

Anniversary Address 2011

Hartlebury Castle, Worcestershire:

An Introduction to its Architectural History¹

by

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Hartlebury has been the site of a palace of the bishops of Worcester almost continuously from the middle ages until 2008 (Fig. 1). The castle's fabric still retains outstanding interiors from the 15th and 18th centuries, in the form of the great hall, the chapel, the saloon and the Hurd library. The life of the medieval bishops was peripatetic. They had a house in Worcester close to the cathedral, usually described as the Palace, which has substantial fabric dating from the later 13th century.² They had houses across the rest of the diocese, in Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Gloucestershire. There was also a house on the way to London at Hillingdon, Middlesex, and a house on the Strand, demolished for the construction of Somerset House in 1549. Gloucestershire became a separate diocese in the mid-16th century so the bishops no longer had most of those houses at their disposal. A late 16th century document lays out an ideal sequence of visits to their three remaining houses: Worcester Palace from 31 October until April, Grimley (Worcestershire)³ until June and Hartlebury Castle 'all Sommer'.⁴

The most important documentary sources for the history of the castle are the 1647 Parliamentary survey, a number of court cases culminating in the Court of Delegates in the 1670s and the accounts for rebuilding in the early 1680s.⁵

THE MIDDLE AGES

The bishop of Worcester was given land in Hartlebury by the king of Mercia in the 850s, but the earliest mention of an episcopal house there is in 1268. Bishop Walter Cantilupe (1236-1266) began to fortify the manor house with a moat and a stone wall. On 8 June 1268 Henry III granted the bishop elect, Godfrey Giffard (1268-1302), the right to crenellate Hartlebury. In 1271 Godfrey also secured a licence to crenellate the 'houses within his close of Worcester'. His brother, Walter Giffard, Archbishop of York, emulated him, obtaining a licence to crenellate Cawood Castle, Yorkshire, in 1272.⁶

A chapel is first recorded at Hartlebury in December 1269, but no fabric of this period can be identified above ground. It is evident that by the 14th century the chapel and the bishop's private rooms formed a detached structure. The Bucks' print of 1731 shows the chapel with a four-light east window with intersecting tracery, apparently

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Fig. 1

The east front and forecourt; the chapel is on the left

Photograph, M. Saunders



Fig. 2

The great hall, interior looking north

Photograph, author

Decorated in style.⁷ The sills of the four windows in the north and south walls were lower than today. There is a blocked door in the east end beneath the lower sill of the window which might be evidence for an undercroft which, if it had existed, would imply that all the floor levels have been radically altered.⁸ John Leland recorded that Bishop Henry Wakefield (1375-1395) rebuilt the chapel, and the lost window heraldry dated to the last two decades of the 14th century.

The new chamber in which Bishop Wakefield received Reginald Hembury of Hanbury on 25 December 1386 was probably attached to the chapel. The 1647 survey records 84 square yards of lead on the chapel roof, and the adjoining great chamber had 102 square yards. The great chamber was 21ft x 39ft (6.40m x 11.89m) so the chapel was 21ft x 36ft (6.40m x 10.97m). The current dimensions match those calculated from these roof measurements.

The great hall is the most evocative survival of the medieval palace (Fig. 2). There is evidence for a 13th or 14th century hearth just to the north of the standing buildings suggesting that there was a kitchen in that location, and by implication a hall in the same location as the current one. The hall, which measures 27ft 5in. by 62ft 8in. (8.36m x 19.10m) internally, retains its medieval roof and sandstone walls. The entrance has been moved from its early position; originally it was entered from a cross passage at the lower (north) end (Fig. 3). The south gable of the hall was external: in the roof space over the saloon there is a drip moulding at eaves level. There is a straight joint in the west wall at the lower (north) end suggesting that the hall was free-standing.

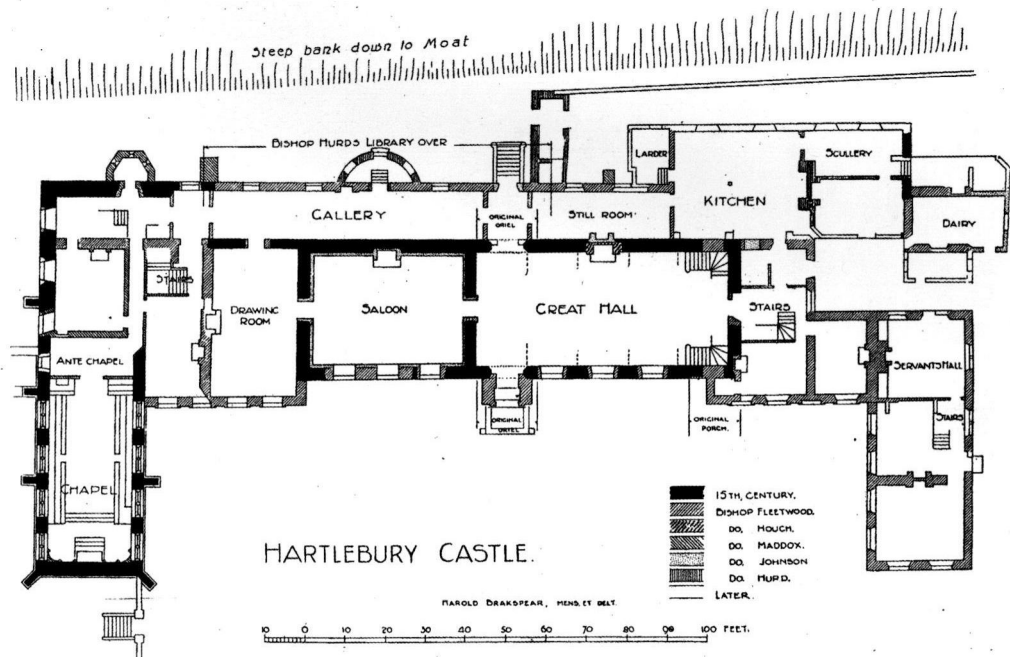


Fig. 3

Ground-floor plan by Harold Brakspear, c. 1920; north is to the right
E. H. Pearce, Hartlebury Castle (London 1926), opposite p.328



Fig. 4

The great hall, part of a blocked two-light window in the west wall, preserved in the roof space outside the hall

Photograph, author



Fig. 5

The great hall, the 15th-century roof trusses, looking north

Photograph, author

There were probably oriel windows lighting the dais at the upper end. The other four bays had two-light windows in the west wall, two of which are partly preserved in the roof space outside the hall (Fig. 4). The blocked window over the cross passage was a little narrower and the chimney stack sits within a blocked window.

