

**AVON EXTENSIVE URBAN SURVEY
ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT REPORT**

THORNBURY

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CONTENTS

1.0	Introduction	1
1.1	The aims of the report	1
1.2	Major sources of evidence	1
1.3	A brief history of Thornbury	2
1.4	Population	6
2.0	Prehistoric Archaeology	7
2.1	Sources of evidence	7
2.2	Local settlement pattern in the Neolithic and Bronze Age	7
2.3	Local settlement pattern in the Iron Age	7
2.4	Regional context	7
3.0	Romano-British Archaeology	8
3.1	Sources of evidence	8
3.2	Local settlement pattern	8
3.3	Regional context	8
4.0	Post-Roman and Saxon Archaeology	9
4.1	Sources of evidence	9
4.2	Local settlement pattern	9
4.3	Regional context	9
5.0	Medieval Archaeology	10
5.1	Sources of evidence	10
5.2	Watercourses, roads and routeways	10
5.3	Thornbury town: the commercial core	12
5.4	Thornbury borough	14
5.5	Religious sites and cemeteries	14
5.6	Industrial sites and buildings	16
5.7	Private estates	16
5.8	Standing buildings	20
5.9	Local context	20
6.0	Post-medieval Archaeology	21
6.1	Sources of evidence	21
6.2	Watercourses, roads and routeways	21
6.3	Thornbury town: the commercial core	22
6.4	Thornbury borough	23
6.5	Civic buildings	23
6.6	Religious sites and cemeteries	25
6.7	Defensive structures	26
6.8	Industrial areas and sites	26
6.9	Private estates	27
6.10	Standing buildings	28
6.11	Local context	28
7.0	Early modern (19th century) Archaeology	29
7.1	Sources of evidence	29
7.2	Watercourses, roads and routeways	29
7.3	Commercial core	30
7.4	Civic buildings	31
7.5	Religious sites and cemeteries	33
7.6	Extractive industrial areas and sites	35

7.7	Non-extractive industrial areas and sites	35
7.8	Private estates	37
7.9	Standing buildings	37
8.0	20th century modern development	38
8.1	Sources of evidence	38
8.2	Watercourses, roads and routeways	38
8.3	Redevelopment within the town centre	39
8.4	Settlement growth	40
8.5	Civic buildings	40
8.6	Religious sites and cemeteries	41
8.7	Non-extractive industrial areas and sites	42
8.8	Listed standing buildings	43
9.0	Further research	44
9.1	Research interests	44
9.2	Recommendations for further research work	45
10.0	References	46
10.1	Bibliography	46
10.2	Map sources	49
10.3	Aerial photographs	50
10.4	Archaeological evaluations	50
11.0	Acknowledgments	52

Maps

Map A: Saxon period

Map B: Medieval period

Map C: Post-medieval period

Map D: 19th century

Map E: 20th century

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THORNBURY

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The aims of the report

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

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

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

1.2 Major sources of evidence

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.3 A brief history of Thornbury

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

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

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

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

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

'In the Langley Hundred. Brictric son of Algar held *Tvrneberie*. Before 1066 there were 11 hides. 4 ploughs in lordship; 42 villagers and 18 riding men with 21 ploughs; 24 smallholders, 15 slaves and 4 freedmen. 2 mills at 6s 4d; woodland at 1 league long and 1 wide. A market at 20s. Now the reeve has added a mill at 8d.

This manor was Queen Maltilda's. Humphrey pays £50 from it at face value. In this manor a meadow at 40s and at Droitwich 40 sesters of salt or 20d; a fishery in Gloucester at 58d.' (Morris 1982)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.4 Population

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

2.0 PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY

2.1 Sources of evidence

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

2.2 Local settlement pattern in the Neolithic and Bronze Age

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

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

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

No map has been produced for the Prehistoric period

3.0 ROMANO-BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGY

3.1 Sources of evidence

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

3.2 Local settlement pattern

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

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

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

3.3 Regional context

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

No map has been produced for the Romano-British period

4.0 POST ROMAN AND SAXON ARCHAEOLOGY

4.1 Sources of evidence

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.0 MEDIEVAL ARCHAEOLOGY

5.1 Sources of evidence

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

5.2 Watercourses, roads and routeways

Watercourses [*Map B*]

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

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

Water supply [*Map B: 1*]

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

Canal [Map B: 2]

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

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

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

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

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

Roads [Map B]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.3 Thornbury town: the commercial core

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

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

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

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

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

Burgage plots [Map B: 12-22]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Public Houses

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

5.4 Thornbury borough [*Map B*]

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

5.5 Religious sites and cemeteries

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

St. Mary's Church is situated a short distance to the north of the town, next to the castle, and is a grade I listed building (DoE 1984: 4/23; SMR 1571). The earliest reference to the church dates to 1106 when a royal charter granted the church to Tewkesbury Abbey (Waters 1883: 80). Atkyns states that the body of the church was built by Fitz Harding

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Recent field reconnaissance by Russett has revealed evidence for a medieval or 16th century wall in the grounds of The Chantry, 52 Castle Street; the wall lies at the south-eastern edge of the garden has 6 niches at about head height, which may be beeboles

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

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

5.6 Industrial areas and sites

Morton Mill [*Map B*: 29]

