) *The North York Moors Landscape Heritage*, 72-112

Harvey, J 1981 *Mediaeval Gardens*

Henderson, P 2005 *The Tudor House and Garden: Architecture and Landscape in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries*

Hey, D 2005 *A History of Yorkshire*

Hislop, M 2007 *John Lewyn of Durham: A Medieval Mason in Practice* (British Archaeological Reports British Series 438)

Hoole, K 1978 *A Regional History of the Railways of Great Britain: Volume 4 The North East*

Lognon, J, Cazelles, R & Meiss M 1969 *The Très Riches Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry*

Matthews, E 2009 'A Possible Later Medieval Bath at Whorlton Castle near Stokesley, North Yorkshire'. *Durham Archaeological Journal* vol 18, 99-106

McLean, T 1981 *Medieval English Gardens*

Moorhouse, S 2003b 'Anatomy of the Yorkshire Dales: Decoding the Medieval Landscape'. In Manby, T G, Moorhouse, S & Ottaway, P (eds) *The Archaeology of Yorkshire: An Assessment at the Beginning of the 21st Century*, 293-362

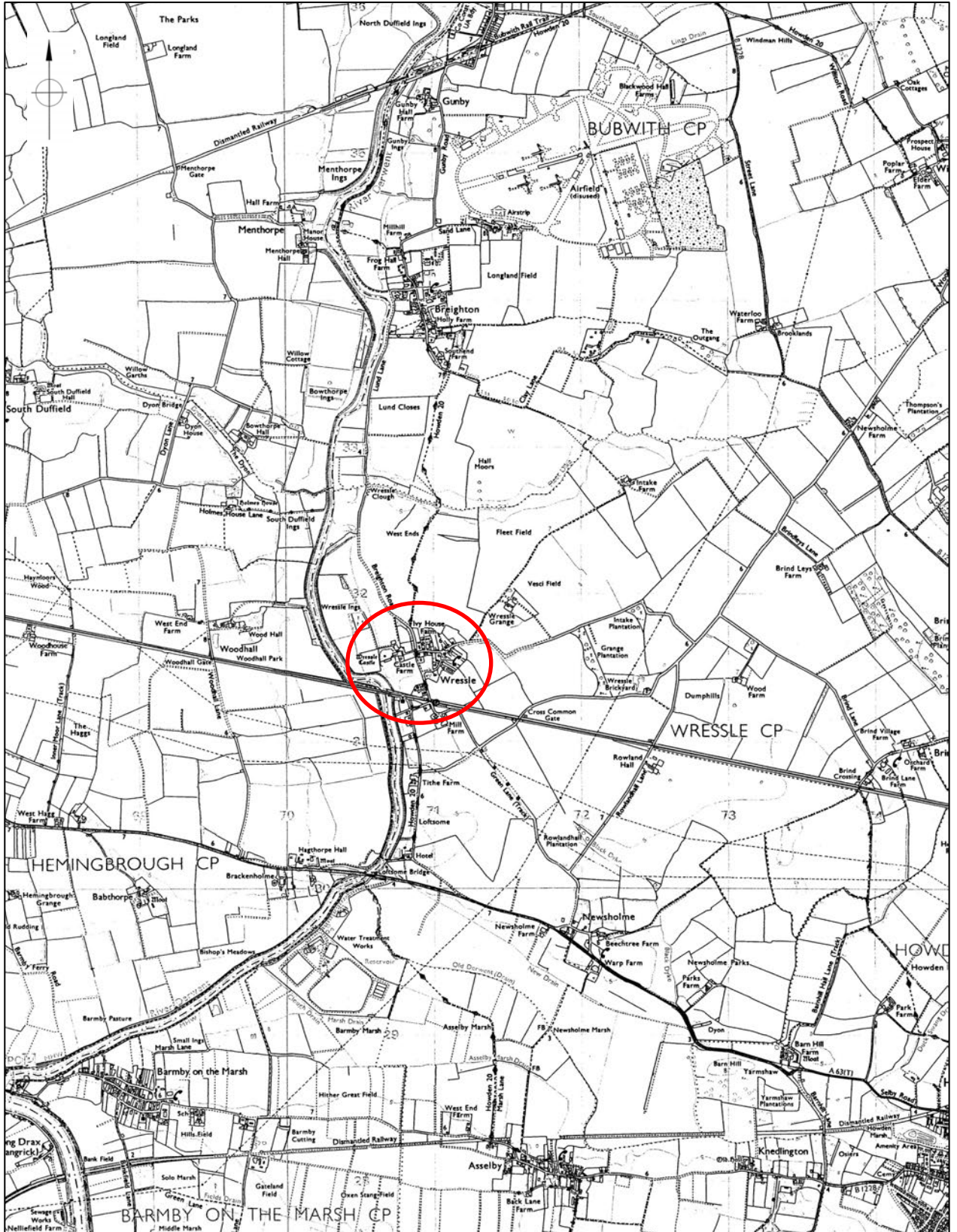
- Moorhouse, S 2003a 'Medieval Yorkshire: a Rural Landscape for the Future'. In Manby, T G, Moorhouse, S & Ottaway, P (eds) *The Archaeology of Yorkshire: An Assessment at the Beginning of the 21st Century*, 181-214
- Moorhouse, S 1993 'Recent Work by S Moorhouse and Associates'. *CBA Forum (Annual Newsletter of CBA Yorkshire) for 1993*, 19-25
- Neave, S 1991 *Medieval Parks of East Yorkshire*
- Pevsner, N & Neave, D 1995 *The Buildings of England Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*
- Rakoczy, L 2007 *Archaeology of Destruction: A Reinterpretation of Castle Slightings in the English Civil War* (unpublished D. Phil. thesis, Department of Archaeology, University of York)
- Richardson, S 2010 'A Room with a View? Looking Outwards from Late Medieval Harewood'. *The Archaeological Journal* vol 167, 14-54
- Richardson, S & Dennison, E 2014 'A Wall with a View? The Gardens at Ravensworth Castle, North Yorkshire'. *Landscape History* vol 35(2), 21-38.
- Richardson, S & Dennison, E 2013 *Harewood Castle, Harewood, West Yorkshire: Archaeological and Architectural Survey and Recording* (unpublished EDAS Ltd archive report 2002/212.R01 (3 vols) for the Harewood Estate)
- Richardson, S & Dennison, E 2007 'The Castles of Sheriff Hutton'. *The Castle Studies Group Journal* no 21 (for 2007-08), 172-188
- Savage, J 1805 *The History of the Castle and Parish of Wressle*
- Stone, S 2013 *Wressle Castle, Castle Farm, East Yorkshire: Conservation Management Plan* (University of Birmingham, Ironbridge Institute dissertation, MA Course in Historic Environment Conservation)
- Storey, R L 1986 *The End of the House of Lancaster*
- Thurley, S 1993 *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court Life 1460-1547*
- Toulmin Smith, L (ed) 1907 *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543 Parts 1 to 3*
- Vadillo, M 2008 *Bathsheba in Late Medieval French Manuscript Illumination: Innocent Object of Desire or Agent of Sin?*
- Webb, A 2014 *Castle Farm, Wressle, East Riding of Yorkshire: Geophysical Report* (unpublished Archaeological Services WYAS report 2682 for Mr Robert Falkingham)
- Wilson, C 2002 'The Royal Lodgings of Edward III at Windsor Castle: Form, Function, Representation'. In Keen, L & Scarff, E (eds) *Windsor: Medieval Archaeology, Art and Architecture of the Thames Valley*, 15-94
- Woodward, D 1985 *Descriptions of East Yorkshire: Leland to Defoe* (East Yorkshire Local History Series no 39)

