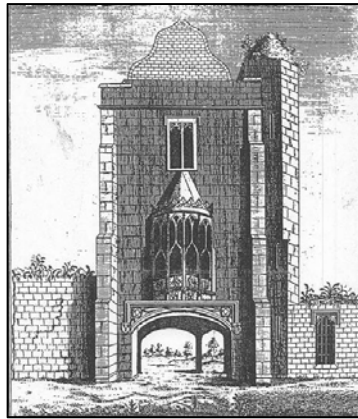


# The Landmark Trust

## CAWOOD CASTLE History Album



**Researched and written by Clayre Percy  
1998, updated 2000**

**Re-presented in 2015**

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## **BASIC DETAILS**

**Built: Between 1425 and 1451 for John Kemp, Archbishop of York**

**Architect: Unknown**

**Listed Grade I and a Scheduled Ancient Monument**

**Acquired by the Landmark Trust: March 1985: the Gatehouse from**

**Mr D Dicke and the East Range from Mr R M Boothroyd**

**Restored: 1986-1988**

**Architect: A Michael Mennim**

**Builders: William Anelay Ltd**

**Furnished and let: May 1988**

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**Cawood Castle South elevation**

## SUMMARY

This Gatehouse, with a domestic wing to one side of it, is all that remains of Cawood Castle, the principal palace of the Archbishops of York from the 13th century, 200 years before the Gatehouse was built, until 1646 when the castle's destruction was ordered by Parliament during the Civil War. The flat landscape seems an unlikely site for a fortified building, but this was an important cross-road with a ferry over the Ouse on the road to York and another running east-west along the riverbank.

The Castle has always had important royal as well as episcopal connections. Henry III, Edward I and his wife Margaret, Edward II and his wife Isabella, have all stayed here, the last on his way to disastrous defeat at the hands of the Scots led by Robert the Bruce at Bannockburn.

It was Archbishop John Kempe who built the Gatehouse, using the creamy-white stone from a quarry at Huddleston, owned by the Cathedral. The son of a Kentish gentleman, Kempe rose swiftly through political and religious ranks. Henry VI declared him to be "one of the wisest lords in the land". He rose to be Bishop of Rochester, then Chichester, London, and then Archbishop of York in 1425. He was proud of becoming a cardinal in 1439 and the Cardinal's hat appears on several of the finely-carved stone shields over the archway. It is likely that he also built the range to the east as it is bonded in with the Gatehouse.

Cawood Castle was by now more palace than castle. Kempe's successor, Archbishop George Neville celebrated his installation in grand style. John Leland described in every sumptuous detail the feast he threw. Provisions included 400 swans, 104 oxen, 2000 pigs and 4000 venison pasties! It was one of the most famous of all medieval feasts.

Thomas Wolsey became Archbishop of York in 1514, but never came to Cawood until 1530, when he had fallen from power and had to surrender all his offices except York. It was here that he was arrested by the Earl of Northumberland and turned back to the South where he died soon after.

Henry VIII stayed here for two days with his wife Catherine Howard. In her retinue was her lover, Thomas Culpeper who later caused her to be beheaded. Further royal intrigue occurred here in 1568 when the "Rising in the North" first plotted to bring back the Catholic religion and to replace Queen Elizabeth with Mary Queen of Scots. It ended with the execution of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland and 400 of their followers at York.

During the Civil War, Cawood changed hands three times. Originally garrisoned with Royalist troops, they mostly deserted when faced by 600 foot and cavalry soldiers in October 1642. But by June 1643 it had been recaptured by the Royalists, who held in for one year when it was retaken by Sir John Meldon for Parliament. At the end of the war, Parliament decided that Cawood, together with 7 other castles in the north should be "slighted" or made untenable. Most of the castle was demolished including the crenelated parapet on the Gatehouse.

The Gatehouse continued in use by the Archbishops of York as a local or 'leet' court, and towards the end of the 18th century, the second staircase was built to enable the judge to enter the court room by a different stair from the prisoners. In 1932, the courtroom was turned into a sitting room and during the Second World War it was used

as an Officers' Mess and also by the Home Guard. More recently it contained a full-sized billiard table, which was still there when the Landmark Trust finally acquired the Gatehouse in 1985.

## **THE REPAIR OF CAWOOD CASTLE**

Surprisingly, the Gatehouse survived the demolition of Cawood following the Civil War, relatively unscathed. The only serious change which had occurred in the 550 years since it was built was to the roof line. The crenelated parapet had been removed and a pitched roof had been substituted for the original flat one. Happily, a small part of the original parapet still existed and so it was possible to replace it exactly. This was done using a similar magnesium limestone from Cadeby, near Doncaster. The Welsh slate roof was removed and the Gatehouse given a flat one once more, although this time of York stone laid over concrete rather than lead as the original would have been. The original stone springers of the medieval roof vault to the spiral staircase still existed and so the internal dome was re-formed using oak ribs. The oak roof was repaired and given a new lead covering, with a wheat sheaf crowning the turret as a tribute to Archbishop Kempe on whose armorial bearings it appears. Half of the original timber gate was lying below the arch and this has now been mended and the repaired gate replaced.

Inside, the problem was how to obtain a kitchen, bathroom and cloakroom with the minimum of alteration. In the end, our neighbour allowed us to truncate his house by some five feet to make a cloakroom and kitchen on the first floor, and a mezzanine bathroom between first and second floors. The kitchen is lit by a new inconspicuous window made in the south wall.

The ceiling of the sitting room is new as the old one had fallen in. A hard cement render on the walls was removed and redone with lime plaster and limewash. The original lime ash floor had virtually disappeared, and so the remaining patch was covered and the whole repaved with Cadeby stone with slate inserts. Concrete that had been put down in the bay of the north window was left for fear of damaging the cantilevered structure. The bedroom has its floor replaced and a later floor which cut across the windows was removed. The tracery and glazing were restored here as it has been elsewhere.

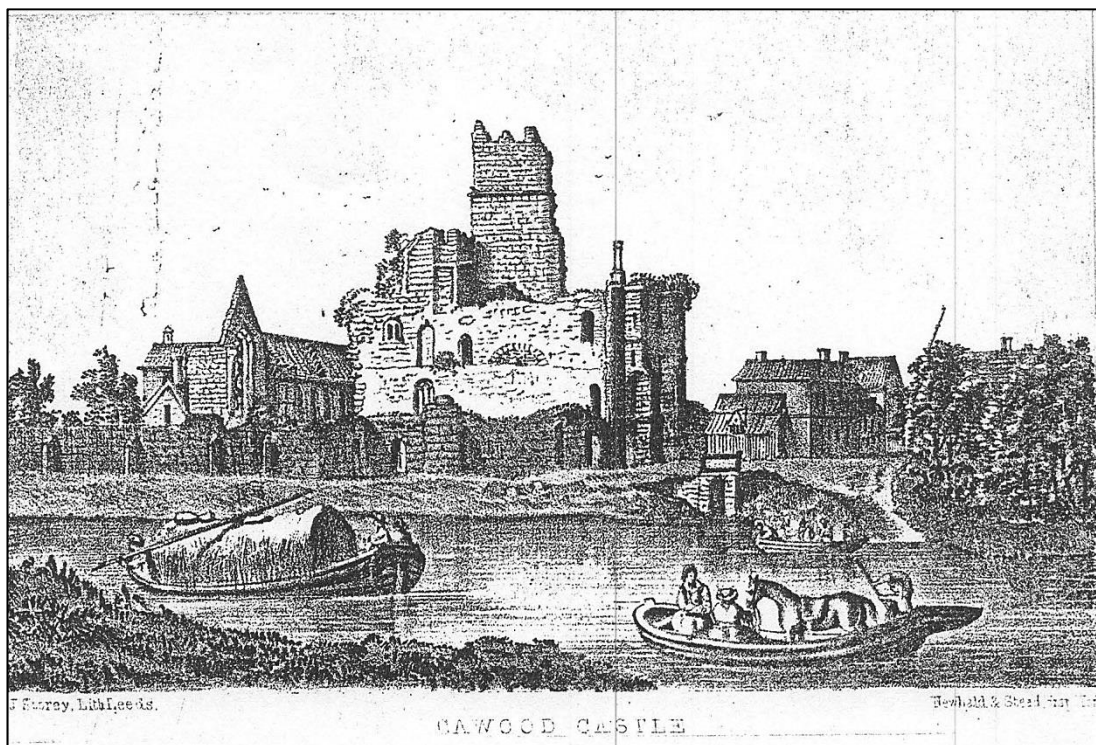
Outside, the contemporary range, east of the Gatehouse, was in use as a barn. The north side was blocked by undistinguished farm buildings which we demolished to reveal the medieval construction. A wide opening for farm vehicles that had been knocked through between the third and fourth buttress was blocked up and its window restored. On the south side, three windows that had been blocked up were reopened, and the fifth buttress put back as it had been removed when a farm building was placed against the wall. The whole of the roof was retiled and some of the timber structure repaired. Finally, the brick wall that ran along the side of the pavement was removed to improve the view from the street.

## Cawood Castle

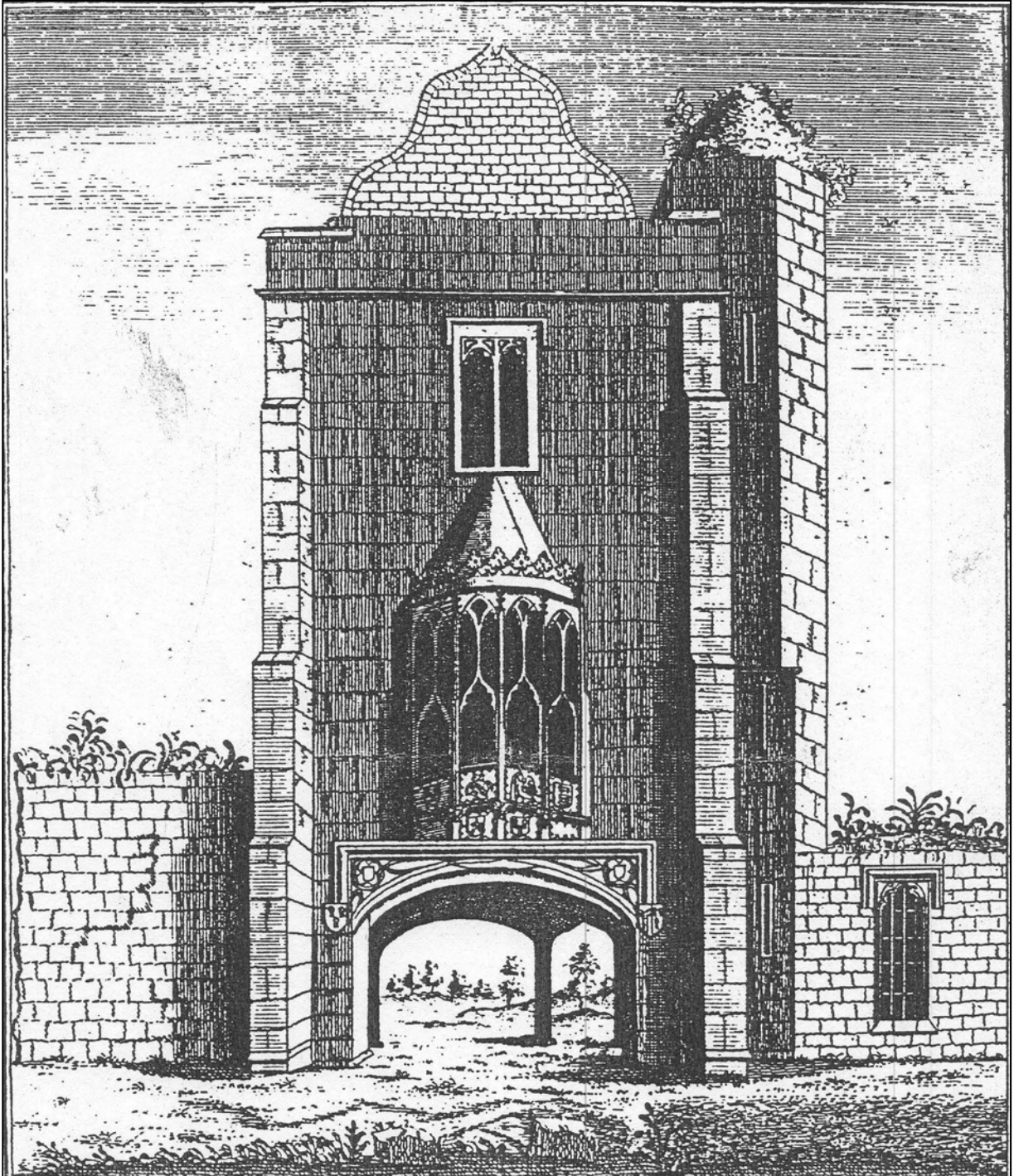
The Gatehouse of Cawood Castle was built by John Kemp, while he was Archbishop of York, between 1425 and 1451. This range of dates can be narrowed down further, because a Cardinal's hat appears in the heraldic carving, and Kemp became a Cardinal in 1439. The Gatehouse formed an entrance to a courtyard, or series of courtyards, that stretched down to the river Ouse, looking very like an Oxford or Cambridge college. The present approach is from the courtyard side. The small addition on this (north) side of the Gatehouse was built on in the 18th century to contain a staircase.

The brick building to the east was living quarters, and was built at the same time as the Gatehouse. The house lying to the west was built mainly in the 18th and 19th centuries, and is not the property of the Landmark Trust.

The cream-coloured stone of which the Gatehouse is built is the local magnesian limestone. The brick residential building is dressed with the same stone.



**Cawood Castle and the ferry over the Ouse  
(engraving from Drake's *History of York*, 1736)**



North view of the Gatehouse  
(engraving from Drake's *History of York*, 1736)



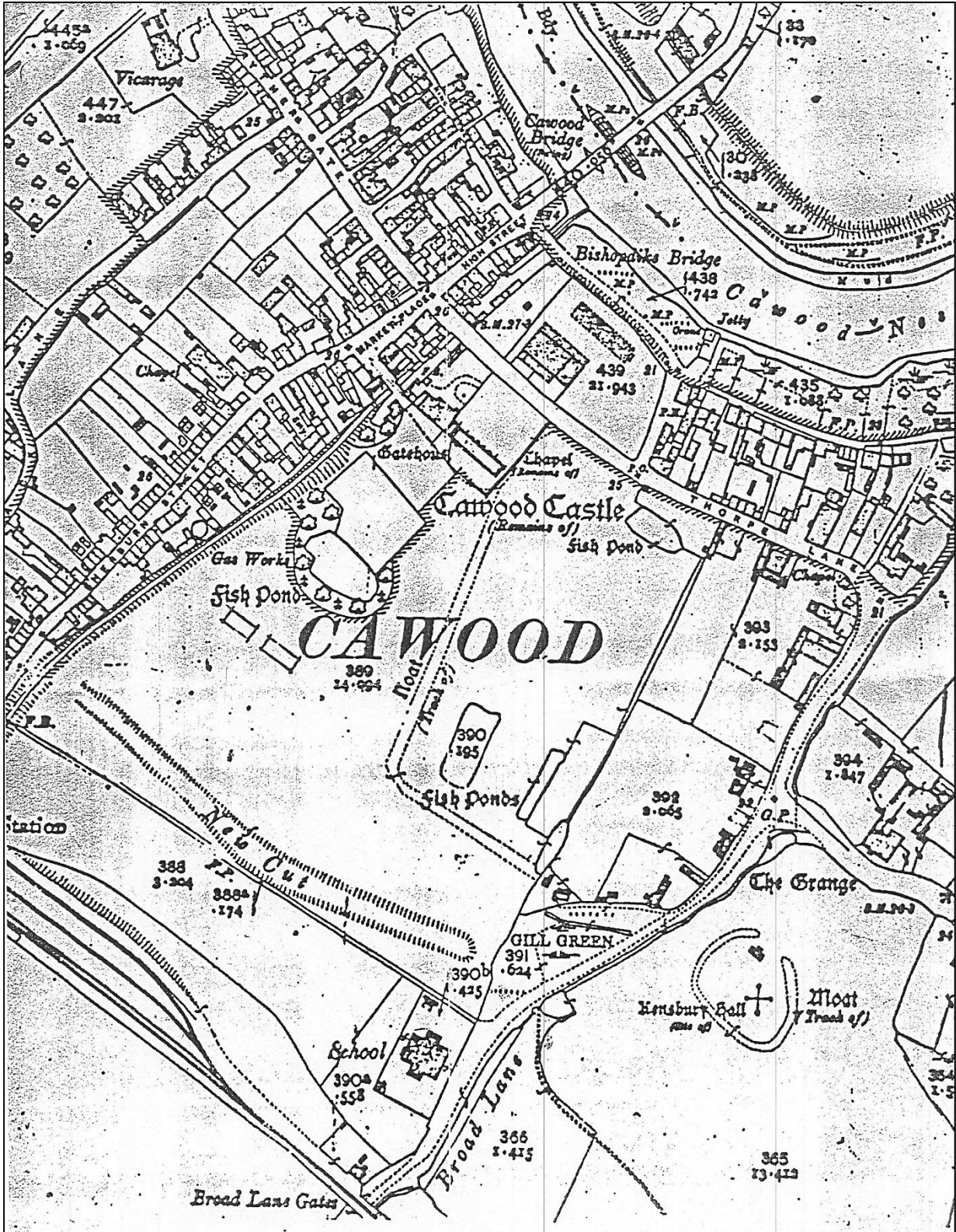
## History of Cawood Castle

Cawood Castle was the principal palace of the archbishops of York from the 13th century, two hundred years before the building of the Gatehouse, until its destruction was ordered by Parliament in 1646. Records earlier than the mid-13th century are slight, but land at Cawood was given to the then Archbishop of York by King Athelstane in thanksgiving for his victory over the Danes at Brunanburg, in Dumfries-shire, in 937. The Archbishop probably had a fortified manor here in Norman times.

Cawood seems an unlikely site for a fortified building, flat and difficult to defend, but it stood at an important cross-roads. From earliest times there was a ferry here over the Ouse, on the road leading to York from the south, and there was a road running east and west along the river bank. It may be that the Castle was not always sited exactly where it is now. The moat shown on the large-scale map points to a site south and west of the present one. But from the early 1400s it lay between the Gatehouse and the river; the remains of the old walls can still be seen south of the road that runs along the south bank of the Ouse.

In 1271, Archbishop Gifford was given leave to crenellate, and Cawood became officially a Castle. But even before that it was a place where the kings stayed when they came north. In 1255 King Henry III stayed here on his way to meet his son-in-law Alexander III of Scotland, on the Scottish border.

During the summer of 1300, while Edward I was campaigning in Scotland against William Wallace, his second wife Queen Margaret, sister of Philip the Fair of France, stayed at Cawood with her court.



This OS map shows how the village grew up around the castle site.

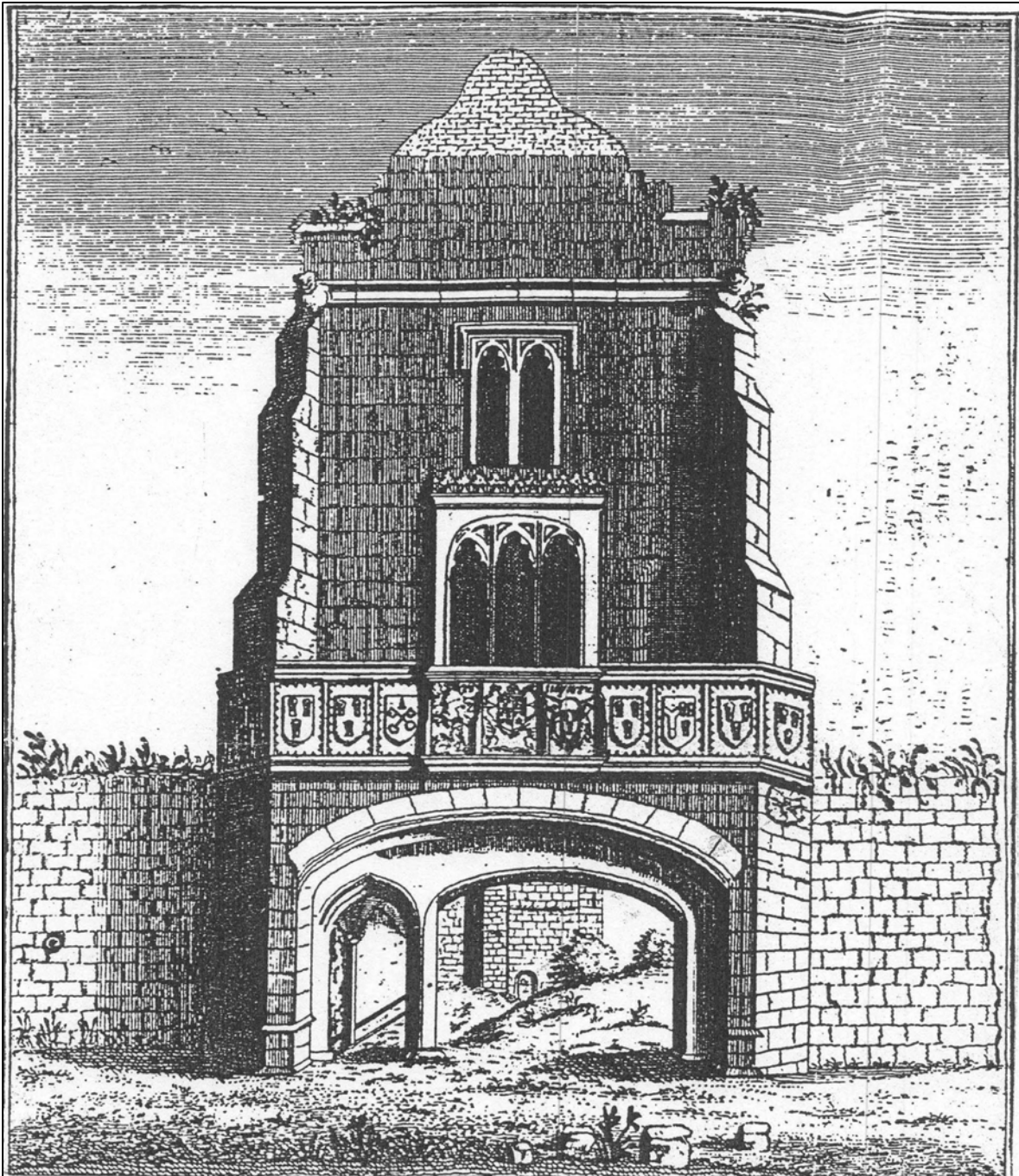
In 1314 Edward II stayed at Cawood with his wife Isabella, who was Philip the Fair's daughter. Their stormy marriage is one of the themes of Marlowe's play *Edward II*, which is in the Gatehouse library. The king was on his way north to meet his barons at Berwick, before being defeated disastrously by the Scots, led by Robert the Bruce, at Bannockburn.