The medieval roof survives in its entirety (Fig. 5), except for the loss of its wind-braces; a ceiling has been inserted just above collar level. The six roof trusses which form five bays face the upper end of the hall to the south except that against the south wall. The wall-posts rise from stone corbels and are jointed to the principal rafters. The collars are supported by arch-braces forming four-centred arches. They have a hollow chamfer and the three tiers of purlins have a roll moulding. The bays are subdivided by an enlarged common rafter with a hollow chamfer stopping at the upper purlin. Above the upper purlin the rafters have long multi-pegged mortices for the former wind-braces. The ridge is set flat and the common rafters are morticed into its soffit. The apex of the roof has very light sooting and there is no sign of a louvre. The roof is a reflection of one the most magnificent arch-braced roofs in England, the early 14th-century roof

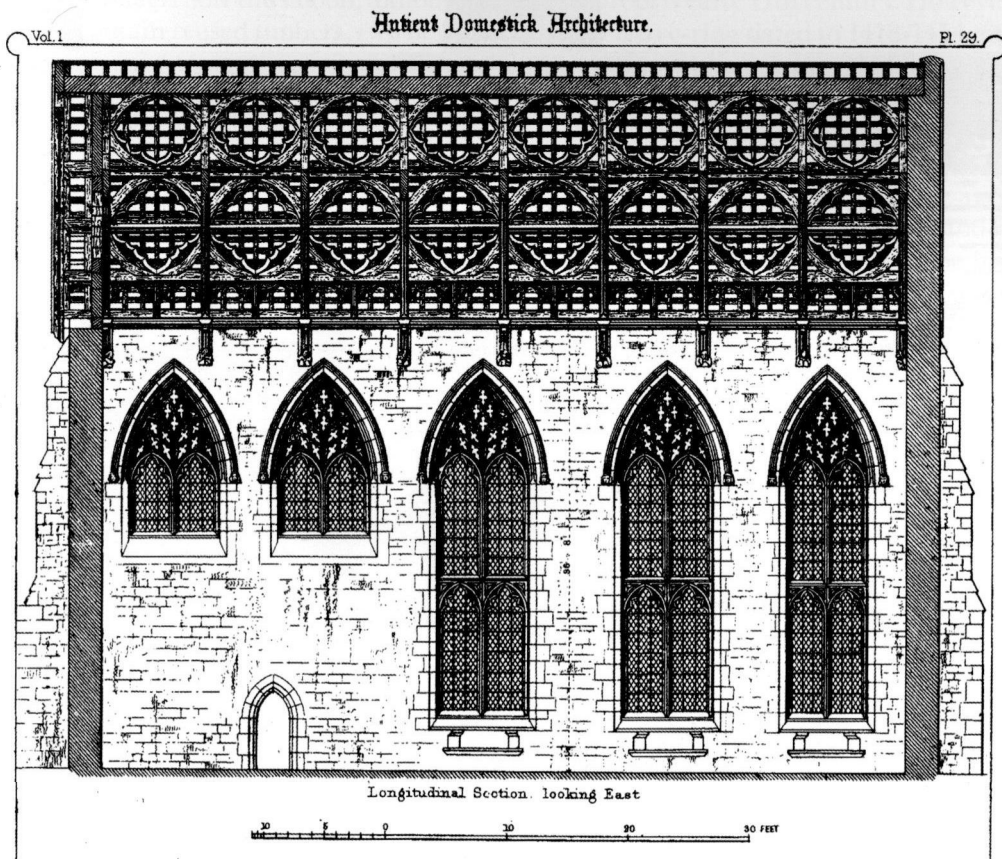


Fig. 6

The Guesten Hall of Worcester Cathedral Priory. The roof (re-erected at Avoncroft Museum, Bromsgrove) gives an idea of the richness of the decoration of a local arch-braced roof.
F. Dollman & J. Jobbins, Ancient Domestic Architecture (London 1861) vol. 1, plate 29/30/31