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

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

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

5.7 Private estates

Thornbury Castle estate

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

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

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

Thornbury Castle: the house [Map B: 30]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thornbury Castle: parks

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

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

Thornbury Castle: fishponds [Map B: 33]

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

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

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

5.8 Standing buildings

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

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

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

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

5.9 Local context

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

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

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

6.1 Sources of evidence

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

6.2 Watercourses, roads and routeways

Watercourses [Map C]

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

Roads [Map C]

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

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

Bridges [Map C: 1-6]

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

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

6.3 Thornbury town: the commercial core

The walled town [Map C: 7]

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

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

Tenement plots [Map C: 8]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.4 Thornbury borough

The borough area [Map C]

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

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

A boundary marker stone for the borough survives in the boundary wall described above (SMR 10571; Archaeological evaluation BAVD175: 8); this medieval wall was partly rebuilt in the post-medieval period. The later construction phase was characterised by coursed rubble Dolomitic Conglomerate, with a grey-white mortar. It has been dated to the 1660s at the latest, since a presentment of 1670 records its presence *in situ* (Bristol Record Office 35192/F/7). The boundary marker stone and medieval wall have been depicted on *Map C* on the basis of the evaluation report.

Town closes [Map C: 18-26]

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

6.5 Civic buildings

Market hall and gaol [Map C: 27]

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

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

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

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

Free Grammar School [Map C: 28]

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

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

Free School [Map C: 29]

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

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

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

Elementary school [Map C: 30]

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

6.6 Religious sites and cemeteries

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Presbyterian Chapel [Map C: 33]

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

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

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

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

6.7 Defensive structures

Civil War fortifications [Map C: 7]

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

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

6.8 Industrial areas and sites

Morton Mill [Map C: 35]

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

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

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

Tanneries [*Map C*: 36, 37]

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

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

Breweries [*Map C*: 38]

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

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

6.9 Private estates

Thornbury Castle estate [*Map C*: 39]

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

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

6.10 Standing buildings

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

6.11 Local context

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

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

7.0 EARLY MODERN (19th century)

7.1 Sources of evidence

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

7.2 Watercourses, roads and routeways

Watercourses [Map D]

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

Roads [Map D]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Water supply [*Map D*]

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

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

7.3 Commercial core

Tenement plots [*Map D*]

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.4 Civic buildings

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

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

Almshouses [*Map D: 19*]

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

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

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

Workhouse [*Map D: 20*]

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

Town lockup and parish pound [Map D: 21]

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

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

Bathhouse [Map D: 22]

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

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

Register Office [Map D: 23, 24]

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

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

Free Grammar School [Map D: 25]

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

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

Free School [Map D: 26]

The Free School on St. Mary Street is marked on the Ordnance Survey map of 1880, and presumably continued in use during the 19th century. It later became known as Attwells School, and then The Church Institute (SMR 7600; Parish survey 1973: record 103). By the late 19th century it had been amalgamated with the Free Grammar School

(Kelly's directory 1897: 332). It is not known when the building ceased to be used as a school.

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

British School (infants) [Map D: 27]

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

National School [Map D: 28]

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

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

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

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

7.5 Religious sites and cemeteries

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

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

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

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

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

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

Congregational Chapel / Independent Church [Map D: 32]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Baptist Chapel (Particular) [Map D: 35]

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

7.6 Extractive industrial areas and sites

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

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

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

7.7 Non-extractive industrial areas and sites

Mills [Map D: 39]

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

Tanneries [Map D: 40]

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

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

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

Breweries [*Map D: 41*]

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

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

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

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

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

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

Gas works [*Map D: 46*]

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

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

7.8 Private estates

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

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

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

7.9 Standing buildings

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

8.0 20TH CENTURY MODERN DEVELOPMENT

8.1 Sources of evidence

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

8.2 Watercourses, roads and routeways

Watercourses

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

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

Roads

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

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

Railways

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There has also been some redevelopment of properties on the south side of Chapel Street. The Wheatsheaf public house was constructed sometime between 1880 and 1921 (it does not appear on the Ordnance Survey map of 1880, but appears on the 1921 map), and it resulted in the demolition of several buildings and the amalgamation of 3 plots [Map E: 9]. Further redevelopment occurred between 1921 and 1984 adjacent to the pub, when at least 16 buildings and plots were erased to allow the widening of Rock Street and the construction of new houses [Map E: 10]. An extension onto the back of Cossham Hall was built in the late 1980s [Map E: 11]. This did not involve the

demolition of any major buildings, but again no archaeological evaluation was carried out.

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

8.4 Settlement growth [Map E]

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

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

8.5 Civic buildings [Map E: 19-27]

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

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

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

8.6 Religious sites and cemeteries

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

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

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

Cemetery [Map E: 25]

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

United Reformed Church [Map E: 26, 4]

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

Methodist Church [Map E: 27]

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

Baptist Church [Map E: 28]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Brick and tile works [Map E: 33]

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

Gas supply [Map E: 34]

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

Thornbury industrial park [Map E: 35]

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

8.8 Listed standing buildings

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

9.0 FURTHER RESEARCH

9.1 Research interests

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

9.2 Recommendations for further research work

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

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