There are records that throughout the 14th century Cawood Castle was being repaired and enlarged. Archbishop Greenfield replaced the old stonework with brick between 1305 and 1315, and built a study. In the 1380s Archbishop Alexander Neville 'bestowed much cost on his Castle in Cawood building divers towers and other edifices about it'.

In 1385 the chapter of York Cathedral took an 80-year lease of Huddleston quarry, five miles west of Cawood, near Sherburn in Elmet. Traditionally Bishop's Dyke, running from Sherburn to Cawood, was deepened and widened and its course straightened, so that stone from the quarry might be floated down to Cawood on rafts and then shipped to York. Stone was also brought by land: there is a bill dated 1450 for stone sledged to the Cawood staith from Huddleston. It would have been of this stone, which is creamy-white, that Archbishop Bowett rebuilt the great hall at Cawood, also giving it a lead roof, at the beginning of the 15th century.

Archbishop Bowett lived in considerable state at Cawood Castle, entertaining lavishly; his household drank 80 tuns of wine a year (a tun of wine was a barrel that held 252 gallons). At his death the rooms listed in the inventory are the hall and chamber furnished with tables, chairs, 'qwysyns' and covers, a library containing 33 books, a pantry, spicery, livery, plateroom, kitchen, brewhouse, buttery and stables - a palace indeed.

Bowett was succeeded by Archbishop John Kemp, who built the Gatehouse. The stone almost certainly came from the same Huddleston quarry.



South view of the Gatehouse  
(engraving from Drake's *History of York*, 1736)

Kemp, the son of a Kentish gentleman, was born at Olanteigh, near Ashford in Kent, in about 1380. He went to Merton College, Oxford, becoming a doctor of law, and he was employed as a diplomat by Henry V. In 1418, after Agincourt, he went to Normandy with the King and it is recorded that John Kemp held the muster of the men-at-arms and archers at Bayeux before the siege and taking of Rouen. A shrewd politician, he became chancellor of Normandy and later an envoy and chief negotiator with France under Henry VI, who declared he was 'one of the wisest lords in the land'.

He rose to be Bishop of Rochester, then of Chichester and then London, and in 1425 was consecrated Archbishop of York. While at York he paid for the painting of the nave of the cathedral in white and gold. But he spent little time in Yorkshire and is said not to have been popular there. He rose to the rank of Cardinal in 1439, and then became Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1447 he founded a college for secular priests at Wye, in Kent, which is now part of the present Wye College.

Drake, in his *History of York* (1736) writes of Kemp 'we have no memorial of him in this see of York but what he has left himself, which was the gatehouse of the Palace at Cawood (now demolished), adorned both inside and out with his arms and ensigns of a Cardinal. There are likewise several testimonials in the woodwork of this now desolate palace, which denote that this prelate built and repaired much of it.' There is evidence in the architecture that the building to the east of the Gatehouse is his, and he is said to 'have put up a fine gallery', perhaps in this adjoining range.

In 1464 Archbishop George Neville, brother of Warwick the Kingmaker, gave a banquet at Cawood to celebrate his installation. John Leland, writing in 1549 after visiting Cawood (which he said was 'a very fine castle'), described the feast in every sumptuous detail. Provisions included 400 swans, 104 oxen, 2000 pigs and 4000 pasties of venison. It was one of the most famous of all medieval

feasts. Leland's description is given in full in Wheater's *History of Sherburn and Cawood*, which is in our library in the Gatehouse.

In 1500 Archbishop Savage 'bestowed great cost in repairing the Castle of Cawood'. When Thomas Wolsey became Archbishop of York in 1514 he did not come to Cawood, and the Castle deteriorated.

### The Downfall of Cardinal Wolsey

While Cawood witnessed occasions of great ceremony and consequence throughout the Middle Ages, none quite rival the events of 1529 for pathos and political significance. In the early years of the reign of Henry VIII, another ambitious clergyman had combined the highest political and church offices. From very modest beginnings indeed, Thomas Wolsey, the son of a butcher and grazier of Ipswich, rose to spectacular wealth and power through an unstoppable combination of ambition and ability. Barely five years after the young King's accession to the throne Wolsey had, like Kempe before him, been made Archbishop of York, a Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church, and Lord Chancellor of England.

In his mid-40s, Wolsey became the single most powerful person in the kingdom after the King himself, and through his complete application to the King's wishes and monumental hard work he towered over English politics for almost twenty years. But his power, his reach and his appetites for material magnificence and grand enterprises made him many enemies. When Henry VIII finally lost faith in Wolsey, furious at his minister's inability to secure the divorce that would allow him to marry Anne Boleyn, Wolsey's enemies swooped in on their former task master. Dismissed from political office and disgraced in the winter of 1528, he narrowly avoided arrest or incarceration and in April 1529 withdrew to York, where a decade after being made Archbishop he finally took up residence in the palace at Cawood.

Wolsey passed under the stone gatehouse at Cawood at the end of September 1528, travelling by mule and accompanied as always by a great entourage. He set in train an extensive programme of repairs and improvements to the castle – which saw 300 ‘artificers and labourers’ at work on the buildings – and began to see that life away from court had its attractions. His taste for lavish objects and occasions had not deserted him, and he began planning a magnificent ceremony of installation as Archbishop. But on 1 November, as he sat down to dine in the Great Hall he saw a glimmer of doom. His sumptuous silver cross was, as usual, placed on the dining table, but as a visitor bowed to his host it fell, striking the guest and drawing blood. Wolsey was greatly troubled by what he took as a terrible omen and quickly withdrew to his bedchamber. And well he might, for as the cross fell William Walsh, one of Henry VIII’s gentlemen of the privy chamber was riding north through the darkness to bring catastrophic news.

A week later dinner was once again underway at Cawood, when a great clattering of hooves filled the courtyard. Walsh and the Earl of Northumberland entered the castle and tried to remove the gatehouse keys from the porter, who refused to part with them. Wolsey was dining privately in his first floor chamber, and hearing of the Earl’s arrival assumed it was a social visit. Bustling down to greet the Earl with effusive warmth, he took him into his own bedchamber to change his clothes and promised a handsome dinner. The two were near a window by the fireplace when ‘the earl, trembling said with a very faint and soft voice unto my lord, laying his hand upon his arm ‘My lord’, quoth he, ‘I arrest you of high treason’.

The cardinal, astonished and devastated, was to be taken to London for trial for intriguing against the King. When Wolsey’s gentlemen usher George Cavendish came to him in his chamber, he found the great prelate a broken man. Crumpled before a table laid for dinner, tears streamed down his ample cheeks. His words were ones of grief at leaving all those who had served him so faithfully for so long, and were spoken with such sincerity that, in Cavendish’s own words, ‘it



**Cardinal Wolsey in his red cardinal's robes and hat.**



**The gate passage out through which Cardinal Wolsey rode on his mule after his arrest in November 1529.**



would have caused the flintiest heart to have relented and burst for sorrow'. The following day Wolsey asked to be allowed to say goodbye to his household. Northumberland reluctantly agreed, and in the Cawood great chamber each in turn of the Cardinal's servants came forward and knelt at their master's feet to receive his blessing and tender words of farewell. With the winter light fading the visibly enfeebled Cardinal was helped onto his mule in the sharp air. As he approached the closed gates, the loyal Porter opened them for his master for the last time, and the party rode out through the crowd, bound for London.

The sorry cavalcade would never reach its destination. With Wolsey refusing to eat, and weak with misery and illness, he struggled to keep upright on his mule. When they arrived at Leicester Abbey, he told the abbot that he came to leave his bones among them, and so it would be. The Cardinal, pale and spent, told his gaoler that if only he had served God as diligently as he had the King, then he would not now be abandoned. As the morning light filled his chamber there he lost the power of speech and while the clock was striking eight, his troubled breath finally ceased. It was the end of an epoch. Within seven years Henry VIII would have broken from the Catholic Church, begun the dissolution of the monasteries and have both married and executed the second wife he so sought.

(Extract from *Landmark: A History of Britain in 50 Buildings* by Anna Keay and Caroline Stanford, publication August 2015).

George Cavendish's full account will be found in the library.

### After the Cardinals

Once Henry VIII broke with Rome, there were no more cardinals and no more monasteries. The next Archbishop of York, Edward Lee and his successors, acknowledge not the Pope but the monarch as the head of the church.

In 1541 Henry VIII stayed at Cawood for two days, accompanied by his fifth wife Catherine Howard. The Queen had in her retinue Thomas Culpeper, her lover; their liaison later led to her execution by beheading. The Privy Council met in the Castle on September 4th and 5th. Henry had hoped to meet his nephew James V of Scotland in York, but James avoided the meeting. In the following year James made an unsuccessful raid into England, but his troops were defeated at Solway Moss. After the battle some of the Scottish prisoners were held in Cawood Castle for several months.

The plot that led to the 'Rising in the North' was first formed here in 1568. The conspirators hoped to bring back the Catholic religion to England and to replace Queen Elizabeth with Mary Queen of Scots. Support came mainly from the northern earls, but it ended in disaster with the execution at York of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, together with 400 of their followers.

In 1628 a Cawood man, George Montaigne, became Archbishop of York. It is said that he owed his position to his wit. He was present at court when the king, Charles I, was discussing possible candidates. Montaigne, who was then Bishop of Durham, pointed to himself and said, 'Hadst thou faith as a grain of mustard seed thou wouldst say unto this "mountain", be removed unto that "sea".' The King was so amused that he gave him the job. There is a monument to Archbishop Montaigne in Cawood church.

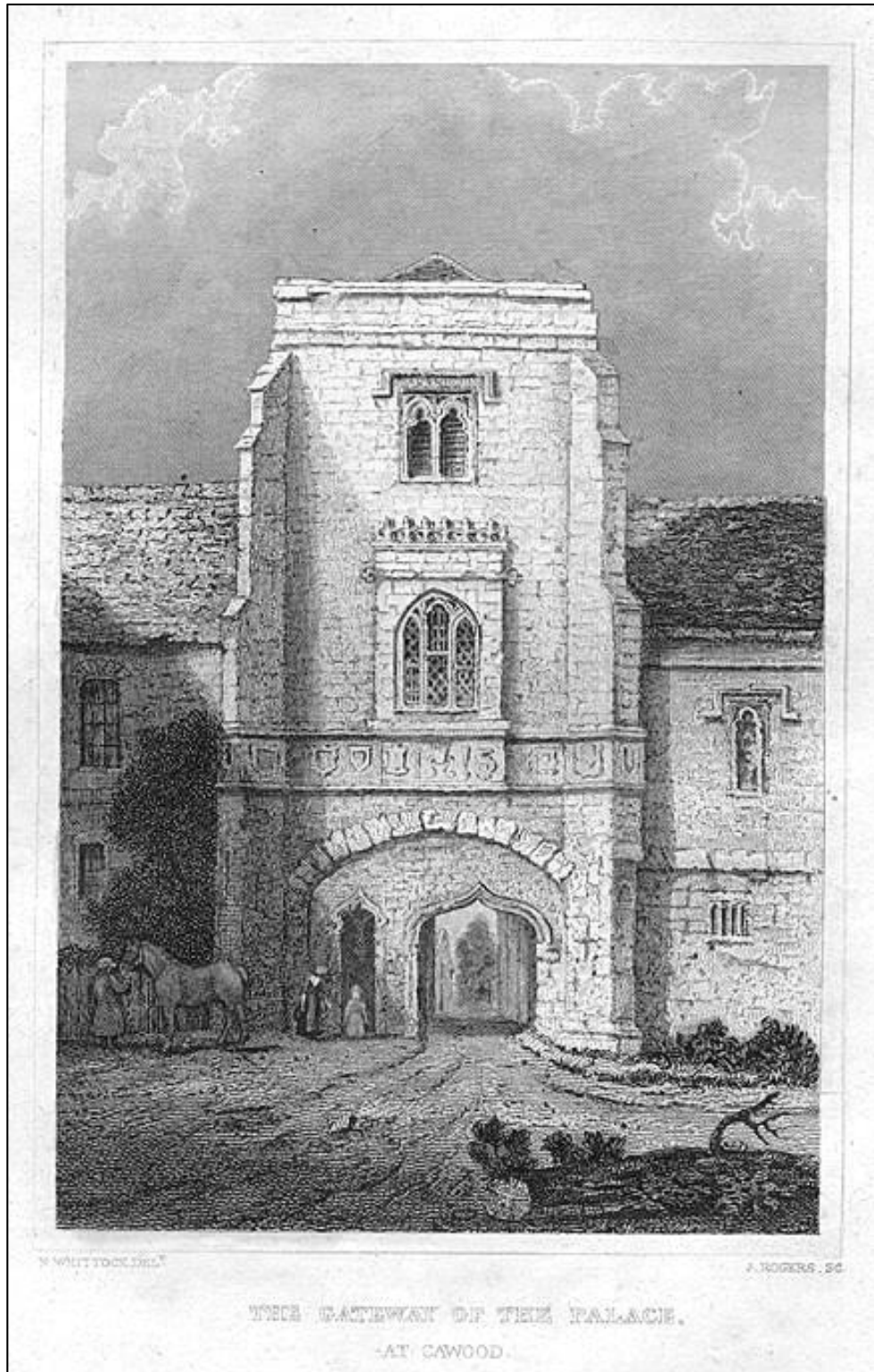
During the Civil War Cawood Castle changed hands three times. To begin with it was garrisoned with Royalist troops by Archbishop Williams, but in October 1642 Captain Hotham, who held Hull for Parliament, descended upon the Castle with

600 foot and some cavalry. Most of the garrison deserted and the Archbishop fled to Wales. Fairfax stationed a company of foot at the Castle, but in June 1643 he was defeated at Atherton Moor and the Castle was recaptured by the Royalists. In May 1644 Sir John Meldon re-took Cawood Castle for Parliament, capturing three guns and 200 soldiers. Soon afterwards, on June 28th, when Prince Rupert was on his way north to relieve the siege of York, 40 prisoners were rescued from Cawood by a party of Royalists, but the Castle remained in the hands of the Roundheads. During the restoration of the Gatehouse in 1988 a lead bullet was found 15mm deep in the right-hand leaf of the main gate of the Castle by one of the joiners, Mr Oldfield. It dated from the Civil War.

In 1646 Parliament decided that Cawood, together with Skipton and six other castles in the north, should be 'slighted' or made untenable. Most of the Castle was demolished, and it would have been at that time that the crenellated parapet of the Gatehouse was removed.

Stone from Cawood is said to have been transported up the river in 1765 for the building of the gateway of Bishopthorpe, the then palace of the Archbishops. The vaults of the Castle were dug up in 1783; but the field to the south with its fish ponds remained, and remains, almost unchanged.

Although the Castle was in ruins, the Gatehouse continued to be used by the Archbishops as a local court, or court leet. Towards the end of the 18th century the second staircase was built to enable the judge to enter the court room by a different stair from that used by the prisoners. In 1855 William Grainger wrote of



**"Gateway to the Palace at Cawood" engraved by J.Rogers after a picture by N.Whittock, published in *A New & Complete History of the County of York*, 1829**

Cawood Castle in his *Castles and Abbeys of Yorkshire*: 'The entrance consists of two archways, the one for carriages is now used as a cartshed; the other forms the entrance into the farmyard. .. [The first-floor] room is fitted up with benches and a table, and here the Archbishop's courts are held twice a year, for the manor of Cawood.'

The court ceased to function in about 1925, but the staging along the east wall of the present sitting-room in the Gatehouse remained in position until 1931. It was four feet (120cm) high, and had steps leading up to it.

In 1931 Mr Wormald, whose family had lived in the buildings since 1800, turned the courtroom into a lounge. During the Second World War, between 1939 and 1945, the same first-floor room was used both as an officers' mess and also by the Home Guard. More recently it was used as a billiard room: when the Landmark Trust bought the Gatehouse in 1985 the billiard table was still installed in the sitting-room.

At some time in the late 17th or early 18th century the second floor of the Gatehouse was turned into a pigeon loft. The nesting boxes were still there in 1969.

The list of the Castle's occupants during the last two centuries goes something like this:

- from 1750: Edward Smith, who rented it from the Archbishops of York
- from 1800: the Wormald family
- from 1931: the Chantry family
- from 1965: the Lavery family, who were visited at Cawood by Archbishop Coggan; he planted a tree south of the Gatehouse.

In March 1985 the Landmark Trust bought the Gatehouse from Mr D Dicke, and the East Range, which at that time was still being used as a farm building, from Mr R M Boothroyd.

*Cawood Castle*

*2 for Ruthven  
4 for Selby*

*In front over the great gateway*

*Side towards the inner court*

*1 Kempf  
2 Kempf  
3 Kempf  
4 Kempf mason*

*John Kempf born at Wye Kent - educated at Merton Col  
Oxon - Bp of Rochester, which he held from 1425 to 1450  
of York Cardinal Bishop 1425 - 1450 - Abps of Canterbury 1450 - 1454*

*4 Kempf  
1 Kempf  
2 Kempf  
3 Kempf  
4 Kempf mason*

**Notes by Rev Thomas Powell in 1819**  
1. North side 2. South side

## The heraldry at Cawood

The coats of arms carved above the arch on both sides of the Gatehouse are important and interesting. The arms that appear most frequently are the three garbs, or wheatsheaves, of Archbishop Kemp, confirming the view that the Archbishop was a worldly and perhaps a flamboyant character.

After more than 550 years some of the coats of arms are so weathered that they are difficult to decipher and a few, particularly on the south side, are impossible. Fortunately we have the picture of the Gatehouse in Drake's *History of York*, engraved in 1736, which shows the coats of arms on the south side when they were less eroded. Then in 1819 the Rev Thomas Powell visited the Castle and made sketches of the principal shields on both the north and the south sides. Later, in 1882, William Wheeler, in his *History of Sherburn and Cawood*, gives a list of the coats of arms, but includes those of the south side only.

As you arrive at the north side, which used to overlook the courtyard, the coats of arms, in a row along the bottom of the bow window, are (from the left):

- 1 The garbs, or sheaves, of Archbishop Kemp
- 2 An angel with a roundel which, according to Thomas Powell, is the Cardinal's hat, with tassels, now eroded away, and a shield bearing the Kemp arms hanging from it at an angle
- 3 The Kemp supporter, a falcon
- 4 The Royal Arms of England, three leopards. They are really three lions walking ('passant'), looking at you ('gardant'), which in heraldry are called leopards.