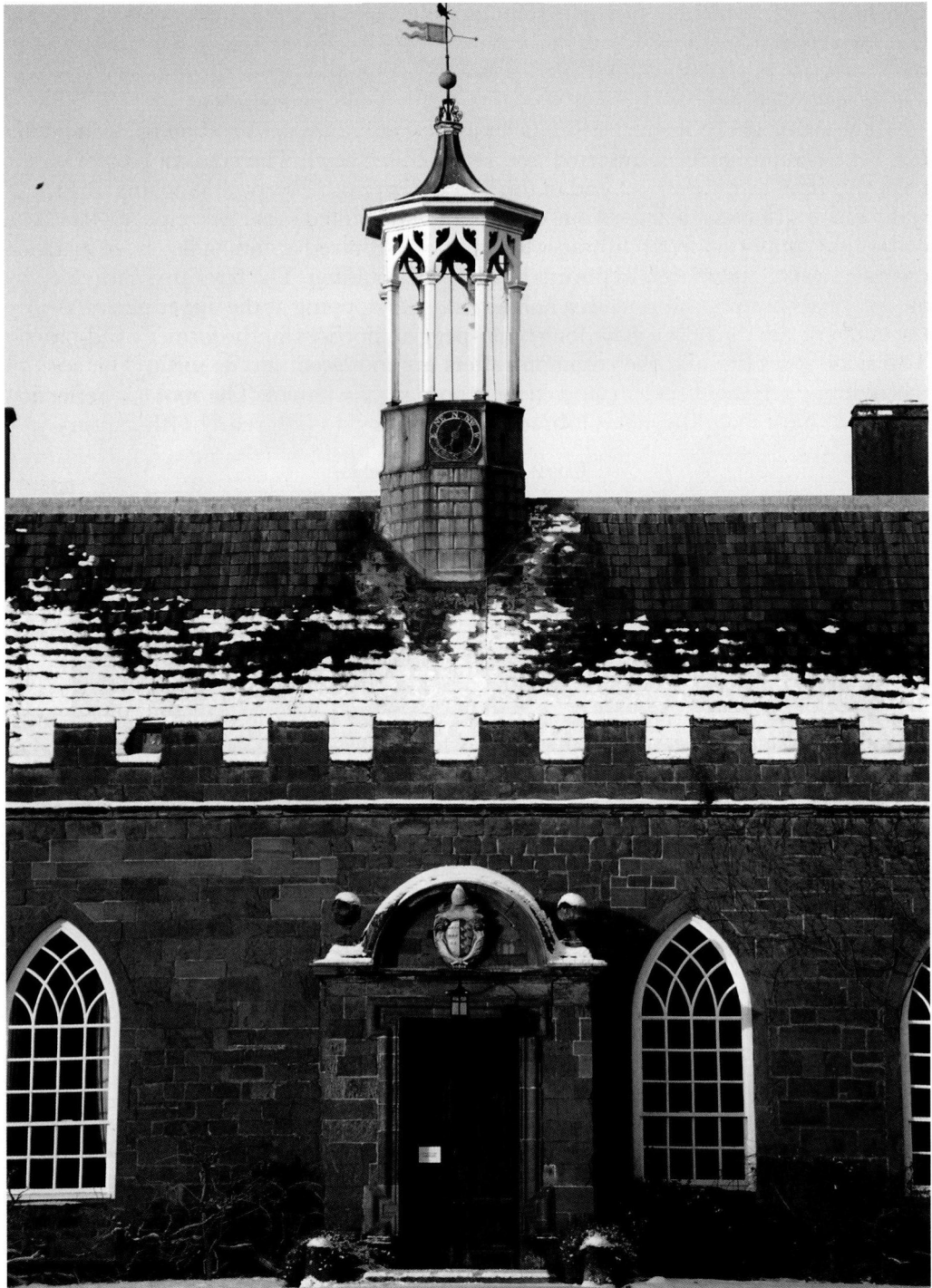


Fig. 7

The great hall porch, with the coat of arms of Bishop Fleetwood, designed by Thomas Wood of Oxford
Photograph, author

which covered the Guesten Hall at Worcester Cathedral, which illustrates the effect of the lost wind-braces (Fig. 6).

It is recorded that twenty-two great oaks were delivered to Hartlebury Castle from Welland in the manor of Bredon (Worcs.) in 1395/6. What were they for? The hall roof is an appealing idea, but the scientific evidence shows otherwise. The tree-ring dates for the hall roof gives a bracket of 1428-1447. This offers three possible bishops as the builders: Thomas Polton (1426-1432), Thomas Bourchier (1433-1443) or John Carpenter (1443-1476). It is tempting to associate the building with Bourchier who, as archbishop of Canterbury, embarked on a major programme of building, including the reconstruction of Knole (Kent) in the 1460s.⁹

There is considerable evidence for building at Hartlebury in Bishop John Carpenter's episcopacy. Leland, writing in the 1540s, says that he built a gatehouse, which was recorded in the 1670s dilapidations, but there is no mention of it in the 1680s accounts when the lodges were built, presumably on its site. Expenditure at Hartlebury Castle and the Worcester Palace is recorded in 1460/1, 1467/8 and 1469/70. This may be an early phase of what is now the saloon, although the present roof is early 17th century. However, it does contain reused timbers, two of which have been tree-ring dated to 1418-1454 and 1430-1466. There is a five bay timber-framed structure touching the north-west corner of the hall, where it would have been directly accessible from the cross passage. The tree-ring evidence shows that the timbers were felled in 1469, which matches Bishop Carpenter's expenditure.

It is possible to give an impression of the castle at the end of the middle ages, comprising a number of separate structures. To the south was the chapel block, and to the north of that the hall, with a chamber at its south end. At the north end of the hall there was a timber-framed kitchen, accessible from the cross passage. Warwick's tower stood at the south east corner of the forecourt. These buildings were enclosed within a perimeter wall.

REFORMATION TO CIVIL WAR

The diocese was split in two in 1541 and reunited by Edward VI in 1552 with John Hooper as bishop, only to be divided once more. The 1552 grant included the palace in Worcester, but not Hartlebury Castle, which passed first to the king, and then to private ownership. Queen Elizabeth I slept here on the 12 August 1575 after her famous stay at Kenilworth Castle, en route to Worcester. The manor and castle were secured for the diocese in 1579 by Bishop John Whitgift (1577-1583). No fabric can be attributed to the 16th century.

The roof over the saloon is dated by tree-ring evidence to 1608-1629. It has five trusses with two tiers of purlins and a diagonally set ridge piece. The upper face of the southernmost truss is against the later 17th-century brickwork of the drawing room/staircase block. Many of the vertical struts are reused timbers, which suggests that this roof is sitting on a late medieval structure. The roof could belong to the parlour of the 1647 survey, which measured 24ft x 34ft (7.32m x 10.63m) and had a tiled roof, although it was a little larger on the 1760 plan at 26ft x 37ft 5in. (7.92m x 11.40m) (Fig. 16).

During the Civil War, Bishop John Prideaux (1641-1650) identified himself with the Royalists and permitted the castle to be garrisoned by 120 men and twenty horse under Captain William Sandys. They surrendered on 16 May 1646 without a shot being fired. The castle was not seriously damaged by the soldiers, although the fences in the park were despoiled. The bishop was deprived of his See and retired to Bredon to live on a pittance, and he died a poor man in 1656. The castle was granted to Edward Smith, gentleman, on 29 September 1646 for £45 a year. The 1647 Parliamentary survey valued the materials in the castle, but it was more profitable to sell the building and it was purchased in 1648 by Thomas Westrowe.¹⁰

THE RESTORATION AND REBUILDING

The manor was restored to the bishop in 1660, but it was a long time before the castle was repaired. When Bishop George Morley (1660-1662) was translated to Winchester he promised £500 towards repairs if the work was completed within two years. He was followed in rapid succession by three bishops who did nothing at Hartlebury. The fourth, Walter Blandford (1671-1675), bequeathed £1,000 towards repairs provided that Morley's money was forthcoming. The next bishop, James Fleetwood (1675-1683), sued Blandford's executors (John Fell, bishop of Oxford, and William Thomas, dean of Worcester) in the Court of Delegates. The outcome was that the court allocated £1,000 for the refurbishment of the castle. The surviving accounts which cover 1681-1683 start part of the way through the rebuilding and record expenditure of £450. On 15 July 1683 Mr Wood of Oxford was paid £2 10s, the remainder of the money owing to him



Fig. 8

The main staircase, balusters; by Thomas Wood of Oxford, 1680s

Photograph, author



Fig. 9

The great hall, the chimney piece, installed by Bishop Hough, with his coat of arms

Photograph, author

for the coat of arms over the porch and for supplying drawings. He was Thomas Wood (c1644-1695), a master mason and sculptor, who undertook the stonework of the bishop's palace at Cuddesdon, Oxfordshire, for Bishop John Fell.

Bishop Fleetwood rebuilt much of the east elevation of the castle (Fig. 1), and the central porch with its eared architrave bears his coat of arms (Fig. 7). The new range at the north end breaks forward from the hall. Beyond this there is a wing echoing the chapel wing. The windows were of the mullion and transom type. At the south end a new block was added to link the saloon and the chapel, matching that to the north. The low-pitched chapel roof was replaced with a steep tiled and hipped roof. It has four king-post trusses, and common rafters tenoned into the single tier of purlins. The tree

rings give a felling date of 1678, so it was erected before the accounts commence. The plain plaster walls are visible above the plastered timber vaulting inserted in the 18th century (Fig. 12).