Electronic Sources

<http://gottcollection.hepworthwakefield.org> - The Gott Collection

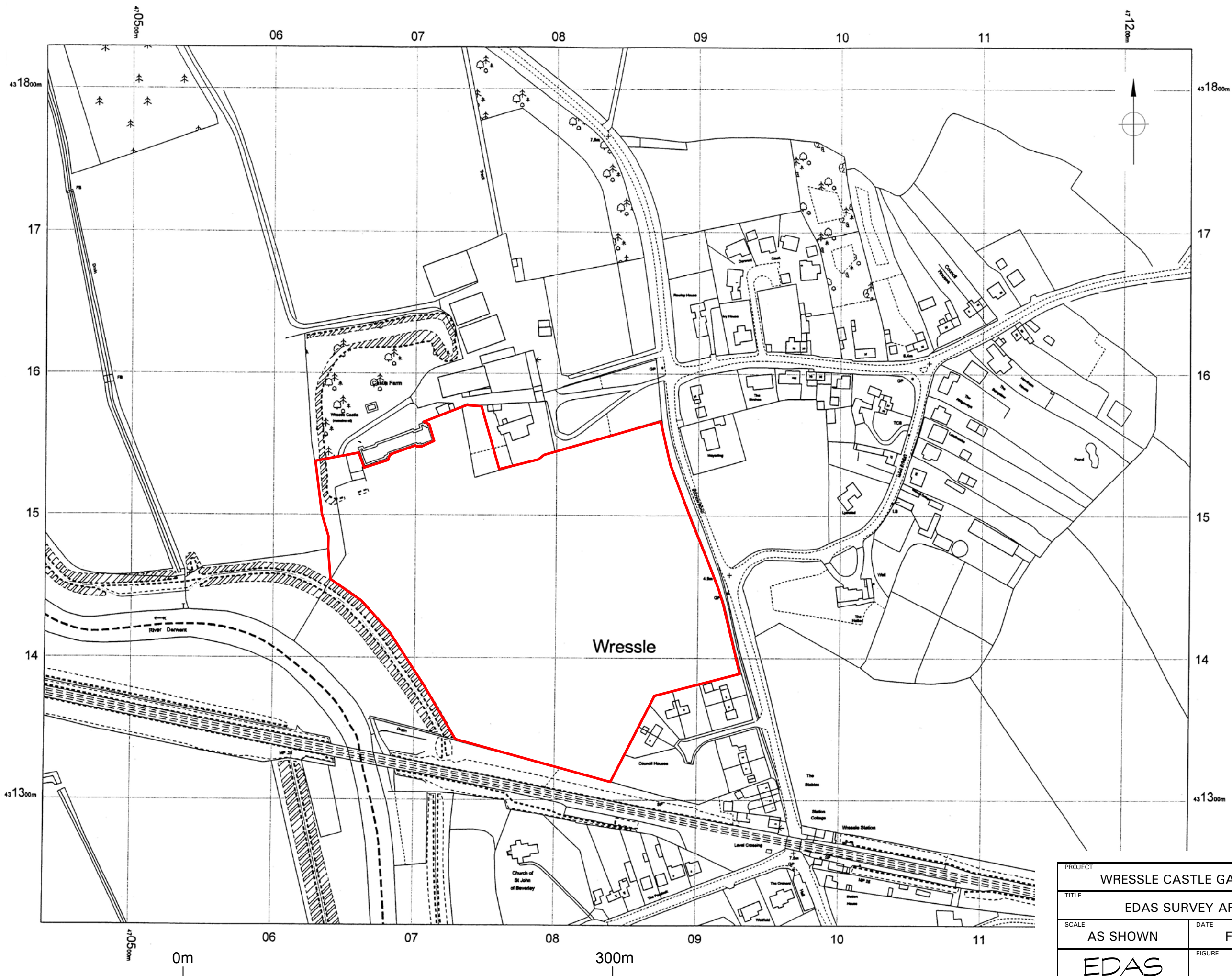
9 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

- 9.1 The archaeological survey of the gardens and other features on the south side of Wressle Castle was generously funded by the Castle Studies Trust (CST) and EDAS are most grateful to Mr Jeremy Cunnington and the other trustees of the CST for their acceptance of the original grant application and their continued help and encouragement during the project. Especial thanks are due to Mr Robert Falkingham of Castle Farm, for allowing access to the site and for sight of the various maps and plans he holds. Figure 3 is reproduced with permission of Lord Egremont and the West Sussex Record Office.
- 9.2 The archaeological survey was undertaken by Shaun Richardson and Benchmark Land Surveys of Leeds, and the subsequent hand enhancement of the EDM survey was by Shaun Richardson. Shaun Richardson also carried out the bulk of the documentary research, with assistance from Ed Dennison.
- 9.3 Comments on the draft survey report were kindly provided by David and Susan Neave, and Erik Matthews. Chris Taylor is particularly thanked for his insights into the nature of the village morphology. The final report was produced by Ed Dennison, with whom the responsibility for any errors remains. Copyright of all survey material and this survey report has been assigned to the CST, although the originators retain the right to be identified as the authors of all project documentation and reports as specified in the Copyright, Design and Patents Act 1988 (chapter IV, section 79). Any use made of the survey data and/or information contained in the survey report should acknowledge the originators and authors.