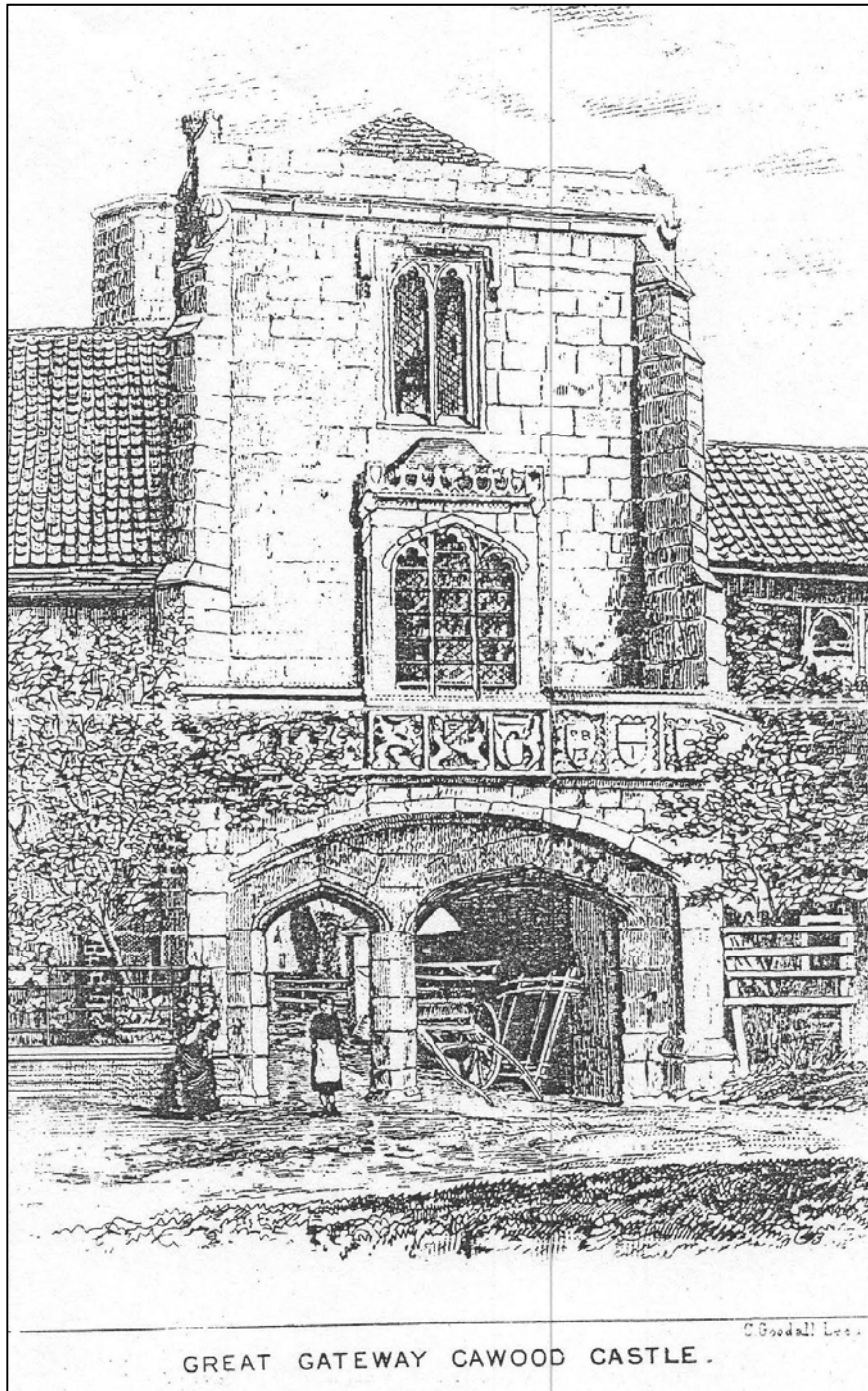
Below the bow window, in a sheltered position and therefore less weathered, are:

- 1 The arms of the See of York - crossed keys surmounted by a crown
- 2 The arms of Kemp.

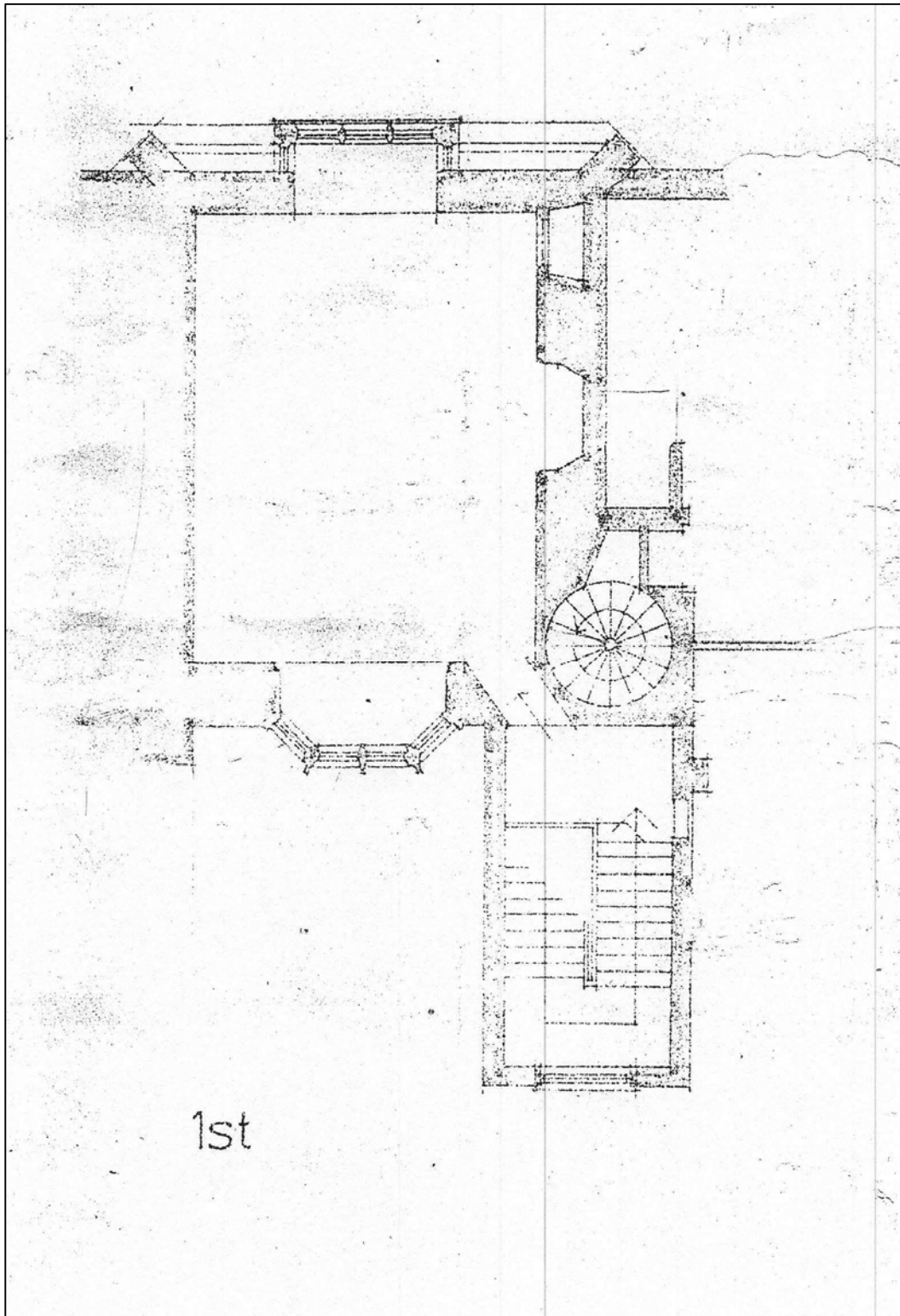
On the south side of the Gatehouse, from the left, are:

- 1 to 3 The Kemp arms
- 4 The arms of the See of York
- 5 Mantling with the royal crest, which can just be deciphered with the help of the Rev Thomas Powell
- 6 In the centre under the window are the Royal Arms of King Henry VI, being the three leopards of England quartered with the fleur de lys of France. His supporters seem to be (and are said by Wheater to be) stags, though Thomas Powell has drawn what looks like a dog
- 7 The Kemp falcon supporters, with a very eroded shield and Cardinal's hat behind
- 8 The Kemp arms
- 9 Eroded but, according to Wheater, the arms of the See of Canterbury. There is no sketch by Powell, but in Drake this looks like the pall of Canterbury and the Kemp arms. The pall would date the carving of this coat of arms as later than 1451, the year when John Kemp became Archbishop of Canterbury. We know that on leaving the diocese Kemp left instructions for completing work on the Castle.
- 10 and 11 The Kemp arms.





(1882)



**'Before restoration' plan: first floor**

## Cawood before its restoration

*from architectural notes compiled by E A Gee (1969)*

The Gatehouse, of magnesian limestone and built for Archbishop Kemp, has details of exceptional quality which, however, are badly weathered on the outside.

The main north elevation of the Gatehouse is of three storeys with square buttresses on either side and at the top a parapet with moulded copings and base.

At ground-floor level is a large four-centred archway set under a square head with quatrefoils containing shields and daggers in the spandrels.

The first floor is lit by an oriel with oblique sides; the sides each have an ogee-headed cinquefoil light with drop-head tracery and the front has two lights of the same form. The roof of the oriel is pyramidal and has the remnants of delightful cresting of Yorkshire type found at Skirlaugh, Topcliffe and elsewhere. The bottoms of the window lights have square panels, multi-cusped, with coats of arms.

The top floor is lit by a square-headed window with two cinquefoil lights and a label.

There is a projecting newel stair at the north-west corner and this corner is cloaked by an 18th-century staircase annex. The sides of the tower are plain ashlar but there is a good roof line on the east side. The inner face of the Gatehouse is of much the same form but with angle buttresses and is returned to the wings on either side, which were thus of the same date.

The ground floor, under a wide segmental arch, has a vehicular and a pedestrian archway, with moulded four-centred heads and retaining the hasps for doors, one side of which still remains and is of oak with a strong framework of upright and cross members, halved on each other at the back (15th century).

Above the archway is a broad decorated band of panels with moulded top and base, and set in the multi-cusped panels are coats of arms.

There is an oriel at first-floor level, oblong in plan and lit by a window with four-centred head and three cinquefoiled lights to the front and a similar light to each side, and the remains of bold cresting above.

The top floor is lit by a two-light square-headed window as before and here the parapet has lost its upper courses.

The newel stair had stone treads, rather worn to the first floor but in perfect order above, and has an attractive rail cut in the ashlar as far as the first floor. It originally had a vaulted roof, which has been replaced by an oak one with radial rafts, of late 17th/early 18th-century date.

The ground floor, or gate proper, has a vault with hollow-chamfered ribs, no bosses, and the web is formed of brick; this latter technique is not exceptional in this area and occurs in much of the 14th-century vaulting of Beverley Minster. The vault oversails the unusually deep but thin ribs completely.

The first-floor room, commonly called the Court Room and later turned into a billiard room, probably housed the leet court, as did so many gatehouses, such as that of St Mary's, York. The oriel window in the north wall has a very good-quality ribbed barrel vault; the east wall is cement-rendered and the west wall likewise, but in it is an original fireplace with square head with rounded angles and a continuous bracket moulding on the reveals. The doorway to its south

originally led to a range to the west, now replaced by the house, and has a four-centred head and bland spandrels under a moulded label. The oriel window in the south wall has a ribbed vault with bosses, including a lion's mask, a rose and foliage and, in the middle, a pelican vulning itself ('vulning' is a heraldic term synonymous with wounding - a reference to the belief that the pelican fed her brood with blood drawn from her own breast). On either side of the jamb is a winged angel issuing from clouds. The one to the east has the arms of Archbishop Kemp and the other holds a scroll.

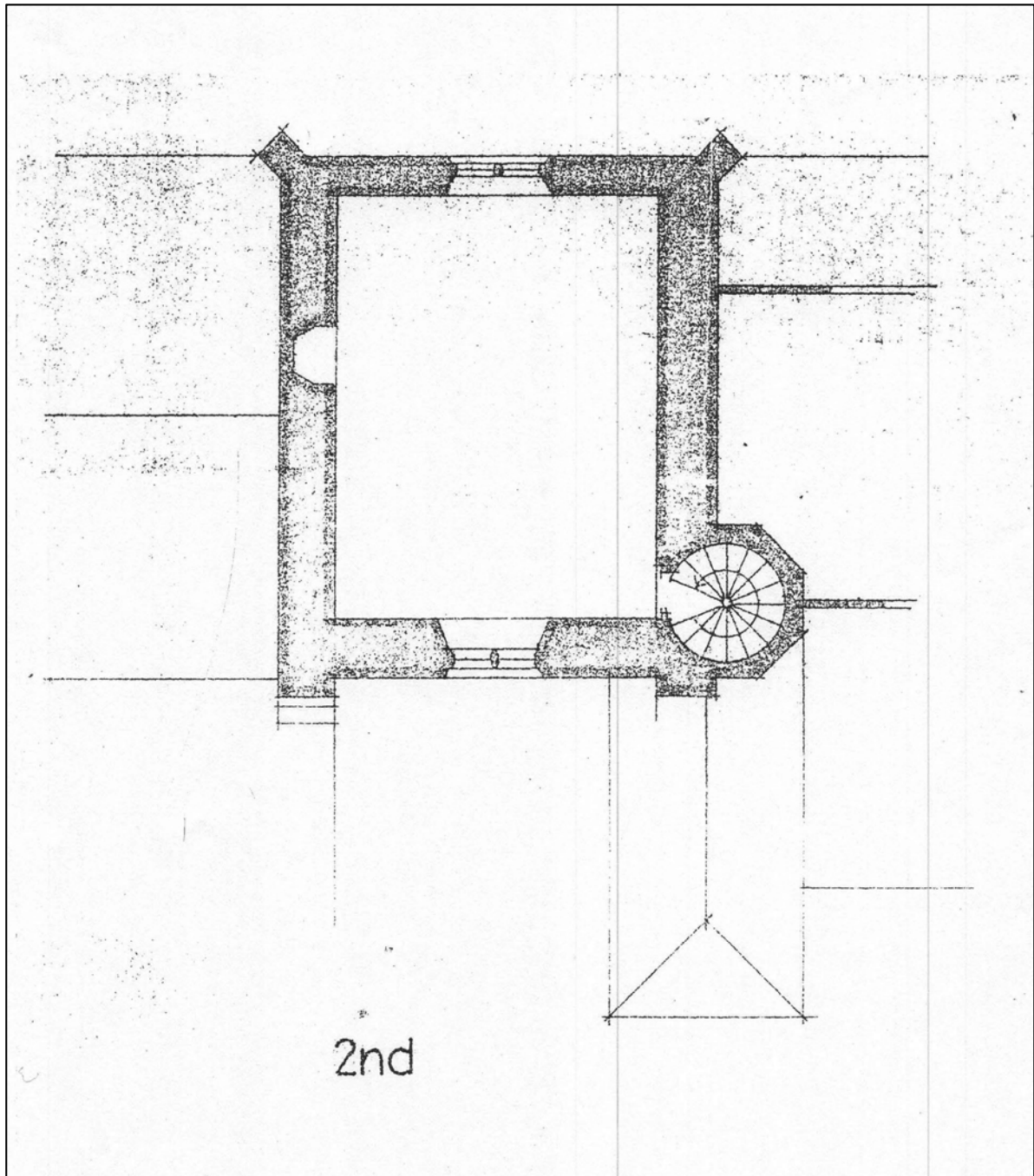
The second floor is now divided but in general is filled with nesting boxes, well constructed in brick and of late 17th/early 18th-century date. There is a medieval fireplace as before, behind the boxes of the east wall. The inserted roof is of roughly shaped oak and on this is a gypsum floor laid on reeds, a practice more common in Nottinghamshire, where the stables at Wollaton are so constructed.

The present roof is of Welsh slates; at this level are two medieval chimneys, octagonal and originally with battlemented tops.

The range to the east of the Gatehouse is of the same date, for not only does the inside face of the gate bond in, but features inside have the same bracket mould as those of the Gatehouse.

It is of eight bays in brick with stone dressings, but the two easternmost bays have been largely rebuilt.

The north elevation is difficult to see (because of the farm buildings) but in general the bays are delineated by three-stage buttresses in brick with magnesian limestone weatherings, and there is a plinth at ground level and an inset at the top of the ground floor, both originally with chamfered limestone members. Each bay on the north side had one cinquefoiled light to both ground and first floor, but in two bays at least there were fine doorways each with moulded reveals, four-



**'Before restoration' plan: second floor**

centred head and label. The east gable was rebuilt in the 18th century and the west one abuts the gate tower.

The south elevation is as before, but here the ground floor is not lit. The first two bays declare themselves medieval by trimmed-off buttresses, but have largely been rebuilt, probably in the 18th century. The fourth buttress has been cut away like the first two, but the others are in good order. The first and second windows are vanished, but the remainder remain in good preservation. The third one is open, the fourth one has its original iron stanchions, while the sixth, seventh and eighth windows are blocked.

There is a later barn doorway in the fifth bay. Inside it is clearly seen that the building was of two storeys and that a floor has been removed. Not much detail can be seen at ground level but there is a fireplace like those in the tower at the east end and a small aumbry or lamp recess by it and the two fine doorways on the north side already mentioned. The first floor is lit on both sides and the windows have four-centred rear arches in brick. This floor may have had a two-bay room on the east, entered by an original doorway still existing, a four-bay room and certainly at the west end was a two-bay room, for a roof truss shows mortices for a partition wall and this latter room has a fireplace set obliquely in the south corner.

The roof has quite a few medieval trusses and at the same time there is a lot of re-used wood and renewal of older wood. If the roof line on the gate tower is a criterion, it has been wholly remodelled, but one cannot be dogmatic about this. The older trusses have tie-beams, collars and principals and arched braces from the tie to the collars, with two purlins on either side; most members are chamfered.

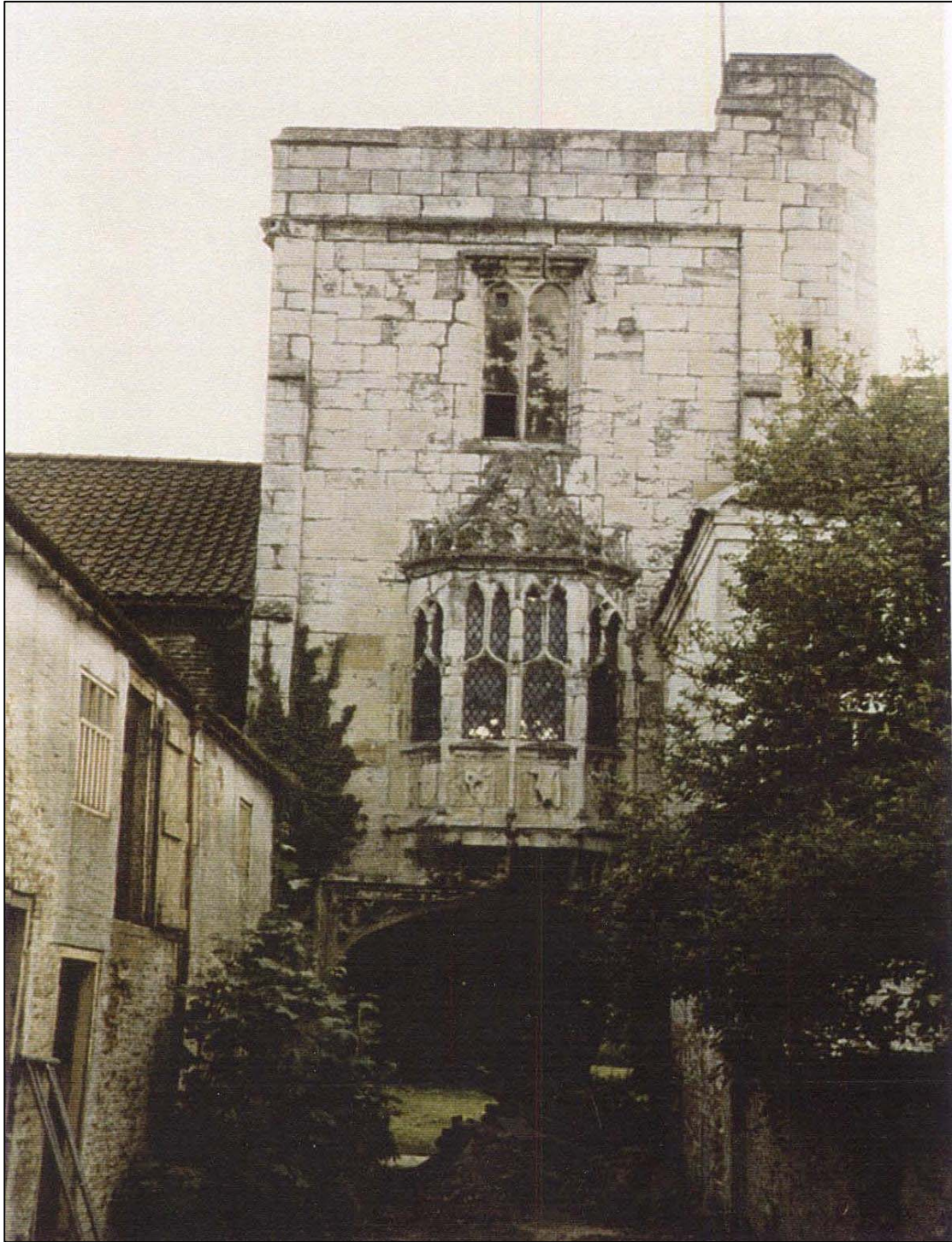
The house on the other side of the Gatehouse [2 Thorpe Lane - not the property of the Landmark Trust] is of red brick, of four bays with two storeys and attics, and has Victorian annexes to the north and west. The roofs are of pantiles. The south front has a three-brick band between the storeys, the upper one projecting. At the south end of the ground floor a remnant of the 15th-century range remains as a slightly projecting section, and to its left are two windows with plastered flat arches, stone cills and plate-glass hung sashes. The openings and fielded-panelled shutters are 18th century but the remainder is Victorian. A doorway in the third bay has a porch with a heavy flat roof with moulded entablature, supported by square columns with panels suggested by incised grooves and similar pilasters. The doorway proper has an oblong fanlight and a door with six panels with applied moulding (*c.* 1830). To the west there is another window, and the first floor is lit by four similar windows over the openings below. In the roof are four gabled dormers of Victorian type; at the west end is a pent-roofed addition of one and a half storeys. There are two chimney breasts on the north side of the ridge.

The north side of the house has at the centre a porch-like stair annex and at the north end another stair annex. Between these is a 19th-century infill of two storeys and all the windows in the main house are sliding Yorkshire sashes.