Various craftsmen and their tasks are documented in the 1680s accounts. Hugh Buxton, stone mason, was working on the chapel from 1681 to February 1682. He levelled the stone work for the chapel roof and amended the battlements of the hall and parlour. The chapel was refitted by the joiners John Cowell and Reece Price who made doors and wainscot. Richard Jackson, a Worcester joiner, contracted on 3 November 1682 to make the wainscot for the little dining room. This was probably the new room between the saloon and the bishop's chambers, later to become the drawing room.

The main staircase at the south end of the house and that at the north end has balusters similar to those in the staircase that Thomas Wood designed and built at the Old Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (Fig. 8). The sawyers, William Clymer and John Barret, were sawing risers for the stairs, and the door for the chapel and the house. They sawed posts for the balcony door case and rails and risers for the staircase. The long gallery behind the saloon and the hall provides access between the upper and lower ends of the castle. The only sign of the gallery in the building accounts is a payment to Hugh Buxton, stone mason, for paving the gallery. It is shown as a single storey range under a cat-slide roof in a 1781 survey drawing. The disadvantage of this arrangement is that its roof blocked the medieval west windows of the hall and saloon (Fig. 4).

John Giles and John Jukes made 100,000 bricks in the park, but five loads of slack was carried from the Severn which was used to burn Jukes' bricks for a second time. Thomas Wynnet and Thomas Hill were paid for the brickwork of the 'Court wall lodges and anti court wall', and in another contract of 14 December 1681 to build the wall in the castle yard from the corners of the chapel and the north range and across from Warwick Tower along the graft with a porter's lodge. On 24 December 1681 they contracted to pull down the walling in a line from the inner corner of the chapel to the outside of Warwick Tower eastward, and to clear the ground from this line southward. William Cole, carpenter, followed on from the bricklayers and erected pyramidal roofs on the two lodges, capped by wrought-iron weather vanes supplied by Jacob Heape. The accounts do not mention the gatehouse, which had probably already been demolished, and the Warwick Tower was also demolished towards the end of the works.

Bishop Fleetwood died at the castle on 17 July 1683 just as the works were completed. At the end of this phase the castle had the aspect of a country house rather than a medieval castle, with much of the medieval structure removed or concealed (Fig. 1). Colvin points out that the stepped plan is reminiscent of Versailles.¹¹

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

It was said of Bishop John Hough (1717-1743) that he 'rebuilt so great a part of the episcopal palace at Worcester, and made such improvements in his other seat at Hartlebury, ... [which] left little to be superadded by any of his successors towards perfecting both those episcopal seats'. This included building a new facade for the Worcester palace at a cost of £1,164 16s 10d, using the architect and builder William Smith (1661-1724). At

Hartlebury there is much less to show. In the hall the over-mantel of the fireplace bears Hough's coat of arms in stone (Fig. 9). He rebuilt the stables and coach house, the brick buildings to the east of the forecourt. The coach house to the south has three broad segmental arches over carriage doors. The stables to the north were substantially rebuilt in the 19th century.

The interior of the chapel was remodelled between 1748-1750 and is one of the outstanding early works of 18th-century Gothick (Fig. 10). According to Bishop Hurd, it was Bishop Isaac Maddox (1743-1759) who 'fitted up the Chapel, & put a new roof to it. The architect was Mr Keene of London. The painted Window at the Altar & the paintings in the other windows were executed by Mr Rowell of Reading in Berkshire.' Bishop Maddox employed the brilliant young architect Henry Keene (1726-1776), with additional advice from the gentleman architect, Sanderson Miller. On 26 October 1749 Miller went to Hartlebury to breakfast with the bishop and recorded the 'Bishop's chapel very near finished and very handsome.'¹²

The windows were rebuilt with raised sills, the east window with three lancets. There are four windows on each side of the chapel in the position of earlier windows, but the easternmost in each wall was blocked with stone. Internally the blind windows are filled with a plaster rosette. The upper spandrels of the side windows contain the arms of various bishops, the only remnants of the glazing executed by John Rowell of Reading. The east window was described in 1766 as 'elegantly painted, representing, in the middle, the passion or agony of our saviour in the garden, and on one side the disciples sleeping and on the other Judas with his band'.¹³