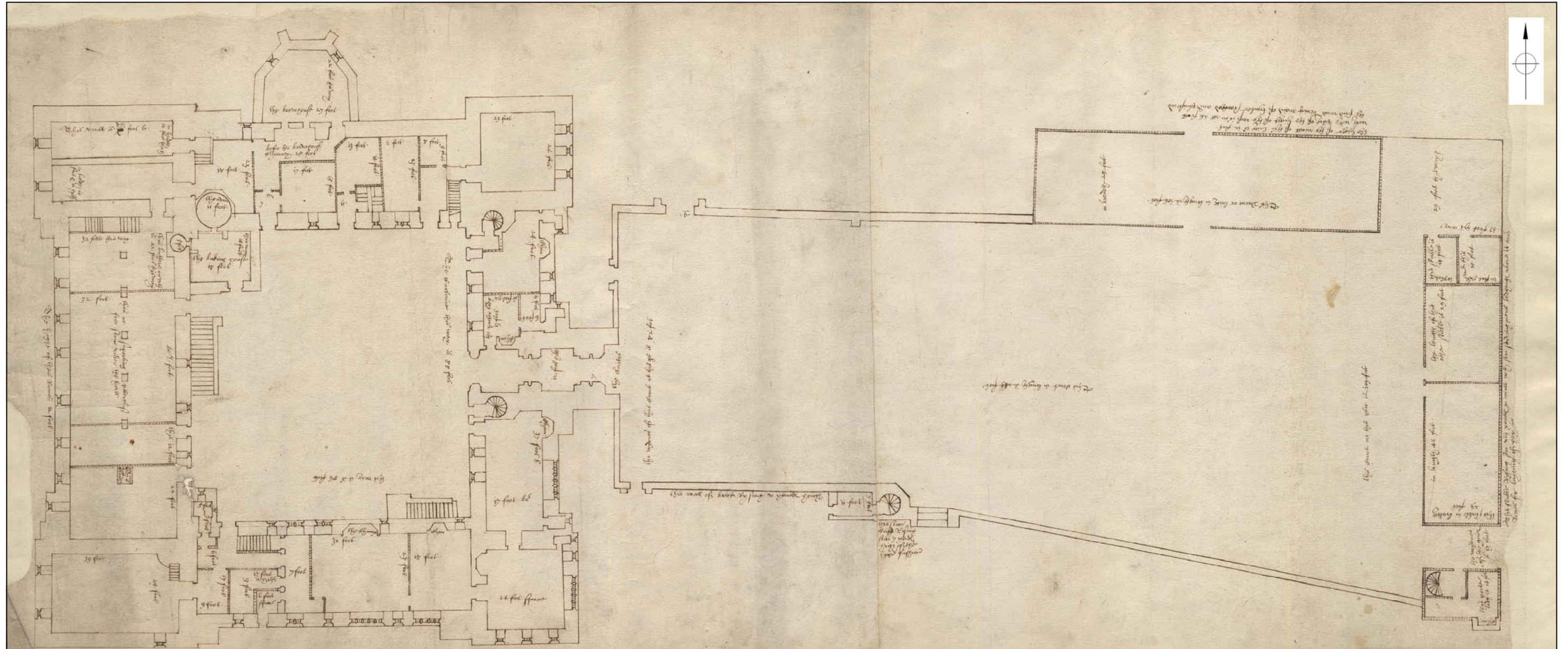


© Crown copyright and Database rights
 Ordnance Survey Licence 100013825 (2015).

PROJECT		WRESLE CASTLE GARDENS	
TITLE		GENERAL LOCATION	
SCALE	NTS	DATE	FEB 2015
EDAS		FIGURE	1



PROJECT		WRESSLE CASTLE GARDENS	
TITLE		EDAS SURVEY AREA	
SCALE	AS SHOWN	DATE	FEB 2015
EDAS		FIGURE	2



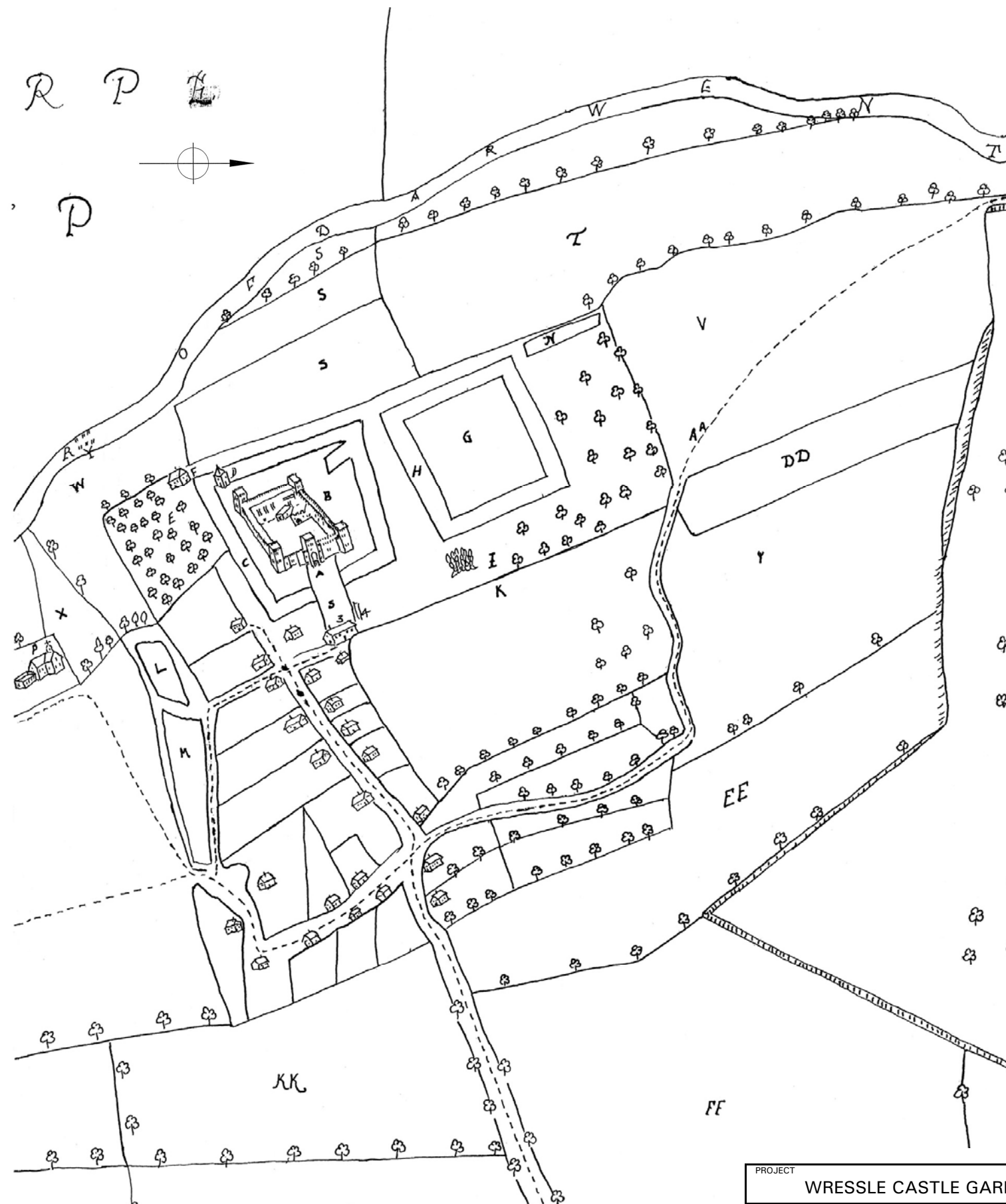
Plan of Wressle Castle and Base Court drawn by T F Hampe in c.1600. Source: WSA PHA 3543. (Reproduced with permission from Lord Egremont and West Sussex Archives).