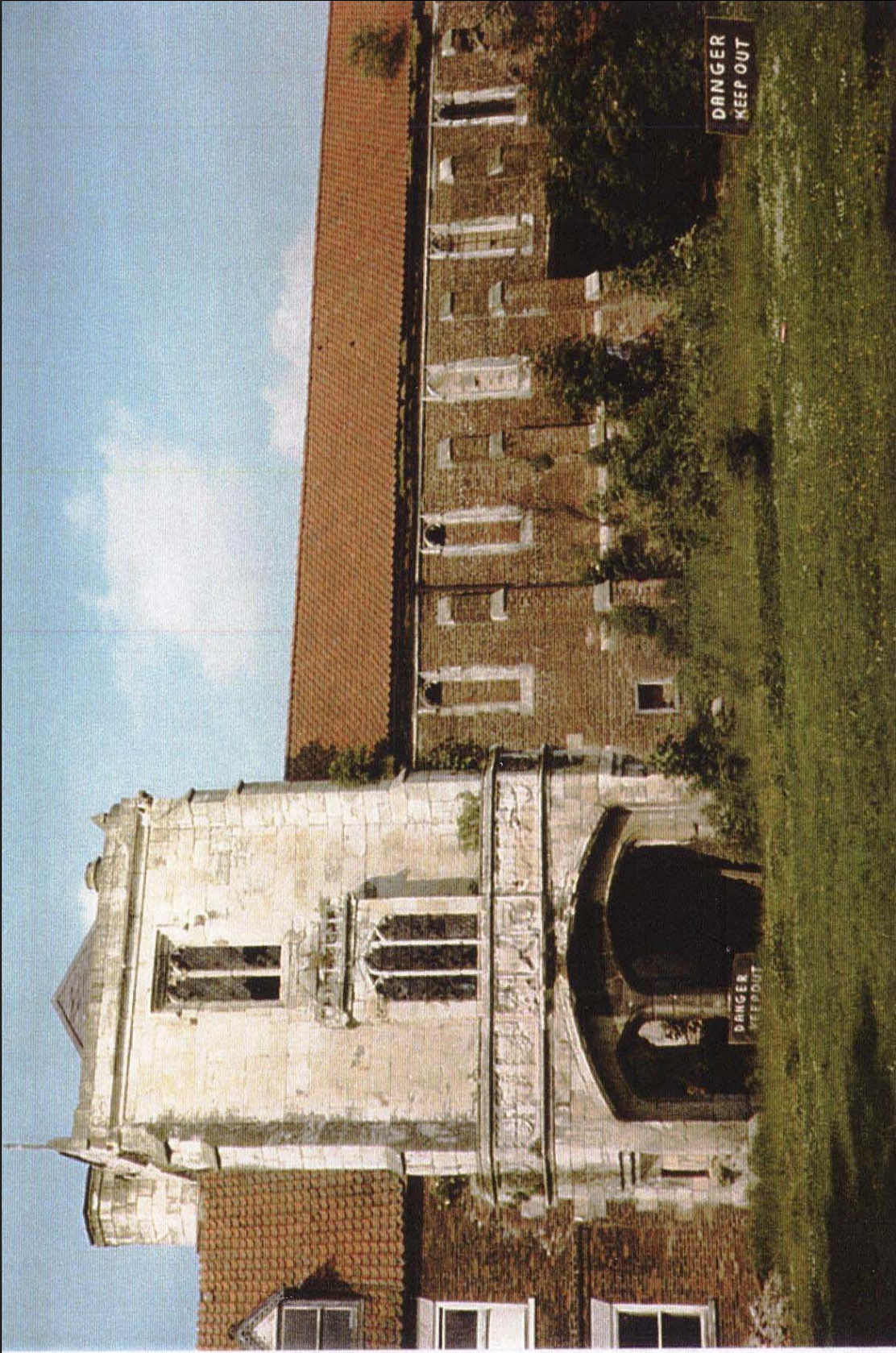




**South side showing the remaining parapet south of the stair turret  
with the farm shed still attached - note the growth of ivy**



**The north side was spoilt by encroaching farm buildings**



The south front in 1985

## Repairing the Gatehouse

The Gatehouse survived the gradual demolition of the rest of the Castle in the years following the Civil War, surprisingly unscathed. When the Landmark Trust took over the building in 1985 the only serious change it had suffered in the 550 years since it was first built was to the roof line. The crenellated parapet had been removed and a pitched roof had been substituted for the original flat one.

Apart from this there was, of course, weathering. The important and interesting heraldic carving was badly eroded and this has been carefully restored. The appearance of the north side was spoilt by encroaching farm buildings, but undamaged except (again) for the weathering of the stonework. Some of the stone in the front window had to be replaced. The stone used came from Cadeby, near Doncaster. Although it was not from the same quarry as the original stone, it was a similar magnesian limestone.

### **The roof**

Fortunately a small part of the original crenellated parapet still existed south of the turret of the spiral stair, so it was possible to replace it all exactly as it was. The pitched Welsh slate roof was removed and the Gatehouse once more has a flat one. It consists of York paving laid over a waterproof insulated covering to a new concrete roof. The original would have been lead, but this was not used for technical reasons. The 15th-century chimneys were repaired.

### **The spiral staircase**

The original medieval roof of the stair turret, which had a stone vault, had been replaced in wood, and at a lower pitch, in the 18th century; but this later roof was now, in its turn, in a decayed condition. The original stone springers of the medieval vault still existed, however, so it was decided to re-form the internal dome using oak ribs supported on the existing but lengthened central post. The later oak roof structure was repaired and re-used above to carry a new lead

covering. The wheatsheaf crowning the turret is a tribute to Archbishop Kemp, on whose armorial bearings it appears.

### **The ground-floor vault**

Part of the centre rib running north and south had fallen down, and was replaced. Fortunately it had caused no damage to the arch. The webs between the stone ribs are brick.

### **The gate**

Half of the original timber gate was lying below the arch; it has been mended and replaced. The recesses cut into the stonework into which the drawbars fitted can be clearly seen. Remains of the cast iron supports for the gate are still fixed to the eastern jamb reveal.

### **Alterations to the interior plan**

To appreciate fully what has been done, one needs to consult the 'before restoration' plans. One of the problems was how to obtain a kitchen, a bathroom and a cloakroom with the minimum of alteration. To this end an area about five feet (150cm) wide was taken off the house west of the gatehouse to make a mezzanine bathroom between the first and second floors and, on the first floor, a cloakroom and a kitchen. The bathroom has a new doorway connecting it to the stairs. The kitchen is lit by a new, inconspicuous window made in the south wall. In the 'before' plan the door into the kitchen opens into a cupboard but it is an important doorway, and would almost certainly originally have led into a western residential range.

### **The 18th-century staircase**

This dates from the second half of the 18th century, and was probably added when the Gatehouse became the Archbishop of York's Court Leet. It was in a poor state of repair; much of the woodwork has been renewed, the walls have been replastered and it has been re-roofed.

### **The first-floor sitting-room**

The ceiling is new, the old one having fallen in. The hard cement rendering has been removed from the walls, which have been limewashed in a thin lime plaster. Similarly the high-quality carvings in the south bay have been cleaned and limewashed. The original lime ash floor had virtually disappeared; the tiny patch that remained has been covered and the whole floor re-paved with Cadeby stone and slate dots. Concrete had been put down in the bay of the north window, and has not been removed for fear of damaging the cantilevered structure.

### **The second-floor bedroom**

The original floor was missing and has been replaced. A later floor that cut across the windows was removed, and the tracery and glazing restored here as it has been elsewhere.

### **The East Range**

This building is contemporary with the Gatehouse. The evidence for this is that the stonework of the East Range is bonded into that of the Gatehouse, and that certain features inside - such as the door jambs and the eastern fireplace lintel and hearth - share the same moulding. Archbishop Kemp's wheatsheaves can be seen on the frame of the door at first-floor level in the partition wall, though it would originally have been in a different position since this wall was a later addition. The two bays at the end furthest from the Gatehouse were largely rebuilt, probably in the 18th century.

When the Landmark Trust took over Cawood Castle this part of it was used as a barn.

### **The north side**

This face was blocked by undistinguished farm buildings, which were removed with spectacular results: a fine medieval building emerged. A wide opening for farm vehicles had been roughly knocked through the north and south walls,

between the third and fourth buttresses. This opening has been blocked up, and on the north side the window that had been demolished has been restored.

### **The south side**

The fifth buttress, which had been removed when a farm building was placed against the wall, was reinstated. The three windows at the Gatehouse end had been blocked up, and have now been reopened.

The whole of the roof had to be re-tiled, and some of the rafters, collars and braces were repaired.

The interior of the building has not been changed. The ground level, which was about two and a half feet (75cm) above the level it had been when the Castle was built, was dug away to its earlier height.

Finally, to improve the view from the street, the brick wall that ran alongside the pavement was removed.



**Farm buildings that encroached on the northern side of the Gatehouse and East Range being demolished in 1985**







**Hoisting up the parapet stones**



**The parapet completed: work in progress  
on the spiral staircase turret**



**Concreting the Gatehouse roof**



**The restored roof, parapet and chimney**



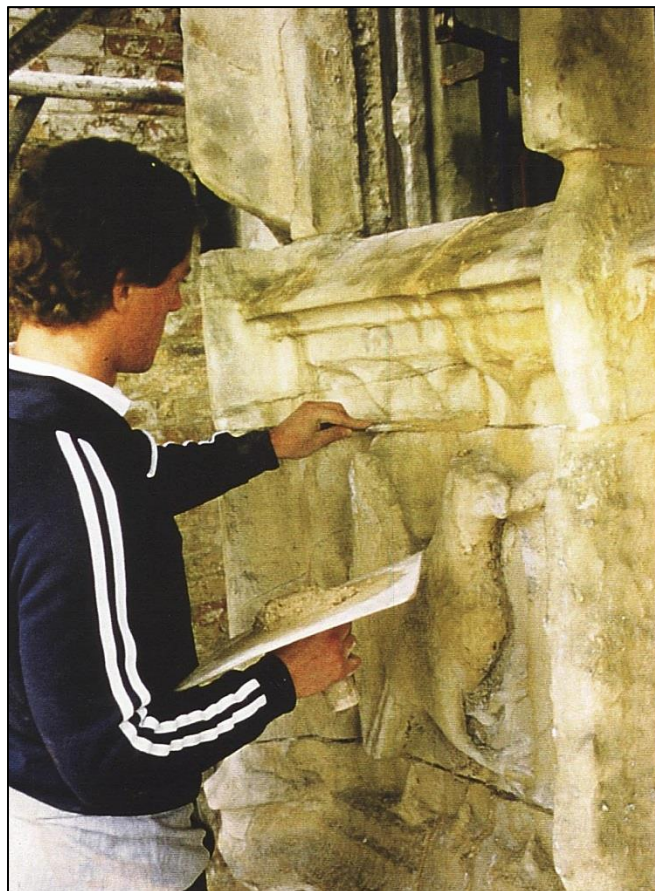
**Construction of the spiral staircase turret**



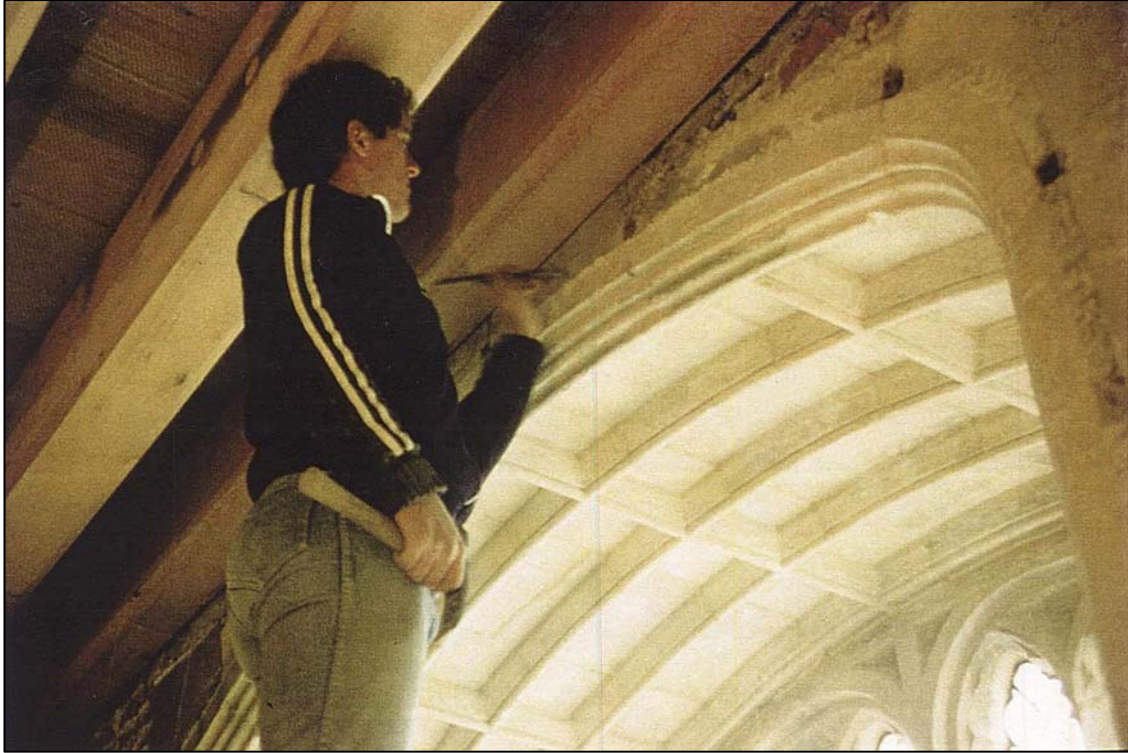
**The spiral staircase turret with its wheatsheaf finial**



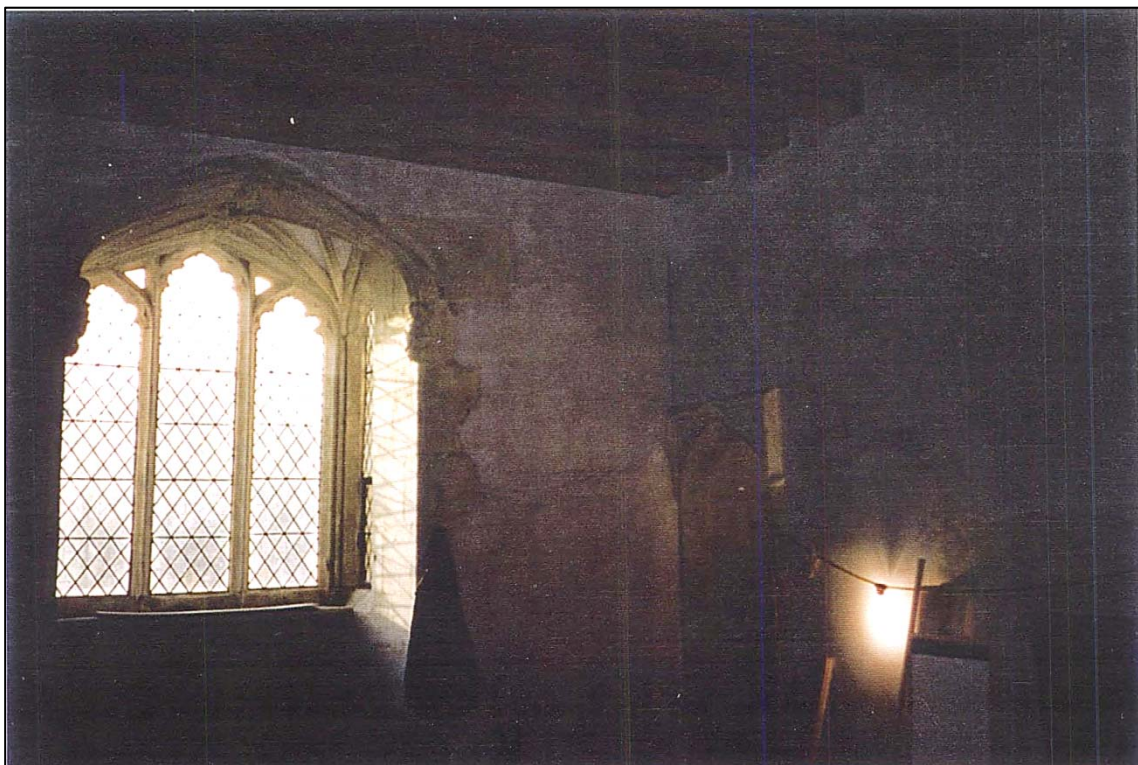
**Carved corbel on the south side in 1985**



**Cleaning Archbishop Kemp's falcon**



**Cleaning the internal masonry**



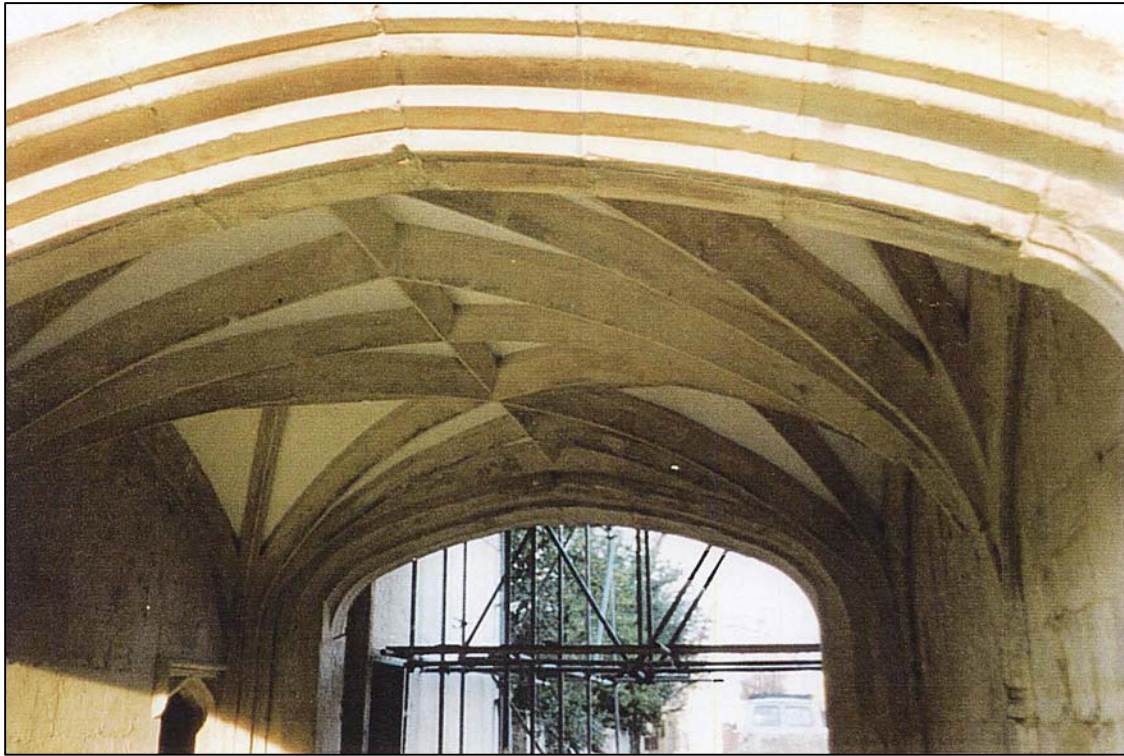
**The south bay of the first-floor room during decoration**



**Reroofing the Georgian staircase**



**Running the plaster cornice in the Georgian staircase**



**The undercroft restored**



**The great gate being mended**



**The south side in 1985, showing the barn door, the bricked-up windows and the buttress hacked away for a farm shed**



**The barn door from the north side in 1985**





**The barn door being bricked up on the south side; one buttress is still missing**



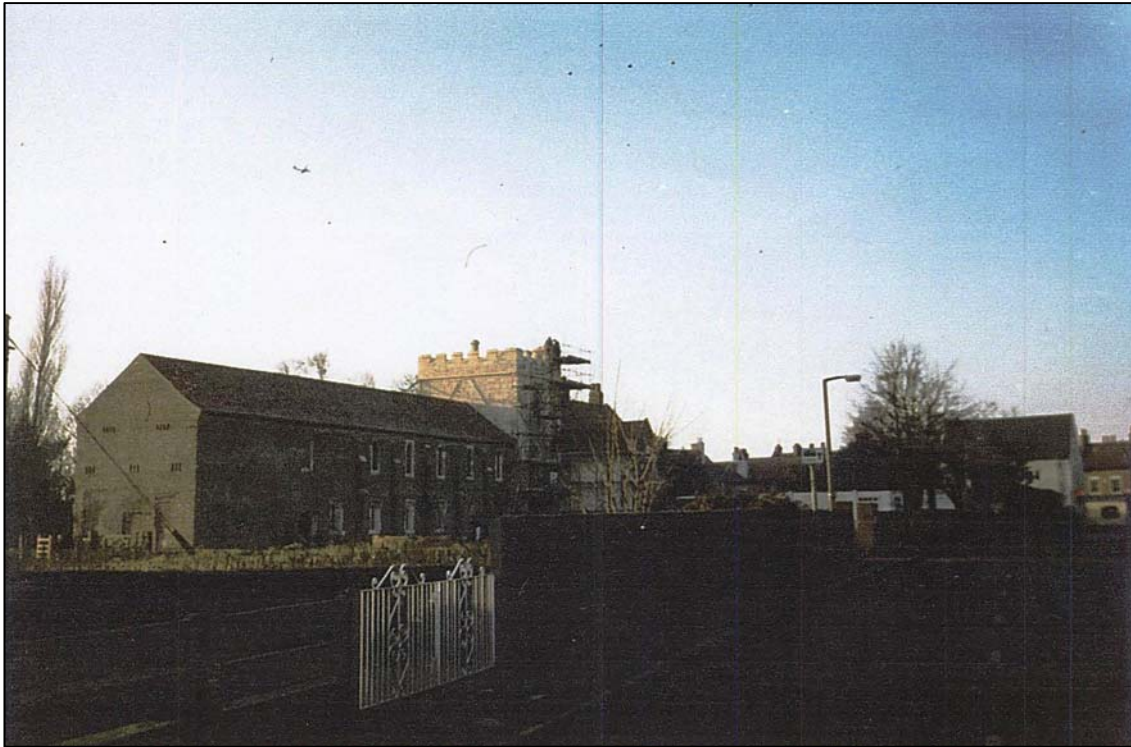
**The south and east sides of the east range after restoration but before reducing the ground level**