Fig. 10

The chapel, interior looking east

Photograph, M. Saunders

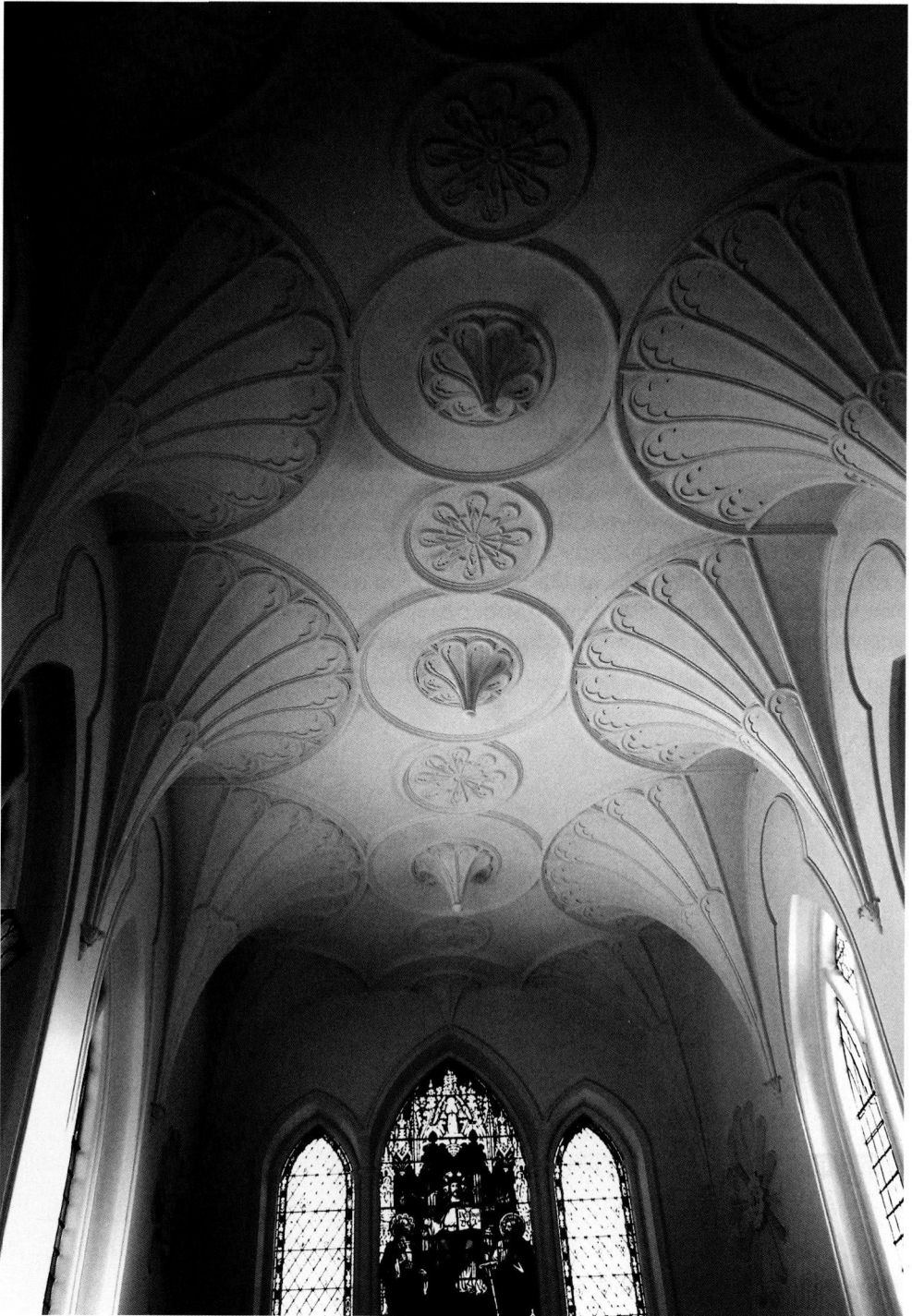


Fig. 11

The chapel, the plaster fan-vaulted ceiling

Photograph, author



Fig. 12
The chapel, the lath and plaster
construction of the ceiling
Photograph, M. Saunders

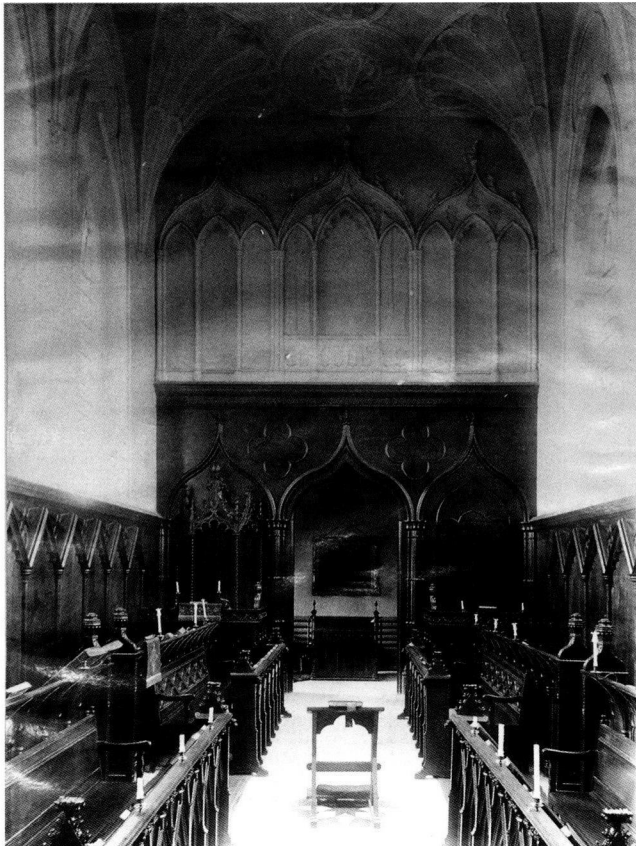


Fig. 13
The chapel, interior looking west, a
late 19th-century view before Bishop
Perowne's alterations
Photograph in the Hurd Library

The ceiling is a fan vault with pendants on a new timber structure (Figs 11, 12). The earlier wall plaster visible above the fans is marked out in red for the geometry of the new ceiling. The walls are lined with oak panelling rising to window sill level with Gothick arcading. This has engaged columns supporting triangular headed cusped arches. The side walls have fitted benches with frontals which have cinquefoil blind arcading. There was a delicate wrought-iron Gothick altar rail.¹⁴ The west end has a tripartite screen with a 19th-century viewing window above replacing Gothick blind arcading (Fig. 13). The screen is similar to Batty Langley's 'Gothic Portico'.¹⁵ The bishop's pew at the south-west corner has an elaborate canopy supported on slender wooden columns designed by Sanderson Miller (Fig. 14). Keene designed the Gothick benches in the chapel (Fig. 15), the fretted door at the entrance and the cupboard for storing surplices with a Gothick ogee arched top.



Fig. 14

The chapel, the bishop's pew, designed by Sanderson Miller

Photograph, M. Saunders



Fig. 15

The chapel, detail of the benches, designed by Henry Keene

Photograph, author

Bishop Maddox added the open sided octagonal Gothick cupola on the hall roof with its ogee arches which supports a bell which can be rung from the hall (Fig. 7). The lodges were given flat roofs and the forecourt walls were gothicised by adding crenellations on the south and east sides. His works saw the introduction of Gothick features emphasising the medieval appearance of the castle, with the crenellated courtyard walls. The plan made in 1760 shows the hall was still central, with the kitchen against the north west corner (Fig. 16). The rest of the north wing contained service areas with the dramatic back staircase. The long gallery behind the hall provided the main route to the bishop's apartments at the south end. The main staircase was accessed from an ante-room at the end of the gallery and led to rooms above the drawing room and the bishop's study. There was a narrow passage south to the chapel, explaining the need for light through the fretted door.