PROJECT		WRESSLE CASTLE GARDENS	
TITLE			
PLAN OF CASTLE AND BASE COURT			
SCALE	NTS	DATE	FEB 2015
EDAS		FIGURE	3

- A The castle
- B The grounds wth in the castle mote
- C The mote
- D The Bayne
- E The ould Garden sometyne enuyrned with a brick wall but now decayde
- F The Laundrie
- G The new Garden environed wth a quicksett hedge
- H The Mote about the new Garden.
- K The Little Barke
- LMN Pondes
- O The Moore way and to Howden
- P The Churche
- Q The windmyn
- R The Churche field comon to the whyle towne
- SSS Inges Cloes belonging to a farme called the whyte house
- T The mayne Inges meadow com on to the whole towne
- VIV Sand fields pasture
- W The Marthe a meadow com on to the Fowne
- X A Close called Bonde Close
- Y The fish Garthes
- Z The Towne of Lofsome parcell of the Manor of wresfell
- AA The horseway to Brighton
- BB The Greate Parke
- BE The keepers Lodge
- DD The Conygarte
- EE A close called Bilburton close freshould
- FF vefson wood fields comon to the whole towne.
- KK Toffe field comon to the whole towne.
- LL flete fields comon to the whole towne
- MM Rawlings Close
- NN morgan close freshould
- LL fallow field Eastfielde
- HH To the Lathe and Garthe
- GG Lofsome flattes a comon field so called
- PP Newsham lordship pcell of the Manor of wresfell
- OO Newsham Moore
- 3 The Gatehouse parte of w^{ch} is a stable
- 4 A Barne
- 5 The base court

Item or and The Castle Garden Towne and the Parke is platted by 132 foote in an ynche. The rest of the Lordship is but perspectivally taken

Aug: 30 A^o 1602



PROJECT		WRESSLE CASTLE GARDENS	
TITLE		TRACING FROM PLAN OF 1602	
SCALE	DATE	NTS	FEB 2015
EDAS		FIGURE 4	

Source: Fisher, E 1954 'The Lordship of Wressle'. Some Yorkshire Estates of the Percies 1450-1650 [Leconfield, Spofforth, Topcliffe and Wressle] (unpublished D. Phil. thesis, Department of History, University of Leeds). Original source WSA PHA 3547.



Source: Falkingham family,
Castle Farm, Wressle.

PROJECT		WRESSLE CASTLE GARDENS	
TITLE		EARLY 17TH CENTURY PLAN	
SCALE	NTS	DATE	FEB 2015
EDAS		FIGURE	5



Source: Falkingham family, Castle Farm, Wressle. Also at YAS MS1285/3 & WSA Garland N39261.

PROJECT	WRESSLE CASTLE GARDENS	
TITLE	MAP OF 1610	
SCALE	NTS	DATE FEB 2015
	EDAS	FIGURE 6



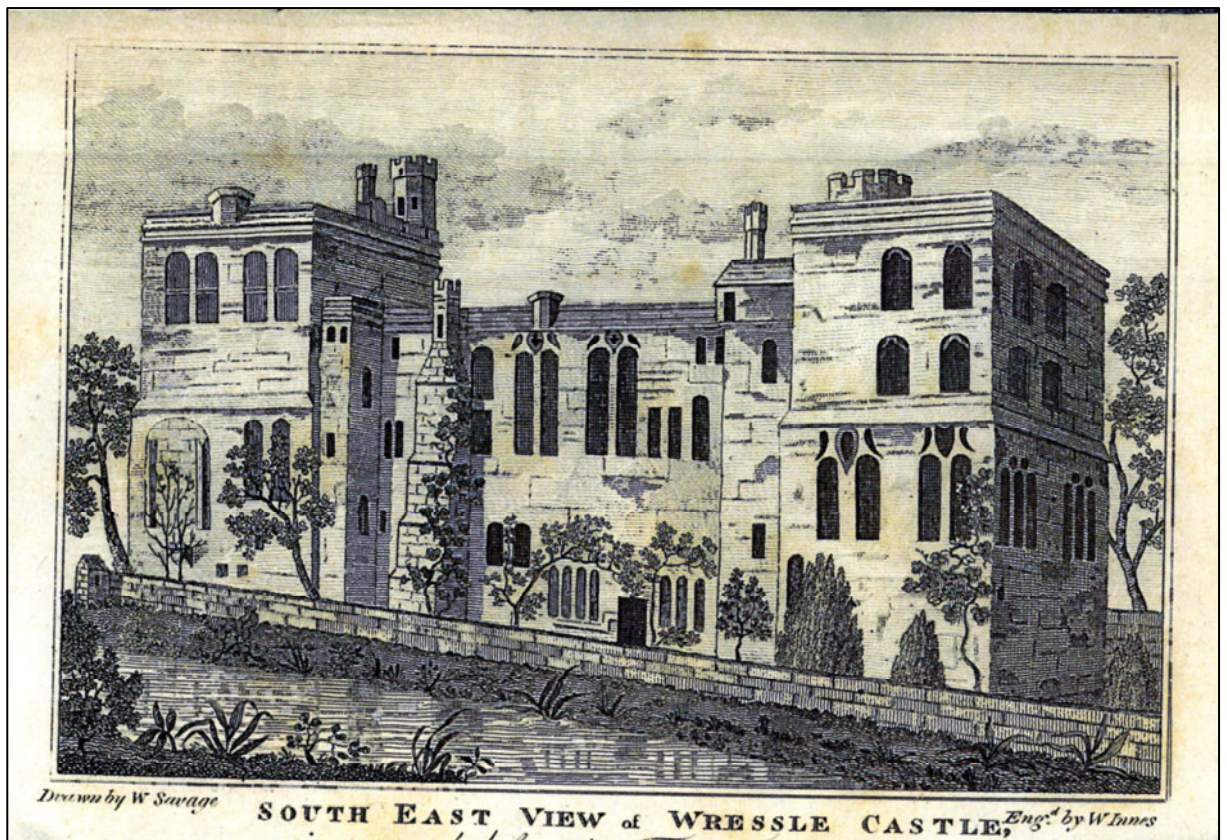
Source: Falkingham family,
Castle Farm, Wressle.

PROJECT	WRESSLE CASTLE GARDENS	
TITLE	PLAN OF 1624	
SCALE	NTS	DATE FEB 2015
EDAS		FIGURE 7



Source: Falkingham family, Castle Farm, Wressle. Also at YAS MS1285/17-18.