**Work in progress on the north side**



**The window that was removed to make the barn opening was restored**



**View from the road before the ground level was reduced  
and before the brick boundary wall was demolished**



**Drain excavations**



**Repairing the roof and rafters of the east range**



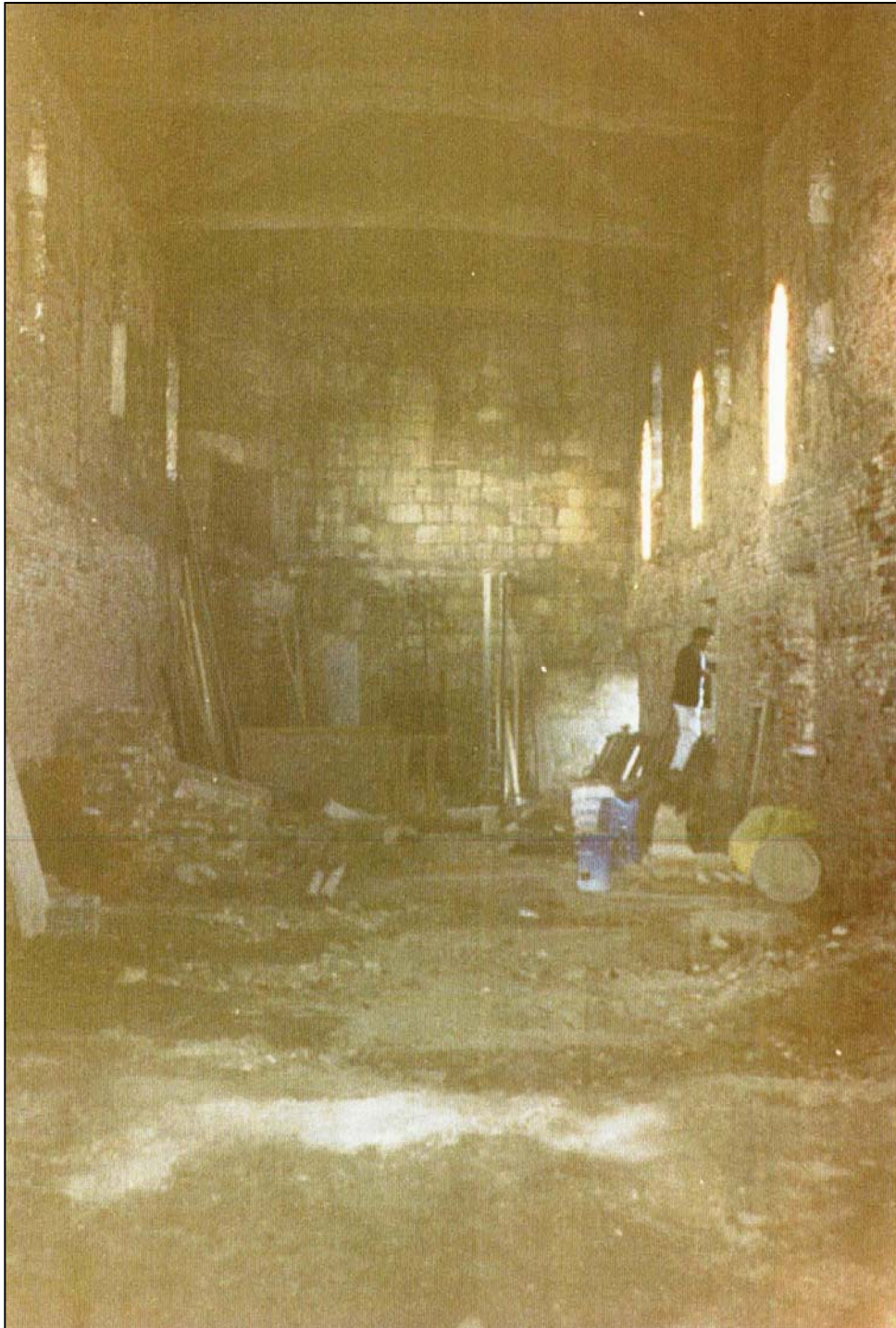
**The restored roof: rafters, collars and braces**



**The roof restored**



**Investigating the floor in the east range**



Looking west during the restoration of the window openings



**Looking east at the later cross wall  
with rebuilt first-floor doorway**

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## **Acknowledgements**

Information on the Castle and its repair was given by Michael Mennim, architect.

The Landmark Trust is grateful to Michael Mennim and Roger Silk for permission to use their photographs.



## CAWOOD: AN ARCHIEPISCOPAL LANDSCAPE

by N. K. Blood and C. C. Taylor.

### *Introduction.*

In late 1989 the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England surveyed the earthworks lying within the large area of open land known as Castle Garth, Cawood (SE 574376). The work was undertaken at the request of the Cawood Parish Council who wished for information on the site prior to the establishment of a new management plan. The survey was carried out by N. K. Blood, with the assistance of P. Sinton, at 1:2500 scale using metrical control based on an EDM framework. The archaeological detail was supplied by plane table and self-reducing alidade. Documentary material was provided by Dr. B. Jones. The full archive (SE 53 NE 2) is held by the National Monuments Record and aerial photographs by the Air Photography Unit of the Royal Commission. This account is published by courtesy of the Commissioners.

The remains of Castle Garth have their own intrinsic interest as the presumed site of the outer court and gardens of one of the palaces of the medieval archbishops of York and are worth publishing on those grounds alone. However, the overall setting of the site and its relationship to the remarkable standing buildings of the palace and, more particularly, to the village of Cawood and its associated landscape is such that it seemed that a more comprehensive publication might be useful.

### *The Sherburn Estate (Fig. 1).*

The first detailed reference to Cawood is in 963 when King Edgar granted an estate at Sherburn either to Aeslac, perhaps Earl Oslac, exiled in 975, or to Osketel, Archbishop of York, (956-71).<sup>1</sup> The boundaries of the estate, as given in 963, are extremely vague but appear to indicate that it included most of the land within the rough triangle formed by the Rivers Wharfe / Ouse on the north, the River Aire on the south and the Roman Road from Castleford (Lagentium) to Tadcaster (Calcaria) on the west. Though at first sight the charter implies the existence of a compact and unified estate it is clear that even in the late tenth century some land within this triangle lay outside the grant. Among the few places specifically mentioned in the 963 charter is 'all Lotherton except 1 hide'. This suggests that if the estate at Sherburn had once been geographically compact, by 963 it had already been reduced in size presumably by losses or other unrecorded grants. Nevertheless it certainly included Cawood which is mentioned specifically in the charter.

1. W. Farrer (ed), *Early Yorkshire Charters I* (1914), 18-21, no 6 (hereafter Farrer 1914); *Historians of the Church of York I* (RS 71), 340, no 5. The interpretation of the 963 charter given here is at variance with that of Mrs. M. H. Long in H. E. J. le Patourel, M. H. Long and E. Pickles (eds), *Yorkshire Boundaries* to be published by the Yorkshire Archaeological Society. The view expressed in the present paper is more in keeping with the interpretation in G. R. J. Jones, 'Early Territorial Organization in Gwynedd and Elmet', *Northern Hist* 10 (1975).

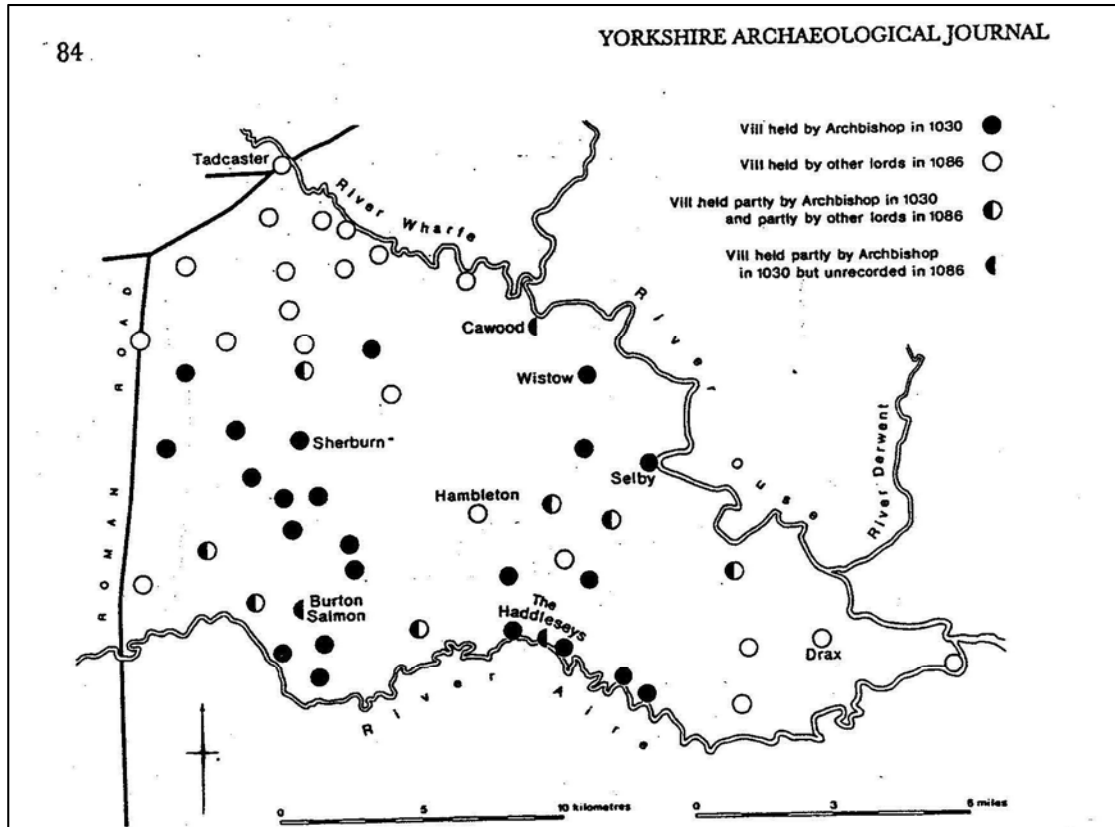


Fig. 1 Landholdings in the area of Sherburn in the 11th century (Crown copyright: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England)

The situation is both clarified and perhaps confused by a memorandum of 975 by Archbishop Oswald (971-92) which gives a list of outlying properties at Ripon, Otley and Sherburn which had been lost to the see.<sup>2</sup> Under Sherburn it is claimed that half an unidentified place called *Ceoredholm* as well as half the 'soke which belongs to Sherburn' had been taken away but that 'half of Cawood ... still belongs to Sherburn'. Stenton<sup>3</sup> used this memorandum to argue that even by this date the northern church had not recovered from the depredations of the Danish invasions of the ninth century. As Sherburn had apparently been granted to the archbishop in 963 this can hardly be so. On the other hand the loss of extensive archiepiscopal rights and land between 963 and 975 seems unlikely. It may be that the 963 grant was in fact a re-granting of land that had belonged to the see much earlier, but which had been lost during the Danish invasion. The vague nature of the charter might then be seen as a compromise between the original situation of a unified and compact estate lying within the Wharfe / Ouse and Aire triangle and the 963 position when extensive lands and rights had been lost to other landowners who would not give them up. Nevertheless the important point for the history of Cawood is that the memorandum admits that the archbishop held only 'half' of it.

The picture becomes clearer in the next surviving documentary source. This, another charter, dated c. 1030,<sup>4</sup> describes in more detail the archbishop's land at Sherburn. The constituent vill of the estate are listed and described and these make it clear that the estate did not then cover the whole of the Wharfe / Ouse, Aire, Roman Road

2. A. J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (1939), 110-13.

3. F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (1947), 430.

4. Farrer 1914, 21-3, no 7.

triangle (Fig. 1). These vills seem to cover a compact block, though with a gap in the centre caused by the omission of Hambleton. In addition all the townships at the extreme eastern end of the triangle such as Camblesforth, Drax, Long Drax, etc are also excluded. Further, the townships such as Ryther, Grimston and Stutton in the north-west of the area immediately south of Tadcaster are not listed as part of the estate. At the same time the description of some of the townships within the apparently compact group around Sherburn itself confirms the evidence of the 963 charter as well as the 975 memorandum that the estate only covered parts of some of these townships. Thus, for example, the charter specifies 'all Wistow ... half Barlow, ... all the two Thorpes ... all Fairburn except 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> ploughlands' etc. In particular there are 'two parts of Cawood' which presumes that there was at least another part of Cawood in other hands. This again may be significant. Domesday Book clarifies matters still further. The details of the archbishop's estate are not specified, it merely being recorded that 'in Sherburn with its outliers are 96 carucates of land'.<sup>5</sup> However this assessment is approximately the same as the 20 hides of 963 and thus it is likely that the archbishop's estate was then the same as in 963 and 1030. More significant are the landholdings listed in Domesday Book for this area which are not held by the archbishop.<sup>6</sup> Ilbert de Lacey's extensive estate has three features which stand out in particular. Some of the lands de Lacey held are in townships where the archbishop also held land as part of the Sherburn estate. These include Ledsham, Fairburn, Forton and Milford. Another section comprises parts of townships at the far eastern end of the Wharfe / Ouse, Aire triangle, such as Drax, Carlton and Camblesforth, as well as Hambleton, the only non-archiepiscopal holding to the west. The third feature of the de Lacey estate is a compact group of townships immediately south of Tadcaster. This group not only fills in the gap between the archbishop's holding to the south and the Roman Road to Tadcaster in the north, where it turns north-east to reach the town, but extends across this Roman Road and is part of a much larger group of holdings most of which lay further west.

All this suggests that there may well once have been a unified estate of the archbishop of York at Sherburn perhaps derived from a royal grant of land following the conquest of the British kingdom of Elmet in the seventh century. This estate was possibly then lost to the see following the Danish invasion. When it was finally returned in 963 much of its land and part of its soke had fallen into other hands and were irrecoverable. Specifically Cawood was by then at least in dual tenure, part held by the archbishop and part by an unspecified lord. Who that lord might have been is quite unknown though later on certainly the Crown was involved as tenant in chief in Cawood.

After the late eleventh century the archbishop's estate at Sherburn is reasonably well documented. Some parts of it were later granted away, for example Monk Fryston, given to Selby Abbey soon after its foundation.<sup>7</sup> It nevertheless remained a recognizable unit of tenure until well into the seventeenth century when it was finally alienated.

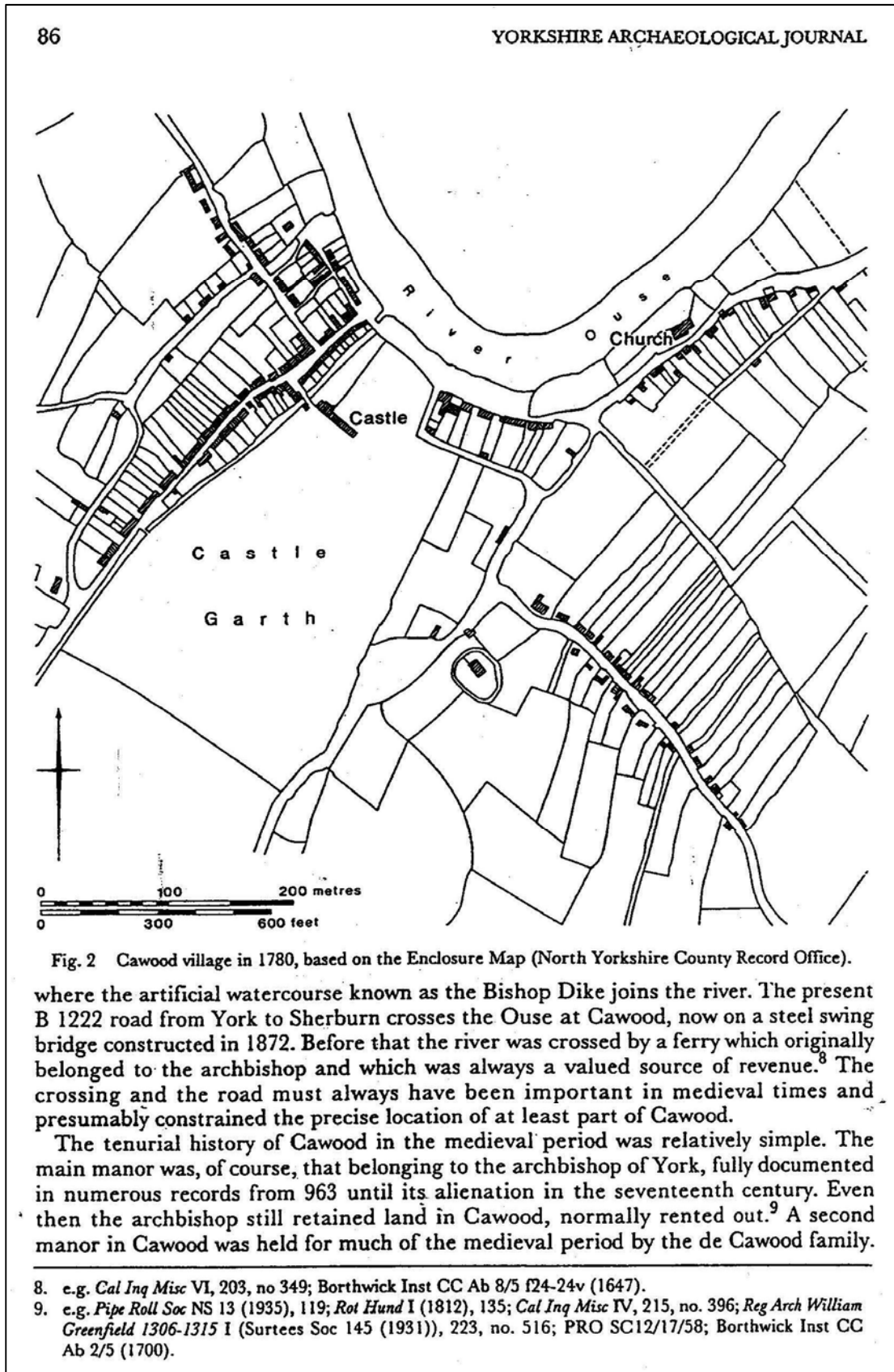
*Cawood village* (Figs 2, 3, 5).

The village of Cawood lies on the southern side of the River Ouse 1km below its confluence with the River Wharfe on clay and sand at 7-8m above OD, at the point

5. M. L. Faull and M. Stinson (eds), *Domesday Book, Yorkshire*, (1986), 2B.1 (hereafter Faull and Stinson 1986).

6. Faull and Stinson 1986, 9W.

7. M. W. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (1967), 520 (hereafter Beresford 1967).



The origins of this manor are obscure but they may lie in that part of Cawood which is specified as not belonging to the archbishop in both 975 and 1030. This may have been held then and later by the Crown though such a situation is not recorded in Domesday Book. The second manor therefore may have originated in an early royal grant of land to the ancestors of the Cawoods. Certainly the Cawoods held the manor of the king as keepers of the 'Royal Forest of Langwath between the Derwent and the Ouse'.<sup>10</sup>

The earliest clear reference to this manor is in 1201 when John de Cawoode 'held land in Cawood'. The descent can be traced without a break until 1454 when another John Cawood held land there.<sup>11</sup> Thereafter the Cawoods disappear from the parish, though what may be the same family were holding land in York and Burton Agnes soon afterwards.<sup>12</sup>

However, even before 1454 the Cawoods appear to have lost some of their land in Cawood for in 1425 one Thomas Aunger had acquired, perhaps by marriage, some land which seems earlier to have been part of the Cawood manor though held of the Crown separately from the main manor there. Certainly by 1463 a Thomas Aunger held a manor in Cawood of the Crown by service of Keeper of the Forest of Langwath. In 1494 what had definitely been the Cawood manor was leased by the Crown to Richard Acclam who was holding it in 1495.<sup>13</sup> Thereafter the manor disappears from the record as a unified landholding, presumably as a result of sales.

Apart from the manors of the archbishop and the Cawoods no other major landholding appears in the medieval records. Thus these two manors are presumably all that existed. The centre of the archbishop's manor was obviously Cawood Castle (Fig. 3; see below). The manor house of the Cawoods can only be the small rectangular moated site, known as Kensbury, which lies on the south-eastern side of the village in the angle between Broad Lane and Wistowgate.<sup>14</sup> Certainly Mrs le Patourel made this connection.<sup>15</sup>

The relationship of this medieval tenure to the physical make-up of Cawood is important. As noted earlier, only 'half' of Cawood was in the hands of the archbishop in 975 and, perhaps more specifically, the archbishop's holding in Cawood in 1030 was described as being two parts of Cawood. The implication of this latter statement is that there was at least one other 'part' in other hands. The Cawood manor, admittedly in much later documents, is consistently described as being 'a third part of the vill', 'one-third part of Cawood'.<sup>16</sup> It is possible that this means not only that there were originally three parts of Cawood, but also that these three parts were physically separate.