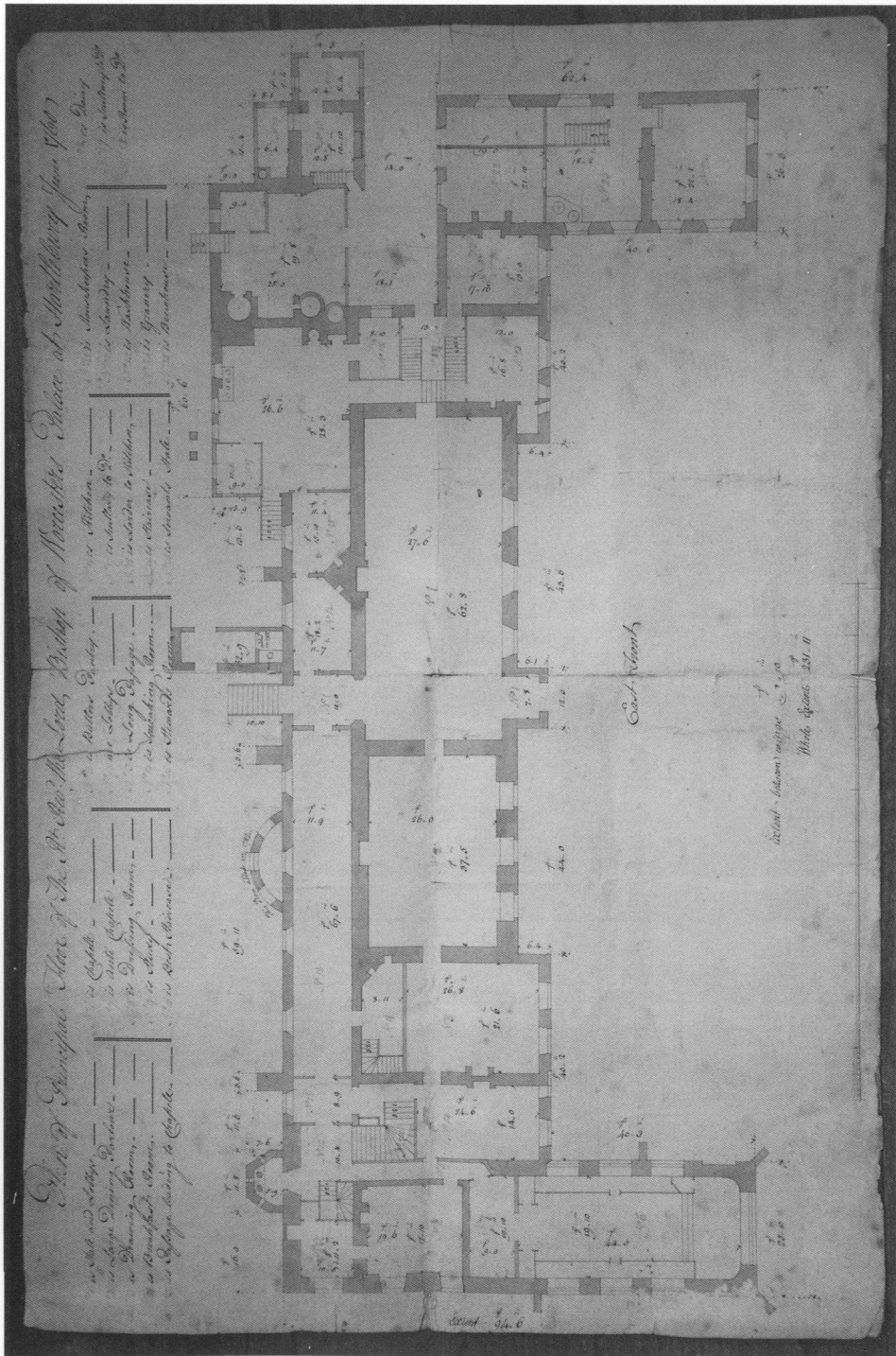


Fig. 16
Ground-floor plan, drawn in 1760
Plan in the Hurd Library



Fig. 17
The saloon
Photograph, author

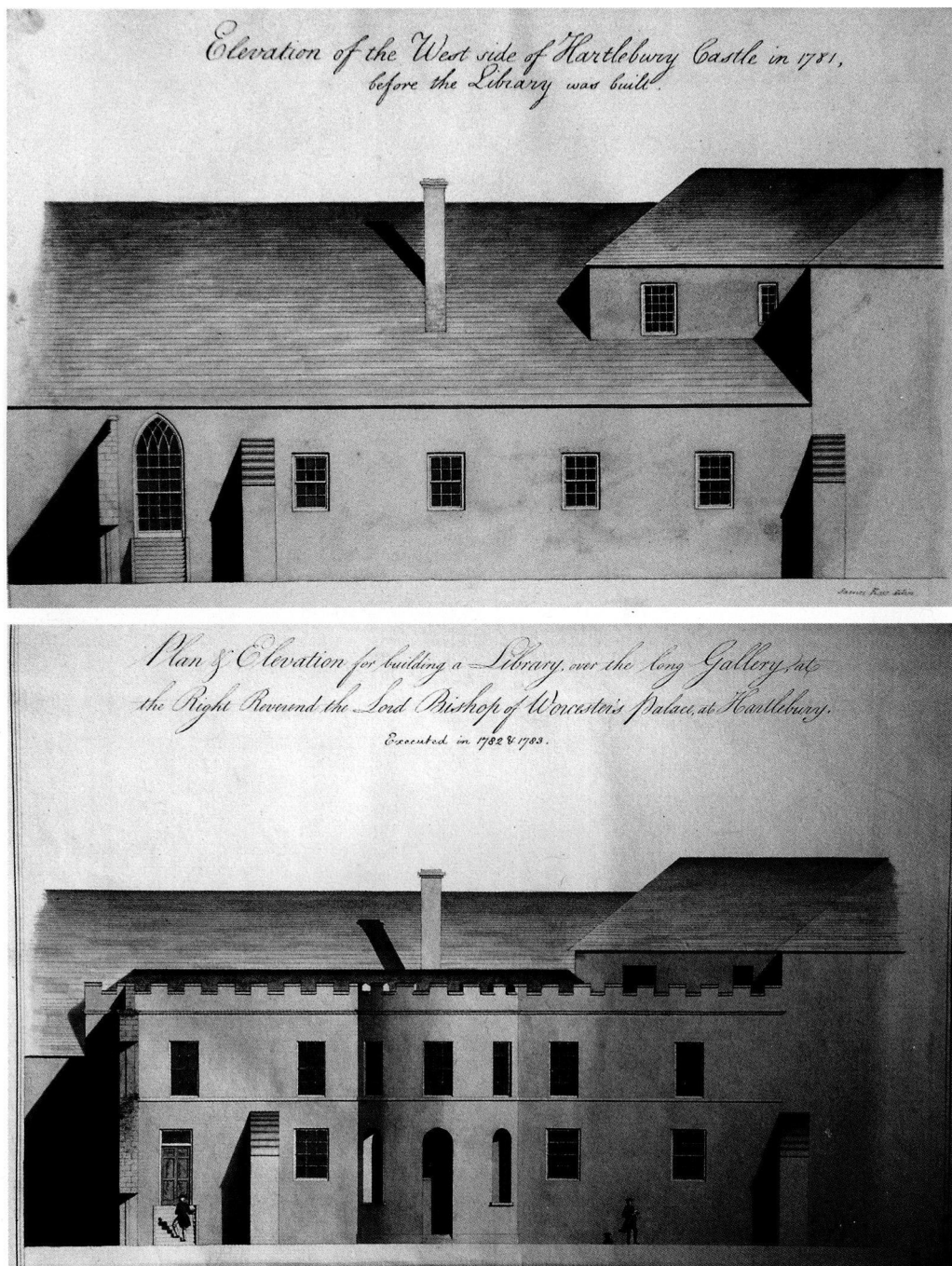


Fig. 18

A. West elevation by James Ross, showing the long gallery before the building of the library above.

B. West elevation by James Ross, showing the proposed library addition

Drawings in the Hurd Library; photographs, G. Price

The next bishop, James Johnson (1759-1774), initiated a comprehensive repair programme, reflecting a desire for a more modern residence whilst also Gothicising the castle further. A survey of repairs needed was undertaken by Stiff Leadbetter in 1759. The estimate for Hartlebury was £319 5s 11½d, whilst at Worcester it was £252 0s 4d; but there is no evidence that Leadbetter was employed at Hartlebury. Johnson had the old fashioned mullion and transom windows removed from the east front, replacing them with sash windows and gave most of the ground-floor windows two centred heads (Fig. 7).

The main rooms at the south end of the house were thoroughly gone over. In particular, the splendid interior of the dining room (the saloon) was created (Fig. 17). It was lined with new plasterwork on studs and the elaborate rococo decorations added, with ceiling panels bearing musical scores and wind instruments. The walls have rectangular panels with eared frames enriched with egg and dart ornamentation flanked by drop decorations of leaves and fruit with military trophies at their centre. Over the chimney piece there is a symmetrical design of rococo style. The decorations have a further interest beyond their design, because they are made of the then fashionable papier mâché.¹⁶ The adjoining drawing room (divided up in the 1960s) had a simple moulded cornice and a marble chimney piece in the south wall, similar to that which survives in the breakfast room. It had columns supporting the mantel shelf and a decorative frieze. The lower (north) end of the house was 'rather more ruinous' and was thoroughly overhauled.

Altogether this must have cost rather more than the £319 estimate provided by Leadbetter but there is no trace of it in the accounts. Perhaps the bishop was spending his own money; he was known to have had some legacies left to him by good friends. He engaged in another building campaign towards the end of his episcopacy in 1773.

This included a major reconstruction of the 1680s staircase in the service wing, which was connected with the insertion of the stone geometric staircase at the north

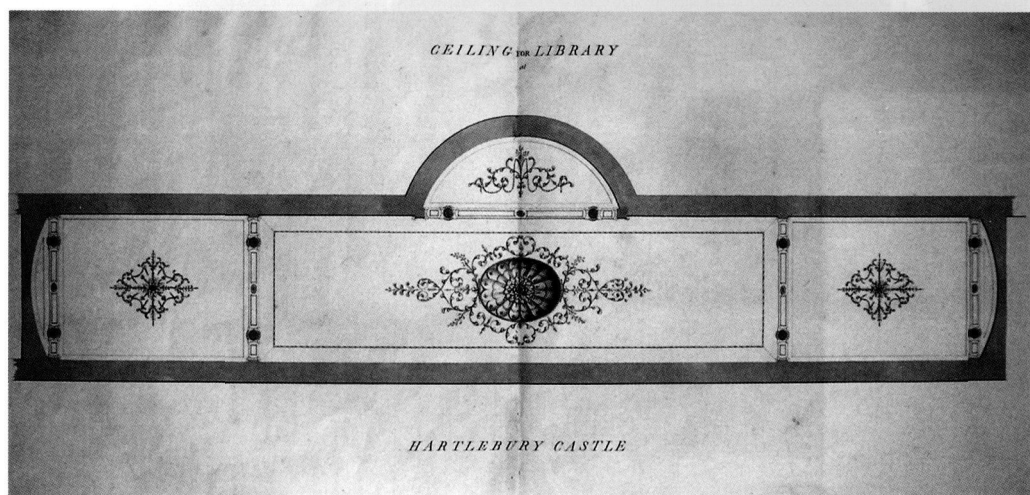


Fig. 19

The Hurd Library, plan for the plasterwork of the ceiling
Drawing in the Hurd Library; photograph, P. Walker



Fig. 20
The Hurd Library, looking north from the entrance vestibule