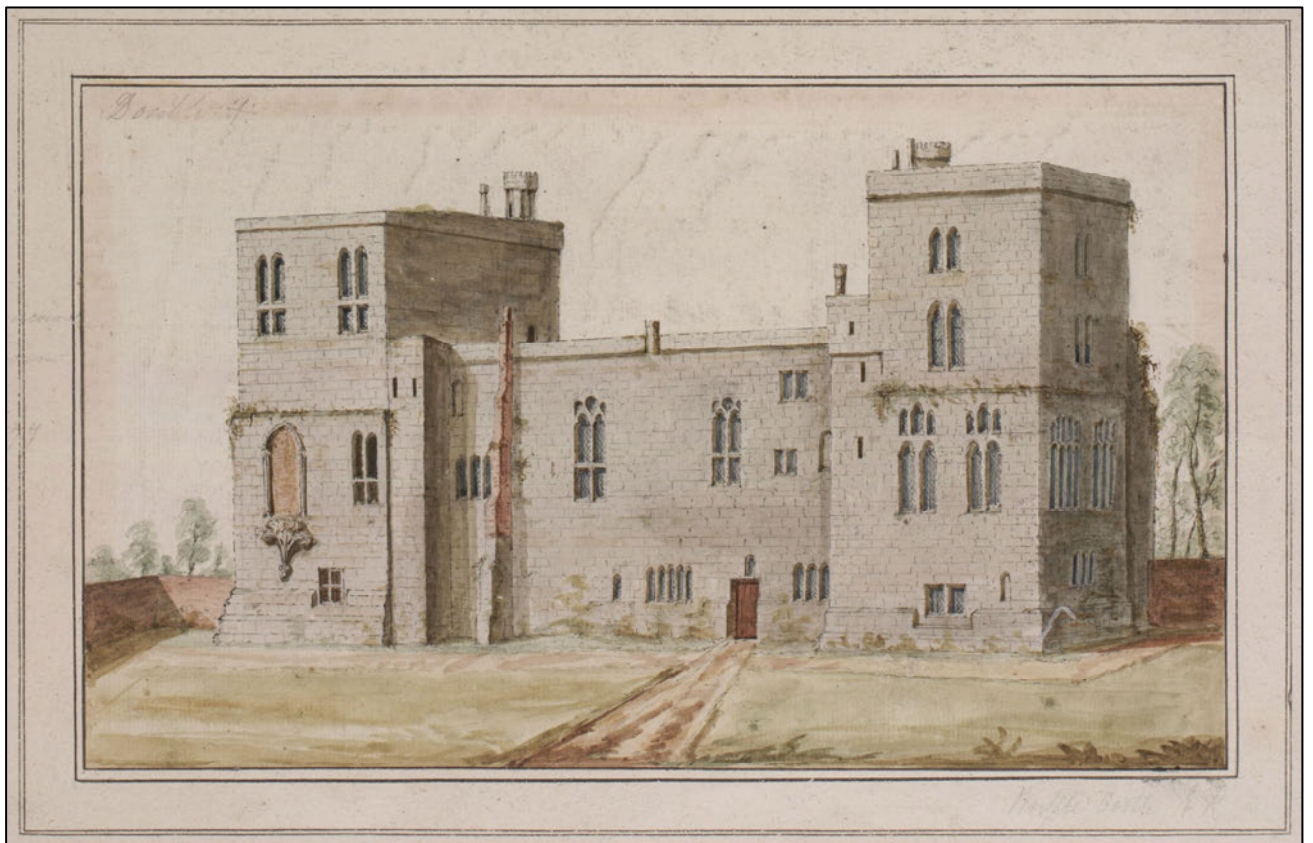
PROJECT		WRESSLE CASTLE GARDENS	
TITLE		PLAN OF 1767	
SCALE	NTS	DATE	FEB 2015
EDAS		FIGURE	8



Top: South front of Wressle Castle, drawn December 1774 by Richard B Godfrey for Grose's 1776 *Antiquities of England and Wales* (source: <http://gottcollection.hepworthwakefield.org/item/921>).

Bottom: South front of Wressle Castle, engraved 1792 by W. Savage (source: Savage, J 1805 *The History of the Castle and Parish of Wressle*).

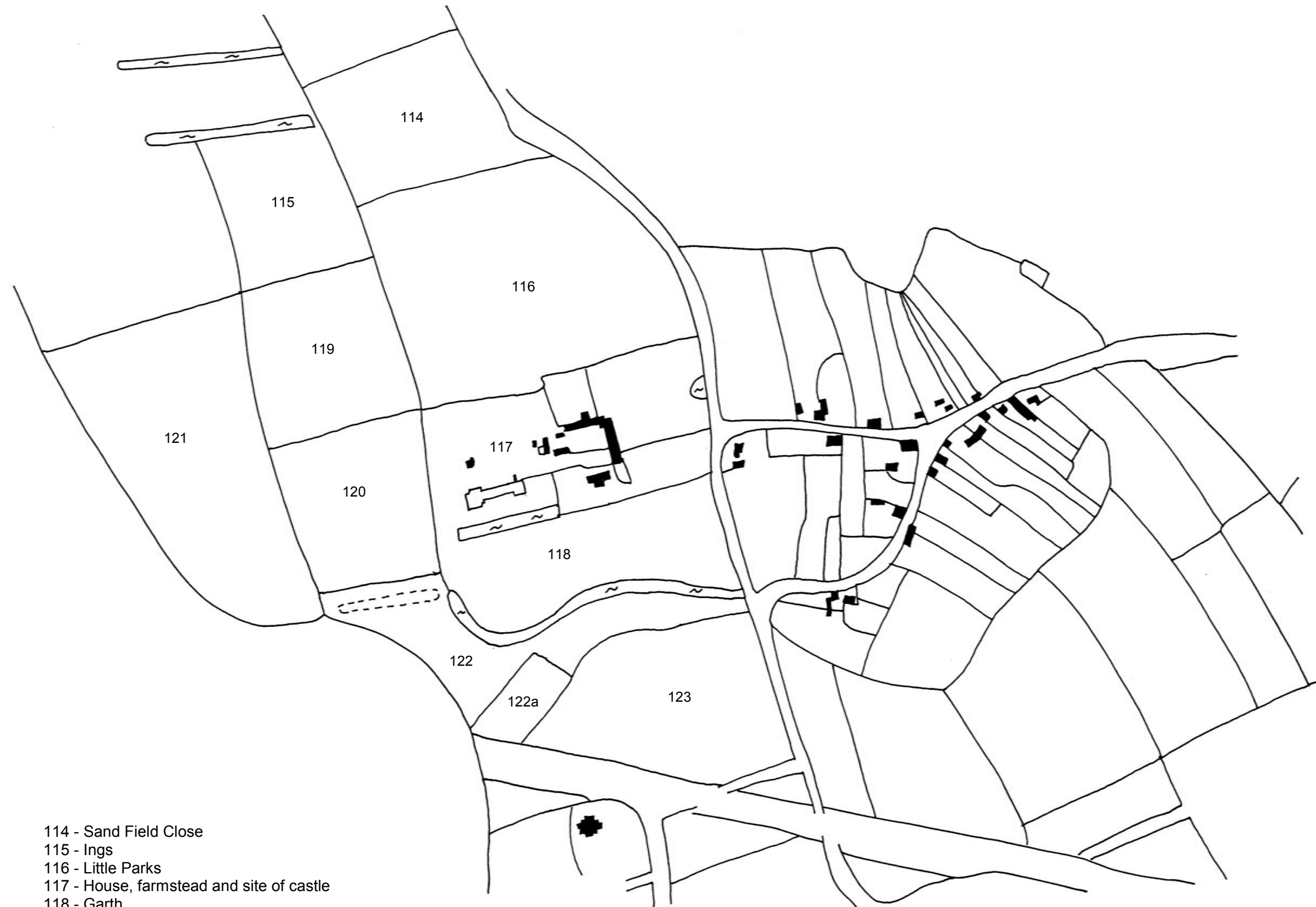
PROJECT		WRESSLE CASTLE GARDENS	
TITLE		LATE 18TH CENTURY ENGRAVINGS	
SCALE	NTS	DATE	FEB 2015
EDAS		FIGURE	9



Top: North side of south range, looking SE, painted c.1770 by J Brown (source: <http://gottcollection.hepworthwakefield.org/item/610>).