This hypothesis is supported by an examination of the topography and the architecture of the present village as well as evidence from early OS maps and plans, the enclosure map of 1780 and various seventeenth and eighteenth-century deeds and the Court Books.<sup>17</sup> From all these it is clear that Cawood village had three distinct parts (Figs. 2, 5).

10. e.g. PRO C134/28/8; *Cal IPM IX*, 284, no. 339.

11. *Book of Fees I 1198-1242*, 249; *Cal IPM I*, 209, no. 668; *Cal IPM V*, 207, no. 367; *Cal Pat Rolls 1330-1334*, 362; *Cal Inq Misc VI*, 203, no. 349; *Cal IPM XVIII*, 332, no. 972; PRO C139/137/11; PRO C139/157/19.

12. PRO C142/181/72.

13. PRO C139/22/20; PRO C140/9/5; *Cal Fine Rolls 1461-1471*, 51; *Cal Pat Rolls 1485-1494*, 464; *Cal IPM Henry VII III*, 356, no. 602.

14. NAR SE53 NE3.

15. H. E. J. le Patourel, *Moated Sites of Yorkshire, Medieval Archaeol Monograph no. 5* (1973), 15, 125 (hereafter H. E. J. le Patourel 1973).

16. *Cal IPM V*, 207, no. 367; PRO C134/28/8; *Cal IPM XVI*, 392-3, no. 983; *Cal IPM XVIII*, 332, no. 972.

17. Enclosure Map 1780, NYCRO PC/W15 DN 186; Borthwick Inst, Leases, Deeds, Terriers and Estate Particulars, generally CC Ab, CAW, etc.

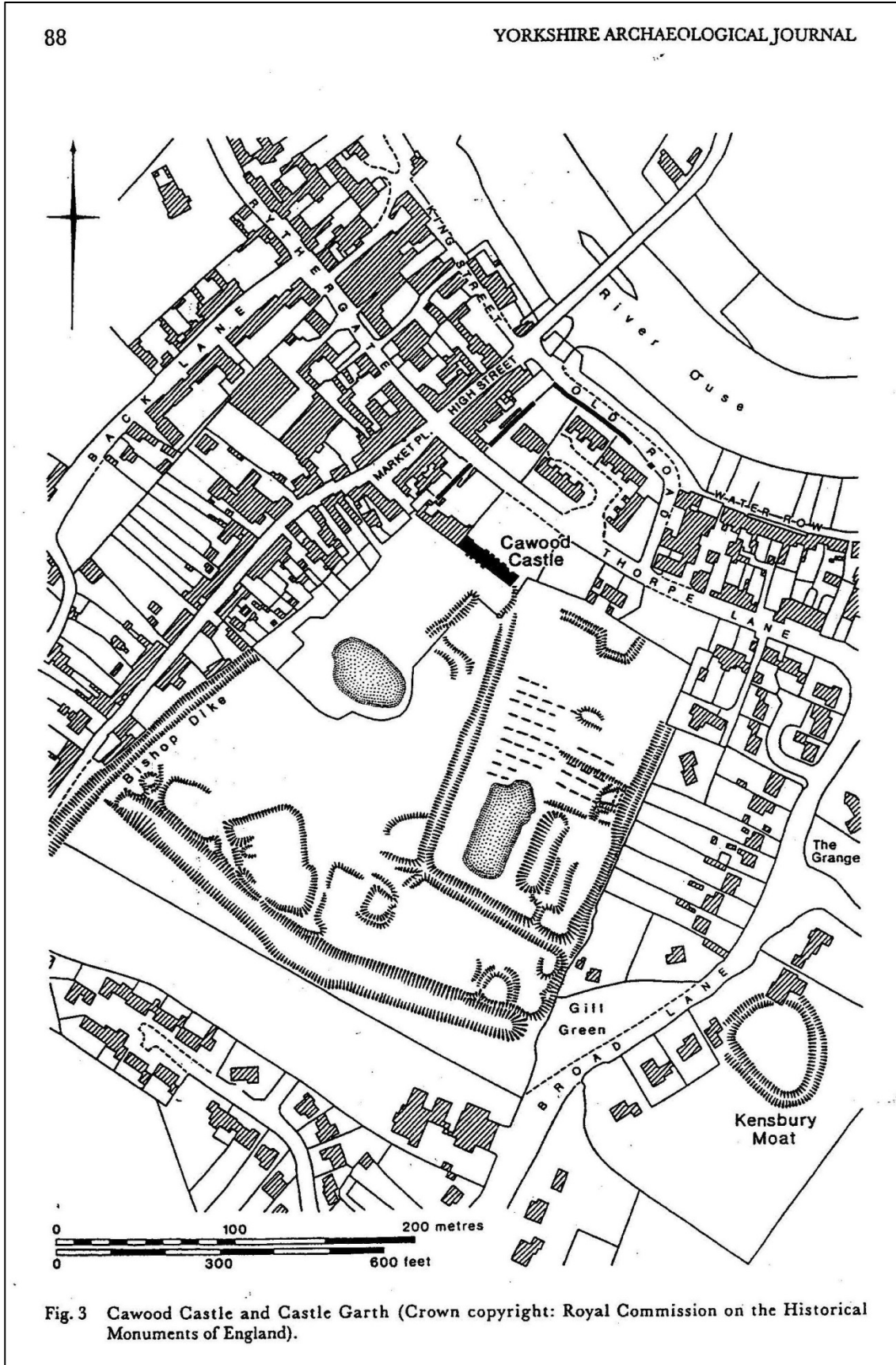


Fig. 3 Cawood Castle and Castle Garth (Crown copyright: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England).

The smallest is that known as Church End, lying to the east of the main village on the edge of the River Ouse along a road leading east into the former Ings and Marshes. Its western end continues as Water Row. The existence of the present parish church, formerly a chapel of Wistow, between this road and the river, and set on a locally prominent rise, is perhaps significant. Though much altered and extended during the later medieval period, it still retains a mid to late twelfth-century western wall of the nave indicating a major building or rebuilding at that time. All this may imply that an associated settlement has always existed around it. Certainly the enclosure map (Fig. 2) shows on the opposite side of the street to the church a single-row settlement of very regular form and with the remains of a back lane. This settlement may once have extended to the south-west and included the present Water Row. This group of properties also forms a very regular single-row block with its own back lane, now part of Thorpe Lane (Fig. 3). Between Church End and Water Row are the last remnants of a former green, now largely occupied by a sub-rectangular encroachment already there in 1851 and then partly used as a pinfold.<sup>18</sup> There may however be a different explanation for the regularity and indeed position of Water Row. At least in part it occupies the north-eastern corner of what would otherwise be an almost perfectly trapezoidal area of land containing the archbishop's palace and its attached Castle Garth (see below). Alternatively the Castle Garth could have been larger and have extended to the south-east as far as Broad Lane and its junction with Wistowgate. Either way Water Row looks as if it has been in part or completely cut out of the Castle Garth land. If this is so it might be that the Water Row settlement had a different origin and function from Church End or indeed the other parts of Cawood. It might be a planned settlement connected with river traffic or the fisheries here, or perhaps, and more likely, a settlement separate from the other parts of Cawood, planned for and used by the servants employed by the archbishop in his palace. Certainly such servants existed and are recorded as being lessees of tofts and lands. Thus in 1253 there is a grant by Archbishop Gray 'to William Scott his servant ... of a toft in Cawood', and in 1312/13 Archbishop Greenfield granted a messuage in Cawood to 'Richard le Laufare his cook' while in 1332 Archbishop Melton granted a toft there to John, his Larderer.<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately the whereabouts of these and other similar tofts and messuages is not known.

The ownership of the rest of the Church End block in Cawood in medieval times is difficult to ascertain. As far as can be seen it was archiepiscopal land though this is by no means certain. The implication of the layout of Church End, as it existed in the late eighteenth century, is that it was planned or replanned at some time.

The second part of Cawood is the present Wistowgate in the south-east of the village. At its south-eastern end it winds gently towards Wistow village, but at its north-western end it terminates abruptly at a T-junction with Broad Lane and Thorpe Lane, perhaps indicating either that its former extension north-west has been blocked by the area of land known as Castle Garth (see below) or that it was a deliberate addition to an earlier arrangement of streets.

The detailed form of Wistowgate may also be significant. It is in effect a long two-row settlement of fairly regular form. The enclosure map (Fig. 2) clarifies this interpretation somewhat for it shows that in the late eighteenth century the properties on the north-east of the street formed a highly regular pattern of near-equal sized plots terminated by what was, by then, a partly abandoned back lane. By contrast, the properties on the south-west of the street were larger, more irregular and in most

18. OS 1st edn. 6 in plan, 1851.

19. *Reg Arch Gray 1215-1255* II (Surtees Soc 56 (1870)), 270; *Reg Arch William Greenfield 1306-1315* I (Surtees Soc 145 (1931)), 253, no. 588; *Cal Pat Rolls 1330-1334*, 362.

cases with markedly curved boundaries. By analogy with elsewhere<sup>20</sup> this suggests that Wistowgate was once a single-row planned settlement from which expansion over former arable land took place, thus creating a two-row settlement.

At the north-western termination of Wistowgate three other features are notable. On the north-eastern side, in the angle between Thorpe Lane and Wistowgate, is The Grange, one of the largest houses in Cawood and certainly once a major farmstead, though not apparently after the late eighteenth century,<sup>21</sup> since when it has been without any associated land. Though of limited architectural merit and the result of many rebuildings and alterations, it does contain the greater part of a sixteenth-century structure<sup>22</sup>.

Directly opposite The Grange on the south-western side of Wistowgate is the Kensbury moated site, the manor house of the Cawoods. To its west is a small open triangular space known as Gill Green, itself bounded by Castle Garth to the north-west. No direct continuity between this moated site and The Grange can be proved. Indeed the reverse is the case for the Cawood's messuage is specifically recorded as 'site of the manor ... worth nothing' in 1390 and similarly described in 1403 and 1450,<sup>23</sup> though earlier in the fourteenth century it certainly existed and was valued at 2s.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless the physical relationship between The Grange and the moated site may be important for the understanding of this part of Cawood. As with Church End, Wistowgate appears in origin to be a regularly planned settlement, here perhaps replacing a more irregular settlement around Gill Green. Both the presumed original and later settlement were thus related to the moated manor house, itself possibly replaced by a later house on the site of The Grange in the late medieval period.

The third section of Cawood is the present core of the village. Though apparently complex, its plan in essence has only two parts. On the main north-east to south-west through road across the river is the Market Place, while to the north, between the road to Ryther (Rythergate) and the River Ouse, is an incomplete grid of narrow lanes and passages (Figs 2, 3). The present Market Place is small (45m x 10-18m), triangular in shape and lies entirely south-west of the central road junction. However it is obvious that this shape and size is the result of considerable encroachment. The original market place consisted of two distinct elements. The first was a large, almost rectangular, riverside area or quay, whose south-western boundary was the present Rythergate. It extended north-east to the edge of the River Ouse while its south-eastern side was the line of the Bishop Dike. The north-western boundary is not clear but was probably near the projected line of Back Lane. The pattern of irregular lanes and buildings within this area so defined is very typical of market encroachment. The second element of the former market place at Cawood includes the present Market Place, though originally this too extended south-east to the edge of the Bishop Dike. In essence then the first market place was an extensive rectangular area at least 130m long and 70m across with an extension to the south-west 50m long and 30-40m wide.

Such an arrangement can only be the result of conscious planning, as appears to be the case with the other two parts of Cawood. However, here the planning is on a large scale and clearly consistent with commercial exploitation of both river and road traffic. That is, this part of Cawood is a town or rather a port in intention and in plan and its tenurial history indicates that only an archbishop of York could have created it.

That the river played an important part in the life of medieval Cawood is certain.

20. RCHME, *Change and Continuity* (1991), 13-14.

21. Enclosure Map 1780, NYCRO PC/W15: DN 186.

22. DOE, *Listed Buildings, District of Selby*, 1984.

23. PRO C136/66/4; *Cal IPM* XVIII, 332, no. 972; PRO C139/137/11.

24. PRO C134/28/8.



Physically the quay or staithe later expanded further downstream along the present Old Road and Water Row, still known as The Jetty. Many late medieval records note the existence of wharfs at Cawood,<sup>25</sup> all of them always in the possession of the archbishop. None of the documents referring to the de Cawood holdings ever record any aspect of water-borne traffic, though the Cawoods certainly had fisheries on the Ouse.<sup>26</sup>

The archbishops were also concerned with other traffic into Cawood. They certainly owned and collected tolls from the ferry across the Ouse to Cawood and also collected and spent money for the repair of the causewayed approach to the ferry north of the river.<sup>27</sup>

River traffic remained important at Cawood until the nineteenth century and there is both written and pictorial evidence for it at that time.<sup>28</sup> Indeed many surviving buildings in the village, including eighteenth and nineteenth-century warehouses in the area between Rythergate and King Street, also testify to the existence of late water-borne trade. Yet this trade must have had its origin in the archbishop's planned inland port at Cawood.

#### *Bishop Dike (Fig. 3).*

The original south-eastern boundary of Cawood 'town' is the Bishop Dike. This is an artificial watercourse, once navigable, which extends from the River Ouse at Cawood to Sherburn, a distance of 10km. There is also the possibility that it once continued for a further 4km to the north-west of Sherburn. Its detailed course and its documented history have already been published<sup>29</sup> but in the context of the Cawood landscape it should be noted that, though the Dike is not actually recorded in documents until the early sixteenth century, it seems that it already existed in the fifteenth century when it was apparently being used to transport stone to Cawood from the Huddlestone quarries at Sherburn. There is, however, an important physical relationship that needs to be considered. For 1.5km south-west of Cawood the Dike runs in an almost straight line. Further south-west again towards Sherburn it meanders somewhat, clearly taking advantage of the micro-topography there. Yet at its north-eastern end, as it approaches Cawood village, for no apparent topographical or geological reason, the Dike suddenly and markedly changes direction by almost 20 degrees to the north-east (at SE 572375). On this new alignment it then forms the boundary between the south-eastern edge of the market place / staithe of Cawood village and the north-western edge of the Cawood Castle land. Much of this section is now mainly in a culvert, apparently of eighteenth-century date. A section was cut through it in 1986 but no dating evidence was found.<sup>30</sup> This close relationship between the village, Castle and Dike must be significant, and is discussed below.

#### *Cawood Castle (Figs 3, 4).*

The name Cawood Castle is given to the remarkable surviving building of the medieval palace of the archbishops of York which lies south-east of the village centre of

25. J. S. Miller and E. A. Gee, 'The Bishop Dike and Huddlestone Quarry', *YAJ* 55 (1983), 167-8 (hereafter Miller and Gee 1983).

26. PRO C136/66/4; *Cal IPM* XVIII, 332, no. 972.

27. *Cal Inq Misc* 1392-1399 203, no. 349; PRO SC12/17/58; *Reg Arch William Greenfield 1306-1315* I (Surtees Soc 145 (1931)), 223, no. 516; Borthwick Inst CC Ab 6/5, Receiver General Accounts, 1609.

28. Borthwick Inst CC Ab 12 Cawood Court Book 5 Aug 1696; CC Ab 5/8 Register of Leases f61v, 29 April 1756; CC Ab 5/17 Register of Leases 265-6, 22 April 1749; 18th-century engraving of a river frontage at Cawood, reproduced in M. Bell, *Cawood* (1877), cover, and H. Speight, *Lower Wharfedale* (1905), 25.

29. Miller and Gee 1983.

30. *Archaeology in York Interim* 11 no. 3 (1986), 29-31.

Cawood. This paper is not the place for a detailed architectural analysis of the remains and indeed neither of the present authors is qualified to provide this. Nevertheless as landscape historians they believe that observations made during archaeological fieldwork for RCHME might help to set the palace into its wider context.

The surviving buildings consist of a three-storeyed gatehouse of Magnesian Limestone built by Archbishop Kempe (1426-52) and, attached to its south-eastern side, a contemporary long two-storey range of brick with Magnesian Limestone dressings, traditionally but probably erroneously called a Banqueting Hall. The gatehouse, which faces south-west, shows by its elaborately carved oriel window, the enriched spandrels of the carriage arch and the heraldic shields that it was the main formal entrance to the palace. This being so, the palace was clearly meant to be approached from the south corner of the village market place across the Bishop Dike, presumably by a bridge, alongside an assumed continuation of the gatehouse range and then left through the gatehouse into the palace proper.

Though no other parts of the palace survive, some idea of its overall arrangement can be ascertained. The palace occupied a roughly rectangular block of land, some 110m by 100m. It was bounded by the Bishop Dike on the north-west, where not only is the line of the Dike known, but traces of what is probably the original palace precinct stone wall survive, within the existing property boundaries. This Magnesian Limestone wall is discontinuous and though generally now reduced to three to four courses in height is still at least 3m high at one point. To the north-east the palace was bounded by the present Old Road, alongside the river, formerly part of Cawood Staithe. An eighteenth-century engraving of the palace from the northern side of the river<sup>31</sup> shows part of the original precinct wall still in existence consisting of ashlar blocks with simple buttresses. Part of this wall still survives along Old Road. Much of it has been rebuilt but a short section is original and includes a discontinuous chamfered plinth. A buttress, exposed during recent building works, stood at the corner of Old Road and Thorpe Lane and appears to have faced north-east.<sup>32</sup> The implication of this is that the precinct wall here turned south towards Thorpe Lane. If this is so then the palace precinct boundary presumably extended south across Thorpe Lane and then turned north-west to meet the south-eastern corner of the so-called Banqueting Hall range.

Within this precinct, so defined, stood the palace buildings. Apart from the existing remains and the largely unintelligible ruins shown on the eighteenth-century engraving there is no other illustrative or physical evidence. The engraving shows a number of ranges including, apparently, a long north-east to south-west range with tall two-stage buttresses on its north-western side and a large traceried window in its north-eastern gable, an obviously post-medieval domestic dwelling, a tall three-storey ruin and, perhaps separately, part of a tall tower which is not the existing gatehouse.

Medieval documentary sources give a few incidental details of the palace, but nothing more than would be expected in such a building. For example a chapel is recorded in 1267 and in 1300 and a brewhouse in 1507.<sup>33</sup> More useful perhaps are the written surveys and inventories of the palace compiled towards the end of its life. The earliest is an inventory of implements remaining in the palace in 1531.<sup>34</sup> In it some

31. 18th-century engraving of a river frontage at Cawood, reproduced in M. Bell, *Cawood* (1877), cover, and H. Speight, *Lower Wharfedale* (1905), 25. An earlier view of the palace in c. 1660 by Daniel King is no more informative (G. Cobb, 'Daniel King: a lesser-known seventeenth-century etcher', *Antiq J* 54 (1974), pl. LXIII).

32. NAR SE53 NE3.

33. *Reg Arch Walter Gifford 1266-1279* (Surtees Soc 109 (1904)), 13; *Cal Pat Rolls 1292-1301*, 533; *Historians of the Church of York III* (RS 71), 364.

34. PRO SC11/766.

forty separate rooms are listed. These include the expected hall, great kitchen, brewhouse, porter's lodge, gatehouse chamber, bakehouse, chapel, etc, but also the chamber in the tower (again clearly not the gatehouse), the library and the little gallery towards the waterside. Despite these details, however, it is still impossible to ascertain the overall plan of the palace. Mid seventeenth-century surveys are even less informative.<sup>35</sup> All that can be said, given this limited information, is that by the sixteenth century the palace was perhaps arranged around two courts.

The detailed history of the palace is even less well understood. The original palace of the archbishop was at the village of Sherburn, the centre of the late Saxon estate. The site of this palace is still marked by earthworks.<sup>36</sup> The move to Cawood was perhaps made for reasons of convenience, Cawood being much nearer to York and with easier communications by both road and river. But when this move took place, or whether it was a gradual process, is not known. It was not until the mid fourteenth century that Archbishop Thoresby ordered the then ruinous palace at Sherburn to be destroyed. The situation is made more complex by the existence of the semi-fortified moated hunting lodge, set within a deer park in Sherburn township, which was apparently built in the mid fourteenth century, regularly used by the archbishops, and then demolished in the early to mid sixteenth century.<sup>37</sup>

The earliest apparent reference to archiepiscopal occupation at Cawood is 1181 when Archbishop Roger de Pont L'Eveque stayed at Cawood.<sup>38</sup> From the early thirteenth century onwards references to the use of the palace become common and continue up until the mid sixteenth century. During that period many archbishops altered or improved the palace in various ways. Amongst the most notable changes are perhaps the licence to crenellate, obtained by Archbishop Walter Gifford in 1272,<sup>39</sup> which presumably implies near-contemporary building work there perhaps on a massive scale, work by Archbishop William Greenfield in 1311-12, which included the construction of a study, and the repairs carried out and 'new towers' added by Archbishop Alexander Neville in 1374-88.<sup>40</sup> Later work included a new hall built by Archbishop Henry Bowet (1407-23)<sup>41</sup> and the existing gatehouse and south-eastern range, by Archbishop John Kempe (1426-52) to judge by the heraldry there, though a more precise date might be 1444-5. Other work included that by Archbishop Thomas Rotherham (Scot) (1480-1500) who was alleged to have rebuilt parts of a number of episcopal palaces.<sup>42</sup> Later changes were carried out by Archbishop Thomas Savage (1501-7) and Archbishop Thomas Wolsey is said to have begun lavish repairs to Cawood before his arrest there in 1530.<sup>43</sup>

In 1531 after the fall of Wolsey the palace was clearly in a poor state<sup>44</sup> and subsequent archbishops seem largely to have abandoned Cawood in favour of their palace at Bishopthorpe, much closer to York. By the early seventeenth century most of the land, including the Castle Garth, had been leased out.<sup>45</sup>

35. Borthwick Inst CC Ab 815 ff25-25v.

36. NAR SE43 SE5.

37. H. E. J. le Patourel 1973, 15, 125.

38. W. Wheeler, *History of the Parishes of Sherburn and Cawood* (1865), 79 (hereafter Wheeler 1865).

39. *Cal Pat Rolls 1266-1272*, 632.