Photograph, M. Saunders

end of the hall, with its elegant cast iron balustrade. It was cantilevered out from the wall without further support. He also turned the forecourt from its former square lawn to the circular drive to allow carriages to sweep around.

Bishop Richard Hurd (1781-1808) succeeded Brownlow North (1774-1781). North had made little contribution to the castle. A picture of life there is given by an inventory of the goods which North sold to Hurd in 1781. Forty rooms in the main building are listed, as well as sundry passages, lofts and outbuildings. The principal rooms in the south wing included the lord's dressing room, with all necessary comforts, such as six French arm chairs and two blue festoon window curtains. In the adjoining room was the bishop's study. From here to the hall the sequence was the breakfast room, the drawing room, and the eating parlour (saloon). The long gallery was furnished with framed prints, busts on pedestals, stained glass in the windows and a billiard table. The hall was sparsely furnished, reflecting how little it was used. The out-houses included a dairy, laundry, brewhouse and stables. The contents of the castle were valued at £1,264 12s 2d, compared with £221 18s 6d for the palace in Worcester.

Bishop Hurd made the last major addition to the castle, the library to house his large book collection. It was built in 1782-83 on top of the single storey long gallery (Fig. 18A,B). There is an external elevation and a plan of the proposed library signed by James Smith and dated November 1781.¹⁷ The coloured drawing which shows the internal elevations is dated to the same month.¹⁸ A reflected ceiling plan for the decorative plaster work is dated July 1782 (Fig. 19).¹⁹ Relatively little is known of the work of James Smith (1734-1807), a Shropshire man.

The library has an ante-chamber at each end, and a segmental plan bay window thrown out to the west overlooking the moat (Fig. 20). The ante-chambers and the bay window are each defined by a screen with two Ionic columns. The long west wall is filled by sash windows, whilst the east wall has a central fireplace flanked by five bay bookcases, the larger central bay with a scrolled pediment (Fig. 21). The delicate plaster ceiling was executed by Joseph Bromfield of Shrewsbury. The coved frieze is decorated with portrait medallions of writers admired by Hurd, alternating with classical motifs, and non-classical items such as a crozier and mitre. The Ionic wooden columns are marbled, the walls white and the plaster bookcase surrounds are grained light brown. The intention was to paint the walls pale green and the bookcases white. The kingpost roof over the library has neat chisel-cut carpenter's numbering.