Bottom: South front of Wressle Castle, painted c.1770 by J Brown (source: <http://gottcollection.hepworthwakefield.org/item/611>).

PROJECT		WRESSLE CASTLE GARDENS	
TITLE		1770s WATERCOLOURS	
SCALE	NTS	DATE	FEB 2015
EDAS		FIGURE	10



- 114 - Sand Field Close
- 115 - Ings
- 116 - Little Parks
- 117 - House, farmstead and site of castle
- 118 - Garth
- 119 - Ings
- 120 - Ings
- 121 - Ings Bank and Foreshore
- 122 - Marsh Bank and Foreshore
- 122a - Brickyard
- 123 - Church Field Close

Source: 1839 tithe map - the Parish of Wressle in the East Riding of the County of York (BIHR).

PROJECT		WRESSLE CASTLE GARDENS	
TITLE		TRACING FROM 1839 TITHE MAP	
SCALE	NTS	DATE	FEB 2015
EDAS		FIGURE	11



Source: Ordnance Survey 1854 6" map Yorkshire sheet 222 (surveyed 1849-1851).

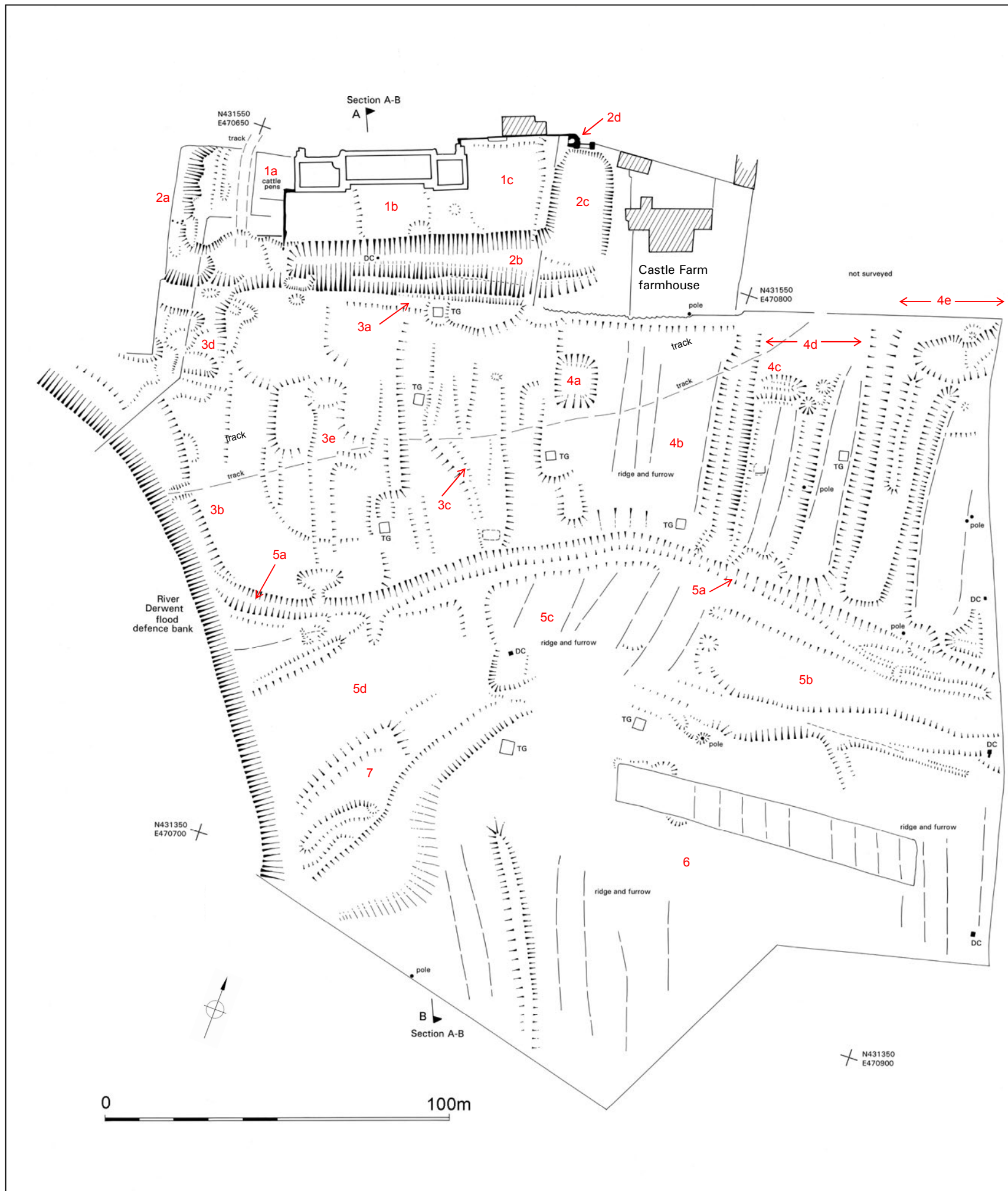
PROJECT		WRESSLE CASTLE GARDENS	
TITLE		ORNANCE SURVEY 1854 MAP	
SCALE	DATE		
NTS	FEB 2015		
EDAS		FIGURE	12



Top: 1836 Engraving by J Sands (source: ERAO DDX 733/3).

Bottom: c.1880 print by Slater (source: Stone, S 2013 *Wressle Castle, Castle Farm, East Yorkshire: Conservation Management Plan*, 19).