40. *Reg Arch William Greenfield 1306-1315 IV* (Surtees Soc 152 (1937)), 363, no. 2350; V (Surtees Soc 153 (1938)), 11, no. 2371; *Historians of the Church of York II* (RS 71), 422.

41. *Historians of the Church of York II* (RS 71), 433, 485; R. B. Dobson (ed), *York City Chamberlains' Account Rolls 1396-1500* (Surtees Soc 192 (1978-9)), 44.

42. *Historians of the Church of York II* (RS 71), 440.

43. Wheeler 1865.

44. PRO SC 11/766.

45. Borthwick Inst CC Ab 8/5 ff25 (1647).

During the Civil War, Archbishop John Williams (1641-50) attempted to fortify the palace, despite the fact that it was 'unprovided, ruinous and indefensible'.<sup>46</sup> By 1647, after demolition by Parliamentary forces and apparently a fire, the buildings were again described as ruinous. The castle site was finally sold in 1648 but nevertheless 24 hearths were listed for the castle in 1672.<sup>47</sup>

The early eighteenth-century engraving<sup>48</sup> shows extensive ranges of buildings still remaining especially at the north-western end of the site, but these were perhaps largely removed in 1750 when Robert Hewarth was paid £190 11s. for expenses involved in 'pulling down part of the ruins of Cawood'.<sup>49</sup> In the late eighteenth century farm buildings were erected against the inner wall of the gatehouse<sup>50</sup> but this was apparently after 1780 for the enclosure map shows no such building. By 1851 there existed a range of farm buildings, set around a central yard with an entrance to the rest of the palace site to the north-east.<sup>51</sup> This was probably the farm pulled down in the 1980s and said to be mainly of Victorian date or later.<sup>52</sup> The 1851 plan also shows a building to the north-east, near the centre of the site.

In 1887 a new road was cut across the site from the Rythergate junction with the Market Place to Thorpe Lane. The succeeding arrangement is clearly depicted on the OS 1st edn 25 in plan of 1891. In recent years modern housing, including a small estate, has been laid out in the area of the palace between the new road and Old Road, sadly without any prior archaeological excavation. Further building work has taken place to the south of the new road, east of the gatehouse, in the last few years.

#### *Castle Garth* (Figs 3, 4).

The present Castle Garth is a trapezoidal area, mainly of permanent pasture, now in the hands of Cawood Parish Council. The surviving palace buildings lie in the north-western corner. South-west of these buildings, an enclosed area with a sub-circular pond represents the late nineteenth-century garden (i.e. post-1891) of Cawood Castle House.

In earlier times the Garth certainly extended northwards to include the whole of the palace site and perhaps the western end of Water Row. It may once have extended south-east to include the land between Broad Lane and Thorpe Lane to the north-north-east of Gill Green and perhaps thus even have included the area now occupied by the eastern end of Water Row. If this is so then, as noted above, Water Row might be explained as a planned archiepiscopal settlement cut out of the Castle Garth. Such a supposition also has implications for the surviving Gill Green and the north-western termination of Wistowgate. The former is oddly cramped by both the existing and a putatively larger Castle Garth and a north-western extension of Wistowgate may have been truncated by the establishment of the Garth. If this is so then the whole of the Garth and the palace site appear to have been placed into an existing landscape without regard to any feature except the line of the Bishop Dike, if indeed it was already there. The Dike forms the north-western boundary of the Garth.

Within the existing Castle Garth are various earthworks which were the subject of the Royal Commission's initial survey. Not all are explicable but they fall into two

46. J. Hackett, *Scriveria Reservata* (1692), 186-7; A. Philips, *The Life of John Williams* (1700), 283-4.

47. Borthwick Inst CC Ab 8/5 ff25; CC Ab 6/8; PRO E179/262/14.

48. See note 28.

49. Borthwick Inst CC Ab 10 CAW81, April 1750.

50. *Archaeology in York Interim* 10 no. 4 (1985), 17.

51. OS 1st edn. 6 in plan, 1851.

52. See note 50.



main groups. The first group occupies the southern and western parts of the area and is the least amenable to interpretation. Of the earthworks here the most obvious is a broad deep flat-bottomed ditch or depression up to 2m deep, which extends with a marked dog-leg in the centre along almost the full width of the south-western edge of the Garth. It is normally marshy and in wet years holds water. Its termination on the east is rounded. At the north-west its termination is abrupt and apparently modern. This end has clearly been altered in recent times by the dumping of soil and indeed is shown marshy and with an asymmetrical drawn out pointed end in 1891.<sup>53</sup> In 1851 this end is shown different again, with a short extension or bulge to the north-east.<sup>54</sup> At that time the whole ditch is shown as water-filled. Only one thing is clear, and that is that certainly since the mid nineteenth century this ditch has not been linked to the Bishop Dike which lies only 7m from its present termination. Whether it once did link with the Dike is quite unknown and the Dike itself has no indication of any former link, mainly as a result of continuous re-cutting.

The name of this ditch also presents problems. It is called New Cut on the 1851 OS plan, a name which is repeated on all subsequent editions of OS plans except the most recent. Yet, as far as can be ascertained, the name, and indeed the ditch, is quite unrecorded in any earlier documents. This name can thus have two possible interpretations. It and the ditch itself may both be relatively modern, perhaps post-medieval, and it may be, literally, a 'new' piece of work. It could therefore perhaps be merely a relatively late fishpond. The other interpretation is to accept the 'new' in terms of place-names that often mean 'very old' or that perhaps the ditch had been recut or remodelled in recent times and that it is of some antiquity. In this case it might still be a fishpond - albeit perhaps medieval. But in view of the possibility that it was once connected to Bishop Dike, it may have originated as a basin, or wharf, for boats using the navigable Dike, certainly in the later medieval period and perhaps earlier, depending on the date of the Dike itself. Given the importance of medieval water-borne traffic in Cawood this is the most attractive theory though quite unprovable at the present time.

Part of the way along the New Cut, on its northern side, and connected to it by a gap through the side of the Cut, is a somewhat irregular sub-rectangular depression. This has an uneven base which is higher than the bottom of the New Cut. It is marked on the 1851 OS plan and there called Willow Beds and is also shown as an area of rough pasture on the 1891 plan. It is clearly later than the Cut and perhaps originated as a quarry for brick earth or for clay for pottery manufacture. Bricks, tiles and earthenware pottery were all being manufactured in Cawood in the mid nineteenth century and later.<sup>55</sup> Field-names of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries commonly indicate former brick and tile workings, though none apparently in Castle Garth.<sup>56</sup>

The earliest reference to tile works and significantly specifically part of the archbishop's holdings is in about 1235, when a 'cultura' is described as extending from the 'tileworks (*tegula*) of the archbishop and abuts on the ditch of the garden of the same'.<sup>57</sup> The reference to the garden implies that this must have been in or near Castle Garth (see below) but it is not possible to give a closer location.

Various other low scarps, banks and hollows lie elsewhere immediately north of the

53. OS 1st edn. 25 in plan, 1891.

54. See note 10.

55. OS 1st edn. 6 in plan, 1851.

56. e.g. PRO SC12/17/58; Borthwick Inst CC Ab 12 CAW/WIS, 1/1 Court Book, 1690 (18 March 1690); 1/3 Court Book, 1736-1753 (July 1737); 1/7 Court Book, 1784-1790 (Jan 1787).

57. *Reg Arch Gray 1215-1255 II* (Surtees Soc 56 (1870)). 246.

New Cut but they form no identifiable pattern. Other even more fragmentary scarps lie a little to the south of the palace gatehouse. Further south-west within the garden of Castle Garth House is a sub-circular pond, now a decorative feature within that garden. It is shown on the 1891 plan as smaller and more irregular and on the 1851 plan as much larger and oval. On both plans it is called Fish Pond. This pond and the adjacent slight earthworks to the north could be connected with the demesne farm which certainly existed at Cawood and presumably lay outside the palace in medieval times.<sup>58</sup>

More important and seemingly more understandable are the second group of earthworks which occupy the north-eastern third of Castle Garth. They comprise a roughly rectangular enclosure, bounded on the north-west, south-west and south-east by a dry ditch 8-10m wide and up to 1.2m deep. The north-eastern edge is the modern boundary to Castle Garth. At the southern end of this enclosure are three very different features, which probably were once all similar. On the west is a roughly rectangular water-filled pond, much enlarged by modern cattle treading to judge from the positions of a number of Scotch Pines around it, and shown smaller and more rectangular in 1891 and even more rectangular in 1851. Immediately south-east and parallel to it is a long narrow rectangular pond, now dry. This is not shown on either the 1851 or 1891 plans. On its south-eastern side again are the slight remains of the south-eastern side of a further pond. This is shown as a long narrow pond on both the 1851 and 1891 plans – apparently dry at the former date but water-filled at the latter. Its present fragmentary appearance is the result of it being partly occupied by a temporary property boundary which was laid across it after 1851 when its eastern half and a small area of land to the east were incorporated into the paddock to the east. The situation is shown thus in 1891 but has since reverted to the 1851 position. Both the ponds are described as Fish Ponds on the nineteenth-century plans.

To the north-east of these three once parallel ponds are two blocks of very slight narrow ridges 8-9m across and separated by a north to south axial gap with a rise so slight that it is unsurveyable. These ridges lay within the enclosure and do not align across the central gap. Thus they cannot be normal ridge-and-furrow. They are much more likely to be planting ridges for trees or shrubs separated by an axial pathway.

At the extreme north-eastern end of the enclosure is a modern dog-leg drain. This partly occupies the site of yet another roughly rectangular Fish Pond, depicted and so-named on the 1851 and 1891 plans and which survived until the 1960s when it was filled.

The internal details, both those surviving and those shown on earlier plans, make it quite clear that this enclosure within Castle Garth can only be the remains of a former garden. The three ponds, though superficially the same as medieval fishponds, have parallels in numerous garden remains of the late and immediately post-medieval period. The ridging, with its axial path, as has already been noted, is surely an area of former tree or shrub-planting, while the destroyed pond to the north, which ideally should have been matched with another in the area now built over to the north-west, is an additional garden-type feature. By analogy with the growing body of information on formal garden earthworks the remains at Cawood are likely to be seventeenth-century or earlier.<sup>59</sup>

That a garden or gardens existed at the archbishop's palace at Cawood is certain. The earliest reference noted is about 1235<sup>60</sup> when a garden was recorded at Cawood

58. *Cal Inq Misc 1377-1388* IV, 215, no. 396; *Cal Ch Rolls 1257-1300*, 269.

59. C. C. Taylor, *The Archaeology of Gardens* (1983), 33-59.

60. See note 57.

Castle. In 1447<sup>61</sup> the gardens are said specifically to adjoin the Castle. Given the arrangement of the site, it seems likely that the surviving garden earthworks may be on or near this fifteenth-century garden.

Later documentation is less clear. In a survey dated about 1535 there is a reference to a lease in 1515 to a place of 7 acres called Apulgarth Flatte.<sup>62</sup> This name apparently does not occur in either earlier or later documents, but presumably indicates land used for growing apple trees, that is an orchard. The name Flatte may be significant for the only other fields in Cawood parish with the name Flat, Flatte or Flatts are those immediately south of Castle Garth, well documented in the post-medieval period because they remained in the archbishop's hands after the sale of the main Cawood manor.<sup>63</sup> The 7 acres of Apulgarth is somewhat larger than the modern 5.5 acres estimated to be the original area of the garden. If Apulgarth is the garden then it was already leased out in the early sixteenth century and thus its detailed arrangement of ponds could belong to an earlier period. It is also possible that the identifiable ridges may be the planting ridges for apple trees within that garden.

The picture is both clarified and clouded in turn by later references to a garden in Castle Garth. From 1597 until 1627 there are a series of Receiver's Accounts for Cawood which refer to various offices held there.<sup>64</sup> These offices are Keeper of Cawood Castle, Keeper of the Stud Mares at Cawood, and the Keeper of the Orchard and the Garden of Cawood. At first sight this seems to imply that the gardens at Cawood were still in existence in the early seventeenth century. Further, a parliamentary survey of 1647, taken after the destruction of the castle, records the lands of the archbishop and their values as in 1641. These include an orchard in the Castle Garth of 7 acres.<sup>65</sup> This appears to be very similar to the orchard held by the earlier Keepers and perhaps even the 7 acres of the Apulgarth. However, another survey of the archbishop's remaining lands made in the 1690s<sup>66</sup> has a significant entry: 'Before the [Civil] Wars there were Patent Officers who had salaries from the Archbishop. Take account of them from the Audit Book of Arch. Matthews, 1609'. It then lists the same offices as in the Receiver's Accounts with their annual salaries, plus the office of the keepers of various deer parks. Given that by this time the castle was abandoned and these parks no longer existed it may be that perhaps these offices and their holders were, even by 1597, purely honorary and related to a medieval situation which had long since disappeared. If this is so then it makes it even more likely that the earthwork remains in Castle Garth, Cawood, are those of the garden of a medieval archbishop.

#### *Conclusion.*

So far this paper has been largely descriptive and the result of observations rather than an overall analytical interpretation. Yet, is it indeed possible to analyse the large masses of material available from a wide variety of sources and construct any general picture of the origins and development of the Cawood landscape? One of the present writers has already expressed doubts in print on the possibility of reconstructing past landscapes with any certainty.<sup>67</sup> Nevertheless, perhaps some very tentative conclusions

61. Borthwick Inst A/19 f174 (Reg John Kempe).

62. PRO SC 12/17/58.

63. Borthwick Inst CC Ab 2/6 (Particulars of Archbishop's Estates) ff13-21

64. Borthwick Inst CC Ab 6/1-6.

65. Borthwick Inst CC Ab 8/5 f24.

66. Borthwick Inst CC Ab 2/6 f43.

67. C. C. Taylor, Whittlesford: The Study of a River-edge Village, in M. Aston, D. Austin and C. Dyer (eds), *The Rural Settlements of Medieval England* (1989), 207-27.



might be drawn out, provided that it is accepted from the outset that they are tentative and subject to revision at all levels.

The first point, picking up the title of this paper, is that, overall, the landscape of Cawood, and probably the landscape of the other townships in the surrounding area that were part of the Sherburn Estate, still bear the indelible marks of the archiepiscopal hand. Other hands, both important and unimportant, have played their parts to a greater or lesser extent, but it is the direct exploitation for money of most of the land between the Wharfe / Ouse and the Aire by successive archbishops and their servants that is the most marked feature in the present landscape. Over the Sherburn Estate as a whole the details of this exploitation still remain to be filled in by other scholars. Likewise much still remains to be done to assess fully the exploitation of the wider landscape even of Cawood township. This is particularly true in relation to matters such as the clearance or assarting of woodland, the enclosure of the open fields and even micro-topographical details such as the fishing garths on the River Ouse.

To illustrate how this might be done it is perhaps worth attempting a reconstruction of the development of the medieval settlement at Cawood in relation to what is at present the perceived understanding in the wider field. As has been described in some detail, Cawood is in effect a polyfocal village.<sup>68</sup> Yet the specific form of its various foci have a regularity which pre-supposes an element of deliberate planning and while the polyfocality may be ancient the detailed form of the village seems to be more recent. If this is accepted as a working hypothesis then it may be possible to suggest the late Saxon arrangement of Cawood. The postulation of such an arrangement depends primarily on establishing the contemporary communication pattern of the area.

It would be impossible to expect that every road or lane of the time could be identified. Nevertheless on the theory that in general terms what were in the later medieval period and often still are important routes have always been important,<sup>69</sup> some suggestions can be made. The primary route through Cawood is likely to have been the present B 1223 Selby to Tadcaster road, locally running from Wistow via Cawood to Ryther. A second important route, at least by late Saxon times, would presumably have been the present B 1222 Sherburn to York road, perhaps crossing the Ouse at Cawood by ferry. The tenurial link between Sherburn and York in late Saxon times inevitably would have meant considerable traffic from Sherburn to Cawood, even if the rest of the journey to York was completed by boat. The irregular form and somewhat disjointed nature of the B 1222 north-east of Cawood might suggest that originally the road to Sherburn was only important as far as Cawood. Thus, in late Saxon times, there was in the vicinity of Cawood a point of junction or a crossing of a north-east to south-west route and a north-west to south-east one. Refining the picture rather more, the position of Cawood church, assuming that it is either on a pre-Conquest site or is related to a settlement of pre-Conquest origin, demands the existence of a river-edge trackway. There is also a need to presume the existence of a route running due south from Cawood, in order to explain Gill Green and the northern end of Broad Lane. The existence of such a route system and the polyfocality of medieval Cawood would thus suggest that the late Saxon pattern consisted of a focus at a crossroads somewhere in the area of the present High Street or around the ferry and / or staithe, another focus at a further crossroads at or near Gill Green or the end of Wistowgate and a third around the present church. These foci would equate with the three parts of Cawood of the eleventh century and later, two of which, Church End and High Street, belonged to the archbishop and the third of which, Gill Green, was in other hands (Fig. 5A).

68. C. C. Taylor, 'Polyfocal Settlement and the English Village', *Medieval Archaeol* 21 (1977), 189-93.

69. C. C. Taylor, *Roads and Tracks of Britain* (1979), 111-24.

What happened subsequently is clear, though the relative and absolute dating must be uncertain. The planned 'port' of Cawood, the palace and Castle Garth and the planned area of Wistowgate all appeared, perhaps with a replanned Church End (Fig. 5B). The establishment of the Garth must have completely disrupted the north-west to south-east route-way and forced it into its pre-1877 line along Water Row, Old Road and High Street. It also probably partly covered the area of the Wistowgate settlement around Gill Green which may have led to that settlement being replanned along Wistowgate itself. In addition, the Bishop Dike was either cut anew or recut on a line which formed the boundary of the 'new' port and the Palace Garth. It is tempting to suggest that the establishment of Cawood 'port', Wistowgate, Church End and the Palace Garth could all have been one coherent piece of landscape planning, with the Water Row area as a dependent servants' quarters being either part of the main scheme or created a little later.

If this is so what date can it all be? There is certainly no direct documentary evidence. Indeed in terms of the exact location of any ancient feature in the modern landscape, large or small, except for the church, nothing can be proved to have existed before the fifteenth century. Even at that date only the position of the present palace buildings is certain. Most other features, for example streets, lanes and fields cannot be located until they are recorded in post-medieval documents. On the other hand, the record of large numbers of hurdles and 'bridges', despatched from Cawood via Pembroke to Ireland in 1211, might suggest that the port was already in being by that date. Further, by analogy with elsewhere, both in Yorkshire and beyond, the late eleventh or twelfth century is the period at which such a massive alteration to the landscape could be envisaged. Many villages and parts of villages with regular plans have been assigned to this time with a greater or lesser degree of certainty<sup>70</sup> and the period is also one during which numerous 'new' towns were created.<sup>71</sup> A close parallel to Cawood, both geographically and functionally as well as perhaps in date, is Hedon, near Hull. It too seems to have been set up as a market and a port, though not technically a town, probably in the mid twelfth century.<sup>72</sup> Perhaps the most likely time for the establishment of Cawood as a new palace, a new port and a marketing centre is also in this general period. Beyond that it is probably impossible to go.

In the realms of wilder speculation the confirmation of a grant of 7 bovates in Cawood to Archbishop Thurston in 1135-40<sup>73</sup> could be seen as the royal seal of approval on the ownership of land before it was completely remodelled. Or the later twelfth-century rebuilding of the church at Cawood might mark the period of replanning as it may have done at Somersham in Cambridgeshire.<sup>74</sup> On the other hand the record of a confirmation by Roger, Dean of York (1221-35), of an exchange of 'certain lands and tofts' made between John de Cawood and the archbishop in 'the vill of Cawood'<sup>75</sup> might actually indicate the method by which the old Gill Green settlement was removed and its land incorporated into Castle Garth, as well as its

70. Pipe Roll Soc, NS 28 (1953), xvii, 89; J. A. Sheppard, 'Metrological Analysis of Regular Village Plans in Yorkshire', *Agr Hist Rev* 22 (1974), 118-35; J. A. Sheppard, 'Medieval Village Planning in Northern England: Some Evidence From Yorkshire', *J Hist Geogr* 2 (1976), 3-20; P. Allerston, 'English village development: findings from the Pickering district of North Yorkshire', *Trans Inst Brit Geogr* 51 (1970), 75-109; C. C. Taylor, *Village and Farmstead* (1983), 133-48; C. C. Taylor, 'Spaldwick, Cambridgeshire', *Proc Cambridge Antiq Soc* 78 (1989), 71-5.

71. Beresford 1967.

72. T. R. Slater, 'Medieval Town and Port: A Plan-analysis of Hedon, East Yorkshire', *YAJ* 57 (1985), 23-41.

73. Farrer 1914, 34, no. 20.

74. C. C. Taylor, 'Somersham Palace, Cambs: A Medieval Landscape for Pleasure?', in M. Bowden, D. Mackay and P. Topping (eds), *From Cornwall to Caithness*, BAR Brit Ser 209 (1989), 211-24.