The library lives up to its description as a 'noble room'.²⁰ It is the outstanding surviving feature of the castle: Bishop Hurd's intact 18th-century library in the room especially designed for it.²¹ Hurd was a close friend of the royal family and in 1788 he entertained King George III to breakfast in the library. In 1807 the Prince of Wales paid a brief visit to the castle. The bedroom fitted out for that occasion (but not used) retains some of the furniture. The bed has the feathers of the Prince of Wales painted on the tester (canopy), and repeated on the window pelmet.



Fig. 21

The Hurd Library, detail of the bookcases

Photograph, author

MODERN TIMES

Hartlebury Castle became the only official residence of the bishop in 1846 when the Worcester palace was sold to the dean and chapter for use as the deanery. The furnishings in the castle were then imported from Worcester. The papier mâché frames flanking the fireplace in the saloon might have been designed to contain the portraits of George III and Queen Charlotte which now hang there. However, they came from the Worcester Palace. They were first hung flanking the chimneypiece in the hall, above which there is an associated marble oval tablet. The Chinese Chippendale chairs in the library (Fig. 20) can be seen in a drawing of about 1820 at Worcester. The two 17th-century refectory tables in the hall, said to be those made for Bishop Morley, but since shortened, were probably at Worcester.

The glass in the east window of the chapel by William Pearce of Birmingham was inserted in 1898 as a memorial to Bishop John Perowne's fifty years as a clergyman (Fig. 10). In 1901 it was regarded as an improvement because the earlier window was installed at a not 'very happy time for church decoration'.

Consideration was given in 1860 to moving the bishop to Worcester, the first of many occasions when this subject was discussed. A century later, in the 1960s, a positive decision was made to retain the castle. The bishop's lodgings were reduced to the south wing: the drawing room was partitioned to form offices, the breakfast room converted to an entrance hall and the long gallery divided into smaller rooms for the bishop. The management of the state rooms was passed to a Trust and the service end of the house became the home of the County Museum..

In 2006 Bishop Peter Selby recommended that no future bishop should continue to live at the castle. Thus in 2008 the new bishop was installed in 10 College Yard, Worcester, purchased for him as his sole residence. At the time of writing the castle's future is uncertain, in common with Rose Castle (see of Carlisle) and Auckland Castle at Bishop Auckland (see of Durham). However there is an active campaign to keep it in public hands and the Hartlebury Castle Preservation Trust has been formed with the aim of raising funds to purchase the property.²²

NOTES

- 1 This is an abridged and adapted version of N. A. D. Molyneux, 'Hartlebury Castle, Worcestershire: an architectural history of a bishop's residence', *Worcestershire Archaeological Society Transactions*, 3rd ser. 22 (2010), 129-65 [hereafter Molyneux, 'Hartlebury Castle' (2010)]. All the documentary sources are given in that article.
- 2 The Old Palace was visited by some AMS members in the morning before the Hartlebury AGM.
- 3 Acquired by the bishopric in 1547.
- 4 Worcestershire Record Office (hereafter WRO) BA2636/10, no.43697, 13-15, Class 009:1.
- 5 Parliamentary survey, WRO BA2636/50 no.44004, fos 20v-22v, Class b009:1. Accounts, WRO BA2636/7 n.43682, fos 76v-94, Class b009:1.
- 6 *Cal Patent Rolls, 1266-1272*, 632.
- 7 Habington, however, describes it as of five lights; see J. Amphlett ed., 'A Survey of Worcestershire by Thomas Habington, vol.1', *Worcestershire Historical Society* (1895), 277-9.
- 8 M. W. Thompson, *Medieval Bishop's Houses in England and Wales* (Aldershot 1998), 65, argues that an undercroft to the chapel was a key component of an episcopal residence.
- 9 F. R. H. du Boulay, 'A note on the rebuilding of Knole by Archbishop Bourghier', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 63 (1950), 135-9; P. A. Faulkner, 'Some medieval archiepiscopal palaces', *Archaeological Journal*, 127 (1971), 140-6.
- 10 For a summary list of the buildings in the 1647 survey, see Molyneux, 'Hartlebury Castle' (2010), 140-1.
- 11 H. Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, (4th edn, New Haven and London, 2008), 1144.
- 12 W. Hawkes ed., 'The Diaries of Sanderson Miller of Radway together with his Memoir of James Menteth', *Publications of the Dugdale Society*, 41 (2005), 60.
- 13 E. H. Pearce, *Hartlebury Castle: with some notes on bishops who lived in it, etc* (London 1926), 264; recorded in a photograph in the Hurd Library, Hartlebury Castle (the window was reglazed in 1898).
- 14 Removed in the 1960s; see C. Hussey, 'Hartlebury Castle, Worcestershire: the Palace of the Bishop of Worcester', *Country Life*, (7 February 1931), 160, pl.9.
- 15 B. Langley and T. Langley, *Ancient Architecture Restored and Improved, by a Great Variety of Grand and Usefull Designs, entirely new, in the Gothick mode for the ornamenting of Buildings and Gardens*, (London 1742), pl.XXXII.
- 16 The architectural use of the material is outlined in J. Thornton, 'The History, Technology, and Conservation of Architectural Papier Mache', *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation*, 32 (1993), 165-176, and H. Hawkes, 'Papier Mâché', *The Building Conservation Directory 2002* (2002).

- 17 'Plan & Elevation for building a Library over the long Gallery at | the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Worcester's Palace at Hartlebury'; 'Executed in 1782 & 1783' added in another hand. Dated November 1781 and signed 'James Smith'. In the extra-illustrated of T. Nash, *The History and Antiquities of Worcestershire* (London 1781), in the Hurd Library. The plan is probably based on a plan which he had been sent because it shows the main staircase at the south end still with its winders which had been removed by this date.
- 18 In the Hurd Library, Hartlebury Castle. 'SECTION FOR LIBRARY | AT | HARTLEBURY CASTLE', signed 'James Smith' and dated November 1781. Illustrated in colour in Molyneux, 'Hartlebury Castle' (2010), col. pl. I.
- 19 'CEILING FOR LIBRARY | at | HARTLEBURY CASTLE'. Signed 'James Smith' and dated 'Shifnal July 1782'; in the Hurd Library, Hartlebury Castle. See Molyneux, 'Hartlebury Castle' (2010), fig.10.
- 20 W. Camden and R. Gough, *Britannia: or a chorographical description of the flourishing kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the islands adjacent ...*, 2, (London 1789), 359.
- 21 For the significance of the library, see C. Penney, 'A Bishop and his books: Richard Hurd and his library at Hartlebury Castle', *The Book Collector*, 60 (2011).
- 22 The Trust submitted an application to the Heritage Lottery Fund for a grant to purchase and repair the castle in partnership with the adjacent County Museum. The application was refused later in 2011, but there is every expectation that the Trust will re-apply.