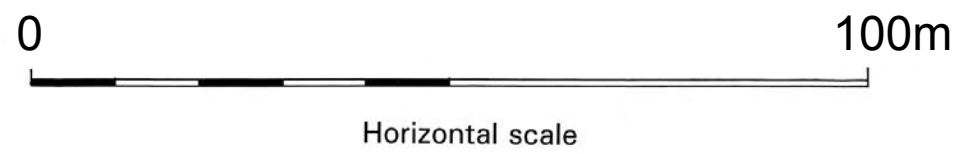
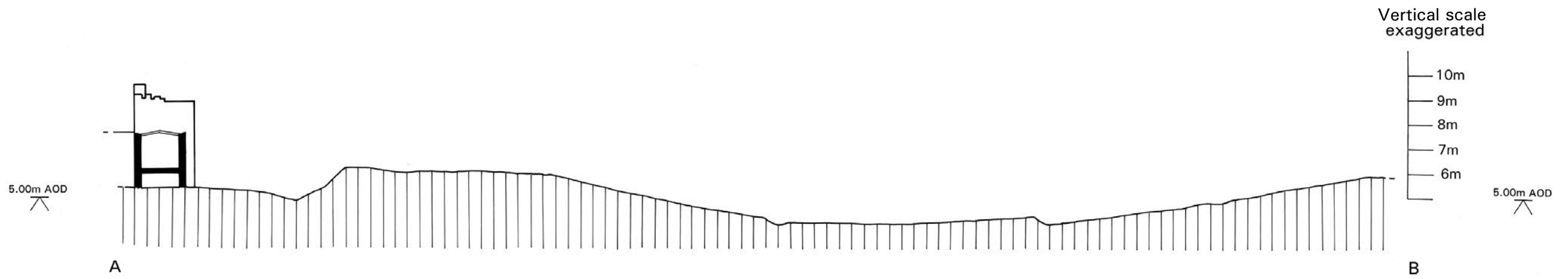
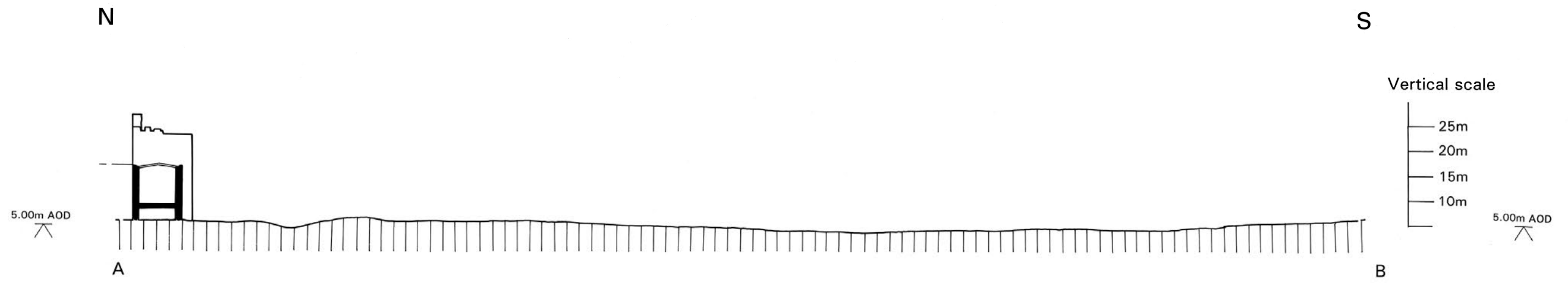
PROJECT		WRESSLE CASTLE GARDENS	
TITLE		19TH CENTURY ILLUSTRATIONS	
SCALE	NTS	DATE	FEB 2015
EDAS		FIGURE	13



Modern drains omitted

TG - tree guard
DC - drain cover

PROJECT		WRESSLE CASTLE GARDENS	
TITLE		EARTHWORK SURVEY	
SCALE	AS SHOWN	DATE	FEB 2015
EDAS		FIGURE	14



PROJECT		WRESSLE CASTLE GARDENS	
TITLE		SECTION THROUGH EARTHWORKS	
SCALE	AS SHOWN	DATE	FEB 2015
	EDAS	FIGURE	15

PROJECT		WRESSLE CASTLE GARDENS	
TITLE		SOUTH ELEVATION OF CASTLE	
SCALE	AS SHOWN	DATE	FEB 2015
EDAS		FIGURE	16



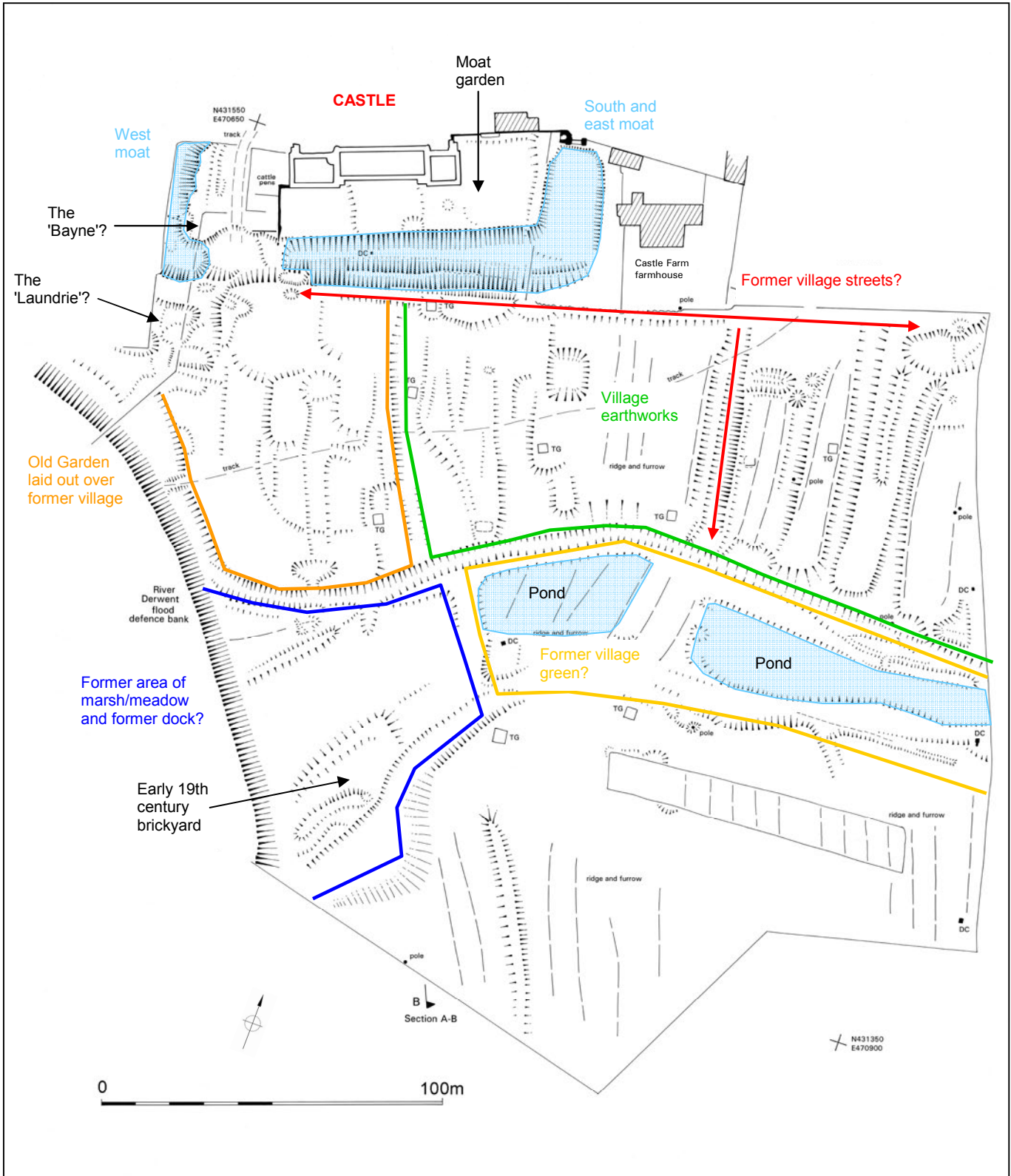
South-west tower

Central range

South-east tower

Rectified photograph produced by Plowman Craven for English Heritage.