75. BL Cotton MS D Claudius B III f41.

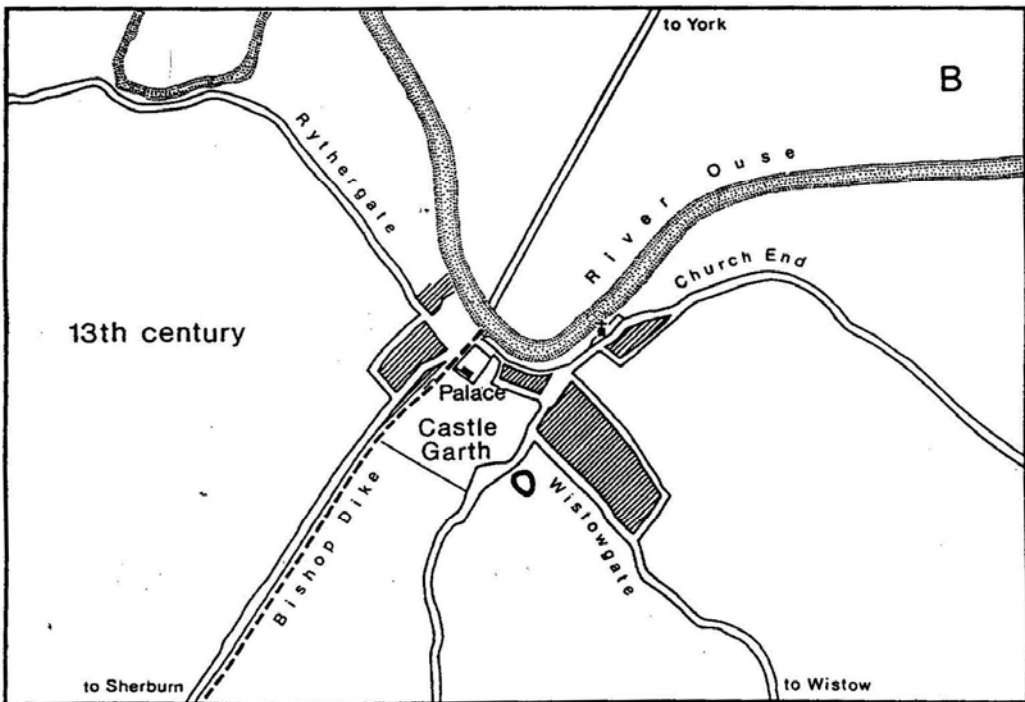
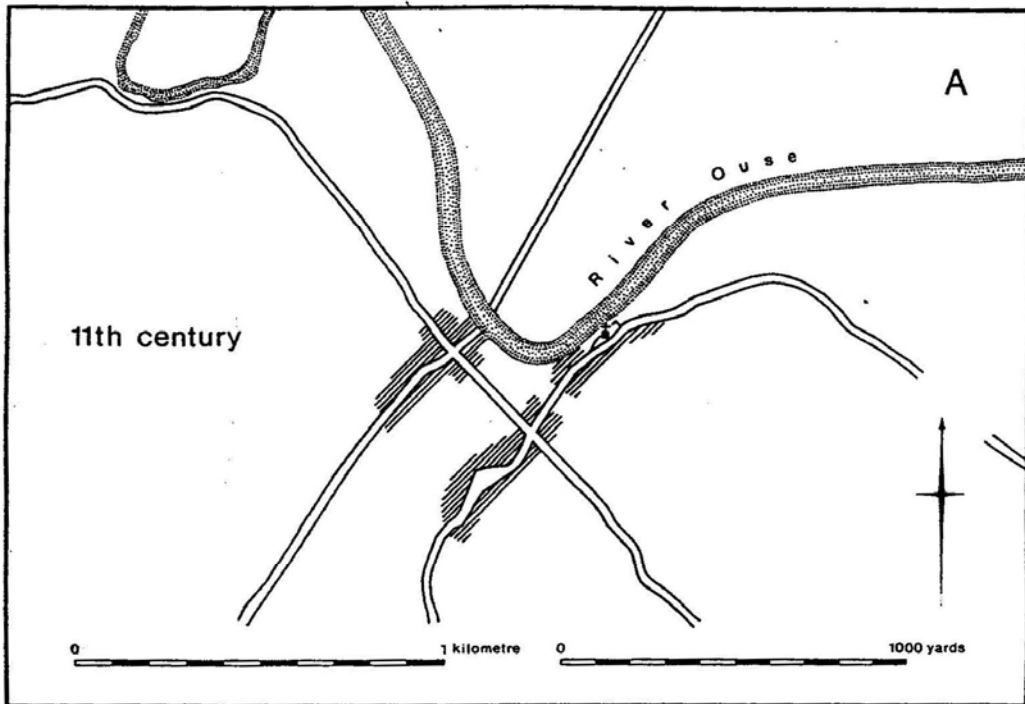


Fig. 5 Development of Cawood (Crown copyright: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England)

approximate date. Indeed these three events might be seen as the beginning, the implementation and the culmination of the process of remodelling the Cawood landscape.

Thus, in the end, only suggestions can be made about the origins and the development of the Cawood landscape. On the other hand it is now possible to indicate specific places where future archaeological work might well be concentrated in order to find the necessary evidence or disprove the foregoing theories. The palace site itself is an obvious place and the edges of Gill Green, particularly where it abuts on the Castle Garth, is another. Anywhere in High Street, Cawood, or in the area of the postulated quay and market place would be useful to examine, while excavations in one of the few empty spaces in Wistowgate might produce valuable evidence. This paper has not provided answers to the origins of the archiepiscopal landscape of Cawood, but at least it can now point to where those answers might be found.

*The Council of the Society is grateful to the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England for a grant toward the publication of this paper.*

From: *The Lower Vale of Wharfe and York* Edmund Bogg

## 14 LOWER WHARFE DALE.

ways they perished so that few were left to carry back to Norway the dismal story. And on swearing peace, and promising never again to bear arms against England, King Harold, in his great hour of victory, graciously allowed them to have their vessels. But of the five hundred ships bearing that mighty host, and burning with high hope to battle a few days before, only twenty-four were needed to carry back the survivors to their homeland. Mournfully they sailed down the Ouse with their dead king, and thence across the wild North Sea to spread the sad story of their humiliation and defeat.

Following the banks of the sinuous Ouse past slumbering Kellfield, one might here mention that wonderful phenomena, the "Eagre," or sea tempest, the tidal inrush of water up the estuaries. The highest is that nearer to the New Moon to Autumnal or Vernal Equinox. At neap, low-tide, the upflow is only slight. Between Cawood and Kellfield, the forceful bore of springtide water sweeps upwards in one large tidal wave, and meeting the descending river, rises wall-like to the height of five or six feet. Boats and keels are sometimes washed from their moorings, and persons are at the risk of being caught by the river unawares and immersed by the rapid influx, hence the warning shout of the locals: "War Eagre," "War," ware, oot, "It's coming," "Look out, beware!" The village lads call out: "War oot for worly aigre," Anglo-Saxon—eagor, "egor"—the sea-water.

## CHAPTER II.

## CAWOOD.

The local pronunciation is Cow-ud; stands on the south bank of the Ouse, is a place of ancient renown, and first looms into history after King Athelstan's victory over the northern invaders, 935, when it was given, with Sherburn, by the victorious king to the See of York as a

## CAWOOD.

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home for the archbishop, and, for that purpose, was used by the Primates for nigh 700 years. The place-name may be derived from the low-lying swamp and carrland by which it was surrounded, and the far-spreading wood still called Bishop's-wood, hence Carr-wood, in course of centuries changed to Cawood. A manor house was erected during the reign of Athelstan, and in the Norman Period raised to the dignity of a castle. It was a place of resort for kings and their following during the wars with Scotland.



A STRETCH OF THE OUSE, RICCAL. [Franz Dean

The great wood, Bishop's-wood, and the miles of heath and waste, stocked with wild life, affording all the pleasures of the chase. By the aged people even 50 years ago, it was known as "Cow-ud" forest, and they were wont to tell one of its former denizens, the savage boar, wolves, wild cats and pine martens, and many creeping reptiles, which still infested the forest in the days of their grandsires. One William Storr, farmer, in the early 18th century, states in his journal, that when his father came

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LOWER WHARFEDALE.

to Scalm Park, the roads from Cawood to Wistow and Selby were through such great woods, which then were evidently spreading, that he was forced to take down Mosker Hagg, through which ran the way to Selby. Kings, and their subjects almost as princely, with their retinues, were regular visitors to Cawood. Edward I. was several times here on his journey north, or when returning. It was whilst journeying thither to join him that his young queen gave birth to a son at Brotherton, known in history as John of Brotherton.



[Edmund Bogg

CAWOOD CHURCH, FROM OUSE.

Cawood became notable for the lavish manner of entertaining by its prelates, but the climax of feasting

CAWOOD.

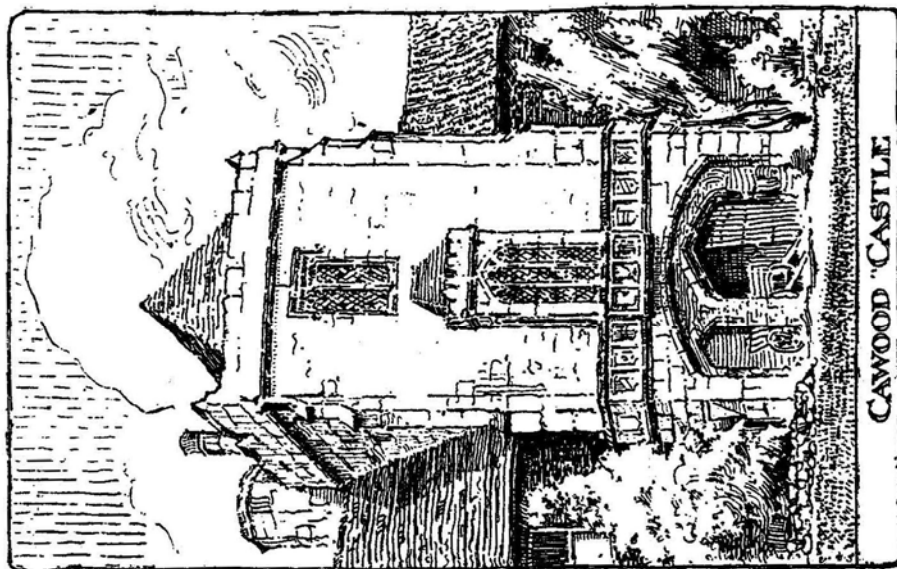
17

was reached in the great feast given by George Neville when installed to the Archbishopric in 1466. Space does not afford a detailed description of this extraordinary repast. It was indeed a magnificent gathering; how could it have been otherwise when the archbishop's brother, the king-maker, Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, "last of the Barons," acted as steward at this sumptuous banquet. Henry the VIII. and his fair young bride, Catherine Howard, rested at this castle awhile, the king basking in her sunny smile, before the breath of suspicion had fallen on his astonished ears. Queen Elizabeth visited Cawood on her journey to York, 1572. The archbishops resided at Cawood until the period of the Civil War.

Remains of the castle and palace are now only fragmentary. The great gateway is still intact. Over the west front of the arch runs a dado embellished with eleven shields of armorial bearings, over which is the principal window. Above the inner arch of the gateway is a beautiful, mediæval, oriel window of four bays each divided into four panels, each of the four panels at the base contains a shield of arms. On the right of the gateway is a large brick barn-like building supposed to have originally been the chapel, lighted by six late Edwardian windows, it formerly contained an upper floor said to have been the banquetting hall of the archbishops. A few fragments of the castle, mouldering relics of ecclesiastical greatness, still remain in the farm buildings and the walled and moated enclosure can still be traced. What a long processional of historic scenes and personages this castle has witnessed:—

"Visions of days departed, shadowy phantoms  
fill my brain;  
They who live in history seem to walk the  
earth again."

It was at Cawood that Wolsey, the most famous of churchmen and Prince of Cardinals, found a home in the days of his adversity. From the highest honours in church and state his fall was rapid. Stripped of his greatness, he was ordered to Cawood, where, some time later, he was arrested on a charge of high treason and ordered to



CAWOOD "CASTLE"

SOUTH ENTRANCE, CAWOOD CASTLE.

[W. Jones

London for trial. But, falling sick and weary by the way, he died at Leicester Abbey. In his last hour he used the memorable words: "If I had served God as diligently as my king, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs."

In 1628, George Montaign, son of a farmer, and native of Cawood, rose to the highest honours of the church, was made Primate of York, and resided here in the castle. He was an apt punster, which the following illustration of his ready wit proves. When the See of York became vacant, the king was at a loss for some time to name a fit person for that sacred office, and requested Bishop Montaign's opinion on the subject, who replied: "Had'st thou faith as a grain of mustard seed, thou would'st say to this mountain," (at the same time laying his hand upon his breast) "be thou removed into that See."

There was part skirmishing around the old town during the Civil War. It was captured by Lord Fairfax and the castle was made untenable, and afterwards part of the timber and stones were used in building the palace at Bishopthorpe. Cawood is a curious, antique-looking town, with quite a Dutch aspect about it. The houses are chiefly of brick, and very picturesque with their double string courses, cornices, quaint porches, and mullions. The main streets are narrow, as in all old places, the many alley-ways, courts, bye-paths, and passages leading one into curious nooks and corners, presenting many charming features and pictures of a past age. Here and there built in the walls are to be seen fine chiselled stones from the Huddleston Quarries, in the first instance used in building the castle. Time has tinted this stone into a soft, silvery grey, and given it hardness and durability. These stones, quarried from the ruins of the castle, are to be seen in the walls all over the village.

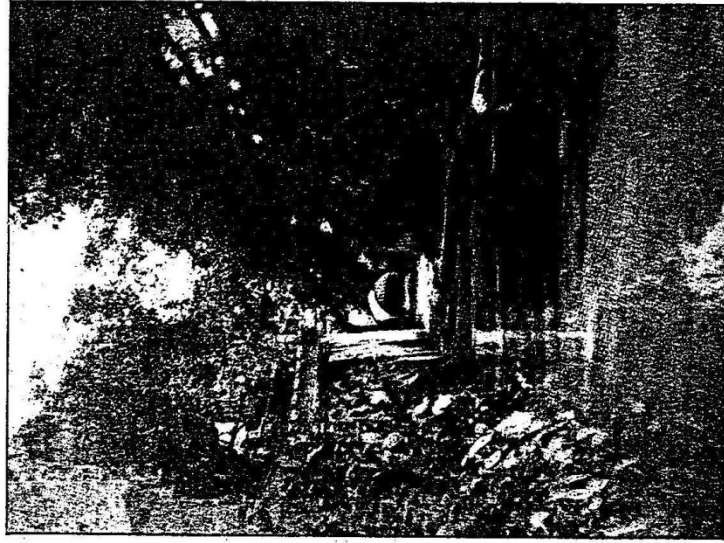
Cawood was the port from whence the Huddleston quarried stone was shipped to York; it was transported to Cawood by various means, by wains, sledging, or floating, on punts, down Bishopsdyke to the shore of the Ouse.

In 1872, a good, substantial, iron bridge was built over the Ouse, which has proved a great boon to the surrounding district. Previous to this date, the crossing was by ferry or ford. It is told that Dick Turpin, on his famous mare, "Black Bess," swam the Ouse here in his great ride from London to York.

CAWOOD.

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Of old, Cawood was noted for its ancient Inns, whose quaint interiors and curious ing'le nooks were the delight of all who love old time places. (The writer has never forgotten, over the 30 odd years which have since passed, the home-fed ham and egg breakfasts done to a turn.



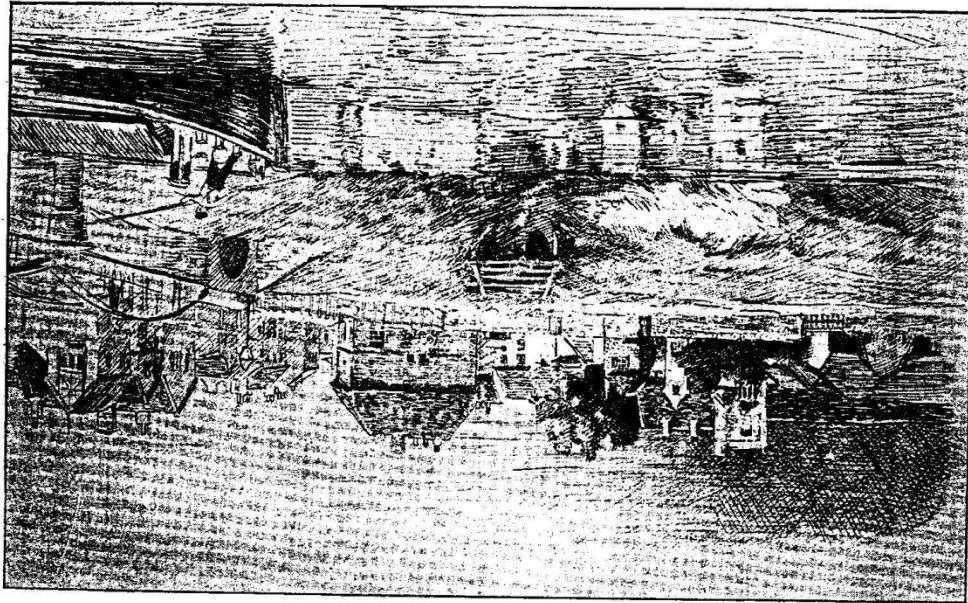
BISHOPSDYKE.

[Edmund Bogg

Of its original characters we must be brief. John Fowler, known better as "Jacky," or Milton Fowler, who was ipdeed an original, and the easy-natured old miller, whose wife was greedy of grain and gain; she would say

CAWOOD FROM THE OUSE

[F. Dean





LOWER WHARFEDALE.

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to the old man, "Thoo hesn't awf mootured that corn, se'a, a'll mootur it agean." There was friend "Pepper," whose 88 years sat lightly upon him. He was wont to tell of the astounding captures of salmon in the old days, when fishing in the service of Lord Wenlock. These characters are now of the past, but yet dwell in our memory. Mr. Warrington, the one time genial landlord of the "Commercial" (a real old-fashioned inn, a thing the Yorkshireman dreams about), although past his four score years, is still hale and hearty, and is one of the family names along with those of the Smiths, Morriffs, Nicholsons, Wormalds, and Mountains, whose forbears resided here for many generations. The Cawoods, of Cawood, were a notable family in the district for 500 years, and were originally foresters in the king's forest between the Ouse and Derwent. The "locals" are eager to tell one of great feasts held at the castle, and of one that lasted the whole year, and how there was enough and to spare for all-comers from afar or near, "owt for nowt," free of charge! Others will tell of the heaps of hidden treasure by the riverside, and also of a hide "chock-full" of gold, deeply buried, awaiting the lucky spade of a treasure-seeker.

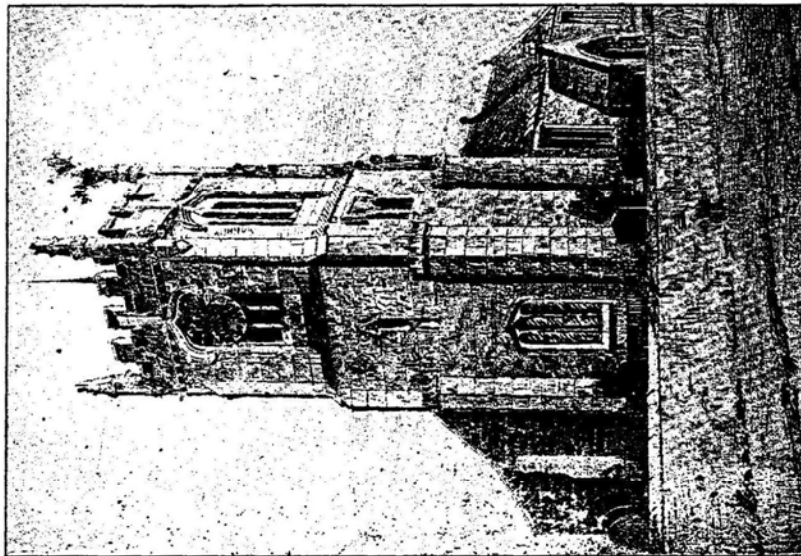
The place contains three or four very picturesque and interesting types of domestic architecture of the early Stuart Period. Yew Tree House, with its gables, quaint porch, plinth and string courses, and oak panelling, etc. The Grange, at the head of Wistowgate, the residence of the Nicholson's, is an Elizabethan mansion, and formerly bore a Tudor roof. There still remains a pretty porch and a well studded ancient door, also one or two original mullioned windows and two panelled rooms. The wall surrounding the garden and the row of large pollard willows, are other features of interest. The Manor House in Wistowgate is another ancient residence, and in the meadows opposite the Grange stands a fragment of Keesbury Hall, belonging to the lady of the manor. Here a freehold court is held every three years.

Let us now pass to the Church, standing near a beautiful curve of the Ouse. The tower is a fine structure battlemented with four lofty crocketed pinnacles, holding

CAWOOD.

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sentinel over the Wharfe these hundreds of years, a conspicuous landmark seen from afar. Near by is an ancient paved ford over the Ouse, which can be yet located at



CAWOOD CHURCH.

A. Sutton

low water: adjacent stood the old tithe barn and an ancient chapel. The present church dates from about the middle of the 12th century. The only remains of this early period