MAIN TITLE: WRESSLE CASTLE TOWN: WRESSLE COUNTY: EAST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE	SUBSIDIARY ELEVATION 01	BENCHMARK USED <small>ALL LEVELS ARE IN METRES AND ARE ABOVE ORDNANCE SURVEY ADVALTM DATUM DERIVED BY MULTIPLE NETWORK RTK GPS OBSERVATIONS.</small>	LOCATION DIAGRAM 	SURVEY BY Plowman Craven <small>English Heritage 25 Tolson Road York, YO1 4PP Tel: 01904 451911 Fax: 01904 451999 Email: info@plowman-craven.co.uk</small>	
	SCALE 1:50 	DATE 12/15/15	OF NO. 00000000	SURVEY JOB NO. 12/15/15/16	



PROJECT		WRESSLE CASTLE GARDENS	
TITLE		INITIAL INTERPRETATION	
SCALE	AS SHOWN	DATE	FEB 2015
EDAS		FIGURE	17



Plate 1: General view of EDAS survey area, looking SW.



Plate 2: Location of EDAS survey area in relation to castle and village (Google Earth image dated May 2007).



Plate 3: View of south moat (Site 2b) from central range wall-walk, with River Derwent in background, looking S.



Plate 4: View of south moat (Site 2b) from central range wall-walk, with area of village earthworks (Site 4) to left background and Old Garden (Site 3) to right, looking E.



Plate 5: Area of gardens to east of south-east tower (Site 1c), with east moat to right (Site 2c), looking N.



Plate 6: Brick structure (Site 2d) at north end of east moat (Site 2c), looking NE.



Plate 7: Brick structure (Site 2d), south side, at north end of east moat (Site 2c), looking N.



Plate 8: Brick structure (Site 2d), north side, at north end of east moat (Site 2c), looking S.



Plate 9: View of the Old Garden earthworks (Site 3) from central range wall-walk, looking S.



Plate 10: General view across the Old Garden (Site 3) towards ponds (Sites 5b and 5c), looking SE.



Plate 11: General view across former village earthworks (Sites 4a-4e), looking SE.

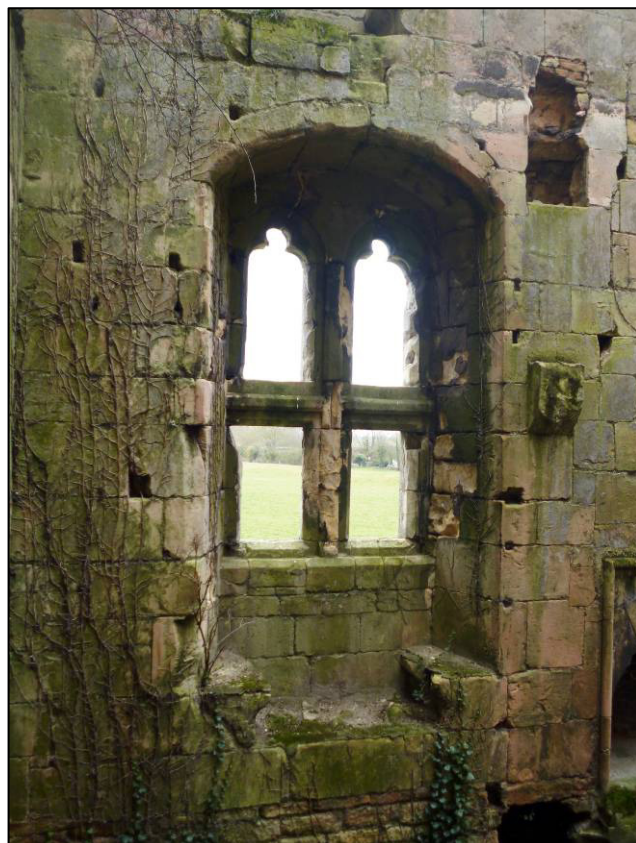


Plate 12: South window in first floor chamber of south-west tower, showing opposed benches, looking S.



Plate 13: Stair turret opening onto roof leads of south-west tower, showing example of lower (rebuilt?) parapet walls, looking N.



Plate 14: Parapet and wall-walk of south-west tower, looking S.

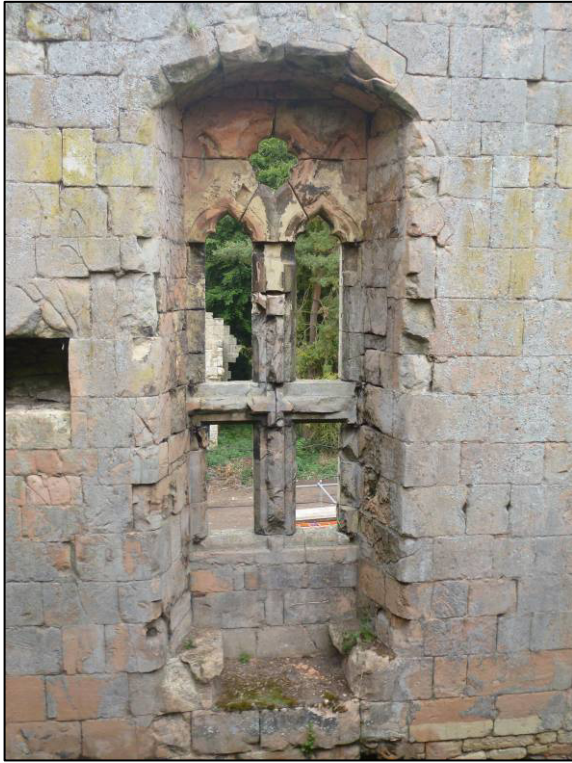


Plate 15: Western window in north wall of Great Chamber showing stone benches and higher window sill, looking N.

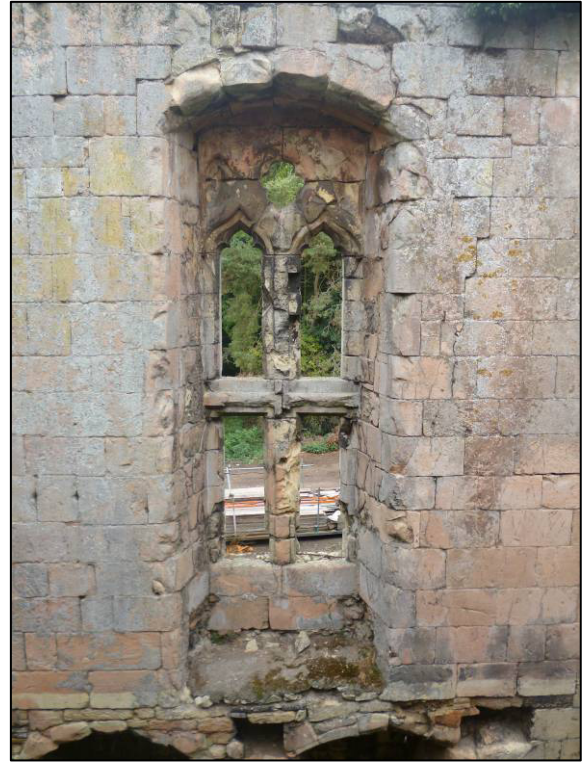


Plate 16: Central window in north wall of Great Chamber showing lower window sill (stone benches removed), looking N.



Plate 17: Parapet and wall-walk on south side of central range, looking W.



Plate 18: Crenulated parapet wall of south-east tower, showing original form, looking E.



Plate 19: Uppermost part of south-east stair turret, showing where enclosed stair emerges into open air, looking N.